Arbeitsgruppe 7/Working Group 7

Organizers: Katrin Axel-Tober (Tübingen), Lutz Gunkel (IDS-Mannheim), Jutta M. Hartmann (Bielefeld), Anke Holler (Göttingen)

On the nouniness of propositional arguments

Wednesday, February 24, 2021

13:45 -14:45  Katalin É. Kiss, Invited Speaker (Budapest)  
*The evolving of nouny subordination in Hungarian: From parataxis or from correlatives?*

14:45-15:15  Paul Poirier (Toronto)  
*Japanese nominalizations and the copula*

15:15-15:45  Elizabeth Bogal-Allbritten, Keir Moulton & Junko Shimoyama (Göteborg, Toronto, Montreal)  
*Nouny propositions and their individual correlates: The view from Japanese*

16:30-17:30  Carlos de Cuba, Invited Speaker (New York)  
*Relatively nouny?*

17:30-18:00  Ellen Brandner (Stuttgart)  
*CP-complementation and selection*

Thursday, February 25, 2021

9:00-10:00  Éva Dékány & Ekaterina Georgieva (Budapest)  
*Where propositional arguments and participial relative clauses meet*

10:00-10:30  Kalle Müller (Tübingen)  
*That relatives! and the relativization of dass-clauses in German*

11:15-11:45  Andreas Blümel & Nobu Goto (Göttingen, Tokio)  
*Reconsidering the syntax of correlates and propositional arguments*

11:45-12:15  Nikos Angelopoulos (Leuven)  
*Nouny clauses: The clausal prolepsis strategy*

12:15-12:45  Alassane Kiemtoré (Stuttgart)  
*A syntactic account of clausal complementation in Jula*

13:45-14:15  Imke Driemel & Maria Kouneli (Leipzig)  
*Verb-y and noun-y complementation in Kipsigis*

14:15-14:45  Vesela Simeonova (Tübingen)  
*Definitely factive*
Friday, February 26, 2021

11:30-12:00  Richard Faure (Nizza)
*From D to N, CPs as nominals in Greek*

12:00-12:30  Jürgen Pafel (Stuttgart)
*Argument clauses and definite descriptions*

12:30-13:00  Frank Sode (Frankfurt/M.)
*On the nouniness of V2-clauses under preference predicates*

13:00-14:00  Patrick D. Elliott, Invited Speaker (Cambridge, MA)
*Objects of attitude ascriptions*

Alternates:

Patrick Brandt (IDS-Mannheim)
*The transfer of nominal (ordinary individual) to propositional (phenomenal individual) properties in German particle verb constructions*

Jan Wiślicki (Warszawa)
*S-selection and presupposition in quotational complementation*
Nouny propositions and their individual correlates: The view from Japanese

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In this paper, we examine languages with morphosyntactically nominal propositional arguments (NomProps). Based on evidence from Korean and Japanese, we propose that NomProps can denote either individual assertion events (Krifka 2014, Bogal-Allbritten and Moulton 2017) or ordinary individuals with propositional content (Kratzer 2006, Moulton 2015).

In Japanese, finite clauses can be nominalized by the element -no. These can complement attitude verbs like shinji- ‘believe’ (1).

(1) Watashi-wa [Johnny-ga shukudai-o zembu shi-ta no]-o
   I-TOP J.-NOM homework-ACC all do-PST no-acc shinji-teir-u.
   believe-ASP-NONPAST
   ‘I believe that Johnny finished his homework.’

As with Korean (Bogal-Allbritten and Moulton 2017), these Japanese NomProps require a discourse-familiar assertion. (1) can follow a discourse such as “Johnny finished his homework. Can he play?” but not one where the proposition is not asserted, e.g. “Did Johnny finish his homework?”. We argue this shows NomProps at least sometimes denote assertion events.

We then show via an ambiguity in memory-reports that Japanese NomProps can also simply describe contentful individuals. Like English, the verb oboe- ‘remember’, can describe a direct/vivid memory (I remember him winning) or an indirect memory (I remember that he won) (Stephenson 2010). In Japanese, however, a plain NomProp cannot express the indirect version; instead the element toyuu, which contains a grammaticalized verb of saying, is required.

(2) [1703-nen-ni Kuranosuke-ga nakunat-ta *(to-yuu) no]-o oboeteiru
   1703-year-in K.nom passed-PST TO-YUU NO-ACC remember
   ‘I remember that K. passed away in 1703.’

