

# German dialects and an anti-cartographic approach to the CP-domain

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

SaRDiS 2015: Saarbrücker Runder Tisch für Dialektsyntax  
Saarbrücken, 6–7 November 2015

## 1 Introduction

CP-domain: responsible for clause-typing and marking finiteness

approaches to the CP-periphery – split CP of Rizzi (1997; 2004):

(1) ForceP (TopP) (FocP) (TopP) FinP

ForceP and FinP: may be headed by complementisers, hence true CP layers

suggests a one-to-one relationship between function and position – problematic

a given C head may be associated with various functions

e.g. *that* encodes declarative Force and finiteness

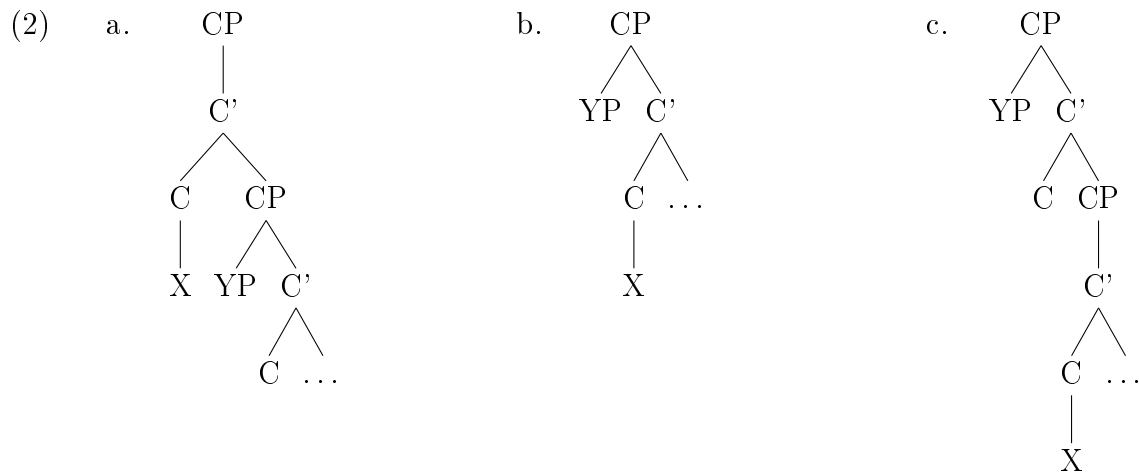
→ collapse of CP layer in Rizzi (1997; 2004) – often just a single C-element  
no multiple complementisers in Standard Italian

mechanism of “collapse” not quite clear – alternative: a minimal CP, see Sobin (2002),  
number of projections defined primarily by overtiness

single CP versus double (multiple) CPs

- single CP: single complementiser or single clause-typing operator
- double CP: two complementisers (two C heads)
- question: combinations of operators and complementisers
  - complementiser + operator order: two CPs
  - operator + complementiser order: one CP or two CPs

possible structures:



proposal:

- only the structures in (2a) and (2b) are valid
- the structure in (2c) violates the Minimal Link Condition (Chomsky 1995)
- necessity of generating a second CP can be explained via feature encoding

role of German dialects: several types of combinations

## 2 Embedded interrogatives

relevant properties: [sub], [wh]

- [sub]: shorthand for finite subordination; encoded by a functional C head (as selected by the matrix predicate), does not have to be overt
- [wh]: feature encoding the interrogative nature of the clause; encoded either by an operator (in *wh*-questions) or by a functional head (polar questions); has to be overt in embedded clauses because no intonational distinction available

