Towards an account of adverbials in the *Vor-Vorfeld*: Beyond V2-syntax[*]

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Abstract: This analysis focuses on main-clause contructions in German and Dutch that begin with an adverbial in the *Vor-Vorfeld* (pre-prefield), an area of the left periphery that I argue is beyond the reach of verb-second (V2) syntax. Using the Minimalist framework, I propose that the insertion of additional features, primarily the feature [-restrictive], from the Pragmatics Component (PC) is necessary to account for the properties that distinguish constructions of this type from those that have just one element before the finite verb, i.e. are classic V2. The addition of PC-features occurs at the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) Interface and is thus subject directly only to the conditions of this interface. Once the C-I-Interface has been accessed for left-dislocation to the left periphery, the narrow syntax can no longer induce Merge (no look-back). Thus, the V2-constraint cannot apply. The data support a CP-domain with two projections: [$_{CP}$ [$_{TopP}$ [$_{TP}$ [$_{vP}$ …]]]].

1.   Introduction

In some recent generative studies on the left periphery of West Germanic (WGmc) it has been noted that certain adverbials may sit in the *Vor-Vorfeld* position of verb-second (V2-) constructions. Presumably the placement of elements in this position in V2 clauses is independent of the V2-constraint and thus requires conditions that apply "beyond V2-syntax" in a derivational sense. In what follows I will investigate some of the properties of these adverbials and propose an operation that inserts a feature from the PC to account for the placement of these adverbials in the *Vor-Vorfeld*.

My paper is organized as follows: After this introduction, I turn to previous accounts of the relevant constructions in section 2, coming to the conclusion that no proposal in the Minimalist framework exists that can account for the data. In section 3 I formalize my proposal for the insertion of feature(s) from the PC, and in section 4 I consider the contribution to syntactic theory of my proposal and the data it attempts to account for, as it pertains to V2 and the structure of V2-clauses. Finally, in section 5 I outline areas for further research.

Adverbials in the Vor-Vorfeld *of West-Germanic*

1.1.   The Construction Type

In (1) and (2) are some core examples of this construction (fronted element in italics, finite verb (V$_{FIN}$) underlined; 2b from d'Avis 2004):

(1)   a.   Hoe   goed   de krant   ook   is,
    how   good   the paper   also   is
    ik zou   nooit   een   abonnement   nemen op de krant.[1]
    I   shall   not   a   subscription   take   on the paper
    'No matter how good the (news)paper is, I will not subscribe to the paper.'
    a.'*Hoe goed de krant ook is, zou ik nooit een abonnement nemen op de krant.
    b.   Al   was   de situatie   verbeterd,
    CONJ   was   the situation   improved,
    vorig   jaar   gingen er   toch   minder   Afghanen terug.
    last   year   went   EXPL   even   fewer   Afghans   back
    'Although the situation improved, last year even fewer Afghans went back.'
    b.'*Al was de situatie verbeterd, gingen er vorig jaar toch minder Afghanen terug.

(2)   a.   Wenn du Durst hast,   es gibt   noch   Bier   im   Kühlschrank.
    if   you thirst   have,   it gives   yet   bier   in-the   refrigerator
    'If you're thirsty, there's still beer in the fridge.'
    a.'*Wenn du Durst hast, gibt es noch Bier im Kühlschrank.
    b.   Ob es regnet oder   nicht,   wir gehen   spazieren.
    if   it rains   or   not   we go   walk
    'Whether or not it rains, we're going for a walk.'
    b.'*Ob es regnet oder nicht, gehen wir spazieren.

One study, d'Avis (2004), focuses exclusively on adverbials in the *Vor-Vorfeld*; most studies simply mention it, or discuss it in connection with similar constructions. None of these studies presents what could be called a syntactic account, or an account that is compatible with the main tenets of the Minimalist framework. It is my intent to lay out some issues that must be addressed in an analysis that accounts for the apparent V2-violation, and to do so in a way that addresses some current areas of theory development in the Minimalist framework.

1.2.   Initial Observations and Assumptions

Some initial observations and assumptions that bear on this construction type and analysis are: (i) the term V3 is appropriate for describing the constructions under discussion, given that the adverbial is located to the left of the "V2-domain," which extends only as far to the right as the el-

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[1] This construction is from a survey sent out by *De Volkskrant* (18 mei 2009, www.volkskrant.nl).

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ement that immediately precedes the finite verb in the matrix clause; (ii) the left-edge adverbials we will be examining originate in the associated matrix clause, and they are "integrated" in the sense that they are not orphans, a term used by Haegeman (2008) to describe quite different elements on the left periphery.[2] However, there are various degrees of integration of this first element, depending on derivation, and it is possible to have non-integrated adverbials at the left periphery (for examples see Müller 2005 and van de Velde 1978); these will be assumed to be orphans and will be left aside here.

Related constructions with somewhat different properties are the so-called 'free relatives' exemplied in (3).[3] Note that these clausal elements are left-dislocated out of a matrix clause that requires either the subject-verb ordering, or subject-verb inversion with an optionally realized resumptive pronoun – below in parentheses. Thus, the versions of these constructions (with an unspoken resumptive pronoun) are only superficially V2. (3c) and (3d) also contain free relatives, but they do not require a resumptive pronoun because the free relatives *was* 'what' and *welche* 'which' are indefinite. They share *Vor-Vorfeld* placement with the others:

(3)   a.   Wie   jij kiest, (DIE) kiezen wij ook.

            whoever   you choose that-one choose we also

            '*Whoever you choose, we'll choose that one too.*'

    a.'*Wie jij kiest, kiezen wij DIE ook.

    b.   Wer   mitspielt, (DER) wird   gewinnen.

            whoever   with-plays that-one will   win

            '*Whoever plays along will win.*'

    b.'*Wer mitspielt, wird DER gewinnen.

    c.   Was   immer dir fehlt, du bist   nicht allein ...[4]

            what   always you lack,   you are   not   alone

            '*What ever (it is) you lack, you are not alone.*'

    c.'*Was immer dir fehlt, bist du nicht allein.

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[2] I will adopt the four assumptions about (right-edge) non-integrated clauses outlined in Reis (1997): They are (i) syntactically dispensable and (ii) prosodically and pragmatically independent; furthermore, (iii) variable binding with an element in the matrix clause is not possible, and (iv) they always occur at the end of a complex sentence. Thus, following Reis, left-dislocated adverbial clauses are not non-integrated, and following theories of word-order variation in nominal projections developed by Cinque (2005) and Abels and Neeleman (2006) (that only projections that contain N can undergo movement within nominal projections), I assume by analogy that left-dislocated adverbial clauses move only within the projection CP in WGmc, and are integrated with this CP.

