

Summary

The following thesis deals with the relationship between prosodic and morpho-syntactic structure and aims towards an explanation of prosodic structure building, partly based on syntactic information.

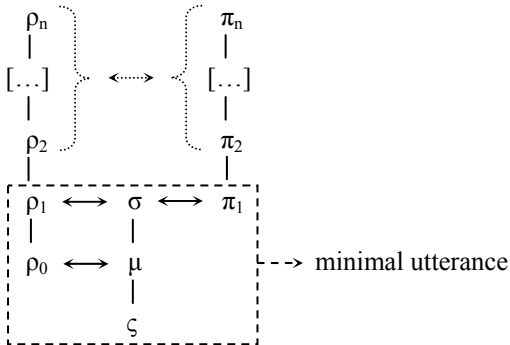
§1

...gives an overview of phenomena relevant to the topic of this thesis and covers the syntactic foundation of the model under consideration. Syntactic analyses in this thesis are confined to a basic generative model, which manages without specifiers and intermediate projections, and allows for a certain range of variability, so that some sentences can potentially be mapped onto more than one grammatical structure, out of which the most economic one is chosen to represent the respective sentence. The prolegomena are closed by a short outline of some interface approaches, which name a set of factors that should be able to influence the prosodic realization of sentences. Several of them will be relevant for the analyses in the following chapters.

§2

...concentrates on the organization of the prosodic component of grammar and argues for a subdivided prosodic system, which consists of components for prosodic phrasing structure, metric-rhythmical structure, syllable structure, and tone structure. Each prosodic subcomponent has its own hierarchical structure with independent constituents, whereby e.g. prosodic phrasing structure and metric-rhythmical structure differ from syllable structure in that the constituents from which they are made have the same category π (for constituents of prosodic phrasing), resp. ρ (for metric-rhythmical constituents) at all hierarchical levels.

(1) Prosodic structure of German

**§3**

...examines the relationship between meter and rhythm, and introduces an alternative relational model to represent both concepts structurally. Meter is seen as an abstract phonological representation – which allows for strength identity – whereas rhythm is its concrete phonetic realization, which is surface-oriented and demands for strict alternation. The notation introduced in this thesis combines elements of the traditional relational model and the metrical grid. It compares relative strength of metrical domains rather than of single marks, so that processes of raising and lowering end up in an even distribution of metrical marks. Strength differences are calculated by referring to domain-specific paths of deepest metrical embedding. Parts of sub-syllabic structure as well as neutral reference-marks are integrated to reach more precise values.

§4

...is concerned with the derivation of metrical strength differences, whereby the syntactic relationship between hierarchical adjacent constituents as well as their information-structural status is taken into consideration. Stress is given to both sub-constituents of neutral adjunct structures but only to the complement of neutral head-complement structures. Focus features and topic features extend the syntactic structure. Features for absolute and relative focus, derived by a focus determination rule, are restricted to focus domains. Constituents carrying such a feature attract stress inside the respective domain independently of other structural properties. The model under discussion distinguishes between conceptual and syntactic topics, whereby only those conceptual topics which are realized by a full phrase also represent syntactic topics. All (conceptual) topics lead to structural separation but only syntactic topics allow for neutral

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accentuation and topic-specific movement. It will further be shown that the main assumptions of the present chapter can easily be transferred to structures at the morphological level.

§5

...focuses on constructions in which constituents are realized outside their base position in the core sentence, and discusses the question whether metrical differences are related to underlying syntactic information or rather be surface oriented. Sentences with V1- and V2-structure as well as sentences with extraposed material are taken into consideration. It is shown that stress differences must be calculated with reference to structural information in the core sentence. Furthermore, it is assumed that no classical movement takes place, but that all traces are non-derivational. The constituents under discussion are generated in their surface position, whereby they are linked to their base position for interpretation and prosody.

§6

...takes a closer look at structures with secondary predicates, which are a challenge for every model. Different analyses for constructions with verb particles are compared and tested regarding their ability to predict the desired stress pattern as well as to supply the correct movement restrictions. The findings are transferred to constructions with adjectival and prepositional secondary predicates. The special behavior of secondary predicates with respect to stress and other phenomena is met by analysing them together with primary predicates in merged verbal projections of the form V^+ , which show syntactic complexity and properties of non-expanded heads at the same time.

§7

...turns to prosodic phrasing. It is argued that prosodic phrasing is influenced by metric-rhythmical as well as by morpho-syntactic information. A first condition, operating at the interface to the metric-rhythmical subcomponent of grammar, requires that a prosodic phrasing unit is built up for every locally strong element whereas locally weak elements integrate into linear adjacent phrasing units. A second condition, operating at the interface to the morpho-syntactic component, demands that every head forms a single prosodic phrasing unit together with its complement. The resulting structure provides information about relative boundary strength and occurrences of downstep and reset. The model presented so far makes predictions about the syntactic arrangement of several constructions. Prosodic structure, in combination with interface conditions, gives evidence for a left branching syntax in neutral coor-

dinate structures and supplies arguments for the placement of relative phrases and wh-phrases in subordinate clauses under S^+ , a projection of the sentential head formed by functional merger. All predictions done by the model are independently motivated by factors such as c-command, economic processing, and movement restrictions.

§8

...summarizes the findings the previous chapters have reached. It takes a look at all interface relationships which are conceivable for the components and subcomponents of grammar under discussion and divides them into relationships with primary and secondary influence. The results for the relationships with primary influence, which constitute the main subject of the following thesis, are illustrated in (2).

(2) Part of grammar including relationships of primary influence

