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**West Germanic Left-Dislocated Adverbial Clauses:
The role of the semantic interface***

In most Dutch and German complex constructions in which the embedded clause precedes the main clause, the finite verb of the main clause follows the embedded clause immediately, following the V2-rule. But in some cases the finite verb does not raise that far, creating a V3-construction. The reasons for this variation are explored here, leading to the conclusion that the V3-construction requires additional features from the semantic interface for meeting the interpretive requirements that distinguish the V3- from the V2-versions of the same construction. In some cases features representing a conclusion to a preceding conditional *wenn*-clause ('if'-clause) understood in the discourse context must be inserted from the semantic interface. All of these V3-constructions provide evidence that an additional layer of meaning is added when elements are remerged at the left periphery, a process that requires additional features not present on the lexical items when initially inserted into the numeration.

1. Introduction: The data and core issues

In a typical Dutch or German complex construction in which the embedded clause precedes the main clause, the finite verb (V_{fin}) of the main clause follows immediately after the embedded clause (here bracketed and labeled CP), which typically ends with its own V_{fin} (these from German; the main clause V_{fin} in bold):

- (1) a. [CP Wenn morgen schönes Wetter ist], **fahren** wir in die Berge.
If tomorrow nice weather is, drive we into the mountains
'If there's nice weather tomorrow, we'll drive to the mountains'
b. [CP Als wir in den Bergen waren], **schneite** es kurz ab und zu.
As we in the mountains were, snowed it briefly now and then
'While we were in the mountains, it snowed briefly now and then'

However, constructions like those in (2) (a – c, German, d – f, Dutch) in which the main-clause V_{fin} does not raise to the highest head position of its clause are perfectly acceptable as well. In these the V_{fin} of the main clause appears to remain in the position where it merges before the adverbial clause is left-dislocated, i.e. this merge operation does not induce (further) verb raising:¹

- (2) a. [CP Wenn er die Geschichte...irgendwo gelesen hätte], er **hätte** sie als...abgetan.
If he the story somewhere read had, he had-SUBJ it as off-done (SUBJ=subjunctive)
'If he had read the story somewhere, he would have tossed it off as...'
b. [CP So naïv und amerikanisch geradeaus O's Angriff war], er **traf** etwas.
As naïve and American straight-out O's attack was, it hit something
'As straight-out naïve and American O's attack was, it struck a nerve'

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¹ These and other V3-constructions and their sources are included in the Addendum following the main text.

- c. [_{CP} Ob es regnet oder nicht], ich **gehe** spazieren.
 whether it rains or not, I go walking
 ‘Whether or not it rains, I’m going for a walk’
- d. [_{CP} Gingen in 2003 nog maar 91 Afghanen terug], vorig jaar **waren** dat er 248
 went in 2003 yet only 91 Afghans back, fore year were that EXPL 248
 ‘Though only 91 Afghans went back in 2003, the previous year the number was 248’
- e. [_{CP} Al was de situatie verbeterd], vorig jaar **gingen** er toch minder Afghanen terug.
 Though was the situation improved, last year went EXPL PART fewer Afghans back
 ‘Although the situation improved, last year, however, fewer A went back’
- f. [_{CP} Hoe goed de krant ook is], ik **zou** nooit een abonnement nemen op de krant
 however good the newspaper is I will not a subscription take on the newspaper
 ‘No matter how good the newspaper is, I won’t take out a subscription on it’

The constructions in (2), which I will refer to for convenience as “V3-constructions,” require Left Dislocation (LD), an internal merge (IM, see Chomsky 2000) operation that moves an element to a position farther left than does Topicalization, to a position called by some investigators the “Vor-Vorfeld” (see Günthner 1999, Meinunger 2004, te Velde 2010, Thim-Mabrey 1988); in doing so, it does not trigger verb raising, in contrast to Topicalization. Such constructions pose several challenges for syntactic theories of Dutch and German (referred to hereafter as West Germanic, WGmc). One of the challenges centers around the assumption that the V_{fin} of the main clause does not have to raise (or is not attracted) to the top head position of its clause when an element like an adverbial clause is left-dislocated. LD thus appears, following long-held assumptions,² NOT to be a syntactically motivated operation, unlike Topicalization which, because it triggers verb-raising, is assumed to be motivated by a syntactic feature-checking requirement – if we assume that V_{fin} must check a feature of the topicalized element. Following this assumption, the logical conclusion, supported by much other work (see Haegeman 1991/2008, 2001, 2002, 2004, López 2009, Sturgeon 2008) is that LD satisfies some semantic or pragmatic (or semantico-pragmatic) requirement. This line of reasoning is supported by the stark interpretive differences between (3a) and (3b):

- (3) a. [_{CP} Wenn du Lust hast], wir **gehen** heute Abend ins Kino (und du kannst mit).
 If you desire have we go today evening in-the cinema and you can with
 ‘If you feel like it, we’re going to the movies tonight (and you can come along)’
- b. [_{CP} Wenn du Lust hast], **gehen** wir heute Abend ins Kino (aber sonst nicht).
 ... but otherwise not
 ‘If you feel like it, we’re going to the movies tonight (but otherwise not)’

The data in (3) identify a problem that has not been discussed in generative (or more specifically, Minimalist) terms in the literature: both the V2- and V3-versions of the construction are not only grammatical, each of them requires a distinctly different interpretation. By contrast, most of the V3-constructions in (2) & (3) do not have a grammatical V2-version, and none of the V2-constructions in (1) have a V3-version that is grammatical. I will address all of these facts in this analysis.

In section two of this paper we will consider what other studies have revealed about the properties of V3-constructions and point to areas that need further investigation. Then in section three I outline a proposal for dealing with the problems for WGmc syntactic theory, with particular attention to what is seen in (2): the fact that one string of LIs may be interpreted in two different ways with only a change in verb position. My proposal involves an invasive semantic component that provides additional semantico-pragmatic features needed for the interpretation. Then in section four I outline some remaining problems requiring further research, and finally in section five some conclusions are presented.

² See König & van der Auwera (1988) and works cited there.

2. Previous Studies: major issues discussed

Although the research literature on V3-constructions is not extensive, there are more studies than can be reviewed in great detail here. I select those that deal with issues that are most relevant to my proposal, without implying anything about the value of the others.

2.1 The question of integration

As König & van der Auwera (1988:102) argue in their investigation of V3-constructions, V2 is “a signal of incorporation in Germanic.” For them, incorporation means embedding, in the case of constructions like those in (1), that the subordinate clause is embedded in the main clause, and that this embedding is signaled by V2; in this analysis the fronted clause is the first constituent of the main clause. In Minimalist terms, the verb raises to the head position immediately to the right of the fronted subordinate clause for feature-checking purposes. König & van der Auwera thus assume that V3-versions of V2-constructions have a fronted adverbial clause that is not embedded, and therefore not incorporated into the main clause. As examples of V2-constructions with fronted, embedded adverbial clauses they give (4a, b), with (4a', b') the V3-variants of them (4a, a' Dutch, 4b, b' German):

- (4) a. [_{CP} Als je me nodig hebt], **werk** ik ob et kantoor.
 If you me need have, work I at the office
 ‘If you need me, I’m working at the office’
 a' [_{CP} Als je me nodig hebt], ik **werk** ob et kantoor.
 b. [_{CP} Selbst wenn er ein bisschen betrunken ist], **singt** Pavarotti gut.
 Even if he a little drunk ist sings P. well
 ‘Even if he’s a little drunk, Pavarotti sings well’
 b' [_{CP} Selbst wenn er ein bisschen betrunken ist], Pavarotti **singt** gut.

König & van der Auwera do not assume that the fronted adverbial clauses in the V3-versions function as the first element of the main clause, for two reasons: i) the main clause is V2 without the adverbial clause, and ii) the fronted adverbial clauses is not embedded and thus not incorporated into the main clause. Interestingly, they assume that in both the V2- and the V3-versions the fronted adverbial clause is a subordinate clause, i. e. that all of the constructions involve hypotaxis, not parataxis. They thus exclude an analysis in which these constructions have properties of coordinate constructions. My own analysis will support this fundamental assumption; it is in my view critical to a satisfactory account that these fronted adverbial clauses are not treated as some sort of conjunct. Unlike König and van der Auwera, however, I come to the conclusion that in constructions like (4a') and (4b') the fronted adverbial clause is integrated, though only pragmatically, not syntactically. More specifically, I will assume that the adverbial clause initially enters the derivation by external merge (EM, see Chomsky 2000) in a position within the main clause, then later undergoes IM in the form of LD, as does any adverbial element that becomes left-dislocated, with the results just stated: no syntactic, only pragmatic integration, and thus no syntactic, only pragmatic embedding.