[3] Donati (2006) applies reprojection to account for free relatives in English. Whether this analysis is suitable for V2-languages is a question that will be left for further research.

[4] (3c,d) are from *Paarungen* by Peter Schneider (Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1994:150, 295).

d. Welche   Wahl   er auch   traf,   er würde Schuld   auf   sich   laden.

   which   choice he also   made,   he would guilt   on   himself load

   'No matter which choice he made, he would bring guilt on himself.'

d.'*Welche Wahl er auch traf, würde er Schuld auf sich laden.

Some simple adverbials (4) and some clausal adverbials (5) allow either a *Vorfeld* or *Vor-Vorfeld* placement without any difference in reading (though prosodic differences are apparent; these have no bearing on the present analysis):

(4)   a. Trotz Skiunfall   und   Blitz-Verurteilung,

         despite skiing-accident and   flash-indictment,

        Dieter Althaus   will [...] wieder [...] Ministerpräsident   werden.[5]

         D.   A.   intends   again   minister-president   to-become

        'Despite his skiing accident and quick indictment, D. A. intends to become MP again.'

     a.' Trotz Skiunfall und Blitz-Verurteilung will D. A. [...] wieder [...] Ministerpräsident werden.

     b. In der Tat, wir   haben die Differenzen   hinter uns   gelassen.[6]

        in the deed we   have   the differences   behind us   left

        'Indeed we have left our differences behind us.'

     b.' In der Tat haben wir die Differenzen hinter uns gelassen.

     c. Inderdaad, wij hebben die geschillen achter ons gelaten.   (Dutch translation of 4b)

     c.' Inderdaad hebben wij die geschillen achter ons gelaten.

(5)   a. Hätten   die Terroristen   sich   mit   ihm […]   beraten,

        had-SUBJ[7] the terrorists   REFL   with   him   conferred

        er hätte   ihnen [...] ein neues Konzept [...]   verordnet.[8]

        he had-SUBJ   them   a   new   concept   ordered

        'Had the terrorists conferred with him, he would have prescribed a new plan for them.'

     a.' Hätten die Terroristen sich mit ihm beraten, (dann) hätte er ihnen ein neues Konzept verordnet.

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[5] From "Althaus kündigt Rückkehr in die Politik an", *Spiegel-Online*, 5. März 2009.

[6] Gerhard Schröder, "Krise vorbei". *n-tv.de.CNN.de*, 24. Sept. 2003.

[7] SUBJ = subjunctive.

[8] The constructions in (5a,b) are from *Paarungen* by Peter Schneider, op. cit., pp. 135-136.

b. Wenn er die Geschichte […]   irgendwo gelesen   hätte,

    if   he the story   somewhere read   had-SUBJ

er hätte   sie als […]   abgetan.

    he had-SUBJ   it as   away-done

    'If he had read the story somewhere, he would have tossed it off.'

b.' Wenn er die Geschichte […] irgendwo gelesen hätte, (dann) hätte er sie als […] abgetan.[9]

At this point we can make one summarizing statement (i) and raise several questions (ii) that will guide our further investigation:

  i.   SUMMARY OF DATA: Some adverbials allow both *Vorfeld* and *Vor-Vorfeld* placement.

  ii. KEY REMAINING QUESTIONS:

      a. What determines the placement of an adverbial clause beyond the choice of complementizer (e.g. *wenn* can be used with adverbial clauses that allow only *Vor-Vorfeld* placement (2a,a'), or either (5b,b')?

      b. What determines the placement beyond BOTH the choice of complementizer AND the lexical items in the adverbial clause, cf. (5b,b')?

      c. What features allow or require placement of an adverbial in the *Vor-Vorfeld*? What features are these and how do they enter the derivation?

Before we can answer these questions, more constructions must be examined, as well as prior analysis of them already found in the literature.

2.   Properties of Constructions with Left Dislocates (LDs): Some Research Findings
2.1.   d'Avis (2004)

We begin with a study that addresses the question of whether the LDs we have seen are inside or outside the clause. Two of d'Avis' examples are (6a repeats 2b):[10]

(6)   a. Ob es regnet oder   nicht, wir gehen spazieren.

          if it rains   or   not   we go   walk

          'Whether or not it rains, we're going for a walk.'

    a.'*Ob es regnet oder nicht, gehen wir spazieren.

    b. So schnell du auch   läufst, du wirst   nie   Weltmeister.

          as fast   you also   run,   you become never   world-champion

          'No matter how fast you run, you'll never be a world champion.'

    b.'*So schnell du auch läufst, wirst du nie Weltmeister.

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[9] Assuming that *dann* is a resumptive element in (5a',b'), these are "strict" V2 constructions.

[10] The Dutch equivalents of (6a) have, unsurprisingly, the same properties:

(i)   a. Of het regent of niet, wij gaan wandelen.

        b. * Of het regent of niet, gaan wij wandelen.

D'Avis comes to the conclusion that at least with "Conditionals of Irrelevance," such as those above, LD leads to a syntactic disconnect, but the left-dislocated clauses are nevertheless pragmatically integrated, since they are not a separate part of the discourse. His suggestion for further research is the development of a theory of parentheticals. Further data below will confirm that indeed parenthesis shares properties with LD.

Before more can be said about those properties, we need to consider what derivational operation is involved (beyond the descriptive term LD) and how it plays a role in creating the pragmatic integration. Related to this operation is the question of what properties a "Conditional of Irrelevance" shares with other LDs. So far the data suggest that left-dislocated adverbial CPs are not parentheticals, but they are also not Topics (these require syntactic integration and V2). Rather, they have properties of both: They are pragmatically integrated and syntactically non-restricted in the sense of being free from the V2 requirement.

We turn now to a study that focuses on the semantic relation of left-dislocated adverbial clauses to the matrix clause. This study brings to light a key fact about the lack of syntactic integration.

2.2.   Günthner (1999)

In her study of left-dislocated adverbials clauses titled "*Wenn*-Sätze im Vor-Vorfeld" Günthner focuses on the question of integration. She argues that in constructions like (7) the left-dislocated *wenn*-clause is non-integrated:[11]

(7)   Wenn du Luscht hasch und   Zeit,
           if   you desire have   and   time,
           wir   machen   morgen   en Kindergottesdienst   in de Lutherkirche.
           we   make   tomorrow a children-God-service   in   the Luther-church
           'If you feel like it, we are doing a children's service in the Luther church tomorrow morning.'

She points out that the *wenn*-clause is to be understood not as a condition on the matrix clause but with the reading "If you feel like coming, we're going to have this service that might be interesting..." It contrasts with (8) in which the *wenn*-clause is a condition on the matrix clause:

(8)   Wenn du Luscht hasch und Zeit, (dann) machen wir morgen en Kindergottesdienst.