We analyze the difference between bare NomProps in (1) and those in (2) with toyuu in terms of how the propositional meaning arises: in (1), the NomProp describes a familiar assertion event whereas in (2) it describes an abstract individual with propositional content, building on analyses of toyuu by H. Saito (2018). We then show that the meaning differences independently follow from selectional properties of the embedding verbs.

Nouny clauses: The clausal prolepsis strategy

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1. Introduction. This abstract proposes a new analysis of object clausal prolepsis in Dutch (cf. 1) inspired by the BigDP configuration that has been proposed for clitic doubling in Romance (cf. Uriagereka 1995 i.a.).

(1) Jan betreut het [dat Marie onstlagen is].
Jan regrets it that Marie fired is

2. The analysis. Under the proposed analysis, (2), het ‘it’, the proleptic form used in clausal prolepsis, is a D head that selects a silent pronoun (as complement) and in prolepsis, a CP (as specifier).

(2) [DP CP [D' het D pro] ]

3. No accidental homophony. A first advantage of the proposed analysis is that it can capture the different meanings we will *het ‘it’ can have in Dutch without postulating different accidentally homophonous lexical entries. In this analysis, *het is a D head that (c-/s) selects an NP complement in DPs like *het boek ‘the book’ or, a pro which can be individual or propositional denoting.

4. The internal structure of the proleptic proform. The analysis in (2) can also explain why in contrast to *het, other DPs e.g. *dat ‘that’, cannot double an embedded clause in Standard Dutch:

(3) Jan betreurt (het/*dat/) [dat Marie onstlagen is.] Jan regrets (it/ *that) that Marie fired.

Concretely, it is well known that demonstratives, e.g. *dat, occupy the Spec DP (cf. Leu 2007 i.a.). This makes them incompatible with a doubled CP in the same position thus, blocking prolepsis.

5. The distribution of clausal prolepsis. (2) can account for a hitherto unobserved generalization:

(4) The Prop-Prolepsis Generalization: Clausal prolepsis can occur in all and only those contexts that allow for propositional *het.
Under (2), (4) is accounted for: a proleptic clause is simply a propDP with a specifier. Clausal prolepsis is available, if propDP is selected by a verb.

6. Clause type restrictions on clausal prolepsis. Lastly, (2) can capture the fact that in clausal prolepsis, *het in prolepsis imposes stricter restrictions on the kind of clause that it doubles, e.g. it cannot double a wh-question, (5):

(5) *Jan vroeg het wie mijn lievelingsdichter was. Jan asked it who my favorite poet was

This restriction follows from the fact that the CP is selected in (2) by het and that this element only selects for familiar clauses.

Reconsidering the syntax of correlates and propositional arguments

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This talk reconsiders well-known instances of nominal correlates and their associated propositional arguments primarily in German and English, and suggests a novel descriptive generalization with respect to their syntax: The association of a correlate with a sentential argument to the matrix predicate requires a category label on that sentential argument.

It is well-known that in numerous cases, German and English exhibit asymmetries between subordinate clausal arguments and root clauses fulfilling the same function. In German, such contrasts are manifested by V-final clauses introduced by complementizers and V2-clauses. In English, such contrasts are manifested e.g. by clauses headed by $C^o=\text{that}$ and such clauses headed by what is commonly analyzed as a null-C-head, $C^o=\emptyset$. One such said asymmetry is that that/dass-clauses can function as complements to nouns, while null-C-headed clauses and V2 cannot.

We seek to derive these patterns as follows: Drawing on the labeling algorithm LA suggested by Chomsky (2013, 2015), Blümel & Goto (2020) propose that root clauses are syntactically characterized by the obligatory absence of a category label. Assuming that a category label is syntactically required for the ongoing (Set Merge) computation, a label becomes superfluous when the derivation comes to an end – which is the case at the root node.

Given this much, we propose that unlabeled syntactic objects cannot associate syntactically with nominal elements, such as correlates and nominals that can take clausal arguments. For the sake of this talk, we stipulate (1):

(1) An unlabeled syntactic object must not be co-indexed with a nominal.

