

About the syntactic integration of root-like adverbial clauses in German

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Standard assumptions (for German)

- (1) i. Among the clauses of a **complex sentence** two types of relations can be differentiated: subordination and equality of rank (e.g. Duden 2006: 1027).
ii. **Complementisers** indicate subordination (e.g. Duden 2006: 1077), **final position of the verb** indicates subordination.
- (2) i. The **prefield of a verb-second clause** (V2-clause) is filled by movement of an IP-internally generated element (possible exception: expletive *es*).
ii. The prefield is reserved for phrases **fully integrated** into the clause (e.g. König & van der Auwera 1988).

Problematic for (1i,ii) (cannot be questioned, pronominalised or permuted, no c-command into them):

- (3) a. Eva gewann die Schachpartie, was Oskar ärgerte. (continuous rel.clause)
Eva won the chess-match which Oskar annoyed
b. Er ist verrückt, dass er ihr jetzt nachreist. (free *dass*-clause)
he is crazy that he her now follows
'He is crazy to follow her now.'

The following ungrammatical examples, less discussed in the German literature, obviously constitute further problematic cases for (1):

Scope of sentence negation (cf., e.g., Brandt 1990, Haegeman 2004)

- (4) a. *Peter wird nicht kommen, obwohl er arbeiten muss, sondern obwohl er schlafen sollte.
Peter will not come although he work must but although he sleep should
b. Peter wird nicht kommen, sobald er kann, sondern sobald es Clara erlaubt.
Peter will not come as-soon-as he can but as-soon-as it Clara allows

Scope of question formation (Brandt 1990, Haegeman 2004)

- (5) a. *Ist Eva für Physik begabt, während Karl nur an Sprachen interessiert ist?
is Eva for physics gifted while Karl only in languages interested is
b. *Geht Peter nach Hause, da er müde ist?
goes Peter home because he tired is
c. Geht Peter nach Hause, weil (*because*) er müde ist?

Possibility of a correlate

- (6) a. *Maria ist deshalb gegangen, da Max kam.
Mary has COR gone because Max came
b. Maria ist deshalb gegangen, weil Max kam.

Binding

- (7) a. *Jede Kollegin₁ ist am Sonntag, während sie₁ sonst bei schönem
every colleague has on Sunday while she otherwise in nice
Wetter einen Ausflug macht, am Institut gewesen.
weather an excursion makes at-(the) institute been
b. *Kein Kollege₁ wirkt erholt, obwohl er₁ lange im Urlaub war.
no colleague appears recovered although he long on holiday was
c. Keiner₁ hat protestiert, als er₁ unterbrochen wurde.
nobody has protested when he interrupted was

Carrying the nuclear stress of the complex construction

- (8) Was hat Maria gesagt?
'What did Mary say?'
a. #Peter ist heute in Berlin, während er morgen nach PARIS reist.
Peter is today in Berlin while he tomorrow to Paris travels
b. Paul wird in Berlin sein während Paula in PARIS ist.
Paul will in Berlin be while Paula in Paris is

The *-examples in (4)-(8) contain **peripheral adverbial clauses** (PACs), the grammatical ones contain **central adverbial clauses** (CACs) (Haegeman 2004).

- ▶ PACs exhibit clear signs of (syntactic) non-integration.
- ▶ It is claimed that they are not embedded but are merged after the associated CP has been completed. The resulting structure is said to be close to that of co-ordination (e.g. Haegeman 2004).
- ▶ However, this contradicts (2ii): PACs may occupy the prefield of a German V2-clause.

- (9) a. Während Eva für Physik begabt ist, ist Karl nur an Sprachen interessiert.
b. Obwohl Eva lange im Urlaub war, wirkt sie nicht erholt.

Further properties distinguishing PACs and CACs

- Semantically, PACs do not specify eventualities; they are not restrictive.

- (10) a. Da die Heizungsrohre geplatzt sind, hat es Frost gegeben. (Pasch 1989)
because the heating-tubes burst have has EXPL frost been
b. *Weil die Heizungsrohre geplatzt sind, hat es Frost gegeben.