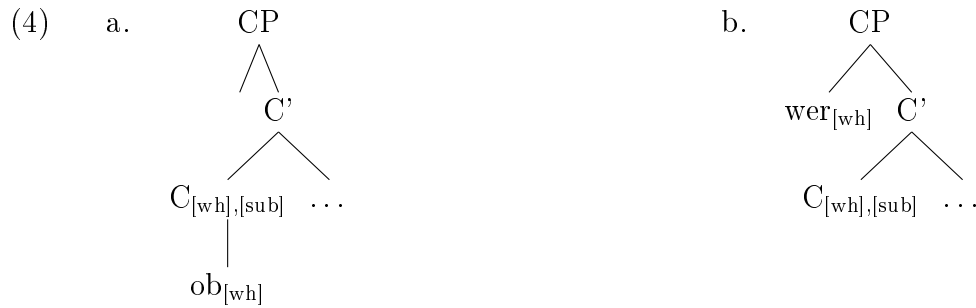
checking off the uninterpretable [wh] feature of a functional head:

- inserting a [wh] lexical head
- moving a [wh] operator to the specifier
- moving a [wh] operator to the head (Alemannic/Bavarian)

examples in Standard German:

- (3) a. Ich habe keine Ahnung, **ob** Ralf die Käse gegessen hat.  
 I have.1SG no.F.ACC idea if Ralph the.F.ACC cheese eaten has  
 'I have no idea if Ralph has eaten the cheese.'
- b. Ich habe keine Ahnung, **wer** die Käse gegessen hat.  
 I have.1SG no.F.ACC idea who the.F.ACC cheese eaten has  
 'I have no idea who has eaten the cheese.'

structures:



Doubly Filled COMP effects in Alemannic and Bavarian (Bayer & Brandner 2008)

- phrase-sized *wh*-elements show the effect (with *dass* ‘that’) – *wh*-element phrase-sized if co-occurring with lexical phrases, P heads (even lexical case suffixes) – (5a) and (5b)
- head-sized *wh*-phrases (e.g. *wer* ‘who.NOM’, *wen* ‘who.ACC’, *was* ‘what.NOM/ACC’): *dass* cannot be inserted (regular pattern) – complementary distribution, hence the *wh*-element moves to the C head itself – (5c)
- head-sized *wh*-phrases show the effect if they are contrastively focussed and can be interpreted only as operators in a specifier – (5d)

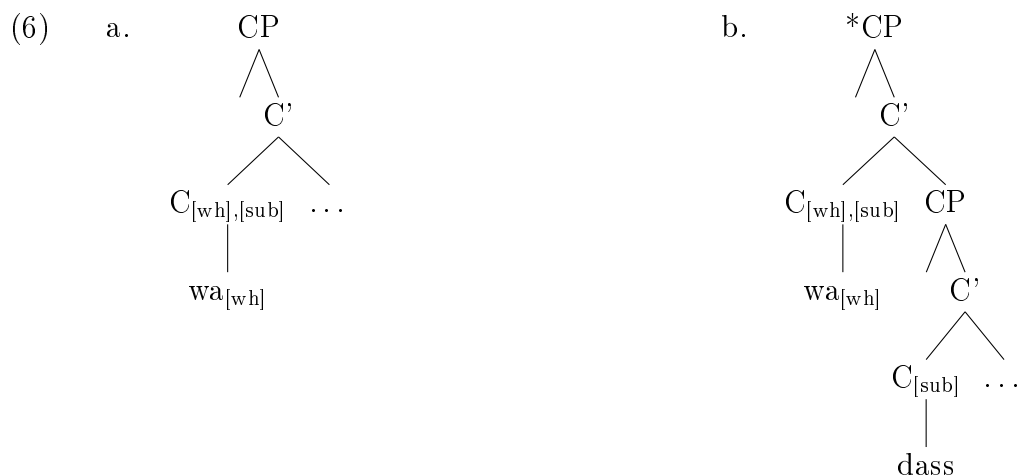
examples from Alemannic:

- (5) a. 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)
- b. 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)
- c. \*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)
- d. 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)

insertion of *dass*: subject clitic has to cliticise onto an element in the C head  
 (Bayer & Brandner 2008)