Given the contrast between (7) and (8), Günthner concludes that (7) has a non-integrated *wenn*-clause for the following reasons:

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[11] Günthner's informants from SW Germany spoke *Schwäbisch* (Swabian), a (southwest) dialect of German.

   i.   The matrix clause begins with the subject (no inversion).

  ii.   The truth value of the embedded clause in (7) makes no contribution to the truth value of the matrix clause; rather, the embedded clause is directed to a "Gegenüber" i.e. an addressee distinct from a person in the matrix clause, and states what is relevant for him/her; there is no contingency between the two propositions, i.e. no "if...then" reading. In other words, the truth value of the second clause is dependent on the first in (8) but not in (7).

 iii.   The prosody in (7) indicates that each clause has an independent intonational contour; there is a pause between them.

2.3   Comments on Günthner's Analysis

First of all, Günthner's analysis is not undertaken from a generative perspective; certainly no Minimalist framework is used. Therefore my comments are based on my perception of the relevance of her observations to my Minimalist analysis and are not, therefore, a critique of her work per se.

Point (i) in the previous section is a good argument if we assume that subject-initial V2 clauses are somehow more tightly unified than those with inversion and thus that a left-dislocated element cannot be integrated with a subject-initial V2 clause. There are a couple of problems with this reasoning. First of all, in both subject-initial and non-subject-initial V2 clauses the finite verb sits in the V2-position because of syntactic feature valuation requirements; thus both are equally unified in this respect. Secondly, a subject in a pre- or post-V_{FIN} position has the same agreement morphology and thus agrees equally well with the V_{FIN}.[12]

With respect to point (iii), we note that the prosodic contour of the embedded clause is rising in (7), which points to subsequent discourse, i.e. the speech act is not finished, and what follows belongs to the discourse of the *wenn*-clause. Though there is a greater degree of intergration in (8), (7) also requires integration of the two clauses at some level. Thus, prosody may not be a highly reliable determiner of integration and Günthner's use of it must be taken *con grano salis*.

A question of more direct relevance to our discussion is whether the *wenn*-clause in (7) has been left-dislocated out of the matrix clause (not considered by Günthner), i.e. whether prior to LD the construction looks like (7') (see gloss of 7):

(7')   Wir machen morgen en Kindergottesdienst in de Lutherkirche, wenn du Luscht hasch und Zeit.

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[12] A syntactic fact that might support Günthner's assumption is that inversion can cause a breakdown in agreement when conjoined subjects *follow* the V_{FIN}; agreement breakdown does not occur in the non-inverted configuration, i.e. with Spec-head agreement that remains Spec-head on the surface (no inversion occurs), see te Velde (2005, Ch. 3). This argument holds only if the agreement breakdown reflects a weaker degree of integration, which in turn makes LD **more** integrated. I do not see any connection.

(7') meets at least three of the four criteria for non-integration identified by Reis (1997), see footnote 2. Thus, the possibility exists that the *wenn*-clause in (7) is a left-dislocated non-integrated *wenn*-clause. Questions remain, however. First, can a clause-final, non-integrated *wenn*-clause undergo LD? That is, is not some level of integration required for this operation? If a clausal adverbial stands in the same syntactic relation to the clause in which the element – including the entire main clause – that it modifies is located, as any other adverbial does, then we must conclude that this clausal adverbial is fully integrated; otherwise it would not be derivable as a part of the syntactic cycle that derives the clause containing the element it modifies. When this clausal modifier is left-dislocated, a discourse-level of integration is minimally required, once it sits in the *Vor-Vorfeld*; a higher degree of integration results when a syntactic feature must also be valued, see section 3 and Abels and Neeleman (2006) on assumptions about movement in DP.

The basis for the assumptions about integration is formed from the following evidence. There is the theory internal evidence from movement operations: They must (i) satisfy feature valuation and (ii) target a position in the domain of the immediate sentence; only integrated elements can meet both of these conditions. Independent evidence comes from the prosody of constructions like (7'); the prosody indicates integration, if we assume that no pause is required or even permitted in either (7) or (7'); the prosody forms a unified whole. If we compare this prosody to that of a construction with Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD, see discussion in Grewendorf 2003 and Grohmann 2003), the differences are striking. The dash (–) indicates a required pause:

(7'')   a.   Dieser/n   Mann – den/ihn habe ich noch nie   gesehen.   ("high resumptive")
             this-NOM/-ACC man   this him have I   yet   never   seen.
             'This man, him I've never seen before.'
        b.   Dieser/n   Mann –   ich habe den/ihn noch nie   gesehen.   ("low resumptive")
             this-NOM/-ACC man   I   have this him yet never   seen
             'This man, I have never seen him before.'

In addition to the contrast in prosody between (7'') on the one hand, and (7) and (7') on the other, there is the clear morphological indication in (7'') that syntactic integration is not required in HTLD: The Case of the hanging topic does not have to be the Case of the pendant in the main clause. Thus the morphological evidence supports the prosodic evidence (the pause), and we are led to the conclusion that HTLD in (7'') is different than both (7) and (7').

We continue our investigation with examples that indicate the need for a nuanced definition of integration; they point to the possibility that integration involves more than one component of the grammar, as we would suspect, if this integration is a C-I-Interface phenomenon.

2.4. More Examples of Differing Degrees of Integration

Note that the same syntactic-pragmatic contrast between (7) and (8) exists between (9a) and (9b) involving non-clausal, phrasal or single-word adverbs (from Thim-Mabrey 1988:53). Here the contrast is reflected in the different meaning of the left-dislocated adverb *vorweg*

(9) a. Vorweg,   Ihr Mitarbeiter   hat   erfreulich sachlich   berichtet.
        firstly   your colleague   has   happily   factually   reported
        'First of all, your colleague fortunately reported factually.'
    b. Vorweg   hat Ihr   Mitarbeiter   erfreulich sachlich   berichtet.
        ahead   has your   colleague   happily   factually   reported
        'In anticipation, your colleague fortunately reported factually.'

The following example from Thim-Mabrey (1988:56) indicates that sometimes a left-dislocated adverbial clause requires a reading that cannot be rendered, if V2 occurs:

(10) a. Wenn Sie sich erinnern, das   Buch   erschien   erstmals   im   Jahr   1982.
      if   you REFL recall   the   book   appeared   first-time   in-the   year   1982
      'If you recall, the book appeared for the first time in 1982.'
    b.[#]*Wenn Sie sich erinnern, (dann) erschien das Buch erstmals im Jahr 1982.

