Adversative aber in adverbal clauses in (historical) German

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Abstract

While the literature on adversative aber in German to date has almost exclusively focused on independent clauses, and at best treated its occurrence in adverbal clauses in passing as a variant of postinitial aber in independent clauses (Métrich and Courdier 1995, Pasch et al. 2003), the current paper focuses on the distribution and interpretation of adversative aber in adverbal clauses. It is shown that aber can have two different scopes, either contrasting two clauses, or two smaller constituents. These scopes are shown to have different prosodic correlates. It is argued that aber occupies the specifier of a functional projection in the upper middle field, and that it interacts with the mapping from syntax to prosody. Some displacements are argued to be interface-driven, to enable constituents to reach or avoid positions where they can be assigned a (contrastive) pitch accent. The diachronic development of adversative aber is shown to interact with the diachronic development of the Wackernagel position for unstressed pronouns.

Keywords: adversative connector, adverbial clauses, syntax-prosody interface, German

1. Introduction

Adversative aber ‘but, however’ can occur in different syntactic positions in German (e.g. Pasch et al. 2003, Sæbø 2003). As can be seen in (1), in independent declarative clauses, it can occupy (i) the pre-clausal coordinator position, (ii) the so-called postinitial position (after the first constituent), (iii) the beginning of the middle field, and, possibly, (iv) a further position in the middle field, although it is superficially not clear whether this arises through displacement of den Mining-Prozess in (1).

(1) {aber} noch {aber} verschlingt {aber} der Mining-Prozess {aber} enorme Energiemengen
PRT still PRT devours PRT the mining process PRT enormous energy amounts
(i) (ii) (iii) (iv)
‘At the moment, however, the mining process still devours an enormous amount of energy.’
(adapted from https://www.deutschlandfunk.de)

According to Büring and Hartmann (2015), adversative aber is both a syntactic coordinator and an adverbial particle that functions as a semantic coordinator when it is not in position (i) (cf. also Pasch et al. 2003, Ferraresi 2018). However, unlike other adversative particles that Büring and Hartmann analyse as semantic coordinators such as jedoch or allerdings ‘however’, aber cannot occupy the initial position in a V2-clause leading to inversion, but it shares with them the ability to occur in postinitial position (ii), which, as variously noted in the literature (Pasch et al. 2003, Volodina and Weiβ 2010, Breindl 2011, Catasso 2015, Speyer and Weiβ 2018), appears to violate the V2-constraint that normally holds in German.

The literature to date has exclusively focused on aber in independent clauses. The present paper will show that interesting insights about the syntax of aber can be gained from looking at its distribution in dependent, particularly adverbal, clauses. In such clauses, only the pre-clausal coordinator position and

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1 Pasch et al. (2003) call this the null position (Nullposition).
2 Almost exclusively. Breindl (2011:28–29) briefly touches upon the question of whether adverbial connectors that can occur in the postinitial position in main clauses, including aber, in fact occupy the Wackernagel position; for this she looks at their position w.r.t. weak pronouns in the middle field of adverbal clauses. There is no further discussion of the data, nor an analysis.
the two middle field positions are regularly available, as illustrated in (3b) using an attested example (3a). Weak pronouns can only occur before aber in the middle field in present-day German, in the so-called Wackernagel position immediately following the complementizer (3c).

(3) Present-day German
   a. Wenn aber Flüchtlinge keine Sicherheit und Lebensperspektive in Afrika finden, sind sie gezwungen, ihren Weg Richtung Europa fortzusetzen. ‘If, however, refugees do not find security and perspectives in Africa, they are forced to continue their way towards Europe.’
   b. {aber} wenn {aber} Flüchtlinge {aber} keine Sicherheit und Lebensperspektive in Afrika finden
   c. {aber} wenn {*aber} sie {aber} keine Sicherheit und Lebensperspektive in Afrika finden

It can be observed that aber can have two different scopes: it either scopes over the entire adverbial clause, that is, it contrasts two propositions, or the XP preceding or following aber (Flüchtlinge in (3b)) will receive a contrastive interpretation, that is, as contrasted with another XP in the context. However, if a pronoun instead of a full DP is used, as in (3c), it can only precede aber in present-day German, not follow it, though without receiving the contrastive interpretation. In (3c), only the wide scope interpretation of adversative aber is available. Yet, historically, as we will see in section 4, pronouns could also follow aber in adverbial clauses, (4), both asyndetic V1-conditionals (4a) and syndetic ones (4b).

(4) Middle High German
   a. wil aber er sin niht tvn / so so maj in der vogt niht genoeten wants PRT he it.GEN NEG do so so may him the reeve NEG force
      ‘If, however, he does not want to do it, the reeve may not force him.’
      (Augsburg, Stadtbuch 70rb.21, 1276-81)
   b. ob aber er ir niht vollichlichen mach begern so beger er doch mit dem wissagen if PRT he her.GEN NEG fully may desire so desire he still with the prophet
daz er begerende werde
that he desiring become
      ‘If, however, he cannot desire her fully, he may still desire with the prophet that he become desiring.’
      (Baumgarten geistlicher Herzen 103va.15, 1270-1290)

In the current paper, I argue that the two scopes of aber—contrast between two clauses or between two subclausal XPs—are a consequence of aber’s interaction with the syntax-prosody interface. Furthermore, I will argue, based on historical corpus data, that the loss of the order C° > aber > weak pronoun is the

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3An anonymous reviewer remarks that in spontaneous speech, post-clausal positioning of aber is also marginally possible, giving the example in (2). I will not consider this use here.

(2) Es kann sein aber, dass ich mich täusche. it can be PRT that I REFN mistake
‘It is possible, however, that I am mistaken.’

(http://www.perfektibilistenorden.de/archiv/topic_2572_18.html)
consequence of a diachronic change in the position of aber on the one hand, and a diachronic change in the kinds of positions weak pronouns can target on the other. In the present paper, I focus on aber, and disregard other particles that behave similarly to aber in the postinitial and middle field positions such as allerdings, hingegen, immerhin, indessen, jedoch, nämlich, nun, schließlich, or übrigens, because unlike aber, they are only semantic coordinators, not also syntactic ones.

2. Intonation and the scope of adversative aber in adverbial clauses

Pasch et al. (2003:498) observe for independent clauses with “postinitial” adversative aber and other elements they call connective adverbs\(^4\) that they show two intonation contour peaks (see also Breindl 2011). The information focus of the clause receives the nuclear pitch accent, while the topic preceding aber receives secondary pitch accent, and appears to be contrasted (Pasch et al. 2003:498).