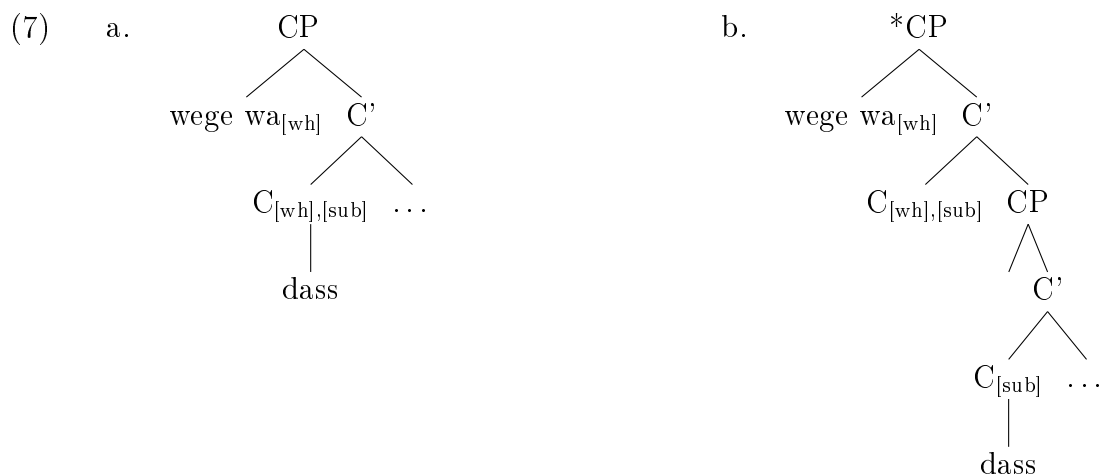
movement of *wh*-element: targets the C head is possible, if not, it targets the [Spec,CP]

structures for licit and illicit configurations with head-sized *wh*-phrases, see (5c):



movement of the *wh*-element targets the lowest CP – Minimal Link Condition satisfied in (6a) but not in (6b); structure resembles the ones in (4)

theoretically possible structures for Doubly Filled COMP pattern, see (5a):



complementiser not specifically [wh] but should not be incompatible, i.e. [-wh]

insertion of lexically [wh] C element would check off the uninterpretable feature on C  
 → the *wh*-phrase could not move

choice of (7a) over (7b):

- Minimal Link Condition satisfied in (7a) but not in (7b) – no violations attested otherwise either
- if (7b) were valid, then doubling of *dass* and head-sized *wh*-elements (e.g. *wer*) should be always licensed as well – the split of marking [wh] and of [sub] should be generally attested, and the asymmetry shown by Bayer & Brandner (2008) could not be accounted for

→ ordering and number of CPs in embedded interrogatives:

- no double CP necessary – finite subordination does not require a separate CP
- operator + complementiser order in combinations: its presence/absence can be explained by restrictions on the structure of a single CP

### 3 Relative clauses

relevant properties: [sub], [rel]

- [rel]: encoding the relative nature of the clause; encoded either by an operator or by a functional C head, does not have to be overt (if a zero [rel] head available in the lexicon, restrictions, e.g. English)

[rel] comes with [EDGE] – no “relative in situ” (cf. Bacsikai-Atkari 2014b: 122)

→ movement of the operator triggered even if [rel] is interpretable on the functional head

→ real doubling of [rel] head and [rel] operator possible

examples in English:

- (8) a. This is the book **that** explains the difference between cats and tigers.  
 b. This is the book **which** explains the difference between cats and tigers.

structures:



in (9a): a covert operator moves to [Spec,CP] as there is no relative in situ  
 does not affect overt marking

Standard German: pattern in (9b) with pronouns *der/die/das*, or *welcher/welche/welches*

- demonstrative-based relatives standard in Germanic (Brandner & Bräuning 2013)
- relative pronouns cross-linguistically from interrogative/demonstrative pronouns (Hopper & Traugott 1993, Heine & Kuteva 2002, Van Gelderen 2004; 2009)

