

Beiträge zur deutschen Grammatik

Gesammelte Schriften
von Tilman N. Höhle

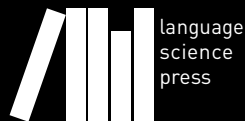
Herausgegeben von

Stefan Müller

Marga Reis

Frank Richter

Classics in Linguistics 5



Classics in Linguistics

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Preface

Introductory remarks on the selected papers

The idea for this volume was born in 2014 when Stefan Müller reread Tilman N. Höhle's work on *Topologische Felder* (Höhle83), and thought it a shame that this fundamental work on German clause structure was still unpublished. Talking over his plan to change this with Marga Reis and Frank Richter, who were to become the coeditors of this volume, drew the attention to further important but unpublished Höhle papers from the eighties and nineties that likewise deserved publication. This spawned the plan for a bigger volume comprising these papers as well. But it did not take long to see that, ideally, this volume should also include most of Höhle's already published work: There are exceedingly close connections between his unpublished and published papers as to topics, content, theoretical outlook and aims that an attentive reader would want to trace and should be able to trace easily. This led to the conception of the present volume, which, certain difficulties notwithstanding (see Postscript on page xvi), we pursued steadfastly and finally brought to completion this year.

Before turning to the contents of this volume let us briefly turn to its author and to our motives for (re)publishing his work.

Tilman N. Höhle, born 1945, studied General Linguistics, Indo-European Linguistics, and German Philology at the University of Göttingen and the University of Cologne, where he received his M.A. (1969) and his PhD (1976). Having taught at the German Seminar of the University of Cologne for a couple of years, he changed to the University of Tübingen in 1984 where, besides teaching German linguistics, he was involved in training several generations of general and computational linguists in grammatical theory as well as theoretically oriented descriptive German grammar. A complete list of his publications is contained in the list of references on page xv. He retired in 2008.

Like many German linguists starting their studies in the sixties and seventies Höhle embraced Generative Grammar as the most promising way of doing linguistics, and he remained committed throughout his career to its central theoretical and methodological goals (which later on he found better realized in

Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) than in generative linguistics following the Minimalist Program). Without striving for academic prominence he soon became one of the most respected figures, a true grey eminence, in the German generative scene. His written work covers a wide range of syntactic topics, in particular topological and related aspects of clause structure (topological fields and topological clause types, non-finite constructions, coordination, extraction, constituent order, focus projection, *verum focus*), but also aspects of word syntax, the lexicon, and phonological phenomena, as well as broader issues such as lexicalist syntax, reconstruction, theoretical aspects of phonology, in particular in model-theoretic grammar (HPSG). All of it was highly influential in shaping a theoretically and empirically well-founded grammar of German but also contributed significantly to grammatical theory, in general and in its HPSG variant.

Linguistics is a fast-moving discipline, so the eighties and nineties of the last century are already history. Still, Höhle's work – and this is the main motive for the present volume – is not just historically important we believe, but also worth knowing for contemporary linguists, especially those interested in the grammar of German within the Germanic context. The clearest case in point is *Topologische Felder*, so far unpublished and rather inaccessible, whose wealth of descriptive and theoretical insights still remains to be fully appreciated. But even in the cases in which Höhle papers, published or not, initiated a lively international debate and are still frequently cited (think, e.g., of his papers on asymmetric coordination (1983; 1990) or *verum focus* (Hoehle1988; Hoehle92)), (re)reading the originals leads to observations and ideas worth pursuing that have not found their way into contemporary literature.

Let us now turn to the contents of the present volume. In order to make the project manageable, we did not include all of Höhle's papers but concentrated on the – to our mind central – contributions to grammar in the narrower sense of (morpho-)syntax and grammatical theory. Thus, we set aside the early phonological papers (g_Hoehle78b; Hoehle82c), likewise papers that are, in various ways, pre-versions to later, often more comprehensive studies on the same topic; this led to the exclusion of g_Hoehle79; Hoehle1982a; Hoehle1988; Hoehle96 in favor of Hoehle1985; Hoehle92; Hoehle2000a; Höhle (1982) respectively, which are all included here. With these provisos, the present volume is a complete collection of Höhle's work on German grammar and grammatical theory (apart, of course, from his dissertation, published as Hoehle78a).