(5) Die ParTEI aber hat gute JuRISTen.
the party PRT has good lawyers
‘The party, however, has good lawyers.’
(after Catasso 2015; Die Zeit 2000)

According to Breindl (2011), the specific information-structural function of postinitial adverbial connectors like aber is the signalling of a topic shift. Lenker (2014:32) also provides evidence for this (6), showing that familiar topics are excluded. Middle field aber is not restricted in this way (cf. also Büring and Hartmann 2015:56), which leads Catasso (2015:335) to differentiate between connector aber and postinitial ‘particle’ aber.\(^5\)

(6) Der Dieb wollte schnell fliehen.
the thief wanted quickly escape
a. Das Tor aber war gut bewacht. Er (*aber) schaffte es (aber) nicht.
the gate PRT was well guarded he PRT made it NEG
(adapted from Lenker 2014:32)

Turning to adverbial clauses with aber, it can be observed that two scopal interpretations of aber are possible in principle, and they correlate with different intonational contours. In the first, the information focus bears the nuclear pitch accent, and there is potentially a secondary stress on the element in C\(^0\), that is, the complementizer, or, in case of asyndetic (V1) conditional clauses, the finite verb. In this case, aber has to immediately follow C\(^0\), (7a). In the second, the XP adjacent to aber (typically the subject) is contrastively stressed, similarly to aber in postinitial position in independent clauses. The XP can either precede or follow aber in this case, (7b).\(^6\)

(7) a. wenn/WENN aber der Topf nun ein LOCH hat...
if aber PRT the pot PRT a hole has
b. wenn {aber} der TOPF {aber} nun ein Loch hat...
if aber PRT the pot PRT aber PRT a hole has

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\(^4\)Besides aber, Pasch et al. (2003) enumerate allerdings, also, dagegen, indessen, nämlich, schließlich, übrigens and vielmehr.

\(^5\)Catasso would probably only call pre-clausal (i) aber a connector; for Büring and Hartmann (2015), also aber in position (iii) in (1) above would be a connector.

\(^6\)From a German folk song, “Wenn der TOPF aber nun ein Loch hat...” ‘But (what) if the pot has a hole?’; cf. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BtuRHDIG8vY.
These possibilities are evident in spontaneously spoken language. The most frequently attested contour in the FOLK corpus has the nuclear stress on the information focus, as in main clauses, (8).\(^7\)

\[(8)\]
(a. wenn du **aber** zuRÜCKdenkst merkst du das bei dir dass du zu wenig liebe gekriegt hast)

‘If you think back, however, you realise it with yourself that you have received too little love.’

(FOLK_E_00286_SE_01_T_01)

(b. und da **aber** die meisten grade DRIN saßen von unsern [freu]nden dann sind die halt raus)

‘... and as most of our friends were sitting inside, however, they went outside then.’

(FOLK_E_00286_SE_01_T_01)

A secondary pitch accent on C\(_0\) is possible; in four out of nineteen cases of **wenn X aber**, in one case of **wenn aber X**, and in the only case of **weil X aber**, **wenn/weil** receives secondary stress (9).\(^8\)

\[(9)\]
(a. **WENN** er **aber** so sicher ist (..) dass es ein IRRtum sein muss, warum geht er dann nicht einfach)

‘If, however, he is so sure that it must be a misunderstanding, why doesn’t he leave?’

(FOLK_E_00120_SE_01_T_01)

(b. **WEIL** nun **aber** christus durch die unvergleichlich herrliche macht des vaters von den toten AUferstanden ist ßt ist auch unser leben neu geworden)

‘Because now, however, Christ has risen from the dead by the incomparably magnificent power of the father, our life, too, has become renewed.’

(FOLK_E_00193_SE_01_T_02)

All apart from one case, to which we turn presently, have neutral sentence stress, whether or not **wenn** (or **weil**) receives secondary pitch accent, that is, the nuclear pitch accent falls on the information focus, either the verbal predicate as in (8), or on the constituent immediately preceding it, (10) (cf. also Cinque 1993).

\(^7\)The following data come from the FOLK corpus of spoken German (http://agd.ids-mannheim.de/folk.shtml, access via the Datenbank Gesprochenes Deutsch, https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de/dgd/pragdb.dgd_extern.welcome). The corpus contains both audio recordings of spoken conversations and transcripts of these. I searched for strings like "**wenn % aber**" (with an arbitrary string % between the complementizer and **aber**) and "**wenn aber**", not only for **wenn** ‘if’ but also **während** ‘while’ (both temporal and concessive), **als** ‘when’, **nachdem** ‘after’, **bis** ‘until’, **weil** ‘because’, **da** ‘as (causal), and **obwohl** ‘although’. The search resulted in nineteen relevant cases of the string **wenn X aber**, one of **weil X aber**, eight of the string **wenn aber X**, two of the string **da aber X**, one of the string **obwohl X aber**, and one of the string **weil X aber**. False starts and other irrelevant cases (e.g. complementizer and **aber** belonging to utterances of separate speakers) were removed from the data. In addition, there were five cases of **aber wenn X**, which we disregard for the moment. The spelling in the examples follows the FOLK transcriptions, except for the capitalization of stressed syllables.

\(^8\)There is an extraposed PP (von unsern freunden) in (8b), which is deaccented.

\(^9\)Clearly, (9b) is read speech, and therefore conceptually written, not oral, contrary to the otherwise spontaneous conversational speech in the FOLK corpus.
(10) a. wenn dann aber zum Beispiel zehn Leute kommen, ich mir jedes zwei, zwei zehn cent schenkt
   dann bin ich ja wieder im plus
   'If, however, for instance ten people come and each gives me two cents, I'm in credit again.'
   (FOLK_E_00291_SE_01_T_01)

   b. wenn aber einer das genau in der Mitte haben will danne machst du diese
      konst ah diese konstellation noch mal so wie ich un dann passt das
      const this constellation yet again so like I and then it fits
      'If, however, someone wants to have this exactly in the middle, you can make this constellation
      one more time like me, and then it fits.'
      (FOLK_E_00169_SE_01_T_02)

The second pattern, more marked, places contrastive stress on a non-pronominal XP that is not the informational focus of the clause. In the FOLK corpus, there is only one example of this kind, and the contrastively stressed XP follows aber (11), with the adverb plötzlich ‘suddenly’ intervening.

