

Clause typing, verb movement, and non-canonical matrix word orders

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Introduction

CP-layer of the clause:

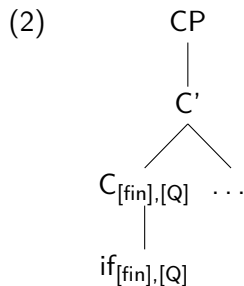
- responsible for clause typing – clausal Type in Cheng (1991) and Force in Chomsky (1995), Rizzi (1997, 283) – relating clause to a superordinate clause or to the discourse (see Rizzi 1997)
- responsible for encoding finiteness – Rizzi (1997, 283–285), following e.g. Holmberg & Platzack (1988); finiteness distinct from tense (\leftrightarrow Den Besten 1983), CP rather encodes whether there is tense at all (e.g. English *that* co-occurring with tensed verbs, *for* co-occurring with infinitives, see Chomsky & Lasnik 1977) – relating CP to its complement domain
- CPs can be iterated – minimal CP (Bacskai-Atkari 2015, Sobin 2002), as opposed to cartographic template of Rizzi (1997)

Complementisers

encoding clause type and finiteness in embedded clauses:

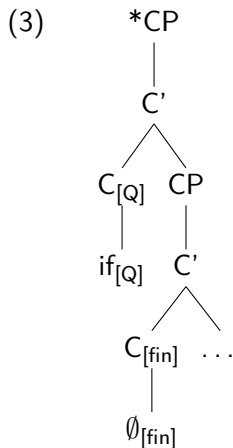
- (1) a. I know **that** Mary has arrived.
- b. I don't know **if** Mary has arrived.

Structure



Rejected cartographic structure

cf. Bacskai-Atkari (2016b):



Absence of overt complementiser

- (4)
- a. I know _ Mary has arrived.
 - b. I know who _ has arrived.
 - c. I don't know whether _ Mary has arrived.
 - d. _ Mary has arrived.
 - e. **Has** Mary arrived?
 - f. When **did** Mary arrive?

German V2

- (5) 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.'

Questions

- what are the conditions licensing an empty C head
- why verb movement takes place and how it is related to other ways of lexicalising the C head
- whether and to what extent movement/insertion to [Spec,CP] is related to the lexicalisation of the C head

Proposal

- regular West Germanic pattern: [fin] on C has to be lexicalised by an overt element (interface condition) – complementiser or verb movement
- zero complementiser: has to be licensed, cross-linguistic variation in its interpretability
- movement/insertion to [Spec,CP]: due to clause-typing features such as [wh] or [Q], insertion of anaphor or to [edge] feature, but: no overtness requirement
- filling of [Spec,CP] and C essentially independent → V1 and V3 matrix word orders possible

Embedded clauses

- (6)
- a. Peter says **that** she likes books.
 - b. Peter says she likes books.
 - c. **That** she likes books is surprising.
 - d. *She likes books is surprising.

German

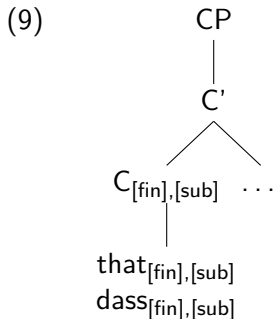
- (7) a. Peter sagt, **dass** sie Bücher mag.
Peter says that she books likes.
'Peter says that she likes books.'
- b. *Peter sagt, sie Bücher mag.
Peter says she books likes
'Peter says that she likes books.'
- c. Peter sagt, sie **mag** Bücher.
Peter says she likes books
'Peter says that she likes books.'

Differences among verbs

“bridging verbs” allowing V2, not others (see Featherston 2004 for a detailed analysis of the distinction):

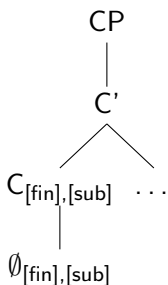
- (8) a. Peter bezweifelt, **dass** sie Bücher mag.
Peter doubts that she books likes.
'Peter doubts that she likes books.'
- b. *Peter bezweifelt, sie **mag** Bücher.
Peter doubts she likes books
'Peter doubts that she likes books.'

