

Doubly Filled COMP in embedded polar interrogatives

Julia Bacskai-Atkari
University of Potsdam
julia.bacskai-atkari@uni-potsdam.de

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1 Introduction

embedded interrogatives in (Standard) German: [wh] feature of a C head marked either by the *wh*-element moving to [Spec,CP] in constituent questions, or by the insertion of *ob* ‘if’ into C in polar questions (Zimmermann 2013: 86)

- (1) a. Ich frage mich, **mit welchem** Dackel er kommt.
I ask.1SG myself.ACC with which.M.DAT dachshund he comes
‘I wonder which dachshund he is coming with.’
- b. Ich frage mich, **ob** er mit einem Dackel kommt.
I ask.1SG myself.ACC if he with a.M.DAT dachshund comes
‘I wonder whether he is coming with a dachshund.’

Doubly Filled COMP in dialects (e.g. Alemannic, Bavarian): complementiser *dass* inserted in constituent questions following the *wh*-operator

example from Alemannic:

- (2) I ha koa Ahnung, **mid wa für-e Farb dass**-er zfriede wär.
I have no idea with what for-a colour that-he content would.be
‘I have no idea what colour he would be content with.’
(Bayer & Brandner 2008: 88, ex. 4b)

no *dass* in polar questions (not even in Alemannic – Ellen Brandner p.c.):

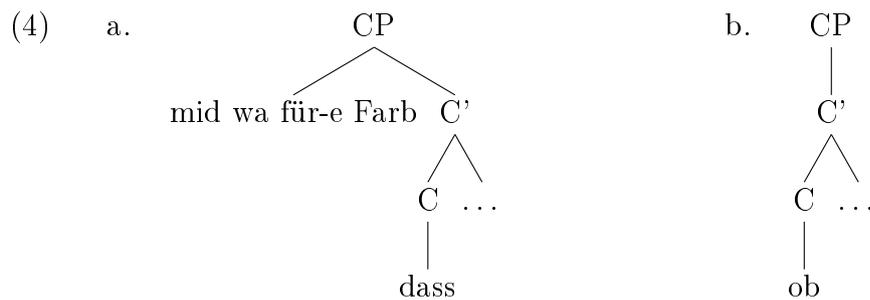
- (3) *Ich frage mich, **ob dass** er mit einem Dackel kommt.
I ask.1SG myself.ACC if that he with a.M.DAT dachshund comes
‘I wonder whether he is coming with a dachshund.’

→ question: why doubling is available in constituent questions but not in polar questions

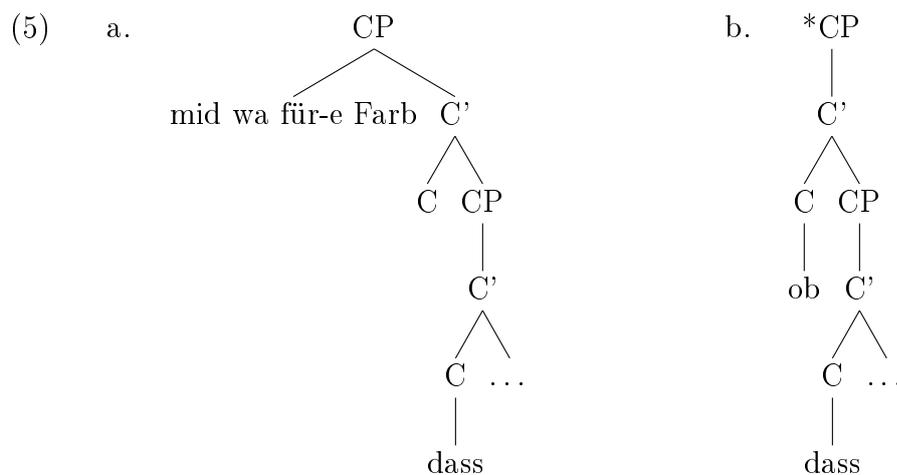
two approaches:

- single CP (see Bacsikai-Atkari 2015a; 2016): (2) involves true double filling of a CP (specifier and head), (3) ruled out because *ob* and *dass* both complementisers competing for the same position
- double CP (see Baltin 2010): (2) contains a separate CP for [wh] and a lower CP for finiteness (avoiding a violation of the Doubly Filled COMP Filter); (3) remains unexplained

structures for single CP:



structures for double CP (as in Baltin 2010):



2 Doubly Filled COMP in constituent questions

Standard English, German and Dutch: no overt C with an overt interrogative operator

(6) I don't know **who** (***that**) has arrived.

traditional idea: Doubly Filled COMP Filter: prohibiting lexical material in both the specifier and the head of the same XP projection (Chomsky & Lasnik 1977: 446, see also Koopman 2000)

but: Doubly Filled COMP Filter not obeyed in all varieties

Doubly Filled COMP in non-standard English:

- (7) They discussed a certain model, but they didn't know **which model that** they discussed.
(Baltin 2010: 331, ex. 1)

also: Doubly Filled COMP Filter not obeyed in main clauses (T-to-C movement in interrogatives, V2 in German, cf. Koopman 2000) in the standard varieties either main clause interrogatives in Standard English:

- (8) a. **Who saw** Peter?
b. **Who did** Peter see?