(11) wenn aber [plötzlich] [die bundes (. ) Bildungsministerin] ins visier der plagiatsjäger
   if aber suddenly the federal education minister in.the focus of.the plagiarism.hunters
   gelangt oh wird, aber doch wieder interessant
   gets becomes=it aber yet again interesting
   'If however the federal minister of education gets into the focus of the the plagiarism hunters, it
   becomes much more interesting again.'
   (FOLK_E_00163_SE_01_T_01)

A pattern that is not attested in the FOLK, but is easily elicitable (cf. (7b)), is one where the contrastively stressed XP precedes aber (12), both in syndetic (wenn...) and asyndetic (V1) conditional protases.

(12) a. wenn [die bundes (. ) Bildungsministerin] aber [plötzlich] ins visier der
   if the federal education minister aber suddenly in.the focus of.the
   plagiatsjäger gelangt oh wird, aber doch wieder interessant
   plagiarism.hunters gets becomes=it aber yet again interesting

   b. Gelangt [die bundes (. ) Bildungsministerin] aber [plötzlich] ins visier der
   get the federal education minister aber suddenly in.the focus of.the
   plagiatsjäger oh wird, aber doch wieder interessant
   plagiarism.hunters becomes=it aber yet again interesting

Summing up, in terms of linear order, there are two possibilities attested, with adversative aber preceding full XPs, but following pronouns. In terms of intonation, the neutral pattern places nuclear pitch accent on the focus of the sentence, and possibly a secondary pitch accent on the complementizer wenn. Another intonational pattern, whereby a contrastive pitch accent falls on a full (non-pronominal) XP that is not the information focus of the clause, appears to be marked. In the FOLK corpus, this intonational pattern was found only once in all syndetic conditional clauses containing aber.

In what follows, I will show that these two contours are associated with two different scopal interpretations of aber: sentential scope of aber in the former case, and narrow, contrastive scope over the XP in the latter. In both cases, aber marks a contrastive topic (Sæbø 2003), for which the context supplies a potential alternative (which can be implicit), the insertability of which into the aber-clause is denied. What
is different in each case is the size of the contrastive topic: in case of the sentential scope, it is the entire adverbial clause; in case of contrastive XPs, it is only the XP in question. If we assume Sæbø's (2003:264) semantics of aber (13), we can analyse sentential-scope aber in (14) from the FOLK corpus as in (15).\(^{11}\)

\[
(13) \quad \text{The Semantics of aber} \\
\sigma \models \phi \text{ aber } \tau \iff \sigma \models \neg \phi [\mathcal{T}(\phi) / \alpha ] \text{ for some alternative } \alpha \text{ and } \sigma \models \phi \text{ } \tau \\
(\text{Sæbø 2003:264})
\]

(14) also normalerweise geht dann da so das wasser halt so durch \(^{0}\)h (.) [...] wenn grad so normally passes then there so the water \text{ PRT} so through [.] if just kein wellenbad angesagt is \(^{0}\)h und wenn aber wellen produZIERT werden sollen dann no wave pool happening is and if \text{ PRT} waves produced be shall then wird das statisch \(^{0}\)h und es drückt einfach nur das wasser so weg \text{ is that static and it} presses simply only the water so away ‘So, normally, the water passes through there like this if no [artificial] waves are to be generated. If, however, waves are to be generated, then it becomes static and simply presses the water away.’

\[
(15) \quad \mathcal{T}(\phi) = (u.w. \text{ waves are to be generated in } \text{ w } ) \\
\alpha \quad = (u.w. \text{ no waves are to be generated in } \text{ w } ) \\
\sigma \models \neg \phi [\mathcal{T}(\phi) / \alpha ] \iff \sigma \models \neg (\text{it becomes static})[u.w. \text{ waves are to be generated in } \text{ w } / u.w. \text{ no waves are to be generated in } \text{ w } ] \iff \sigma \models \neg (u.w. \text{ no waves are to be generated in } \text{ w } \rightarrow \text{ it becomes static})
\]

In a similar fashion, this can be applied to contrastive narrow-scope aber, (17). Example (11) is repeated in (16) including its context.\(^{12}\) The context conversationally implicates various alternative perpetrators of scientific misconduct, which are contrasted with the federal minister of education.

\[
(16) \quad \text{neue (.) plagiatsaffären (.) erpfuschte doktortitel und sonstige wissenschaftliche }
\text{new plagiarism affairs fraudulently acquired Ph.D. titles and other scientific}
\text{unsauberkheiten empören seit guttenberg schon lange nicht mehr so (0.21) wenn }
\text{unsanctities scandalize since Guttenberg already long NEG anymore PRT if}
\text{misconducts scandalize since Guttenberg already long NEG anymore PRT if}
\text{aber [plötzlich] [die bundes (.) Bildungsmi}nisterin\text{] ins visier der plagiatsjäger}
\text{aber [suddenly] [the federal. education.minister in the focus of the plagiarism.hunters}
\text{gelangt \(^{0}\)h wird } s \text{ aber doch wieder interessant}
\text{gets becomes=it PRT yet again interesting}
\text{New plagiarism affairs, fraudulently acquired Ph.D. titles, and other cases of scientific misconduct no longer scandalize [the public]} \text{ since the Guttenberg affair. If however the federal minister of education gets into the focus of the the plagiarism hunters, it becomes much more interesting again.’}
\]

\[
(\text{FOLK_E.00163_SE_01_T_01})
\]

\(^{10}\)Cf. Ebert et al. (2014) for an analysis of at least conditionals as topics.

\(^{11}\)I assume a semantic analysis of conditional clauses following Bhatt and Pancheva (2006), who treat conditionals as relative clauses over the world variable \(w\). Worlds can be topics to be contrasted with contextual alternatives (Sæbø 2003:264).

\(^{12}\)We neglect here the second aber, in the matrix clause of the conditional protasis \(\text{wird's aber doch wieder interessant 'then it becomes much more interesting again.' It would be a sort of copying.}

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(17) \( T(\phi) = (\text{the federal minister of education}) \)
\( \alpha = (\text{cases of scientific misconduct}) \Rightarrow (\text{perpetrators of such misconduct}) \)

\[ \sigma \models \neg \phi \left[ \begin{array}{c} T(\phi) / \alpha \end{array} \right] \iff \sigma \models \neg (\text{cases of scientific misconduct perpetrated by } x \text{ no longer scandalize the public}) \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{the federal minister of education} / \text{other perpetrators} \end{array} \right] \iff \sigma \models \neg (\text{cases of scientific misconduct perpetrated by the federal minister of education no longer scandalize the public}) \]

What is still missing is a formal analysis that can account for the intonational patterns and the semantics of middle field-internal \textit{aber} in adverbial clauses in a compositional fashion. In section 3, proposals from the literature will be reviewed before I make a proposal in section 5.