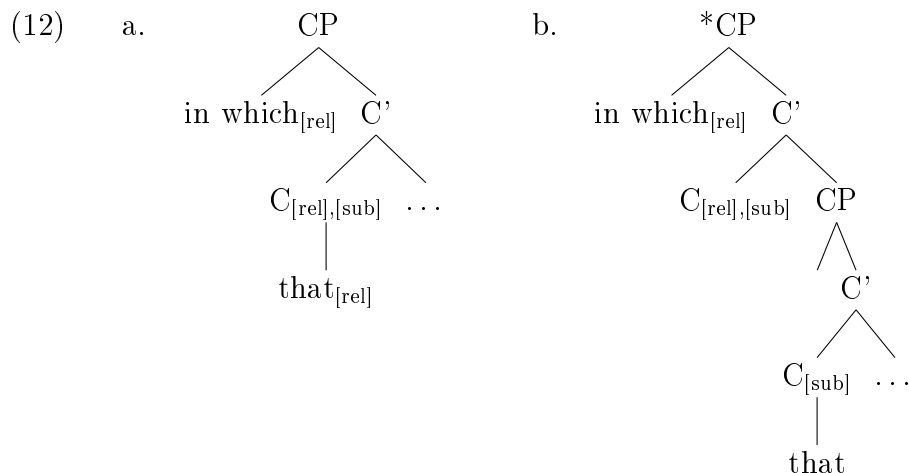
- (10) Der Mann, **der** am Fenster steht, dreht sich langsam um.  
 the.M man that.M at.the window stands turns REFL slowly round  
 ‘The man who is standing by the window is turning around slowly.’

Doubly Filled COMP pattern in English

Van Gelderen (2013: 59, ex. 85):

(11) it's down to the community **in which that** the people live.

theoretically possible structures:



choice of (12a) over (12b):

- Minimal Link Condition satisfied in (12a) but not in (12b) – same as for embedded interrogatives
- inserted head *that* not just any subordinator but also specified for [rel] ↔ embedded interrogatives
- generation of two CPs for the same feature problematic, while concord pattern allowed

evidence for the [rel] status of the complementiser: South German *wo* instead of *dass*  
(see Brandner 2008, Brandner & Bräuning 2013)

regular relative complementiser *wo* in Bavarian, Alemannic – relativises all types of head nouns (Brandner 2008, Brandner & Bräuning 2013, Fleischer 2004); similar pattern in Texas German (see Boas et al. 2014)

- (13) a. ...*dea Mo (dea) wo* seine Schu verlor*a* hot  
the man PRON.DEM PRT his shoes lost has  
'the man who has lost his shoes'  
(Bavarian/Alemannic; Brandner & Bräuning 2013: 132, ex. 2)
- b. Ich wünsch, dass ich mehr Leude kennen däd **wo** Deutsch sprechen kenn.  
I wish that I more people know did, REL German speak can  
'I wish that I knew more people who can speak German.'  
(Texas German; Boas et al. 2014: 590, ex. 1c)

doubling of *wo* and a demonstrative-based relative operator (cf. Weise 1917): Doubly Filled COMP effect (Brandner & Bräuning 2013), in line with the structure-building considerations presented above

difference from embedded interrogatives: both operator and complementiser [rel]  
↔ embedded interrogatives: the Doubly Filled COMP pattern has a [wh] operator and a complementiser unspecified for [ $\pm$ wh]

reasons: no relative operators genuinely in these dialects; visible operators (borrowing, innovation) can lexicalise the operator function (covert operator present anyway)

similar phenomenon in Middle English: *wh*-based relative operator an innovation alongside *that* head, see Van Gelderen (2004; 2009)

problems with postulating two CPs to avoid Doubly Filled COMP (as in Baltin 2010):

- Minimal Link Condition violated
- if (12b) were valid, no explanation why a CP is generated for the same feature, and why the opposite order is not attested
- if two CPs generated both in embedded interrogatives and in relative clauses, no explanation for the difference in the complementiser (e.g. German *dass* and *wo*) – embedded interrogatives suggest two CPs with two separate functions ([wh] and [sub]), while relative clauses suggest two CPs with the same function

