

# Temporal Adverbs in the *Kiezdeutsch* Left Periphery: combining late merge with deaccentuation for V3

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This investigation of verb-third (V3) constructions in *Kiezdeutsch*, consisting of a temporal adverb and a subject left of the finite verb, aims to shed light on the syntax and prosody of the West Germanic left periphery. I show that two pieces of evidence from V3-structures support a hypothesis about a left periphery that has two syntactic properties: i) a TP that is the final projection when a temporal adverb is merged late (no verb raising out of TP), creating the V3-structure, and ii) deaccentuation: the exclusion of pitch accent on the pre-finite verb elements. This analysis requires two terminal finite verb positions in the left periphery. If we include *Kiezdeutsch* in the family of West Germanic languages – for which there is ample independent evidence – we must conclude, as supported also by the presence of other V3-structures elsewhere in this family, as well as by the prosody requirements of these V3-structures, that all members of this family have the same options in the left periphery as *Kiezdeutsch*. The only difference between *Kiezdeutsch* and the others – which also allow V3-structures but always with at least one pitch accent – is the V3-structure with TAs in *Kiezdeutsch* in which two constituents are allowed left of the finite verb, but no pitch accent.

## 1. Introduction

In the last several decades, a variety of German called *Kiezdeutsch* (KD) (or “[Neighbor]Hood German”) has been evolving in multiethnic districts of Berlin, particularly in those where 20 – 40% of the youth population has some form of *Migrationshintergrund* [migrant background].<sup>1</sup> This variety, classified as an *entstehender Dialekt* [dialect in the making] by Wiese (2012), bears close resemblance to other German dialects.<sup>2</sup> Wiese argues that any properties that distinguish KD from *Hochdeutsch* (HD) are found in essentially the same form in other dialects or in colloquial usages of German today as well as in the past, and therefore it is misleading to place KD in a class by itself among the dialects. My own analysis here will support this general assumption. Yet, KD has at least one property, specifically one syntactic structure, that distinguishes it from the other dialects. In the remaining sections I investigate this structure, the option of the “verb-third” (V3) word order in main clauses beginning with a temporal adverb (TA):

- (1) Gestern    isch **war**    Ku'damm  
yesterday    I    was    Ku'damm

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<sup>1</sup> See Wiese (2010) for details.

<sup>2</sup> Evidence that *Kiezdeutsch* is indeed a dialect and not an interlanguage spoken by some Turkish immigrants arriving in Germany as adults is readily available. Whereas this interlanguage has features such as perfect tense clauses lacking an auxiliary, incorrect verbal inflection in the present tense, extraposed direct objects in perfect tense clauses, etc., KD lacks these features. For more on this interlanguage and its features see Sundquist (2005) and studies cited there.

‘Yesterday I was on the Ku’damm’ [a main boulevard in the west of Berlin].

I provide support for the assumption that KD speakers are not introducing a foreign, non-Germanic property into their dialect but are rather exploiting the status of TAs as elements inherent to the Tense Phrase (TP) which require no syntactic feature valuation when fronted, and combining this property with the redefinition of the prosodic requirements at the left periphery, so that two constituents, both lacking pitch accent, equal one constituent with pitch accent. In this way I support the assumption argued in Wiese (2012) and Auer (2003) that KD belongs to the family of WGmc.

My analysis utilizes a proposal for the left periphery of WGmc proposed by Zwart (2005) who argues that WGmc realizes the verb-second (V2) effect in two different configurations, in the Spec-head, subject-verb agreement relation in TP, and in the Spec-head relation in CP (for all other V2-constructions). One of my objectives is to provide independent support for this proposal, which has a long history, dating back to Travis (1984), via Zwart (1993) and (1997). I have supported this proposal elsewhere as well, most extensively in te Velde (2005). To bring my account of V3 in KD in line with the most recent research, I recast Zwart’s (2005) proposal in terms of Chomsky’s (2008) feature inheritance/distribution system which I demonstrate can account for the V3-structures of KD and HD without any additional mechanisms. I also propose the need for an additional projection left of TP, namely TopP with the verb position Top<sup>°</sup>, though nothing in particular hinges on this extension of Chomsky’s feature inheritance system.<sup>3</sup>

KD thus provides us with further evidence for the analysis of the WGmc left periphery with two positions for the finite verb as Travis and Zwart proposed. In addition, it gives us the opportunity via V3-structures to gain a new perspective on the V2-effect, which I will argue can be understood only if the integration of the syntactic with the pragmatic, particularly prosodic, properties can be made more precise. This view of V2, I argue, should be welcome in a syntactic proposal that seeks to explain the performance side of language in terms of the syntax meeting interface requirements. If we define the V2-effect as an epiphenomenon of the syntax satisfying interface requirements – of which here the prosodic requirements are of the greatest consequence – we come closer to meeting the challenge of explaining the grammar of WGmc in minimalist terms.<sup>4</sup>

In the next section we examine the data in greater detail, then in §3 I outline the syntactic framework used for analyzing the data where I also introduce in more detail the syntactic assumptions I make regarding the WGmc left periphery. Then in §4 we consider how the derivation of V3-structures in KD proceeds on the assumptions outlined in §3. Finally, §5 provides a conclusion and areas for further research.

## 2. The Data

It is immediately clear from the data that KD is a variety of WGmc; its syntax reflects almost without exception all of its major parameters. The vast majority of its main clauses have the same structure as their HD equivalents: a finite verb sits in the second position, creating the

<sup>3</sup> With the assumption of TopP I am striking a compromise between those approaches such as Haegeman that have adopted the widely-expanded CP, following Rizzi (1997), and those who, like Fanselow (2004) and Frey (2004) who do not depart from the “traditional” WGmc left periphery with only the projections TP/IP and CP. My assumption of TopP is a logical extension of a central argument in the approach to V2 outlined in §3: it is not fixed to one position.

<sup>4</sup> Another potential benefit of a broader-based approach to V2 is the basis it creates for historical work on syntactic change, for instance the loss of V2 in the transition from Old to Middle English.

familiar V2-structure, with an optional infinitive or other verbal element at the right edge.<sup>5</sup> Like HD and especially its more colloquial varieties, the right edge in KD is not rigid; certain elements may “extrapose” (move to the right of the right edge), but as in HD, this doesn’t occur with verbal arguments (or only with rare exception). Subordinate clauses in KD are structurally identical to those in HD: a complementizer or *wh*-element introduces the clause, which ends with a finite verb. Let’s turn first of all to some typical V2-structures from KD main clauses.

### 2.1 V2 in KD

The data in (2) indicate that the same variety of elements as in HD may precede the finite verb in KD main clauses (finite verb in bold; HD equivalents in 2’):

- (2) a. Isch **bin** eigentlich mit meiner Figur zufrieden  
 I am actually with my figure satisfied  
 ‘I’m actually satisfied with my figure’.
- b. Heute **muss** ich wieder Solarium gehen  
 Today must I again solarium go  
 ‘Today I have to go to the solarium [tanning booth] again’.
- c. wenn du single bist, **ist** witziger  
 when you single are is more-fun  
 ‘When you’re single, it’s more fun’
- d. da **is** so ein Oberteil, ja, so richtig schön  
 There is such a top yeah so really nice  
 ‘There’s a top like it, yeah, just really nice’
- e. Dis **hab** ich doch auch, für 3,- €!  
 This have I though also for 3 €  
 ‘But I’ve got that too, for €3!’
- (2’) HD equivalents of (2)<sup>6</sup>
- a. Ich bin eigentlich mit meiner Figur zufrieden
- b. Heute muss ich wieder ins Solarium gehen
- c. Wenn du single bist, ist es witziger
- d. Da ist so ein Oberteil, ja, so richtig schön
- e. Dieses hab’ ich doch auch, für 3,- €

(2a) is a paradigmatic subject-initial V2-clause that we’ll be looking at in more detail later; it is the basis of the V3-structures we’ll examine. (2b) is interesting because it has a TA at the left edge, followed immediately by the verb, requiring verb raising to a higher head position; thus we see that not all main clauses that begin with a TA use the V3-option. (2c) indicates that fronted embedded clauses sit in the same position as a fronted adverbial, such as the locative adverbial in (2d). (2e) indicates that KD topicalizes verbal arguments, just as HD does.

<sup>5</sup> As Wiese (2012) points out, declarative V1-constructions, which are rarely found in HD, are generated fairly frequently in KD. Although this might suggest that it has different main clause parameters, V1-declaratives were common in HD up until the mid-1700s, and they are not ungrammatical in a certain narrative style even today. For a discussion of V1-declaratives, see Coniglio & Schlachter (2013).

<sup>6</sup> With “HD equivalents” I am including some usage that is colloquial, such as the particle *ja* and the adverb *so* in d. All of the constructions can be glossed and translated the same as those in (2).

Why both V2 and V3 occur with an initial TA is a question that will be addressed in detail in §4. In brief, I will propose that the V3-option with a TA is utilized when the TA is not the focus of the left periphery, in contrast to how *heute* is being handled in (2b). In V3-structures the TA is merged late, making the valuation of [Focus] impossible (this feature is never generated), thus obviating the need for verb raising to the position immediately after the TA.