The same is true with the Dutch equivalents:[13]

(11) a. Als   u   het zich   herinnert, het boek   verscheen voor   het eerst   in   1982.
      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.'
    b.[#]*Als u het zich herinnert, verscheen het boek voor het eerst in 1982.

Some adverbial clauses must be interpreted the very same, whether they occur in the *Vor-Vorfeld* or the *Vorfeld*:

(12) a. Selbst wenn er schläft,   seine   Stiefel zieht   er   nicht   aus.
      even   when   he   sleeps   his   boots   pulls   he   not   out
      'Even when he's sleeping he does not take off his boots.'
    b. Selbst wenn er schläft, zieht er seine Stiefel nicht aus.

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[13] Thanks to Robin Blanker for translating this example and giving me his judgments.

The above examples illustrate that in some cases only the combination of placement, lexical content of the adverbial, and the addition of feature(s) from the PC can achieve a certain reading. In the next section we turn to further investigation of what constitutes a particular reading.

2.5.   Speech-act versus manner reading of adverbials
Meinunger (2004) explores the differences between speech-act and manner readings of certain German adverbials; his list includes those in (13):

(13)   Speech-act/discourse-oriented adverbials
   a. *offen gestanden/gesagt*   'frankly'
   b. *(ganz) im Vertrauen/ehrlich gesagt* 'confidentially'
   c. *zugegeben*   'admittedly'
   d. *ernst(haft) gesagt*   'seriously (speaking)'
   e. *kurz gesagt*   'briefly, in brief'
   f. *ohne zu übertreiben*   'without exaggerating'
   g. *überspitzt formuliert*   'with (a bit of) exaggeration'
   h. *mit anderen Worten gesagt*   'to put it differently'
   i. *nebenbei bemerkt/gesagt*   'by the way'

Meinunger points out that these adverbials can occur in the *Vor-Vorfeld* without the verbal element (such as *gesagt* in13a), but they may not occur in the *Vorfeld* (the examples in 14a,c have the adverbial in the *Vor-Vorfeld*; the others have it in the *Vorfeld*):

(14)   a. Ehrlich,   ich bin   total   enttäuscht von   dir.
           honestly   I   am   totally   disappointed by   you
           'Honestly, I'm totally disappointed in you.'
       a.'*Ehrlich bin ich total enttäuscht von dir.
       b. Ehrlich   gesagt bin ich total   enttäuscht von   dir.
           honestly   stated   am I   totally   disappointed by   you
       c. Im Vertrauen, ich hab   die Schnauze voll.
           in honesty   I   have   the snout   full
           'Honestly, I've had all I can take.'
       c.'*Im Vertrauen hab ich die Schnauze voll.
       d. Im Vertrauen gesagt hab   ich die Schnauze voll.
           in honesty   stated   have   I   the snout   full
           'Honestly, I've had all I can take.'

He also points out that a manner reading of the adverbial lacking a verbal element is available, but only if the adverbial is located in the *Vorfeld*, as in (15a, b), but not in the *Vor-Vorfeld*.[14] Interestingly, if a verbal element is added to the same adverbial in the same construction (adverbial in the *Vorfeld*) as in (15a',b'), then a SPEECH-ACT READING is required. Compare the translations:

(15) a. Am   Rande steht   da   auch eine   Telefonzelle.
          on-the edge   stands there   also   a   telephone-booth
          'Off on the side there is a telephone booth too.'   (manner reading only)

      a.' Am   Rande bemerkt, steht da   auch eine   Telefonzelle   (für den Fall...).
          on-the   margin noted   stands there also a   phone-booth   (for   the   case...)
          'By the way, there is a phone booth there too, in case...'   (speech-act reading only)

      b. Nebenbei ist so ein Job   gar   nicht   zu schaffen.
          on-the-side is   so a   job   at-all   not   to do
          'Such a job cannot be done on the side.'   (manner reading only)

      b.' Nebenbei bemerkt,   ist so ein Job   gar   nicht   zu schaffen.
          next-by   remarked   is   so a   job   at-all   not   to do
          'Just on the side, such a job cannot be done at all.'   (speech-act reading only)

Meinunger accounts for the data in (14) and (15), and versions of these constructions with the speech-act adverbials in the upper middlefield, as evidence that the speech-act "must be made explicit" in one of two ways, either (i) with the long form that includes the verbal element which spells out the performative function, or (ii) the placement of the adverbial in an unambiguous position, of which there are two possibilities:
   i.   *Vor-Vorfeld*, or
   ii. the upper middlefield position (possibly in TopP).
An adverbial in the *Vorfeld* is normally parsed as a sentence-internal adverbial; the only way around this reading is with the addition of a verbal element that requires a speech-act reading, cf. (15a,b).

   I have not discussed every study that mentions the phenomenon of adverbials in the *Vor-Vorfeld* of WGmc; others can be found, such as Frey (2004), König and van der Auwera (1988), Köpcke and Panther (1989), Lohnstein and Trissler (2004), Müller (2005) and Tomaselli (1995).[15] None of these present data that have properties differing from those already discussed, nor do they make a proposal that could be considered in a Minimalist approach. For these reasons, I will not address them here, without implying any judgment on their value to the broader research.

   In the next section I present a syntactic account of the properties of the adverbials pointed out by Meinunger in which the proposal outlined in the first section are fleshed out in more detail.

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[14] This reading of it as an 'internal adverb' is the same as if it were in the middlefield.
[15] For an investigation of V3 in North Germanic, see Westergaard and Øystein (2005).

3.   Formalizing the Account of Left-Dislocated Adverbials
3.1   Assumption and Model for LD

We assume, first of all, that the elements in the *Vor-Vorfeld*, but not those in the *Vorfeld*, interact with the PC; in doing so, the speech-act reading results from feature input from this component in combination with features of the syntactic position and the lexical features of the elements in the *Vor-Vorfeld*.

The main components of the derivational model behind this assumption are as follows:

  i.   LD occurs for the purpose of feature valuation, even when the feature(s) involved are inserted from the PC.
  ii.   Internal Merge (IM), of which LD is one type, targets a position in the CP-domain when LD occurs with adverbials; this position is considered to be in the *Vor-Vorfeld* when no V2 occurs.
  iii.   When the *Vorfeld* is targeted (and V2 is induced), a syntactic feature must be valued; the details of this type of IM will be ignored here, since it falls within the syntax of the V2-domain, presumably involving a Probe and an Agree relation.
  iv.   Syntactic feature valuation does not occur via Agree when the *Vor-Vorfeld* is targeted; the feature that must be valued comes from the PC (see López' 2009 related work on Romance and Sturgeon's 2008 on Czech).
  v. V_{FIN} raising is unnecessary when a feature from the PC is valued, on the assumption that V_{FIN} raising occurs only for syntactic feature valuation.

