Interface restrictions on verb second[1]

ANDRÉ MEINUNGER

Abstract

This article presents two case studies concerning verb second (V2) in German. It investigates two different phenomena where the characteristic verb raising in German in blocked. The relevant data show clearly that the V2 rule is not blind with respect to the interfaces. It is not merely a syntactic movement rule whose output is interpreted by the phonological component on the one hand and by the conceptual-intentional system on the other. It is rather the case that both systems restrict V2, they have a direct influence on the verb getting to its final position. This article thus focuses on both sides of grammar: phonology on the one hand, and interpretation, meaning and semantics on the other. Hence, the present study is trying to balance out the interface restrictions on X^0-raising – illustrated using verb second in German (and to a certain degree in French). It is shown that parsing strategies guide V2: phonological processing as well as interpretation-related parsing.

1. Introduction

Verb second (henceforth V2) in Germanic continues to be a mystery. It has been a focus of research for decades and is still lively and controversially debated. The fact that the German finite verb appears in the sentence final position

---

(*rechte Satzklammer*, 'right sentence bracket') in subordinate clauses and in the second position in main clauses (*linke Satzklammer*, 'left sentence bracket') has all possible analyses: the canonical one is still standard and goes back to den Besten's analysis of Dutch (1977/1983), and to Thiersch's analysis of German (1978). According to this standard analysis, the finite verb raises via head-to-head movement from its base position under a head-final V° to the head-initial C° node. Recently three different proposals have been put on the market: (i) Fanselow (2004) develops a Bare-Phrase-Structure-conform verb raising analysis called *Münchhausen movement*, (ii) Müller (2004) proposes an analysis that does not require head movement at all (remnant XP-movement, see also Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000), and (iii) Chomsky (2001) banishes V2 into the phonological component getting V2 outside the core area of syntax.

This article presents two case studies concerning V2. It investigates two different phenomena where the characteristic verb raising in German is blocked. The relevant data show clearly that the V2 rule is not blind with respect to the interfaces. It is not merely a syntactic movement rule whose output is (to be) interpreted by the phonological component on the one hand and by the conceptual-intentional system on the other. It is rather the case that both systems restrict V2; they have a direct influence on the verb getting to its position.

With new trends in Generative Grammar, such as Bare Phrase Structure as an integral part of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1994, 1995), head movement as a syntactic device (especially deriving V2) has been subjected to heavy criticism. One of the furthest reaching proposals is Chomsky's attempt from 2000 to eliminate head movement completely from (core) syntax and to place it into phonology – a view that is developed in detail in Boeckx and Stjepanovic (2001). Zwart (2001) shows that – especially with V2 – things are not so simple and that genuine syntax must be involved, despite the undeniable role of phonology, to account for the phenomenon in its entire complexity. An elaborated phonology-syntax interplay for head movement is also developed in Bošković (2001). A corresponding conclusion will be drawn in the first part of this article. However, the old T-model of Government & Binding Theory as well as the concept of spell-out and phases in the Minimalist Program consider syntax as the "feeder" of *two* interfaces: (i) phonology (A-P system, PF) AND (ii) meaning/interpretation (C-I system, LF). In the second part, this article will demonstrate that there are also interpretational (i.e., C-I-related) restrictions on head movement.

This article thus focuses on both sides of grammar: phonology on the one hand and interpretation, meaning, semantics on the other. Hence, it is trying to balance out the interface restrictions on X°-raising – illustrated using verb second in German (and to a certain degree in French). It is shown that parsing strategies guide V2: phonological processing as well as interpretation-related parsing.

The present article is organized as follows: In the first part a special construction where the finite verb fails to undergo V2 is presented and discussed. This relatively neglected pattern is given an analysis that makes recourse to phonological wellformedness constraints. It is argued that a tree gets a syntactic and a phonological interpretation, sometimes in parallel and corresponding to each other – sometimes diverging. If either one fails to meet necessary wellformedness conditions, the derivation crashes. The second part discusses the behavior of speech act adverbials. These may appear in a position before a canonical CP. In that case, verb third emerges (V3). Often these same adverbials, however, are also fine in the canonical *Vorfeld* ('prefield') giving rise to a regular V2 structure. Sometimes V2 is not permitted. The reason for this pattern is a parsing effect that has an impact similar to other better known garden path effects. Both constructions thus show that V2 is restricted from outside the core syntax.

2.   Elements that block verb raising – a discussion

2.1.   Haider's observation

In his 1997 article, Haider observes the pattern in (1) to (3).[2] (1) consists of a periphrastic tense construal where the finite verb is an auxiliary that has moved to the V2 position. (2) is the unfelicitous attempt to move the full main verb of a simple tense into the V2 position. (3) shows that it is not the simplex form that triggers the ungrammaticality, but the position: as long as a verbal element stays in the so-called right sentence bracket, the construction is fine.

(1)   *Der Wert hat sich   weit **mehr als**   verdreifacht.*
      the   value has 'self' far   more than   tripled
      'The value has far more than (only) tripled.'

(2)   **Der Wert verdreifachte sich weit **mehr als**.*

(3)   *weil   sich   der Wert   weit **mehr als**   verdreifachte.*
      because 'self' the value far   more then   tripled
      'because the value has more then (only) tripled.'

---

2. It is important to distinguish the construction to be discussed in this contribution from another C°-phobia that Haider (1993) discusses elaborating on a discovery by Höhle (1991). What I mean is immobile verbs like *uraufführen* and *bausparen* ('to put on a play for the first time' and 'to save with a building society' – respectively). These verbs are also trapped in the right sentence bracket (i.e., only grammatical in verb-final constructions) presumably because of a categorical mismatch or an undecided morpho-syntactic status. For these facts and a recent discussion see Vikner (2005). However, for our purposes it is important that the phenomenon of verbal immobility is not dependent on the verb (itself), but on an element clearly outside the (minimal) VP or the V'-node.

Haider explains this pattern as the result of c-command failure: *mehr als* as scope-taking operator must c-command its associate at some s-structure-like level, which is not given in (2). Meinunger (2001) argues that this reasoning cannot cover the whole phenomenon. He shows that there are many other expressions that block verb raising in quite similar fashion to *mehr als*.

(4)   *Der Angeklagte hat **so gut   wie** gestanden.*
the   accused   has so good as   confessed
'The accused almost confessed (his crime).'

(5)   **Der Angeklagte gestand **so gut wie**.*

(6)   *weil   der Angeklagte **so   gut   wie** gestanden hat /*
because the accused   so   good as   confessed has /
gestand
confessed
'because the accused almost confessed (the crime).'

(7)   *Der Besuch hat **sowas   von** geprahlt.*
The visitor   has so-what of   boasted
'The guest(s) was/were boasting so much …!'

(8)   **Der Besuch prahlte **sowas von***.

(9)   *weil   der Besuch **sowas   von** geprahlt hat / prahlte*
because the visitor so-what of   boasted has / boasted
'because the guest(s) were boasting so much'

Other examples listed in Meinunger (2001) are: *so eine Art von* ('sort of'), *mehr denn* (both: 'more than'), *nichts als* ('nothing but'), and similarly, but a bit different *weder* ('neither-nor') and *außer* ('but', 'unless', 'except'). Interestingly, all examples become grammatical if something follows the boldfaced chunks (cf. (10)–(12)). In some cases it even suffices to have a separable prefix of a morphologically complex verb (12):

(10)   *Der Angeklagte gestand   **so   gut   wie** gar   nicht.*
The accused   confessed so   good as   particle not
'The accused confessed as much as not at all'.

(11)   *Die Kommission meckerte **weder** davor, (noch danach).*
The committee   grumbled neither before, nor   afterwards
'The committee neither grumbled before nor afterwards.'

(12)   *Unser Besuch gibt   **sowas   von** an.*
Our   visit   boasts so-what of   particle
'Our guest boasts so much …'

Meinunger also shows that a similar pattern of verb movement blocking can be observed in other languages. French has a construction consisting of a negative clitic element which in most cases is morphologically attached to a finite verb in I° and semantically associated with a constituent that starts with the element *que*. Such a construction triggers a focus reading on the relevant phrases – similar to *only* in English. In periphrastic tenses and constructions, when the infinite verb remains behind *que* the construction is grammatical (13). Movement of the full finite verb across *que* triggers ungrammaticality (14). Putting something after *que* makes the sentence grammatical again (15). In case the verb is supposed to be the target of focus in a non-periphrastic construction, a dummy verb (*faire*: *do*-support) has to be inserted (16).

(13)   *Il   n'a   que   bossé.*   (French)
        he   not-has   'que'   hard-worked
        'He didn't do anything but work.'

(14)   **Il   ne   bosse   que.*
        he   not   hard-work   that
        'He doesn't do anything but work.'

(15)   *Il   ne   bosse   que   le   dernier   jour   avant   l'examen /*
        he   not   hard-work   'que'   the   last   day   before   the exam /
        pour   son   frère   …
        for   his   brother
        'He works hard only the day before his exam/only for his brother.'

