

Doubly Filled COMP in Czech and Slovenian interrogatives

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Introduction

interrogatives in Standard English:

- (1) a. **Which book did** she buy?
- b. **Did** she buy a book?
- c. I don't know **which book (*that)** she bought.
- d. I don't know **if** she bought a book.

Doubly Filled COMP

ban on the insertion of *that* in (1c): “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 main clause interrogatives – (1a)

non-standard dialects show violations of the Doubly Filled COMP Filter (cf. the data in Baltin 2010):

(2) I don't know **which book that** she bought.

question: why Doubly Filled COMP patterns arise in Germanic and cross-linguistically

Proposal

- Doubly Filled COMP patterns in Germanic: finite complementiser inserted to lexicalise [fin] in C, but lexicalisation can be carried out by other elements, too – insertion of *that* causes no interpretive differences
- lexicalisation requirement on [fin] more generally attested in the syntactic paradigm, related to the property of V2 and to T-to-C movement
- Slavic languages: no such lexicalisation requirement in general – insertion of a complementiser causes an interpretive difference (echo)
- *wh*-movement in Germanic driven by a [wh] feature on the C head, no such feature in Slavic Doubly Filled COMP structures

Doubly Filled COMP in Germanic

general idea (Bacskai-Atkari 2016a): C with [fin] specification
regularly lexicalised

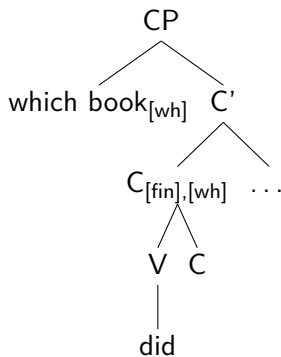
- English: applies to interrogatives (T-to-C movement)
- German: applies to declaratives as well (V2)

Matrix interrogatives

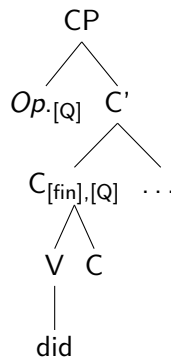
- (3) a. **Which book did** she buy?
b. **Did** she buy a book?

Structures

(4) a.



b.



Properties

distinction between [wh] and [Q] – cf. Bayer (2004): [Q] essentially stands for disjunction; *wh*-elements are [Q] but not all element with [Q] specification are [wh] (see Bacskai-Atkari 2016b for Germanic)

operator in (4b):

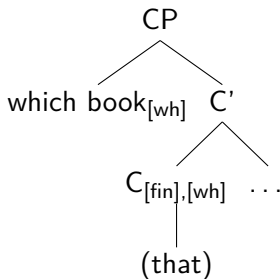
- overt or covert (corresponds to *whether*), marks the scope of a covert *or* (Larson 1985)
- inserted into [Spec,CP] (Bianchi & Cruschina 2016), hence no *wh*-movement necessary

Embedded interrogatives

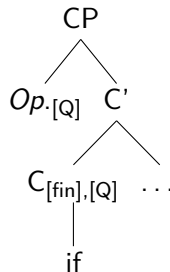
- (5)
- a. I don't know **which book (% that)** she bought.
 - b. I don't know **if** she bought a book.

Structures

(6) a.



b.



Lexicalisation

- verb movement – head adjunction – (4)
- insertion of an interrogative complementiser – (6b)
- insertion of the regular finite subordinator, if [wh] is not checked off by an overt complementiser: nonstandard varieties – (6a)
- lexicalisation generally attested in the syntactic paradigm, standard varieties in West Germanic have an exception in (6a) by not lexicalising the C head
- no insertion of an interrogative complementiser – feature checking would prevent movement of the *wh*-element, [Q] a subset of [wh]

insertion of the complementiser: in line with general V2 property (T-to-C in English) – no interpretive difference, several dialects show optionality

Polar interrogatives

doubling possible in polar interrogatives as well (Bacskai-Atkari 2016c) – if operator overt; see Van Gelderen (2009) for modern substandard varieties

- (7) a. **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)
- b. 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*)

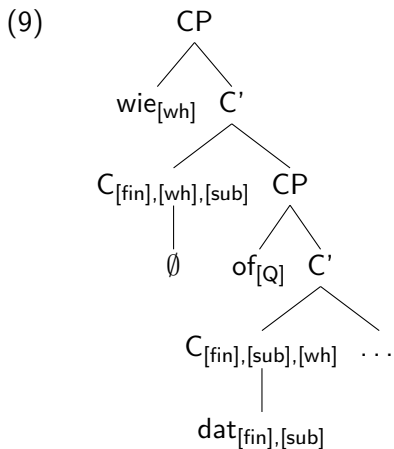
Multiple interrogative elements

separation of [wh] and [Q]: co-occurrence of two interrogative elements possible in certain languages (Bayer 2004)

