
Explaining the distribution of preposition stranding across Germanic

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Generalized preposition stranding, as in (1), in which a PP surfaces discontinuously, is uncommon in the world's languages, and unevenly distributed across Germanic: for instance, in German (2) it is ruled out, as it is in early Germanic languages such as Gothic.

- (1) a. **The bed** was slept **in**. (2) a. ***Das Bett** wurde **in** geschlafen.
b. **Who** did you talk **to**? b. ***Wem** hast du **mit** gesprochen?

Despite pioneering work (e.g. van Riemsdijk 1978; Abels 2003, 2012), no analysis has been able to account for which languages have stranding and which do not. To a first approximation, English and the North Germanic languages allow generalized stranding, while German disallows it, with Dutch and Afrikaans exhibiting limited variation (Truswell 2009). The aim of this paper is to present an account which ties the availability of stranding to independent properties of these languages.

INGREDIENTS. Assume a universal functional hierarchy such that $PP > KP > DP > NP$, with PP and DP as phases. Assume further comp-to-spec antilocality (Abels 2003, 2012). This derives the inability of KP to move out of PP under any circumstances. Whether or not stranding is possible is then a function of how morphological case and articles realize the output of narrow syntax in the language in question. Following McFadden (2024), I argue that both KP and 'M-case' are necessary to derive the full range of facts.

VARIATION. In languages without morphological case, DPs can in principle move freely out of PP via Spec,PP without violation of antilocality and be realized in a higher position. This is what we find in English and Mainland Scandinavian; K is silent in these languages. In German, meanwhile, inherent case is assigned by the M-case algorithm to KPs; an extracted DP cannot receive case, and causes a crash at PF. Icelandic (and Faroese) also have morphological case, but here, unlike in German, case is assigned to DPs, not to KPs; hence, as in English, DPs can be extracted and still surface bearing case.

The talk will also address the intermediate situation of Dutch and Afrikaans, where stranding is possible to a limited extent, and more freely in colloquial varieties (*bananenzinnen* 'banana split sentences', e.g. *bananen houd ik niet van*).

Selected references: • Abels, K. (2003). *Successive cyclicity, anti-locality and adposition stranding*. Ph.D. dissertation, UConn. • Abels, K. (2012). *Phases: an essay on cyclicity in syntax*. Berlin: de Gruyter. • Truswell, Robert. 2009. Preposition-stranding, passivisation, and extraction from adjuncts in Germanic. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 9, 131–177.