T-to-C movement visible by way of *do*-insertion in (8b), though not in (8a)

doubling in the CP in (8) involves a *wh*-operator in [Spec,CP] and a verb in C

similar: German (and Dutch) V2 – V in C, another constituent moving to [Spec,CP] due to [EDGE] feature (see Fanselow 2002; 2004a;b, Frey 2005, Den Besten 1989)

- (9) a. **Mein Mann fährt** morgen nach Karlsruhe.
my.M husband travels tomorrow after Karlsruhe
'My husband is going to Karlsruhe tomorrow.'
b. **Morgen fährt** mein Mann nach Karlsruhe.
tomorrow travels my.M husband after Karlsruhe
'My husband is going to Karlsruhe tomorrow.'

→ Doubly Filled COMP Filter should be more restricted in its application domain (e.g. operator and complementiser with largely overlapping functions, DFCE as some kind of an economy principle)

but: the notion of Doubly Filled COMP Filter implies that the C head and [Spec,CP] would be filled without the Filter, and the Filter is responsible for “deleting” the content of C

→ questions:

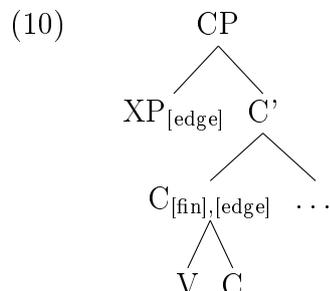
- what requirement is responsible for filling C even in the presence of an overt operator in [Spec,CP], as in (7)
- what kinds of elements may appear in C – if elements other than complementisers can satisfy the requirement of filling C, the deletion approach is probably mistaken

problems with the notion of DFCE:

- cannot be universal – see the non-standard varieties in Germanic
- cannot be a parameter – operation domain of DFCE should be more refined (see main clauses above), DFCE should not be a parameter in itself

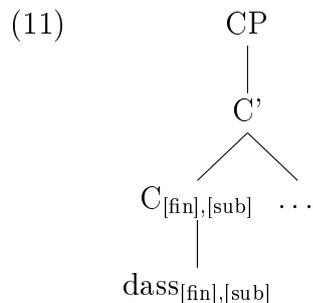
proposal: Doubly Filled COMP effects stem from the necessity of filling the C head with an overt element – lexicalisation of the operator follows from independent reasons; filling of [Spec,CP] is independent of filling C in V2 (see Fanselow 2009)

V2 movement (German):



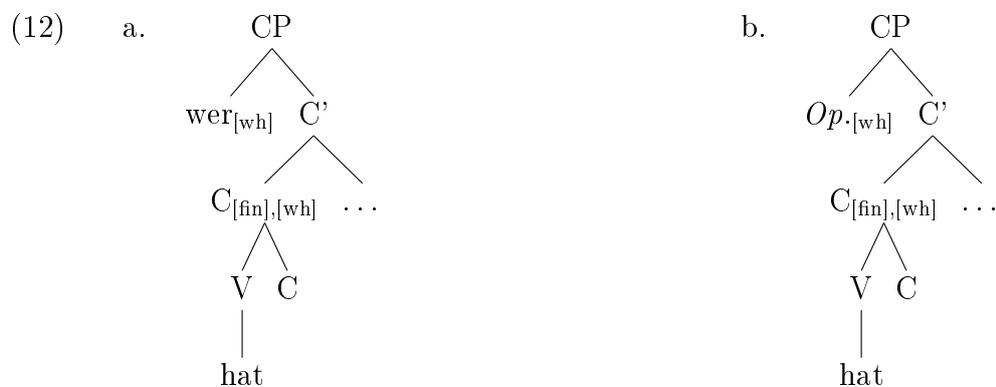
C with [fin] specification has to be lexicalised – carried out by finite verb

finite subordination (German, also English):



denotation [sub]: indicates that the CP is selected by a matrix predicate, which imposes selectional restrictions on elements in C (*dass* ‘that’ in German essentially obligatory, or V2 occurs; overtiness of a finite subordinator in declarative clauses subject to cross-linguistic variation, also to position of the subclause with respect to the matrix clause)

matrix interrogatives (German and English):