3. Approaching the structural position of \textit{aber}

The question remains where in the syntactic structure of adverbial clauses ‘buried’ (sentence-internal) adversative \textit{aber} is situated, and how the different scopes can be accounted for. As seen in relation to (6), \textit{aber} in the middle field differs in certain respects from postinitial \textit{aber}. According to Pasch et al. (2003), Büring and Hartmann (2015), and Ferraresi (2018), it is an adverbial particle, which semantically is a coordinator, but apart from Ferraresi (2018), there is no clear proposal regarding its position in the middle field. The literature more generally exclusively deals with \textit{aber} in independent clauses, and in particular with the analysis of \textit{aber} in postinitial position. Volodina and Weiß (2010) identify two possibilities for postinitial \textit{aber}, (a) it forms one constituent with the XP in initial position (moved from the middle field) and (b) it occupies the head of a left-peripheral TopP, with the XP preceding it in the specifier. Catasso (2015) and Speyer and Weiß (2018) for instance follow the latter approach, prompted by empirical observations such as \textit{aber} in left-dislocation structures occurring between the initial topic and the resumptive, or by \textit{aber} intervening between an initial topic and a relative clause in the prefield headed by it.

Regarding its position in the middle field, possible options for the analysis of \textit{aber} are (i) that it is an adverb of some sort, that is, a maximal projection, or (ii) that it is the lexicalization of a functional head in the middle field.\(^{13}\)

Ferraresi (2018) follows the first possibility, stating that \textit{aber} in clause-internal position behaves syntactically like an adverb. She states that “[i]n the middle field, [...] \textit{aber} [...] seems to demarcate the division between the background and the focus domain”, and, based on its position relative to weak pronouns in the Wackernagel position and modal particles (in independent clauses), must occupy “the left-most position of the middle field”, which she identifies as adjoined to Frey’s (2005) TopP, (18) (Ferraresi 2018:99). Contrary to conventional theorizing, Ferraresi seems to assume that \textit{aber} adjoins to the projection in question, below the topic phrase in the specifier (here \textit{den Karl}).

\begin{equation}
(18) \quad \text{(Ich will dir etwas über Karl erzählen. Es hat etwas länger gedauert.)} \quad \text{('I want to tell you something about Karl. It took a bit longer.'})
\end{equation}

\[ [\text{CP} \quad \text{InfP} \quad \text{Nächstes Jahr} \quad \text{Fin} \quad \text{wird}] \quad [\text{TopP} \quad \text{den Karl} \quad \text{TopP} \quad \text{aber} \quad \text{eine polnische Gräfin} \quad \text{heiraten.}] \]

\[ \text{‘Next year, however, a Polish countess will marry Karl.’} \quad \text{(Ferraresi 2018:100)} \]

\(^{13}\)A third possibility, that \textit{aber} is a modal particle, can be rejected out of hand. Besides the fact that modal particles never function as semantic coordinators, Thurmair (1989:190) states explicitly that the modal particle use of \textit{aber} (signalling unexpectedness on the part of the speaker) is restricted to exclamative clauses (e.g., \textit{Bist du \textit{aber} heute schick!} ‘Wow, you’re (unexpectedly) well-dressed today!’).
According to Ferraresi, aber reaches the postinitial position by moving together with the initial XP from its middle field position. The ultimate position in the left periphery depends on the features of the XP: Ferraresi argues that postinitial aber is compatible not only with contrastive topics (like die Kaffeetassen in (19)), but also frame adverbials (like nächstes Jahr in (18)), which she analyses as occupying SpecFinP. However, from the context it appears that länger gedauert ‘took longer’ is contrasted with nächstes Jahr ‘next year’ (i.e., an unexpectedly soon date), regardless of the position of aber (middle field as in (18) or postinitial), which is why the analysis as the frame adverbial occupying SpecFinP is not quite convincing here.

(19) \[
\text{CP \{ContrP \{die Kaffeetassen, aber \text{PRT} \{denke ich, dass Otto \text{PRT} \{gespült hat. \}\}}\}}\]
\]
\]‘The coffee cups however, I think Otto washed them.’

(Ferraresi 2018:100)

Besides the assumption of adjunction to TopP below the specifier, there are two problems with Ferraresi’s proposal. First, according to Frey (2005), whose TopP at the left edge of the middle field Ferraresi identifies as the position of middle field aber, only familiar topics and light adverbs pass through this TopP to the left periphery, by formal movement. Contrastive topics undergo long movement from their base position under Frey’s analysis, as is also evident from (19), and do not pass through SpecTopP. Assuming, as Ferraresi does, that aber is adjoined below the XP to be fronted and fronts together with it, this would require that aber would have to adjoin to different positions in the middle field, depending on the ultimate target of XP-aber in the left periphery (ContrP or FinP). In the case of contrastive topics, this may be lower than what Ferraresi’s diachronic analysis of aber undergoing upwards reanalysis from lower aspectual projections (see section 4 below) would suggest. Also, it would be surprising if aber were adjoined to TopP below the background/familiar topic in (18) when in the equivalent clause with postinitial aber (Nächstes Jahr aber wird den Karl eine polnische Gräfin heiraten), it should have been adjoined to the base position of nächstes Jahr ‘next year’. Second, the semantics of aber introduces a presupposition that a topic is contrasted with some (rejected) alternative (Sæbø 2003). This means that speakers/hearers automatically try to identify the topic and its alternative. In case of aber in postinitial position, where aber can signal resumption or turning point, besides contrast (cf. Métrich and Courdier 1995), the initial XP is first construed as a contrastive topic. Also shifting topics in this position can be construed as “(p-)kontrast” in the sense of Speyer (2007). If this is contextually excluded, as with leider in Ferraresi’s example (20), another topic to be replaced by an alternative from the context is construed pragmatically, in this case (given Ferraresi’s context —unter der Leitung von erfahrenen Skilehrern (uben)) ‘(practice) under the guidance of experienced ski instructors’) probably das Schülerskirennen ‘the learners’ ski race’.

(20) \[
\text{CP \{ContrP \{FinP leider \text{PRT} \{konnte das Schülerksirenren nicht durchgeführt werden. \}\}}\]
\]
\]‘Unfortunately, however, the learners’ ski race could not take place.’