The volume is organized in two parts. Part I consists exclusively of **Topologische Felder** (= Chapter ?? in this volume) a book-length work written in 1983,

which remained unfinished but circulated as a ‘grey paper’ in the generative community. It is a fundamental study of German clause structure in that it establishes in detail the topological properties of German sentences and how they constitute the basic clause types of German. The study also pays detailed attention to the left-peripheral topological extensions of clause types, which includes a thorough discussion of ‘left dislocation’ phenomena and pertinent remarks on coordination. This descriptive enterprise is a) embedded in a critical comparison with Greenberg’s word order typology, which is shown to be unable to capture the essentials of German clause structure; b) supplemented by explanatory endeavors turning on astute arguments of learnability; c) enriched by a historical excursus showing that the correct topological picture of German clauses (although sometimes coupled with false beliefs in ‘subject inversion’) had already been achieved in the 19th century (hence Höhle also calls it the ‘Herling/Erdmann schema’); even the idea that the true verb position is clause-final can already be found in Herling’s writings. These insights were soon forgotten; it was not before the sixties/seventies of the last century that (more or less independently of this tradition) they came to life again.

Topologische Felder is foundational for most of the papers assembled in part II, which justifies its exclusive position in this volume.

Part II (‘Kleine Schriften’/‘minor writings’) collects the remaining 17 papers, which are as a rule presented in chronological order; however, the 5 papers with a distinctly HPSG orientation are grouped together at the end. Our short presentations of their contents follow this order.

Empirische Generalisierung vs. ‘Einfachheit’. Zur Zuordnung zwischen formalen und logischen Eigenschaften von Sätzen im Deutschen (1980) (= Chapter 2 in this volume). In this short paper Höhle argues forcefully against mistaking the form of logical representations of sentences for their syntactic structure, thereby also demonstrating that the autonomy of syntax manifests itself most clearly in topological regularities – wherefore “this part of grammar seems to merit the utmost theoretical interest” (p. ??). It is clear that this conviction drives Höhle’s linguistic research in the following decades.

Explicationen für „normale Betonung“ und „normale Wortstellung“ (1982) (= Chapter ?? in this volume). Unlike the verbal placement patterns involved in forming topological clause types, the ordering patterns for nonverbal constituents are variable in German. Nonetheless, there was always the intuition that for every constituent constellation there are (more or less) ‘normal’ orders, but nowhere a satisfactory explication of this intuition. His own explication makes crucial use of the notions ‘focus’ and ‘focus projection’, and proceeds in the two

stages indicated by the title of this paper: (i) A sentence S_i has ‘stylistically normal stress contour’ iff it has more possible foci than any other stress contour variant of S_i . (ii) A sentence S_i has ‘stylistically normal word order’ iff, given an appropriate stress contour, it has more possible foci than any other ordering or stress contour variant of S_i . The reference to ‘possible foci’ ensures that these explications belong to sentence grammar, yet implies, at the same time, that both are inherently pragmatic concepts, for having more possible foci than the respective variants means being able to occur in more context types. This affords a rather natural explanation for the intuition of normalcy.

This long paper is hard reading but rewarding, in addition to the above, not only for the many observations and generalizations deduced from the above explications but also for its critical discussion of a structural explication of ‘normal word order’, which still does not seem outdated.

Subjektzlücken in Koordinationen (1983) (= Chapter ?? in this volume). This paper is the first study of so-called SLF-coordinations like (1), with ‘SLF’ indicating their salient formal properties: a) in the second conjunct the subject is lacking, b) the conjuncts are F-clauses (F indicating the clause type with fronted finite verb).

- (1) Hoffentlich sieht uns keiner und meldet uns bei der Polizei.
hopefully sees us nobody and reports us at the police
‘Hopefully, nobody sees us and reports us to the police.’