We show how (1) derives the attested empirical patterns. As to the question how English meet the requirement to leave root-clauses unlabeled. We suggest the following: Based on Chomsky’s (2015) idea that the phase head ‘v is a “syntactic affix” which is invisible to the LA, Obata (2018) proposed that his C-deletion analysis can be recast: $C^o$ and $T^o$ form a complex head amalgam in which $C^o$’s phasehood is cancelled out (cf. also EKS 2016, Sugimoto 2016). Her proposal opens up the possibility that English root clauses are analyzed as $C^o=\emptyset$ which can undergo Set Merge with TP, yielding $\{C^o=\emptyset, \text{TP}\}$. Assuming with Obata that the C-head is invisible to the LA, $\{C^o=\emptyset, \text{TP}\}$ is the structure of English root clauses – an exocentric structure, as desired. Based on this, we show how the attested asymmetries between null-C-headed clauses and that-CPs derive.

In this talk, I will provide further evidence for the idea that clausal complements should be analyzed as modifiers of a (possibly null) pronominal argument of the verb instead of being selected as such, Kratzer (2006). I will approach the issue by considering cross-clausal dependencies, i.e. ‘long extraction’ in languages where the type of the complementizer changes, i.e. as it is the case in Celtic languages and in Alemannic, see Brandner & Bucheli-Berger (2018):

(1) a. des isch des buch [wo de Peter_ glese hât] RC
   this is the book RC the Peter read has
b. %wer hesch gseet [wo d’Marie moant [ wo (*er) en Unfall gha hât]]
   who have.2sg said RC the Maria thinks RC an accident had had
   c. wer hesch gseet [dass d’Marie moant [ dass (*er) en Unfall gha hât]]
   who have (you) said that the Maria thinks that an accident had had
   b. and c. ‘Who did you say that M. thinks that had an accident.’

Whereas a propositional complement is (usually) realized with a complementizer of the d-pronoun series (dass), this may change when extraction has taken place. In this case, the relative clause (RC) particle, exemplified in (1a), shows up as in (1b) – although the dass-complementation is a possibility as well, (1c). Note that (1b) does not allow a resumptive pronoun whereas this is nearly obligatory in the dass-case. The crucial point is that the length of both constructions is identical, i.e. the insertion of the resumptive cannot be due to complexity/parsing problems. The first question arising is how the matrix verb can tolerate a relative clause as its complement, since a relative clause can hardly be taken as being c-selected by a verb. If we do not want to give up the widely established analyses of RCs as being modifiers of nominal expressions, the answer can only be that the CCs in these cases are introduced into the structure as an RC (with an inherent gap) and not as a (selected) complement of the verb in form of an embedded clause with successive cyclic movement. The next question is whether this analysis can be transferred to the cases in (1c) with the ‘usual’ complementizer. Following the analyses by Kayne (2014) and Axel-Tober (2017), it will be argued that this type of clausal complements are indeed ‘explicative relative clauses’ that occur without a gap, cf. (1c). It will be argued that the long distance dependency in this case is established via a proleptic construction, see Salzmann (2006). This analysis is transferred to clausal embedding in general with a (possibly null) nominal correlate in the matrix clause. If it were true that verbs directly select for their clausal complements, the differences in shape of the complementizer nor the varying distribution of resumptives could not be captured.

The transfer of nominal (ordinary individual) to propositional (phenomenal individual) properties in German particle verb constructions

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We argue that properties that are presumably nominal in origin get transferred regularly in certain German Particle Verb constructions to properties that are propositional insofar as they concern the internal structuring of eventualities as understood to be described, by and large, by propositional (= truth-assessable) representations.

According to our analysis, the oft-noted perfectivizing function of certain verbal particles like ein- in einfahren (cf. e.g. Kühnhold 1972) is the effect of redressing a conflict at the syntax-semantics interface: On the one hand, constructions like in [die Grube] AKK einfahren exhibit transitive syntax (Gehrke 2008), requiring that the syntactic arguments are mapped onto well-distinguished or DIFFERENT referents in the semantics. On the other hand, in/ein codes a spatiotemporal inclusion relation between its relata, contradicting the requirement imposed by the transitive syntax.

We follow Brandt (2019) in assuming that the interface executes a maneuver that delays the interpretation of part of the contradiction-inducing DIFFERENCE feature. It is not locally interpreted (semantically represented) in toto but in part passed on to the next syntactic-semantic computational cycle. Here, the passed-on meaning is interpreted in the locally custom terms: there are times where the state of affairs that defines the Givonian post-state of the depicted eventuality does not hold. No hidden element codes the superficially surprising meaning, nor ambiguity. Instead, part of an actually coded but locally unrealizable semantics in terms of ordinary individuals spills over to the phenomenal domain (using Husserl’s term) and yields the interpretive effect observed.