I assume regarding (i) that when LD of adverbial CPs like those in (1) and (2) occurs, it values a feature from the PC, inducing the speech-act reading. In this case the feature of a clausal projection is valued, and not that of a head because adverbials are syntactically and semantically associated with either the VP- or the CP-projection (verb-phrase or sentence adverbials; the adverbial CPs examined here are all sentence adverbials). They do not involve Agree or binding domains (often required for fronting to the *Vorfeld*). A standard assumption in the literature is that adverbs bridge the domains of syntax and pragmatics (see e.g. work of Alexiadou 2004).

The LD of a clausal adverbial (CP_{ADV}) as in (1) and (2) targets via IM the nearest available Spec in the CP-domain for the feature valuation proposed above. Prior to LD a feature from the PC is inserted in the lowest available head in the CP-domain. This IM operation induces the insertion of the negatively-valued feature [±RESTRICTIVE] ([−RESTR] = non-restrictive) from the PC; this feature requires the speech-act reading of the left-dislocated CP_{ADV} and renders the left-dislocated CP_{ADV} semantically free of any internal reading such as the manner reading. The LD of the CP_{ADV} does not induce an Agree relation with any element in the matrix clause, which would require the raising of the V_{FIN}, inducing V2, because such a relation would require looking back into the narrow syntax, which is generally prohibited in derivations following the Minimalist framework.[16]

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[16] The fact that no V2-constraint applies in the constructions under investigation lends support to the prohibition against look-back.

The feature [–RESTR] sits in the head of the projection targeted by LD (see 16 and 17); this feature must be accompanied by the feature [ADV-S] (sentential adverb) on the adverbial: CP$_{ADV-S}$. The semantic result of these features in this configuration is that the feature [+free] is added to [+matrix] on TP or TopP when [±RESTR] on CP$_{ADV-S}$ is negatively valued. Integration of the left-dislocated CP$_{ADV}$ occurs by way of IM and the following syntactic-pragmatic relations: (i) The valuation of the left-dislocated CP$_{ADV}$ as [–RESTR] requires a Spec-head Agree-relation as an IM operation targeting a Spec-position; (ii) the valuation of the matrix clause as [+free] requires a c-command relation; this relation results from the above IM operation and itself does not constitute an agreement relation of any kind.[17] The boundaries of the syntactic and the interpretive/semantic components are bridged when a PC feature induces an IM operation targeting a Spec-position in the functional domain; this operation in effect stops the syntactic cycle by neutralizing Merge for Agree with the V$_{FIN}$. When the syntactic cycle is ended, the Agree-relation that underlies the V2-constraint can no longer be realized.

In the next section we consider more closely the configurations that result from the IM operations that create the left periphery in WGmc.

3.2.   Configurations and Structures

Consider first the configuration at the left periphery when LD occurs in a subject-initial matrix clause, which I am assuming projects a TP, following work of Zwart (1997, 2009) on Dutch and te Velde (2005) on German. In this construction LD targets the Spec,TopP position as follows:

(16)   a.   LD of CP$_{ADV-S}$ in a subject-initial matrix clause (last two steps):

   1.   Subject raising; V$_{FIN}$ → T for φ-feature valuation (assuming the need for vP):

   [$_{TP}$ DP V$_{FIN}$ [$_{vP}$ *t* [$_{VP}$ *t* CP$_{ADV}$]]]
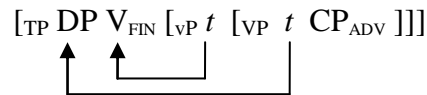
   2.   LD of CP$_{ADV}$ for speech-act reading (after step 1; see tree in b):

   [$_{TopP}$ [$_{ADV}$ CP] Top° [$_{TP}$ DP V$_{FIN}$ [$_{vP}$ *t* [$_{VP}$ *t* *t*]]]]

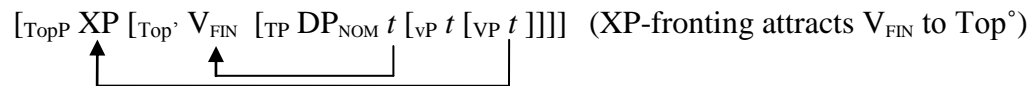   [-RESTR] from the PC

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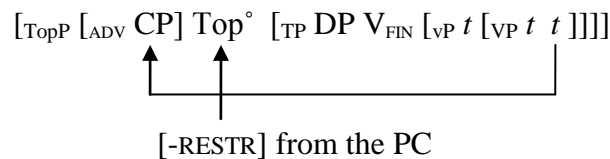
[17] For more on the role of c-command in syntactic relations and how it differs from the Spec-head relation, see Safir (2004).
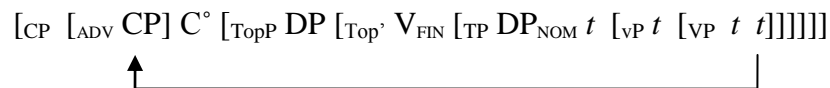
b.
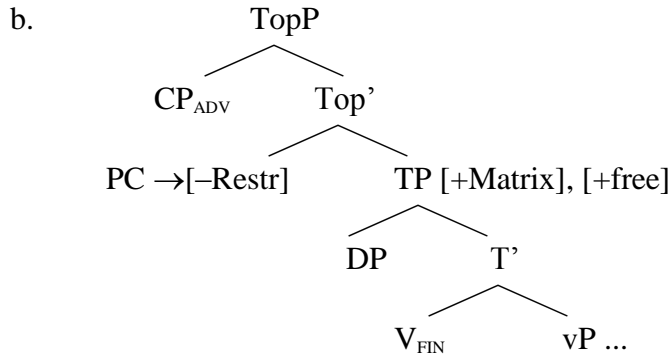
When LD occurs in a matrix clause that projects TopP as a result of Topicalization – which targets the Spec, TopP position in this case as the nearest Spec, XP in the CP domain – LD itself must target the next highest Spec, XP in the CP-domain, which I will assume here is Spec,CP:[18]

