2.

Dirk Bury - University College London
German V3 and the origin of adverbs
d.bury@ucl.ac.uk

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], der, 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], da, werde er es nicht mehr lange aushalten
      Christian meant in the city there would he it no more long bear
      *(Christian said that) in the city he couldn’t bear it much longer there.*

   c. [Eine Brigg], was ist das,?
      a Brigg what is that

   d. [Dass man über unterschiedliche Lösungswege diskutieren kann],
      that one about different solution-ways discuss can
      Deutschlands Abiturienten haben davon 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, gestern hat t, den Kuchen gegessen
   Frank yesterday has the cake eaten
   ‘Frank ate the cake yesterday.’

   b. (Er meinte) [in der Stadt], da, werde er es nicht mehr lange aushalten
      *(He said that) in the city he couldn’t bear it much longer there.*
b. *Gegessen, Frank hat (gestern) den Kuchen t
  eaten  Frank has yesterday  the cake

*Frank, den Kuchen hat (gestern) t, gegessen
  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, YP Vj […] Proi … tj = (1)

  *XP, YP Vj […] ti … tj = (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,
Linkssatzung, freies Thema und verwandte Konstruktionen, Niemeyer, Tübingen.