Another important insight of König and van der Auwera’s work pertains to the relation between the V2-property of WGmc and the degree of integration in V3-constructions; they trace a historical development that points to a correlation: the stricter the V2-property has become, the less non-integration of left-dislocated elements is possible. In older stages of Germanic V2 was less strict and non-integrated, left-dislocated clauses (or elements of any kind) were more common. Today WGmc has a stricter V2-

property and tolerates fewer non-integrated elements on the left periphery.³ For example, in Old High German texts, constructions like those in (5) are not uncommon (see also Tomaselli 1995):⁴

- (5) a. Oba uer mir ambahte, mir **folge**...
 If whoever me serve_{subjunctive} me follow_{subjunctive}
 ‘If anyone would serve me, he would follow’
 b. ...oba uer mir ambahtit, inan **gihērēt** mīn fater.
 if whoever me serves, him honors my father
 ‘If any one serves me, the Father will honor him’

The equivalents of (5) are ungrammatical in German today:⁵

- (5’) a. *Wenn jemand mir diene/dienen würde, mir würde er folgen.
 If someone me-DAT serve/serve would, me-DAT would he follow
 (Wenn jemand mir diene/dienen würde, folge er mir/würde er mir folgen.)
 ‘If someone would serve me, he would follow me’
 b. *Wenn jemand mir dient, den ehrt der Vater.
 If someone me-DAT serves, him honors the father
 (Wenn jemand mir dient, ehrt ihn der Vater.)
 ‘If someone serves me, the father will honor him’

The facts of König and van der Auwera’s analysis will be used in section three to support the proposal that the constructions they present require additional features that are inserted by the semantic interface in order to meet interpretive requirements.

Köpcke and Panther (1989) also focus on the semantic and pragmatic aspects of integration. Two of their examples of non-integrated adverbial clauses are:

- (6) a. [_{CP} Wenn du Interesse hast], unsere Party **beginnt** um acht Uhr. (CP_{adv} – subject – V_{fin})
 if you interest have, our party begins at eight o’clock.
 ‘If you’re interested, our party begins at eight o’clock’
 b. Wenn du Interesse hast, um acht Uhr **beginnt** unsere Party. (CP_{adv} – Topic – V_{fin})

The following quote summarizes the major points of their analysis (Ibid., p. 685):

“...the speaker’s communicative intentions correlate with the word order in the *apodosis*. In general, ‘content conditionality’ is syntacticized through VS-order in the apodosis, whereas ‘relevance conditionality’ corresponds to TOP-V order in the consequent clause. However, this tendency is overridden

³ Axel (2004) also investigates this historical development and comes to the same conclusion.

⁴ These texts are from Tatian’s translation of John 12:26.

⁵ These passages are rendered in the modern translation of this text with an indefinite relative clause and a resumptive pronoun:

- (i) Wer mir dienen will, der folge mir nach.
 whoever me-DAT serve wants-to, he follow-SUBJUNCTIVE me-DAT after
 ‘Whoever will serve me, he will follow after me’
 (ii) Wer mir dient, den wird mein Vater ehren.
 whoever me-DAT serves, him will my father honor’
 ‘Whoever serve me, him will my father honor’

Constructions with resumptives like this do not in my analysis qualify as V3-constructions. A detailed analysis of the difference is not possible in the limited space here, but a tentative proposal might be: the preceding indefinite relative clause and the resumptive form a single constituent at some semantic level; on the syntactic side the adverbial clause could be analyzed as a CP-shell of the resumptive; coindexation would label their single identity.

by two principles which we term *ego involvement* and *speaker's degree of certainty*. In those cases in which the speaker of a content conditional intends to convey a strong ego involvement, s/he will resort to TOP-V; conversely, a relevance conditional may be grammaticalized as VS if the speaker wishes to communicate that the content of the apodosis does not constitute an item of factual knowledge, but rather his/her personal opinion about the truth of some proposition.”

Interesting for the present analysis is the assumption that V2- and V3-syntax play a role in determining ‘content conditionality’, which is quite clearly a semantico-pragmatic property; I will argue below that the semantic interface must interact with the derivation at the point of Spell-Out for the effects to obtain that Köpcke and Panther identify.

Note that Köpcke and Panther’s central assumption, that integration vs. non-integration (always) correlates with V2 vs. V3, must be weakened, for as we see in (7) there is no clear indication that the V3-version, though arguably lacking a syntactically integrated left-dislocated adverbial clause, is interpretively less integrated than the V2-version, cf. (3):

- (7) a. [CP Selbst wenn er schläft], seine Stiefel **zieht** er nicht aus.
 Even when he sleeps his boots pulls he not out
 ‘Even when he sleeps he doesn’t take off his boots’
 a’ [CP Selbst wenn er schläft], **zieht** er seine Stiefel nicht aus.
 b. [CP Wenn er die Geschichte...irgendwo gelesen hätte], er **hätte** sie als...abgetan.
 If he the story...somewhere read had, he had-SUBJ it as...away-done (SUBJ=subjunctive)
 ‘If he had read the story somewhere, he would have tossed it off as ...’
 b’ [CP Wenn er die Geschichte...irgendwo gelesen hätte], **hätte** er sie als...abgetan.

These data illustrate that the V2- and V3-versions of a construction, though syntactically distinct, both constitute integrated discourse units, which I will assume supports two arguments: i) that LD, generating a V3-construction, does not require any syntactic inducement, a position that leaves open the question of what induces and licenses the movement, and ii) left-dislocated adverbial CPs are integrated both with the main clause in a semantico-pragmatic sense, despite the V3-syntax, and therefore we should look for the inducement of movement in that part of the grammar.⁶ Thus, the differences between the V2- and V3-versions in (7) is, looking beyond the syntax, a matter of the pragmatics, which interacts with the interpretation in subtle ways: a left-dislocated CP_{adv} as in (7a) and (7b), particularly when combined with Topicalization as in (7a), does not occupy the same place in the discourse as in the V2-versions; that is, it takes on the status of an additional comment that is not binding on the main clause statement. Yet, it remains integrated both pragmatically and prosodically, a point we return to below.

We have seen so far that the syntactic distinction V2 versus V3 correlates with syntactic, but not with pragmatic integration, a fact that suggests that, in addition to interaction with the semantic interface at Spell-Out, where I will assume the pragmatic features originate, the phonetic interface also interacts with verb raising, and furthermore that a theory of V3 must to some extent work off a theory of V2 in which contrast and emphasis, signaled by the prosody and thus subject to PF-requirements, determine verb placement. Such a theory is outlined in Frey (2010).

2.2 Other observations in the literature pertaining to integration and non-integration

D’Avis (2004) investigates a number of V3-constructions of which those in (8) are representative:

⁶ For more on non-integrated clauses see Reis (1997) who states the following conditions: Such clauses are i) syntactically dispensable and ii) prosodically and pragmatically independent, and they iii) do not allow variable binding with an element in the matrix clause and iv) always occur at the end of a complex sentence.

- (8) a. [CP Ob es regnet oder nicht] – wir **gehen** spazieren.
 whether it rains or not we go walking
 ‘Whether it rains or not – we’ll go for a walk’
- b. [CP Wen auch immer du einlädst] – Maria **wird** nicht kommen.
 whom even ever you invite Maria will not come
 ‘Whoever you invite – Maria won’t come’
- c. [CP Mag Heinz auch gewinnen] – Maria **mag** ihn nicht.
 may Heinz also/even win Maria likes him not
 ‘Even if Heinz wins – Maria won’t like him’

D’Avis introduces the term ‘conditions of irrelevance’ to describe the semantico-pragmatic relation of the left-peripheral adverbial to the main clause conclusion. The question arises: what then is the function of this adverbial? Clearly it is not completely superfluous information, comparable to a parenthetical, as d’Avis suggests when he states that a theory of parentheticals is needed to account for (8). Note the differences in (9) between the *ob*-clause and true parentheticals:

- (9) a. Wir gehen heute Nachmittag (– im Stadtpark oder auf dem Land –) spazieren.
 we go today afternoon in-the city-park or on the land walking
 ‘We’re going for a walk (in the city park or out in the country) this afternoon’
- b. Wir gehen [CP ob es regnet oder nicht] spazieren. ≠ Wir gehen spazieren.
 we go whether it rains or not walking we go walking
 ‘We’re going for a walk whether it rains or not’ ≠ ‘We’re going for a walk’
- b’ Wir gehen, [CP wenn es regnet], spazieren, aber nicht, [CP wenn es schneit].
 we go if it rains walking but not if it snows
 ‘We’re going for a walk if it rains, but not if it snows’

The parenthetical in (9a) presents purely optional information whereas the CP_{adv} in (9b) states a condition that is irrelevant but not optional information and is thus not parenthetical.