The paper starts with a sketch of ‘symmetric’, i.e. ‘phrasal coordination’ where, roughly speaking, the substitutability criterion holds (every conjunct can substitute for the entire coordination *salva grammaticalitate*). Against this backdrop, the differing properties of SLF-coordinations are discussed in detail, in particular their most notable ‘asymmetric’ property, which is that the lack of subject in the second conjunct cannot result from ellipsis (hence the second conjuncts violate the substitutability criterion), and its interpretive counterpart, the ‘fused’ reading that all SLF-coordinations share. This paper, together with Höhle (1990) (see below), spurred a still active debate on asymmetric coordination in various Germanic languages.

On composition and derivation: The constituent structure of secondary words in German (1985) (= Chapter ?? in this volume). This study pursues a strictly lexicalist theory of word formation where all morphemes have a lexical entry with the usual (i.a. categorial) specifications. Its most salient claim is that in such a framework the difference between composition and derivation can be entirely reduced to selectional properties of the respective morphemes: bound

morphemes ('affixes') select other morphemes/morpheme classes to which they are thereby bound, free morphemes do not. This claim is carefully substantiated by presenting, first, the similarities of affixes to words, then by showing that compounds and derivations behave in a parallel fashion not only with respect to inflection but, on closer inspection, also with respect to boundary-related phenomena (such as the occurrence of linking morphemes, elision, stem formation) and even argument inheritance. Likewise, the detailed examination of formation processes underlying synthetic 'compounds' ('Zusammenbildungen'), the verbal complex, 'suffixless derivations' like *Stoß* 'push', *Unterschied* 'difference', and nominal infinitives does not yield any counterevidence either but many new insights into these difficult word-syntactic areas, and last but not least, an ingenious argument in favor of the strictly lexicalist approach.

This paper is still the most comprehensive word-syntactic treatment of German word formation to date.

Der Begriff 'Mittelfeld'. Anmerkungen über die Theorie der topologischen Felder (1986) (= Chapter ?? in this volume). This paper is a compact version of the descriptive and historical sections of *Topologische Felder*, to which helpful diagrams and examples have been added, likewise extensive clarifying notes (concerning, e.g., the topological treatment of coherent structures). It also contains a brief history of topological 'field' terminology. It has influenced practically all sections on the topology of German clauses in German syntax textbooks.

Assumptions about asymmetric coordination in German (1990) (= Chapter ?? in this volume). This study takes up asymmetric coordinations where the conjoined sentences may differ in clause type, the most typical cases being like (2a,b), where a verb-final *wenn*-clause is conjoined with a V2- or V1-clause. Because of the lack of subject, which again cannot be due to ellipsis under identity, Höhle classifies cases like (2b) as SLF-coordinations (see above); cases like (2a) are dubbed (asymmetric) F2-coordinations.

- (2) a. Wenn ich heimkomme und da steht der Gerichtsvollzieher ...
 if I home.come and there stands the bailiff
 b. Wenn jemand heimkommt und sieht den Gerichtsvollzieher ...
 if someone home.comes and sees the bailiff

Since the introductory *wenn* has scope over the entire coordination, what is conjoined are unlike phrases: a V projection with a functional clausal projection (for Höhle an I projection). The entire paper is devoted to making the categories involved more precise and to derive the possible coordinations of this type, as well as their differences to symmetric coordinations, in a principled manner. While

distinguishing between their first and asymmetric second conjunct as head vs. non-head, he does not call into doubt that these constructions *are* coordinations, a position not always shared in later literature where adjunction analyses are argued for as well.