We note also in (2b) that the infinitive is at the right edge, just as it is in the HD equivalent: *Heute muss ich ins Solarium gehen*. In (2c) we see the encliticization of the subject pronoun with the preceding verb, found also in Swabian, spoken in the southwest of Germany. (2d) looks just like the equivalent structure in HD: a left-edge locative adverbial always requires verb-raising in KD, see comparison in (3). The fronting of the VP-argument in (2e) not surprisingly always requires verb-raising, just as in HD. The fronting of non-subject arguments, I will argue, induces verb raising to a position higher than in subject-initial structures because of the properties of argument structure in WGmc: non-subject arguments stand in a grammatical relation to verbal elements in the *vP* or *VP*, located to the right of (below) the finite verb in main clauses, requiring chain formation to the original item. Because SpecTP has a feature set that only DPs destined to be subjects can value, the same chain formation to the subject's lower position in Spec*vP* is not required. We return to many of these points in §3 and §4.

In §2.2 we turn to V3-structures in KD and compare them with V3-structures from an earlier period of HD.

## 2.2 V3 in KD

What sets KD apart from HD and its current dialects is the V3-option with a TA at the left edge; all of the constructions in (3a – f) require V2 in their HD equivalents, see (3'). In (3f) is an example of an ungrammatical V3-structure in which a locative adverbial has been fronted to the left edge. As in HD, the fronting of a locative adverbial requires verb raising, creating the V2-effect, cf. (2d):<sup>7</sup>

- (3) a. Danach sie **macht** so  
 there-after she makes so  
 'After that she does it this way'.  
 b. Danach sie **tanz**t so  
 there-after she dances so  
 'After that she dances this way'.  
 c. Jetzt isch **hasse** ihn  
 now I hate him  
 'Now I hate him'.  
 d. Jedes Jahr isch **kauf** mir bei D. [...]  
 every year I buy me at D.  
 'Every year I buy myself at D [...]'  
 e. Letztes Jahr isch **geh** nach Bosnien  
 Last year I go to Bosnia  
 'Last year I went to Bosnia'.  
 f. \*Da so ein Oberteil, **is** ja, so richtig schön (cf. 2d)  
 There such a top is yeah so really nice

<sup>7</sup> (2d) without verb raising would of course also be deviant in KD:

(i) \*Dis isch **hab** doch auch, für 3,- €!

‘There’s a top like it, yeah, just really nice’.

- (3’) HD equivalents of (3)
- a. Danach macht sie so
  - b. Danach tanzt sie so
  - c. Jetzt hasse ich ihn
  - d. Jedes Jahr kaufe ich mir bei D. [...]
  - e. Letztes Jahr ging ich nach Bosnien

V3 with a left-edge TA is not something new to HD, however. In earlier stages of its development, as recent as the Early New High German Period (1350-1650), constructions like those in (4) were acceptable (from Speyer 2008):

- (4) a. Jm 6886. Jar der Großfürst DEMETRI **hat** den ma<sup>ç</sup>htigen Tatarischen  
in-the 6886 year the Grand-Duke D has the mighty Tartar  
Khuenig MAMAI geschlagen.  
king M beaten  
‘In the year 6886 the Grand Duke Demetri defeated the powerful Tartar King Mamai’
- b. Dar nach die edel kungin fuer enhalb Ofen auf des Laslaes Wans gu<sup>ç</sup>ter  
there after the noble queen drove out-from Ofen to the Laslaes Wans properties  
mit grossem kummer.  
with great difficulty  
‘Thereafter the noble queen drove out with great difficulty from the (city of) Ofen to the Laslaes properties’

These constructions parallel those in (3) in significant ways: in all of them a TA is at the left edge, followed by the subject and then the finite verb. I will argue in §3 that the prosody of V3-structures in KD does not allow pitch accent left of the finite verb. Unfortunately, the prosody of the structures in (4) cannot be determined with certainty, but based on what we know about prosody in HD with TAs like those left of the finite verb in (4), it is doubtful that no pitch accent was used when verbalizing the constructions in (4). If this is indeed the case, the proposal I will make in §4 does not account for the V3-structures in (4), and we must come to the conclusion that V3 in (4) follows from other requirements of the interfaces. This issue will be taken up again in §3 and 4.

The data in (4) are not irrelevant to this investigation, however, for although these V3-structures are no longer generated today, we consider next some others that do occur today in both HD and Dutch. My claim will be that they have not only V3 but also a prosody in common with those in (4).

### 2.3 V3 with other adverbials in WGmc

It has been pointed out in the literature (see d’Avis 2004, Günthner 1999, König & van der Auwera 1988, te Velde 2010, i. a.) that HD and Dutch grammars both generate V3-constructions with certain types of left-edge adverbials. In (5) are a few typical examples (though ‘typical’ is somewhat misleading because the frequency of such constructions is rather low; a and b from HD, c and d from Dutch):

- (5) a. So klar das Ergebnis auch war, das **ist** keine Vorentscheidung, ...<sup>8</sup>  
 as clear the result also was that is no pre-decision  
 ‘Even as clear as the result was, it is not a preliminary decision’
- b. Wenn er auch ständig gähnt, sein Verstand **arbeitet** messerscharf.<sup>9</sup>  
 If he also constantly yawns his mind works razor-sharp(ly)  
 ‘Even if he is constantly yawning, his mind is razor sharp.’
- c. Hoe goed de krant ook is, ik **zou** nooit een abonnement nemen op de krant.<sup>10</sup>  
 how good the n.paper also is I will not a subscription take on the newspaper.  
 ‘No matter how good the newspaper is, I won’t subscribe to the newspaper’
- d. Al was de situatie verbeterd, vorig jaar **gingen** er toch minder Afghanen terug.<sup>11</sup>  
 As was the situation improved, last year went EXPL PART fewer Afghans back  
 ‘Although the situation improved, last year fewer Afghans went back’

To date no constructions resembling those in (5) have been attested in KD; thus, they unfortunately cannot be included in this investigation. If further data collection and analysis confirms that KD does indeed **not** generate V3-structures of the kind in HD and Dutch, this fact will support the assumption that the derivation of V3-structures in KD uses a different derivational strategy or structure than the derivation of the V3-structures in (5). In the present state of affairs with the data, I will avoid ruling out the possibility that KD can indeed generate V3-structures with adverbials other than TAs; however, my analysis will hinge on a key difference between the left-edge adverbials in (5) and TAs: I will argue, following Alexiadou (1997, 2000) and much previous work, that TAs are closely associated with the TP-domain. More specifically, I will claim that TAs are base-generated (by late merge) in this domain and that when they occur at the left edge, no chain is required for linking them to another position and therefore no verb raising is required. How HD generates the structures in (5) will be taken up in §4.3.

In the next section we turn, then, to my account of V3 in KD with left-edge TAs, beginning with some widely-head assumptions in the generative literature as a basis for an analysis.

### 3. Assumptions, Analysis and Proposal

In this section I first outline some standard assumptions about Merge in generative grammar that underlie my analysis and the analyses of two other studies, Zwart (2005) and Chomsky (2008), who provide the framework for my proposal. We also consider work of Frey (2004) and Féry (2007) on the left periphery and topicalization, coming to the conclusion that the occurrence of TAs at the KD left periphery in V3-structures does not have exactly the same properties as their closest equivalents in HD. I will support Féry’s conclusion that Topicalization requires some form of pitch accent, but most importantly, I will claim that TAs in KD’s V3-structures do not have properties of Topicalization such as pitch accent, suggesting an alternate derivation which I argue must be late merge. This derivation occurs only when verb raising to a head position above T° is not required for feature valuation purposes. The late merger of a TA, lacking verb raising, distinguishes KD from HD. Despite this difference, I maintain that the syntax of KD falls well

<sup>8</sup> Franz Münterfering, *Spiegel-online*, 8. Juni. 2009. „Münterfering redet Wahldebakel schön“ ([www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,629195,00.html](http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,629195,00.html)).

<sup>9</sup> From Lohnstein and Trissler (2004: 6).

<sup>10</sup> From a survey sent out by *de Volkskrant* in June 2005.

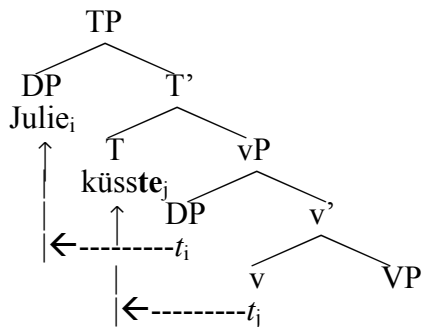
<sup>11</sup> From Anine de Groot (p.c.).

within the parameters of WGmc, as confirmed, for instance, by the occurrence of V2 (by verb raising) with some TAs as well as any other fronted element.

### 3.1 Assumptions about Merge in Generative Grammar

There are two structure-creating operations in generative grammar theory that I will assume for my analysis; they are: i) External Merge (EM) and ii) Internal Merge (IM). EM is the operation that, with lexical items drawn from the lexicon (presumably via a numeration), assembles the “base” of the sentence. IM thereafter moves lexical items to other positions in the base. For instance, in the derivation of (6) the subject is moved to SpecTP where (further) agreement with the verb, which raises from its underlying position in the *vP*, is established (prior movement of the verb from the VP not indicated):<sup>12</sup>

#### (6) *Julie küsste Hans*



In this derivation subject-verb agreement is accomplished in the TP when  $\phi$ -features of the subject and verb are valued.<sup>13</sup> I assume the same operation occurs in KD, based on the evidence presented in (1). Furthermore, I assume that in both HD and KD, any subject-initial sentence does not need to undergo any more derivational operations before it meets the LF- and PF-interfaces, where the sentence is interpreted and articulated, respectively. With this analysis I set apart subject-initial sentences from any that begin with an element other than the subject, following in the tradition of Travis (1984)<sup>14</sup> and Zwart (1993). This analysis, sometimes referred to as “asymmetric V2,” will offer several advantages over the competing one, symmetric V2, in which all subject-initial main clauses in WGmc require subject-raising to SpecCP along with V-

<sup>12</sup> Whether or not subject-verb agreement of some form occurs already in the *vP* as argued by Haider (2010) is orthogonal to the discussion here. I assume that in the majority of German constructions at the very minimum Tense agreement occurs in TP. A potential counterargument to the assumption that the finite verb can be either inserted into or move to and then remain in  $T^\circ$  is that the finite verb should also be able to occupy  $T^\circ$  in embedded clauses. What prevents this from happening could be one of two or more properties of main clauses versus embedded clauses: both types of clauses require a lexical item that can value features in the associated Spec position(s); main clauses do not have a complementizer to do this, thus the finite verb must perform this syntactic operation.

