

## 2.

### **Dirk Bury - University College London** **German V3 and the origin of adverbs**

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While German is a strict verb-second language, some verb-third orders are also possible. V3 may be possible in structures where a pronoun coreferential with the initial constituent occurs lower in the clause:

- (1) a. (Er sagte) [der Hans]<sub>i</sub> der<sub>i</sub> habe schon wieder Hunger  
he said the Hans the have-SUBJ already again hunger  
'(He said that) Hans is hungry again already.' (Altmann 1981:149)
- b. (Christian meinte) [in der Stadt]<sub>i</sub> da<sub>i</sub> werde er es nicht mehr  
Christian meant in the city there would he it no more  
lange aushalten  
long bear (Altmann 1981:149)  
'(Christian said that) in the city he couldn't bear it much longer there.'
- c. [Eine Brigg]<sub>i</sub> was ist das<sub>i</sub>?  
a Brigg what is that  
'A brigg, what's that?' (Altmann 1981:148)
- d. [Dass man über unterschiedliche Lösungswege diskutieren kann]<sub>i</sub>  
that one about different solution-ways discuss can  
Deutschlands Abiturienten haben davon<sub>i</sub> nie gehört  
Germany's A-level students have of-it never heard  
'A-level students in Germany never knew it was possible to discuss  
different ways to get to a solution.' (*Die Zeit* 48/2000)

It seems reasonable to assume that in examples of this kind the initial phrase is base-generated. The ungrammaticality of V3 examples like (2) can then be derived from a general locality condition (e.g. an appropriate version of Rizzi's 1990 Relativised Minimality or Chomsky's 1995 Minimal Link Condition).

- (2) a. \*Frank<sub>i</sub> gestern hat t<sub>i</sub> den Kuchen gegessen  
Frank yesterday has the cake eaten  
'Frank ate the cake yesterday.'

- b. \*Gegessen<sub>i</sub> Frank hat (gestern) den Kuchen t<sub>i</sub>  
 eaten Frank has yesterday the cake
- \*Frank<sub>i</sub> den Kuchen hat (gestern) t<sub>i</sub> gegessen  
 Frank the cake has yesterday eaten

These examples presumably involve A-bar movement (of the initial constituent) across an A-bar specifier (occupied by the immediately preverbal constituent). (3) illustrates the contrast between (1) and (2):

- (3) a. XP<sub>i</sub> YP V<sub>j</sub> [... Pro<sub>i</sub> ... t<sub>j</sub>] = (1)  
 b. \*XP<sub>i</sub> YP V<sub>j</sub> [... t<sub>i</sub> ... t<sub>j</sub>] = (2)

Given examples like (4), this reasoning suggests that adverbs in German must be inserted lower than the fronted verb.

- (4) a. \*Gestern Frank hat Kuchen gegessen  
 yesterday Frank has cake eaten
- b. \*Manchmal Frank hat Kuchen gegessen  
 sometimes Frank has cake eaten
- c. \*Gerne Frank hat Kuchen gegessen  
 gladly Frank has cake eaten

If the adverbs in (4) were base-generated in initial position, these examples would not be ruled out by a *Relativised Minimality*-type condition, and an additional constraint would have to be invoked.

### References

- Altmann, H. (1981) *Formen der 'Herausstellung' im Deutschen: Rechtsversetzung, Linksversetzung, freies Thema und verwandte Konstruktionen*, Niemeyer, Tübingen.
- Chomsky, N. (1995) *The Minimalist Program*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Rizzi, L. (1990) *Relativized Minimality*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.