- Restriction to root contexts

- (11) a. Max meint, dass Eva Fußball liebt, während Paul für Opern schwärmt.
Max thinks that Eva soccer loves while Paul about operas is-crazy
 b. *Max bestreitet (*denies*), dass Eva Fußball liebt, während Paul für Opern schwärmt.
 c. Paul glaubt, dass Otto kommt, da er Geld braucht.
Paul thinks that Otto comes since he money needs
 d. *Paul bedauert (*regrets*), dass Otto kommt, da er Geld braucht.
 e. Paul bedauert, dass Otto kommt, weil er Geld braucht.
 f. Max bestreitet, dass Maria wegfährt, während Paul krank ist. (temp.)
Max denies that Maria goes-away-on-a-trip while Paul ill is

- PACs may host modal particles (MPs) (Coniglio 2009)

- (12) a. Gestern ist sie den ganzen Tag zu Hause geblieben, während sie doch sonst
yesterday has she the whole day at home stayed while she MP otherwise
 bei schönem Wetter meistens einen Ausflug macht. (Thurmair 1989:78)
in nice weather mostly an excursion makes
 b. Er hat die Prüfung nicht bestanden, trotzdem er ja recht intelligent ist.
he has the exam not passed nevertheless he MP quite intelligent is
 c. *Als Maria ja in Wien lebte, ging sie oft in die Staatsoper.
when Maria MP in Wien lived went she often to the State-Opera-House

Jacobs (1986), Thurmair (1989), Coniglio (2009): MPs modify the illocution of the clause (e.g.: strengthening (*JA*), weakening (*mal*) of an order, indication of a contradiction (*doch*), of making salient part of the common ground (*ja*), or of the speaker's reduced capability to justify his assertion (*wohl*)).

MPs are only possible in root-contexts (Coniglio 2009)

- (13) a. Maria fiel ein, dass Hans (ja) längst hier sein müsste.
to-Maria occurred that Hans MP long-ago here be should
 b. Er leugnete, dass er die Zeugin (*ja) unter Druck gesetzt habe.
he denied that he the witness MP under pressure put have-SUBJ
 (Thurmair 1989: 109)

Standard syntactic representation of illocutional potential of a clause: Force-projection (e.g. Bayer 2001, Haegeman 2004, Coniglio 2009, Bayer to appear).

Thus, main clause phenomena are said to depend on the presence of Force.

► Haegeman (2004): PACs contain a Force-projection, CACs do not.

Haegeman (2002, 2004)

► A phrase with illocutional potential has to be anchored to the speaker or, in case of a subcategorised root-like clause, to a potential speaker.

→ A PAC is directly anchored to the speaker.

(14) **Thesis**

There is a third way to satisfy the demand for the anchoring of a Force projection: by being locally licensed by a Force projection which is anchored.

PACs: their Force projection is not directly but indirectly anchored to a (potential) speaker.

Hence

(15) **Root (-like) clauses**

- i. an unembedded clause C (C's Force is directly anchored to the speaker)
- ii. a clause C licensed by a root-context inducing predicate (C's Force is anchored to a potential speaker)
- iii. a clause C which is licensed by Force of its matrix clause (C's Force is indirectly anchored to a (potential) speaker)

(16) **A further option to fill the prefield of a V2-clause S**

By base generation of an XP with an illocutional potential (i.e. an XP containing a Force projection) in SpecForce of S.

A constituent licensed by Force is base-generated in SpecForce or is a Force-parenthesis, i.e. in syntax, it is right-adjoined to ForceP and may be positioned in appropriate parenthetical niches.

PACs

(i) restricted to root contexts

Force of PAC has to be locally licensed by a Force head. This licenser has to occur in a root-context.

CACs do not have Force; they are not restricted to Force-licensing environments.

(ii) cannot be in the c-command of a constituent in the superordinated clause (outside the scope of negation, no binding); cannot have a correlate; cannot carry the nuclear stress of the whole construction

(iii) cannot be questioned

(17) Warum bleibt Hans zu Hause?

‘Why is Hans staying at home?’

- a. Weil seine Frau krank ist.
because his wife ill is

- b. *Da seine Frau krank ist.

Presumption:

the matrix clause's Force would exclusively cover given material, this is incompatible with the illocutional function encoded in Force.

(iv) cannot constitute an independent speech act

contra Thurmair's (1989), Haegeman's (2004), Coniglio's (2009) view that all root-like dependent clauses constitute an independent speech act.

- (18) a. *Bringst du Vater nach Hause, da er müde ist/obwohl er noch nicht müde ist.
see you father home because he tired is although he yet not tired is
- b. *Du wirst erstaunt sein, da ich hiermit kündige.
you will astonished be because I hereby quit
- c. *Hans wurde gewählt, [obwohl er es gar nicht wollte, nicht wahr?/oder?]
Hans was elected though he it at-all not wanted did he?

