

Clause typing in main clauses and V1 conditionals in Germanic*

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1 Introduction

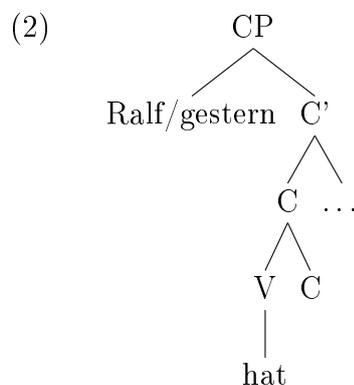
canonical order in German main clauses: V2

- (1) a. Ralf **hat** gestern eine Torte gebacken.
Ralph has yesterday a.F.ACC cake baked.PTCP
'Ralph baked a cake yesterday.'
- b. Gestern **hat** Ralf eine Torte gebacken.
yesterday has Ralph a.F.ACC cake baked.PTCP
'Ralph baked a cake yesterday.'

pattern attested more generally across Germanic (English: historically)

standard analysis (see e.g. Den Besten 1989, Fanselow 2002; 2004a;b; 2009, Frey 2005):
XP in [Spec,CP] and the verb to C (adjoining to C via head adjunction), XP not
restricted to subject DPs

structure:



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question: whether main clauses always have a V2 pattern

surface V2 not always possible – e.g. main clause polar interrogatives:

- (3) **Hast** du Peter gesehen?
have.2SG you Peter seen
'Have you seen Peter?'

theoretical possibilities:

- V1 clauses are underlyingly V1, no general requirement to fill the [Spec,CP] position
- V1 clauses are underlyingly V2, the [Spec,CP] position is filled by phonologically empty material ↔ Zwart (2005)

V1 also possible in main clauses in conditionals:

- (4) Ist die Entscheidung gefallen, **gilt** sie für alle.
is the.F decision fallen applies she for all
'Once the decision has been taken, it applies to all.'

further question: position of the subordinate clause

- in the [Spec,CP] of the main clause – possibly preserving V2
- not in the [Spec,CP] of the main clause – relation of the clauses remains a question, as well as whether there is an element in the [Spec,CP] of the main clause

proposal:

- surface V1 clauses have empty operators/anaphors in their specifiers – semantically motivated
- surface V2 a result of two independent requirements – Fanselow (2009)
- conditionals: empty anaphor in the main clause [Spec,CP] – paratactic configuration
- specificity (and, in some cases, markedness) of V1 clauses follows from the licensing conditions on zero elements, not from the lack of surface V2

2 Features and V2

Fanselow (2009: 108–109): maintaining a strong surface V2 analysis would mean that whenever there is a verb moving to C, the specifier of that CP needs to be filled by overt material – would suppose an intrinsic relation between verb movement and movement to [Spec,CP]

problem: surface V1 main clauses attested – no overt XP in [Spec,CP]

Fanselow (2009): no direct relation between movement to [Spec,CP] and verb movement to C

→ movement to [Spec,CP]: due to an [edge] feature

question: whether the [edge] feature is absent in V1 main clauses

- if so: why – nothing should be located in [Spec,CP], not even zero elements
- if not: what is located in [Spec,CP] and what the [edge] feature actually means

V1 interrogatives:

- (5) **Hast** du Peter gesehen?
have.2SG you Peter seen
'Have you seen Peter?'

first position: polar operator corresponding to *whether* (Larson 1985) – inserted directly into the [Spec,CP] position (Bianchi & Cruschina 2016); covert operator inserted if the complementiser is overt (e.g. *if*, German *ob*), cf. Zimmermann (2013: 86)

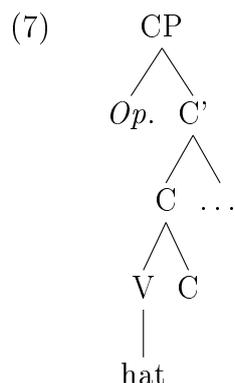
note: polar operator not entirely specific to interrogative contexts – disjunctive operators (but not *wh*-type polar operators, e.g. *whether*) in conditionals, similarly to morphophonologically identical complementisers between the two clause types (cf. Bhatt & Pancheva 2006, Arsenijević 2009, Danckaert & Haegeman 2012)

overt operator *whether* in English: restricted to embedded interrogatives in Late Modern English but attested in main clauses in earlier periods (often with verb movement of the lexical verb or T-to-C movement of *do*):

- (6) 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. **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)

operator in polar interrogatives semantically motivated

structure of the CP in (5):



similar to (2) but the element in the specifier not overt

question operator directly related to clause typing → its presence is not contingent on any other element

V1 conditionals:

- (8) Ist die Entscheidung gefallen, **gilt** sie für alle.
is the.F decision fallen applies she for all
'Once the decision has been taken, it applies to all.'

anaphoric elements possible:

- (9) Ist die Entscheidung gefallen, dann / so **gilt** sie für alle.
is the.F decision fallen then so applies she for all
'Once the decision has been taken, it applies to all.'

structure: as in (7)

both the zero anaphor and *dann/so* need an antecedent – order of the clauses cannot be changed (no matter whether the subclause is introduced by *wenn* or not):

- (10) a. *∅/So/Dann **gilt** die Entscheidung für alle, ist sie gefallen.
∅/so/then applies the.F decision for all is she fallen
'The decision applies to all once it has been taken.'
- b. *∅/So/Dann **gilt** die Entscheidung für alle, wenn sie gefallen ist.
∅/so/then applies the.F decision for all when she fallen is
'The decision applies to all once it has been taken.'

zero anaphor semantically and syntactically motivated

V1 declaratives:

- (11) A: Peter ist gekommen.
Peter is come.PTCP
'Peter has arrived.'
- B: **Hab** ich (schon) gesehen.
have.1SG I already seen
'I have (already) seen it.'

again: zero anaphor (corresponds to a demonstrative) in the [Spec,CP] – structure like (7)

clause in (11) cannot be uttered without an appropriate antecedent – not possible out of the blue:

- (12) ***Hab** ich (schon) gesehen, dass Peter gekommen ist.
have.1SG I already seen that Peter come.PTCP is
'I have (already) seen that Peter has arrived.'