This construction, in fact, shares a property with another V3-construction type presented by Günthner (1999). A sample is given in (10):

- (10)a. [CP Wenn ich kurz noch was einwerfen darf], diese Angst **sollten** wir ernst nehmen.
 if I briefly yet something interject may, this fear should we seriously take
 ‘If I may yet interject something briefly, we should take this fear seriously’
- b. [CP Wenn wir grad über Tibet sprechen] – also, das **ist** auch so-n Beispiel.
 if we directly about Tibet speak – well, that is also such-an example
 ‘If we’re talking right now about Tibet – that’s also an example of that’

Günthner poses the question: “Wie können nicht-integrierte *wenn*-Konstruktionen innerhalb der Topologie deutscher Sätze beschrieben werden?” [How can non-integrated *wenn*-constructions be described within the topology of German sentences?]. She assumes that the V3-constructions she presents involve non-integrated adverbial clauses.

A transposition test, putting the adverbial clause in a possible position where it could be located before LD indeed seems to indicate that it did not originate within or after the main clause, and is thus not integrated with that clause:

- (11)a. */#Diese Angst sollten wir ernst nehmen, wenn ich kurz noch was einwerfen darf.
 b. */#Also das ist auch so ein Beispiel, wenn wir grad über Tibet sprechen.

- if you desire have and time, we make tomorrow a children-God-service
 ‘If you are interested, we doing a children’s church service tomorrow’
 b. [_{CP} Wenn du Luscht hasch und Zeit], machen wir morgen en Kindergottesdienst.
 ‘If you’re interested, we’ll do a children’s service tomorrow’

The V2-variant in (12b) does not have an unstated *apodosis* in contrast to (12a); the pronounced main clause is the *apodosis*, i.e. the preceding CP_{adv} is syntactically integrated with this pronounced main clause, remerged as a Topic in initial position, thus inducing verb-raising. As we would expect, this CP_{adv} can be transposed with the main clause with no change in interpretation:

- (13) Wir machen morgen en Kindergottesdienst, wenn du Luscht hasch und Zeit.

Interestingly, the interpretation of (13) depends on the prosody. For the rendering with the same interpretation as in (12b), the intonation must not be interrupted by any pause, nor may the intonation pattern rise or fall significantly, i.e. the entire construction must be one prosodic unit. If these prosodic features are altered, i. e. if there is a pause and an interruption in the intonational pattern, then we get the interpretation in (12a), which requires the unpronounced *apodosis*.¹⁰

The most interesting fact about (12a) that will provide evidence for a central assumption in section 3 is that one set of LIs can have two different interpretations, depending on the verb placement in the main clause. The same is true with the constructions in (4), repeated here as (14):

- (14)a. [_{CP} Wenn du Lust hast], wir **gehen** heute Abend ins Kino (und du kannst mit).
 If you desire have we go today evening in-the cinema and you can with
 ‘If you feel like it, we’re going to the movies tonight (and you can come along)’
 b. Wenn du Lust hast, **gehen** wir heute Abend ins Kino (aber sonst nicht).
 ... but otherwise not
 ‘If you feel like it, we’re going to the movies tonight (but otherwise not)’

One line of argumentation for this fact is that there is an unstated main clause (in parenthesis) that provides the missing element of the interpretation:

- (14’) Wenn du Lust hast (kannst du mit), wir gehen heute Abend ins Kino

We will address the properties of the unpronounced *apodosis* – whether there is an ellipsis – in section 2.5. In the next section we turn to this question: What role does verb placement play in determining the content of the unstated main clause, and how does verb placement interact with the prosody?

2.4 Integration and non-integration: the syntactic and prosodic factors

It has become clear from the preceding discussion that there is both a syntactic and a pragmatic method for defining integration, and furthermore that syntactic non-integration, as exhibited by any V3-construction, does not necessarily mean pragmatic non-integration. Whereas syntactic non-integration, as signaled by the position of the main-clause V_{fin}, could be easily defined as any instance of V3 with LD, a definition of pragmatic non-integration depends not only on the interpretation but also the prosody of the V3-construction, which has not been elucidated so far. The only aspect of the prosody that will be

¹⁰ These data raise at least two questions: i) Does the left-dislocated CP_{adv} in (12a) originate in the unspoken portion of the main clause, the *apodosis*? ii) If the answer to (i) is yes, then what does that say about the properties of the unstated *apodosis*? Does this favor an ellipsis analysis? Answering this final question would take us beyond this study; however, my own analysis here comes out against ellipsis, cf. section 2.5.

considered here is simply that it varies in clearly defined terms between V2- and V3-constructions, with the prosody of the former placing emphasis and/or contrast on the left-most constituent, and the prosody of the latter indicating that the left-most constituent, what has been left-dislocated, is not syntactically integrated with the main clause, but nevertheless forms a prosodic unit with it. In a construction like (12a) the inter-clausal relations are different because of the unpronounced *apodosis*. I am proposing that the left-dislocated CP_{adv} is actually syntactically integrated with this unpronounced segment, but because it is unpronounced, the intonation does not create a prosodic unit out of the CP_{adv} and the pronounced main clause; rather, a quite noticeable pause occurs after the CP_{adv} as a prosodic marker of the unpronounced *apodosis*. Thus, the pause has two functions: i) it marks the location of the unpronounced *apodosis*, and ii) it signals the non-integration of the *prothesis* and the pronounced main clause; as we have seen, the *prothesis* is of no consequence to the pronounced main clause and is therefore prosodically set off from it.

As Günthner points out, the *wenn*-clause does not stand in a causal relation with the (pronounced) main clause; there is no contingency relation between the two. In some such constructions the *prothesis* has a modal function, acting to weaken the main clause, as in (15) (Günthner's example, p. 217, reformatted):

- (15) [CP Wenn ich ehrlich bin], also, des reizt mich also gar net
 if I honest am, well, that tempts me thus at-all not
 'To be honest, that doesn't tempt me at all'

Further discussion of the various subtle pragmatic functions of *wenn*-constructions of this sort can be found in Günthner's section 3.3.

Two points about Günthner's analysis should be reiterated before we move on: i) the non-integration that she identifies is between the *prothesis* and the **stated** *apodosis*; there is no lack of integration between the *prothesis* and the **unstated** *apodosis* proposed earlier; ii) the V3-requirement that she identifies disappears if we assume an unstated *apodosis* exists, i.e. the V_{fin} of this *apodosis* **must** follow immediately after the *prothesis*:¹¹

- (15') [CP Wenn ich ehrlich bin, würde ich/*ich würde sagen, also, ...
 would I/I would say
 'To be honest, I would say...']

Is it possible to posit an ellipsis in constructions like (12a), (14a) and (15) comparable to other forms of ellipsis investigated in the generative literature? We address this question in the next section.

2.5 Against ellipsis

Günthner rejects the ellipsis analysis for the following reasons: i) it is sometimes hard to find words that could be pronounced in place of the ellipsis; ii) it is problematic to speak of a semantic and pragmatic equivalency between the elided and the "full" form, and iii) the elided version sometimes has more than one interpretation, whereas the "full" version is more limited in its interpretive spectrum. All three of these arguments are centered around one fact: an ellipsis allows greater interpretive potential than pronounced words. There is an obvious reason for this: no words are pronounced, and thus the interpretation of the *apodosis* must be based on the context which can be conceptualized differently by each speaker and listener. It is for reasons of logic not possible, I will argue, to interpret the constructions (12a), (14a) and

¹¹ The V3-version of (15') is also acceptable with a pause before *ich würde...* In this version the *wenn*-clause has been left-dislocated as in (15), thus requiring an unpronounced *apodosis*, after which follows the main clause: *ich würde sagen...* In other words, *ich würde sagen* is not integrated with the *wenn*-clause but instead some unstated *apodosis*, i.e. the same effect is created as in (15).