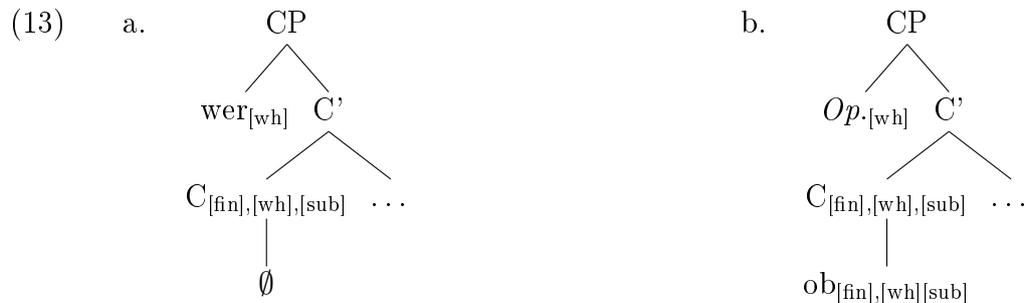


C with [fin] specification lexicalised by verb movement just as in V2 in German declarative (main) clauses

[wh] feature: overt encoding not tied to an overt *wh*-element, intonation carries the information overtly

English: a C with [fin] and [wh] has to be lexicalised, unlike a C with only [fin] → lexicalisation dependent on the exact features

embedded interrogatives (Standard German and Standard English):



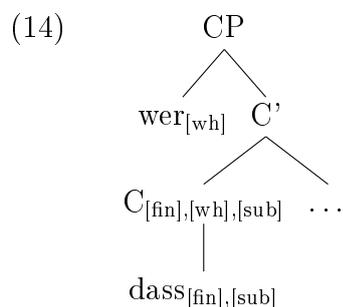
case in (13b): C head lexicalised by inserting a complementiser that is both [fin] and [wh]

- German: matches the full syntactic paradigm (main clauses, embedded clauses)
- English: matches the embedded paradigm

case in (13a): C head itself not lexicalised

- German: does not match the rest of the paradigm; the matrix predicate licenses a zero C head (note: in polar questions, there cannot be a zero [wh] C head because there is no overt yes/no operator and some element has to carry [wh], no intonation to mark the property)
- English: matches the main clause declarative paradigm only; again, the matrix predicate licenses a zero C head with the relevant feature specification

embedded constituent questions (dialectal German and English):



(14): matches the full paradigm in German and the interrogative and embedded paradigm in English

matrix predicate does not license zero C head, hence the complementiser that otherwise licenses [fin] in a subordinate context is inserted

questions:

- whether the element filling the C head is always a [fin] complementiser corresponding to *that*
- specifically, why verb movement is not allowed, unlike in main clauses

C head can be filled by the *wh*-element: Bayer & Brandner (2008) show that several speakers of Alemannic and Bavarian show a difference between head-sized and phrase-sized *wh*-expressions

examples from Alemannic:

- (15)
- I frog mich **wege wa dass** die zwei Autos bruchet.
I ask REFL for what that they two cars need
'I wonder why they need two cars.'
(Bayer & Brandner 2008: 88, ex. 3b)
 - I ha koa Ahnung, **mid wa für-e Farb dass**-er zfriede wär.
I have no idea with what for-a colour that-he content would-be
'I have no idea with what colour he would be happy.'
(Bayer & Brandner 2008: 88, ex. 4b)
 - *I wett gern wisse, **wa dass** i do uusfülle muss.
I would gladly know what that I there out-fill must
'I'd like to know what I have to fill out there.'
(Bayer & Brandner 2008: 88, ex. 5b)
 - I wett gern wisse, **wa** i do uusfülle muss.
I would gladly know what I there out-fill must
'I'd like to know what I have to fill out there.'
(based on Bayer & Brandner 2008: 88, ex. 5b)

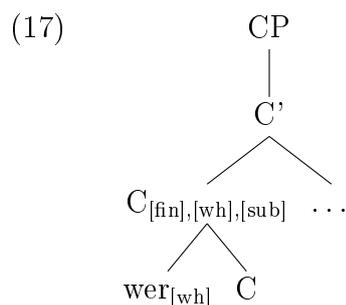
difference between *wh*-elements: phrase-sized *wh*-phrases, see (15a) and (15b), occur with *dass*, while word-sized *wh*-elements (also: *was* 'what', *wo* 'where'), see (15c) and (15d), do not

Bayer & Brandner (2008): *was* and *dass* are in complementary distribution in (15c) → a head-sized *wh*-element may target the C head position

note: this does not involve actual grammaticalisation – for instance, contrastive *wh*-elements with focal stress occur with *dass*:

- (16) Ich woass **WO dass** er abfahrt aber noit WENN.
I know where that he leaves but not-yet when
'I know WHERE it (the train) will leave but not WHEN.'
(Bayer & Brandner 2008: 93, ex. 18, quoting Noth 1993: 424)

structure with *wh*-element moving to C:



no violation of Chain Uniformity: *wer* is both minimal and maximal in both of its positions (if it adjoins to C, it does not project), see Bayer & Brandner (2008), following the notion of Chain Uniformity given by Chomsky (1995)

note: *wer* adjoins to C (head adjunction) and does not project, rather than substitution – the same problem arises in the same way for V2 in main clauses by V moving to C, see Fanselow (2004b: 10–32)

proposal: the phenomenon in (17) is related to the general ability of C hosting elements other than complementisers in the language (note: English not V2 but T-to-C attested in main clause interrogatives)

regarding verb movement: selection by matrix predicate – in other dependent clause types without a matrix lexical predicate, verb movement may be sufficient:

- (18)
- a. Peter schreit, **als wäre** er beim Zahnarzt.
Peter shouts as be.COND.3SG he at.the dentist
'Peter is shouting as if he were at the dentist's.
 - b. Peter schreit, **als ob** er beim Zahnarzt wäre.
Peter shouts as if he at.the dentist be.COND.3SG
'Peter is shouting as if he were at the dentist's.
 - c. Plan an escape route, **if** fire should break out.
 - d. Plan an escape route, **should** fire break out.

ban on verb movement in embedded clauses is not directly related to the requirement to fill the C head → expectation: there should be languages where the requirement to fill the embedded interrogative C head is attested and verb movement is possible also in embedded interrogatives

3 Doubly Filled COMP in polar questions

question: availability of combinations like *whether that* and *if that*

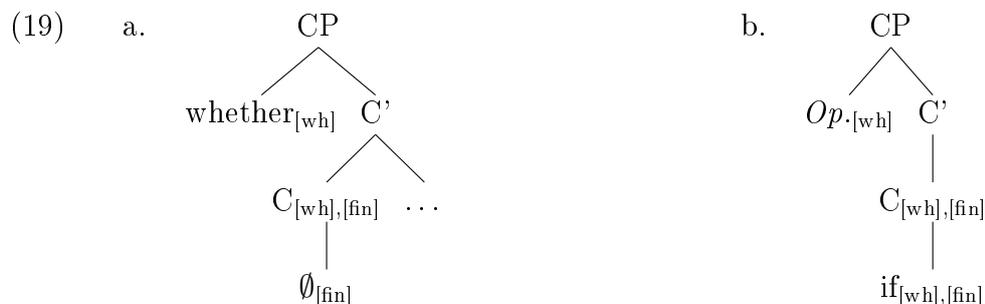
so far: doubling in constructions with overt operators – *wh*-operator necessarily overt in constituent questions (not recoverable, focus)

polar interrogatives also contain an operator:

- overt or covert yes/no operator corresponding to *whether*, marking the scope of covert *or* (Larson 1985)
- inserted directly into the [Spec,CP] position (Bianchi & Cruschina 2016), hence no movement required

Standard English: either *if* or *whether* is overt

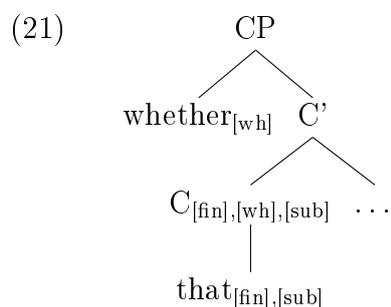
structures in Standard English:



doubling with *whether* attested in Old and Middle English and in modern substandard varieties (see Van Gelderen 2009):

- (20) I wot not **whether that** I may come with him or not.
 ‘I do not know whether I may come with him or not.’ (Paston Letters XXXI)

structure:

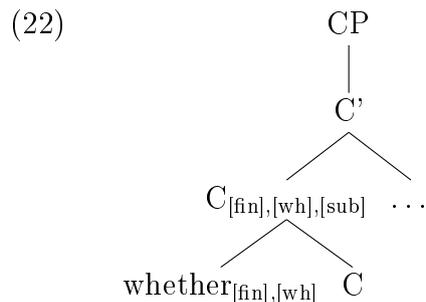


no Doubly Filled COMP with *if* in interrogatives: always in C (note: *if that* attested in Middle English but in conditional clauses, see Van Gelderen 2009) – grammaticalised complementiser

→ availability of Doubly Filled COMP dependent on the status of the element with [wh] property, which arises naturally if there is a single CP underlyingly but would be left unexplained if there were separate, designated [wh] and [fin] CPs

presence of *that* with *whether* not always attested, even in dialects where constituent questions show a Doubly Filled COMP pattern – two types of interrogatives may theoretically differ in the lexicalisation requirement of C, but *whether* may be inserted to C directly, similarly to South German head-sized *wh*-elements

structure:



structure in (22) similar to (19b) in the surface position of the overt element, but (22) involves head adjunction while (19b) does not

grammaticalisation of *if* early, *whether* preserved as an operator

cognates of *if* in German:

- Old Saxon *ef*: grammaticalised complementiser
- Old High German *oba*: grammaticalised complementiser, some early examples of operator use (see next section)

examples:

- (23)
- a. endi frâgodun, **ef** he uuâri that barn godes
 and asked.3PL if he was.3SG the son God's
 'and they asked whether he was the son of God' (*Heliand* 11)
- b. Pilatus uuntrota, **oba** her iu entoti
 Pilate wondered.3SG of he already died.3SG
 'Pilate wondered if he was already dead.' (*Tatian* 12)