Structure for overt complementiser (English and German)

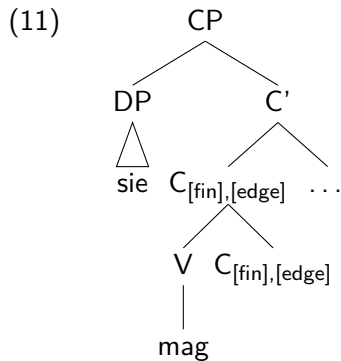


Zero complementiser in English

(10)



Structure for German



German V2

Fanselow (2009): movement to [Spec,CP]: due to an [edge] feature
– no direct relation between movement to [Spec,CP] and verb movement to C

standard analysis of V2 (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

selectional restrictions imposed by the matrix verb: whether the [edge] feature is allowed on the C head – distinction between proper complement clauses (canonical subordination) versus other dependent clauses

Variation

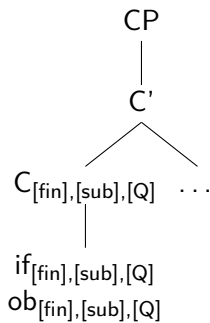
- (12) a. Peter schreit, **als wäre** er beim Zahnarzt.
Peter shouts as be.COND.3SG he at.the dentist
'Peter is shouting as if he were at the dentist's.
- b. Peter schreit, **als ob** er beim Zahnarzt wäre.
Peter shouts as if he at.the dentist be.COND.3SG
'Peter is shouting as if he were at the dentist's.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

Embedded polar questions

- (13) a. I wonder **if** Mary is coming.
- b. Ich frage mich, **ob** Maria kommt.
I ask.1SG me.ACC if Mary comes
'I wonder if Mary is coming.'

Structure

(14)



Embedded *wh*-questions

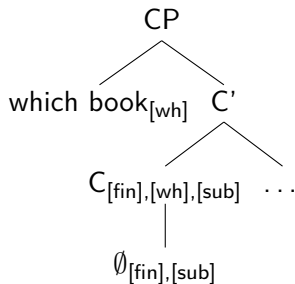
- (15) a. I wonder **which book (% that)** Mary likes.
- b. Ich frage mich, **welches Buch (% dass)** Maria
I ask.1SG me.ACC which.N book that Mary
mag.
likes.
'I wonder which book Mary likes.'

standard varieties: no complementiser inserted ↔ certain dialects
(see e.g. Weiß 2013, Bayer & Brandner 2008 for German)

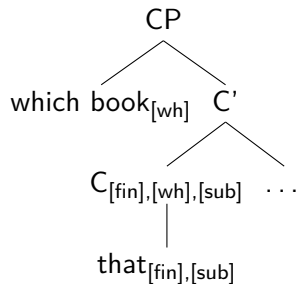
Bacskai-Atkari (2016a): substandard dialects showing Doubly
Filled COMP effects regular in lexicalising [fin] on C by an overt
element

Structures

(16) a.



b.



Cross-linguistic variation

difference between the dialects: lexical difference (*that* vs. zero)
but not in terms of the syntactic features: [wh] feature present
on the C head

zero subordinator not exceptional in English (see declaratives) but
[fin] regularly lexicalised by an overt element in interrogatives
(Bacskai-Atkari 2016a)

German: licensing of the zero subordinator restricted to embedded
constituent questions (Standard pattern)

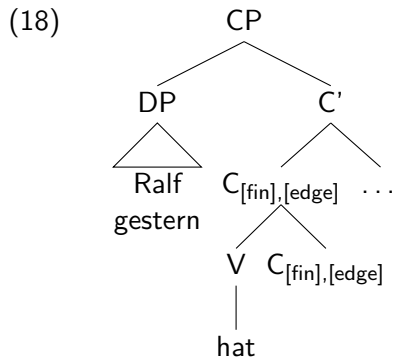
Doubly Filled COMP dialects in German: regular insertion of the
finite subordinator *dass*

Main clauses and V2

canonical order in German main clauses: V2

- (17) 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.'

