

Wh-Copying in German and Its Theoretical Implications

We present novel data from *wh*-copying in German and will argue that they, in conjunction with already known facts, constitute a problem for extraction analyses in both transformational and non-transformational theories.

Wh-copying is a construction in which a long moved *wh*-phrase is repeated in intermediate position ("t" indicates the position of the gap):

- (1) **Wen** glaubst du **wen** sie t liebt?
Who do you think she loves?

Apart from independent properties and constraints of extraction constructions it is subject to three construction specific constraints:

- (2) The repeated element must appear in an intermediate position, and only there
- (3) Some speakers license d-pronouns in intermediate position
- (4) Complex *wh*-phrases cannot be repeated

Despite intensive research over the past years, two central questions remained unanswered: (i) what set of elements is licensed in intermediate position; and (ii) is partial copying possible. As for (i), although it is known that not every *wh*-phrase can appear in intermediate position (cf. 4), it is so far unclear which ones exactly are licensed. Turning to (ii), partial copying refers to a situation in which a complex *wh*-phrase and a simple *wh*-phrase agreeing in morphosyntactic features form a chain (brackets indicate an extracted phrasal constituent):

- (5) a. [**Welchem Mann**] glaubst du **wem** sie t das Buch gegeben hat?
Which man do you think she has given the book to?
b. **Wen** denkst du [**wen von den Studenten**] man t einladen sollte?
Which of the students do you think we should invite?

Given the sparseness of such examples it is unclear whether the phenomenon is real at all, and if yes, what restrictions it is subject to. Based on data we collected to fill those empirical gaps, we will formulate the following three results:

- (6) The intermediate element is form-identical to a free relative pronoun
- (7) Partial copying is real
- (8) Partial copying is restricted to a single pattern

We will provide empirical evidence for each result and show how the interaction of (6) and (7) leads to the result in (8). Since an extracted *wh*-phrase shares only a proper subset of features with a d-pronoun, (6) demands that any theory of extraction has to account for the following property:

- (7) Extraction can involve partially identical elements As we mentioned, *wh*-copying behaves like a regular extraction; it is, e.g., not restricted to NPs, but is also licensed with PPs:

- (8) **Mit wem** glaubst du **mit wem** sie t tanzt?
Who do you think she is dancing with?

Ignoring construction specific restrictions, any theory of extraction therefore needs to equally account for the second property:

- (9) Extraction targets XPs In the rest of the talk, we will show that neither transformational nor non-transformational theories of extraction make correct predictions for cases in which (7) and (9) apply at the same time, e.g. for extracted PPs in *wh*-copying in German.