(15) without an *apodosis*. Yet, for reasons that Günthner gives, and for additional reasons presented below, an ellipsis does not occur.

Additional reasons against an ellipsis account can be formulated using the argumentation and evidence presented by an extensive body of literature. I summarize some of the key arguments as follows:

- i. Ellipsis, as a derivational operation based on recovery in the semantic interface, is licensed only when certain syntactic and semantic relations exist or can be derived, cf. Rooth (1992), Merchant (2001), Winkler (2005), i. a.; in Rooth's formulation these are a) some syntactic parallelism for facilitating reconstruction, b) identity relation between ellipse and antecedent, and c) dominance relation between antecedent and ellipse, as in:

(x) Martin will ein neues Auto kaufen, und Jens will auch ~~ein neues Auto kaufen~~
 M. wants a new car to-buy and J. wants also a new car to-buy
 'Martin wants to buy a new car, and so does Jens'

- ii. The ellipsis proposal for the V3-constructions under discussion does not meet any of the requirements in (i).
- iii. The ellipsis proposal does not account for other constructions similar to (12a) etc. any better, for instance those in (16), which also do not have the relations necessary for ellipsis outlined in (i) (data from Meinunger 2004):

- (16)a. Ehrlich gesagt bin ich/, ich bin von dir total enttäuscht.
 honestly stated am I I am by you totally disappointed
 'Honestly, I am totally disappointed in you'
- b. Ganz nebenbei bemerkt habe ich/, ich habe mir die Sache ganz anders vorgestellt.
 completely next-by remarked I have me-DAT the matter completely otherwise imagined
 'Just on the side, I imagined the matter completely differently'
- b' Ganz nebenbei, ich habe mir die Sache ganz anders vorgestellt.
- c. Ganz offen gestanden bin ich/, ich bin von dir total enttäuscht.
 completely openly admitted I am by you totally disappointed
 'I must admit, I am completely disappointed in you'
- c' Ganz offen, ich bin von dir total enttäuscht.

A formal, detailed analysis of the construction type in (16) and how it differs from the type exemplified in (15) does not lie within the scope of this investigation; there are several properties that distinguish the two types from each other, most notably the location of the ellipsis within the left-dislocated adverbial (following Meinunger's analysis):

- (16')a. Ehrlich ~~gesagt(=)~~ ich bin von dir total enttäuscht.
 honestly ~~stated~~ I am by you totally disappointed
 'Honestly, I am totally disappointed in you'
- b. #/* Ehrlich ~~gesagt(=)~~ bin ich von dir total enttäuscht.

The construction type in (16) is interesting to our analysis because it has two properties of the construction type investigated here: i) obligatorily V3 with a left-dislocated adverbial, and ii) the non-elliptical version allows V2. However, investigating the differences between the types in (15) and (16) would take us down a different path and is therefore a different paper topic.

2.5 Section summary

The data presented so far point to three types of V3-constructions with left-dislocated adverbial clauses: i) those that have a V2-corollary with syntactic and pragmatic differences, ii) those that have a fronted adverbial clause that is optionally non-binding on the main clause because of *irrealis*; and iii) those that have an adverbial clause that is not integrated with the stated, but rather with an unstated *apodosis* that “goes without saying” and which in the above analysis is not an ellipsis that must be recovered but is rather a matrix of features that provide an interpretation based on the speech context.

In the next section we turn, then, to my proposal for accounting for these three types. A central question around which they revolve is how the semantic properties of the left-dislocated adverbials we have seen enter the derivation and become interpretable by the semantic interface, more specifically: Do the LIs of the left-dislocated CP_{adv} have all the semantic features required for the semantic interface, i.e. as required for the interpretation? The answer, I will argue, is no. The solution to this problem comes from the semantic interface which inserts additional features.

3. Left-dislocated adverbials at the interfaces.

Dislocated adverbials, particularly clausal adverbs of the types we saw above, pose a challenge for Minimalist generative grammar theory for several reasons:

- i. They are no longer in their “base” position and are thus no longer in a position that is licensed according to their semantic and/or syntactic features; thus, an account of their displacement to and interpretation at the left periphery cannot draw on theories such as Cinque (1999) and Ernst (2002) that seek to explain their initial ordering or licensing.
- ii. Clausal adverbs do not come with a feature matrix from the lexicon as does a single LI; what then are the features associated with a clausal adverb, and do these explain its displacement in the constructions we have seen?
- iii. Sometimes a displaced adverbial requires a very different interpretation than the non-displaced equivalent. Where do the additional features come from that provide this interpretation?

Although the syntax of adverbial adjuncts presented by Ernst (2002) does not provide many answers to the questions posed above, he does state an important principle that I will adopt here (Ibid., p. 4): “Thus, these proposals together embody the claims that, in general, relatively little syntax is *specific* to adverbial syntax and that in particular cases the semantic and PF-side principles, not the purely syntactic ones, have the greatest voice in determining adverbial distribution.” Even though Ernst had the syntax of adverbial distribution *before* any dislocation takes place in mind with this statement, I will argue that his statement applies equally, if not more so, to displaced adverbials. At the core of my proposal is the assumption that principles of the interfaces, and *not* syntactic principles, underlie their displacement to and interpretation at the left periphery. A related assumption is that the syntactic cycle has already been completed – with its end point marked in WGmc by the positioning of the V_{fin} (via verb raising) in the main clause – when the derivation of V3-constructions occurs.

3.1 Feature insertion from the semantic interface

If the syntactic cycle is complete but (further) displacement is required for interpretive reasons, then a semantic or pragmatic (or semantico-pragmatic) “inducement” for the displacement is needed, in our case the LD of the adverbial clause in the V3-constructions. My proposal is that features are inserted from the semantic interface for this purpose; these are features that are not present on the LIs of the adverbial clause when they are selected from the lexicon. This assumption is compatible with Chomsky’s (2008) explanation of how the semantic content of a construction is assembled in a derivation. He states (Ibid., p. 140-141):

At the semantic interface, the two types of Merge correlate well with the duality of semantics that has been studied within generative grammar for almost forty years, at first in terms of “deep and surface structure interpretation”... To a large extent, EM [External Merge] yields generalized argument structure (θ -roles, the “cartographic” hierarchies, and similar properties); and IM yields discourse-related properties such as old information and specificity, along with scopal effects.

[...]

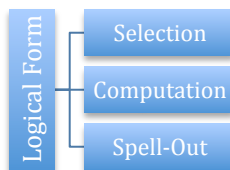
The hypothesis is that C-I [Conceptual-Intentional Interface=semantic interface] incorporates a dual semantics, with generalized argument structure as one component, the other being discourse-related and scopal properties. Language seeks to satisfy the duality in the optimal way, EM serving one function and IM the other, avoiding additional means to express these properties.

Adopting Chomsky’s concept of the organization of the grammar to the present analysis, I follow the principle in (17):

- (17) For WGmc, V2-syntax belongs to the “generalized argument structure” while “V3” is a discourse-related property that results when, in the constructions investigated here, the set of LIs making up an adverbial clause gains a set of semantic features from the semantic interface that provides the discourse-related meanings required for full interpretation.