In an effort to reconcile Kayne’s (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom with Chomsky’s (1995) Bare Phrase Structure, Kayne (2008), following Guimarães (2000), proposed that a head x can merge with itself, yielding the singleton set \{x\}. This solved a projection problem that occurs when merging two heads that would otherwise be in a symmetrical c-command relationship, causing a linearization problem (with mutual c-command it would be unclear which head should project). An upshot of the proposed analysis in the paper is the claim that nouns do not project, meaning that they do not take complements. Given that nouns have traditionally been analyzed as taking a number of different types of complements, the onus was then on Kayne to show that what we have been calling complements of nouns are not in fact complements. Kayne’s solution was to propose that instead of complements, we were dealing with relative clause structures, which are adjuncts (see Arsenijević 2009 for a related proposal). This relative clause analysis has gained a lot of traction over the years, enough so to be featured prominently in the call for papers for this workshop. However, in this talk I will attempt to throw some cold water on the relative clause analysis. I will present a number of problematic issues that arise with the proposal that all complement clauses can be analyzed as RCs. I will show that the evidence that has been put forth in favor of the RC analysis in the literature is weak, and that cross-linguistic evidence points strongly away from a uniform treatment of complement clauses as RCs.

Where propositional arguments and participial relative clauses meet

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Claims: In this talk we look at non-finite propositional arguments which have nominal properties and involve the same suffix as participial relative clauses (pRCs). This is observed in the Uralic, Altaic, Quechua and Tibeto-Burman languages (Koptjevskaya-Tamm 1993; Serdobolskaya & Paperno 2006; Shagal 2018). We investigate this phenomenon in Udmurt and Khanty (Uralic) as well as Kazakh, Modern Standard Turkish, Uyghur and Korean (Altaic). We argue that in the relevant cases non-finite propositional arguments with nominal properties structurally contain the projection of pRCs; however, the polysemy arises from different underlying structures. Languages exhibiting the polysemy fall into 3 types, parametrically differing in the structure of pRCs and propositional arguments.

Analysis: We argue that the shared suffix of pRCs and propositional arguments with nominal properties expones an aspectual head in the extended VP (Collins 2005; Baker 2011; pace Doron & Reintges 2005). Variation is observed in the structure of pRCs and nominalizations. We propose that:
1) pRCs fall into two types: they are either bare AspPs or they are nominalized before they are merged with the head noun. The nominalized status of the pRC is reflected in the obligatory possessive agreement of the clause and the genitive marking of the subject.
2) Nominalizations comprise the Asp of pRCs and an additional (covert) element that gives the external nominal distribution to the phrase. The additional element may be: (i) a nominal functional head, e.g., n or D, that takes Asp as its complement (mixed extended projections, cf. Borer 1997; Borsley & Kornfilt 2000; Alexiadou 2001); or (ii) a covert N with the meaning of ‘event’ or ‘fact’ taking the AspP as an RC modifier/complement. Empirically, the latter type is manifested by the alternation of overt and covert nouns or the presence of overt light Ns.

Cross-linguistic variation: The languages under consideration fall into the following types: (i) Udmurt and Kazakh have bare pRCs and mixed extended projections as propositional arguments; (ii) Modern Standard Turkish employs mixed extended projections in both RCs and propositional arguments; (iii) propositional arguments in Korean, Uyghur and Kazym Khanty involve covert/overt light Ns.

The Syntax of Relative Clauses • Shagal 2018. Participial systems in Uralic languages: an overview. ESUKA–JEFUL.
Verb-y and noun-y complementation in Kipsigis

