
Multiple fronting does not exist in German (but crowded CPs do): cyclic relinearization and multiple base-generation in the left edge of the clause

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Present-day German is a well-behaved Verb-Second (V2) language in which the finite verb is linearized in V and relinearized to C and only one constituent can target Spec,CP in main clauses.

- (1) a. [CP Hans [C verzichtet_t [_{IP/VP} t_y dieses Mal auf einen Berater [_V t_i]]]]
 b. [CP Auf einen Berater_x [C verzichtet_t [_{IP/VP} Hans dieses Mal t_x [_V t_i]]]]

However, in the last decades the literature has unveiled a number of mismatches between structural and linear syntax in the CP domain. Such patterns include, e.g., adverbial resumptions (2), constructions with so-called “post-initial markers” (3), and orders of the type “Topic > Frame(-like) XP” (4):

- (2) [In Berlin,] [da] ist es ja gar nicht so ruhig.
(3) [Den Hans] [z.B.] sehe ich seit Wochen nicht mehr.
(4) [Hans,] [als das passierte,] war nicht mal zu Hause.

Although a number of proposals have been put forward concerning the linearization mechanisms deriving the single patterns illustrated above, configurations in which multiple intrasentential phenomena linearly violate the V2 constraint (5) have so far been mainly neglected:

- (5) Dem Kellner aber, der da arbeitet, als wir angekommen sind, dem habe ich’s gezeigt!

In this paper, I propose a model for the derivation of complex CP linearizations in German within the cartographic approach which: (i) excludes multiple fronting; (ii) involves a combination of (cyclic) movement and base-generation; (iii) shows that the notion of bottleneck effect is not only a theoretical postulation, but can be effectively implemented to account for the observed derivations.

It will be shown that all possible linearizations are nothing but more complex variants of the simple pattern illustrated in (1).

(Selected) references: • Breindl, E. (2011). Nach Rom freilich führen viele Wege: Zur Interaktion von Informationsstruktur, Diskursstruktur und Prosodie bei der Besetzung der Nacherstposition. In Ferraresi (ed.), 17–57. Tübingen: Narr • Breitbarth, A. (2022). Prosodie, Syntax und Diskursfunktion von V>2 in gesprochenem Deutsch. *Deutsche Sprache* 1/22: 1–30 • Cardinaletti, A. (1989). Linksperiphere Phrasen in der deutschen Syntax. *Studium Linguistik* 22: 1–30 • Lee, D. K. (1975). Die Problematik der Zweitstellung des Verbum Finitum im Deutschen. *Colloquia Germanica* 9: 118–142.