Standard Dutch: no doubling, similar to the case of English *if* (see Bayer 2004, following Hoekstra 1993)

combination of *dat* in substandard dialects possible:

- (24) Ik vraag me af **of dat** Ajax de volgende ronde haalt.
 I ask me PRT if that Ajax the next round reaches
 'I wonder whether Ajax will make it to the next round.'
 (Bayer 2004: 65, ex. 14, quoting Hoekstra 1993)

note: substandard dialects also allow for Doubly Filled COMP with ordinary *wh*-elements in Dutch (see Bayer 2004, following Hoekstra 1993)

evidence for Dutch *of* being different from English *if*: *of* available in constituent questions as well

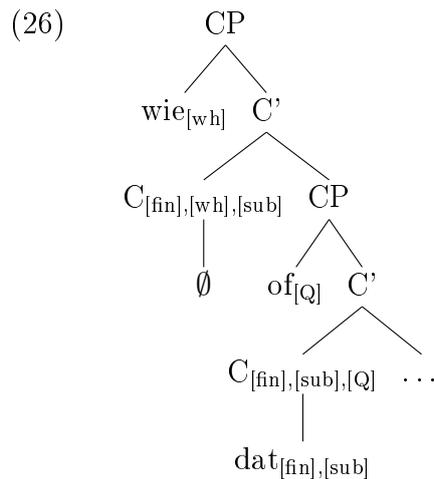
separation of [Q] and [wh] by Bayer (2004): languages with distinct elements carrying yes/no property and the *wh*-element itself

Dutch: combination of *of* 'if' and *wh*-element possible:

- (25) Ze weet **wie of dat** hij had willen opbellen
 she knows who if that he had want call
 'She knows who he wanted to call.'
 (Bayer 2004: 66, ex. 17, citing Hoekstra 1993)

note: Q element (*if*, earlier German *ob*) also in conditionals, where no [wh] proper is present

structure for (25):



wh-operator has to scope over the yes-no operator

→ Doubly Filled COMP attested in polar questions similarly to constituent questions

4 Doubly Filled COMP and verb movement

whether also used in main clauses (Old English, Middle English, Early Modern English)

- may occur with verb in C, see (27a) – T-to-C, lexical verb moving to T in Early English), hence *whether* in [Spec,CP], see Van Gelderen (2009)
- may occur on its own, see (27b) – inserted directly into C instead of [Spec,CP], without actual grammaticalisation (\leftrightarrow Van Gelderen 2009; see also the arguments of Walkden 2014 against grammaticalisation here)
- may occur with *do*-insertion, see (27c) – reanalysis of *do*-insertion as polarity marking in Early Modern English (Wallage 2015), ultimately swiping out the overt polar operator

- (27) a. **Hwæðer wæs** iohannes fulluht þe of heofonum þe of mannum
 whether was John's baptism that of heavens or of man
 'Was the baptism of John done by heaven or by man?' (*West Saxon Gospel*)
 (Van Gelderen 2009: 141, ex. 15)
- b. **Hwæðer** ic mote lybban oðdæt ic hine geseo
 whether I might live until I him see
 'Might I live until I see him?' (Aelfric *Homilies*)
 (Van Gelderen 2009: 141, ex. 16, quoting Allen 1980)
- c. **Whether did** he open the Basket?
 (*The Tryal of Thomas Earl of Macclesfield*)
 (source: Salmon, Thomas and Sollom Emlyn (1730) A complete collection of state-trials, and proceedings for high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours: 1715–1725)

disappearance of *whether* from main clauses shows that double filling is not necessary per se, the filling of C is – in *wh*-questions both [Spec,CP] and C are filled (the *wh*-element cannot be silent)

question: whether verb movement available in embedded clauses as well

evidence from Old German (Old Saxon and Old High German)

corpus analysis: DDD Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch (Old German Reference Corpus)

results for Old Saxon (both texts from the 9th century):

	<i>ef</i>	<i>(h)wedar</i>	<i>(h)wedar + V</i>
Genesis	1	1	
Heliand	5	2	1

examples for *(h)wedār*:

- (28) a. ne rôkead, **huueðar** gi is ênigan thanc antfâhan
 not worry.IMP.2PL whether you it some thank receive.2PL
 ‘do not worry whether you get some reward’ (*Heliand* 18)
- b. endi he frâgoda sân, huilic sie ârundi ûta gibrâhti,
 and he asked.3SG instantly, which they.ACC business out brought.3SG
 ueros an thana uuracsið **huueðer lêdiad** gi uundan gold te
 man in this.ACC foreign.land whether bring.2PL you wrought gold to
 geþu huilicun gumuno?
 gift.DAT some men.GEN
 ‘and he instantly asked, what business had brought them out from their land
 into this foreign land and whether you are bringing wrought gold as a gift
 to someone?’ (*Heliand* 7)

results for Old High German:

	<i>ibu + V</i>	<i>ob</i>	<i>ob + V</i>
Benediktiner Regel (9th c.)	1		
Otfrid (9th c.)		11	
Tatian (9th c.)		8	1
Ludwigslied (9th c.)		2	
Psalms 138 (9–10th c.)		1	
St. Galler Schularbeit (11th c.)		1	
Benediktbeurer Glaube und Beichte III (12–13th c.)		1	

examples for verb movement:

- (29) a. fona himile simblum sihit ubar parn manno, daz sehe,
 from heaven always sees onto children.PL men’s, that see.SBJV.3SG
ibu ist farstantanti edo suahhanti cotan
 if is understood or sought.ACC God.ACC
 ‘from Heaven, he always sees onto men’s children, to see if God is understood
 or sought’ (*Benediktiner Regel* 7)
- b. láz nu, gisehemes **oba come** Helias losenti inan
 let.IMP.2SG now see.1PL if comes Elias save.INF he.ACC
 ‘let us see if Elias will come to save him’ (*Tatian* 208)

verb movement to C with *ibu/ob*: in the earliest texts, rare; yet: *ibu/ob* is an operator in these instances, but *ob* grammaticalised as a complementiser quite early

dialectal differences do not seem to play a role – most texts from the Upper German area (exception: *Ludwigslied* is Central German)

→ the unavailability of *ob* in Modern German as an operator truly stems from grammaticalisation

availability of V2 as lexicalising the C head in embedded interrogatives:

- shows that filling the C in Doubly Filled COMP patterns is not tied to the insertion of a [fin] complementiser
- shows that at earlier stages of the grammar, V2 was allowed in proper embedded clauses (as selected by the matrix predicate)
- shows that Modern German *ob* underwent grammaticalisation

→ embedded polar interrogatives provide further evidence for the analysis of Doubly Filled COMP as a requirement to lexicalise a [fin] C head by inserting a complementiser or by adjoining an element to C (inserting/moving operator, verb movement)

5 Embedded polar interrogatives in Hungarian

Doubly Filled COMP in West Germanic: overt operator in [Spec,CP] and an element lexicalising the [fin] C head

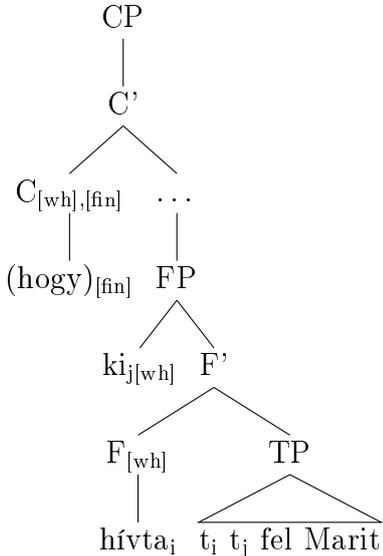
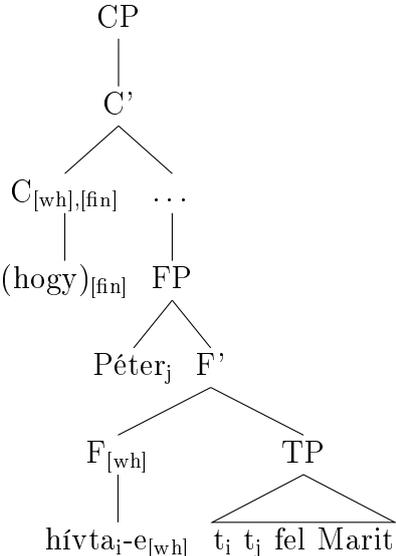
Hungarian: [wh] property marked overtly lower in the structure (see Horvath 1986, É. Kiss 2002, Bacskai-Atkari 2015b)

separation of [fin] and [wh] across peripheries:

- (30) a. Azt kérdeztem, (**hogy**) (tegnap) **ki** hívta fel Marit.
 that.ACC asked.1SG that yesterday who called.3SG up Mary.ACC
 ‘I asked who called Mary yesterday.’
- b. Azt kérdeztem, (**hogy**) (tegnap) Péter felhívta-e Marit.
 that.ACC asked.1SG that yesterday Peter up.called.3SG-Q Mary.ACC
 ‘I asked if Peter called Mary yesterday.’
- c. Azt kérdeztem, (**hogy**) (tegnap) Péter hívta-e fel Marit.
 that.ACC asked.1SG that yesterday Peter called.3SG-Q up Mary.ACC
 ‘I asked if it was Peter who called Mary yesterday.’
- d. Kérdéses, **hogy** (tegnap) **ki** hívta fel Marit.
 questionable that yesterday who called.3SG up Mary.ACC
 ‘It is a question who called Mary yesterday.’
- e. Kérdéses, **hogy** (tegnap) Péter felhívta-e Marit.
 questionable that yesterday Peter up.called.3SG-Q Mary.ACC
 ‘It is a question if Peter called Mary yesterday.’

complementiser may or may not have to be overt, depending on the matrix predicate – not a requirement to lexicalise the C head, as in Germanic (expected since no V2 or T-to-C in Hungarian)

structures:

- (31) a. 
- b. 