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In this talk, we present novel data from Kipsigis (Nilotic, Kenya) that reveal two types of CP complements. The starting point of our investigation is what has been described as upwards-oriented complementizer agreement with a matrix subject (Diercks & Rao 2019, Diercks et al. 2020): the complementizer consists of the root of the verb le ‘say’ and an agreement prefix. We argue that what has been described as an agreeing ‘say’-based complementizer in Kipsigis is in fact the lexical verb ‘say’. We offer the following arguments in favor of this position: i) le ‘say’ can be used as a matrix verb, ii) le is inflected in the indicative in matrix uses, but in the subjunctive in complementation uses, and iii) applicative and reflexive morphology – usually associated with verbs – is possible on le, even when used in complementation contexts. However, we also find a non-agreeing form that contrasts with the agreeing forms in creating noun-y clausal complements. For example, complements headed by the non-agreeing form, unlike those headed by the agreeing forms, can appear in a pre-verbal position that is generally restricted to noun phrases in the language. Based on these (and other) observations, we analyze the agreeing forms of le as heads of <v,t> type complements and the non-agreeing form as heads of <e,t> type complements. Our analysis thus supports the claim that the semantic type of CPs varies cross-linguistically: CP complements are not propositional, but rather constitute properties of individuals or properties of eventualities depending on the language (Kratzer 2013, Özyildiz et al. 2018, Moulton 2019, Demirok et al. 2020 a.o.). Kipsigis is also added to a list of languages whose ‘say’-based complementizers are analyzed as verbs (Koopman 1984, Koopman & Sportiche 1989 a.o.). Different ‘say’-based complementizers with verb-y and noun-y properties have also been described for Zulu (Halpert 2018). It is an open question at this point whether both types are attested in all languages with ‘say’-based complementation.

An embedded declarative of the form “that $p$”, and a content nominal of the form “the proposition that $p$” are not intersubstitutable salva veritate - this is a special case of Prior’s (1971) substitution problem (see also Moltmann 2003 on the “objectivization effect”). It’s tempting to conclude that syntactic category is responsible for failure of substitution (see, e.g., Forbes 2018). In previous work (Elliott 2017), I argued that this position is untenable, on the basis of evidence from Moltmann’s “special quantifiers”. Rather, there is reason to believe that embedded declaratives and content nominals play distinct compositional roles in attitude ascriptions - embedded declaratives are eventuality modifiers, whereas content nominals are bona fide arguments, a distinction which I argued cross-cuts the complement/adjunct distinction. In this talk, I reassess the empirical landscape, paying specific attention to cases where declarative clauses appear to take on certain characteristics of nominals, such as clausal subjects, and the relationship between “nouniness” and factivity.

From D to N, CPs as nominals in Greek

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The talk aims to account for the distribution of Classical Greek (CG) *hóti*-nite complement clauses (CC), provide fresh arguments in favor of the CP-as-nominal hypothesis (e.g., Baunaz&Lander 2017), arguing that the C is a D itself (but not a probe, as in Angelopoulos 2019), and explain the change from D to N of these clauses between CG and Modern Greek (MG).

*hóti*-clauses have syntactic properties supposedly mutually exclusive, thus offering a contradictory picture in two respects. First, they seem to both (A) be low within VP (binding in and A-movement out of them are possible) and (B) extrapose (they always are rightmost in their clause, contrary to argumental DPs); second, like DPs, (C) they can be coordinated with DPs, but unlike DPs, (D) they cannot occupy focus (preverbal, Dik 1995) and subject (Spec,TP) positions.

I first show that CCs are actually in situ by means of coordination data and partial topicalization. I then address the question of the satisfaction of the selection of their embedding verbs, which otherwise select for DP. The complementary distribution of the C with articles, the association with demonstratives, and their agreement properties (showing that they carry φ-features) indicates that *hóti*-clauses are DPs. However, restriction (D) is still to be clarified. It points towards an inability for *hóti*-clauses to be case-marked (see Stowell 1981). Although they are DPs of type e and carry φ-features, which makes them suitable for θ-marking in situ, they are not allowed to be A-moved to a case-position (Spec, TP or Spec, vP, Chomsky 2001, the latter being both an A and Ā position in CG). Note that a dem. or a DP extracted out of them does not undergo such restrictions and goes to such a position, an operation that involves θ-marked *hóti*-clauses in a chain headed by a case-marked DP, as required in Θ Theory. Elsewhere, a silent expletive is present. Typologically, languages like English that do not have such proxies resort to other repair means like movement (which is moreover needed if they are not DPs, Moulton 2015).

Finally, the status of *hóti*-clauses changed with time: from CG to MG, *(h)óti* gained the ability to be nominalized with an article, which made it more N-like than D-like. At the same time, *(h)óti*-clauses spread to believe verbs. A feature impoverishment made possible this extension.