<sup>13</sup> An alternate analysis is that  $\phi$ -features are valued in the *vP* (see Haider 2010) and that only Tense is valued in TP.

<sup>14</sup> See Gärtner & Steinbach (2003) on Travis (1984). I agree with Fanselow (2004) who states: “...it cannot be denied that subject-initial sentences follow conditions of use other than those of the sentences discussed above” [with topicalized elements, jtv]. I go a step further in my analysis and argue that these “conditions of use” reflect a different underlying structure.

to-C movement.<sup>15</sup> In §4.4 I will outline some reasons why asymmetric V2 is the preferred approach. For the moment, we focus on further details of the analysis used here, which offers three positions for the finite verb at the left periphery, one in T° for subject-initial sentences, one in Top° for Topicalization structures, and the other in C° for all other main clauses. First of all, we turn to the arguments presented by Zwart (2005) for positing two finite verb positions, T and C, in the WGmc left periphery.

In his proposal for WGmc V2-constructions, Zwart (2005) presents V2 as the positional marking of a dependency relation between XP and the finite verb ( $V_{fin}$ )<sup>16</sup>. Following mainstream generativist theory, he points out that there is only one structure-generating procedure in syntax, Merge [Zwart combines EM and IM into ‘Merge’], which is applied iteratively to the output of a previous merge operation:

- (7) Merge  
Add  $x$  to  $y$  yielding  $\langle x, y \rangle$

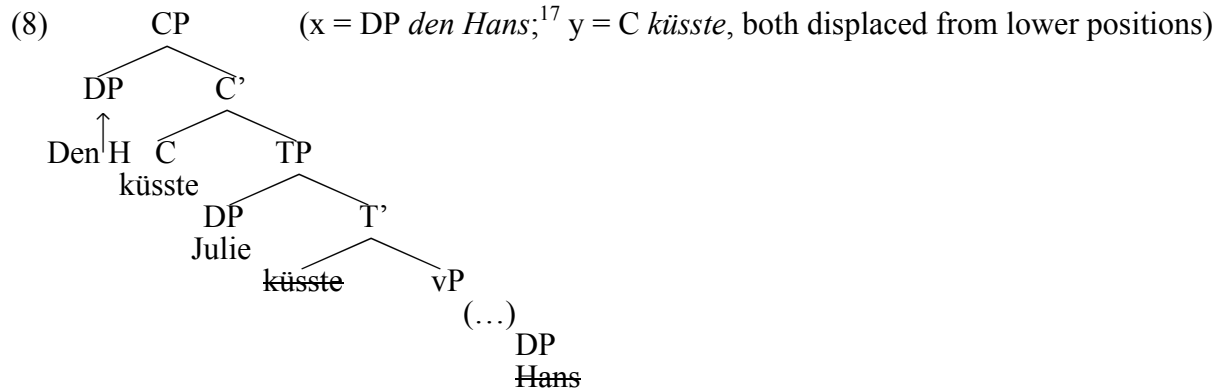
Merge as defined in (7) automatically creates a dependency relation where  $x$  is invariably the antecedent and  $y$  the dependent. Zwart states “[...] this dependency marking may be realized in two ways: by inflectional morphology (tense, agreement marking) or by position [...]” Applying this concept to the derivation of the WGmc left periphery, two positions become available for the finite verb, the dependent element in (7), through the two distinct relations of the finite verb to other elements that are fronted to the left edge: i) the agreement relation between the subject and verb as in (6), marked by the inflectional morphology on the verb, and ii) the relation between the finite verb ( $V_{fin}$ ) and an element fronted to a Spec-position to the left of the subject, requiring  $V_{fin}$ -raising to a higher head position, exemplified in (8) where the dependency relation is between the fronted direct object (DO) and the finite verb. The type of element that is fronted in WGmc varies considerably, so there is no one syntactic or semantic trigger for this fronting. The important point for our immediate discussion is when this fronting occurs, the finite verb must be fronted to the head position of the domain whose Spec-position hosts the fronted element  $x$ . Because the dependency relation between the fronted element in Spec and finite verb in the adjacent head position occurs to satisfy one of various different syntactic requirements, we would expect that the Spec and head positions are not always in the same syntactic domain. That is one of the central claims that Zwart makes. In (8) the fronting of the direct object *den Hans* occurs for discourse reasons, whereas in (6) the fronting of the subject satisfies a syntactic requirement on subject-verb agreement. In (8) the fronting has the effect of creating a left-edge focus for the sentence, possibly in answer to the question *Wen küsste Julie?* ‘Who did Julie kiss?’:

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<sup>15</sup> I don’t rule out the existence of a CP-domain in subject-initial clauses; in these, the CP-domain has features that are not lexically valued and in some cases (as with the  $\phi$ -features) are transferred to TP. The edge feature of TP defines the clause.

<sup>16</sup> Explaining V2-effects as the result of Merge operations as Zwart proposes avoids the problems with more semantically or pragmatically oriented explanations proposed by Brandner (2004) and Meinunger (2004) who claim that illocutionary force is at the core of V2-effects. For a critique of them, see Migdalski (2012). In my own proposal developed below, I will argue that although pragmatic factors can enter into V2, the core remains syntactic.





In the derivation of (8) the finite verb must raise (again) from T to C, in order to create the dependency relation that Zwart describes.

Zwart's proposal thus accounts structurally and derivationally for the prosodic, interpretive and pragmatic contrasts that are apparent in all WGmc languages between subjects and all other elements with respect to the pre-finite-verb position.

### 3.2 *The distribution of features from C to T (Chomsky 2008)*

The contrasts just mentioned have a featural as well as a structural and derivational basis: a subject in SpecTP has different features relevant to the finite verb position than any other element in that precedes the finite verb. As Zwart points out, a subject in this position must have features that value the  $\varphi$ -features on the finite verb, which in turn values the EPP-feature of the subject. No other element in this position is involved in the same feature-valuation operations, and crucially for Zwart's proposal, these feature-valuation operations satisfy the syntactic requirements for creating the V2-effect and thus obviate the need for any further derivational operations to create this effect. In brief, once subject-verb agreement has been established, no further derivation is required, in particular, no XP-position in the CP domain must be lexically filled for the V2-effect in a subject-initial, declarative main clause.

Syntactic theory development since Zwart's (2005) proposal has lead, however, to the conclusion that feature valuation in the TP-domain for subject-verb agreement relies on features of C that are inherited by T. The reasons for making this assumption are complex. A theory-internal reason for this assumption is that all main clauses should be uniform with respect to the maximal projection: all project CP. One of the more salient forms of evidence for this assumption is the fact that in ECM constructions no subject-verb agreement occurs; the verb remains in the infinitive form, and the DP in SpecTP has [objective] case morphology, as in (9a), whereas in (9b) there is a finite verb and a nominative subject because of features inherited from the CP:

- (9) a. We expected [<sub>TP</sub> him to be the best candidate]<sub>ECM</sub>  
 b. We expected [<sub>CP</sub> that [<sub>TP</sub> he would be the best candidate]]

<sup>17</sup> When fronting of *Hans* occurs, the determiner of this DP must be lexically realized as *den* (acc,masc), whereas without this fronting the determiner does not need to be realized. The details of this determiner realization must for reasons of space be left aside here.

In order to account for the properties of ECM-constructions and to add support to his Phase Theory, Chomsky (2008) proposed that T in ECM constructions has no  $\varphi$ -features because no C occurs in the embedded infinitival clause. In finite clauses such as (9b), T inherits these features from C. Feature Inheritance is defined as follows:

(10) Feature Inheritance

- (i) T does not have Agree-features of its own; they must be inherited from C.<sup>18</sup>
- (ii) C has the feature [Edge] that must be valued.

