

## The Bottleneck Effect as a qualitative constraint in Present-Day German

Nicholas Catasso (Bergische Universität Wuppertal, Postdoc)

Present-Day German has traditionally been regarded as a strict Verb-Second (V2) language in light of the assumption that its prefield, namely the left-peripheral area of the clause preceding the finite verb situated in C°, can only be occupied by one XP in matrix clauses. According to this principle, only one constituent can (and must) move to Spec,CP to satisfy an EPP-like feature carried by C that requires that the pre-C° position not be empty in main clauses. The Bottleneck Effect (Haegeman 1996, Roberts 2004, Cardinaletti 2010) claims that in strict V2 languages, every XP  $\alpha$  raised to the CP must cyclically move to its surface position via Spec,FinP. This constraint accounts for the fact that in general, *at least* and *maximally* one XP fills the pre-FinP area of a main clause at PF, since movement of further constituents is blocked by the trace left by  $\alpha$ . Recently, a number of phenomena have been discussed in the literature that seem to involve the activation of a larger portion of structure than the assumption of a one-projection prefield would suggest, e.g. focus operators (1a), post-initial topic particles (1b), left dislocation (1c) and other correlative constructions (1d). Such configurations are in principle compatible with the Bottleneck Effect if one assumes CP-internal cyclical movement and/or base-generation of some of the involved categories:

- (1) a. [CP **Nur** Hans [C° ist [TP gekommen]]].
- b. [CP Hans **aber** [C° ist [TP gekommen]]].
- c. [CP (Den) Hans, **den** [C° habe [TP ich nicht gesehen]]].
- d. [CP Als ich klein war, **da** [C° war [TP alles anders]]].

In this paper, I will discuss hitherto mainly neglected V3-constructions of Present-Day German (such as those in (2)) in which some of the a/m constructs – here: case-marked left dislocation and correlative adverbial-clause topicalization in (2a)-(2c) and left dislocation and *wh*-focus fronting (2d) – co-occur and which, thus, appear to challenge the postulation that the Bottleneck Effect is a quantitative constraint, i.e. one that obligatorily reduces the number of pre-verbal XPs to one.

- (2) a. *Den Hans*, **als wir das erfahren haben**, *den* haben wir (**da**) grün und blau gedroschen.
- b. *Den Hans*, **als wir das erfahren haben**, (**\*da**) *den* haben wir grün und blau gedroschen.
- c. *Den Hans*, **als wir das erfahren haben**, **da** haben wir *den* grün und blau gedroschen.
- d. *Den Hans*, **warum** hast du *den* nicht eingeladen?

These data, which clearly do not fit in with the traditional model according to which the preverbal position can only be targeted by one XP, are accepted as grammatical *in spoken usage* by most speakers, and possibly represent the ‘limit of flexibility’ of the German prefield. This, however, comes as little surprise if one considers that similar data incontrovertibly involving the fronting of unlike categories (two frame-setting constituents in (3a) and a subject and a frame-setting adverbial clause in (3b)), which have already been extensively discussed in the literature (cf. Haider 1982, Müller 2003, Speyer 2008, Bildhauer 2011, among many others) are often attested both in written and spoken Standard German:

- (3) a. [Gestern] [im Rausch von Fieber, frischer Niederlage und Dummheit] schien mir das Ganze noch weit realistischer als jetzt. (schachfeld.de, October 14<sup>th</sup>, 2008 (online forum))
- b. ...aber [mein Vater,] [als er dahinter kam,] hat mir eine tüchtige Tracht Prügel angedeihen lassen. (Bertha von Suttner, *Eva Siebeck*, ch. 16)

In the data in (2), *den Hans* displays accusative morphology just like the *d*-pronoun resuming it, which makes the assumption that this DP has been first-merged in its PF position very implausible. As a consequence, the XP to its right (an adverbial clause in (2a)-(2c), a *wh*-interrogative in (2d)) cannot be base-generated where it surfaces. To account for these data, which are revealing in that the presence of a resumptive in the lower portion of the CP possibly shows which of the two fronted XPs has moved through that position, I will propose that the Bottleneck Effect is not a constraint on the number of XPs *that can be moved into the left periphery*, but rather on the number of XPs *that may pass through Spec,FinP*, this operation being licensed by hierarchically ordered information-structural restrictions.