Chomsky’s statements above, particularly the words “C-I incorporates a dual semantics” suggest that the semantic (C-I) interface imposes a second layer of meaning on a set of LIs when moved to a particular position. For this layering to occur, I am proposing here that the semantic interface must “invade” the derivation, at the latest when the syntactic cycle is complete, to provide the second layer of meaning.¹² For this “invasion” to occur, we need a grammar that is organized along the lines of (18):

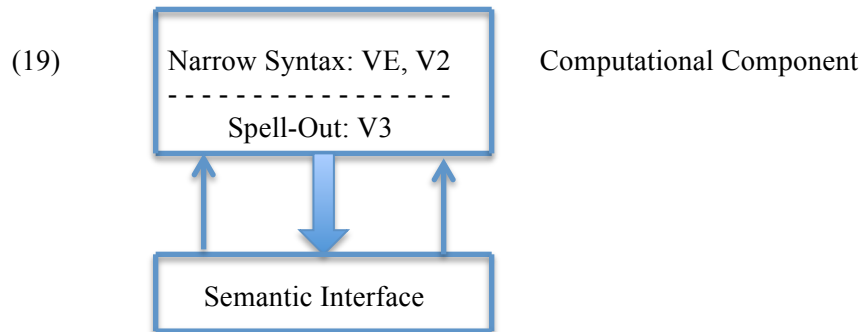
- (18) Grammar model with a semantic interface in an equal-access relation to all derivational stages¹³



The interaction between the semantic interface and Spell-Out in the derivation of the V3-constructions that I am proposing is illustrated in (19), in which I assume that the input of features from the semantic interface into the computational component at Spell-Out occurs before the resulting output back into the semantic interface:

¹² Additional reasons for an invasive semantic interface are presented by Boeckx (2007). I will not investigate the possibility that the semantic interface also “guides” the selection of LIs from the lexicon at the initial stage of a derivation, based on the assumption that without this kind of guidance, a set of LIs cannot produce a construction that is interpretable.

¹³ Boeckx’s (2007) position on (18) is that Spell-Out must or should be dispensed with if the semantic interface is invasive. I will also leave that question for further research.



As illustrated, V2-structures are generated by Narrow Syntax, which at the completion of the syntactic cycle transfers the derivation to Spell-Out, the stage at which input from the semantic interface can induce LD – semantically triggered movement – for adding a layer of meaning according to discourse principles. For example, in (14), repeated here as (20), the clause *wenn du Lust hast* is left-dislocated, generating the V3-construction in which this adverbial clause is syntactically non-integrated with the main clause:

- (20)a. Wir gehen heute Abend ins Kino, wenn du Lust hast
LD →
b. Wenn du Lust hast, wir gehen heute Abend ins Kino (und du kannst mit)

In (20a) the relation of the *wenn*-clause to the main clause is ambiguous; it can, depending on the prosody, be interpreted as integrated or non-integrated, though the unmarked interpretation is one in which they are integrated. LD, operating according to features inserted from the semantic interface, removes this ambiguity; only the non-integrated relation can be interpreted.

If the intended interpretation is one in which the two clauses are integrated, then the *wenn*-clause can undergo Topicalization, which, like LD, removes the ambiguity but requires a different interpretation:

- (21)a. Wir gehen heute Abend ins Kino, wenn du Lust hast
Topicalization →
b. Wenn du Lust hast, gehen wir heute Abend ins Kino (aber sonst nicht)

The prosodic features required for each interpretation must also be added to the derivation at some point. These features come from the phonetic component and thus follow its principles. Whether this aspect of the derivation requires an invasive phonetic interface will be left to further research, as the focus here is on the interpretive side. However, one prosodic fact bears on our analysis: the V3-version of the construction (20b) must be accompanied by a pause between the two clauses; interestingly, the intonation does not follow the same pattern as in constructions with left-dislocated heavy topics:

- (22) Den Hans, den kannst du vergessen!
the-ACC H. the-ACC can you forget
Hans, you can forget him!

The heavy topic in (22) is followed by a more pronounced pause than what occurs after the adverbial clause in (20b), and the intonation does not create a single prosodic unit, in contrast to (20b). The difference, I have argued, is because (20b) contains an unpronounced *apodosis* that is integrated with the *wenn*-clause; the prosody, while also marking the location of the unstated *apodosis*, must reflect the integration of the *wenn*-clause and the unstated *apodosis*. (22) has no equivalent of this. The resumptive pronoun *den* requires a prosody of a parenthetical that has been merged for discourse reasons at the left periphery; as a parenthetical, it provides only superfluous information, in contrast to the *wenn*-clause in (20b). This is confirmed in (22’):

- (22') A: (Was hältst du von dem Hans?)
 B: (Den Hans) Den kannst du vergessen.

The reiteration by speaker B of *den Hans* is done purely for purposes of clarity. Its properties are thus very different from those of the left-dislocated CP_{adv} in, for instance, (15).

3.2 What features?

In answering the question of what discourse features are involved in the interpretation of left-dislocated adverbials clauses, we must first determine why an CP_{adv} is left-dislocated at all. Topicalization, by comparison, has the function of making a discourse more felicitous and precise (DEM=demonstrative pronoun):

- (23) Kennst du den Hans? a. Ja, DEN kenne ich
 Know you the Hans yes, the-ACC,DEM know I DEM = demonstrative
 'Do you know Hans?' 'Yes, HIM I know.
 b. Ja, ich kenne ihn/den

Only (23a) provides an answer that leaves no doubt that the speaker knows exactly who the question is about; the combination of the demonstrative *den* and Topicalization accomplish this.

A quite different effect is created with the LD of an CP_{adv} (repeating (7)) :

- (24)a. [_{CP} Selbst wenn er schläft], seine Stiefel **zieht** er nicht aus. (LD)
 Even when he sleeps, his boots pulls he not out
 'Even when he sleeps he doesn't take off his boots.'
 b. Er zieht seine Stiefel nicht aus, selbst wenn er schläft / – SELBST wenn er SCHLÄFT!
 c. Selbst wenn er schläft, **zieht** er seine Stiefel nicht aus. (Topicalization)

In (24c) the CP_{adv} sits in the topic position of the CP domain of the main clause and thereby has greater prominence, which with some types of CP_{adv} can extend scopal properties. Note that this is a V2-construction; the CP_{adv} is fully integrated syntactically with the main clause. In (24b) the CP_{adv} has the effect of an added piece of information or afterthought; if it is set off with a pause, followed by rising intonation and emphatic stress as indicated, the effect is similar to the effect in (24a) with LD, though in (24a) no emphatic stress is required. Thus, (24a) has properties all its own, for primarily two reasons: i) syntactic: the CP_{adv} has been left-dislocated and is thus not syntactically integrated with the main clause; ii) the clause has additional features from the semantic interface that create a discourse-based effect in which the left-dislocated CP_{adv} provides a comment rather than taking on the status through Topicalization of an adverbial element that (directly) modifies the main clause. Note the position of the main-clause V_{fin} in (24a): it has the DP *seine Stiefel* in the Topic-position, while the CP_{adv} "merely" comments. However, even though the CP_{adv} is syntactically non-integrated, it remains discursively integrated, as reflected in the intonation (only one prosodic unit is created) and in the interpretation: the CP_{adv} states a relevant condition on the main clause.

The discourse features required for the CP_{adv} in (24a) are minimally [+condition], [-binding], which, in balance, render the CP_{adv} as discursively 'integrated' and 'relevant'.¹⁴ Yet, some feature needs to be

¹⁴ I am assuming that 'integration' is not a primitive feature of discourse, but rather a term of theoretical analysis.

present to reflect the interpretation that the conditional clause is not binding on the main clause. For this I will use [–binding].

What then are the features of the constructions that d’Avis (2004) presents, in which he calls the CP_{adv} a ‘condition of irrelevance’? I repeat (8):

- (25)a. Ob es regnet oder nicht, wir gehen spazieren.
 b. Wen auch immer du einlädst – Maria **wird** nicht kommen.
 c. Mag Heinz auch gewinnen – Maria **mag** ihn nicht.

In all three the left-dislocated CP_{adv} states a condition that is not binding on the main-clause conclusion; at the same time, however, the left-dislocated adverbials are not parentheticals that present purely superfluous information. Additionally, d’Avis’ constructions do not have a V2-variant that has a different meaning with different pragmatic assumptions. The closest-related equivalents of (8) are V2-constructions with syntactically and pragmatically integrated left-dislocated adverbials that require some different LIs:¹⁵

- (26)a. Wenn es schneit, gehen wir nicht spazieren.
 if it snows, go we not walking
 ‘If it snows, we won’t go for a walk’
 b. Wenn du selbst kommst, wird Maria kommen.
 If you self come, will Maria come
 ‘If you come yourself, Maria will come.’
 c. Mag Heinz nicht gewinnen, mag Maria ihn auch nicht.
 May Heinz not win, likes Maria him also not
 ‘If Heinz doesn’t win, Maria won’t like him then either’

In other words, the constructions in (26) are from the ground up different than those in (25), whereas constructions (20) and (21) are identical up to the point of Topicalization versus LD. The option of creating a V3-construction with a different meaning is not available with (25) because of the selection of LIs: the choice that the LIs *ob* ‘if’ and *oder nicht* ‘or not’ allow eliminates the option available with (20) and (21). As Chomsky states, EM, working with the LIs selected for the numeration, yields the generalized argument structure, which in (26b) does not offer the option available in (20)/(21).