Dutch dialects:

- (8) 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)

Structure



Properties

polar operator in the scope of a *wh*-operator, clause specified as [wh] (Bacskai-Atkari 2016a,b)

- Doubly Filled COMP patterns in Germanic interrogatives follow from requirement on lexicalising [fin] on C, ultimately following from V2 property (English slightly exceptional, no V2 but T-to-C)
- expectation: Doubly Filled COMP should be different or not available in languages where there is no lexicalisation requirement on [fin] in main clause interrogatives

Czech

constituent questions:

- (10) a. **Kdo** přijel?
who arrived.3SG
'Who arrived?'
- b. Ptala se, **kdo** přijel.
asked.3SG.F REFL who arrived.3SG
'She asked who arrived.'

wh-element moves to [Spec,CP] – Rudin (1988), Kaspar (2015)

Doubly Filled COMP

insertion of *že* 'that' possible – echo questions (see Kaspar 2015, Gruet-Skrabalova 2011):

- (11) a. **Kdo že** přijel?
who that arrived.3SG
'Who is said to have arrived?'
- b. Ptala se, **kdo že** přijel.
asked.3SG.F REFL who that arrived.3SG
'She asked who was said to have arrived.'

status of *že*: located in C, following see Kaspar (2015) → Doubly Filled COMP effect possible

Polar questions

- (12) a. Přijel Marie?
arrived.3SG Mary
'Has Mary arrived?'
- b. Ptala se, **jestli** Marie přijel.
asked.3SG.F REFL if Mary arrived.3SG
'She asked if Mary arrived.'

No Doubly Filled COMP

- (13) *Ptala se, **jestli že** Marie přijel.
asked.3SG.F REFL if that Mary arrived.3SG
'She asked if Mary arrived.'

že and *jestli* in complementary distribution → *jestli* in C – in line with the fact that if C is filled by the clitic *-li*, the verb moves up to C to host the clitic (Schwabe 2004), and *jestli* is a grammaticalised form containing 'be'

Echo polar questions

- (14) a. **Kdo jestli** přijel?
who if arrived.3SG
'Did WHO arrive?'
- b. Ptala se, **kdo jestli** přijel.
asked.3SG.F REFL who if arrived.3SG
'She asked about whom the question arose whether they arrived.'

No Doubly Filled COMP

- (15) a. ***Kdo jestli že** přijel?
who if arrived.3SG
'Did WHO arrive?'
- b. *Ptala se, **kdo jestli že** přijel.
asked.3SG.F REFL who if arrived.3SG
'She asked about whom the question arose whether they arrived.'

Patterns in Czech

- Doubly Filled COMP effects possible with *že* 'that' and *jestli* 'if'
- insertion of complementiser not obligatory in ordinary constituent questions
- insertion of either complementiser triggers an echo interpretation
- complementiser available in main clause echo questions, contrary to ordinary main clause questions, echoed statement/question embedded pragmatically (\leftrightarrow Germanic)
- clause type defined by the complementiser, not by the *wh*-element (\leftrightarrow Germanic)

Slovenian

constituent questions:

(16) a. **Kdo** pride?

who comes

'Who is coming?'

(Hladnik 2010, 13, ex. 9)

b. Vprašal je, **kdo** pride.

asked.3SG.M PTCP.3SG who comes

'He asked who was coming.'

(based on Hladnik 2010, 14, ex. 11)

wh-element moves to [Spec,CP] – following Hladnik (2010)

Doubly Filled COMP

echo questions (see Hladnik 2010):

- (17) a. **Kdo da** pride?
who that comes
'Who is said to be coming?'
(Hladnik 2010, 13, ex. 9)
- b. Vprašal je, **kdo da** pride.
asked.3SG.M PTCP.3SG who that comes
'He asked who was said to be coming.'
(based on Hladnik 2010, 14, ex. 11)

status of *da*: located in C, following see Hladnik (2010) → Doubly Filled COMP effect possible

Polar questions

- (18) a. **A** pride?
Q comes
'Is he coming?'
(based on Hladnik 2010, 15, ex. 12)
- b. Vprašal je, če pride.
asked.3SG.M PTCP.3SG whether comes
'He asked whether was coming.'
(based on Hladnik 2010, 15, ex. 12)

Doubly Filled COMP

echo reading (cf. Hladnik 2010):

- (19) a. **A da** pride?
Q that comes
'Is it true that he is said to be coming?'
(based on Hladnik 2010, 15, ex. 12)
- b. Vprašal je, **če da** pride.
asked.3SG.M PTCP.3SG whether that comes
'He asked whether it was true that he was said to be coming.'
(based on Hladnik 2010, 15, ex. 12)

da and *a/če* not in complementary distribution → *a/če* not C, they are rather operators in [Spec,CP], similarly to English *whether*