→ ordering and number of CPs in relative clauses:

- no double CP necessary – finite subordination does not require a separate CP, complementiser not even a finite subordination marker but a [rel] head
- operator + complementiser order in combinations: restrictions on the structure of a single CP, and the presence/absence of genuine relative operators

## 4 Embedded degree clauses

question: whether a double CP is needed at all if an overt operator and an overt complementiser are combined

evidence from embedded degree clauses: the features to be encoded in the CP-domain cannot always be encoded and checked on a single C head

relevant properties: [sub], [rel], [compr], [d-neg]

- [compr]: encoding the comparative nature of the clause; encoded either by an operator or by a functional C head, has to be overt
- [d-neg]: shorthand for degree negation; encoding the negative polarity of the clause in the absence of a negative operator (no clausal negation); encoded by a functional head, has to be overt (negation and negative polarity marked morphologically, cf. Dryer 2013)

equative clauses (*as*-clauses) and comparative clauses (*than*-clauses):

- (14) a. Ralph is as tall **as** Peter is.  
b. Ralph is taller **than** Peter is.

comparative subclauses are negative polarity environments (Seuren 1973):

- (15) She would rather die than **lift a finger** to help her sister.

reason: degree semantics (Bacskai-Atkari 2015)

- equatives express degree equality ( $d=d'$ )
- comparatives express degree inequality ( $d\neq d'$ , either  $d>d'$  or  $d<d'$ )

asymmetry between equatives and comparatives attested in several languages  
synchronically and/or diachronically

→ CP-periphery of the comparative (but not the equative) subclause has to lexicalise  
(encode overtly) the degree negation property ( $\neg d$ ), but no specific separate item  
needed for that purpose – the same element defines negative polarity of the clause

embedded degree clause: typically a relative clause (cf. Chomsky 1977), but some re-  
duced clauses are not relative clauses, and the comparative complement can also be  
phrasal (PP, case-marked DPs)

dialectal variation in German comparative *than*-clauses

cf. Jäger (2010), Eggs (2006), Lipold (1983), Weise (1918)

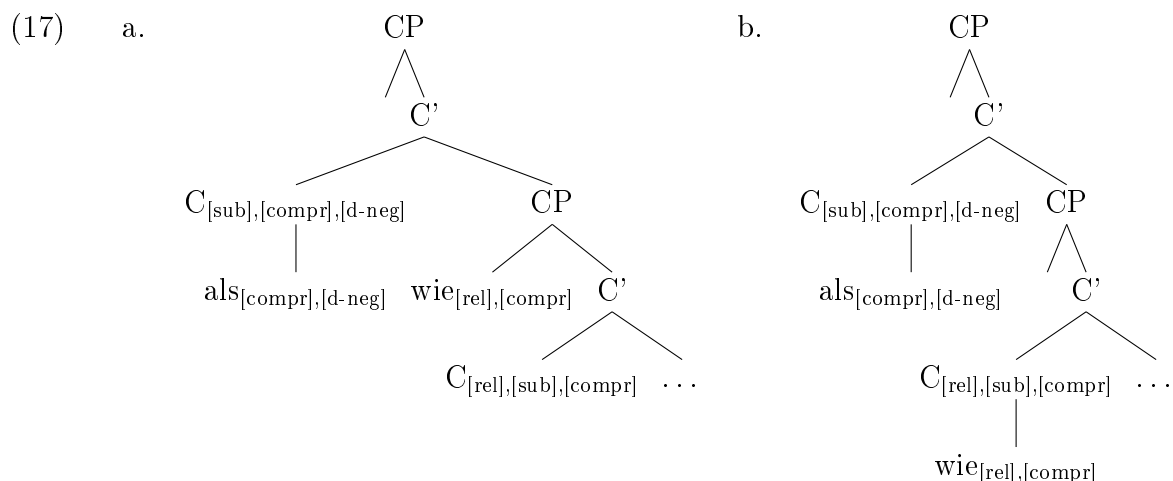
- (16) a. Romy ist größer **als** Peter.  
Romy is taller than Peter  
'Romy is taller than Peter.'
- b. %Romy ist größer **als wie** Peter.  
Romy is taller than as Peter  
'Romy is taller than Peter.'
- c. %Romy ist größer **wie** Peter.  
Romy is taller as Peter  
'Romy is taller than Peter.'