(16)   *Il   ne   fait   que   bosser.*
        he   not   makes   'que'   hard-work
        'He doesn't do anything but work.'

Similar constructions also occur in English. The situation is different insofar as there is no verb movement of full verbs. However, some quantifying elements that target the verb must precede it, whereas others may also follow the verb.

(17)   *He **somehow** wheezed.*

(18)   *He **sort of** wheezed.*

(19)   *He wheezed **somehow**.*

(20)   **He wheezed **sort of**.*   (under unmarked flat intonation)

Here one can also add examples inspired by Kajita, who discovered the peculiarities of such constructions as early as 1977. Kajita, however, was not concerned with the contrast in the examples in (21) to (24).

(21)   ?*This amount **far from** suffices.*

(22)   *This amount suffices **far from**.*

(23)   *The number of visitors to London **close to** tripled.*

(24)   *The number of visitors to London tripled **close to**.*

2.2.   A possible explanation

A look at the elements that block verb movement suggests two possible directions for an explanation: one is rather semantic, the other one lexical/phonological. In the end, neither one will be completely satisfying in isolation, and a mixed approach will turn out to be correct. It will be argued, however, that the latter one is much more important.

Let us start with the first option. All the relevant expressions in the examples (1) to (9), or even up to (24) somehow indeed operate on the verb, i.e., they focus, measure or compare it. The explanation might thus be something along Haider's lines: the operator must c-command the operandum at s-structure. To put it differently, the quantifying element seems to have to c-command and therefore linearly precede the verb. A similar idea has been proposed in the *fast*-generalization for German advocated by Rapp and von Stechow (1999). *fast* roughly means *almost* and as such it is close in meaning to other expressions blocking V2, e.g. *soviel wie, so gut wie* (see above). Rapp and von Stechow give the judgments in (26) and (27), and claim (25). Thus, they argue that *fast* cannot stand alone at the right edge of a clause.

(25)   *fast*-generalization:
        '*fast*' cannot attach to a phrase with a phonetically empty head.

(26)   *Gestern   hätte   sie   mich   fast   getroffen.*
        yesterday   had   she   me   almost   met.
        'Yesterday she almost met me.'

(27)   *Gestern traf sie mich fast.*

fast is also an element which operates on the verbal meaning. However, a rule like (25) would be too strong. There are many other constructions in which the operator element need not c-command the verb. That means although the verbal action is quantified over, the full verb may raise over its operator and leave the latter behind. Also *fast* – contrary to what Rapp and von Stechow claim – can certainly be stranded by the verb (even (27) is grammatical for most speakers).

(28)   *Genug!   Der   Reifen   platzt   fast.*
        enough!   the   tire   bursts   almost
        'Enough! The tire is likely to burst soon.'

(29) *Sie erkannte   mich fast.*
      she recognized   me   **fast** (=almost)
      'She almost recognized me.'

The same is true for operator words like *nicht, nur, wieder, kaum, mehrmals* and so on. Each of them can be used to quantify over the verbal action, and yet they are completely compatible with a finite verb to their left. Moreover, all of these expressions can be located right-peripherally, i.e., they do not require a continuation. Almost all of these elements are semantically very similar, or even synonymous to some of the blocking elements. For example, strandable *nur* is synonymous to *nichts als* ('only') – *so gut wie* means the same as *fast* ('almost'), the latter ones never allow for stranding (see above):

(30) *Der Wert verdoppelte sich fast_.   / wieder_. / kaum_. /*
      the   value doubled   self almost / again   / hardly /
      nicht_. / nur_.
      not   / only
      'The value almost / again / hardly / only doubled.' 'The value has not doubled.'

Given this, the facts seem to call for another option, possibly one with a phonological background.

2.3.   The internal structure of the blockers

It appears that all the blocking elements – even across languages and irrespective of the verb's final landing site (no or very little verb movement in English, I° in French and C° in German) – end in or even consist only of an element that CAN be analyzed as either a C° element, or as some sort of functional preposition (P°, K° - see below).

I would like to take a look all elements mentioned so far that are able to block verb movement. First there is *wie* from *so gut wie* and *soviel wie*. Apart from its status as an interrogative or relative manner pronoun, *wie* can act as a C° (Zimmermann 1991; also Hahnemann 1999, see below). It does so with a special semantics in subordinate clauses selected by verbs of perception as in (31). In contrast to the canonical complementizer *dass* ('that'), the use of *wie* implies that the matrix subject was a witness of the hair cutting process, a reading which is not obligatorily triggered by the use of *dass*, hence the English translation with the *accusative-ing* construction.

(31)   *Ich habe gesehen, wie   du   ihm die Haare geschnitten*
     I   have seen,   'wie' you him the hair   cut
     hast.
     have
     'I saw you cutting his hair.'

Wie also appears in comparative constructions of equality. Its corresponding element of inequality in Standard German (not necessarily in substandard dialects) is *als*. *Als* is another element able to block verb movement, see above. I suggest that it is possible to analyze many of its uses as instances of C° as well (also proposed in Hahnemann 1999). Of course there are problems with such an analysis:

(32)   *Er tut   so, als wüsste$_i$ er alles   e$_i$.*
     he does so, as   knew   he everything
     vs.
     *Er tut so, als _ er alles wüsste.
     'He pretends to know everything.'

(33)   *Er tut   so, als ob er alles   wüsste.*
     He does so, as if he everything knew

(34)   *Er tut   so, als wenn er alles   wüsste.*
     He does so, as   when he everything knew
     Both: 'He pretends to know everything.'

(32) shows that *als* cannot block V2 in subordinate sentences, which makes it unlikely that *als* acts as a regular C°-element. Furthermore, (33) and (34) show that *als* can only possibly be a C° if CP-recursion is assumed. Then *als* would occupy the higher C-head, *ob* and *wenn* would occupy the lower one – respectively. If one does not accept CP-recursion, then it is *als* which must be assumed to be something other than a C°-element because *ob* and *wenn* are canonical complementizers. (A reviewer suggests as the simplest analysis that *als* just embeds conditional clauses in all possible forms, i.e., V-first, or introduced by *wenn* or *ob*. However, this reasonable assumption does not yet fully clarify the categorical status of *als*). In one construction, however, *als* seems to act as a relative complementizer to the modal adjunct *insofern* (or *insoweit* 'insofar'). Here most speakers can use it in complementary distribution with *dass*.

(35)   *Das ist insofern günstig,   als   ich dann noch in Berlin*
     This is insofar   opportune 'als' I   then still in Berlin
     sein werde.
     be   will

(36)   ?*Das ist insofern günstig,   dass   ich dann noch in Berlin*
         This is   insofar   opportune 'dass' I   then still in Berlin
         sein werde.
         be   will
         Both: 'This is opportune insofar as at that time I will still be in Berlin.'

In southern varieties, however, doubling (*als + dass*) emerges again and (37) seems to be structurally close to (33) and (34).

(37)   *Das ist insofern günstig,   als   dass   ich dann noch in*
         This is   insofar   opportune 'als dass' I   then still in
         München sein werde.
         Munich   be   will
         'This is opportune insofar as at that time I will still be in Munich.'

A similar point can be made with respect to *außer*[3] ('except', 'apart from'), which is the next element making verb movement crash. *außer* behaves almost exactly as *als*, only that instead of *ob* it combines only with *wenn* (as in (40)) or *falls* (41), which both translate into English as *if*, or marginally again with *dass*):

(38)   *Er tut   es, außer du   tötest den Hund.*
         he does it   except you kill   the dog

vs.

(39)   **Er tut es, außer du   den Hund tötest*
         he does it   except you the dog   kill

(40)   *Er tut es, außer wenn du   den Hund tötest*
         he does it   except 'if' you the dog   kill

(41)   *Er tut es, außer falls du   den Hund tötest*
         he does it   except 'if'   you the dog   kill

---

3. Note that there is a crucial difference. *Außer* cannot trigger V2, itself "representing" the *Vorfeld* ('prefield'), whereas *als* seems to be able to, (cf. 32). However, see Pittner's analysis where *als* is a coordinating conjunction (Pittner 1999: 259).

   (i)   **Er tut es , außer tötest du den Hund.*

   It should also be noted here that *außer* is a complicated case in several other respects. It seems that it is more than an ordinary preposition. For example, it can introduce quasi-paratactic constructions (gapping) or substitute clausal constructions. Apart from that *außer* is phonologically not as poor as the proposal put forward here might expect it to be.

(42)   ?*Er   tut   es,   außer   dass   du   den   Hund   tötest.*
      he   does   it   except   'that'   you   the   dog   kill
      All: 'He'll do it, unless you kill the dog.'

The solution to this "problem" is not far fetched: all these constructions call for an analysis in terms of either CP-recursion or the assumption of a split CP layer: *als* can then be considered a head element in a split left periphery (Rizzi 1997).[4] At any rate, the claim made here is – contrary to Haider – that it is the *als*, and not the *mehr* that triggers the failure of verb movement in (2).