On reconstruction and coordination (1991) (= Chapter ?? in this volume). This paper is primarily concerned with scope and binding phenomena where dislocated elements D_i appear ‘reconstructed’ into the position of their trace. Höhle considers two approaches to ‘reconstruction’: (i) D_i is reconstructed into its original position on a level (‘R-structure’) different from S-structure, and the relevant scope and binding relations are computed there (‘true reconstruction’), (ii) the definitions of these relations are extended in such a way that they yield the correct results on S-structure, i.e., they treat D_i as if it were in the position of its trace (‘pseudo-reconstruction’). Coordination comes in when comparing these approaches: while empirically equivalent in simple cases, Höhle observes that pseudo-reconstruction is in conflict with standard assumptions on how coordinate structures are to be translated into a semantic representation. Hence, either (i) is correct, or the translation theory for coordination needs revision. In settling this issue, Höhle provides first a concise outline of the fundamentals of coordination theory (including strong arguments against “forward conjunction reduction”) and of German clause structure, based on which a comprehensive picture of scope and binding properties of dislocated phrases in German is given, prominently among them, of course, the reconstruction cases. These are then evaluated with respect to the two approaches in question. Höhle concludes, based on cases such as *verum focus*, lexical anaphors, and in particular parasitic gap phenomena, that true reconstruction cannot be correct, hence that the translation theory for coordination must be revised in accordance with what pseudo-reconstruction requires.

Projektionsstufen bei V-Projektionen. Bemerkungen zu Frey/Tappe 1991 (1991) (= Chapter ?? in this volume). Despite its origin as a commentary to a paper not reprinted here, this short paper is self-contained. It comments astutely on a number of important issues concerning the structure of the German VP, notably in verb-final clauses, and the nature of the V-projections in the various positions allowing for them: the verb-final position, the fronted position (FIN), the pre-field. In particular, there is a forceful plea against identifying the verb in final position (V^e) with the V^0 we meet in the FIN position, to which we owe the famous argument from verbs like *uraufführen* (‘stage the first performance’), *bausparen* (‘save for building’), etc., which was already alluded to in Höhle78a but is clearly spelled out here in some detail for the first time.

Über Verum-Fokus im Deutschen (1992) (= Chapter ?? in this volume). The phenomenon called ‘verum focus’ since **Hoehle1988** is illustrated in (3): focus on the fronted verb may have the effect of stressing the truth of the proposition expressed:

- (3) Karl HAT bezahlt. [meaning: es ist wahr, dass Karl bezahlt hat]
 Karl has paid it is true that Karl paid has
 ‘Karl DID pay.’

This suggests that what is stressed is an abstract meaning element VERUM that has the proposition in its scope. The present paper is a comprehensive discussion of its nature and location. First, it explores the idea (already proposed in Höhle (1982) that VERUM is an ‘illocution type [= IT] operator’ (more exactly a variable over such operators). Despite some evidence in its favor, Höhle argues that it is untenable: a) main clause *wh*-interrogatives have verum focus only on the fronted verb but the IT operator is (also) associated with the *wh*-phrase; b) subordinate clauses, which are incompatible with truly illocutionary operators, allow verum focus (located on C-elements like *dass* ‘that’, *ob* ‘whether’); c) negation may have scope over VERUM, which is unheard of for true IT operators. So if at all, VERUM is a sort of truth predicate. Finding a segmental location for it is likewise difficult, given the controversial onset structure of German clauses, and further bewildering data from verum focus in embedded *wh*- and relative clauses. In the end, Höhle suggests a non-segmental localization of VERUM, at the cost of strict compositionality.

Vorangestellte Verben und Komplementierer sind eine natürliche Klasse (1997) (= Chapter ?? in this volume). This paper argues a) that fronted verbs preceding their subject are categorially different from those following their subject, b) that complementizers are sensitive to the same difference in relative placement, so that, in this respect, fronted verbs and complementizers form a natural class. On first glance, either claim seems bizarre but Höhle presents much evidence in their favor: (a) is supported by data from the West Frisian imperativus pro infinitivo phenomenon, as well as the many instances of special inverted verb forms in Old English, Dutch, Middle Low German, Old and Middle High German. Support for (b) are the distribution of *som* in Scandinavian relative and interrogative clauses (analogously *that* in English relatives), data from German relative clauses to non-3rd person, and from inflected complementizers in Dutch dialects that take up the inflection of the inverted form where possible. A schematized analysis is supplied for the relevant structures, which implies, importantly, that a subject in the pre-field of a V2-clause does not bind an \bar{A} -trace. The paper

concludes with a description of related facts in Bantu languages, which strongly suggests that the observations and results presented here are of rather general importance.