(11)  $[_{CP} \quad C \quad [_{TP} \quad T \quad \dots ]]$   
 Edge Agree----->Agree

Zwart's two operations for creating the V2-effect in WGmc are notationally equivalent to:

- a) T inheriting Agree-features from C when the  $DP_{NOM}$  is fronted to SpecTP for subject-verb agreement, cf. (6, 12a);
- b) the valuing of the edge feature of CP when  $XP_{WH}$  is fronted to SpecCP, cf. (12b)

Both operations create the equivalent of Zwart's "positional marking" ( $\rightarrow$  = feature transfer;  $\leftarrow \rightarrow$  = feature valuation):<sup>19</sup>

(12) a.  $[_{CP} \quad C \quad [_{TP} \text{ Das } \mathbf{Auto} \text{ kost-} \mathbf{et} \text{ zu viel}]]$   
           |----- $\rightarrow$ [3SG] $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ [3SG]  
 b.  $[_{CP} \text{ Welches } \mathbf{Auto} \quad [_C \text{ kannst}] \quad [_{TP} \text{ du nicht kaufen}]]?$   
       [Edge] $\leftarrow$ ----- $\rightarrow$ [Edge]

In §3.3 we consider other V2-structures already mentioned above; these require an additional functional head at the left periphery.<sup>20</sup>

### 3.3 *Top*<sup>°</sup>

In order to account for all possible WGmc constructions that have a non-subject at the left periphery, an additional functional head, *Top*<sup>°</sup>, projecting TopP, is required as the target of Topicalization, an operation that, in the form of IM, relocates a non-subject that is [-WH] in SpecTopP.<sup>21</sup> Assuming that TopP does not have an edge feature of its own (for reasons of Phase Theory), an XP targeting SpecTopP must inherit the feature [Edge] from C. Thus we have another instance in which feature inheritance is necessary for creating the V2-effect:

<sup>18</sup> In Chomsky's system, T inherits features for Agree from C required for subject-verb agreement, whereas other arguments that front to the left periphery already have completed Agree in the  $vP$  (thus the old A vs. A' distinction). Therefore the fronting of subjects and the fronting of objects are handled differently in the syntax, as reflected in the different targets of this fronting (an IM operation).

<sup>19</sup> For recent studies favoring the asymmetry of V2, cf. most recently Migdalski (2012).

<sup>20</sup> Rizzi (1997) proposes a left periphery with many more projections than I will be discussing here. What and how many functional heads occur at the left periphery is determined by language-specific parameters. See also work of Cinque (1999) for discussion of adverb positions (including TAs) at the left periphery. As for movement to the German left periphery, work by Frey (2004) and Fanselow (2004) provide data and analysis that elucidates the syntactic positions needed and what triggers the movements to them.

<sup>21</sup> Space considerations do not allow a detailed exposition of the reasons for positing this projection; for an interesting introduction see van Riemsdijk (1998).

- (13) a. [<sub>CP</sub> C [<sub>TopP</sub> Das Auto [<sub>TOP</sub> kann<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>TP</sub> ich kann<sub>i</sub> nicht kaufen]]  
 [Edge]→|←-----→[Edge]
- b. [<sub>CP</sub> C [<sub>TopP</sub> Heute [<sub>TOP</sub> kann<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>TP</sub> ich kann<sub>i</sub> das Auto nicht kaufen]]  
 [Edge]→|←-----→[Edge]

In HD, KD and Dutch the valuation of [Edge] of C requires  $V_{fin}$  raising to the CP-domain: for ease of exposition I will assume without outlining it in (13) that a feature [Topic] must be checked in the SpecTopP position. This feature valuation and the concomitant structural relation between the finite verb in TOP creates the V2-effect. In subject-initial main clauses like (13a), [Edge] of C remains unvalued. However, T has its own edge feature (see Chomsky 2001, 2008) that is valued when SpecTP is targeted for subject-verb agreement. Thus, we have an additional reason to assume that the subject-verb structure in the TP-domain is sufficient for creating the V2-effect: When the finite verb raises for valuing the  $\phi$ -features, the edge feature of TP is also valued; nothing more is required to establish the structure as a clause; it meets all the requirements of the interfaces without any further derivation.

Summing up this section, we note the following key points:

- i. When an XP is fronted, it must value minimally either [Agree] or [Edge] for the V2-effect; in the case of subject-verb agreement, both are valued in the TP.
- ii. Both features are part of the feature matrix of C, but agree features are distributed to TP for subject-verb agreement; in WGmc T has its own [Edge] and therefore must not be inherited from C.
- iii. Hence, in WGmc [Edge] of C does not have to be valued if [Edge] of T is valued. However, the interfaces may require the fronting of an XP to either SpecTopP or SpecCP.
- iv. The fronting of an element to SpecTopP is frequently required for information-structural reasons. The fronting of a *wh*-element to SpecCP is required in direct *wh*-questions (except with echo-questions). These two fronting operations require verb raising from T to TOP and C, respectively.

In the next section we investigate how these assumptions help lay the foundation for an analysis of V3 in WGmc.

#### 4. V3 in WGmc

As pointed out in §2.3 the V3-constructions found in KD are not the only ones attested in WGmc. Hence, the account of V3 in KD given here has a broader motivation. Although the other V3-constructions found in HD and Dutch will require a somewhat different account, they share a central property with those in KD. That property is the late merger of an adverbial element in a higher projection of whatever projection at the left-edge that has the left-most lexical item in its Spec-position. For WGmc I am assuming the three projections discussed in the previous section come into play: TP, TopP and CP.

We begin our analysis of V3 in the first subsection with a discussion of TAs and V3 data in search of evidence supporting late merge. Then we consider how V3-structures compare to V2-structures, both with and without a topicalized element. A rather obvious question that arises in this discussion is addressed in §4.3: Why does HD not allow V3 with TAs just as KD does? My proposal will hinge on an analysis of the prosody of V2- and V3-structures, based on work of Féry (2007). The objective of the final subsection will be to show that an account of V3 using the

competing analysis in which all V2-constructions require verb raising to C has several disadvantages, both empirical and theoretical.

#### 4.1 V3 with TAs in KD as a function of late merge

The data available from the research completed to date on KD indicates that V3 occurs only with a TA in the initial position, followed by the subject and then the finite verb, see (1) and (2). These data thus also indicate that the speakers of KD differentiate between TAs and other adverbials: only TAs can co-occur in the left periphery with a subject in the V3-structures. An important question is: What is different about TAs? There are several properties that only they have, either inherently or through their placement at the left edge of a V3-structure.

Let's begin with the inherent properties. A number of studies such as Alexiadou (1997, 2000) have shown that TAs are closely associated with Tense; this observation receives immediate support from even a cursory look at some typical examples: *heute* 'today', *gestern* 'yesterday', *am Wochenende* 'on the weekend', etc. Not surprisingly, some languages rely on TAs to convey the time of an action or state and dispense with verb tense morphology altogether. In fact, one construction in the KD data base given in (2d) suggests that KD might be one of these languages: (2d) *Letztes Jahr isch **geh** nach Bosnien*, literally: Last year I go to Bosnia. If indeed KD is such a language, this fact would underscore the close relation between TAs and TP in KD.<sup>22</sup>

Given the inherent properties of TAs, it is grammatically logical and efficient for TAs to occur near finite verbs, i.e. for TAs to enhance their inherent properties with the help of a syntactic position. Alexiadou argues, in fact, that TAs are referential NPs that from their position in SpecTP relate in some form to the finite verb, specifically its tense. She does not consider TAs in German V3-structures specifically; thus, her proposal does not bear directly on my own account. In my own analysis I will not claim, contra Alexiadou, that a TA in WGmc is some type of referential NP; however, my analysis supports her conclusion that a TA is closely associated with the TP-domain. More specifically, I argue below that a TA in a V2-construction is initially merge (by EM) in the VP (see also Molnárfi 2007), after which it (often) moves to the TP-domain to value some feature; which one it values depends on the prosodic and information-structural properties of the sentence. In a V3-construction, by contrast, a TA is merged late (by EM) as an adjunct of TP after the syntactic cycle is complete. In this derivation the TA does not value a prosodic feature such as pitch accent (it is not in a Spec-position for doing so) but simply forms part of the TP-domain as an adjunct. Thus, TAs in KD V3-structures have two properties that are distinct from TAs in V2-structures: i) they are merged late in a higher SpecTP, and ii) they do not need to value any feature of this TP; rather, they only satisfy an information-structural requirement of the pragmatics side of LF.

It is this special relation to TP that enables the generation of V3-structures in KD with left-edge TAs, without which late merge in the TP-domain could not occur. Of particular significance for KD is that because the merger of the TA is late, it does not induce verb raising to a functional head position above T°. The verb does not need to raise because no feature on the TA needs to be

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<sup>22</sup> The use of the present tense with past time narration is also common in spoken (and written) HD, particularly with a fronted TA, for instance:

(i) *Gestern geh ich in den Park, und wen seh ich da? Paul!*  
 Yesterday go I into the park, and whom see I there? Paul  
 Thanks to Heike Wiese for the example.

valued. Arguments for this key element of my proposal will be presented in detail below and in §4.2. First, I outline the steps in the derivation of a V3-structure in KD.

Consider the derivation of (2), repeated in (14) (some details omitted):

- (14) Derivation of KD *Gestern isch war Ku'damm*
- a. EM (from numeration): [<sub>VP</sub> *isch Ku'damm war* ]
  - b. IM for subj-verb agreement: [<sub>TP</sub> *isch war* [<sub>VP</sub> ~~*isch war*~~ *Ku'damm*]]
  - c. late merge of *gestern*: [<sub>TP</sub> *gestern* [<sub>TP</sub> *isch war* [<sub>VP</sub> ~~*isch war*~~ *Ku'damm*]]]

In (14) no verb raising to Top° is induced, in contrast to what happens in the derivation of (2b), here in (15) (again some details omitted):

- (15) Derivation of KD *Heute muss isch wieder Solarium gehen*
- a. EM (from numeration): [<sub>VP</sub> *isch heute wieder Solarium gehen muss*]
  - b. IM for subj-verb agreement: [<sub>TP</sub> *isch muss* [<sub>VP</sub> ~~*isch*~~ *wieder Solarium gehen muss*]]
  - c. fronting of *heute*, raising of *muss*: [<sub>TopP</sub> *Heute muss* [<sub>TP</sub> *isch muss* [<sub>VP</sub> ~~*isch heute wieder*~~ *Solarium gehen muss*]]]

Verb raising to Top° in (15) is required for the valuation of a feature on *heute*: either the feature [Focus] is valued, if the focus feature has been assigned to *heute* as initial merge (as reflected in the prosody of the construction with pitch accent on *heute*),<sup>23</sup> or *heute* is fronted even though it does not have the focus feature for the purpose of valuing the edge feature of CP (which is transferred to Spec,TopP; for this fronting operation pitch accent is not required, as supported by recent research on the phonetics of fronting, see e.g. Féry (2007, 2011) and references there. In §4.3 we will consider a syntactic reason behind the lack of pitch accent with fronted TAs.