A syntactic account of clausal complementation in Jula

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This paper attempts a unified syntactic derivation for complement clauses constructions in the West African Language Jula (Manding-Niger-Congo, SOV), using two mechanisms: predication (cf. Bowers 1993, Den Dikken 2006, Citko 2011) and Case assignment à la Koopman (1992). Two types of constructions are considered: (i) the complement clauses associated with correlate, (ii) the complement clauses without correlate. Despite their difference in the surface, I propose to derive the two constructions from the same underlying structure. In practice, the relation between correlate and complement clause (CP) is analyzed as an instance of predication. In this respect, they are both base-generated within a predication phrase to the right of the hosting matrix clause. The position of the correlate within the matrix clause results from a SpecX to SpecX movement triggered by Case assignment, in accord with the SOV word-order of the language. The absence of correlate is due to a principle active in Jula grammar according to which the specifier position of covert case assigning head must remain covert. Overall, the proposed analysis has at least two theoretical implications. First, it supports the observation that complement clauses can be base-generated in a non-argument position (Postal and Pullum 1988, Haider 1995, Moulton 2009 Frey 2016, i.a.,). Therefore, their position does not result from movement out of the matrix clause, aka extraposition (Culicover and Rochemont 1990, Schwabe 2013, i.a.,). Second, by treating the relation between correlate and complement clause as a case of predication, the analysis, in some way, goes against approaches that view complement clauses as complements to nominal heads or treat them on a par with relative clauses (cf. Aboh 2005, Arsenijevic 2009, Kayne 2014, i.a.,). As the analysis predicts, complement clauses in Jula are not involved in such a relation.

The evolving of nouny subordination in Hungarian: From parataxis or from correlatives?

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The talk will analyze the evolution of Hungarian complement clauses and their complementizer hogy ‘that’, which is form-identical with the wh-phrase meaning ‘how; as’. The following developmental path will be documented: Proto-Hungarian, similarly to present-day Khanty and Mansi, its conservative sister languages, only used non-finite subordination, and, in the case of verbs of communication, parataxis. The first sentence type with properties of finite subordination emerging in Khanty is the correlative construction, involving an indefinite/interrogative pronoun in the initial clause and an overt or dropped definite pronoun in the second clause, such as Who... he...; Where... there...; As... so. The abundance of this construction in Old Hungarian suggests that correlatives represented the first type of subordination in Proto-Hungarian, as well. With the shift of word order from SOV to SVO, inverse correlative structures (He... who...; ...there where...) also started spreading. In ...so as... constructions, as-clauses containing an indicative verb functioned as clauses of manner, and those containing a subjunctive verb functioned as clauses of purpose. Verbs of communication, followed by a direct quotation, also contained the adverb so (He spoke so; He said so.).

The generalization of finite subordination resulted in the embedding of direct quotations. By analogy, the correlative [CP ...so [CP as ]] pattern came to be extended to constructions involving a verb of communication complemented by an indirect quotation, as well. Hogy ‘as’ eventually developed into a general complementizer. Later, the adverb so associated with indirect quotations came to be replaced by the pronoun az-t ‘that-ACC’, the strong version of the 3rd singular [-human] pronoun. Object clauses coindexed with an (overt or pro-dropped) pronoun trigger agreement on the verb, which is evidence of their nouniness – as object-verb agreement is only elicited by DPs (Bartos 2000).

In late Middle Hungarian, free relative complement clauses underwent a further change: their pronominal associate in the main clause came to be reanalyzed as part of the relative wh-pronoun, as a result of which relative wh-pronouns assumed an a-prefix, and the pronoun had to be spelled out again (i.e., az-t, mi-t ‘that-ACC, what-ACC’ > azmi-t > ami-t > az-t, ami-t). The developmental paths to be presented may be relevant for the controversy concerning the evolution of Germanic that-clauses (cf. Lenerz 1984; Hopper & Traugott 1993; Axel-Tober 2017; etc.).
This talk is concerned with the question whether dass can introduce relative structures in German. It has been argued recently that many instances of that-clauses involve relative structures rather than complement structures (e.g. Aboh 2005, Kayne 2008, Arsenijević 2009, Haegeman & Ürögdi 2010). This concerns especially cases like the fact/claim that what will be referred to by the neutral term ‘noun related clauses’ (= NRCs). However, this claim has been challenged by de Cuba (2017) who argues that crosslinguistically, languages which, unlike English, have separate forms for declarative complementisers and relative particles always employ the latter to introduce relative clauses. Distinguishing between internal and external issues of syntax, I argue that dass-clauses are compatible with operator movement but are replaced by different relativisers in the case of more accessible constituents. NRCs can be either complements or adjuncts of the noun, hence the form of non-complement NRCs (i.e. V-final vs. V2) cannot be selected syntactically. Evidence is drawn from various phenomena: Clefted temporal adverbials like Es war zu dieser Zeit, dass ich müde wurde ‘It was at this time that I became tired’ show how the lack of an adverbial relative pronoun wann ‘when’ in German sparks the competition between als and dass to relativise the time argument. Furthermore, I apply Fabricius-Hansen & von Stechow (1989) test for implicative vs. explicative constituents to show the NRC behaves like an adjunct for some nouns but like a complement for others. Finally, following Reis (1997), who has argued that embedded V2-clauses are not syntactically licensed as complements, the same is argued for NRCs in the form of V2-clauses: they can only be semantically licensed as adjuncts.

