1 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.

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) and (1b)

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.

similar patterns attested across Germanic

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

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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

2 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 in English:

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

structures:

(4) a. \[
    \text{CP} \quad \text{CP}
    \quad \text{which book}_{[\text{wh}]} \quad \text{Op}_{[\text{Q}]}
    \quad \text{C'} \quad \text{C'}
    \quad \text{C}_{[\text{fin}], [\text{wh}]} \quad \text{C}_{[\text{fin}], [\text{Q}]}
    \quad \text{...} \quad \text{...}
    \quad \text{V} \quad \text{V}
    \quad \text{C} \quad \text{C}
    \quad \text{did} \quad \text{did}
\]


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 in English:

(5)  
  a. I don’t know which book (that) she bought.  
  b. I don’t know if she bought a book.

structures:

(6)  
  a. \[
      \begin{array}{c}
        \text{CP} \\
        \text{which book} \{[\text{wh}]\} \text{C’} \\
        \text{C} \{[\text{n}], [\text{wh}]\} \cdots \\
        (\text{that})
      \end{array}
  \]
  b. \[
      \begin{array}{c}
        \text{CP} \\
        \text{\(O_p\)} \{[\text{Q}]\} \text{C’} \\
        \text{C} \{[\text{n}], [\text{Q}]\} \cdots \\
        \text{if}
      \end{array}
  \]

lexicalisation:

- verb movement – head adjunction – (4)
- insertion of an interrogative complementiser – (6b)
- insertion of the regular finite subordinator, if [\text{wh}] is checked off by an overt complementiser: in 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 \text{wh}-element, [\text{Q}] a subset of [\text{wh}]

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

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

(7)  
  a. \textbf{Whether did} he open the Basket?  
      (\textit{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 \textit{wot not} whether that I may come with him or not.  
      ‘I do not know whether I may come with him or not.’ (\textit{Paston Letters XXXI})

again: no interpretive difference between version with \textit{that} and version without \textit{that}

separation of [\text{wh}] and [\text{Q}] elements: 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)

again, no interpretive difference – clauses with **wie dat** ‘who that’ and **wie** ‘who’ have the same interpretation

structure:

(9) CP
    wie[wh] C'
    C[fin],[wh],[sub] CP
    ∅ of[Q] C'
    C[fin],[sub],[wh] ...
    dat[fin],[sub]

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

3 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.’

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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.’

sentence in (11a) an appropriate reaction to a statement such as “Peter 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.’

insertion of že ‘that’ impossible:

(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’

wh-elements may appear in polar questions (echo):

(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.’

sentence in (14a) an appropriate reaction to a question such as “Did Peter arrive?”
insertion of Že ‘that’ again impossible:

(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/questions embedded pragmatically (↔ Germanic)
- clause type defined by the complementiser, not by the wh-element (↔ Germanic)

4 Slovenian

constituent questions:\n
(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)


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insertion of *da* ‘that’ possible – 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)

sentence in (17a) an appropriate reaction to a statement such as “*Peter is coming*”

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)

insertion of *da* ‘that’ possible – 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)

sentence in (19a) an appropriate reaction to a statement such as “*he is coming*”

*da* and *a/če* not in complementary distribution → *a/če* not C; they are rather operators in [Spec,CP], similarly to English *whether*
wh-elements may appear in polar questions (echo; dialectal):

(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)

sentence in (20a) an appropriate reaction to a question such as “Is Peter coming?”, sentence in (20b) an appropriate reaction to a question such as “Is Peter said to be coming?”

in (20), the Q-element is če and not a, as opposed to ordinary main clause interrogatives – difference from proper questions encoded morphosyntactically

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)

5 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. CP
     \[ \text{which book}_{[wh]} \ C' \]
     \[ C_{[\text{fin}],[wh]} \ldots \]
     \[ \text{that}_{[\text{fin}]} \]

  b. CP
     \[ \text{kdo}_{[wh]} \ C' \]
     \[ C_{[\text{fin}]} \ldots \]
     \[ \text{że}_{[\text{fin}]} \]
structures for Q FIN sequence:

(22) a. CP
    \[ \text{whether}_\{Q\} \quad C' \]
    \[ C_{\text{fin}},_{\{Q\}} \quad \ldots \]
    that\_{\text{fin}}

b. CP
    \[ \text{če}_\{Q\} \quad C' \]
    \[ C_{\text{fin}} \quad \ldots \]
    da\_{\text{fin}}

structures for WH Q FIN sequence:

(23) a. CP
    \[ \text{wie}_\{wh\} \quad C' \]
    \[ C_{\text{fin}},_{\{wh\}} \quad \text{CP} \]
    \[ \emptyset \quad \text{of}_\{Q\} \quad C' \]
    \[ C_{\text{fin}},_{\{wh\}} \quad \ldots \]
    dat\_{\text{fin}}

b. CP
    \[ \text{kdo}_\{wh\} \quad C' \]
    \[ C_{\text{fin}} \quad \text{CP} \]
    \[ \emptyset \quad \text{če}_\{Q\} \quad C' \]
    \[ C_{\text{fin}} \quad \ldots \]
    da\_{\text{fin}}

differences between Germanic and Slavic go back to differences in the requirement of lexicalising [fin]

6 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
References