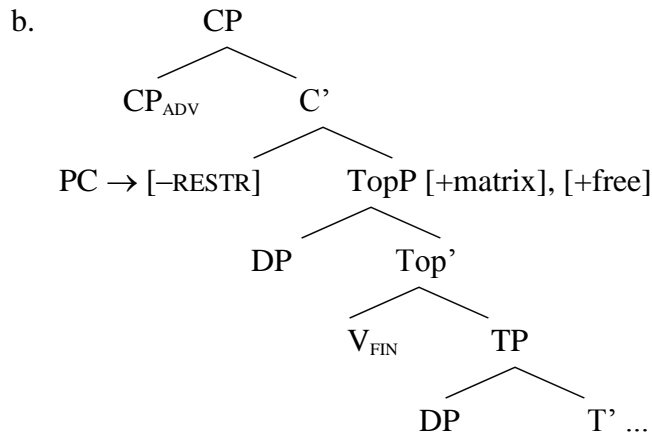(17) a. LD of $CP_{ADV\text{-}S}$ in a matrix clause with a topicalized DP:

1. Topicalization targets Spec,TopP and the V_{FIN} raises to Top° (ignoring trace of subject raising):

$[_{TopP}$ XP $[_{Top'}$ V_{FIN} $[_{TP}$ DP_{NOM} t $[_{vP}$ t $[_{VP}$ t $]]]]$ (XP-fronting attracts V_{FIN} to Top°)

2. LD of CP_{ADV} targets Spec,CP:

$[_{CP}$ $[_{ADV}$ CP] C° $[_{TopP}$ DP $[_{Top'}$ V_{FIN} $[_{TP}$ DP_{NOM} t $[_{vP}$ t $[_{VP}$ t t]]]]]]$

---

[18] I am assuming a notion of IM for LD that is relatively "free" in the sense that it targets the next available position (along the lines of Zwart 2005), not a specific position associated with particular features (advocated by Cinque 2005). See also section 4.

b.

```
              CP
          ┌────┴────┐
       CP_ADV        C'
                  ┌────┴────┐
    PC → [−RESTR]      TopP [+matrix], [+free]
                    ┌──────┴──────┐
                   DP            Top'
                            ┌─────┴─────┐
                          V_FIN          TP
                                     ┌────┴────┐
                                    DP         T' ...
```

We noted above that both Topicalization and LD can target the Spec,TopP position, the latter on-ly if Topicalization doesn't occur. The configurations and feature valuations that result differ in significant ways, however, that render the different readings. Let's compare LD with Topicaliza-tion with respect to configurations and feature valuation:

LEFT DISLOCATION OF CP$_{ADV}$:
  i. Does not require "V$_{FIN}$ raising" i.e. it does not result in a classic V2-structure and thus requires the speech-act reading of the CP$_{ADV}$.
  ii. The PC feature [−RESTR] values the CP$_{ADV}$ for a speech act reading; this feature con-stitutes an essential element in the valuation of the matrix clause as [+free].
  iii. The CP$_{ADV}$ in Spec,TopP or Spec,CP c-commands TP or TopP, respectively. This configuration is required for the valuation of the matrix clause as [+free].
  iv. The LD of CP$_{ADV}$ targets whatever Spec in the CP-domain that is nearest, and the in-sertion of [−RESTR] targets the right-adjacent head position.

TOPICALIZATION:
  i. Induces "V$_{FIN}$ raising" i.e. an IM operation in which a feature of V$_{FIN}$ values the Topic feature of the topicalized element (a syntactic operation).
  ii. By (i), the Topic receives the feature [+RESTR] from the PC at the interfaces, resulting in the reading of the element in Spec,TopP as 'Topic.'
  iii. If the Topic is an adverbial, it will have a manner, temporal, locative or similar read-ing.
  iv. For the feature valuation described in (i), the topicalized element in Spec,TopP must attract V$_{FIN}$ to Top° for a Spec-head relation with it (see also 17):

(18)   Spec-head relation between Topic (XP) and V_{FIN}:

$$[_{TopP} \text{ XP } [_{Top'} \text{ } V_{FIN} \text{ } [_{TP} \text{ } DP_{NOM} \text{ } t \text{ } [_{vP} \text{ } t \text{ } [_{VP} \text{ } t \text{ }]]]]$$

The analysis just outlined leaves a couple of immediately-relevant questions unanswered. For instance: Why is the pragmatic feature [−RESTR] NOT inserted with the topicalization of some types of CP_{ADV}, which must target the *Vorfeld* and induce V2? This operation occurs in constructions like:

(19)   a.   Weil   du viele   Freunde   hast,   bist   du nicht   allein.
            because you many   friends   have   are   you not   alone
            'Because you have many friends, you are not alone.'
       b. *Weil du viele Freunde hast, du bist nicht allein.

The intuitive answer that suggests itself is that the semantic features of *weil* prohibit the "free" reading of the matrix clause required with LD. These same features disallow insertion of the pragmatic feature [−RESTR]. If this answer is correct, then correspondingly those adverbial CPs that can sit in the *Vor-Vorfeld* lack these features. Furthermore, they lack the feature(s) that require a speech-act reading and require the insertion of the PC feature [−RESTR]. Pinpointing what features (beyond [Topic] suggested here) are involved requires research beyond the scope of this paper; the sharp distinction between (19a) and the constructions investigated here quite certainly has significant feature differences at its basis, if the claim I make, that both Topicalization and LD can target the same position, is to be supportable.

A second question concerns those adverbials like *ehrlich gesagt* 'honestly stated' consisting of an adverb+verb participle (see 13) that require the speech-act reading, even though they sit in the *Vorfeld*. What additional feature(s) do these adverbials have? Is it possible that they actually sit in the *Vor-Vorfeld* and the feature responsible for the speech-act reading, or some other element, sits in the *Vorfeld*? These questions are more complex than it may appear and, as shown in te Velde (2010), needs to be addressed in the context of another question regarding the status of the related adverbials that lack the verbal element, i.e. *ehrlich* etc., which must be left-dislocated to have the status of an adverbial.

The final subsection contains a brief recap of some points discussed so far, followed by some comments that lead us into the final section on the contribution of the constructions investigated so far to syntactic theory in general.

3.3.   V2 and V3: Where syntax ends and pragmatics begins

The occurrence of V3 constructions points to the limits of V2 syntax; when (certain) pragmatic features are inserted, V2-syntax hands over the derivation to pragmatics. When Topicalization occurs (with movement to Spec,TopP), syntactic feature valuation is still required, thus also V_{FIN}

raising (V2). When such constructions meet the interfaces, specifically the PF-Interface, a certain prosody is added. When subjects raise, V2-effects obtain via the Subj-V_{FIN} agreement relation; a marked prosody is not required, a property that distinguishes subject-initial matrix clauses from topic-initial ones and lends support to treating subject-initial matrix clauses as TPs.