The *w*- ... *w*-construction: Appositive or scope indicating? (= Chapter ?? in this volume). This paper is concerned with the analysis of constructions like (4):

- (4) Was glaubst du, wen er feuern wird?
what think you whom he fire will
1) 'What do you think with respect to the question who he will fire?'
2) 'Who do you think that he will fire?'

They became a hot topic in the eighties when the traditional idea that the *wh*-clause was some sort of apposition to the *was* 'what' in the main clause (cf. translation 1), was challenged by the idea that *was* 'what' marked the scope of the embedded *wh*-phrase (cf. translation 2), thus suggesting a 'direct dependency' approach. Höhle was the first to present a thorough comparative investigation of these analyses for German, which is documented in a series of influential handouts from 1989/1990, on which (together with an update in 1996) the present paper is based. After working out the salient characteristics of the *was* ... *w*-construction and presenting the two competing analyses, Höhle discusses various important empirical phenomena and theoretical issues (*wh*-copy construction, *wh* in-situ, questions of LF-movement and interpretive dependency, exclamative versions of the construction), asking how the two analyses fare with respect to them. As a result, Höhle favors the direct dependency approach but in the course of the discussion, he also makes the 'appositive' approach more precise, thus anticipating the 'indirect dependency approach' that has become a serious rival of the direct dependency approach in the following years.

Observing non-finite verbs: Some V3 phenomena in German-Dutch (= Chapter ?? in this volume). This paper is an impressive survey over the systems of non-finite verb forms and the regularities governing them in numerous German and Dutch dialects, covering many dialect areas in fine-grained detail. It is shown by authentic material taken from pertinent sources that the differences to the Standard German and Dutch systems may be enormous: instead of just three, there might be as many as six non-finite forms (e.g., bare infinitive, *ge*-infinitive, bare gerund, *ge*- and *be*-gerund, participle); substitutions, e.g., of the participle, may involve different forms (e.g., simple and complex supines instead of infinitives) as well as different substitution conditions; there are considerably different displacement phenomena, likewise order variation and ordering rules within the verbal complex not found in the Standard systems. Thus, the paper certainly reaches its

professed aim formulated at the outset, which is to provide a more reliable research basis for the non-finite system than the rather poor systems of Standard German and Dutch have to offer, especially when claims of a more principled nature are at stake.

The papers on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar were all written in the 1990ies, starting toward the end of the protracted publication phase of the canonical presentation of HPSG in the book by Pollard and Sag. They are concerned with properties and the organization of the lexicon with special emphasis on syntactic traces (*Spuren in HPSG*, *Spurenlose Extraktion*, *Complement extraction lexical rule and variable argument raising*), with shared properties of relative pronouns, fronted verbs and complementizers in English, Norwegian, Swedish, Dutch and German (*Featuring creatures of darkness*), and with general problems of phonological theory and the relationship between the abstract structures characterized by phonotactic grammar rules and observable empirical phenomena (*An architecture for phonology*).

The first group of papers pursues fundamental questions of lexical elements. Although the papers remained unpublished, they became highly influential in some circles of the HPSG community, guiding attention to the grammar-architectural dependencies in HPSG between postulating traces in grammars, different ways of interpreting lexical rule mechanisms, various options of expressing lexical generalizations, and the syntax of verb clusters and their dependents in German and in English. The series of papers begins with **Spuren in HPSG** ‘Traces in HPSG’, considerations of the nature of traces in HPSG that highlight important differences to assumptions on traces in other frameworks. In particular *Spuren in HPSG* shows that traces do not enter into a linear order relation with other words in an utterance (an observation with major impact on language processing arguments involving the presupposed position of traces which is often overlooked even today), and it points out intricate implications of the treatment of traces for the syntax of verbal projections in coherent constructions in German. **Spurenlose Extraktion** ‘Traceless extraction’ embarks on a thorough analysis of the consequences of eliminating traces from the theory of extraction by postulating extraction lexical rules. Different possibilities of implementing lexical rules are explored in great detail by painstakingly going through concrete examples of lexical entries and corresponding entries that are derived by lexical rule. The problems that this discussion reveals with HPSG’s early informal characterizations of lexical rules lead to a review of various alternatives, which are again explained and applied with great precision. Many of the insights gained here became influential in later technical treatments of lexical rules and the lexicon