   The latter three elements, i.e., *wie, als* and *außer* are also considered to be P°s and are listed as such in the largest dictionary on German prepositions (Schröder 1990). Interestingly, Schröder characterizes them as *Präpositionen ohne Kausforderung*, i.e., prepositions without case requirement. What he means is that, unlike regular prepositions, these elements do not assign a specific case and they can thus appear adjacent to noun phrases with any case. In such a function they are definitely not case markers (K°s) themselves; however, the observed behavior underlines their deficient and ambiguous character.

   denn – the next element to be considered – is just a synonym of *als* in comparative constructions. It means the same, just sounding a bit old-fashioned. In other contexts *denn* behaves as another sort of C°, but it obligatorily embeds a V2 structure. In yet other constructions it seems to be an ellipsis of ~~es sei~~ *denn* ('unless'), in which case it is synonymous with *außer*:[5]

(43)   *Er   tut   nichts   (es sei)   denn   faulenzen.*
      he   does   nothing   (it   be)   'denn'   laze-around

(44)   *Er   tut   nichts   außer   faulenzen.*
      he   does   nothing   except   laze-around
      Both: 'He doesn't do anything but laze around.'

---

  4. As for CP-recursion, what I mean is a multiply-headed CP-layer. The data here are not relevant for the licensing of embedded V2 or similar cases discussed in the literature on Germanic/Scandinavian, e.g. Iatridou and Kroch (1992).

  5. In other positions different from the middle-field, *es sei* cannot be left out. The parallelism with *außer* remains, however:

  (i)   *Er   tut   es,   es   sei   denn   du   tötest   den   Hamster   _.*
       he   does   it,   it   be   then   you   kill   the   hamster
       'He's gonna do it unless you kill the hamster.' (all three)
       vs.
       *Er tut es, es sei denn du den Hamster tötest.

  (ii)   *Er   tut   es,   es   sei   denn   falls   du   den   Hamster   tötest.*
       he   does   it,   it   be   then   if   you   the   hamster   kill

  (iii) *Er tut es, es sei denn wenn du den Hamster tötest.*

One of the last blockers in German is *von*, which cannot be analyzed as a C°. *Von*, like English *of*, is a semantically empty preposition, thus a P°, or K°.[6] So are *to* and arguably *from*. French *que* is unproblematic. It is the complementizer par excellence. Another regular French complementizer is *si* ('if', 'whether'). Here the data are less clear: the facts seem to be similar, however.[7] There is definitely a contrast.

(45) ?*Il   n'a   pas   si   bossé   que   ça.*
       He   neg-has not   'si' hard-worked that this
       Something like 'He didn't work THAT hard …'

(46) **Il   ne   bosse   pas   si   que   ça.*
       He   neg hard-work not   'si' that this

(47) ?*Il   n'a   pas   si   bossé   qu'il   soit*
       He   neg-has not   'si' hard-worked 'que' he is-subjunctive
       fatigué.
       tired
       'He didn't work so hard that he should be tired.'

(48) **Il   ne   bossait   pas   si   qu'il   soit   fatigué.*
       He   neg hard-work not   'si' 'que' he is-subjunctive tired

Weder is a more complicated case. Its categorization as a C°-element is not evident. However, it does not seem impossible to analyze it as such. In any case, it shares some striking similarities with its French counterpart *ni*. *ni* is another element which – similar to *que* – associates with clitic negation. Periphrastic tense constructions are acceptable (49). Ordinary verb movement in simple tenses is impossible (50). Auxiliaryless constructions must resort to other strategies. Either like in German, where *weder* must be placed into Spec,CP or some related left-peripheral position to precede the verb, *ni* can be fronted and replace the negation clitic *ne* and hence precede the finite full verb (51), (52), or again pleonastic *faire* (*do*-support) can save the construction (53). So it seems that *ni* (like *weder*) is very flexible in position and categorial status; what matters is its location in front of something.

---

6. K here means the head of a Case Phrase (KP), a noun phrase accompanied by a case marker (=K°). English examples would be elements like *of, to,* etc.

7. The structure here is more complicated because there has to be a constituent beginning with *que*, i.e., *si* must be associated with an additional, separate CP. The relevant *que*-phrase (an NP or DP in (45) or a CP in (47)), however, opens a new phonological constituent and should therefore be considered as not being there, i.e., not counting, leaving the element *si* stranded at some abstract phonological level.

(49)   *Il   n'a   ni   travaillé,   ni   dormi.*
He   neg-has   nor   worked,   nor   slept
'He has neither worked nor slept.'

(50)   **Il ne travaille ni, (il ne) dort ni.*

(51)   *Ni il travaille, ni il dort.*

or

(52)   *Il ne travaille pas, ni ne dort.*

(53)   *Il   ne   fait   ni   travailler,   ni   dormir.*   (*do*-support)
he   neg   does   nor   work,   nor   sleep
All: 'He neither works, nor sleeps.'

Now it is important to note that none of the other quantifying elements that do NOT trigger ungrammaticality, in case they stand right-peripherally (e.g., *nicht, nur, fast* and so on, see (30) above), can be analyzed as either a complementizer or an empty preposition. It thus seems that the impossibility of verb raising in the constructions considered here is due to the nature of the (last) elements that occur between the relevant verbs, immediately before the right sentence bracket. I have argued that the blocking elements are canonical occupants of either C° or P° (K°). A proposal that suggests itself is the following: According to Grimshaw's theory of extended projections (1991), these elements, i.e., C°s and P°s have something in common. They both close off the projection, i.e., they are the highest functional elements: C° of sentences, P° (K°) of noun phrases. Having this status implies being a functional category, i.e., the relevant elements act as function(al) words in their canonical use. Many authors have argued that function words are special and distinct from lexical words in that they are not phonological words whereas lexical words are. According to Hall (1999) such a view is widely accepted by phonologists. Hall (1999: 102) quoting Prince und Smolensky (1993):

(54)   'Lexical words are phonological words, function words are not phono-logical words.'

Not being a phonological word means that the relevant chunk of phonological material has to undergo phonological processes in order to survive at PF. Such processes can be attachment to a phonological word (cliticization) or stress-ing/focusing, for example.

Here is the place for the insertion of a short caveat. I am aware that some of the crucial items (*wie, von* etc.) can appear in isolation as independent ele-ments (minimal words). *Wie* is also a regular interrogative and relative pronoun (55) that can occupy Spec,CP on its own. *Von* can be stranded as a preposition

in many northern German dialects and hence end up in the right peripheral position of a sentence (56).

(55)   *Wie   hast   du   das   Problem   gelöst?*
       How   have   you   the   problem   solved
       'How did you solve the problem?'

(56)   *Da   weiß   ich   nichts   von   _.*
       There   know   I   nothing   of
       'I don't know anything about this.'

However, such a distribution is not possible in the discussed examples where these elements are parts of larger expressions. This status makes the parts very hybrid in character. In the relevant examples these elements must be integrated twice (see below for the structural representation, see the tree in (77)). A careful and competent phonological analysis still needs to be elaborated. At this point it is only clear that being a part of a larger unit makes it impossible for them to achieve the status of a phonologically (and morphologically) independent expression. These elements are always only a subpart of a larger unit. This fact deprives them of phonological independence and triggers the clitic-like behavior.

Similar things must be said about heavier, bisyllabic words like *außer* and *weder*, which need not appear inside a larger unit, but still need right-peripheral material. For a discussion of the hybrid status, i.e., the fact that under certain circumstances clitics or clitic-like elements may appear in isolation, see Bošković (2001) again.

All facts considered, the decisive factor in the case at hand seems to be a special variant of cliticization. Given the phonological deficiency of C°/P°-categories and the C°/P°-analysis suggested above, the expectation is the following: The relevant functional elements can survive only if they can attach to a host to be a part of a phonological word. The host necessarily finds itself within the same phonological constituent. The most reasonable assumption is to let the beginning of a sentence, i.e., a CP in syntactic terms, coincide with the beginning of a phonological constituent that is or contains a phonological word. This phonological entity will then automatically serve as the host material for the phonologically deficient C°-element. The phenomenon is not different with extended nominal projections, i.e., D° will also have to attach to the right. This explains the proclitic-like behavior of the elements under discussion. Stranding, thus leads to ungrammaticality. Putting phonological material after the clitic-like element saves the structure (even though with semantic consequences). In case quantifying over the verb is intended, only some form of *do*-support (or its language specific-counterpart) can achieve the desired result. The peculiarity of the whole phenomenon is that in contrast to canonical cliti-

cization the clitics discussed here need NOT move in syntax, but they get hold of a host "with less effort". They need not look for an attachment site; they just require something to follow them. If this requirement is not met, the structure is ungrammatical.