The prosody in (14) and (15) can share one feature: in both the fronted TA does not need to be accented. But (14) is different than (15) in one important respect: *gestern*, because it is followed by the subject and then the finite verb, sits in a different relation to the finite verb both syntactically and prosodically. The subject, *isch*, has no pitch accent, since a subject in SpecTP, because of its features [+nom,+experiencer/agent], is not chosen as the focus in most declarative sentences, particularly if the subject is a pronoun like *isch*, unless the subject answers a question such as “Who did x” and the discourse warrants prominence marking of the subject with pitch accent. Thus, two unaccented constituents precede the finite verb; on neither of them is pitch accent required for any reason. I will return to the way that KD takes advantage of this prosodic pattern below. First, we consider some assumptions about pitch accent and topicalization.

Because *gestern* in (14) is merged late, it cannot be assigned pitch accent, if we follow the assumption made by Féry (2011) that pitch accent is assigned to the lexical item to be topicalized (fronted) before Topicalization occurs, i.e. already at initial merge in the VP. After IM for subject-verb agreement, a TA that has been assigned pitch accent moves to SpecTopP. In KD V3-structures on the other hand, the initial EM operation that inserts the TA in the based is

<sup>23</sup> I am assuming a basic ‘focus as prominence’ (FP) model advocated by Truckenbrodt (1995) and Büring (2010) in which the most prosodically prominent element receives pitch accent and becomes the focus of the sentence. The focus of a sentence is understood as that part of a sentence which introduces alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of the sentence in the discourse context, see Krifka (2008). The focus of a sentence can be realized at the left periphery when an element is fronted to the SpecTopP position and receives pitch accent. The feature required for the realization of pitch accent is assigned already when the adverb is first merged, see Féry (2011).

skipped; because the TA is never merged in the VP, subject-verb agreement occurs before the TA enters the derivation. After subject-verb agreement, only the late merger of the TA is an option. The key point is that *gestern* lacks the feature for pitch accent because it is not merged before the EM-cycle finishes, in this case before subject-verb agreement. Lacking the feature for pitch accent, it has no feature to be valued by the finite verb; thus, verb raising from  $T^\circ$  to  $\text{Top}^\circ$  is not required. Hence the V3-structure.

In (15), by contrast, *heute*, selected as a topicalized element, can be assigned pitch accent at initial merge and then move to SpecTopP where its focus feature is valued and at the PF-interface realized in the form of pitch accent. This movement is required for the valuation of its prosodic feature in that position, and for this valuation V-to- $\text{Top}^\circ$  is induced, raising  $V_{\text{fin}}$  from  $T^\circ$ . Following Féry's (2007) analysis, a topicalized element must have pitch accent; she does, however, make an exception for TAs. This exception follows from the line of argumentation presented earlier, based on Alexiadou's work sketched above: a TA is closely associated with Tense. I will argue that this close association allows a TA to move to the TopP-domain without creating a chain relation to a position below  $T^\circ$ ; because of this inherent relation to TP, preserved in the positioning of a TA in Spec,TopP, which dominates TP, a TA does not need the chain relation; hence the lack of pitch accent, even in a V2-structure, unless the TA has been assigned the focus feature at initial merge.

We recall that *heute* is merged from the numeration in VP and then moves via IM to the SpecTopP position, see (15). This movement can be induced by the optional assignment of pitch accent to *heute* at the point it is initially merged, or by the need for the valuation of  $[\text{Edge}]_C$ . By contrast, an adverb such as *wieder* in (15) is merged in vP or VP as a modifier of the verb; if fronted, as in *Wieder<sub>i</sub> muss ich heute t<sub>i</sub> Solarium gehen*, it would require a chain relation to its position lower in the structure. All fronted elements associated with the VP require a chain relation to their base position when moving left to a pre- $V_{\text{fin}}$  position. Elements that are tied to a chain must have a feature valued by  $V_{\text{fin}}$  in their acquired position at the left periphery; this feature is realized as some level of pitch accent; hence, *wieder* may not sit at the left edge without pitch accent. This pitch accent requirement is reflected in the inability of an element such as *es* 'it' or 'there', which cannot bear pitch accent, from sitting in the same position at the left periphery; hence the ungrammatical *\*Es muss ich heute wieder ins Solarium*.<sup>24</sup>

While it is certainly acceptable and grammatical to apply pitch accent to a TA at the left periphery, it is not required for syntactic reasons, see (16a). If pitch accent is applied to a TA as in (16b), it is for discourse reasons, for instance in answer to the question "when...?". By contrast, some degree of pitch accent is a requirement with displaced vP/VP-elements as in (16c), both for information-structural and for syntactic reasons. Placing a direct object at the left periphery without any discourse motivation as in (16d) results in ambiguity; it raises a question such as "What about this guy?" No such ambiguity arises in (16a) with the time element, i.e. no

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<sup>24</sup> To maintain this argument, I need to assume that in constructions like (i) *es* 'it' sits in SpecTP for valuing the EPP-feature of TP, and the subject remains in SpecVP:

(i) *Es kamen zwei Herren von der Polizei, um mich zu holen.*  
 it came two gentlemen from the police in-order me to fetch  
 'Two gentlemen from the police came to get me.'

There are several pieces of evidence supporting this analysis, which incidentally also supports asymmetric V2 discussed in §4.4. Much of the evidence and many arguments must for reasons of space be left aside here.

discourse motivation is needed for *gestern* to occur at the left edge (small capital letters for pitch accent).<sup>25</sup>

- (16) a. Gestern sind wir zusammen ins Museum gegangen. (no pitch accent required)  
 yesterday are we together into-the museum gone  
 ‘Yesterday we went to the museum together’  
 b. (Wann seid ihr ins Museum gegangen?) GESTern sind wir ins M gegangen.  
 when are you into-the museum gone yesterday are we to-the m gone  
 ‘When did you go to the museum? Yesterday we went to the museum’  
 c. (Wen hast du dort gesehen?) DEN TYP vom ARBEITSamt haben wir dort gesehen.  
 whom have you there seen the guy from-the labor-office have we there seen  
 ‘Who did you see there? We saw the guy from the labor bureau’  
 d. ??Den Typ vom Arbeitsamt haben wir dort gesehen.

If we compare KD V3-constructions with TAs to HD V3-constructions with left-dislocated heavy DPs or discourse adverbials such as *also*, a difference in the prosodic requirements is immediately apparent. All of these left-dislocated elements in HD require pitch accent on at least one of the syllables in the left-edge constituent.<sup>26</sup>

- (17) a. DIESEN Mann – DEN kenne ich nicht  
 this man him know I not  
 ‘This man – him I don’t know’  
 b. ALSO, WAS wollt ihr denn machen?  
 so what want-to you-PL then do  
 ‘So, what do you guys want to do?’  
 c. TROTZdem, DAS würde ich nicht tun  
 despite-this that would I not do  
 ‘Nevertheless, I wouldn’t do that’  
 d. Wenn er auch ständig GÄHNT, sein Verstand arbeitet messerscharf<sup>27</sup>  
 If he also constantly yawns his mind works razor-sharp(ly)  
 ‘Even if he is constantly yawning, his mind is working sharply’

In (17a), an example of what Grohmann (2003) calls Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD), the left-dislocated element must have pitch accent, as well as the resumptive demonstrative *den* in the topic position of the clause. In (17b) the first syllable of *also* is accented to meet discourse

<sup>25</sup> For a more detailed discussion of fronting, see Frey (2006), who uses somewhat different criteria. My analysis shares with his the claim that both subjects and TAs can occur in the left periphery without any need for pitch accent or contrastive focus, as the movement of these elements is semantically and pragmatically vacuous.

<sup>26</sup> The left-dislocation of an entire adverbial clause with V3 also requires a similar prosody, see (17d) and below:

- (i) HÄTTE Ungarn den Zaun nicht abgebaut, wo würden wir heute stehen?  
 (ii) ALSO, HÄTTE Ungarn den Zaun nicht abgebaut, wo würden wir heute stehen?  
 There is one such construction in the available KD data also:  
 (iii) Wenn wir umziehen so, isch hab keine Zeit zu essen...  
 when we move so, I have no time to eat  
 ‘Whenever we move, I have no time to eat’

Note that this one example is also a TA. See further comments in §4.3.

<sup>27</sup> From Lohnstein and Trissler (2004: 6).

requirements on its function as a discourse linking element. In (17c) the first syllable of *trotzdem* is accented because of its function as a contrastive adverbial linking the sentence to the previous discourse.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, after each of these left-dislocated elements comma intonation (pause) is required.