FP here: functional projection (not designated focus projection)

[wh] property defined by C but passed on to F (agreement)

É. Kiss (2008): constituent in [Spec,FP] (her FocP) moves from VP: [Spec,PredP] → [Spec,TP] → [Spec,FP]; verb moves along into the respective heads

verb movement occurs generally in finite clauses, not just interrogatives (see also Brody 1990; 1995)

question: trigger of verb movement to F – possibility: [fin], which is passed on from C similarly to [wh]

evidence: verb movement to F not obligatory in infinitival clauses (which also allow focussing), see É. Kiss (2008: 448, ex. 20):

- (32) a. Szeretném **csak MARIT felhívni**.
like.COND.1SG only Mary.ACC up.call.INF
'I would like to call up ONLY MARY.'
- b. Szeretném **csak MARIT hívni fel**.
like.COND.1SG only Mary.ACC call.INF up
'I would like to call up ONLY MARY.'

→ filling of the F head by overt material may be similar to the requirement of filling the [fin] C in German and the [fin], [wh] C in English

element *-e*: clitic element, requires head adjunction → verb movement still occurs in polar interrogatives, and verb movement occurs also in cases where no element moves to [Spec,FP]

→ Standard Hungarian: in a way, there is Doubly Filled COMP in embedded polar questions but the element in the specifier is not a *wh*-operator (↔ constituent questions, Germanic), the head is, and verb movement to F occurs in addition

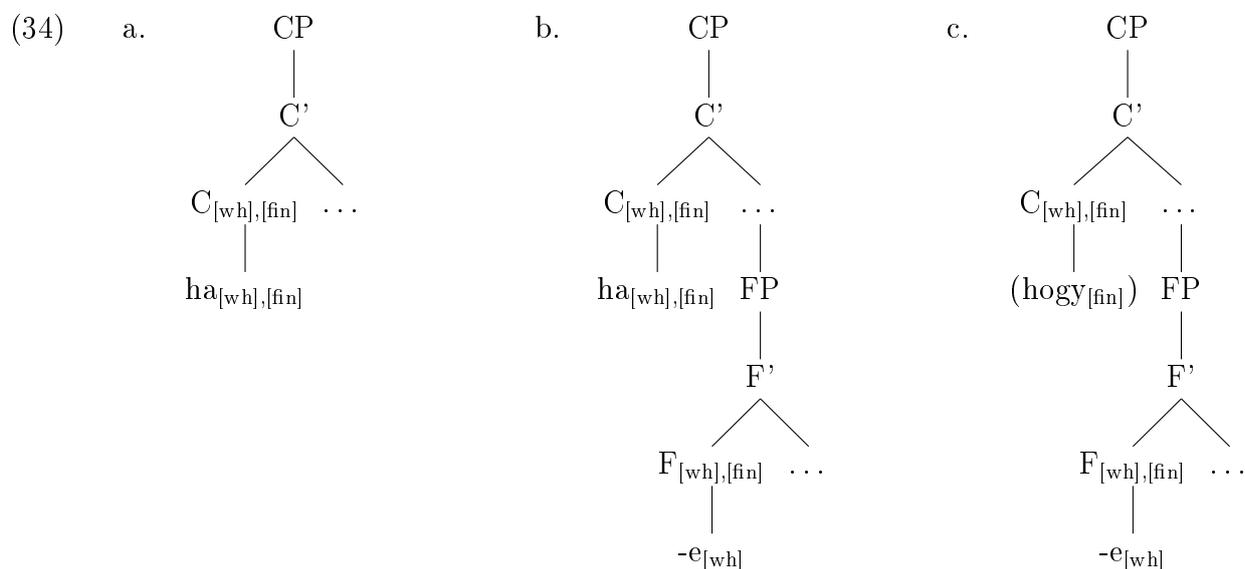
historical patterns (Bacskai-Atkari 2015b, Bacskai-Atkari & Dékány 2014):

- Old Hungarian: complementiser *ha* 'if' in C → no doubling, no Doubly Filled COMP
- Middle Hungarian: complementiser *ha* 'if' in C and *-e* in F → doubling across two peripheries, Doubly Filled COMP-like pattern in the FP

examples (from corpora: Old Hungarian Concordance, Historical Corpus of Private Correspondence):