in HPSG. **Complement extraction lexical rule and variable argument raising** builds directly on results of *Spurenlose Extraktion* with a vigorous and precise demonstration that a lexical rule (in the original framework-internal understanding of the mechanism) for complement extraction cannot be combined with standard HPSG assumptions of argument raising in the verbal complex without leading to massive problems. Again, the argument is presented with an extraordinary sense for detail, with exact specifications of the lexical entries that are involved in the analysis.

Featuring creatures of darkness turns to another empty lexical element of Pollard and Sag's book, the empty relativizer which their analysis of English relative clauses employs. Practitioners of HPSG traditionally dislike any kind of empty elements in grammar, which meant that the empty relativizer was immediately met with great skepticism. Höhle shows that far from being obscure, the inner structure of Pollard and Sag's empty relativizer is surprisingly well-suited for a typological analysis of various elements at the left periphery of Germanic languages, including Norwegian, Swedish, Dutch and German, easily serving as a fitting blueprint for *wh*-interrogatives, complementizers, relative pronouns and fronted verbs alike, providing valuable insight into a very difficult area of Germanic syntax.

An architecture for phonology applies the grammar architecture and logical apparatus of HPSG to phonology and morphophonology. It argues that model-theoretic grammar provides a solid foundation for reasoning about complicated empirical facts in this domain. Apart from an outline of a sort hierarchy for phonology and fundamental principles, examples from German and Russian demonstrate the analytical usefulness of the approach. They give rise to interesting considerations of the intricate relationship between the structures in the denotation of logical grammar theories and the objects of empirical observation, spelled out with more care here than anywhere else in the literature.

Acknowledgments

Some of the papers (re)published in this book were available in electronic format. Some in Word and some even in \LaTeX . Others had to be digitized and retypeset. This involved a lot of work. We are grateful to our typesetter Luise Dorenbusch, who did the initial conversion of the majority of the papers. Stefan Müller's student assistants Luise Hiller and Robert Fritzsche did the remaining chapters and the various cycles of revisions and adaptations. In the final period they were supported by Nico Lehmann. Without everybody's dedication and care we would

never have been able to produce such a well-done book.

Finally, we should like to thank Tilman Höhle who generously gave us permission, in fact *carte blanche*, to proceed with his linguistic oeuvre in whatever way we wanted to. Although his present intellectual interests are far away from linguistics, we hope that the present volume gives him some satisfaction.

Berlin, Tübingen, Frankfurt March 1, 2018 Stefan Müller, Marga Reis, Frank Richter

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Postscript: Rights & Permissions

Preparing this book was a lot of work but all three of us enjoyed it since we know it was work done to honor a colleague and to make great papers available for the first time and published papers more accessible. However, one aspect of this process deserves special mention: the attempt to get the rights to republish Tilman Höhle’s work. This part of the work was extremely time consuming, extremely inefficient and extremely annoying. I want to explain why in a little more detail. Tilman Höhle published several very influential papers in the 80ies and 90ies. He published with Akademie-Verlag, Benjamins, Bouvier Grundmann, CSLI Publications, Foris, Kluwer, Niemeyer, Stauffenburg, and Westdeutscher Verlag. With the exception of Benjamins, Bouvier Grundmann, CSLI Publications and Stauffenburg all these publishers were bought by De Gruyter or Springer. An overview of this is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Concentration in the publishing sector

original publisher	now owned by
Akademie-Verlag	De Gruyter
Benjamins	
Bouvier Grundmann	
CSLI Publications	
Foris	De Gruyter
Kluwer	Springer
Niemeyer	De Gruyter
Stauffenburg	
Westdeutscher Verlag	Springer

The contracts that we signed in the 80ies and 90ies all included a passage saying that authors have the right to use their articles in collections of their own work or in books authored or coauthored by them. So we expected that it would not be a problem to get the permissions to put together a collection of Tilman Höhle’s most important papers. I wrote emails to the remaining publishers and got fast positive responses by CSLI Publications and by Brigitte Narr from Stauffenburg. I called Benjamins, who were a bit delayed due to the holiday season, but reacted quickly after my call. We got permission to use the papers we wanted to use with a Creative Commons CC-BY license and free of charge.