(Ferraresi 2018:100)

While adversative aber could in principle still be adjoined to a suitable high projection in the middle field (though rejecting the particulars of Ferraresi’s proposal), there is a large body of literature arguing against adjunction both on theoretical and empirical grounds (for adverbs specifically, see Cinque 1999), leaving the possibility that aber is the specifier of a designated functional projection. In this case, however, it is not clear how aber connects syntactically to the concrete topic affected by the contrast presupposition it triggers, particularly in the case when it is not the entire clause that is in the scope of aber, but a sub-clausal constituent. We return to this below.
The third possibility, viz. taking adversative aber to be a functional head, has not been proposed for adversative aber in the middle field, but is assumed for postinitial aber by Catasso (2015) and Speyer and Weiß (2018). Taken together with Ferraresi’s (2018) arguments for aber being associated with Frey’s TopP high in the middle field, one might consider whether Catasso’s analysis can be extended to the middle field, with aber occupying the head of a high functional projection in the middle field, for instance a TopP, (21).

(21)

If aber occupied a functional head position not only in the left periphery (and in the pre-clausal coordinator position, as already proposed by Ferraresi 2018), but also in the middle field, its behaviour would be syntactically much more uniform, and it would not sometimes be a phrasal element (whether adjunct or specifier) and sometimes a head. However, one important difference between postinitial and middle field aber is that postinitial aber cannot combine with given phrases in initial position (Breindl 2011, Lenker 2014), as it always identifies the initial phrase as either contrast, resumption, or turning point (Métrich and Courdier 1995). In the middle field, on the other hand, aber typically contrasts entire clauses.14 Besides, it is not universally accepted that information structural functions such as topic, focus or contrast should be encoded as formal features in syntax.15 Furthermore, as shown in section 2, a pre-aber XP in the middle field that is not a weak pronoun, but the carrier of the contrast, and could therefore be analysed as occupying the specifier of a head aber, is not frequently found in spontaneous speech in the FOLK corpus.16 It is therefore not so clear whether an analysis of aber as a functional head would be best suited to account for the data. Before presenting a proposal in section 5, I present diachronic evidence for the upwards reanalysis of aber in section 4.

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14This also seems to hold for main clauses, as shown by (6).
15See e.g. Neeleman and Koot (2008) or Horvath (2010) and literature cited therein for arguments against this, and for interface-based approaches.
16As one anonymous reviewer notes, examples of adverbial clauses with the order C–XP–aber can easily be found using Google. The reviewer quotes two examples with concessive während, one of them (22):

(22) Während Merkel aber noch 10 Jahre brauchte, um sich zu desavouieren, könnte May bereits nach zwei Jahren durch sein. ‘While Merkel, however, still needed 10 years in order to disavow herself, May could be through after two years already.’

I thank the reviewer for the examples.
4. The development of adversative aber and of the Wackernagel position

As discussed in Ferraresi (2018), Old High German afur/aber originally had a restitutive (manner) (‘back’), (23a), or a repetitive (event-modifying) (‘again, one more time’), (23b), meaning (Ferraresi 2018:85), and while a connective adversative use is already attested in late Old High German (23c), Ferraresi argues that syntactically, aber only later developed into a syntactic (=pre-clausal) coordinator during the Early New High German period.

(23) a. joh bráhta sa afur tháne zi themo héminge
    ‘and brought her again there to the her hometown’
    (Otfrid I 8, 8; from Ferraresi 2018:85)

b. sie fárent thines férehs mit selb stéinonne; nu súachist sie afur tháne?
    ‘Last time, they wanted to stone you to death; are you now searching for them there again?’
    (Otfrid III 23, 32; from Ferraresi 2018:85)

c. (Sepulchrum autem eius in tantum est gloriosum)
    ‘His sepulchre, however, is so glorious’
    (Isidor 9, 11; from Ferraresi 2018:95)

Ferraresi argues that the adverb underwent an upwards reanalysis (Roberts and Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004) from a lower to a higher functional projection in the history of German, more precisely, from Cinque’s (1999) Asp

(24) [ frankly Mood_speech act [ fortunately Mood_evaluative [ allegedly Mood_epistemic [ probably Mod_epistemic [ once T(Past) [ then T(Future) [ perhaps Mood_realis [ necessarily Mod_necessity [ possibly Mod_posibility [ usually Asp_Habitual [ again Asp_repetitive(I) [ often Asp_repetitive(I) [ intentionally Mod_volitional [ quickly Asp_celerative(I) [ already T(Anterior) [ no longer Asp_diminutive [ still Asp_concomitant [ always Aspperfect?] [ just Asp_perspective [ soon Asp_proximate [ briefly Asp_durative [ characteristically?] Asp_generic/progressive [ almost Asp_perspective [ completely Asp_Sg_Completive(I) [ tutto Asp_Pi_Completive [ well Voice [ fast/early Asp_celerative(I) [ again Asp_repetitive(I) [ often Asp_repetitive(II) [ completely Asp_Sg_Completive(II)]
    (Cinque 1999:106)

According to Ferraresi, the upwards-reanalysis scenario is corroborated by the fact that the process-related (manner) adverbial use was lost first, and the event-related one later. Aber is successively replaced in these adverbial functions by wieder (‘again’) (Ferraresi 2018:89–90). Ferraresi does not explicate how the semantically coordinating adversative aber in the middle field and in postinitial position developed from the original aspectual adverbial uses. Keeping the idea that upwards reanalysis through the functional hierarchy in the middle field is involved, but assuming, as discussed in section 3, that aber is not adjoined, one could analyse the development of adversative aber as a further upwards reanalysis to a higher specifier, and possibly, if a head analysis were to be pursued, from there to a head (Roberts and Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004).

While Ferraresi does not look at Middle High German data, such data can be adduced to support her analysis, as well as a further upwards reanalysis from aspectual adverb to adversative particle. For the

17Unlike Cinque, however, Ferraresi does not assume that adverbs occupy the specifier positions of functional projections, but rather that they are adjoined to them (Ferraresi 2018:97).
purposes of the current paper, the Referenzkorpus Mittelhochdeutsch (ReM) was searched for both syndetic and asyndetic adverbial clauses containing aber (causal, conditional, final, modal and temporal). In total 375 clauses were found. In 333 of these, aber has an adversative meaning; in the other 42, it has its older repetitive (‘again’) or restitutive (‘back’) meaning (cf. Ferraresi 2018) or the meaning is unclear. The assumption that non-adversative aber is in a hierarchically lower position than adversative aber is supported by the fact that both nouns and pronouns precede non-adversative aber in all 42 cases of non-adversative aber in the ReM, as exemplified in (25).