- (33) a. *még hirdétéc Amānac kēuāñauala megtudni ha*
 PRT.announced.3PL Haman.DAT wishing.be.PST PRT.know.INF if
még maradna ètoruēnbèn
 PRT.stay.COND.3SG this.law.INE
 ‘they told Haman, to see whether his matters would stand’
 (Vienna Codex 55, middle of the 15th century)
- b. *kérdette tülle ha nyughatike*
 asked.3SG (s)he.ABL if rest.POSSIB.3SG-Q
 ‘(s)he asked him/her whether (s)he could rest’
 (Witch Trial 13; from 1724)

structures:



non-standard varieties: *-e* attaches to negative element *nem* ‘not’ or verbal particle:

- (35) a. *Nem tudom, nem-e jött meg Mari.*
 not know.1SG not-Q came.3SG PRT Mary
 ‘I don’t know if Mary has arrived.’
- b. *Nem tudom, nem-e MARI jött meg.*
 not know.1SG not-Q Mary came.3SG PRT
 ‘I don’t know if Mary has arrived.’
- c. *Nem tudom, meg-e jött már Mari.*
 not know.1SG PRT-Q came.3SG already Mary.
 ‘I don’t know if Mary has arrived.’

inverted verb–verbal particle order shows the verb has moved up to F

also: co-occurrence of two particles possible (cf. Kassai 1993):

- (36) a. Megkérdeztem mindenkit, **nem-e jött-e** le papucsban
PRT.asked.1SG everyone.ACC not-Q came.3SG-Q down slipper.INE
valamiért.
for.something
'I asked everyone if they had come downstairs in slippers for something.'
- b. Megkérdeztem, hogy **ki-e jött-e** az új lemez.
PRT.asked.1SG that out-Q came.3SG-Q the new disc.
'I asked whether the new disc had already come out.'

hypothesis: grammaticalisation processes

- *nem* 'not' reanalysed from [Spec,NegP] into a polar operator [Spec,FP] – note: negative element in negative polar questions does not express the negation of the proposition (rather refers to the addressee's commitment to the proposition, see Cantarini & Torregrossa 2014, Repp 2006, Zanuttini 2006)
- preverbal elements (like *ki* 'out') also reanalysed as positive polar markers
- appearance of *-e* in higher F head: lexicalising the F head regularly obligatory (if F head generated) – either double spellout of the [wh], [fin] F head, or the lower F head lexicalised only by verb movement (as in constructions other than polar interrogatives)

evidence for the polarity-marking status of the preverbal element: answers to polar questions – preverbal element can appear instead of *igen* 'yes', as a positive counterpart to the negative *nem* 'not'

- (37) A: Elment már Mari?
off.went.3SG already Mary
'Has Mary already left?'
- B: El. / Nem.
off not
'Yes./No.'

if grammaticalisation process valid, it must have started with *nem* and followed by the preverbal element, which must move upwards, unlike the original Ne element, which is generated above the lowest FP

evidence:

- *-e* on negative marker more acceptable in modern non-standard varieties than on verbal particle
- non-standard pattern not attested in Old Hungarian corpus; non-standard pattern attested only with the negative particle in the Middle Hungarian corpus

examples:

- (38) a. Vallyon **neme** inkább arra **kért** s ösztönzött, azon rossz
 whether not.Q rather that.SUB asked.3SG and encouraged.3SG that bad
 Aszony hogy te is adgyad maghadat a féle rosszszasághra,
 woman that you too give.SBVJ.2SG yourself.ACC that kind badness.SUB
 és hogy nem akartál néki eengedelmeskedni azért
 and that not wanted.2SG she.DAT obey.INF for.that
 rontott megh?
 bewitched.3SG PRT
 ‘Isn’t it rather so that she asked and encouraged you to devote yourself to
 such evils, and when you did not want to obey her, she bewitched you for
 this?’
 (Witch Trial 114; from 1721)
- b. el hozvan a vajat Macskával próbáltatta ha **meg eszi é**
 off bringing the butter.ACC tried.3SG if PRT eat.INF Q but
 de a Macska nem is nyúlt hozzá
 the cat not too touched.3SG it.ALL
 ‘Taking the butter, (s)he tried it on a cat to see whether the cat would eat
 it but the cat did not even touch it.’
 (Witch Trial 1a; from 1732)

structure:

- (39) a.
- b.

operator in [Spec,FP] not a proper *wh*-operator – different feature specification: only [Q],
 hence no complete feature overlap with the head *-e*

→ essentially a Doubly Filled COMP pattern, but just as in Standard Hungarian, the head is more specified than the specifier of FP

embedded polar interrogatives in Hungarian show that the grammaticalisation of [wh] on a lower periphery may lead to similar effects as observed in a Germanic CP-periphery

6 Conclusion

reconsideration of the Doubly Filled COMP Filter and Doubly Filled COMP patterns

- strictly speaking, no Doubly Filled COMP Filter
- Doubly Filled COMP arises regularly in West Germanic dialects due to a requirement to lexicalise a [fin] C head
- evidence from polar interrogatives: elements other than a finite complementiser (*that*) can fulfil this function
- patterns not restricted to the CP – languages lexicalising the [wh] at a lower periphery can show similar effects

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