Clause typing in main clauses and V1 conditionals in Germanic

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Introduction

canonical order in German main clauses: V2

(1)  
  a. Ralf **hat** gestern eine **a.F.ACC** Torte gebacken.  
      Ralph has yesterday a.F.ACC cake baked.PTCP  
      ‘Ralph baked a cake yesterday.’  

  b. Gestern **hat** Ralf eine **a.F.ACC** Torte gebacken.  
      yesterday has Ralph a.F.ACC cake baked.PTCP  
      ‘Ralph baked a cake yesterday.’  

standard analysis (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
Structure

(2) CP
   Ralf/gestern C'
   C …
   V C
   hat

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Question

question: whether main clauses always have a V2 pattern

surface V2 not always possible – e.g. main clause polar interrogatives:

(3) **Hast** du Peter gesehen?
    have.2SG you Peter seen
    ‘Have you seen Peter?’
Theoretical possibilities

- V1 clauses are underlyingly V1, no general requirement to fill the [Spec,CP] position
- V1 clauses are underlyingly V2, the [Spec,CP] position is filled by phonologically empty material $\leftrightarrow$ Zwart (2005)
V1 conditionals

(4) Ist die Entscheidung gefallen, gilt sie für alle.

‘Once the decision has been taken, it applies to all.’
Further question

position of the subordinate clause

- in the [Spec,CP] of the main clause – possibly preserving V2
- not in the [Spec,CP] of the main clause – relation of the clauses remains a question, as well as whether there is an element in the [Spec,CP] of the main clause
Proposal

- surface V1 clauses have empty operators/anaphors in their specifiers – semantically motivated
- surface V2 a result of two independent requirements – Fanselow (2009)
- conditionals: empty anaphor in the main clause [Spec,CP] – paratactic configuration
- specificity (and, in some cases, markedness) of V1 clauses follows from the licensing conditions on zero elements, not from the lack of surface V2
Features and V2

Fanselow (2009, 108–109): maintaining a strong surface V2 analysis would mean that whenever there is a verb moving to C, the specifier of that CP needs to be filled by overt material – would suppose an intrinsic relation between verb movement and movement to [Spec,CP]

problem: surface V1 main clauses attested – no overt XP in [Spec,CP]

Fanselow (2009): no direct relation between movement to [Spec,CP] and verb movement to C

→ movement to [Spec,CP]: due to an [edge] feature
Question

whether the [edge] feature is absent in V1 main clauses

- if so: why – nothing should be located in [Spec,CP], not even zero elements
- if not: what is located in [Spec,CP] and what the [edge] feature actually means
V1 interrogatives

(5) **Hast** du Peter gesehen?

have.2sg you Peter seen

‘Have you seen Peter?’
Polar operators

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)

note: polar operator not entirely specific to interrogative contexts – disjunctive operators (but not *wh*-type polar operators, e.g. *whether*) in conditionals, similarly to morphophonologically identical complementisers between the two clause types (cf. Bhatt & Pancheva 2006; Arsenijević 2009; Danckaert & Haegeman 2012)
English

(6)  

a. **Hwæðer wæs** iohannes fulluht þe of heofonum þe whether was John’s baptism that of heavens or of man

‘Was the baptism of John done by heaven or by man?’  
(*West Saxon Gospel*)  
(Van Gelderen 2009, 141, ex. 15)

b. **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)
Structure

(7) CP
    \[\begin{array}{c}
    Op. \quad C' \\
    C \quad \ldots \\
    V \quad C \\
    hat
    \end{array}\]
V1 conditionals

(8) 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:

(9) Ist die Entscheidung gefallen, dann / so gilt sie für alle.
    is the.F decision fallen then so applies she for all
    ‘Once the decision has been taken, it applies to all.’
Order

(10) a. *∅/So/Dann gilt die Entscheidung für alle, ist sie gefallen.
‘The decision applies to all once it has been taken.’

b. *∅/So/Dann gilt die Entscheidung für alle, wenn sie gefallen ist.
‘The decision applies to all once it has been taken.’
V1 declaratives

(11) 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.’

clause in (11) cannot be uttered without an appropriate antecedent
    – not possible out of the blue:

(12) *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.’
So... 

zero elements in V1 main clauses not unmotivated (↔ Zwart 2005)
[edge] feature

not tied to the overtness of the XP in [Spec,CP] but zero elements are restricted in their availability

possible ways of satisfying the [edge] feature (hierarchy):

- clause-typing operators
- anaphoric elements
- other XPs
Verb movement to C

general requirement on lexicalising a [fin] feature on C in Germanic – resulting in V2, English T-to-C movement, Doubly Filled COMP patterns (Bacskai-Atkari 2016a,b)

lexicalisation by verb movement or inserted complementiser: depends largely on requirements from the matrix clause (e.g. matrix predicate selecting the subclause) – some cases allow variation showing that verb movement is essentially on a par with complementiser-insertion w.r.t. lexicalising [fin] on C
Variation

(13) 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.
So... features [edge] and [fin] operate differently

- V2 not a result of a requirement on surface V2
- surface V1 clauses are possible
- neither [edge] nor [fin] rules out V3 orders
Conditionals

status of dependent clause in conditionals – in [Spec,CP] of the main clause or parataxis (and hence no true subordination)

(14) Ist die Entscheidung gefallen, gilt sie für alle.

‘Once the decision has been taken, it applies to all.’

Axel & Wöllstein (2009): dependent clause not in [Spec,CP] of the main clause
Anaphors

availability of dann/so shows that the [Spec,CP] is not empty, at least a zero operator is there:

(15) Ist die Entscheidung gefallen, dann / so gilt sie für alle.

‘Once the decision has been taken, it applies to all.’

→ parataxis analysis preferable
Hilpert (2010): (15) derives from a main clause question + a declarative:

(16) Ist die Entscheidung gefallen? Dann / So gilt sie für alle. ‘Has the decision been taken? Then it applies to all.’
Ordering restrictions

(17) a. *∅/So/Dann gilt die Entscheidung für alle, ist sie gefallen.
     ∅/so/then applies the.F decision for all is she fallen.
     ‘The decision applies to all once it has been taken.’

     b. *∅/So/Dann gilt die Entscheidung für alle, wenn sie gefallen ist.
     ∅/so/then applies the.F decision for all when she fallen is
     ‘The decision applies to all once it has been taken.’
Main clause without an anaphor

(18) Die Entscheidung gilt für alle, wenn sie gefallen ist.

‘The decision applies to all once it has been taken.’
Ordinary conditionals

(19) a. Wenn ich ihn finde, (dann) **rufe ich dich**
if I he.ACC find.1SG then call.1SG I you.ACC
an.
to
‘If I find him, I will call you.’

b. **Ich rufe dich an, wenn ich ihn finde.**
I call.1SG you.ACC to if I he.ACC find.1SG
‘I will call you if I find him.’
Rules of parataxis in conditionals

- main clause may precede or follow the dependent clause
- dependent clause not subordinated, dependence expressed by overt or covert conditional operator and/or by matrix anaphor
- conditional operator always present in the dependent clause – clause type can always be marked with *wenn*
- V1 conditional (dependent) clause: no overt marking of clause type, parataxis can only be marked via the matrix anaphor → such conditional clauses always precede the matrix clause
- matrix anaphor possible only if matrix clause the second clause, but anaphor itself does not have to be overt – presence of anaphor is recoverable from surface V1 word order
- markedness of (15): requires a particular arrangement (recoverable conditional operator and recoverable anaphor on the basis of V1 word order), zero elements have to be licensed
Conclusion

non-canonical V1 order in main clauses in German (and Germanic)

- surface V1 orders demonstrate verb movement to C and a zero operator/anaphor in the specifier (must be recoverable)
- filling of [Spec,CP]: result of [edge] feature, which does not impose an overtness requirement
- verb movement to C: more general requirement on lexicalising [fin] on C – this is an overtness requirement
- V1 conditionals: paratactic construction, requirements dependent on recoverability conditions and general rules concerning the placement of anaphors

V1 main clauses are licensed if the zero operator/anaphor is pragmatically felicitous and semantically recoverable – verb movement triggered independently
Thank you!

Danke!
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References II


References


References IV


References V


