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

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Introduction

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

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

a given C head may be associated with various functions

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

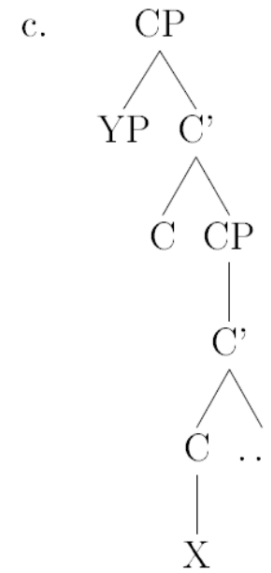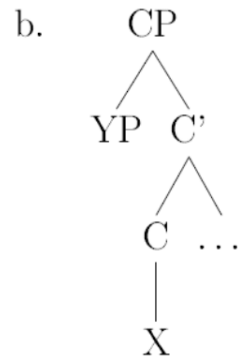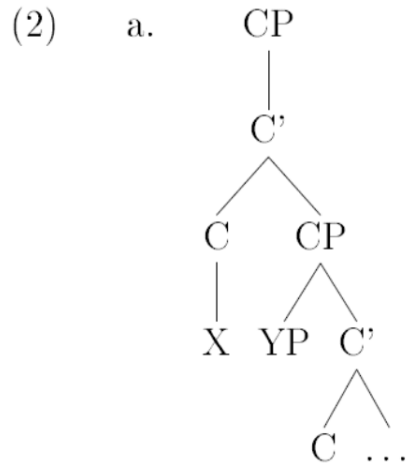→ collapse of CP layer in Rizzi (1997; 2004) — often just a single C-element

no multiple complementisers in Standard Italian

mechanism of collapse not quite clear — alternative: a minimal CP, see Sobin (2002)

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

(2)   a.   CP

       C'

   C   CP

   X   YP   C'

       C   …

b.   CP

   YP   C'

     C   …

     X

c.   CP

   YP   C'

    C   CP

      C'

    C   …

      X

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

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
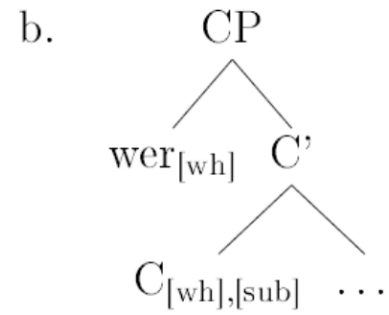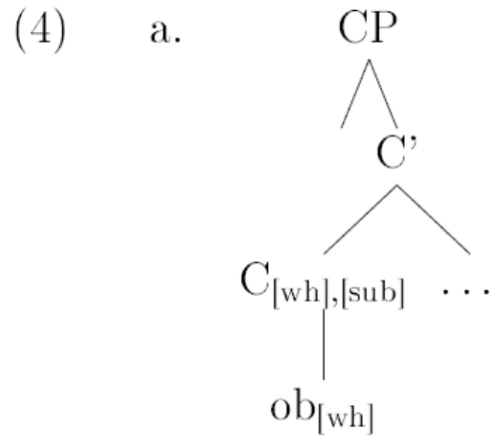
Feature checking

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)

Standard German

(3) a. Ich habe   keine   Ahnung,

    I   have.1SG no.ACC idea

    ob Ralf   die   Käse   gegessen hat.

    if   Ralph the.F.ACC cheese eaten   has

    'I have no idea if Ralph has eaten the cheese.'

    b. Ich habe   keine   Ahnung,

    I   have.1SG no.ACC idea

    wer die   Käse   gegessen hat.

    who the.F.ACC cheese eaten   has

    'I have no idea who has eaten the cheese.'

Structures

(4)　　a.

$$\text{CP}$$
$$\text{C'}$$
$$\text{C}_{[\text{wh}],[\text{sub}]} \quad \cdots$$
$$\text{ob}_{[\text{wh}]}$$

b.