If we assume that the TP domain is where subject-verb agreement occurs (φ-feature valuation), and the CP domain is where syntax meets pragmatics (for Topicalization, Focus, Force, cf. Benincà and Poletto 2004, Breul 2004, Rizzi 1997, Brandner 2004), then the CP is also the domain where V2-syntax hands over the derivation to the interfaces. Thus, a construction requires syntactic integration in narrow syntax and pragmatic integration from then on. What structures are required for this kind of derivation and integration is the topic of the next section.

4.   The contribution of LD and V3 to syntactic theory

In a purely syntactic approach to the derivation of V2-constructions in WGmc (e.g. Zwart 2005), V2 is a function of Merge to value features required for relations like those in (20):[19]

(20)   Syntactic relations that induce V2 for feature valuation (linear orders indicated, with first element clause-initial):
   a.   subject-verb
   b.   object-verb (whether DO or IO, i.e. a DP-complement of the verb)
   c.   adverb-verb (where 'adverb' – also PP/adverbial – is a verbal complement)
   d.   WH-verb (in matrix – V2 – interrogatives)

First some facts and assumptions: Not all of these initial elements sit in the same position; therefore, there is more than one possible position for the V_{FIN} (also supported by Brandner's 2004 approach). In my proposal I assume that LD can target two positions: Spec,TopP and Spec,CP. Independent evidence for this comes from a type of V3 construction which we turn to in the first subsection.

4.1   V3 and the Left Periphery: Projections and Relations

If we assume, following a uniform V → C approach to the derivation of matrix clauses, that the adverbial CPs investigated here all target Spec,CP via LD, there is no syntactic position available for the next element in constructions like those in (3), repeated here as (21), i.e. for *die* in a, *der* in b, if we limit the number of positions available to those in (22):

(21)   a.   Wie   jij kiest, (DIE)   kiezen wij ook.
              whoever   you choose   that-one choose   we also
              '*Whoever you choose, we'll choose that one too.*'

---

[19] See Brandner (2004) for an approach to V2 via the pragmatics component for assigning FORCE-value.

a.'*Wie jij kiest, kiezen wij DIE ook.

b. Wer   mitspielt, (DER) wird   gewinnen.

     whoever   with-plays   that-one will   win

     'Whoever plays along will win.'

b.'*Wer mitspielt, wird DER gewinnen.

(22) $[_{CP}\ C°\ [_{TP}\ T°\ [_{vP}\ v°…]]]$

For this reason, I have assumed here that there is a TopP-projection in the CP-domain:[20]

(23) $[_{CP}\ C°\ [_{TopP}\ Top°\ [_{TP}\ T°\ [_{vP}\ v°…]]]]$

In my proposal I have claimed that V2 is not induced with LD because this operation induces the insertion of at least one feature from the PC; with this insertion, the derivation leaves narrow syntax and meets the interfaces. I have assumed a movement analysis of left-dislocated adverbial CPs, even though the tests of movement and other syntactic properties (phase-edge, subjacency, weak crossover) used by López (2009) do not apply to (1) because the CPs are adverbials.[21] A movement analysis is assumed here nevertheless because: (i) an alternate configuration of the constructions, with the matrix preceding the embedded clause, is available (sometimes minor adjustments required), and (ii) other evidence of syntactic-pragmatic relations between the left-dislocated CP and the matrix clause, pointing to syntactic and pragmatic integration, are evident.[22] I follow the general principle that integrated elements can be re-merged using IM.

     Once an adverbial sits in the *Vor-Vorfeld* after undergoing LD, it exhibits properties of syntactic non-integration, the most obvious being that the V2-constraint does not apply. Nevertheless, these constructions must be kept distinct from the Hanging Topic constructions – also generated presumably by LD, thus called Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD), investigated by Grohmann (2003). Detailed arguments are presented by te Velde (2009b); two of the most salient are first, that left-dislocated adverbial CPs may not be cut off (syntactically or pragmatically)

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[20] See te Velde (2009a) for an analysis of coordinate structures in WGmc that support this CP-domain.

[21] López (2009) argues that the features [Topic] and [Focus] are not primitives and are thus not appropriate for explaining LD in Spanish (which involves an antecedent-anaphor relation, i.e. a DP). Hence he proposes that the relevant features are [+anaphor] and [+contrast]. López does not consider adverbials of the types in (1).

[22] The prosodic properties of left-dislocated CP$_{ADV}$ point to pragmatic integration: No independent focus domain is created. Rather, the focus within the CP$_{ADV}$ is projected out of the CP$_{ADV}$, as indicated by the inability of a left-dislocated CP$_{ADV}$ to be a coherent answer to a question:

(i)   Was   wäre   geschehen,   wenn...?

       what   was- SUBJ   happened   if

       'What would have happened, if...?'

       Hätten die Terroristen sich mit ihm beRATen, ## (er hätte ihnen ein neues Konzept verordnet).

       had   the terrrorists REFL with him conferred,   he had   them a   new   concept   given

       'Had the terrorists conferred with him, he would have given them a new plan.'

from the matrix clause (24a,a' based on d'Avis 2004:147), versus hanging topics (24b,b' based on Grohmann 2003:144):

(24)   [Cotext: Das   wird   bestimmt ein netter Abend]
                       that   becomes   certainly   a   nice   evening
     a. Aber – auch   wenn   du ihn einlädst –
        but   also   if   you him invite
        Maria wird   sicher   nicht   kommen. (LD of CP_ADV)
        M.   will   certainly   not   come
        'This is certainly going to be a nice evening. But even if you invite him, Maria will certainly not come.'
     a.'*Auch wenn du ihn einlädst – aber Maria wird sicher nicht kommen.
     b. Aber   der Martin,   den   habe   ich gestern   getroffen. (HTLD)
        but   the M.   him   have   I   yesterday   met
        'But Martin, him I met yesterday.'
     b.'$^{(?)}$Der Martin, aber den habe ich gestern getroffen.

The second argument is that the LD of multiple adverbials is typically not possible (25b), unless the second one can be rendered as a parenthetical (25c). Contra Köpcke and Panther (1989), a Topic – V_{FIN} order (requiring subject-verb inversion) as in (25d) does not require a fully non-integrated left-dislocated CP_{ADV}, (25d from Köpcke and Panther 1989):

(25) a. Obgleich es schon spät   war,   es war   nicht   der Tag,
         although   it already late   was   it   was   not   the day
         um   vom   Institut   aus ... zu fahren.[23]
         in-order-to from-the   institute   out   zu drive
         'Although it was already late, it was not the day to leave on a trip from the institute.'
      b. *<u>Obgleich es schon spät war</u>, <u>trotzdem</u>, <u>es</u>   <u>war</u>   nicht der   Tag…
         although   it already late was   nevertheless it   was   not   the   day
              CP_{ADV} H_{ADV} subject V_{FIN}
      b.' Obgleich es schon spät war, es war trotzdem nicht der Tag …
      c. Obgleich es schon spät war – und es war SEHR spät – es war nicht der   Tag ...
         although it already late   was   and it   was very   late   it was   not   the   day
      d. <u>Wenn du Interesse hast</u>,   <u>um   acht   Uhr</u>   <u>beginnt</u> unsere Party.
         if   you interest   have   at   eight   hour   begins   our   party
              CP_{ADV} Topic V_{FIN}
         'If you're interested, at eight o'clock our party begins.'