independent evidence that both *als* and *wie* are heads in (16), see Jäger (2010), Bacskai-  
Atkari (2014a;b); but: historically *wie* also an operator (Jäger 2010)

structure: either ConjP+CP (as in Jäger 2010), or two CPs (Bacskai-Atkari 2014a;b)



possible structures for *als wie* in comparatives:



property of [d-neg] cannot be encoded by an operator

- comparative operator not a negative operator
- a grammaticalised head has to acquire it in order to encode it – diachronic asymmetries (cf. Bacsikai-Atkari 2015)

incompatibility of head encoding  $\neg$ d and operator encoding d' in the same CP  
 → comparatives display a split CP

similar order attested in equatives historically – core ideas:

- operator appears as a way of reinforcement when the original C starts losing [rel] specification
- general relative complementiser *wo* replacing *so* parallel with *wie* replacing *als* (Brandner & Bräuning 2013)
- operator takes over the role of overt marking easily (cf. Czech and Polish equative clauses with *jak* ‘how’), grammaticalisation into C also possible – no [d-neg]
- operator targets the lower CP – complementiser inserted on top of this CP iff it is not specified as [rel]

question: whether Doubly Filled COMP possible in equatives

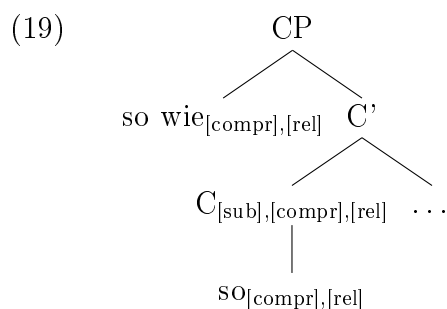
expectation: if complementiser lexically specified as [rel] and [compr], and there is also an overt [rel], [compr] operator, there will be a single CP showing the same doubling that is attested in relative clauses (hence: operator + complementiser order)

evidence from Old High German:

- *wie* in equatives appears in Early New High German, and goes back to Middle High German *swie*, which in turn stems from Old High German *so wie so*, see Jäger (2010: 488) – (18)
- *so wie so* appears in free relatives, just as *so wer so* or *so waz so* in non-comparative free relatives, where the *so+WH* combination is in [Spec,CP] and *so* is in C, see Jäger (2010: 488), cf. Behaghel (1928), Paul (1920)

- (18) er bi unsih tod thulti, **so wio so** er selbo wolti  
 he by us death suffered as how as he self wanted  
 ‘he suffered death by us, as he himself wished’ (Otfrid V, 1, 7)  
 (Jäger 2010: 488, ex. 46, quoting Schrodtt 2004)

structure for (18):



→ ordering and number of CPs in embedded degree clauses:

- no double CP necessary in equatives – finite subordination does not require a separate CP, [rel] and [compr] may be marked by the same CP but frequently separated in terms of overt marking
- double CP in comparatives – separation of [compr] and [d-neg] due to semantics
- operator + complementiser order if single CP, complementiser + operator order (or complementiser + complementiser) if double CP

## 5 Conclusion

flexible, feature-based approach to combinations of clause-typing elements

realisation of layers largely depends on overtness requirements – syntactic encoding

combinations in German dialects:

- embedded interrogatives: single CP (operator + complementiser combinations: Doubly Filled COMP)
- relative clauses: single CP (operator + complementiser combinations: Doubly Filled COMP, real doubling)
- embedded degree clauses: mostly double CP – [rel] carried by a lower C than [compr] and [d-neg]; Doubly Filled pattern possible (Old High German)
- lower C in multiple CPs: related to operator movement (if any)

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