Echo polar questions

- (20) a. **Kdo če** pride?
who whether comes
'Is WHO coming?'
(based on Hladnik 2010, 15, ex. 13)
- b. **Kdo če da** pride?
who whether that comes
'Is WHO said to be coming?'
(based on Hladnik 2010, 15, ex. 13)

Patterns in Slovenian

- Doubly Filled COMP effects possible with *da* 'that' and *a/če* 'if'
- insertion of complementiser not obligatory in ordinary constituent questions and ordinary polar questions
- insertion of complementiser triggers an echo interpretation
- double echo possible
- complementiser available in main clause echo questions, contrary to ordinary main clause questions, echoed statement/question embedded pragmatically (↔ Germanic)
- clause type defined by the complementiser (Hladnik 2010, 15–16), not by the *wh*-element or by the polar operator (↔ Germanic)

The analysis

various patterns of *wh*-elements, Q elements and finite subordinators

Germanic combinations

embedded clauses:

- sequence WH Q FIN → clause type [wh] – constituent question
- sequence WH Q → clause type [wh] – constituent question
- sequence WH FIN → clause type [wh] – constituent question
- sequence Q FIN → clause type [Q] – polar question

Slavic combinations

embedded and matrix clauses:

- sequence WH Q FIN → clause type [FIN] – declarative, double echo
- sequence WH Q → clause type [Q] – polar question, echo
- sequence WH FIN → clause type [FIN] – declarative, echo
- sequence Q FIN → clause type [FIN] – declarative, echo

Germanic Doubly Filled COMP

- movement of the *wh*-operator or insertion of the polar operator into [Spec,CP] for clause-typing, question semantics, feature checking with C
- insertion of the finite complementiser: to lexicalise [fin] in C

Slavic Doubly Filled COMP

- insertion of the operator (either *wh* or polar) into [Spec,CP] due to an [EDGE] feature on the C head containing the particles introducing the echoed question, no feature checking with C
- insertion of the particles into C: typing the echoed clause

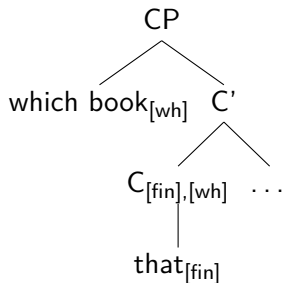
Echo questions

not true questions, closer to focus constructions (cf. Artstein 2002)
– interrogative interpretation locally (as in English, where there is no *wh*-movement in these cases: no [wh] feature on the head)

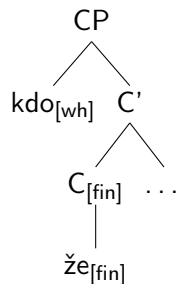
feature percolation: the features of the element in the specifier can percolate up – the clause can be taken by a predicate taking interrogative complements (e.g. *ask*), but no percolation downwards, hence echoed clause not affected

Structures for WH FIN sequence

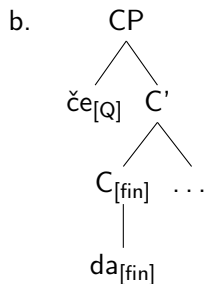
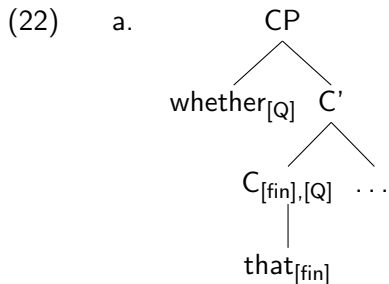
(21) a.



b.

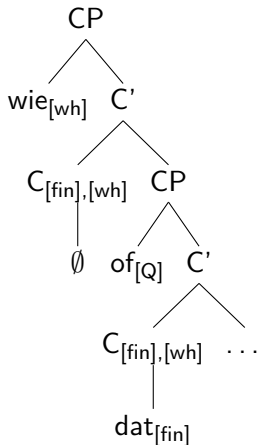


Structures for Q FIN sequence

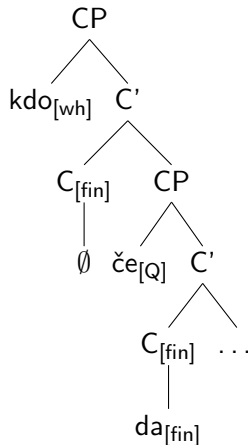


Structures for WH Q FIN sequence

(23) a.



b.



Conclusion

Doubly Filled COMP effects in Germanic and Slavic (Czech and Slovenian)

- Germanic: Doubly Filled COMP arises due to a requirement on filling a C head specified as [fin] – in line with the general properties of V2 and T-to-C; no interpretive difference from complementiser-less clauses
- Slavic: Doubly Filled COMP arises in echo questions – complementiser inserted to type the clause; interpretive difference from complementiser-less clauses

differences can be accounted for in a principled way

Thank you!

Danke!

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