Let’s return now to the question of features. On the assumption that both (20) and (25) have an unstated *apodosis* as suggested in section 2.2, the pragmatic features of the *prothesis* are the same. Both construction types consist of a condition and a conclusion in which the conclusion is understood from the context. Even though the conclusion is unpronounced, the relation between the condition and conclusion is fundamentally the same as in the V2-constructions we have seen: [+condition], [+binding]. The striking difference is, of course, that in the type exemplified in (20) and (25) the conclusion is unpronounced, but we note that also in (20) and (25) the feature [+Topic] is present, and V_{fin} raises for checking purposes;¹⁶ the difference is that the LIs of the *apodosis* have no phonetic features.

Let’s now compare the construction type exemplified in (2a), repeated here:

¹⁵ Note that these other possible, relevant conditions must be syntactically integrated:

- (i) Wenn es schneit, gehen wir/*wir gehen nicht spazieren.
 (ii) Wenn du selbst kommst, wird Maria/*Maria wird kommen.
 (iii) Mag Heinz nicht gewinnen, mag Maria/*Maria mag ihn auch nicht.

¹⁶ Whether this feature is also inserted from the semantic interface is a question I leave for further research.

- (27)a. [_{CP} Wenn er die Geschichte...irgendwo gelesen hätte], er **hätte** sie als...abgetan.
 b. [_{CP} Wenn er die Geschichte...irgendwo gelesen hätte], **hätte** er sie als...abgetan.

The fact that a choice exists between the V2- versus V3-version of this construction suggests, following the line of argumentation used here, that the CP_{adv} can be interpreted as either a [-binding] (V3) or [+binding] (V2) condition. If the *wenn*-clause is interpreted as not binding, it would be rendered as ‘Whether or not he had read the story somewhere ...’, whereas (27b) requires the interpretation ‘If he had read the story somewhere ...’. The position of the main-clause V_{fin} reflects this option: In (27b) it must check a feature of the *wenn*-clause; in (27a) it does not.

There is more to the inter-clausal relations in (27), however; the subjunctive mood adds an element of flexibility to the interpretation of that doesn’t exist otherwise. Note that the V3-version of (27) is NOT available, if the construction is in the indicative:¹⁷

- (27’)a */#[_{CP} Wenn er die Geschichte...irgendwo gelesen hat], er **hat** sie als...abgetan.
 If he the story somewhere read has, he has it as ... off-done
 #‘Whether or not he read the story somewhere, he’s tossed if off’
 b. [_{CP} Wenn er die Geschichte...irgendwo gelesen hat], **hat** er sie als...abgetan.
 ‘If he read the story somewhere, he’s tossed it off (by now)’

When [-subjunctive/+indicative] combines with [+condition], the feature [±binding] on the CP_{adv} must be valued [+binding]. (27’a) illustrates that the combination [+indicative], [+condition], [+binding] on the CP_{adv} does not allow the V3-version because [+indicative] requires checking with the V_{fin} of the main clause.¹⁸ The feature combination on the condition clause in the V3-version is thus: [+irrealis] (which checks at some level with [-indicative] on the main clause verb) and [-binding] as a consequence of the *irrealis*.

The same analysis applies to (28a), also in the subjunctive; (28b) is in the indicative, but it has a condition clause that involves an either/or situation that places the reality described in limbo, much like the *irrealis*:

- (28)a [_{CP} Wäre in den späten vierziger Jahren das “Reich” wiederhergestellt worden],
 were in the late forty years the empire again-established AUX_{passive}
 Politik und Gesellschaft **sähen** ganz anders aus.
 politics and society see_{subjunctive} completely different out
 ‘Had the empire been re-established in the forties, politics and society would look completely different’
 b. [_{CP} Denn ob nun das Reich rechtlich noch existierte oder nicht], es **war** doch offenbar die

¹⁷ This construction differs from (6), repeated here:

- (i) Wenn du Interesse hast, unsere Party beginnt um acht Uhr.
 If you interest have, our party begins at eight o’clock
 ‘If you’re interested, our party begins at eight’

The difference stems from the fact that the *wenn*-clause in (6)/(i) is interpreted as [-binding]. In fact, an unpronounced *apodosis* could be interpreted:

- (ii) Wenn du Interesse hast, (merk dir:) unsere Party beginnt...
 mark you-DAT
 ‘If you’re interested, take note: our party begins at eight’

¹⁸ Presumably [±indicative] is a finite verb feature, part of the feature matrix of *hat* in (27’). However, this feature must also be associated with the entire CP_{adv}; feature projection might be a possibility. A further issue is the matching of [-indicative/+subjunctive] between the V_{fin} and the CP_{adv} in the V3-version.

for if now the empire legally yet existed or not, it was PART_{modal} obviously the
 Nation, die hier, wie so oft seit 1866, sich durchsetzte
 nation that here as so often since 1866 refl through-set
 ‘For whether or not the empire now still legally existed, it was obviously the nation, as was so
 often the case since 1866, that prevailed’

b’ Denn ob nun das Reich rechtlich noch existierte oder nicht (spielte keine Rolle), es **war**...

In (28b) the adverbial condition clause, in addition to not identifying a certain reality, has no bearing on the truth value of the main clause, as is the case with the condition clause in (25). Both constructions have an unpronounced *apodosis* for which the condition clause is (directly) binding, cf. (28b’). In (28a) the adverbial clause IS directly binding on the main clause, but this statement (both clauses), are in the subjunctive. Because of the subjunctive the V3-option is available, even though the adverbial clause is binding on the main clause. The *irrealis* changes the terms of the relation between the two clauses at the pragmatic level: in the interpretation of a hypothetical, contrary-to-fact situation it is optional to view the *prosthesis* as relevant to the *apodosis* or not. Thus, the structure can be syntactically integrated (V2) or not (V3). Note that the V2-version of (28a) is also grammatical; the author presumably chose V3 in order to topicalize *Politik und Gesellschaft* in the main clause. This same analysis applies to (27).

3.3 The features of an unpronounced *apodosis*

My proposal thus far is that some V3-constructions have an unspoken *apodosis* as part of their interpretation, but I have provided little detail on its linguistic features. For empirical and theoretical reasons, I have argued against an ellipsis analysis in which such an *apodosis* has all the features of a LI except phonetic features, which would require that its semantic features are recovered at the semantic interface. In place of ellipsis with semantic recovery as it is understood in the generative literature, I will propose a feature set that is inserted by the semantic interface for creating the discourse layer of interpretation. The crucial difference between the set of features I am proposing and the set that is required for the recovery of an ellipsis is that a feature set containing only discourse features requires no semantic recovery that is based on identity and antecedence, as outlined in section 2.5. Rather, the interpretation of the *apodosis* is based on principles of discourse only. However, this feature set, like the feature sets added to pronounced LIs proposed earlier, equally represents the second layer of the dual semantics we have seen; the only difference is that the features are assigned to unpronounced elements whose features are interpreted according to discourse relations only (in contrast to purely syntactic and semantic relations).

In this analysis, a construction such as (20a), repeated below, does not require verb-raising in the pronounced main clause when the adverbial clause *wenn du Lust hast* is left-dislocated, simply because this clause has no feature that needs to be checked or valued by the V_{fin} in the pronounced main clause. The full interpretation of (29) requires that this *wenn*-clause be relevant only to the unpronounced *apodosis*. Thus, we must assume that its features are [+condition], [+binding] and that these features are generated based on the discourse only. In order to make these features logically interpretable in the absence of speech, features for the unpronounced *apodosis* must also be added that indicate how it provides a conclusion for the *prosthesis*. These features, which with further analysis and research would be made more precise, are represented here with the terms [+conclusion], [+contextual],[–pronounced] below the unpronounced segment XP in (29):

(29) [_{CP} Wenn du Lust hast], [_{XP} ...], wir gehen heute Abend ins Kino

[+condition]	[+conclusion]
[+binding]	[+contextual]
	[–pronounced]

The syntactic relations in (29) can be made more precise, following the assumption that the *wenn*-clause and the unpronounced *apodosis* – the main clause in which the *wenn*-clause is embedded – are fully integrated. In (30) this is indicated with the embedding of the *wenn*-clause in the unpronounced *apodosis*:

- (30) [_{CP} [_{CP} Wenn du Lust hast], (kannst du mit), [wir gehen heute Abend ins Kino]]
 |
 [+conclusion]
 [+contextual]
 [–pronounced]

It follows that the pronounced main clause thereafter is not syntactically integrated with the *wenn*-clause or the unpronounced main clause; it is simply an adjoined main clause.¹⁹ Support for this analysis comes from the inverted form of (30), cf. (14’):

- (30’) (Du kannst mit,) wenn du Lust hast, wir gehen heute Abend ins Kino.