By contrast, in none of the KD V3-constructions we have seen does any of these prosodic requirements apply. These facts point to the conclusion that the same prosodic requirements of the PF-interface do not apply in the derivation of KD V3-constructions. Furthermore, I have argued that the lack of these prosodic features lies at the basis of a different derivation: lacking the feature for pitch accent – which would otherwise be valued by  $V_{fin}$  requiring verb raising – a left-edge TA does not have a feature to be valued and thus does not front to SpecTopP, which would otherwise create the V2-effect when the verb raises to  $Top^\circ$  for feature valuation.

What all of the V3-constructions we have seen, in (1), (3) and (17), have in common, however, is the use of late merge. One of the distinctive features of late merge, I will argue, is that it is post-cyclic and thus does not need to satisfy any syntactic requirement, nor is it restricted to a particular syntactic domain. It is a left-adjunction operation that simply adds lexical content, for one of various different reasons. I assume here without providing any evidence – since nothing hinges on this – that in (17a, c) *diesen Mann* and *trotzdem* are adjoined in an additional SpecTopP projection to SpecTopP containing *den* and *das*, respectively. In (17b) *also* is adjoined in an additional Spec-CP projection to the SpecCP containing *was*.

Central to my proposal for KD V3-constructions is my claim, based on the prosody of these constructions, that late merge inserts (adjoins) a TA in an additional SpecTP projection. There is no prosodic or phonetic information of any sort to suggest that left-edge TAs in KD are inserted higher than this, for instance in SpecTopP, which I assume requires the valuation of some feature such as [Topic] or [Focus], realized at PF as pitch accent and requiring verb raising. As we saw for (15b), the fronting of *heute* with verb raising requires SpecTopP because its [Focus] feature must be valued by  $V_{fin}$ . We recall that even though the fronting of a TA in HD consistently induces verb raising, a fronted TA does not require pitch accent. The reason I gave for this fact is that TAs are inherently related to TP and therefore do not require a syntactic chain to their base position when fronted. **KD capitalizes on this inherent property of TAs by merging them late when they have no pitch accent feature to be valued.** The late merger of a TA in KD is thus not an instance of Topicalization, and arguably the fronting in HD of a TA that lacks pitch accent is also not an instance of Topicalization. This claim and my proposal for V3 warrants a closer look at the properties of Topicalization; we turn to that next.

#### 4.2 Topicalization

It is widely assumed in the generative literature that Topicalization in German V2-structures has a distinct phonological structure. Féry (2007) supports the assumption with her analysis that a topicalized constituent at the beginning of a sentence has a prominent rising accent on its accented syllable and is separated from the rest of the sentence by a boundary tone or a short break. Féry (2007:69-70) explains the reason behind the prosody of the left periphery in WGmc as follows:

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<sup>28</sup> Other adverbials of this type (general sentential adverbs) are: *in der Tat* ‘indeed’, *also* ‘well’, *trotz*+DP ‘despite’, *vorweg* ‘first of all’ (German), and *inderdaad* ‘indeed’ (Dutch).



It [the prosody requirement of topicalization,<sub>jtv</sub>] suggests that true topicalization has a prosodic origin. From the point of view of the prosody, the motor of topicalization is first the need to fulfill a constraint NOCLASH which prohibits adjacent accents, and second the need to realize a rising intonation on a constituent in order to express its topical character. This is why elements expressing a pragmatic topic land in the first position of the sentence, rather than somewhere else.

As support for the assumption made here that KD belongs to the family of WGmc languages, we note that KD holds to the prosodic principle that Féry describes. Take (18) for example (from Wiese 2013:225):

- (18) *Sommerferien will ich auf jeden fall nach Köln*  
 summer-break want I on any case to Cologne  
 ‘During the summer break, I want to go to Cologne for sure.’

*Sommerferien* is selected as the Focus and therefore must have pitch accent on the first syllable, which in turn requires verb raising to the adjacent head position. It is optional in all of the WGmc languages, including KD, to choose a TA as the Focus. For instance, in (19) the fronting of *heute Abend* ‘this evening’ does not require pitch accent, indicating that this element was not chosen as the Focus. Féry (2007) incorporates this difference between TAs and other adverbials into her analysis as well. Not surprisingly, there is no pragmatic requirement for the fronting of a TA like this one, i.e. TAs can appear “out of the blue”; the same is not true with other adverbials:<sup>29</sup>

- (19) a. [<sub>CP</sub> *Heute Abend* will [<sub>TP</sub> *Hans mit Freunden den neuen Film schauen*]]  
 today evening wants-to H. with friends the new film watch  
 ‘Tonight Hans wants to watch the new film with friends’.  
 b. (*Mit wem...?*) *Mit FREUNDen will Hans heute Abend den neuen Film schauen.*  
 with whom?  
 c. (*Wo...?*) *Zu HAUSE will Hans heute Abend den neuen Film schauen.*  
 where?

In (19b) the fronting of *mit Freunden* has to follow a question like *Mit wem will Hans heute Abend den neuen Film schauen?* ‘Who does H. want to watch the film with tonight?’. Likewise in (19c) the fronting of *zu Hause* has to follow a question like *Wo will Hans den neuen Film schauen?* ‘Where does H. want to watch the new film?’ The difference between the TA and the other adverbs in (19) has, I claim, a syntactic basis: the TA does not need a chain relation to its base position when it is fronted because it is inherently a TP element; the other adverbs, because they are inherently *vP* or *VP* elements and therefore require a chain relation when fronted, must have a feature for pitch accent valued by  $V_{fin}$  when they are fronted, for which  $V_{fin}$  must raise. Pitch accent thus has a syntactic purpose as well as a pragmatic one, as outlined by Féry: It marks the displacement of an element out of its inherent domain. For our purposes here I will argue that all adverbs, regardless of type, can be assigned pitch accent at some point in the

<sup>29</sup> Whether or to what degree the assignment of Focus is integrated with pragmatic requirements is a topic that obviously must be left aside here, but see Féry (2011) for an integrated approach to WGmc prosody in an optimality-theoretic framework.

derivation; only TAs may occur sentence-initially without pitch accent because they are inherently TP elements. The lack of a chain relation with TAs eliminates the requirement of pitch accent which, as Féry claims, applies to all elements that undergo Topicalization, where this term means precisely the fronting to the clausal edge from the domain to which the topicalized element has a syntactic relation. The pitch accent requirement does not ever apply to fronted TAs in KD V3-structures. I have suggested a reason for this exception; in the next subsection we consider the relation between pitch accent and the left periphery in more detail.

#### 4.3 *Pitch accent at the left periphery: when and why?*

We recall that in both HD and KD V2-structures, TAs do not need to be accented, but they **may** be accented, if assigned [Focus]. A distinctive feature of the prosody of KD V3-structures is the consistent lack of pitch accent in the left periphery; the focus is always assigned elsewhere (somewhere in the  $\nu$ P/VP). Thus, a left-edge TA in a V3-structure never has pitch accent, the phonetic realization of [Focus], and furthermore, the next element, the subject, is also not chosen as the focus. There are two reasons for this restriction. The first has already been stated: i) the late merge does not allow the assignment of pitch accent to the element merged because it occurs after the syntactic cycle is completed in the model assumed here. In this analysis I adopt an assumption made by Féry (2007), who traces the development of the assumption that pitch accent is assigned at initial merge. The second reason for this restriction, I will propose, is formulated in (20), which is based on facts of WGmc prosody:

(20) **Hypothesis on the KD exception to WGmc prosody in the left periphery**

Because only one constituent with just one accented syllable may occur in the left periphery of WGmc, the presence of more than one accented syllable violates NOCLASH (Féry 2007). KD makes an exception to the number of constituents by excluding pitch accent: if more than one constituent occurs left of  $V_{fin}$ , no pitch accent is allowed.

Thus, only a partial exception to the elegant WGmc principle of ONE constituent with ONE pitch accent left of  $V_{fin}$  occurs in KD V3 constructions: two constituents are allowed, but neither may have pitch accent. Part of this exception follows from syntactic feature-valuation requirements: the left-most element in a V3-structure, a TA, is not in a position for Spec-head valuation of the feature, [Focus], that is realized as pitch accent. The exclusion of pitch accent on the other pre- $V_{fin}$  element, the subject, follows from general principles of focus in KD: in V3-structures, the focus always shifts to the right of  $V_{fin}$ , thus ruling out pitch accent on any element left of the  $V_{fin}$ , including the subject. A principle of prosody will be proposed below to account for this shift.

Underlying (20) is a syntax-prosody correlation: If pitch accent is to be realized, its feature must be syntactically valued. Because KD V3-structures make the valuation of this feature on the TA impossible, we have an arrangement in which two constituents are allowed (creating the V3 structure) but no pitch accent, since the subject may not be chosen as the focus, which I will assume follows from the shifting of the focus away from the left periphery in KD V3-structures for reasons outlined below. Interestingly, this correlation does not occur with other types of V3-structures in which elements are merged late, usually in SpecTopP or SpecCP. The key difference between the structures in (21) and the KD V3-structures we have seen is that comma intonation (pause) is required (SJC = subjunctive):

(21) a. [<sub>TopP</sub> TROTZdem, [<sub>TopP</sub> DIESEN Typ hätte ich nie gewählt]]

- despite-this this guy had-SJC I never chosen  
 ‘Despite this I would never have chose this guy’
- b. [<sub>TopP</sub> DEN Typ, [<sub>TopP</sub> DEN hätte ich nie gewählt]]  
 that guy that-one had-SJC I never chosen  
 ‘That guy, HIM I would never have chosen’
- c. [<sub>CP</sub> ALSO, [<sub>CP</sub> WO sollen wir jetzt anfangen?]]  
 So, where shall we now begin  
 ‘So, where are we supposed to start now?’
- d. [<sub>CP</sub> ALSO, [<sub>CP</sub> das BUCH leg auf den Tisch]]  
 So, the book lay on the table  
 ‘So, lay the book on the table’
- e. [<sub>CP</sub> Hätten wir das Projekt nicht gemacht, [<sub>CP</sub> WO würden wir heute stehen?]]  
 had-SJC we the project not done, where would we today stand  
 ‘If we hadn’t completed this project, where would we stand today?’