Force of a PAC is licensed by means of the Force of its superordinated clause. For a phrase to be illocutionarily independent presupposes that its Force is directly linked to the speaker.

(v) Scope of question formation

A PAC's illocutional potential is assertive by default. It has to be compatible with the illocutional force of the whole construction.

The judgements for (5a,b) change if the verb-final clauses get their own question intonation.

(vi) do not relate eventualities

Only an adverbial which is licensed inside the IP of its matrix clause can relate to the eventuality introduced by the predicate of the matrix clause.

(vii) allow binding by a higher element, if part of an embedded structure

- (19) Jeder₁ dachte, andere werden bevorzugt, während er₁ doch der Richtige sei.
everybody thought others were favoured, while he MP the right-one is

(viii) do not need to have their own focus-background structuring, can be given

- (20) Was machen wir bei diesem Sauwetter?

‘What will we do in this beastly weather?’

- a. Obwohl so schlechtes Wetter ist, möchte ich gerne spazieren gehen.
although such foul weather is want I gladly a walk take
- b. #Obwohl so schlechtes Wetter ist, ich möchte gerne spazieren gehen.
- c. #Ich möchte gerne spazieren gehen, obwohl so schlechtes Wetter ist.

Unintegrated dependent clauses (UDCs)

e.g. continuous relative clauses and free *dass*-clauses, cf. (3) (*weil*-V2-clauses, *obwohl*-V2-clauses)

- cannot appear embedded

- (21) a. *Hans meint, Eva gewann die Schachpartie, was Oskar ärgerte.
b. ?*Hans glaubt, dass Fritz blöd ist, dass er Erna den Mantel bezahlt.
Hans believes that Fritz stupid is that he (for)Erna the coat pays
c. *Paula glaubt, dass Otto kommt, weil er braucht Geld.
Paula thinks that Otto comes since he needs money

- have to follow PACs

- (22) a. Er ist gekommen, obwohl er wenig Zeit hatte, worüber sich
he has come although he little time had about-which REFL
alle freuten.
everyone happy-was
b. *Er ist gekommen, worüber sich alle freuten, obwohl er wenig Zeit hatte.

- cannot appear in the prefield

- allow MPs

- can constitute an independent speech act

- (23) a. Bringst du Vater nach Hause? Wofür ich dir dankbar wäre. (cf. Holler 2008)
see you father home for-which I you thankful be-SUBJ
b. Max hat sich auch beworben, weshalb ich hiermit zurücktrete. (cf. Reis 1997)
Max has REFL as-well applied why I hereby withdraw
c. Ist denn etwas los, dass Max so schreit? (Reis 1997)
is MP something going-on that Max like-that screams
'Is something wrong, that Max is screaming like that?'

- are necessarily prosodically non-integrated

- need to have their own focus-background structuring

- are not possible in answers to all-focus questions

- (24) Was hat Maria erzählt?

'What did Mary tell?'

- a. #Peter ist nach Paris gereist, worüber sich alle gewundert haben.
Peter has to Paris travelled about-what REFL everyone surprised was
b. #Peter ist größenwahnsinnig, dass er sich einen Porsche kauft.
Peter is megalomaniac that he REFL a Porsche buys
c. Peter ist heute ins Schwimmbad gegangen, obwohl es stark regnete.
Peter has today to-the swimming-pool gone although it heavily rained

- An UDC is not part of the syntactic structure of its associated clause.
It is a true orphan in the sense of Haegeman (1991)

Hence:

In German, there are not only two types of special dependent clauses (cf. e.g. Fabricius-Hansen 1992, Reis 1997), but three:

- (I) V2-clause-complements
(not fully integrated, e.g.: no positioning in the middle field, no correlates, no extraction;
stronger integrated than PACs, e.g.: allow binding into them; may carry the nuclear accent of the complex consisting of the host and the dependent clause; may be targeted by interrogative operator in the matrix clause)
- (II) PACs
- (III) UDCs

Main points

- PAS contain a Force-Projection.
- Force of PAC is licensed by the Force of the superordinated clause; PAC's Force is *indirectly* anchored to the speaker.
- PACs can be base-generated in the prefield of a V2-clause.
- There are (at least) three syntactically different contexts which allow main clause phenomena.
- The presence or expression of Force cannot be the trigger of verb-second.
- An UDC is structurally independent of the preceding clause – an orphan.
(Verb-final property only indicates semantic dependency.)
- Embedding root-contexts allow *one* dependent constituent; unlikelyhood of juxtaposition of the dependent constituent (contra de Haan 2001).

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