$$\text{CP}$$
$$\text{wer}_{[\text{wh}]} \quad \text{C'}$$
$$\text{C}_{[\text{wh}],[\text{sub}]} \quad \cdots$$
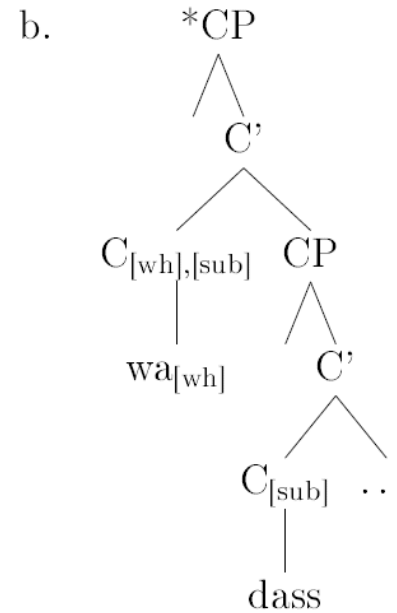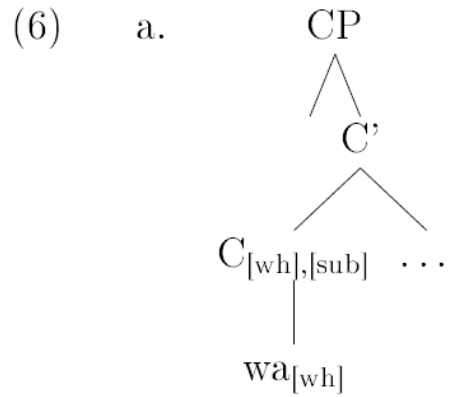
Doubly Filled COMP effects in Bavarian and Alemannic

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)

- 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

- head-sized *wh*-phrases show the effect if they are contrastively focussed and can be interpreted only as operators in a specifier
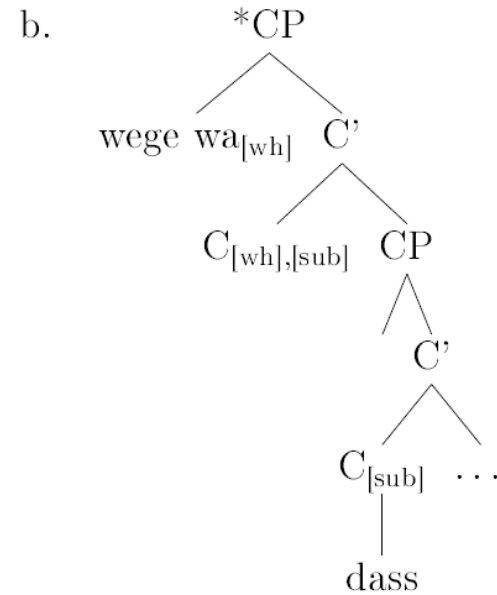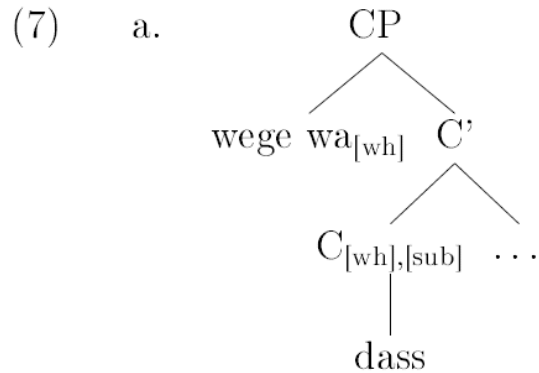
Examples from Alemannic

(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.'

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.'

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.'

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.'

Structures with *wh*-heads

(6) a.

CP
└ C'
  ├ C$_{[wh],[sub]}$ $\cdots$
  └ wa$_{[wh]}$

b.

*CP
└ C'
  ├ C$_{[wh],[sub]}$
  │ └ wa$_{[wh]}$
  └ CP
    └ C'
      ├ C$_{[sub]}$ $\cdots$
      └ dass

Doubly Filled pattern structures

(7)   a.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\diagup\ \diagdown \\
\text{wege wa}_{[wh]} \quad \text{C'} \\
\diagup\ \diagdown \\
\text{C}_{[wh],[sub]} \quad \cdots \\
| \\
\text{dass}
\end{array}
$$

b.

$$
\begin{array}{c}
*\text{CP} \\
\diagup\ \diagdown \\
\text{wege wa}_{[wh]} \quad \text{C'} \\
\diagup\ \diagdown \\
\text{C}_{[wh],[sub]} \quad \text{CP} \\
\diagdown \\
\text{C'} \\
\diagup\ \diagdown \\
\text{C}_{[sub]} \quad \cdots \\
| \\
\text{dass}
\end{array}
$$