Structure

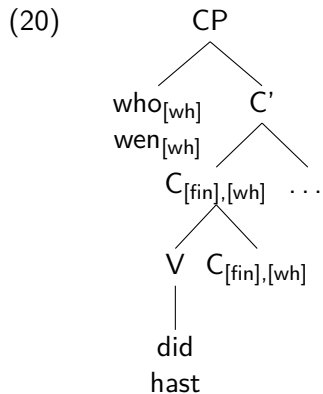


filling of [Spec,CP]: result of [edge] feature (Fanselow 2009)

Matrix constituent questions

- (19) a. **Who did** you invite?
- b. **Wen hast** du eingeladen?
who.ACC have.2SG you invited.PTCP
'Who did you invite?'

Structure



Non-canonical matrix word orders

surface V1 clauses in German – question: underlyingly V1 (no element in the [Spec,CP] position) or underlyingly V2

claim here: zero elements in V1 main clauses not unmotivated (↔ Zwart 2005)

Matrix polar questions

- (21) **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)

polar operator not entirely specific to interrogatives – disjunctive operators in conditionals, similarly to morphophonologically identical complementisers between the two clause types (cf. Bhatt & Pancheva 2006; Arsenijević 2009; Danckaert & Haegeman 2012)

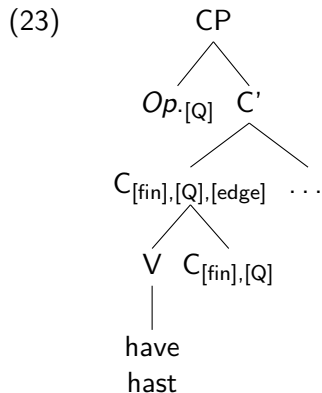
English

- (22)
- a. **Hwæðer wæs** iohannes fulluht þe of heofonum
whether was John's baptism that of heavens
þe of mannum
or of man
'Was the baptism of John done by heaven or by
man?' (*West Saxon Gospel*; Van Gelderen 2009, 141)

 - b. And the Lord seide to Caym, Where is Abel thi
brother? The which answeyde, I wote neuere;
whether am I the keper of my brother?
(Wycliffe Bible older version, Genesis 4.9)

 - c. **Whether did** he open the Basket?
(*The Tryal of Thomas Earl of Macclesfield*)

Structure



V1 conditionals

- (24) 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:

- (25) 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.'

Anaphors

- (26) 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

(27) 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.'

Anaphors

- (28) ***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.'

Word orders

V1 clauses examined here: underlyingly V2 – no overttness requirement on the element in the specifier (even if anaphors move via [edge] feature and not a clause-typing feature), no surface V2 requirement – restrictions on the specifier and lexicalising [fin] on C not tied together

further consequence: neither [edge] nor [fin] rules out V3 orders – Kiezdeutsch (Wiese 2009, 787):

- (29) Morgen ich geh Arbeitsamt.
tomorrow I go job.centre
'Tomorrow I will go to the job centre'

Conclusion

elements in C and their role in clause typing

- overt complementisers – canonical configuration, availability subject to licensing conditions (cases examined here: restricted to embedded/dependent clauses); [fin] lexicalised by an overt element regularly; no [edge] feature
- zero complementisers – cross-linguistic variation, available lexical items in certain languages (embedded and/or main clauses)
- verb movement – head adjunction, no complementiser in C – [fin] lexicalised by the verb adjoined to C; [edge] feature present to project the phrase, element in [Spec,CP] either overt (surface V2) or not (surface V1)

Thank you!

Danke!

Tack!

Acknowledgements

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