---

[23] (24a) is from *Paarungen* by Peter Schneider, op. cit., p. 98.

The CP_{ADV} in (25d) is not any less integrated than the CP_{ADV} in (7), which we determined has syntactic and prosodic properties of an adverbial, even though it requires a speech-act reading of the adverbial, and it must occur in the *Vor-Vorfeld* (a requirement that applies only to some adverbial CPs).

In conclusion, the LD of adverbial CPs in the constructions under investigation here must meet both syntactic and pragmatic requirements that are distinct from the requirements for left-dislocated HTs or parentheticals. The syntactic requirement(s) for the LD of a CP_{ADV} can be satisfied only if the CP_{ADV} is syntactically integrated with the matrix clause, and following López's model, it must occur for feature valuation, handled at the interface with the PC, see section 3.3.

In the next subsection we consider how my proposal addresses the question of optimal design in Minimalist theory.

4.2.   LD, the CP Domain and Optimal Design

LD constructions with V3-structure, like many other left-peripheral phenomena, raise the question: How many projections are needed? How many are optimal from a minimalist perspective? Newmeyer (2008) provides evidence and arguments for the following standpoints:

i.   There is little or no evidence to support a restrictive theory in which there is a one-to-one relation between position and interpretation;

ii.   thus, language does not have an 'optimal design' in the sense of Chomsky (2002) in which each grammatical feature [associated with a particular syntactic position] would necessarily be semantic.

It is appropriate here to note that the theory critiqued by Newmeyer can lead to a left periphery in which there is a proliferation of functional positions, as has been the case in several studies, especially Rizzi (1997) and Cinque (2005). I have advocated a theory that allows a feature from the PC to be inserted in more than one position in the CP-domain. Thus, my theory does not have 'optimal design' in the sense of Chomsky (2002). Rather, it favors "free" Merge.

Therefore, I will consider another perspective on 'optimal design' that addresses constraints on features and positions. The question we consider first is: Can the CP-domain be constrained with a theory of feature transfer and spread? According to the Strong Minimalist Theory (SMT), cf. Chomsky (2000), and a related proposal by Richards (2007), the CP-domain contains only two heads, only one of which delineates a phase. Paraphrasing Richards, it can be described as follows: In phase theory a phase head (C or v) has a proxy head (T or V respectively) that enables feature transfer and IM in such a way that (i) Value and Transfer of uninterpretable features (uFs) can happen together at IM, and (ii) the edge and non-edge (complement) of a phase are transferred separately. The phrase structure required for this must allow an uF to spread from edge to non-edge; furthermore, a single, non-phase head must sit within the c-command domain of a phase head (C and v are phase heads that c-command T and V respectively):

(26)   C   T   v   V

In this configuration the features of C are inherited by T for subject-verb agreement and thus spread from the top to the bottom of the phase, while at the same time these features are transferred to the semantic component ("LF").

It turns out that this theory is too constrained for the data considered here because:

i.   C is associated with COMP and WH, but not with topics or left dislocates.

ii.   An additional category and position are required when Topicalization accompanies LD:

(27)   a.   [$_{CP}$ [Wie   jij kiest] [$_{TopP}$ die   kiezen [$_{TP}$ wij ook]]]
               whoever   you choose   that-one   choose   we also

         b.   [$_{CP}$ [Wen du wählst] [$_{TopP}$ den wählen [$_{TP}$ wir auch]]]   (German translation of 27a)

         c.   [$_{CP}$ [Selbst wenn er schläft] [$_{TopP}$ seine Stiefel [$_{TP}$ zieht er nicht aus]]]   (cf. 12)

The solution that I will suggest is this: If it can be shown that C° and T° are phase heads in WGmc, and that Top and v° are non-phase heads, then the analysis in (23) in which the left periphery includes a TopP projection supports Richards' claim about feature inheritance and transfer between phase heads and non-heads, and thus indirectly for the assumption that T is a phase head in WGmc. This solution has further application to the present data. I have argued that in the V3 structures examined here, syntactic feature valuation and thus syntactic integration are required when LD occurs with adverbial clauses without verb raising (without the V2 constraint). For this integration to be possible, we need only assume that feature transfer and spread occurs with semantic features of C inserted by the PC. Among these features is [–RESTR] proposed here for the LD of adverbial CPs.

5.   Further considerations

In my proposal I suggest that the feature [–RESTR] is at the heart of the speech-act reading of left-dislocated adverbials. I also pointed out that additional features probably play a role in certain constructions in which the V2 constraint applies, but the left-dislocated adverbial must nevertheless have a speech-act reading (see section 3.2). Regardless of the number of features, it is possible that [–RESTR] is the core feature of all of constructions with a speech-act reading.

Other questions that must be addressed include the following:

i.   What precisely are the semantic and pragmatic properties of those adverbials that trigger pragmatic feature insertion?

ii.   What do the prosodic properties of V3 constructions tell us about their syntax?

iii.   Do the left-dislocated adverbial CPs analyzed above have some of the same properties as the fronted elements in:

(28) a. Außerdem, wir wissen noch nicht, was wir machen sollen.
   additionally we know yet not what we do should
   'Additionally, we do not know yet, what we are supposed to do.'

  b. Übrigens, was willst du machen?
   moreover what want you do
   'By the way, what do you want to do?'

  c. Also, wir haben noch viel zu tun!
   well we have yet much to do
   'Well, we still have a lot to do.'

 iv. Is the expansion of the WGmc left periphery as proposed by Grewendorf (2008) support-ed by other WGmc data and cross-linguistically? How much expansion is necessary?
 v. What are the properties of the left-dislocated adverbials in constructions like (29) (repeat-ing 12) in which both V2 and V3 are acceptable?

(29) a. Selbst wenn er schläft, seine Stiefel zieht er nicht aus.
   even when he sleeps his boots pulls he not out
   'Even when he's sleeping he does not take off his boots.'

  b. Selbst wenn er schläft, zieht er seine Stiefel nicht aus.

Several of these questions are closely related to other research programs that are currently being developed. The challenge lies therefore in part in bringing together all related strands of research, not a new one for the enterprise of Minimalist syntactic theory construction.

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