

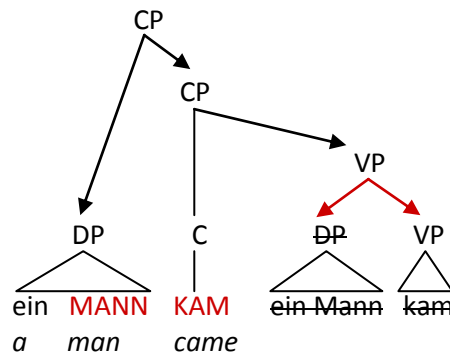
The prosody of German V1- and V2-sentences

The question if and how prosody is derived from syntactic cues has been in the focus of interest for several years. Using Phrase Structure Grammar, the prosodic structure of German can be derived from syntactic information. In head-complement structures, the complement gets stronger stress than the head, whereas both constituents get equal high stresses in adjunct structures. I would like to show that the prosody of German verb-first (V1) and verb-second (V2) sentences can only be captured by taking a look at the base position of moved constituents.

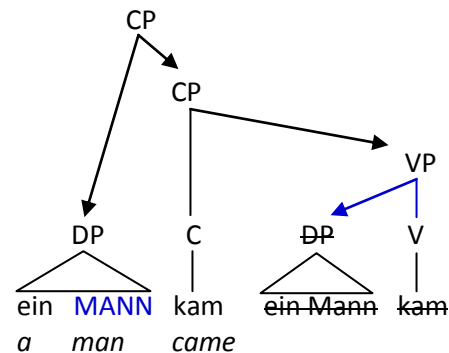
Evidence therefore is given by

- categorial vs.thetic constructions as in (1). Both constructions have the same surface structure but different accentuation, which can be explained by the different underlying structure.

(1) a. categorial



b. thetic



- accented constituents and pars-pro-toto movement as it is suggested by Fanselow (2004). In the construction in (2), the whole particle verb is under focus. It is possible to move only the element carrying the focus accent to the position in front of the finite verb.

(2) NACH hat er über den Vorschlag [~~nach~~gedacht]_{Focus}
 particle has he about the proposal thought
 (He was thinking about the proposal.)

- verbs with modifying adverbs. If metrical strength would be oriented to the target position of movement, the finite verb in (3) as the C-head would have to be metricaly subordinated to the AP. But in a neutral structure verb and AP are of equal metrical strength, which is a result of the fact that AP and VP are adjuncts underlyingly.

(3) a. [TANzte_C [[er]_{DP} [[SCHNELL_A]_{AP} [tanzte_V]_{VP}]_{VP}]_{CP}
 danced he fast
 (Was he dancing fast?)

To explain these facts, it is necessary to assume a cyclic interaction of prosody and syntax. I would like to present a model which derives the prosodic structure from syntactic information and shows how the prosodic structure of verb-first and verb-second sentences is related to a verb-final underlying structure.

References:

- Fanselow, Gisbert (2004). „Cyclic phonology-syntax interaction: Movement to first position in German.“ In: S. Ishihara / M. Schmitz / A. Schwarz (eds.). *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure (ISIS)* 1, 1-42.
- Krifka, Manfred (1984). „Fokus, Topik, semantische Struktur und semantische Interpretation.“ Ms. Universität München.