The interaction with the remaining two publishers was less pleasant. I first

thought that Springer was easy, since they have a web interface for Rights & Permissions and this web interface grants you the right to use articles in other compilations and so on provided you are the author. However, the automatically generated permission letters explicitly exclude online publications without password protection and refer authors to Springer's Rights & Permissions department for such usage.

I sent several emails to Springer and got impersonal replies without a name of the sender. I called several times and I guess I interacted with three or four employees of the rights & permissions section. The answer I got was: "We cannot grant you the right to put copyrighted material on a webpage". I explained in emails and during phone calls that we did not want to upload the original articles into repositories or onto any other webpage but that we wanted to edit, reformat, and publish the papers by Tilman Höhle in a collection of his work, something that is usual and was possible up to the recent changes in the publishing world. For one paper, it turned out that the rights of the papers in the relevant publication reverted back to the authors, so we can use *Verum focus* in the intended way. But for *Reconstruction and coordination* I got the repeated reply that there is no way to use this paper in publications that are available online without a paywall. This would just not get into my head. Springer sells the open access option (CC-BY) to authors of new articles for \$3.000/2.200€+VAT,¹ but there is no way to turn a book chapter from 1991 into open access? Not even for money? The argument was: it would be unfair to readers who buy the complete book. What? I really love this appeal to fair play! What about the readers of journals that appear in print and online? Is their subscription fee of the print version lowered when the journal contains papers whose authors paid to have their content open access?

My conclusion from this was that Springer is not just a greedy company with a profit rate of more than 35 %, Springer is really an obstacle for science, their interests are fundamentally different from ours. So, I wrote a letter to Jolanda Vogt, who is responsible for linguistics at Springer, and Susanne Wurmbrand, who is the editor of the *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*, and informed them that I find Springer's policy regarding rights unbelievable and that I would stop working for Springer immediately (I am on the board of *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* and do a lot of reviewing for *NLLT*, *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* and *Research on Language and Computation*). Ms. Vogt contacted Rights & Permissions and we then got a quick reply giving us the permission to use the paper in an open access publication and with 100 printed

¹<http://www.springer.com/gp/open-access/springer-open-choice>, 23.09.2015.

copies (which is what we estimated when we filled in the first permissions form).

I was happy, but when reading the fine print, we discovered that the rights were not sufficient. What is needed for open access as we understand it at Language Science Press is a Creative Commons CC-BY license (Shieber2012a). There are extensions of this license by NC and ND components. NC means that commercial use is not allowed without special permission and ND stands for no derivatives and means that third parties may not produce other compilations that include work under this license. In order to be able to print books via Print on Demand services, we have to have the right to sublicense the use of a book to a commercial enterprise. This would be made impossible by the NC clause. The same is true for uploading books on platforms like Google Books. Since Google is a commercial enterprise, we cannot sublicense our books to them if we do not have the permissions of the rights holders.

So, I went into the next round of emailing. The result now is that the Springer paper will be published under a CC-BY-NC-ND license and that we have the right to sublicense for PoD for 100 books.

The interaction with De Gruyter was a little more pleasant, but rather chaotic. We got the offer to buy the right to republish as open access right away and the prices were ... shocking. After all we are talking about papers from the 80ies and 90ies. Nobody will buy these books anymore. Contracts from Niemeyer stated that the copyrights return to the author once the work goes out of print. Nowadays nothing goes out of print since we have print on demand, but nobody will buy these books either.² The only commercial value of such old papers is bundled content and this is what the bigger commercial publishers are selling (Shieber2013a).³

After several rounds of emailing and a request to Anke Beck, the CEO of De Gruyter, we arrived at a CC-BY-NC-ND license for six papers for 1.273,30 € in total and De Gruyter stated that they explicitly want to exclude aggregation of text material. The negotiation process and its results are summarized in Table 2. My mail folder on the rights issue contains 101 emails.