2.4.   *Van Riemsdijk's grafting approach – simply a bracketing paradox?*

Another, almost purely syntactic promising way of coping with the data is to apply van Riemsdijk's grafting approach (1998, 2000). Van Riemsdijk is concerned in his work with true or apparent mismatches between syntax proper and other linguistic components (morpho-phonology, pragmatics). His theory seems to work well for a number of grammatical phenomena like transparent free relatives, or those constructions which Lakoff (1984) discussed first and called 'syntactic amalgams'. Transparent free relatives are extensively discussed in Wilder (1998). Wilder points out that in contrast to regular free relatives, transparent free relatives exhibit specific properties which are unusual. Whereas canonical free relatives act as clausal arguments or adjuncts inside their respective matrix clause, it seems that only specific parts of a transparent free relative are syntactically active within sentences where they are embedded. Thus in (57), for example, the plural on *pebbles* triggers plural agreement on the matrix verb. A simple single subject clause (as a canonical free relative would be) can never trigger such an agreement pattern.
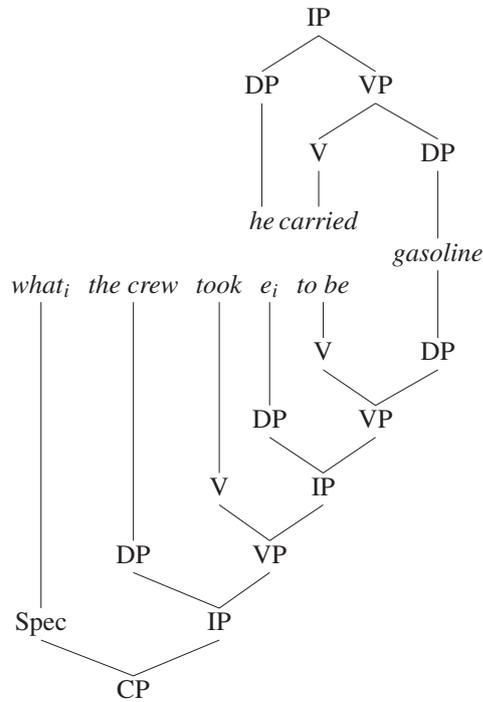
(57)   [*What could be best described as pebbles*] *were strewn across the lawn*.

To explain this fact plus all the other transparent free relative vs. regular free relative differences, Wilder proposes an analysis according to which transparent free relatives are the result of a conjunct(ion) of two independent clauses followed by a phonological process of deletion (58), which is independently assumed to be productive in other constructions and hence a part of the grammar anyway.

(58)   [*What could be best described as* ~~*pebbles*~~] & [*pebbles were strewn across the lawn*]

Van Riemsdijk's solution is radically different. He does not assume a double generation of constituents. Instead he develops a so-called grafting analysis and lets the syntactically active constituent be part of two structural trees simultaneously. This way he also solves all the problems that Wilder described. Look at his analysis of an example in (59).

(59)

```
                              IP
                           DP    VP
                              V      DP
                           he carried
                                    gasoline
   what_i  the crew  took  e_i  to be
                              V      DP
                           DP    VP
                           V    IP
                        DP    VP
                     Spec    IP
                           CP
```

Such a tree captures the intuition that the constituent *gasoline* is interpreted twice: (i) as the object of *carried* and (ii) as the predicate noun (i.e., the argument of *be*) inside the free relative. Van Riemsdijk proposes the same grafting structure for cases like *a far from simple matter* (60), first brought up in Kajita (1977, see above). Van Riemsdijk's analysis:

(60)

```
                        DP
                      /    \
                    D°      N′
                    |      /   \
                    a    AP     N°
                         |      |
                         A
                         |
                      simple   matter
                      /    \
                   from     A
                            |
                   far   P  AP
                    |    \   /
                    A     PP
                     \    /
                       AP
```
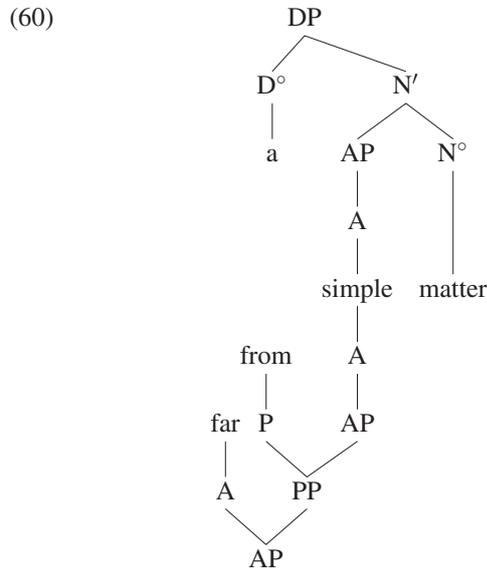
There seems to me to be an important difference between the two constructions, however. In (59) both trees can be generated independently and can potentially appear in different environments. The deepest constituent *gasoline* is a good argument of both verbs involved. This is not the case with the adjective *simple*. From a compositional, i.e., semantically driven point of view, the bottom tree in (60) does not make much sense. From the labeling it does not follow that *simple* is the head of the construction. Instead it triggers a reading where *simple* is the complement of the preposition *from*, which is rather doubtful.[8] On the contrary, the fact that almost any category can appear after P in such a construction makes it unlikely that P acts here as a regular preposition, all the more given that an otherwise canonical DP complement seems to be the most marked option (67), (68).

(61)	*She is far from out of the woods.*	PP
(62)	*It far from exhausts the relevant considerations.*	VP
(63)	*The number of visitors close to tripled.*	(or even V°?)
(64)	*She is far from being an ideal partner / a beauty.*	IP or possibly VP or CP

---

8. The given argumentation still holds if *far* is to be interpreted as the grafted construction's head with *from* only having the status of an empty P° introducing the argument of the higher adjective.

(65)   *This is far from what I expected.*   CP

(66)   *She solved the problem far from elegantly.*   AdvP

(67)   ??/*She is far from a beauty.*   DP

(68)   ??/*She is far from an ideal partner.*   DP

(69)   better: *She is a far from ideal partner.*   AP like:

(70)   *a far from simple matter*   AP

This suggests that there is no selectional restriction along the path in van Riemsdijk's bottom tree. Instead it seems that the relevant *far from* is to be analyzed as a quantificational adjunct, semantically and syntactically parallel to *hardly*. This was already done by Kajita (1977: 50), who proposes a reanalysis. Such a reanalysis approach is very much in the spirit advocated here and would be supported by a comparable construction in German. Van Riemsdijk's other prime example of this sort, aside from *far from,* is *close to* as in (63) and (71).

(71)   *This argument is close to convincing.*

Here van Riemsdijk's double-treeing within his grafting system is supposed to capture the fact that "at first sight, *close* is the predicative adjective while *to convincing* is a PP dependent on *close*. The actual meaning, however, is that *close to* is a hedge modifying the adjective *convincing*, yielding a meaning roughly like 'almost fully convincing'." (van Riemsdijk 2000: 2). This interpretative fact, in turn, was reason enough for Kajita to argue for a reanalysis approach regarding *close to* as a unit. Such a view would be supported by a comparable construction in German. One possible quasi-literal translation of *close to* is *nahe zu*. Here we get a locative meaning expressed in an adjectival or adverbial phrase where *nahe* selects for a PP headed by *zu*.

(72)   *Von   da   aus ist es nahe zu den Traumständen.*
         of   there out is it close to the dream-beaches
         'From there it is close to the wonderful beaches.'

Such a reading would correspond to the bottom tree in (60). However, *nahe-zu* can also have a non-local interpretation, exactly as *close to,* meaning *almost*. In that case *nahezu* is reanalyzed as a unit, and German orthography reflects this difference by writing both together as a single word: *nahezu*.

(73)   *Dieses Argument ist nahezu   überzeugend.*
         This   argument is close-to convincing
         (meaning as (71))

Note also that van Riemsdijk discusses transparent free relatives like (74) and (75).