(25) niwan ob ez der abte aber schaffet
except if it the abbot again decrees
‘unless the abbot decrees it (to be allowed) again’
(Admonter Benediktinerregel, second half 13th century)

As noted e.g. by Ferraresi (2018:97), weak/non-stressed pronouns must precede adversative aber when it occurs in the middle field in present-day German (cf. also Breindl 2011), an observation that is confirmed by the data from the FOLK corpus. In eighteen out of twenty cases of wenn X aber in the FOLK data, X is a weak or clitic pronoun (26); in two cases, it is a light adverb (dann ‘then’, nun ‘now’). In six cases out of eight of wenn aber X, X is a full DP, in one case it is an adverb (plötzlich ‘suddenly’) followed by a full DP (example (11) above), and once, it is an indefinite pronoun (einer ‘someone’).

(26) wenn wir aber des projekt stuttgart einundzwanzig dann tatsächlich SO optiMIEren wollen
if we PRT the project Stuttgart 21 then indeed so optimise want
äh (.) dann sind noch mal erhebliche nachbesserungen [...] notwendig
uhm then are again significant remediations necessary
‘However, if we indeed want to optimise the project Stuttgart 21 like this, more significant remediations are necessary.’
(FOLK_E_00070 SE_01_T_03)

In dependent clauses, we can observe the diachronic loss of the post-aber placement for pronouns and the diachronic decrease of the pre-aber placement for full DPs, though the latter, as seen in section 2, unlike the former, is still acceptable today. As the data from the ReM show, the position of pronouns with respect to adversative aber was much more flexible in Middle High German. The examples in (27) and (28) illustrate the ordering options for temporal and conditional clauses, respectively. The pronoun precedes aber in (27a) and follows it in (27b). (28a) and (28b) are syndetic conditional clauses introduced by the complementizer ob ‘if’, (28c) and (28d) are asyndetic conditional clauses with V1 order. Again, in (28a) and (28c), the pronoun precedes aber; in (28b) and (28d), it follows the particle. For reasons of space, examples for other types of adverbial clauses will not be given here.

(27) Temporal clauses
a. Nv wir auer uon got haben di lere . vnd uns des niht irret . niwan now we PRT from God have the teaching and us this GEN NEG distracts except menschlich brode ...
human brood
‘Now, however, that we we have the teaching from God, and nothing distracts us from it except human flesh ...’
(Prager Predigententwürfe, first half of 13th c.)

18The ReM (https://www.linguistics.rub.de/rem/) has ca. 2 million tokens in total. For syndetic adverbial clauses, the query pos="KOUS" & lemma="aber" & #1 .1,5 #2 was used; for asyndetic (V1) conditional clauses, the query punc="SE" & pos="/V+FIN/ & lemma="/aber/ & #1 .& #2 & #2 .1,5 #3. Causal clauses were not found to contain adversative aber.
b. swaz du ovf der erde gebivtest . daz ist getan . nu auer du min helfe der whatever you on the earth command that is done now PRT you my help there zu wellest han . nim disen sluzel in dine hant ...

to would have take this key in your hand ...

‘Whatever you command on earth is done. However, now that you want my help with it, take this key in your hand...’

(Kaiserchronik, 1140/50)

(28) Conditional clauses

a. Ob er sterben scol . so cheret sich der caradrius uon ime . Ob er aue gnesen if he die shall so turns REFL the Caradrius from him if he PRT heal scol . so cheret sich der uogel zuo deme manne unt tuot sinen snabel uber des shall so turns REFL the bird to the man and does its beak above the mannes munt man.GEN mouth

‘If he (the sick man) is to die, the Caradrius turns away from him; if, however, he is to heal, the bird turns to the man and puts its beak over the mouth of the man.’

(Wiener Physiologus, ca. 1120)

b. disiv ist div e . vnder der du riter scheften wilt . Ob dv si behalten maht so this is the law under which you knightship want if you keep may so vaR in . ob aber du des nicht maht . so schaide vreyer hin . go in if PRT you it.GEN NEG may so depart free PRT

‘This is the law according to which you get knightship. If you are allowed to keep it, go in. If, however, you are not allowed, then leave as a free man.’

(Admonter Benediktinerregel, 38r:19–20, late 13th c.)

c. Bringet ein burger haeringe her die verkaufter er wol bi funfzigen vnd dr uber brings a citizen herring here those sells he well for fifty and there over in same huse vnd niht minner . Bringet si aber ein gust her . der sol si in his house and NEG less brings them PRT a guest here he shall them niht anders verkauften wan bi gan=zer meise NEG differently sell than by whole basket

‘If a citizen brings herring, he sells them for fifty and more in his house, and not less. If, however, a guest brings them here, he shall not sell them in any other way than by the whole basket.’

(Augsburg, Stadtbuch, 109rb,26–109va,1, 1276-81)

d. virgebint ir den . die an ivh svndint . so virgi=bit ivch got . waz ir wider forgive you them who on you sin so forgives you God what you against ime tvt . virgebbit aber ir . so virgit bit ivch got . vnd dane flvchint ir him do forgive PRT you NEG so forgives you God NEG and then curse you ivch selben . bit disen worte . your selves with this word

‘If you forgive those who trespass against you, God will forgive you whatever you do against him. If, however, you do not forgive, then God will not forgive you, and then you will curse yourselves with this word.’

(Salomens Haus, before ca. 1278)
As can be seen in table 1, the position of pronouns is very variable throughout the Middle High German period, while full DPs hardly precede adversative *aber* in adverbial clauses. Pronouns follow *aber* in roughly 40% of the cases over the whole Middle High German period, and the frequency peaks at almost 60% in the 13th c.

The positioning of pronouns with respect to adversative *aber* changes during the Early New High German period. In the *Bonner Frühneuhochdeutschkorpus*,19 86 adverbial clauses containing adversative *aber* were found. Full DPs exclusively follow *aber*; pronouns now only precede *aber* in c. 14% over the whole period. In the oldest texts from the 14th c., they still precede it in 42.9% of the cases, but as the absolute numbers are very low as seen in table 2, due to the small size of the Bonn corpus, this is not reliable. Thirteen of the 42 pronouns preceding *aber* are expletive *es* (29a), reflexive *sich*, or impersonal *man*; the others are regular personal pronouns (29b).

(29) a. Sind *es aber* deß knechts wort . so ist= der sin  
are it PRT the.Gen servant.Gen words so is=it the meaning  
‘If, however, it is the words of the servant, it is the meaning.’  
(Neidhart, *Der Eunuchus des Terenz*, 1486)

b. WEnn *wir aber* eigentlich vnd gar deutlich daunon reden sollen vnd wollen / so ist dis  
if we PRT properly and very clearly of it speak shall and will so is this  
Capitel eine Weissagung  
chapter a prophecy  
‘If, however, we are to speak of it properly and very clearly, this chapter is a prophecy.’  
(Johannes Tauler, *Sermon*, 1498)

Figure 1 sums up the diachronic development of pronoun placement relative to *aber* in adverbial clauses between the 11th and 17th centuries.

