Conjunct Extraposition in German

Imke Driemel¹

The data on Conjunct Extraposition (CE) shows a correlation between word order and plural agreement [1]. Movement of the remaining conjunct to Spec,CP in co-occurrence with plural agreement leads to ungrammaticality, see (1).

(1) a. Gestern ist/sind Hans angekommen und Bernd.
   yesterday be.SG/be.PL Hans arrived and Bernd
   ‘Yesterday Hans arrived, and Bernd.’

   b. *Hans sind gestern t_1 angekommen und Bernd.
   ‘Yesterday Hans arrived, and Bernd.’

Under a movement approach the plural agreement is caused by the direct coordination of the two conjuncts, of which one moves to the right periphery. But the difference to (1)b. is left unexplained. Furthermore, this analysis has to explain why the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) [2] can be violated. This proposal argues for a Bare Argument Ellipsis approach. The plural agreement on the verb in (1) is caused by Multiple Dominance in the sense that the verb is shared between the two conjuncts [3] and subsequently needs to move out in order to be linearized [4], see figure 1. The ungrammaticality of (1)b. is due to a violation of the CSC since the subject is only moved out of one conjunct into Spec,CP. T-to-C movement does not constitute a CSC violation because T is shared and hence part of both conjuncts, therefore (1)a. is grammatical. Further evidence comes from certain binding properties of possessive pronouns and the unavailability of reciprocal verbs as well as semantic effects with respect to relational adjectives and strict/sloppy readings.

References


¹Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin; imke.driemel@hu-berlin.de