I will argue that two pitch accents may occur before the  $V_{fin}$  in these constructions because after the first constituent, with one accented syllable, a pause must be inserted, which in effect restarts the prosody. This analysis might also be the appropriate one for the data in (4) from ENHG involving an extended TA preceding a subject. My claim in §2.2 was that these constructions require pitch accent on some syllable of the TA; along with this pitch accent comma intonation would be required for them to have the same prosodic structure as the constructions in (21). Whether this prosody was actually required is obviously a question that cannot be easily addressed; a comprehensive analysis of ENHG poetic metrics might provide some answers. Noteworthy here, however, is the fact that today’s HD allows V3 with certain adverbial clauses – which are, however, typically not TAs in the same sense as those in KD – that are usually followed by a subject, such as (see also 5a-d):<sup>30</sup>

- (21’)a. Wenn er die Geschichte...irgendwo gelesen hätte, er hätte sie als... abgetan.  
 If he the story somewhere read had-SJC he had-SJC it as off-done  
 ‘If he had read the story somewhere, he would have written it off as...’
- b. So naiv und amerikanisch geradeaus O’s Angriff WAR], er traf etwas.  
 so naïve and American directly O’s attack was, it struck something  
 ‘As simply naïve and American O’s attack was, it struck a nerve’

In these constructions the prosody does not include a second pitch accent, in contrast to those in (21), but there is comma intonation. This might be a prosody that is closer to what was used in ENHG with constructions like those in (4). I leave the question to further research.

Pitch accent before the finite verb, as well as the restart after comma intonation required in (21) and (21’) is not possible with TAs in KD V3-structures (repeating data from above, \* for prosody only: pitch accent and comma intonation):

- (22) a. \*GESTern, ISCH war Ku’damm /\*GESTern, isch war Ku’damm  
 yesterday I was Ku’damm  
 ‘Yesterday I was on the Ku’damm’

<sup>30</sup> These are quotes from *Paarungen* by Peter Schneider (Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1994), pp. 135-6 and 108, respectively. For further analysis and data, also from Dutch, see te Velde (2010).

- b. \*DaNACH, SIE tanzt so /\*Danach, SIE tanzt so/\*DaNACH, sie tanzt so  
thereafter she dances so  
'After that she dances this way'

The situation with TAs in KD is unique on the one hand because TAs do not have to be accented (in either KD or HD). V3-structures in KD, because they are assembled with a TA not requiring pitch accent and a subject that is never the focus,<sup>31</sup> offer a unique opportunity to introduce an innovation into WGmc:

- (23) KD innovation for the left periphery:  
V3 in KD: two pre-V<sub>fin</sub> constituents allowed when pitch accent is not required on either

Although left-peripheral focus is NOT allowed in KD V3-structures because the feature for it cannot be valued, V3 meeting the requirements in (23) IS allowed because neither NOCLASH nor feature valuation is violated. Thus, both the prosodic and the syntactic requirements stated in (20) can be met.<sup>32</sup>

A general principle of syntax that this proposal is based on is that any lexical item merged late may not sit in a Spec-position of a functional head and have a feature that requires valuation with a functional head unless the functional head (or its equivalent) can also be merged late (see n. 31). TAs are excellent candidates for late merge because TAs do not require feature valuation to satisfy any syntactic requirement; pitch accent on a left-edge TA occurs in V2-structures only to satisfy pragmatic requirements, but these do not arise in KD V3-structures.

In the next subsection we turn to some questions of syntactic derivation that relate directly to the proposal that V3-structures in KD require late merge to a higher SpecTP without the verb raising.

#### 4.4 *Why do HD and Dutch not allow V3 with TAs?*

The preceding analysis begs this question: If KD does it, why don't German and Dutch? I have argued on the one hand that late merge is an option for the left-dislocation of certain elements in constructions such as those in (21) in which an additional TopP or CP projection is needed, resulting in another type of V3-structure, one with different prosodic requirements. So we ask: Why is the KD type of V3-structure not acceptable in other continental WGmc languages?<sup>33</sup>

The answer to this question can be found, I will suggest, in the simplicity of the V2-structure, or more precisely, in the simplicity of the operations that derive it. But simplicity or economy by itself does not necessarily rule out the possibility of a syntactic structure, so we need to look deeper. As analyzed in §3, the V2-effect is only an epiphenomenon; searching for its

<sup>31</sup> If a subject is assigned pitch accent and becomes the focus, I assume it raises to SpecTopP, which in turn rules out the possibility of the late merger of a TA in an adjoined SpecTP, the basis of the V3-structures we have seen.

<sup>32</sup> What I do not account for in this proposal is how the pitch accent on the left-most element in the other V3-structures such as those in (21) is valued. One possibility, which also explains the comma intonation required, is that there is a non-lexically realized element in the head of the Spec-position (where the comma occurs) that values the pitch accent feature.

<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, the restriction on pitch accent that I argue for KD does not apply to English:

(i) YESTerday we went shopping on Broadway.

This is not surprising, considering the fact that KD is otherwise just as subject to the V2-restriction as HD is and is thus parametrically quite far removed from English.

properties requires the examination of IM and EM as derivational operations and how they are utilized to satisfy the requirements of the interfaces. Following this line of reasoning, a difference in the interface requirements of KD that apply to prosody must exist that allows two constituents, both lacking pitch accent, to occur at the left periphery of a main clause. We recall that no syntactic requirement need be met with KD V3-structures because the operation deriving it, late merge, applies after the cyclic is complete. Thus, it is only the prosodic difference that must be accounted for. This prosody, I will argue, meets WGmc prosodic requirements of the interfaces if the definition of prosodic weight is redefined slightly. We return to this point below.

First, we consider the reason the KD innovation in (23) is not utilized in other continental WGmc languages. The reason, I will argue, is suggested in (20). This hypothesis is based on the simplicity of IM operations that is not an optional simplicity and thus has the force of a requirement. This simplicity must on the one hand meet syntactic requirements on feature valuation and on the other prosodic requirements on accent as a phonetic mechanism for clarity in syntactic derivation – keeping transparent the syntactic and pragmatic relations of fronted elements to other elements they now dominate. In a system in which only one pitch accent is allowed before each functional head, these relations are transparent, whereas in a system in which two or more pitch accents occur left of the first functional head NOCLASH, as defined by Féry (2007), is violated. The other option in this system is the total lack of pitch accent, when for instance a TA or a subject (alone) precedes the finite verb and neither one is chosen as the focus. Both of these options are available in all WGmc languages.

KD introduces a third option closely related to the second one: both a subject and a TA are allowed left of the first functional head, if neither is the Focus. Since both are inherently related to TP, no chain relations are required and thus no pitch accent. Thus, no prosodic or syntactic requirement is violated. The prosody of this construction, however, departs from the requirements on V3-structures in WGmc illustrated in (21): pitch accent must be assigned to the leftmost element in V3-structures, for whatever reason. KD legitimately skirts this requirement in its V3-structures for reasons just outlined. Yet, an exception to WGmc syntax remains in the fact that two constituents are allowed, aside from the lack of pitch accent or comma intonation; KD V3-structures “stand alone” in this regard.

KD can make this exception without violating any core WGmc parameters, if we assume that prosody has a certain degree of autonomy from syntax, just as the inverse is certainly true, which allows it to position more than one constituent left of  $V_{fin}$ . KD prosody can satisfy the requirements of WGmc prosody, even though neither of the two constituents before the  $V_{fin}$  has a syllable with pitch accent, if a principle of prosody applies, namely, that two constituents, both lacking a syllable with pitch accent, is equal to one constituent with one accented syllable.<sup>34</sup>

#### (24) Principle of KD prosody

Two unaccented XPs = one XP with an accented syllable

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<sup>34</sup> This principle is comparable to the one used for counting morae:

(i) One long, tense vowel in an open syllable is equal to one short, lax vowel plus a consonant

$CV_{long} = CV_{short}C$

Whether the two principles are interconnected in the grammar of KD is a different matter. The connection would have to be at a highly abstract level, since word stress and weight are governed by the principles of phonology at the lexical level, versus pitch accent which is governed by both the phonology and the discourse structure. Further research would have to determine what evidence exists that word stress and prosody, of which pitch accent is a part, interact in the phonology in such a way that the principle in (24) could be one application of a more general principle that applies in word stress as well.

This comparison makes sense, if we assume that at some level of abstraction prosody and word stress are subject to the same constraints. Whether that is actually the case in human language is a question that must be left to further investigation.

For the purposes of the immediate investigation, I am proposing that WGmc prosody can accommodate the prosody of KD V3-structures because of the minimal prosodic size of the two constituents that typically occur in the left periphery of these structures. In the data available to date, we have the following V3-structures (some occurring earlier):

(25) V3-structures attested in KD (in Wiese 2012 and through p.c.)