3.4 Section summary

We have seen in this section how WGmc syntax, in its use of the V2- versus V3-option, takes advantage of the convergence of syntax and semantics at the left periphery for generating specific discourse interpretations, referred to here also as adding a layer of semantics, following Chomsky’s (2008) use of the term ‘dual semantics’. When a complex construction requires V2, marked by verb raising to the highest main-clause head position, the element in the Spec-position of this verb is syntactically integrated. When a complex construction allows V3, verb-raising does not occur because no feature of the left-dislocated element needs to be syntactically checked or valued. Rather, when LD occurs, a feature from the semantic interface is inserted so that the left-dislocated element can be fully interpreted according to discourse and interpretive requirements. Sometimes an adverbial condition clause has an understood (unpronounced) conclusion, once the derivation reaches the discourse level and discourse features have been assigned to it. This represents a more abstract form of the dual semantics identified by Chomsky. For the insertion of features in this kind of construction, I have proposed that the semantic interface must “invade” the derivation at the point of Spell-Out, illustrated in (24). These are features that are not part of the feature matrices of the LIs contained in the numeration, a fact that independently supports this proposal.

4. Questions for further research

¹⁹ This analysis presupposes that the unpronounced *apodosis* has clausal status. This appears to be the case, even if the clause is only an infinitival clause with PRO as a subject:

- (i) Wenn du Lust hast mit zu gehen, wir gehen...
 ... along to go ...

‘If you feel like coming along, we’re going to the movies’

This *apodosis* seems insufficient, however. It is probably understood in a greater context involving a transitive verb taking the pronounced main clause as its complement, which would require the relations in (ii):

- (ii) Wenn du Lust hast mit zu gehen, dann möchte ich vorschlagen, wir gehen ...
 ... then would-like I to-suggest ...

‘If you feel like coming along, then I would suggest we go to the movies’

Since the unpronounced *apodosis* is purely discourse-based, there are several possible ways to interpret it, each with its own grammatical relations.

There are several questions that need to be addressed before a satisfactory – syntactically and semantically complete – account of the V3-constructions presented here can be formulated. In what follows I outline two areas directly related to what is proposed above.

4.1 V2-syntax and V3-discourse: How does the handshake take place?

There are several reasons for assuming that LD lies outside the parameters of V2-syntax: i) it does not induce verb raising, ii) it is marked by a different intonation pattern than Topicalization, and iii) semantico-pragmatic features play a role, often to the extent that a different interpretation is required. Following Zwart (2005), V2 is a function of Merge: the V_{fin} always moves to the right of the last constituent merged.²⁰ In this system Merge, creating Topicalization, must be a syntactic operation, i.e. one that is induced by a syntactic requirement such as Agree or feature checking. LD, by contrast, is induced by a pragmatic feature and therefore does not require verb raising to the right of the element left-dislocated. Instead, features are inserted from the semantic interface for satisfying the interpretive requirements of the construction, specifically of the left-dislocated adverbial clause that is not syntactically integrated with the main clause. In some cases, as I have proposed, the insertion of a feature set is required to in effect mimic a main clause, but without entering into a syntactic relation with the left-dislocated adverbial clause. Rather, the feature set satisfies only the interpretive requirements of the discourse side of the semantic interface.

As laid out here, we have principles of V2-syntax that carry the derivation to the point where it is transferred to the interfaces and i.a. principles of “V3-discourse” take over. This handshake requires, in the present account, an intermediate step, call it Spell-Out, in which features from the semantic interface are inserted that could not have been present before but are needed for proper interpretation. For this to take place, the semantic interface must “read” the output of Narrow Syntax to determine what discourse features are needed, which are then supplied so that the derivation can be transferred to the interfaces without crashing. In effect, the derivation converges between Narrow Syntax and the interfaces, receiving input from both, and then moves on in the direction of the interfaces, if we use the diagram in (19) as illustration. This two-dimensional illustration may make the invasion of the semantic interface with its feature insertion appear redundant: Do the features need to first move first in one direction to Spell-Out and then in the reverse direction back to the semantic interface? It may be that interpretation does not actually occur “in” the semantic interface but rather in another “space” that is in a third dimension with respect to Narrow Syntax and Spell-Out on the one hand, and the interfaces on the other, i.e. it may be that interpretation does not occur in the semantic interface – which then should be called simply the semantic component – but rather in this other “space.” However, this is a question that must be addressed elsewhere.

4.2 Differences between Dutch and German: a matter of diachronic development?

In their study König and van der Auwera argue that the North Germanic languages have a stricter V2-property than Dutch and German and therefore do not allow non-integrated elements at the left periphery as readily as WGmc. They do not suggest whether there is any difference of this sort between the two WGmc languages, as the following data seem to indicate:²¹

²⁰ An empirically equivalent approach is proposed by Frey (2010) who accounts for V2 in terms of A'-movement to the left periphery of a declarative clause that is associated with a conventional implicature which encodes the emphatic interpretation of the moved item.

²¹ This construction parallels the one in (2d); I do not have sufficient judgments on the German equivalent in (b):

- (i) a. Gingen in 2003 nog maar 91 Afghanen terug, vorig jaar **waren** dat er 248.
- b. (?) Gingen 2003 noch 91 Afghanen zurück, voriges Jahr waren es 248.

- (31) a. Was Jan op MIT een graag geziene gast, op Harvard **kende** niemand hem.
 was J. at MIT a gladly seen guest, at Harvard knew no-one him
 ‘If John was a gladly seen guest at MIT, at Harvard no one knew him’
 a’ *Was Jan op MIT een graag geziene gast, **kende** niemand hem op Harvard.
 b. (?)War Hans bei MIT ein gern gesehener Gast, kannte ihn niemand bei Harvard.
 b’ (?)War Hans bei MIT ein gern gesehener Gast, bei Harvard kannte ihn niemand.

These data seem to indicate that Dutch does not tolerate V2 with a left-dislocated irrelevant conditional clause, i.e. the Dutch construction would appear to have an unstated *apodosis*, and that it conversely favors V2 only with those left-dislocated elements that have certain properties typical of integrated elements. In this sense, Dutch is further along the diachronic development toward the state of affairs in North Germanic. By comparison, there are German speakers who accept either (31b) or (31b’). Whether any critical mass of speakers can be found that accepts both is a topic for further research. This relates to another problem requiring more work concerning the degree of integration in each of these languages. Note that König and van der Auwera present data and arguments for the reverse: that German is further along the continuum. Clearly, further research is required.

5. Conclusion

The analysis presented here leads to the conclusion that many so-called “V3-constructions” are in fact V2-constructions with an unpronounced main clause that is integrated with the preceding conditional clause at the discourse level, according to discourse principles. The “V3-constructions” for which I have not proposed an unpronounced main clause often have the feature [+subjunctive] and are thus in the discourse domain of *irrealis* in which the conditional clause can be interpreted as non-binding or irrelevant. Because the opposite interpretation is possible, these constructions can also – and usually do – occur as V2-constructions, probably because the most common interpretation is one in which a situation in the *irrealis* domain relates to an easily imagined reality in which a condition is binding on the conclusion. Authors such as Peter Schneider and Golo Mann (see Addendum) who use V3 for such constructions are probably suggesting that the *irrealis* described is not closely related to reality. The interesting fact for the analysis here is that in such a V3-construction the condition and conclusion ARE pragmatically integrated, despite the lack of syntactic integration. The explanation given for this is the presence of the features [+condition], [+irrealis], [–binding] on the adverbial clause. There are V3-constructions, such as (4a, b) and (7a) that are neither subjunctive nor have an unpronounced *apodosis*. The feature [–binding] must be interpretable on the *prothesis* for this to occur. Not surprisingly, such constructions can easily occur in the more common V2-version without any fundamental semantic change; the only difference is the added contrast or emphasis on the adverbial clause at the left periphery.