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

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)
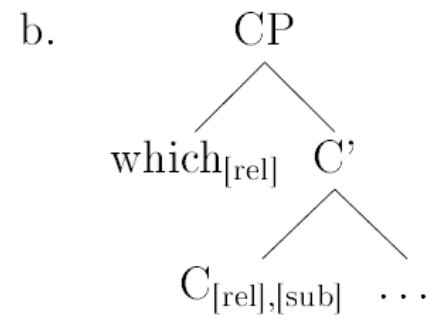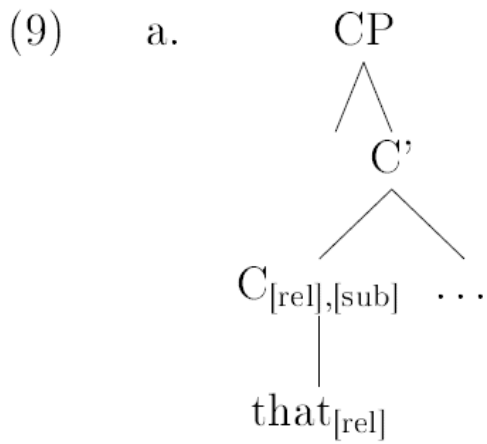
Movement

[rel] comes with [EDGE] — no relative in situ (cf. Bacskai-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

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

(9)   a.

$$CP$$
$$C'$$
$$C_{[rel],[sub]} \quad \ldots$$
$$that_{[rel]}$$

b.

$$CP$$
$$which_{[rel]} \quad C'$$
$$C_{[rel],[sub]} \quad \ldots$$

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

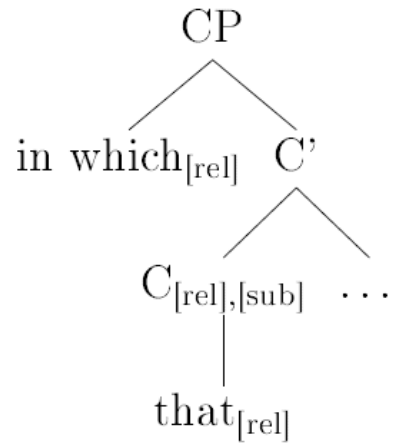'The man who is standing by the window is turning around slowly.'

Doubly Filled COMP pattern in English
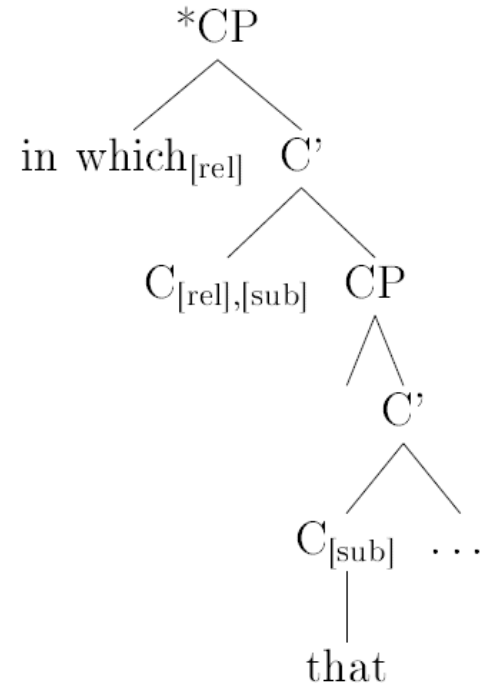
Van Gelderen (2013: 59, ex. 85b):

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

Structures

(12)   a.

   b.

South German

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)

Examples for *wo* as a relative complementiser

(13) a. ...   dea Mo   **(dea)**   **wo** seine Schu   verlora   hot

the   man   PRON.DEM PRT his   shoes   lost   has

'the man who has lost his shoes'
(Bavarian/Alemannic; Brandner & Bräuning 2013: 132)

b.   Ich winsch, dass ich   mehr   Leude   kennen däd,

I   wish   that I   more   people know   did

wo Deutsch sprechen kenn.

REL   German speak   can

'I wish that I knew more people who can speak German.'
(Texas German; Boas et al. 2014: 590)

Doubling with *wo*

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 [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)

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

Embedded degree clauses

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 and comparative subclauses

(14) a. Ralph is as tall **as** Peter is.

   b. Ralph is taller **than** Peter is.

