A feature-based approach to Doubly Filled Comp effects

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The Problem

Standard English and German: no overt C with an overt interrogative or relative operator

- embedded interrogatives:
  1. I don't know who (*that) has arrived.
- relative clauses:
  2. This is the city in which (*that) I live.

Traditional idea: Doubly Filled Comp Filter (see Koopman 2000) – prohibiting lexical material in both the specifier and the head of the same XP projection

But: Doubly Filled Comp Filter is not obeyed in main clauses (T-to-C movement in interrogatives, V2 in German) and there are language-specificities with Doubly Filled Comp in embedded clauses

Doubly Filled Comp in non-standard English:

a. They discussed a certain model, but they didn’t know which model that they discussed.
   (Bailin 2010: 331, ex. 1)
   b. It’s down to the community in which that the people live.
   (Van Gelderen 2013: 59, ex. 8)

Proposal: Doubly Filled Comp indeed involves a single CP – there is no Doubly Filled Comp Filter; differences between (1)(2) versus (3) can be explained by feature encoding, no need to postulate further functional projections

Doubly Filled Comp with a Single CP

Both the C and the [Spec,CP] filled:

(4) CP
   in which C
   that

Question: why doubling occurs

Evidence from German: C in interrogatives mere subordinator, in relative clauses a relative C

The Cartographic Approach

Core idea: representation in (4) violates the DFCF, but an alternative analysis is possible with multiple CPs, where each CP has a distinct function (e.g. Bailin 2010)

Cartographic approach: CP-hermaphrodite consists of designated CP-projections (see Rizzi 1997)

Structure:

(5) CP
   in which C
   that

Doubly Filled Comp Effects in Embedded Interrogatives in German

Doubling of wh-element and dass: attested in dialects such as Bavarian and Alemannic

(6) I bog-m, fi wos dass-ma an zwanz wern Schehr braucht. I ask-er, for what that-one a second TV needs
   ‘I wonder what one needs a second TV for.’ (Bavarian; Bayer and Brandner 2008: 88, ex. 3)

Complementiser: dass ‘that’ – general finite subordinator, not [wh]

Variation: depending on the wh-element (Bayer and Brandner 2008)

- visibly phrase-sized wh-element: always occurs together with dass
- head-sized wh-element (e.g. wer *wer, nuns, was *what): without dass (inter-speaker variation whether dass is obligatorily absent or there is optionally)

Problems for representation in (5):

- combination of designated [wh] CP and designated finiteness CP: cannot explain variation with wh-elements (selectional restrictions on lower C should not be defined by the specifier of the higher CP)
- if iterative CPs (no designated functional split): operator should move to the lowest specifier, (5) violates the Minimal Link Condition (see Fanselow 1999, 1991; Chomsky 1995)

Doubly Filled Comp Effects in Relative Clauses in German

Doubling of relative operator and wo: attested in South German (Bavarian, Alemannic)

(7) … dea Mo (dea) wo seine Schu velorha hot the man Pron.DeN PT-3 his shoes lost has
   ‘the man who has lost his shoes’ (Brandner and Brüning 2013: 132, ex. 2)

Complementiser: wo – general relative complementiser in South German, not mere subordinator (+ dass)

Relative clauses in South German: regular pattern with wo (Brandner and Brüning 2013)

- wo relativizes at types of head nouns (see also Brandner 2008, Fleischer 2004)
- doubling with a demonstrative-based relative operator (cf. Weise 1917): Doubly Filled Comp effect
- no relative operators genuinely in these dialects: visible operators borrowing from Standard German can lexicalise the operator function (cover operator present anyway)

Problems for representation in (5):

- combination of designated [rel] CP and designated finiteness CP cannot hold: wo is itself [rel] → idea of designated layers (as in embedded interrogatives) cannot be maintained across constructions
- if iterative CPs (no designated functional split): operator should move to the lowest specifier, (5) violates the Minimal Link Condition

A Feature-based Analysis

Proposal: the C head position has to be filled in the given dialects if carrying [wh] or [rel] feature

- embedded interrogatives: similar to main clause questions (T-to-C in English, V2 in German)
- relative clauses: default pattern with head (wo or that) but visible operator may be lexicalised in addition – wh-based relative pronouns an innovation along that in Middle English as well (Van Gelderen 2009), hence additions to overt C, similarly to demonstrative-based relative operators in South German as borrowings

Structures for German:

(8) a. CP
   für was C
   dass
   ...
   that

b. CP
   def C
   wo C
   dass
   ...
   that

c. CP
   CP
   dass
   ...
   that

- no real doubling in interrogatives like (8a) – only the operator carries the clause-tying feature (insertion of a [wh] complementiser would check off the feature and block further movement)
- real doubling in relative clauses like (8b) – [rel] complementiser inserted by default, but this does not block operator movement, which has to take place due to semantics (no relative-in-situ, cf. Bacskai-Atkari 2014)
- no doubling if the head-sized wh-element moves to the C head (see Bayer and Brandner 2008)

Conclusions

Doubly Filled Comp Effects: truly instances of filling both [Spec,CP] and C head, yet not necessarily doubling semantically

Overtness: certain clause-tying features must be realised overtly

[wh] must be realised morphophonologically in embedded clauses (no distinctive intonation) → in embedded wh-questions, the operator is necessarily overt

[rel] will be realised overtly (unless the language has a zero relative implementer, but restrictions hold on this) as the relation to the matrix clause must be recoverable – either the operator or the C is necessarily overt

In certain non-standard Germanic dialects: the embedded C head must be filled, similarly to matrix V2 or To-C movement

→ absence of Doubly Filled Comp in the standard varieties: no requirement on filling the head, hence the presence of an overt operator blocks the insertion of an overt complementiser (economy)

→ Doubly Filled pattern in South German embedded wh-questions: wh-element overt anyway, and C head has to be filled by an underspecified complementiser (unless the wh-word occupies the C head position)

→ Doubly Filled pattern in South German relative clauses: C head filled by wo anyway, and the operator may be lexicalised (no deletion mechanism applying to either element)

Feature encoding: a single clause-tying feature has to be checked off and overtly encoded in either case, no need to overtly encode finite subordination in itself

→ a single CP is generated (minimal structure)

References