

Clause typing in main clauses and V1 conditionals in Germanic

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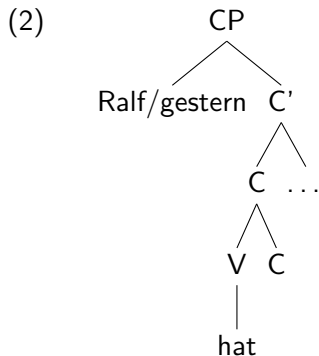
Introduction

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.'

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



Question

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 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

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?'

Polar operators

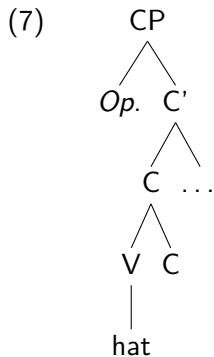
first position: polar operator corresponding to *whether* (Larson 1985) – inserted directly into the [Spec,CP] position (Bianchi & Cruschina 2016); covert operator inserted if the complementiser is overt (e.g. *if*, German *ob*), cf. Zimmermann (2013, 86)

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)

English

- (6) a. **Hwæðer wæs** iohannes fulluht þe of heofonum þe
whether was John's baptism that of heavens or
of mannum
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)

Structure



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
is the.F decision fallen then so applies she for
alle.
all
'Once the decision has been taken, it applies to all.'

Order

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

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.'

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.'

So...

zero elements in V1 main clauses not unmotivated (\leftrightarrow 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

Variation

- (13) 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.

So...

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

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

Anaphors

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
is the.F decision fallen then so applies she for
alle.
all
'Once the decision has been taken, it applies to all.'

→ parataxis analysis preferable

Derivation

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

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

Ordering restrictions

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

Main clause without an anaphor

- (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.'

Ordinary conditionals

- (19) a. Wenn ich ihn finde, (dann) **rufe** ich dich
if I he.ACC find.1SG then call.1SG I you.ACC
an.
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 matrix anaphor
- conditional operator always present in the dependent clause – clause type can always be marked with *wenn*
- V1 conditional (dependent) clause: no overt marking of clause type, parataxis can only be marked via the matrix anaphor → such conditional clauses always precede the matrix clause
- matrix anaphor possible only if matrix clause the second clause, but anaphor itself does not have to be overt – presence of anaphor is recoverable from surface V1 word order
- markedness of (15): requires a particular arrangement (recoverable conditional operator and recoverable anaphor on the basis of V1 word order), zero elements have to be licensed

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 overttness requirement
- verb movement to C: more general requirement on lexicalising [fin] on C – this is an overttness 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

Thank you!

Danke!

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