(74)   (?)*John is what I'd call snoring.*   (British English)

(75)   **John what I'd call snores.*

Here van Riemsdijk argues convincingly for string identity as a decisive criterion for grafting, categorial affiliation being of minor importance. (74) is more or less good because *snoring* can have (i) a verbal and (ii) a nominal reading (as predicative NP, see van Riemsdijk 1998 and Wilder 1998). (75) is ill-formed because *snores* is unambiguously verbal and as such not licit in a (sub-) structure '**I'd call (that) snores.'* So far van Riemsdijk's argumentation is reasonable and seems to speak in favor of his grafting approach to transparent free relatives. But it reveals itself as problematic for the cases discussed here, for verbal forms CAN appear adjacent to elements like *close to, far from* etc., see Kajita's example below (62) and those given above.
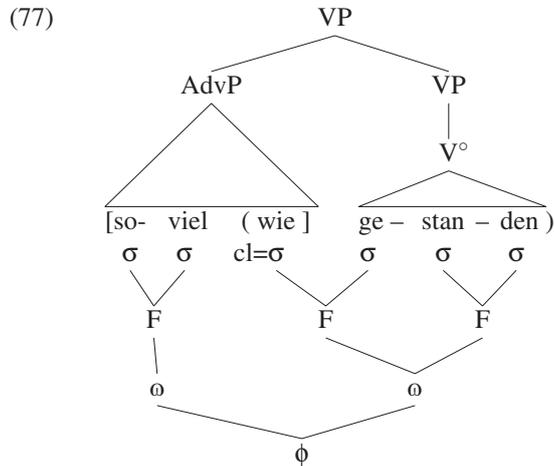
(62)   *It far from exhausts the relevant considerations.*

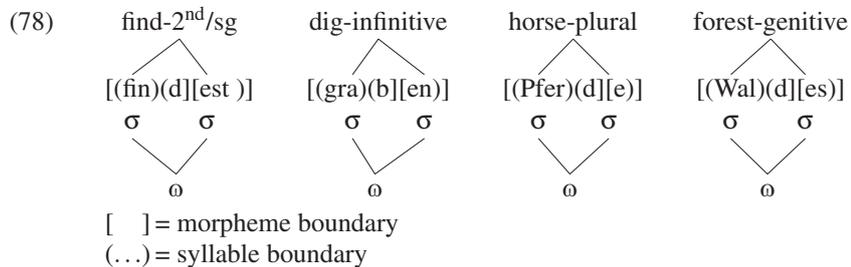(76)   it   exhausts   the relevant . . .
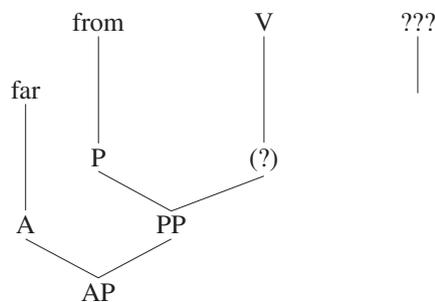
The same applies to all the German examples given at the beginning of the article, which are the main subject of this investigation. It seems odd to argue for a tree like (76), where a finite verb(al element) is the ultimate argument of a preposition. Such an approach is even less convincing under an analysis where the German finite verb in subordinate clauses is argued to occupy a head final I° node.

Instead the proposal advocated here is different, although in some sense similar. The idea is that there are indeed two distinct trees, but one is syntactic, the other one is phonological – a situation which is naturally given.

(77)

```
                          VP
                 ┌─────────┴──────────┐
               AdvP                   VP
              ╱  │  ╲                  │
             ╱   │   ╲                V°
            ╱    │    ╲              ╱  │  ╲
    [so-  viel  ( wie ]       ge –  stan – den )
     σ     σ    cl=σ           σ     σ      σ
       ╲   │   ╱    ╲         ╱       ╲    ╱
          F          F                 F
          │          └────┐     ┌──────┘
          ω               ω
           ╲             ╱
                 ϕ
```

[   ] = lexical, semantic word boundary
(…) = phonological (word) boundary
cl   = clitic
σ   = syllable
F   = foot
ω   = phonological word
ϕ   = phonological phrase

Nothing is strange or unusual with the analysis in (77). The upper part is classical syntax, the lower tree is classical phonology. Often there is a correspondence between syntactic and phonological trees, but it is well known that in some cases things pattern differently and the parallelism breaks down (cf. Truckenbrodt 1995 for German). It seems to me that in certain cases a morphosyntactic: phonological mismatch is even systematic and motivated. Very often in inflectional morphology (often considered to be a part of generative syntax), morpheme and syllable boundaries diverge systematically (e.g., in the case of suffixation).

(78)   find-2nd/sg   dig-infinitive   horse-plural   forest-genitive

find-2nd/sg   dig-infinitive   horse-plural   forest-genitive

```
  [(fin)(d][est )]    [(gra)(b][en)]    [(Pfer)(d][e)]    [(Wal)(d][es)]
     σ      σ            σ      σ           σ     σ           σ     σ
       ╲   ╱               ╲   ╱              ╲   ╱             ╲   ╱
        ω                   ω                  ω                 ω
```

[   ] = morpheme boundary
(…) = syllable boundary

The functional explanation is that these mismatches create larger units; they concatenate pieces like a zipper, with some sort of interlocking principle. Sometimes this dovetail device is the regular pattern; sometimes it comes as some sort of parasitic construction.

2.5.   *Intermediate summary*

As it stands, the picture that has emerged gives the impression that phonology can interfere with syntax and hence block syntactic movement. It seems that in the relevant constructions (see (1)–(20) above), verb movement is blocked because it creates a structure that violates phonological wellformedness constraints. The parser of phonological constituents cannot assign a legitimate structure to the syntactic object when a proclitic-like element ends up in a right peripheral position. As soon as some phonological material follows that element, the phonological parser finds a host and the structure is saved.

3.   **On certain adverbials in the German *Vorfeld* and *Vor-vor-feld***

3.1.   *Overview over V3 constructions*

This part of the article is concerned with constructions where the V2 rule faces difficulties, the root of which will be argued to lie in parsing strategies (as for the notion of "parsing", see later and Footnote 8[9]). It will be shown in how far the "pre-prefield" (*Vor-Vorfeld*) position, which gives rise to a verb third (V3) construction, is or must be used to save grammaticality. As it will turn out, also in the case at hand, it is a so-called interface factor that interacts with core-syntax and seems to be able to restrict movement operations that are not only generally available, but even canonically required in German(ic) syntax. This time the interface is not the PF-branch, but the syntactic out-put delivered by the computational system to the C-I-system – the interface with the semantic, logic, interpretational, and pragmatic side – thus the LF-branch (also cf. Meinunger 2004a and 2004b).

---

9. The term "parsing" here does not make reference to any particular articulated parsing theory. Rather it is used in a sense inspired by the seminal work by Fodor and his colleagues and fellows (i.e., Fodor et al. 1974; Fodor 1978; Frazier 1979). The intuition behind the use of the notion is to allude to phenomena like garden path effects and related topics investigated within a/the "derivational theory of complexity". It seems to me that the observation discussed in this article is comparable to this sort of problem(s), where no sharp line can be drawn between true structural ungrammaticality on the one hand and parsing effects resulting from complexity and contextual expectations on the other.

Since Rizzi's proposal about the fine structure of the left periphery in the late 1990's (Rizzi 1997), the former CP-layer has gained an enormous amount of interest. For linguists working on German, the CP-split was especially challenging insofar as under normal circumstances the German main clause tolerates only one single constituent in the so-called *Vorfeld* ('prefield') position. There are a few constructions, however, where more than just one XP seems to open a matrix clause. Some of the suspicious constructions are quoted in (79) and (80) from Müller (2003) via Reis (2003). There are also the longer known constructions, as in (81), which under a certain perspective could be argued to contain a fronted VP remnant.[10]

(79)   *Morelli in seiner Not   wandte   sich   …*
       Morelli in his   worries addressed himself
       'In all this trouble Morelli addressed himself …'

(80)   *Effenberg indessen   beschuldigte …*
       Effenberg in-the-meantime accused
       'Effenberg on his own, however, accused …'

(81)   *Einer Dame rote Rosen sollte   jeder Gentleman*
       a   lady   red   roses   should every gentleman
       mitbringen.
       with-bring
       'Every true gentleman should give red roses to a lady.'

In these examples both preverbal XPs could in principal occupy the prefield each by itself, i.e., alone. The explanation of such cases is not straightforward. Fanselow (1993, to appear) goes as far as to propose a mixture of pragmatic and phonological constituency as the decisive factor and argues for a single large pragmatic constituent in related constructions.

The next case might be a pseudo-problem for some people, but it should be mentioned for the sake of completeness. Jacobs (1983) and Büring and Hartmann (2001) – but see Reis (2005) for an opposing view – consider constructions like (82) as instances of V3.

(82)   *Nur / auch / sogar mit Eiern ist das Brot belegt.*
       only / also / even with eggs is the bread covered
       'The sandwich is only / also / even / made with eggs.'

---

10. Müller also analyzes the given V3 examples as a result of VP-fronting with a verb gap (using HPSG), which corresponds to VP-remnant topicalization in a Chomskyan framework.

Such an analysis is forced by the assumption that focus-sensitive particles can adjoin to verbal projections only. There are indeed arguments for such an approach (see the quoted references). And since [*mit Eiern*] is a PP, only CP is left as an appropriate adjunction site for expressions like *nur, sogar, auch*. The resulting bracketing gives rise to a structure with two (relatively) independent constituents before the finite verb: the focus adverbial AND the associate XP, hence V3. Under a standard view, however, the focus-sensitive particle adjoins to the focal XP and forms a constituent together with it (see Reis 2005 again).

More famous V3 constructions, however, are left-dislocated constituents (and for some linguists also hanging topics, cf. (83)). Such construction types have been the subject of a hot debate in recent years. Constructions like (84) and (85) are already found in Altmann (1981) and more recently have been discussed intensively in Frey (2005) and Grohmann (2003).

(83)   *Die Gruberova, die kommt doch   noch mit   60 weit*
        the   Gruberova, the comes   particle still   with 60 far
        übers   hohe   C.
        above high   C
        'The Gruberova, she will be able to climb far above the high C even at the age of 60.'