Argument clauses and definite descriptions

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Argument clauses aren’t noun phrases, nevertheless they have several interesting similarities with noun phrases. Long time ago, Herling called the complementizer daß a sentential article (›Satzartikel‹) in his Syntax der deutschen Sprache (1832). Depending on one’s syntactic framework, argument clauses and noun phrases are similar to a certain extent. The most startling affinity, however, can be detected looking at the semantics. Argument clauses and several types of noun phrases can be analyzed as definite descriptions. It seems that we can distinguish four types of definite descriptions which are instantiated by noun phrases as well as argument clauses. These four types will be introduced in my talk.

– Type I denotes a maximal plurality  
Examples:  
(1) (Joe knows) the politician(s) representing his county.  
(2) (Joe knows) that Mary is a gifted politician.  
(3) (Joe knows) whether Mary is a gifted politician.

– Type II denotes a minimal plurality  
Examples:  
(4) The speakers of all factions (met in parliament yesterday).  
[scope: all>the speakers]  
(5) (We know) which politicians met in parliament yesterday.  
(6) (We know) which politicians each of them met in parliament. [each>which]

– Type III denotes a kind  
Examples:  
(6) Dinosaurs (are not mammals).  
(7) (We wonder) which politicians met yesterday in parliament.  
(8) (We know) where to meet a democrat. [mention-some reading]

– Type IV denotes a smallest kind  
Examples:  
(9) Politicians from all factions (agreed on a declaration). [all>politicians]  
(10) (We wonder) which politicians each of them met in parliament yesterday.  
[each>which]
Japanese nominalizations and the copula

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There is a vast literature focused on nominalizations embedding different major clausal projections, such as TP and CP (e.g. Kornfilt and Whitman 2011). Increasing research argues the need for a more fine-grained approach to clausal structure, such as the articulated C-domain espoused by Rizzi (1997). I will make the case here that such an approach is also required for Japanese nominalizations headed by *koto and no, providing evidence from the copular paradigm. While adjectival and nominal predicates surface with non-past copula da in matrix contexts, the special adnominal form na appears in the nominalizations, patterning with other complex NPs:

(1) a. Sarah-wa shinsetsu da/*na Sarah-Top kind Cop/NA ‘Sarah is kind.’
    b. [John-ga shinsetsu *da/na koto/no]-ni odoroi-ta
       John-Nom kind Cop/NA koto/no-Dat surprise-pst
       ‘It surprised me that John is kind.’

Following Rizzi’s [Force>Topic*>Focus>Topic*>Fin] C-domain hierarchy, I propose that these nominalizations embed only the lowermost head of the C-domain– Fin. I will argue that non-past da is best analyzed as being dependent on the Focus head, as its presence in matrix clauses forces an exhaustive reading for the subject, which has been tied to raising to Spec/FocP (Watanabe 2003). This suggests that da should also find its locus on the Focus head. Meanwhile, the FinP analysis of koto/no clauses entails the absence of Focus from their structure, and explains why da cannot surface. Other analytic and past-tense copular forms do not show the same sensitivity to C-domain structure, and surface uniformly across clause types.

Since the different forms of the copula depend on different heads in the clausal spine, we can extend the use of the copular distribution to determine how much functional structure is present in other embedded contexts, including interrogatives and conditionals. Moreover, the distribution of the copular forms in *koto and no clauses present further evidence to support the need for an articulated C-domain. This would suggest that nominalizing heads are sensitive to this more fine-grained clausal structure, and consequently, that CP-nominalizations across languages do not constitute a uniform class.