Addendum: *German and Dutch constructions with left-dislocated adverbial clauses that do not induce verb raising, found in novels, popular press, or generated by informants*

I. Standard German:²²

- a. [CP Hätten die Terroristen sich mit ihm...beraten], er **hätte** ihnen...ein neues Konzept...verordnet.
had_{subj} the terrorists REFL with him conferred, he had_{subj} them a new plan prescribed
'If the terrorists had conferred with he, he would have prescribed a new plan for them'
- b. [CP Wenn er die Geschichte...irgendwo gelesen hätte], er **hätte** sie als...abgetan.
If he the story somewhere read had_{subj}, he had_{subj} it as ...away-done
'If he had read the story somewhere, he would have written it off as...'
- c. [CP So naiv und amerikanisch geradeaus O's Angriff war], er **traf** etwas.
so naïve and American directly O's attack was, it struck s.t.
'As straight-out naïve and American O's attack was, it struck a nerve'
- d. [CP So klar das Ergebnis auch war], das **ist** keine Vorentscheidung, ...²³
as clear the result also was, that is no pre-decision
'Even as clear as the result was, it is not a preliminary decision'
- e. [CP Obgleich es schon spät war], es **war** nicht der Tag, um vom Institut aus...zu fahren.
although it already late was it was not the day for from-the Institute out to drive
'Although it was already late, it wasn't the day to leave from the institute (for home)'
- f. [CP ...und wenn es der König wäre] - ich **würde** aufstehen ...
and if it the king were I would stand-up
- g. [CP Auch wenn der deutsche Aufbruch nach der Wiedervereinigung noch
Even if the German rise after the reunification yet
nicht lange her ist], für den Erzähler **ist** er historisch abgeschlossen.²⁴
not long ago is for the narrator is it historically finished
'Even if the German rise after reunification isn't far in the past, for the narrator it is historically over.'
- h. [CP Wenn er auch ständig gähnt], sein Verstand **arbeitet** messerscharf.²⁵
Even-if he also constantly yawns his mind works razor-sharp(ly)
'Even if he is constantly yawning, his mind is razor sharp.'
- i. [CP Selbst wenn er schläft], seine Stiefel **zieht** er nicht aus.
even when he sleeps his boots pulls he not out (off)
'Even when he sleeps he doesn't take off his boots.'
- j. [CP Träfe das Schiff auf Eis], die hölzernen Planken **würden** splitternd zerbersten.²⁶
hit_{subj} the ship on ice the wooden planks would "splittingly" burst-apart
'If the ship were to strike ice, the wooden planks would break into bits.'
- k. [CP Wäre in den späten vierziger Jahren das "Reich" wiederhergestellt worden],
were in the late forty years the empire again-established AUX_{passive}
Politik und Gesellschaft **sähen** ganz anders aus.²⁷
politics and society see_{subjunctive} completely different out
'Had the empire been re-established in the forties, politics and society would look completely different'
- l. [CP Denn ob nun das Reich rechtlich noch existierte oder nicht], es **war** doch offenbar die
for if now the empire legally yet existed or not, it was part_{modal} obviously the
Nation, die hier, wie so oft seit 1866, sich durchsetzte
nation that here as so often since 1866 REFL through-set

²² The constructions (a) – (c) and (e) are from *Paarungen* by Peter Schneider (Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1994), pp. 135, 135-6, 108, 98 respectively. (f) is from *Maria Magdalena* by Hebbel (III,i).

²³ Franz Münterfering, *Spiegel-online*, 8. Juni. 2009. „Münterfering redet Wahldebakel schön“ (www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,629195,00.html).

²⁴ From Erna Lackner, "Edgar Reitz Heimat 3, Chronik einer Epoche." (*Deutschland* 4/2004, p. 17).

²⁵ (h,i) are from Lohnstein and Trissler (2004: 60).

²⁶ Cay Rademacher, "Wikinger in Amerika. Der Fluch der Neuen Welt." *Spiegel-Online* 30 March 2009 (www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/mensch/0,1518,611101,00.html).

²⁷ The constructions (k) and (l) are from: Mann, Golo. *Deutsche Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 2009), pp. 1041-1042.

‘For whether or not the empire now still legally existed, it was obviously the nation, as was so often the case since 1866, that prevailed’

II Standard Dutch²⁸

- a. [CP Gingen in 2003 nog maar 91 Afghanen terug], vorig jaar **waren** dat er 248.
went in 2003 yet only 91 Afghans back, last year were that EXPL 248
‘Though only 91 Afghans went back in 2003, last year there were 248 (who went back)’
- b. [CP Was Jan op MIT een graag geziene gast], op Harvard **kende** niemand hem²⁹
was J. at MIT a gladly seen guest, at Harvard knew no-one him
‘Although Jan was a welcome guest at MIT, at Harvard no one knew him’
- c. [CP Al was de situatie verbeterd], vorig jaar **gingen** er toch minder Afghanen terug.
CONJ was the situation bettered, last year went EXPL though fewer Afghans back
‘When the situation improved, last year even fewer Afghans went back’
- d. [CP Niet omdat het politiek-maatschappelijke klimaat er niet naar is], ik **geloof** er gewoon niet in
not that the political-social climate EXPL not suitable is I believe it usual not in
‘Not that the political-social climate is unfavorable, I just don't believe in it’
- e. [CP Hoe goed de krant ook is] ik **zou** nooit een abonnement nemen op de krant.³⁰
however good the newspaper is I will not a subscription take on the newspaper.
‘No matter how good the newspaper is, I won't take out a subscription on the newspaper’
- f. [CP Al was de situatie verbeterd], vorig jaar **gingen** er toch minder Afghanen terug.³¹
Though was the situation improved, last year went EXPL PART fewer Afghans back
‘Although the situation improved, last year fewer Afghans went back’
- g. [CP Als u het zich herinnert], het boek **verscheen** voor het eerst in 1982.³²
if you it REFL recall, the book appeared before it first in 1982
‘If you recall, the book appeared for the first time in 1982.’

III. LD with PPs and other adverbials resulting in V3, sometimes with the V2 option (albeit sometimes requiring a meaning or discourse-assumption change; Standard German unless otherwise indicated):

- a. [PP Trotz Skiunfall und Blitz-Verurteilung], Dieter Althaus **will** im
despite skiing-accident and quick-indictment, D. A. intends in
August wieder Ministerpräsident von Thüringen werden.³³
August again governor of T. (to) become
‘Despite his skiing accident and quick indictment, Dieter Althaus intends to become governor of Thuringia in August again’
- b. [PP In der Tat] wir **haben** die Differenzen hinter uns gelassen.³⁴
indeed we have the differences behind us left
- b' [PP In der Tat] **haben** wir die Differenzen hinter uns gelassen.
- c. [Adv Inderdaad], wij **hebben** die geschillen achter ons gelaten. (Dutch translation of (b))
- c' [Adv Inderdaad] **hebben** wij die geschillen achter ons gelaten.
- d. [Adv Vorweg], Ihr Mitarbeiter **hat** erfreulich sachlich berichtet.
First-off, your colleague has pleasingly factually reported
‘First off, your colleague to our pleasure reported factually’
- d' [Adv Vorweg] **hat** Ihr Mitarbeiter erfreulich sachlich berichtet.
‘At first your colleague to our pleasure reported factually’

²⁸ The constructions (a) and (e) are from *De Volkskrant* (10 januari 2005, and 18 mei 2009, www.volkskrant.nl).

²⁹ From Jan-Wouter Zwart (p.c.), who stated that this construction type is called *balansschikking* ‘balance settlement’ as a description of the balance created between the assertions of the two clauses. Such conditional constructions have also been called ‘Conditionals of Equivalence’ for the same or similar reasons. See d’Avis (2004) for further comments and references.

³⁰ From a survey sent out by *de Volkskrant* in June 2005.

³¹ From Anine de Groot (p.c.).

³² From Robin Blanker (p.c.).

³³ From ‘Althaus kündigt Rückkehr in die Politik an’, *Spiegel-Online* www.spiegel.de, 5. März 2009.

³⁴ Gerhard Schröder, Krise vorbei. *n-tv.de.CNN.de*, 24. Sept. 2003.

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