(84)   *Seinen$_i$ Doktorvater, den verehrt   jeder Linguist$_i$.*
        his   doctor-father the admires every linguist
        'His thesis supervisor – every linguist admires him.'

(85)   *Pavarotti, jeder   kennt   den / sein berühmtes hohes C.*
        Pavarotti, everybody knows the / his famous   high   C
        '(As for) Pavarotti, everybody knows him / his famous high C.'

Two characteristics are quoted to argue for the CP-internal status of the left dislocated XPs (illustrated in (84) and (85)). Altmann (1981) makes a recourse to phonology and points out that in these constructions, there is no pause or phonotactic break between the dislocated phrase and the proform (the d-pronoun) immediately before the verb. Frey (2005) considers binding facts as decisive arguments: operator binding is possible in (84), whereas it is impossible with hanging topics:

(86)   **Sein(en)$_i$ Doktorvater, jeder Linguist$_i$ verehrt   ihn.*
        his(acc.) doctor-father, every linguist   admires him.
        'His thesis supervisor – every linguist admires him.'

3.2.   Very recent work to be considered

Two very recent contributions are of high relevance to the problem(s) discussed in the present article: d'Avis (2004) and Pittner (2003).

D'Avis's data consist mainly of so-called "conditionals of irrelevance" (ICs) (*Irrelevanzkonditionale*) of the type illustrated in (87):

(87)   *Ob es regnet oder nicht, wir gehen spazieren.*
        If   it rains   or   not, we   go   walk
        'Whether it rains or not – we will go for a walk.'

D'Avis sketches a possible treatment of ICs, either as some sort of parenthetical expressions or as adjuncts to a CP containing a "potential" illocution (assertion) giving rise to a complex "realized illocution". In the introduction (abstract) to his article, he also mentions speech act adverbial clauses, probably having in mind those constructions which will play the main role in the present article (see below). These adverbial clauses, however, cannot be treated completely on a par with his ICs for – as will be shown – the relevant expression CAN occupy the prefield without any problems, which is a crucial point in d'Avis' analysis.

Starting from the mentioned references, especially Altmann, Frey, and also d'Avis, Pittner (2003) considers another special type of V3 construction and comes up with a proposal that comes close in spirit to what I will suggest for yet different V3 constructions. Pittner's object of investigation is (this time canonical, i.e., regular) free relatives.

(88)   *Wer so laut singen kann, (der)   muss in*
        who so loud sing   can, (the-nom) must in
        Wagneropern   auftreten.
        Wagner operas   appear
        'Who(ever) may sing this loudly, should perform in Wagner operas.'

(89)   *Wer so laut singen kann,* */?? (den)   sollte man für*
        who so loud sing   can,   *   (the-acc) should one   for
        Wagneropern   engagieren.
        Wagner operas   hire
        'People who can sing this loudly, should be hired for Wagner operas.'

(88) vs. (89) illustrates the so-called matching effect: the d-pronoun can be dropped freely if it carries the same case as the w-constituent in the free relative (for the exact and more complicated rules see Pittner 2003; Haider 1988; or Vogel 2003). Pittner presents a corpus study that confirms the observation that the d-pronoun should not be left out if there is a case conflict. In other words: a V3 construction seems to be (almost) obligatory in case the w-pronoun and

the d-pronoun show different morphological case. Thus, left-dislocation seems to be the device to resolve the case conflict. Pittner draws the conclusion that

(90)   "… it is not implausible to assume that left dislocation is (being) used to circumvent case conflicts … In these cases there is no informational function to it (=left dislocation), but a rather purely morpho-syntactic one."[11]

I will argue later that this construction, i.e., V3, might indeed be used to facilitate interpretation. My conclusion, however, is not that V3 in these cases has a purely grammatical function ("morphosyntax"), but that it is used to disambiguate readings and circumvent misinterpretation.

3.3.   *A reading for some adverbials in the left periphery – V3 vs. V2 – long and short speech act adverbials*[12]

The observation can be laid down as follows. Some expressions, which semantically act as speech act adverbials in Cinque's terms (cf. Cinque 1999) or discourse adverbs in Ernst's terminology (Ernst 2002), can occupy a position before the regular prefield (*Vorfeld*).

(91)   *Ehrlich   gesagt,   ich bin von dir total   enttäuscht.*
        honestly   said,   I   am   of   you totally   disappointed.
        'To be honest / Honestly, I am completely disappointed with you.'

(92)   *Ehrlich, ich bin von dir total enttäuscht.*

(93)   *Ganz   offen gestanden, ich bin von   dir   total*
        wholly   open   confessed, I   am   from you   totally
        enttäuscht.
        dissappointed
        'Frankly, I am completely disappointed with you.'

---

11. The quote is my translation of the original German, made on the basis of a (2004) handout: "Wegen dieser deutlich höheren Zahl von 'Kasuskonflikten' … ist es nicht unplausibel anzunehmen, dass die Linksversetzungskonstruktion eingesetzt wird, um Kasuskonflikte bei freien Relativsätzen … zu vermeiden. Sie hat in diesen Fällen keine informationsstrukturelle Funktion, sondern eben eine viel eher rein morphosyntaktische."

12. Although I will not mention it explicitly in the plain text, I will assume that the finite verb occupies the same position in both constructions, i.e., V2 and V3. The latter is a result of adjunction of some specific constituent to a canonical verb second CP. Alternatively, I consider the possibility that there may be a facultative functional layer above, whose head happens to / must be phonologically empty. Nothing hinges on that, however.

(94)   *Ganz offen, ich bin von dir total enttäuscht.*

From these examples it is not obvious that the pre-comma string is indeed an integral part of the sentence and should therefore be integrated into the core tree of the respective clause. However, a few arguments can be given. In a theory of adverbials like Cinque's (1999), these elements are taken to pattern like other adverbials and occupy a specific (base) position in the tree of the sentence – universally a very high position. However, there is also strong evidence from German clause structure itself that these elements can occupy a sentence-internal position. They are fine in both the *Vorfeld* directly preceding the finite verb (95), and also in the upper *Mittelfeld* ('middle field')[13] (96).

(95)   *Ehrlich gesagt bin ich von dir total enttäuscht.*

(96)   *Ich bin ehrlich gesagt von dir total enttäuscht.*

This should be a strong enough piece of evidence for the integration of this sort of adverbial into the sentence (CP) it modifies. Hence, such adverbials should be regarded as really belonging to the clause forming a unit at the sentence level. (97)–(102) give some more frequently used examples.

(97)   *Nebenbei bemerkt,   ich habe mir die Sache ganz*
        nearby   remarked, I   have me the story completely
        anders   vorgestellt.
        differently pictured
        'By the way, I've had a completely different idea about it.'

(98)   *Nebenbei, ich habe mir die Sache ganz anders vorgestellt.*

(99)   *Nebenbei bemerkt   habe ich mir die Sache ganz*
        nearby   remarked have I   me the story completely
        anders   vorgestellt.
        differently pictured

(100)   *Im Vertrauen   gesagt, ich habe die Schnauze voll.*
        in confidence said   I   have the mouth   full.
        'Confidentially, I've got enough!'

(101)   *Im Vertrauen, ich habe die Schnauze voll.*

---

13. To argue for a clause-internal reading one has to make sure that the intonation is different from a parenthetical structure, which is also possible with this word order. (95), however, is also fine without intonational setting off, i.e., (95) can be read / pronounced without pauses integrating *ehrlich gesagt* like any other adverbial forming an intonational phrase with following clause-internal material. Compare this claim to d'Avis' claim(s) and findings and the constructions he investigates (d'Avis 2004).

(102)   *Im Vertrauen   gesagt habe ich die Schnauze voll.*
        in   confidence said   have I   the mouth   full.

(103) lists other very frequent adverbials that pattern exactly alike (some are examples inspired by Pittner 1999). The examples are divided into three groups. Without any exception, all of these adverbials belong to a common class that different linguists call "discourse-oriented adverbials", "speech act adverbials" or "pragmatic adverbials", see above. However, nobody who has worked on this type of 'high' adverbials gives a subclassification – as I have tried to do in (103). Nevertheless, experts like Frey and Pittner or Ernst (all in p.c.) agree that there are at least two subgroups: (i) adverbials that express the speaker's attitude toward the content or the validity of his utterance and (ii) adverbials that merely convey the speaker's consideration with respect to the linguistic form of his utterance. A potential term for them could be "metalinguistic adverbials". Apart from these two, there might be a third subgroup, presumably a mixed type (iii), which is even less easy to grasp. All subtypes pattern together in the relevant respect.