Negative polarity

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≠d', either d>d' or d<d')

embedded degree clause: typically a relative clause (cf. Chomsky 1977)

Dialectal variation

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
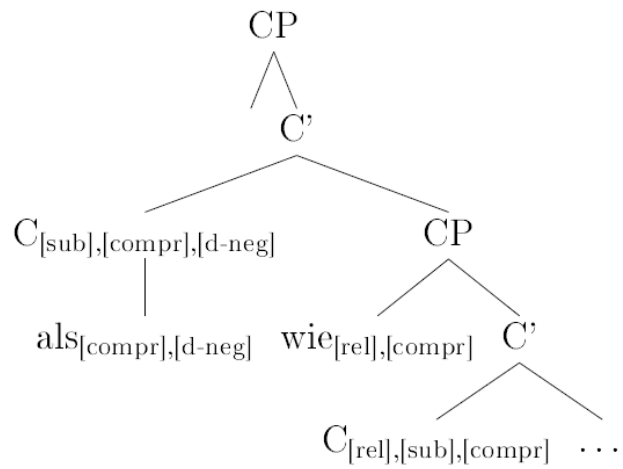   'Romy is taller than Peter.'

Combination *als wie*

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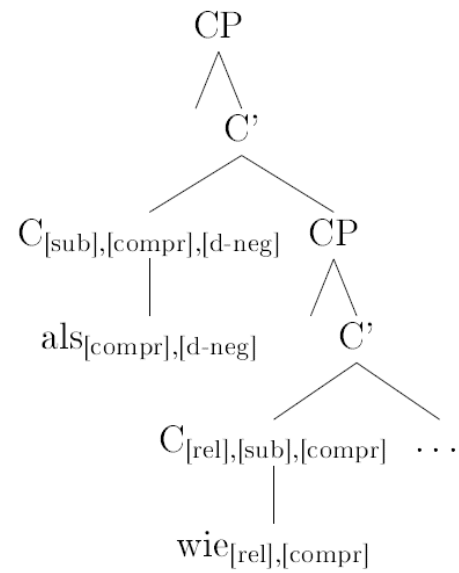
structure: either ConjP+CP (as in Jäger 2010), or two CPs (Bacskai-Atkari 2014a;b)

Structures

(17)   a.

b.

Double CP

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. Bacskai-Atkari 2015)

incompatibility of head encoding ¬d and operator encoding d' in the same CP

→ comparatives display a split CP

Double CP in equatives

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]
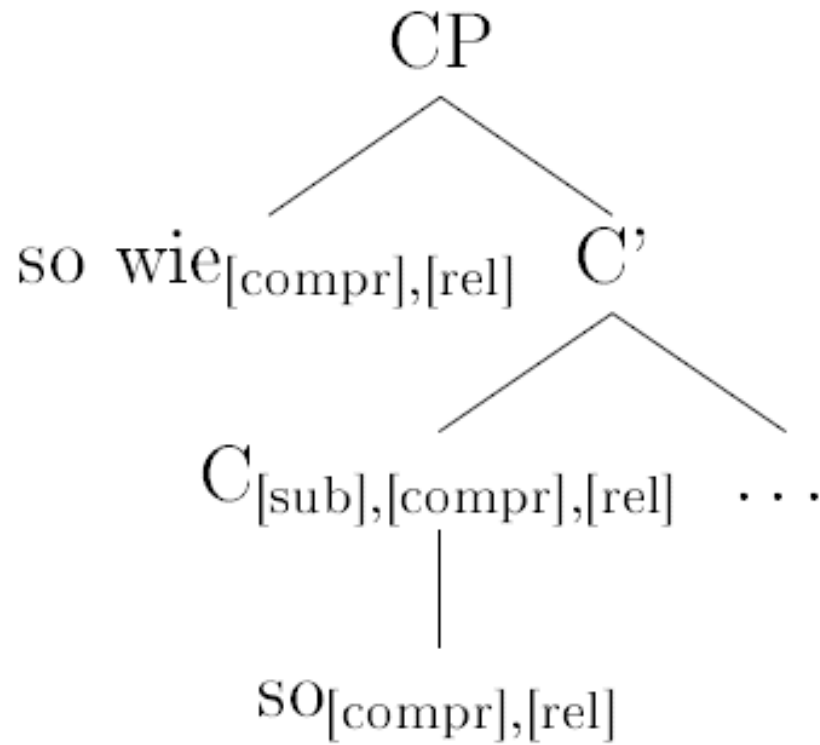
Old High German

- *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)

- *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)

Example

(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 Schrodt 2004)

Structure

(19)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{so wie}_{[compr],[rel]} \quad \text{C'} \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
\text{C}_{[sub],[compr],[rel]} \quad \cdots \\
| \\
\text{so}_{[compr],[rel]}
\end{array}
$$

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

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)

Acknowledgements

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