- a. [...] *danach sie macht so.*  
there-after makes she so  
'After that she does it this way'.
- b. *Danach sie tanzt so.*  
there-after dances she so  
'After that she dances this way'.
- c. *nur isch muss noch bisschen hier abnehmen.*<sup>35</sup>  
only I must yet a little here take-off  
'I just have to take a little off here'.
- d. *jetzt isch hasse ihn*  
now hate I him  
'Now I hate him'.
- e. *Gestern ich war Ku'damm*  
yesterday was I on the Ku'damm  
'Yesterday I was on the Ku'damm'.
- f. *Jedes Jahr ich kauf mir bei D., escht, damit sie gut halten*  
every year buy I them me at D., truly, there-with they good hold  
'Every year I buy them at D., honestly, so that they hold out well'.
- g. *Letztes Jahr ich geh nach Bosnien, [...]*  
Last year went ich to Bosnia  
'Last year I went to Bosnia'.

In all of these constructions the TA is "limited" in size in the sense that it typically has just two syllables or two words, of which just one is multisyllabic; most importantly, no syllable has pitch accent. An interesting test of this hypothesis would be whether speakers of KD could generate structures such as those in (26):

- (26) a. (\*)Jedes Jahr mein Bruder geht nach Bosnien  
every year my brother goes to Bosnia  
'Every year my brother goes to Bosnia'.
- b. (\*)Am Wochenende meine Familie kocht immer sehr viel

<sup>35</sup> This V3-construction is the only one in the data that does not begin with a TA. *Nur*, an adverb, has the function of a discourse-linking element and thus occupies a different position in the syntax than a TA. Supporting this analysis is the fact that the prosody of this construction is different: *nur* must be followed by a pause, suggesting that there is a nonlexically realized functional head position after it, as there is in the constructions in (21).

on-the weekend my family cooks always very much  
 ‘On the weekend my family always cooks a lot’.

My prediction is that these constructions would be considered deviant, simply because there would be a tendency to use some level of pitch accent with these TAs.

Interesting potential counterevidence to the claim just made exists in the the one construction available in the KD database that has a left-dislocated adverbial clause that could be classified as a TA:

- (27) Wenn wir umziehen so, isch hab keine Zeit zu essen...  
 when we move so, I have no time to eat  
 ‘Whenever we move like this, I have no time to eat’

Because this adverbial clause does not meet the criterion of being “limited” in size in the way the TAs in (25) are, the properties of (27), especially its prosody, are undoubtedly different as well. Even though it is temporal in some sense, it is not temporal in the same way as *jeden Abend* ‘every evening’, *heute* ‘today’, *gestern* ‘yesterday’, etc., and because it is a clause, it has features that these TAs do not have. For these reasons I will assume the same derivation for (27) as for the constructions in (21): it involves fronting of the adverbial clause to Spec,TopP, pitch accent on *so*, and a non-lexically realized element in Top° that values the feature [Focus] on *so* as well as the feature [Topic] on the clause. The comma intonation indicates the presence of this head.

To conclude this subsection, I suggest an answer to the question posed at the outset. Based on the data presented here, I am led to the conclusion that the other WGmc languages have not (yet) utilized the KD option for V3 with TAs because of the simplicity and elegance of their syntax, as described earlier. The robustness of this system derives not only from the transparency inherent in “one constituent, one pitch accent” but also from the way it satisfies syntactic and prosodic interface requirements. Also in its favor is the traditional prosodic and word stress pattern of WGmc: the strong-weak pattern found in most simplex words or in each component of compounds has a prosodic parallel: one strong accent before the weak accent on the  $V_{fin}$ .<sup>36</sup> Further research will show whether the redefinition of prosodic weight in (24) proposed to accommodate the KD has a basis in some universal or has been adopted from another language that has influenced KD.

#### 4.5 Arguments in favor of asymmetric V2

Earlier I pointed out that Féry’s (2007) analysis of V2-constructions with Topicalization reveals a distinct prosodic structure. An assumption that Féry makes for her analysis is that a constituent in the prefield of a V2-structure is not necessarily topical. She assumes, following Fanselow (2004) and Frey (2006), that “[n]ominative arguments, dative arguments of passive and psych verbs, temporal adverbs, sentence level adverbs, etc. are often the first constituents of the sentence by virtue of being the ‘highest’ constituent of their clause” (Ibid., p. 69). She assumes, furthermore, that there are two types of movement, formal and pragmatic, that front elements in V2-structures. Formal movement does not result in any contrastive interpretation or prosody; its target is a position in IP (inflection phrase), which I will equate here with TP as assumed above. Thus, elements that move to SpecTP are in the unmarked case the subject of the sentence, less

<sup>36</sup> Inversely, further research will also have to show whether V3-structures of the sort in (21) are tolerated in KD. Whether or not they are will shed further light on the prosodic properties of KD.

commonly a dative object of a psych verb or an unaccusative passive verb. Pragmatic movement, by contrast, is A'-movement that targets a higher Spec-position and is associated with the prosody described in §4.2: pitch accent and pause or some boundary tone.

All of these claims and assumptions about V2 and V3 raise an important question: How would the derivation of V3 in KD look if we were to assume that main clauses in WGmc have only one position available for the finite verb, namely in C°? This would mean that all main clauses in WGmc require verb raising to C°, a common assumption in the literature but one that has been challenged on numerous occasions, going back as far as Travis (1984). Following this assumption, sometimes called “symmetric V2”, versus “asymmetric V2” supported here, the V3-constructions in (3) would need to undergo an additional movement operation: subject-raising to SpecCP, which would in turn have to induce verb raising to C° (or hypothetically the cause-and-effect could be the reverse: that V-to-C would induce subject raising). After these additional IM operations the left-edge TA would then have to be inserted by some operation in an additional SpecCP projection.

The data in (17) and (21) do not support this kind of derivation. They indicate that a left-edge element in an additional SpecCP projection is associated with certain syntactic and prosodic requirements. It is clear from the data that TAs in both KD and HD are **not** assigned pitch accent, at least not in the default case, whether they occur in a V2- or V3-structure. For V2-structures we could assume with the symmetric V2 model that pitch-accented is not assigned to TAs at the left edge because the fronting of a TA is semantico-pragmatically vacuous. Nevertheless, V<sub>fin</sub>-raising does occur in V2-structures with TA-fronting, presumably to value some feature on the TA. Regardless of what feature that is, the fact remains that V<sub>fin</sub>-raising does NOT occur in KD V3-structures, following the reasoning that no chain to the base position is created and the inherent relation of TAs to TP. Regardless of the reasoning used to argue against V<sub>fin</sub>-raising out of T in these structures, the fact remains that in a symmetric V2 model the TA will have to front to a position above the SpecCP to which the subject must front. Thus, the symmetric model must explain why this derivation of KD V3-structures does not have to meet the same prosodic requirements as those in (17) and (21). In brief, the symmetric V2 model has an additional problem to contend with when deriving V3-structures, besides those addressed in Migdalski (2012), Zwart (1997) and te Velde (2005).

### 5. Conclusion

This investigation of the WGmc left periphery by way of KD V3-structures has three main objectives: i) to provide support for the claim that KD belongs to the family of WGmc, ii) to present an account of KD V3-structures, and iii) to shed some light on the properties of the WGmc left periphery, in most respects building on the research that has already gained broad support. The first two objectives are closely connected: my account of KD V3-structures is designed to place KD within the WGmc fold of languages, supporting Wiese's (2012) arguments for the same, which are based on mostly different considerations. The third objective is related to the second in that my account of the KD left periphery argues for a notion of what may occur left of V<sub>fin</sub> in prosodic as well as syntactic terms: more than one constituent, a syntactic term, may occur left of V<sub>fin</sub> iff i) syntactic valuation requirements are either met or waived, and ii) the elements meet the prosodic requirement excluding pitch accent on these elements. This prosodic requirement limits lexical content beyond the syntax, once the syntax no longer applies, namely, after the syntactic cycle has been completed. Late merge, it is argued, can apply post-cyclically; when it adds lexical content, the prosodic requirements come into play for limiting the size.



There are a number of areas that require further research. As the KD corpus becomes more developed and refined, it will be possible to determine with much greater certainty what the prosodic properties of KD are and to what degree they enter into the choice between V2 and V3. Eventually syntactic tags will be added to the corpus (Wiese, p.c.), which will greatly enhance this kind of research.

Another research area already mentioned is the question of how HD changed so that structures like those in (4) from ENHG are no longer generated today, so that V3 with TAs became unacceptable? A comparison to Old English (see e.g. Kroch 2009 and Westergaard 2009) and the changes that occurred in the late Old English period might be fruitful; these changes resulted in the generation of fewer V2-structures with some element other than the subject at the left edge, by which English became more of a “V3-language.” Were prosodic changes involved in this evolution? Equally likely is that V2 took on pragmatic properties as HD developed, whereby TAs were classified with other adverbials so that all adverbials, regardless of their relation to the sentence (whether at the TP-, vP- or VP-level), were handled the same, i.e. with all requiring V2, despite the inherent relation of TAs to TP. This reclassification represented a simplification in the syntax of V2 and in the classification of adverbials and in that sense it marks a stage of further advancement or development. It could be summarized in the principle “One constituent, one pitch accent.” What is happening in KD today with the use of TAs in V3-structures could represent a return to greater syntactic flexibility, based on the old distinction made between TAs and other adverbials. Another possibility, suggested here, is that KD has introduced a prosodic mechanism for limiting the size of the left periphery: two constituents allowed, but no pitch accent.

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