(103)   a.   offen **gestanden**   frankly
                offen **gesagt**   frankly
                (ganz) im Vertrauen **gesagt**   confidentially
                hinter vorgehaltener Hand **gesagt**   ???confidentially
                unter uns **gesagt**   confidentially
                zugegeben   admittedly
                ernst(haft) **gesagt**   seriously speaking
                ohne Scheiß **gesagt**   no kidding
                ohne zu **übertreiben**   without exaggerating
                ohne Übertreibung **gesagt**   without exaggerating
                wenn ich ehrlich **bin / sein soll**   honestly
                mit Verlaub **gesagt / zu sagen**   with all due respect
        b.   überspitzt **formuliert**   with (a bit of) exaggeration
                mit anderen Worten **gesagt**   to put it differently
                gelinde **gesagt**   to put it mildly
                kurz **gesagt**   briefly, in brief, in short
                anders **ausgedrückt / gesagt**   to put it differently, in
                                        other words
                besser **gesagt**   to say it in a better way
                genauer **gesagt**   to be more direct, strictly
                                        speaking
                auf Deutsch **gesagt**   to say it bluntly, 'pardon
                                        my French'
                so **gesagt / ausgedrückt**   said this way

c.	nebenbei **bemerkt / gesagt**	as a marginal remark, by the way
	am Rande **bemerkt**	as a marginal remark, by the way
	ohne Umschweife **gesagt**	to say it straight to the point

All these expressions come in a certain pattern: there is something – usually some adverbial-like phrase – and then a verbal form – usually a participle of a verbum dicendi, i.e., of a verb of communication, a verb of saying – always **boldfaced** in the examples. However, as illustrated in (92), (94), (98) and (101), it is also possible to drop the performative verb. Thus, one can obtain the same effect if one leaves out the verbal part (short form[14]). Semantically the sentences either with the verbal element or with just the short form are identical. There is, however, no free choice between the forms. The crucial observation is laid down in what follows. (91)–(94) are V3 structures, in classical terms: the adverbials seem to be CP-adjoined. If the short form is placed within the regular pre-field giving rise to V2, the sentences are bad (104)–(106); whereas the long form is a good occupant of the *Vorfeld*, see (95), (99), (102).

(104)   *Ehrlich bin ich total enttäuscht von dir.*

(105)   *Nebenbei habe ich mir die Sache anders vorgestellt.*

(106)   *Im Vertrauen hab ich die Schnauze voll.*

The question is: why is V2 blocked in these cases? It cannot be that the XPs in Spec,CP were not legitimate occupants of the Vorfeld. Under other conditions, strings like *im Vertrauen* or *ehrlich* are fine in sentence-initial position.

(107)   *Im Vertrauen liegt die Stärke   der Gläubigen.*
        in trust   lies the strength the believers
        'It's in trusting where the believers' strength is to be found.'

(108)   *Ehrlich   kann man sich   in solchen Situationen gar*
        honestly can one oneself in such   situations   particle
        nicht   verhalten.
        not   behave
        'It's just impossible that one behaves HONESTLY under those circumstances.'

---

14. Often the short form sounds better if the adverbial element *ganz* ('completely', 'wholly') precedes it. This is, however, just an improvement; it is not obligatory.

The following data seem to suggest an explanation for the observed pattern. In some V2 cases, dropping of the verbal part does not necessarily lead to un-grammaticality as in the above examples (104)–(106). Consider the following data in (109) to (114). The reading, however, is such that the speech act oriented interpretation is impossible.

(109)   *Am   Rande   bemerkt,   steht   da   auch   eine*
        at-the margin   remarked,   stays   there also   a
        Telefonzelle   (für   den   Fall   …)
        telephone-both   (for   the   case   …)
        'By the way, there's a phone booth, … just in case …'

(110)   *Am Rande steht da auch eine Telefonzelle.*
        'On the edge of it, there's also a phone booth.' (local reading)
        /##'By the way …' (speech act reading)

(111)   *Nebenbei   bemerkt,   ist   so   ein   Job   gar   nicht   zu*
        next-to-it   remarked,   is   such a   job   particle not   to
        schaffen.
        do
        'By the way, such a job is undoable.'

(112)   *Nebenbei ist so ein Job gar nicht zu schaffen.*
        'In addition to what you are already doing, such a job could be too much.' (= manner reading)
        /##'By the way …' (speech act reading)

(113)   *Offen   gestanden,   war   der   Tresor   ein   Kinderspiel   für   den*
        open   confessed,   was   the   safe   a   child's-play   for   the
        Dieb.
        thief
        'Frankly (speaking), the safe was a child's play for the thief.'

(114)   *Offen war der Tresor ein Kinderspiel für den Dieb.*
        'Being open, the safe was a child's play for the thief.' (secondary predication on the direct object, i.e., modifying 'der Tresor')
        /##'Frankly, …' (speech act reading)

Thus, if the adverbial form is not unambiguously specified for a speech act reading, this reading will not emerge and hence the construction is bad. If a reasonable manner reading (or something similar) is possible, the sentence is grammatical, but only with that very reading. The speech act reading or the "commenting the utterance" reading is excluded.

3.4.   On inherent speech act adverbials

A second related observation is given: German has "bare" adverbials that are inherently speech-act oriented, i.e., they can never have a reading under which they could possibly modify or affect the interpretation of the proposition in any way. These obligatorily speech act referring elements are: *übrigens, erstens, zweitens* ('by the way', 'first(ly)', 'second(ly)' – respectively –) and so on[15] and marginally *im Übrigen* (also: 'by the way') and *ungelogen* (literally: 'un-lied', meaning 'truly'). Being unable to get a proposition-internal, i.e., low reading, these expressions can appear in the *Vorfeld* without triggering an unwanted interpretation or leading to ungrammaticality (115). Unsurprisingly, these adverbials are also fine in the pre-prefield (V3) (116) or in the upper middle field (117). The meaning is always the same. The adverbials are bad, however, if they are put in a position close to the right sentence bracket (118).

(115)   *Übrigens   habe ich vorige Woche in München gearbeitet.*
          by the way have I   last   week   in Munich   worked
          'By the way, I worked in Munich last week.'

(116)   *Übrigens, ich habe vorige Woche in München gearbeitet.*

(117)   *Ich habe übrigens vorige Woche in München gearbeitet.*

(118) ??/**Ich habe vorige Woche in München übrigens gearbeitet.*

3.5.   On certain adverbials in the upper middle field

There is a third observation; however, more research is required concerning the following findings. Frey and Pittner (1998) mention in a footnote that scrambling of some (short, adjective-like) manner adverbials is bad (119) vs. (120).[16]

(119)   *Sie hat jedes Hemd sorgfältig gebügelt.*
          she has every shirt carefully   ironed
          'She ironed every shirt carefully.'

(120) ??/**Sie hat sorgfältig jedes Hemd gebügelt.*

---

15. But interestingly not: *letztens* ('finally, as the last'), which has a non speech act reading, meaning 'recently', 'some time ago'. This lexical feature seems to block the use of *letztens* as speech act adverbial.

16. I do not consider the sentence in (120) to be as bad as Frey and Pittner do. They assign a star for complete ungrammaticality. I think this is too strong and hence assign a double question mark.

Whatever the reason for this behavior is, the topmost position in the upper middle field seems to be forbidden for adverbials with a manner interpretation. Nevertheless one can find manner adverbials there. The interesting thing is that in such cases we observe the opposite to what happens in the *Vorfeld*. The relevant sentences *are* grammatical, but the reading of the adverbials must be speech act oriented. In this position, a manner reading is impossible.[17]

(121) *Ich bin (ganz) ehrlich von dir total   enttäuscht.*
       I   am (wholly) honest of you totally disappointed
       'Honestly, I am totally disappointed with you.'

(122) *Ich bin (ganz) nebenbei erst seit   gestern   von dieser*
       I   am (wholly) next-to-it only since yesterday of   this
       Sache überzeugt.
       thing   convinced
       'By the way, I've only been convinced of this since yesterday.'

(123) *Ich habe (ganz)   im   Vertrauen erst gestern   von*
       I   have (wholly) in-the confidence only yesterday of
       dieser Sache erfahren.
       this   thing   learned
       'Confidentially, I only learned about this yesterday.'

Thus, a sentence corresponding in word order to (120) is not necessarily ungrammatical, consider (124) and (125).

(124) *Sie hat (ganz)   ehrlich alle Fragen   beantwortet.*
       she has (wholly) honest all   questions answered
       'Honestly, she answered all questions.'

(125) *Sie hat (ganz)   ernsthaft alle Aufgaben gemacht.*
       she has (wholly) seriously all   tasks   done
       'Really/Seriously, she did all tasks.'

However, *(ganz) ehrlich* in (124) cannot get a reading where the answering is done in an honest way, i.e., without cheating; but – as the translation suggests – the only interpretation possible is that the speaker of (124) wants to convey explicitly that the statement is taken to be true. The same for (125): *ernsthaft* cannot mean that she worked on every task with seriousness.

---

17. This finding should be considered crucial for the discussion of whether V2 is a blind role that puts the finite verb between the first constituent and the rest, or whether there is a decisive semantic and categorial difference between the *Vorfeld* and the highest position in the middle field.

The picture that emerges can be summarized in the table shown in (126).