In hindsight I regret that I did not document the time that it took me to do all these negotiations, inform my co-editors and Language Science Press staff, discuss things and react again. I am sure that these negotiations wasted at least the same amount of time at the other side (Springer, De Gruyter). This is highly

²The conference volume in which Hoehle86a appeared is now sold for 119,95€/168.00\$, which definitely prevents interested readers from buying it.

³Hoehle86a is not even available as PDF from De Gruyter. The book is not listed in the directory of deliverable books and hence not available in normal bookstores. The content is simply blocked by De Gruyter until somebody pays for digitization.

Table 2: Interaction with publishers and results

publisher	email	calls	result	price
Benjamins	1	1	CC-BY	0 €
De Gruyter	47	3	CC-BY-NC-ND + Print for 500 books	1.273,30 €
CSLI Publications	1	0	CC-BY	0 €
Springer	40	3	CC-BY-NC-ND + Print for 100 books	0 €
Stauffenburg	1	0	CC-BY	0 €

inefficient. The public sector pays for these publishing houses. We pay the rights and permissions departments of the publishers. This is part of the book prices that libraries and individual researchers pay. In a world of true open access all this would be unnecessary.

Due to the restrictive NC-ND license we cannot distribute all papers in the same way. We think that this is a pity and it ruins the book. We decided to publish this book nevertheless and put blank pages into versions of the book, for which we did not get the permissions we would need. So for instance, the De Gruyter and Springer papers will not be on Google Books. From the 101st printed copy onwards, the printed versions of this book will not contain *Reconstruction and coordination*, but blank pages with just the URL to the online version of this book.

So, the conclusion and the advice to all readers is: do not give your copyright away. Just don't! Commercial publishers will publish your paper anyway. Or even better, publish with true open access publishers that license the material under a CC-BY license.

Berlin, March 1, 2018

Stefan Müller

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Preface

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Beiträge zur deutschen Grammatik

Der vorliegende Band bietet eine vollständige Sammlung der veröffentlichten und unveröffentlichten Schriften zur deutschen Grammatik von Tilman N. Höhle. Sie besteht aus zwei Teilen. Den ersten Teil bildet *Topologische Felder*, ein im Jahr 1983 verfasstes Manuskript in Buchlänge, das jedoch nicht abgeschlossen wurde. *Topologische Felder* ist eine sorgfältige Untersuchung der topologischen Eigenschaften deutscher Sätze und schließt eine eingehende Diskussion typologischer Annahmen mit ein. Der zweite Teil umfasst alle weiteren veröffentlichten und unveröffentlichten Höhleschen Papiere zur deutschen Grammatik.

Alle hier versammelten Arbeiten hatten weitreichenden Einfluss auf die deutsche Sprachwissenschaft deskriptiver und theoretischer Prägung, insbesondere auf eine spezielle Ausprägung der theoretischen Sprachwissenschaft, die Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar. Die Arbeiten befassen sich mit den Themen Satzstruktur, Wortstellung, Koordination, (Verum-)Fokus, Wortstruktur, der Beziehung zwischen Relativpronomen und Verben in V2, Extraktion, sowie den Grundlagen einer phonologischen Theorie in constraintbasierter Grammatik.

This volume contains the complete collection of published and unpublished work on German grammar by Tilman N. Höhle. It consists of two parts. The first part is the publication of *Topologische Felder*, a book-length manuscript that was written in 1983 but was never finished nor published. It is a careful examination of the topological properties of German sentences, including a discussion of typological assumptions. The second part assembles all other published and unpublished papers by Höhle on German grammar.

All of these papers were highly influential in German linguistics, in theoretical linguistics in general, and in a specific variant of theoretical linguistics, Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar. Topics covered are clause structure, constituent order, coordination, (verum) focus, word structure, the relationship between relative pronouns and verbs in V2, extraction, and the foundations of a theory of phonology in constraint-based grammar.

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