The Middle High German and Early New High German data lend empirical support to the hypothesis of Weiß (2018) that weak pronouns do not yet regularly target the Wackernagel position in Middle High German, and that this development is still in progress in Early New High German. As the Middle High German evidence showed, unstressed pronouns appear in a higher position than the older aspectual adverbial uses of *afur/aber*. The diachronic change in the placement of unstressed pronouns to appear left of the position of adversative *aber* in the middle field indicates that stressability comes to play a role for nominal elements near *aber*.

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19The Bonn corpus of Early New High German (599,695 tokens; [https://korpora.zim.uni-duisburg-essen.de/annis/](https://korpora.zim.uni-duisburg-essen.de/annis/)) was used because the new Referenzkorpus ([https://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/wegera/ref/](https://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/wegera/ref/)) was not yet available in Annis at the time the data were collected (Spring 2019).
Adversative aber in adverbial clauses in (historical) German

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>x = full DP</th>
<th></th>
<th>x = pronoun</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aber &gt; x</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>aber &gt; x</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>x &gt; aber</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>x &gt; aber</td>
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<td>% aber &gt; x</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>% aber &gt; x</td>
<td>100</td>
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| 14th c. | 2 | 0 | 100 | 3 | 4 | 42.9 |
| 15th c. | 2 | 0 | 100 | 0 | 5 | 0   |
| 16th c. | 19| 0 | 100 | 4 | 22| 15.4|
| 17th c. | 14| 0 | 100 | 0 | 11| 0   |
| Σ       | 37| 0 | 100 | 7 | 42| 14.3|

Table 2: Position of adversative aber in adverbial clauses in the Bonn corpus of Early New High German

Figure 1: Diachronic development of pronoun placement relative to adversative aber

5. Proposal

Having considered the most likely syntactic position of adversative aber in the middle field in section 3 and its diachronic development in section 4, we now return to the two different intonational contours and the scopal differences in the interpretation of aber observed in section 2. As seen in section 2, clause-internal aber in adverbial clauses serves as a contrast marker similar to its use in postinal position in matrix clauses. Unlike in postinal position, however, the contrastive topic is not the phrase immediately preceding aber. Instead, aber can have varying scope, depending on the extent of the topic that is contrasted with a rejected alternative. In the neutral case, it is the entire proposition of the context clause; in the marked case, it is a constituent of the context clause. Each scope is associated with a different intonational contour: in the neutral case, the information focus of the clause, and possibly additionally the complementizer (or the finite verb in C in case of V1-clauses) receive a pitch accent; in the marked case, the contrasted constituent does. From a compositional perspective, the two different scopes of aber lead one to expect that aber is associated with different syntactic positions. However, I propose that aber occupies the same functional projection in the middle field in both cases, but that this projection can take different types of complement, depending on the target of the contrast. Let us first return to the question which projection this may be and then turn to the question how it interacts with the intonation and interpretation of the clause.

As indicated at the end of section 3, an analysis as a functional head, while attractive for reasons of uniformity with the postinal and pre-clausal positions of aber, while possible, is not evident. While shifting or contrastive topics consistently occupy a high position in the clausal left periphery, cross-linguistically, and can in German be followed by postinal aber, there is no clearly delimited position for such topics in the middle field. Even though pre-aber positioning of a contrastively interpreted DP is possible,20

20See footnote 16 above.
it is not compulsory.\textsuperscript{21} In other words, there is no clear evidence for a specifier of \textit{aber} as there is for postinitial \textit{aber} in the left periphery. This rather points in the direction of an analysis in terms of \textit{aber} being the specifier of a (high) adverbial projection in the middle field. Contra Ferraresi (2018), I argue that this cannot be Frey’s (2005) \textit{TopP} at the left edge of the middle field. While familiar topics (such as \textit{den Karl} in (18)) may, under the right circumstances, precede \textit{aber} in the middle field, this does not mean that they stand in a syntactic relation to it, such as suggested by Ferraresi (2018), who derives from this that \textit{aber} in the middle field is located at the boundary between the background and the focus domain. As the discussion in section 2 (and 4) has shown, full DPs do not occur in the spontaneous FOLK data before adversative \textit{aber} in adverbial clauses, though such examples can be constructed, or found on the internet. Both familiar topics and (narrow) contrastive topics are possible before \textit{aber}. For an example with a contrastive subject see (12a), but also objects and adverbial phrases can be contrasted, (30).\textsuperscript{22}

(30) a. Wenn die Karla endlich ein Graf heiraten würde, wäre ihre Oma sicher froh, if the Karla at last a count marry would were her granny certainly relieved wenn \{aber\} den KARL \{aber\} ein Graf heiraten würde, dann wäre das natürlich ein Skandal. a scandal ‘If Karla were at last married by a count, her granny would certainly be relieved; if, however, KARL were married by a count, it would of course be a scandal.’

b. Wenn Belgien dieses Jahr noch eine neue Regierung bekäme, würde mich das sehr wundern, wenn \{aber\} NÄCHStes Jahr um die Zeit \{aber\} noch nichts passiert ist, dann wäre das langsam bedenklich. ‘If Belgium got a new government this year still, I would be very surprised; if, however, nothing has happened around this time NEXT year, that would be somewhat worrying.’

I therefore propose that \textit{aber} occupies a different projection than the one hosting familiar topics and other material available for undergoing Frey’s formal movement.

(31) \[ [\text{CP} \text{ wenn} \text{ [TopP [Top$\emptyset$] [FP \textit{aber} F$\emptyset$ [ ... ]]]]} \]

We now turn to the two different scopes of and intonational patterns associated with \textit{aber} in adverbial clauses. I propose that \textit{aber} syntactically scopes over a domain in which the element to be contrasted is situated. Which element exactly receives the contrast interpretation is pragmatically determined based on the context. The syntax-prosody interface then determines the distribution of pitch accents, and potential interface-driven reordering takes place in order to achieve the right accentuation.

Regarding the syntactic analysis, I follow Haegeman (2009) and literature cited therein in assuming that (central) adverbial clauses are derived by movement of a silent operator, a temporal one in case of temporal clauses and the world operator OP$W$ (Bhatt and Pancheva 2006, Haegeman 2009; 2010) in conditional clauses. However, I propose to generalise this movement account to peripheral clauses, as proposed by Bhatt and Pancheva (2006) for conditionals, assuming that central and peripheral adverbial clauses differ (a) in their external syntax (as widely assumed in the literature) and (b) that internally, they

\textsuperscript{21}We address a possible prosodic trigger presently.

