

Long distance A'-movement in a resumptive disguise

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It is a well-known fact about Standard German that extraction from a finite complement is unacceptable in many (mostly Northern) varieties: (1), where this is illustrated for wh-movement, relativization, and topicalization, respectively:

- (1) a) ***Wen** glaubst du, dass Petra **t_i** liebt?
who:acc think you that Petera loves
'Who do you think that Petra loves?'
- b) *ein Maler, **den_i** er glaubt, dass Petra **t_i** mag
a painter who:acc he thinks that Petra likes
'a painter who he thinks Petra likes'
- c) ***Den Maler_i** glaubt er, dass Petera **t_i** mag.
the:acc painter thinks he that Petra likes
'The painter he thinks that Petra likes.'

Instead, alternative strategies are chosen; wh-movement resorts to the well studied scope-marking construction (cf. Lutz/Müller/Stechow 2000); in relativization and topicalization, however, a hitherto unstudied construction is used that involves the preposition *von* 'by' in front of the moved constituent and a coreferential pronoun in the dependent clause:

- (2) a) ein Maler, **von dem_i** er glaubt, dass Petra **ihn_i** mag
a painter of who:dat he thinks that Petra him likes
'a painter who he thinks that Petra likes'
- b) **Von dem Maler_i** glaubt er, dass Petra **ihn_i** mag.
of the:dat painter thinks he that Petra him likes
'The painter he thinks that Petra likes.'

2. The problem. This lesser known strategy raises the following questions: Is this just short-distance A'-movement involving a PP complement of the matrix verb and coreference between the moved constituent and the personal pronoun? Or is it – disguised – long-distance movement with a dummy preposition and a resumptive pronoun inserted? If the latter, why should that be the case?

3. The proposal. Although this construction suggests at first sight that it only involves movement of a complement of the matrix verb, I will argue instead that there is long-distance A'-movement, albeit in disguise: The personal pronoun is a resumptive that occurs in order to remedy conflicting ordering information that results from cyclic linearization. The preposition is inserted to prevent the PF-chain to contain the same morphological case twice.

4. The account. There is one major argument against the assumption that what is extracted in these cases is actually a complement of the matrix verb (i.e. know/believe something about someone): While this might be true for some verbs like *glauben* 'believe' etc., it is surely not correct for a large class of verbs that allow the compensatory long-distance construction, but cannot take a PP (+CP) complement:

- (3) a) Weiß ist ein einzigartiges Buch gelungen, **von dem** ich hoffe,
Weiss is a unique book managed of which:dat I hope
dass **ihm** neue folgen werden.
that it:dat new follow will (source: internet)
'Weiss has managed to put out a book that I hope will be followed by new ones.'
- b) *Ich hoffe **von diesem Buch**, dass **ihm** neue folgen werden.
I hope of this:dat book that it:dat new_ones follow will
'I hope that this book will be followed by new ones.'

In fact, there is compelling evidence for long-distance movement in (2): First, reconstruction for Principle A and bound pronouns shows that (under head-raising) the moved constituent

originates inside the complement clause, (4). Second, just like in German varieties that do allow long-distance A'-movement, extraposition of the complement clause is an obligatory consequence of extraction (Müller 1999), (5)a; the much improved (5)b where there is intraposition but only short extraction shows that this is not due to the intraposed relative.

- (4) a) **das Bild von sich_i, von dem** ich glaube, dass **Peter_i es** sehr mag
 the picture of self of which:dat I think that Peter it very likes
 'the picture of himself that I think Peter likes very much'
- b) die Periode **seines_i Lebens, von der** ich glaube,
 the period his.gen Life:gen of which:dat I believe
 dass **keiner_i gerne daran denkt**, ist die Pubertät.
 that no_{one} likes_{to} about_{it} thinks is the puberty
 'The period of his_i life I think no one_i likes to remember is puberty.'
- (5) a) der Mann, **von dem** ich *(dass **er** krank ist), nicht gewusst habe, dass **er** krank ist
 the man of who I that he ill is not known have that he ill is
 'the man who I didn't know was ill'
- b) der Mann, **der** ?(dass **er** krank ist), nicht gewusst hat, dass **er** krank ist.
 the man who that he ill is not known has that he ill is
 'the man who didn't know that he was ill'

Consequently, there is long-distance movement. But why a resumptive and why a preposition? As for the resumptive, I submit that it is required to allow extraction from the extraposition island: Fox/Pesetsky (2004) show that the ban on extraction from islands can be attributed to cyclic linearization: Since movement out of islands cannot take place via the edge, ordering contradictions result between the extracted constituent and the head of the adjunct. They suggest one rescuing strategy to resolve this contradiction, viz. ellipsis. By eliding the island, the contradictory ordering restrictions are deleted as well.

I argue (adapting ideas from Shlonsky 2004) that standard German makes use of a different strategy to resolve such ordering conflicts, namely resumption. More specifically, I assume a top-down derivation à la Phillips (2003) or Richards (2002) that involves cyclic spell-out as in Fox/Pesetsky. If downward copying were to skip a spell-out domain due to the lack of an intermediate landing site, contradictory ordering restrictions would obtain and the derivation would crash. What happens instead is that, when Move fails to find an intermediate landing site, the strong operator feature of the rel/top-phrase becomes weak. In this model, a weak feature entails "covert movement" meaning movement after linearization (Nissenbaum 2000). Since it takes place after linearization, it need not be successive cyclic. As a consequence, copying does not take place until the last verb is merged, whose theta-feature the operator phrase checks. A weak feature/covert movement implies spell-out of the lower copy. Since spelling out a full wh-phrase would again lead to an ordering contradiction, only the formal features are spelled out, realizing a resumptive pronoun.

What remains to be explained is the preposition: I argue that the PF-chain that results from resumptive insertion is illicit: It contains the same morphological case twice. As shown by Merchant (2004), there is widespread incompatibility between case-marked operators and resumptives. Consequently, alternative strategies are necessary to overcome this problem. Some languages use case-unmarked operators, others use relative complementizers. Standard German, I submit, instantiates a third type: It inserts a preposition, so that the head of the chain is sufficiently different from its tail.

5. Conclusion. This analysis provides the first theoretical account of the alternative long-distance A'-movement construction in restrictive varieties of German, falsifying the traditional claim that A'-movement is not available in these varieties. It manages to derive the island-voiding effect of resumptives within a strongly derivational framework and connects it with recent developments in the syntax-phonology interaction.

References

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