→ zero elements in V1 main clauses not unmotivated (↔ Zwart 2005)

[edge] feature: not tied to the overtness of the XP in [Spec,CP] but zero elements are restricted in their availability

possible ways of satisfying the [edge] feature (hierarchy):

- clause-typing operators
- anaphoric elements
- other XPs

verb movement to C: general requirement on lexicalising a [fin] feature on C in Germanic – resulting in V2, English T-to-C movement, Doubly Filled COMP patterns (Bacskai-Atkari 2016a;b)

lexicalisation by verb movement or inserted complementiser: depends largely on requirements from the matrix clause (e.g. matrix predicate selecting the subclause) – some cases allow variation showing that verb movement is essentially on a par with complementiser-insertion w.r.t. lexicalising [fin] on C

- (13)
- 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.'
 - 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.'
 - Plan an escape route, **if** fire should break out.
 - Plan an escape route, **should** fire break out.

→ features [edge] and [fin] operate differently

- V2 not a result of a requirement on surface V2
- surface V1 clauses are possible
- neither [edge] nor [fin] rules out V3 orders

3 Conditionals

status of dependent clause in conditionals – in [Spec,CP] of the main clause or parataxis (and hence no true subordination)

- (14) Ist die Entscheidung gefallen, **gilt** sie für alle.
is the.F decision fallen applies she for all
'Once the decision has been taken, it applies to all.'

Axel & Wöllstein (2009): dependent clause not in [Spec,CP] of the main clause

also: availability of *dann/so* shows that the [Spec,CP] is not empty, at least a zero operator is there:

- (15) Ist die Entscheidung gefallen, dann / so **gilt** sie für alle.
is the.F decision fallen then so applies she for all
'Once the decision has been taken, it applies to all.'

→ parataxis analysis preferable

Hilpert (2010): (15) derives from a main clause question + a declarative:

- (16) Ist die Entscheidung gefallen? Dann / So gilt sie für alle.
is the.F decision fallen then so applies she for all
'Has the decision been taken? Then it applies to all.'

but: this step is not necessary for constraining the word order requirements on the second (main) clause and the ordering restrictions between the two clauses

recall: no *dann* or *so* or empty anaphor possible in the main clause if it precedes the dependent clause:

- (17) a. *∅/So/Dann **gilt** die Entscheidung für alle, ist sie gefallen.
∅/so/then applies the.F decision for all is she fallen
'The decision applies to all once it has been taken.'
- b. *∅/So/Dann **gilt** die Entscheidung für alle, wenn sie gefallen ist.
∅/so/then applies the.F decision for all when she fallen is
'The decision applies to all once it has been taken.'

but: main clause may precede dependent clause without an anaphor (induces V2 order) but then the subclause is introduced by *wenn*

- (18) Die Entscheidung **gilt** für alle, wenn sie gefallen ist.
the.F decision applies for all when she fallen is
'The decision applies to all once it has been taken.'

similar phenomena in ordinary conditionals with *wenn* 'if':

- (19) a. Wenn ich ihn finde, (dann) **rufe** ich dich an.
if I he.ACC find.1SG then call.1SG I you.ACC to
'If I find him, I will call you.'
- b. Ich **rufe** dich an, wenn ich ihn finde.
I call.1SG you.ACC to if I he.ACC find.1SG
'I will call you if I find him.'

rules of parataxis in conditionals:

- main clause may precede or follow the dependent clause
- dependent clause not subordinated, dependence expressed by overt or covert conditional operator and/or by the matrix anaphor
- conditional operator always present in the dependent clause – clause type can always be marked with *wenn*, no matter whether the dependent clause is the first or the second clause
- V1 conditional (dependent) clause: no overt marking of the clause type, parataxis can only be marked via the matrix anaphor → such conditional clauses always precede the matrix clause
- matrix anaphor possible only if the matrix clause is the second clause, but the anaphor itself does not have to be overt – presence of the anaphor is recoverable from the surface V1 word order
- markedness of (15): requires a particular arrangement (recoverable conditional operator on the basis of V1 word order and recoverable anaphor on the basis of V1 word order), zero elements have to be licensed – construction associated with a particular pragmatic effect

4 Conclusion

non-canonical V1 order in main clauses in German (and Germanic)

- surface V1 orders demonstrate verb movement to C and a zero operator/anaphor in the specifier (must be recoverable)
- filling of [Spec,CP]> result of [edge] feature, which does not impose an overtness requirement
- verb movement to C: more general requirement on lexicalising [fin] on C – this is an overtness requirement
- V1 conditionals: paratactic construction, requirements dependent on recoverability conditions and general rules concerning the placement of anaphors

V1 main clauses are licensed if the zero operator/anaphor is pragmatically felicitous and semantically recoverable – verb movement triggered independently

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