(126)

	Vor-vor-Feld (V3)	Canonical *Vorfeld* (V2)	Upper middle-field position (TopP)
Complex, i.e., unambiguous speech act adverbial	ok	ok	ok
Bare adverbial, i.e., short form	ok	*/other reading	ok
Bare, but inherently speech act related adverbial (e.g., *übrigens*)	ok	ok	ok
Adverbial with a reading that is not speech act related (mostly manner)	*	ok	*

The interpretation of Table (126) suggests very much that the speech act reading must be made explicit. This can be done in two ways: (i) either a long form is used, which by its very meaning must be interpreted as speech related (upper line). In this case the verbal part that the expressions contain spells out the performative character of the utterance. The other option (ii) is to put the adverbial in an unambiguous position. Two constructions are unambiguous: verb third (V3) with the adverbial in the leftmost position; or with the adverbial in a TopP-like position in the upper middle field (first and third column). If the (bare) adverbial is put into the regular first position in a V2 clause, the parser wants to assign a sentence internal reading (mostly manner, but also local etc.). If such a reading is available, the sentence is grammatical, but there is no way to get a speech act reading. If no such reading can be triggered, the interpretative parser crashes. Thus, we have a parsing-related restriction for V2.

This time not from the PF-path, but from the C-I-side.

4.   Conclusion

The conclusion that can be drawn from everything discussed in this article is that verb second remains a challenging phenomenon after all. The Minimalist position, i.e., to just declare it as a phonological process outside syntax, does not do justice to its complexity. The interpretative impact is undeniable as well. For a complete and deep understanding of the phenomenon, all major grammatical aspects in the broader sense seem to interact: not only phonology, but also semantics, pragmatics, parsing, mental language processing and so

forth. Either side – PF and LF – pose restrictions on the syntactic phenomenon of verb second (V2).

Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (ZAS) Berlin

References

Altmann, Hans (1981). *Formen der Herausstellung im Deutschen.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Boeckx, Cédric and Sandra Stjepanovic (2001). Head-ing toward PF. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 345–355.

Bošković, Željko (2001). *On the Nature of the Syntax-Phonology Interface – Cliticization and Related Phenomena*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Büring, Daniel and Katharina Hartmann (2001). The syntax and semantics of focus-sensitive particles in German. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19: 229–281.

Chomsky, Noam (1994). Bare phrase structure. *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 5. [Reprinted (1995) in *Government and Binding Theory and the Minimalist Program*, Gert Webelhuth (ed.), 385–439. Oxford: Blackwell.

— (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

— (2000). Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In *Step by Step: Papers in Minimalist Syntax in Honour of Howard Lasnik*, Martin Roger, David Michaels and Juan Uriagareka (eds.), 89–155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

— (2001). Derivation by phase. In *A Life in Language*, Michael Kenstowicz and Ken Hale (eds.), 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo (1999). *Adverbs and Functional Heads. A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

d'Avis, Franz Josef (2004). In front of the prefield – inside or outside the clause? In *The Syntax and Semantics of the Left Periphery. Interface Exploration*s, Horst Lohnstein and Susanne Trissler (eds.), 139–177. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gryuter.

den Besten, Hans (1977/1983). On the interaction of root transformations and lexical deletive rules. In *On the Formal Syntax of the Westgermania,* Werner Abraham (ed.), 47–131. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ernst, Thomas (2002). *The Syntax of Adjuncts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fanselow, Gisbert (1993). The return of the base generators. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 36: 1–74.

— (2004). Münchausen-style head movement and the analysis of verb second. *Linguistics in Potsdam* 22: 9–49.

— (to appear). Surprising specifiers and cyclic spell-out. In *Proceedings of Generative Linguistics in Poland* 5. Warzawa: GLIP proceedings.

Fodor, Jerry A., Thomas Bever and Merrill Garrett (1974). *The Psychology of Language: An Introduction to Psycholinguistics and Generative Grammar*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fodor, Janet D. (1978). Parsing strategies and constraints on transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 9: 427–473.

Frazier, Lyn (1979). On comprehending sentences: Syntactic parsing strategies. PhD Dissertation, University of Connecticut.

Frey, Werner (2005). Pragmatic properties of certain German and English left peripheral constructions. To appear in: *Linguistics* 43 (1): 89–129.

Frey, Werner and Karin Pittner (1998). Zur Positionierung der Adverbiale im Deutschen Mittelfeld. *Linguistische Berichte* 176: 489–534. Westdeutscher Verlag.

Grimshaw, Jane (1991). Extended projections. Ms., Brandeis University, Brandeis, MA.

Grohmann, Kleanthes (2003). *Prolific Domains: On the Anti-Locality of Movement Dependencies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hahnemann, Suzan (1999). *Vergleiche im Vergleich.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Haider, Hubert (1988). Zur Syntax der deutschen Nominalphrase. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 7: 32–59.

— (1993). *Deutsche Syntax Generativ*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

— (1997). Typological implications of a directionality constraint on projections. In *Studies on Universal Grammar and Typological Variation,* Artemis Alexiadou and Tracy Hall (eds.), 17–33. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hall, Tracy A. (1999). German function words. In *Studies on the Phonological Word*, Tracy A. Hall and Ursula Kleinhenz (eds.), 99–131. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Höhle, Tilmann (1991). Projektionsstufen bei V-Projektionen, ms. University of Tübingen.

Iatridou, Sabine and Anthony Kroch (1992). The licensing of CP-recursion and its relevance to the Germanic verb-second phenomenon. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 50: 1–24.

Jacobs, Joachim (1983). *Fokus und Skalen. Zur Syntax und Semantik der Gradpartikeln im Deutschen* (Linguistische Arbeiten 138). Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Kajita, Masaru (1977). Towards a dynamic model of syntax. *Studies in English Linguistics* 5: 44–66.

Lakoff, George (1984). Syntactic amalgams. *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 10: 312–344.

Koopman Hilda and Anna Szablolcsi (2000). *Verbal Complexes.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Meinunger, André (2001). Restrictions on verb raising. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32: 732–740.

— (2004a). Interface restrictions on verb second. *Linguistics in Potsdam* 22: 51–81.

— (2004b). On certain adverbials in the German 'Vorfeld'and 'Vor-vor-feld'. *Sprache und Pragmatik* 52: 64–78.

Müller, Gereon (2004). Verb-Second as vP-First. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 7: 179–234.

Müller, Stefan (2003). Mehrfache Vorfeldbesetzung. *Deutsche Sprache* 31 (1): 29–62.

Pittner, Karin (1999). *Adverbiale im Deutschen. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Stellung und Interpretation*, (Studien zur deutschen Grammatik 60). Tübingen: Stauffenberg.

— (2003). Kasuskonflikte bei freien Relativsätzen. Eine Korpusstudie. *Deutsche Sprache* 31: 193–208.

Prince, Alan and Paul Smolensky (1993). Optimality theory. Constraint interaction in generative grammar. Ms. Rutgers University and Colorado University. Now available (=2004) from Blackwell Publishing Company, London.

Rapp, Irene and Arnim v. Stechow (1999). *Fast-*hand-out, talk presented at ZAS institute Berlin.

Reis, Marga (2003). Wie fängt der deutsche Satz an? Anmerkungen zur syntaktischen Fehlbarkeit. Talk and handout delivered at Berlin Humboldt-University.

— (2005). On the syntax of so-called focus particles in German – A reply to Büring and Hartmann 2001. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23: 459–483.

van Riemsdijk, Henk (1998). Trees and scions – Science and trees: Fest-Web-Page for Noam Chomsky. http://mitpress.mit.edu/chomskydisc/riemsdyk.html.

— (2000). A far from simple matter: Syntactic reflexes of syntax-pragmatics misalignments. In *Semantics, Pragmatics and Discourse. Perspectives and Connections. A Festschrift for Ferenc Kiefer*, Robert M. Harnish and István Kenesei (eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Rizzi, Luigi (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of Grammar: Handbook in Generative Syntax,* Liliane Haegemann (ed.), 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Schröder, Jochen (1990). *Lexikon deutscher Präpositionen* (second edition) Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie.

Thiersch, Craig (1978). Topics in German syntax. Ph.D. Dissertation, Cambridge, MA: MIT.

Truckenbrodt, Hubert (1995). Phonological phrases: Their relation to syntax, focus, and prominence. PhD Dissertation, Cambridge, MA: MIT.

Vikner, Sten (2005). Immobile complex verbs in Germanic. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 8: 83–115.

Vogel, Ralf (2003). Surface matters. Case conflict in free relative constructions and case theory. In *New Perspectives on Case Theory,* Ellen Brandner and Heike Zinsmeister (eds), 269–299. Stanford: CSLI publications.

Wilder, Chris (1998). Transparent free relatives. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 10: 191–199. Berlin: ZAS.

Zimmermann, Ilse (1991). Die subordinierende Konjunktion *wie*. In *Fragesätze und Fragen,* Marga Reis and Inger Rosengren (eds.), 113–122. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Zwart, Jan Wouter (2001). Syntactic and phonological verb movement. *Syntax* 4 (1): 34–62.