\textsuperscript{22}For an example of a familiar topic object preceding \textit{aber} while the contrast is marked on the subject immediately following \textit{aber}, consider this variation on (30a): Wenn den Karl eine Grafen heiraten würde, wäre seine Oma sicher froh, wenn den Karl \{aber\} ein GRAF heiraten würde, dann wäre das natürlich ein Skandal. ‘If Karl were married by a countess, his granny would certainly be relieved; if, however, Karl were married by a COUNT, it would of course be a scandal.’
differ in the position of the launch site of the operator in the clausal hierarchy. For the sake of simplicity, I will assume that the launch site of the operator in conditional/causal/concessive/... clauses is a Mood projection in the Cinque hierarchy (see (24) above) below Mood_{speech,act}, without being more specific (a higher one for peripheral, a lower one for central adverbial clauses), while a temporal adverbial projection would be the launch site of the temporal operator. I propose that in the neutral case discussed above, in which the proposition of the entire adverbial clause is contrasted, and which is characterised by a nuclear pitch accent on the information focus of the clause, and possibly a secondary pitch accent on the element in C°, the complement of FP is the launch site of this operator, which is thus immediately in the scope of aber. In case of conditional clauses, this results in the structure in (32).

(32) wenn/WENN aber der Topf nun ein LOCH hat

I assume that the operator, though moving to the left periphery, reconstructs into its base position and is therefore interpreted in the scope of aber, deriving the wide scope of aber. Being silent, it cannot be contrastively accented. Instead, nuclear stress on the information focus indicates that the entire clause is in the scope of aber. Additionally, as the only overtly realized head within a prosodic phrase left of aber, the element in C°, which lexicalises the clause type (and hence the features of the operator in its final position), can be stressed, but need not, according to default accenting rules (Büring 2013:868).

In the more marked case of a contrastively interpreted XP in the middle field, a contrastive pitch accent is assigned to the pragmatically identified contrastive XP. In the case in which this would result in a pitch accent assigned to a phrase within the prosodic phrase bearing the nuclear pitch accent, scrambling driven by the syntax-prosody interface brings the XP into a position where it can be mapped onto a separate prosodic phrase. Deaccenting of the material following the contrast phrase is possible. While subjects or adverbs can easily be mapped onto their own prosodic phrases by assigning contrastive pitch accent to

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23I am aware that, depending on the details of the implementation of this proposal (particularly the exact structural position of the launch site of the operator) may have repercussions for an account of the differences between central and peripheral adverbial clauses regarding the possibility of root phenomena. Such details are beyond the scope of the current paper. Note though, that the once clear-cut distinction between the two types of adverbial clauses is no longer considered to be quite as clear-cut in the more recent literature (Frey and Meinunger 2019, Badan and Haegeman 2020).
them, object DPs may need to scramble to a higher position first in order to avoid being mapped to the nuclear stress of the sentence and be confused with a wide scope interpretation of aber. Not all constituents receiving a contrastive interpretation actually can scramble. Low (e.g. manner) adverbs are available for contrast, but cannot scramble, cf. (33).

(33) a. *wenn aber VORSichtig der Karl um die Gräfin wirbt, dann kann es mit der Hochzeit noch lange dauern.

b. wenn aber der Karl VORSichtig um die Gräfin wirbt, dann kann es mit der Hochzeit noch lange dauern.

‘If, however, Karl CAREfully woos the countess, it will still take a long time until the wedding.’

Elements that are able to scramble may scramble into a position preceding aber, but, as seen in the corpus data, they often don’t, as the right syntax-prosody mapping can also be achieved without such movement. As can be seen in table 2, full DPs are already no longer found preceding aber in the Bonn corpus of Early New High German, just as in the FOLK corpus of present-day spoken German.

(34) wenn der TOPF aber der TOPF nun ein LOCH hat

In present-day German, stressability is a prerequisite for narrowly contrasted XPs associated with adversative aber in adverbial clauses. Diachronically, pronouns become increasingly unstressable, and therefore need to vacate any position in which they will receive a pitch accent. As a consequence, they come to target the Wackernagel position preceding adversative aber, (35).
The proposed interplay of syntax, pragmatics, information structure, and the requirements of the syntax-prosody interface can also account for the fact, noted in relation to (6a), that given constituents can occur in the prefield of V2 clauses containing middle field *aber*, in contrast to postinitial *aber*. Postinitial *aber* requires a contrastive pitch accent on the phrase in its specifier (Pasch et al. 2003), while middle field *aber* delimits a prosodic phrase to its left, and the main pitch accent will be on the element in $C^\circ$, (36).

(36) a. *Das TOR aber war gut beW ACHT.*
    ( \( \phi \) ( \( \phi \) )

b. *Er SCHAFFte es aber NICHT.*
    ( \( \phi \) ( \( \phi \) )

6. Conclusion

The current paper took a closer look at clause-internal adversative *aber* in adverbial clauses in (historical) German. It was observed that this middle field *aber*, which is also available in main clauses, serves to identify a contrastive topic by presupposing the denial of an expectation that an alternative can be substituted for the topic. This topic can span the entire adverbial clause, or a sub-clausal constituent thereof. I proposed to analyse *aber* as the specifier of a high adverbial projection in the middle field, which takes the launch site of the operator as its complement whose movement derives the adverbial clause. *Aber* introduces a prosodic phrase boundary. In the neutral case of clausal scope of *aber*, the clause can be mapped directly to prosody, as the information focus of the clause also receives the nuclear pitch accent. A secondary pitch accent can be assigned to the lexical element in $C^\circ$, which is mapped to a separate prosodic phrase containing *aber*. In the
marked case, the sub-clausal constituent must be placed in such a position that it can receive a contrastive pitch accent and head its own prosodic phrase. If this is not possible, interface-driven scrambling applies.

Synchronically, full DPs strongly tend to follow adversative aber, while unstressed pronouns must precede it. Diachronically, I have adduced evidence for the upward reanalysis of aber proposed by Ferraresi (2018): non-adversative aber, which is still found in Middle High German, follows both pronouns and full DPs; adversative aber precedes full DPs, as well as a —diachronically decreasing— portion of pronouns. The diachronic data confirm Weiß’s (2018) hypothesis that weak pronouns did not yet regularly target the Wackernagel position in Middle High German. I proposed that weak pronouns lost the ability to bear stress during the transition from Middle to Early New High German (14th c.) and became confined to the Wackernagel position. No longer stressable, they need to occur in a position where they are prosodically integrated, which excludes them from occurring to the right of aber.

References