Definitely factive

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The relation between factivity and definiteness has been the subject of copious works, starting with 'Fact' by Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970). The tradition senses a parallel between the clausal and nominal domains and often implements it as factive clauses headed by a covert nominal layer and a determiner. The present paper sympathizes with the intuition that nominals and factive clauses share the property of definiteness, but models this theoretically without a mediating nominal layer or treating factive clauses as noun-modifying clauses (pace Kiparsky and Kiparsky, 1970). I show that noun modifying clauses cannot be the solution of the puzzle of 'nouny' factive vs less so non-factive clauses because noun modifying clauses exhibit the same puzzle (cf. 1-a-ii vs 1-b-ii)—an observation that has escaped the literature so far. The parallel and the theoretical solution proposed here are summarized below. The proposal: non- factive verbs and nouns select for CONTENT CLAUSES (cPcont) (in the sense of Mouton, 2009, label de Cuba, 2017 extended here to factive clauses as well), while factive verbs and nouns select for DEFINITE CLAUSES (cP) (building on ideas by Melvold, 1991).

1. a. factive domain:
   (i) Factive verbs: He regrets/resents/is happy [cP cont OPcont [cP that Edna is a thief]]
   (ii) Fact(ive) nouns: the fact REALIZATION/regret [cP cont OPcont [cP that Edna is a thief]]

2. b. non-factive domain:
   (i) Content verbs: He believes/said [cPcont OPcont [cP that Edna is a thief]]
   (ii) Content nouns: the idea/rumor/belief [cPcont OPcont [cP that Edna is a thief]]

The cP layer allows differentiating C- and c-complementizers. This captures cross-linguistic facts: Greek uses oti for content clauses and pou for factive ones, while languages like English have an all-purpose complementizer. I propose that Greek-type are c-complementizers and English that is a C-complementizer. In both types of languages, the cont/i distinction is in the c head, not in C.

2. (Greek): [cP oti cont/pou [cP θ [ ... ]]]
3. (English): [cP θ cont/θ [cP that [ ... ]]]

To summarize, this paper upgrades decompositional semantics with a unified account of factivity in the nominal and verbal domains, and addresses the thorny issue of the syntactic size of factive and non-factive clauses and the interpretation of complementizers.

On the nouniness of V2-clauses under preference predicates

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This talk addresses embedded V2-clauses under “preference predicates” that typically are marked by subjunctive mood, cf. Frank (1998); Meinunger (2007).

(1) a. Ich { wollte / wünschte }, ich wäre schon zu Hause.
   I { want.SUBJ / wish } I be.SUBJ already at home
   b. Maria wäre froh, sie wäre schon zu Hause.
      Maria be.SUBJ glad she be.SUBJ already at home
   c. Es wäre gut, ich wäre schon zu Hause.
      It be.SUBJ good I be.SUBJ already at home

These embedded V2-clauses don't really fit into the standard picture of embedded V2-clauses since predicates like “wollen” (‘want’), “gut (sein)” (‘be good’) and “froh (sein)” (‘be glad’) are not assertive and don't license embedded root phenomena.

In a first step, I bring together syntactic evidence, Williams (1974); Pesetsky (1991), semantic evidence Heim (1992) and cross-linguistic evidence, Iatridou (2000); von Fintel & Iatridou (2017), that suggest that the predicates in (1) form a natural class across languages: At their core they are evaluative predicates that take conditional clauses as their arguments which share semantic and syntactic properties with nominal arguments. Second, I argue that embedded V2-clauses under preference predicates have the same distribution as “complement fulfilling conditionals” suggesting that they are argument-conditionals.

The overall consequence of this view is that embedded V2-clauses under preference predicates restrict a hidden conditional operator in the same way as “if”-clauses do. This solves the puzzle of V2-clauses under preference predicates since V2-clauses under preference predicates are not embedded root phenomena and don’t pose any threat to the standard picture that relates embedded V2 to assertivity or at-issueness (Antomo (2012)).

S-selection and presupposition in quotational complementation

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1 Observations. There are four observations underlying the present proposal. **First**, though quotation does not involve TMA and phasal relations, allowing also gibberish as in (1), it is not blind for relations with root verbs, as in (2):

(1) He didn’t say ‘He is gwlich’.

(2) "He asked ‘He is smart’.

**Second**, relations with verbs are based on presupposition, rather than standard selection. Though (2) is clearly odd, it is not simply ungrammatical. Rather, it is at odds with the presupposition involved by the verb that quotation represents a question. This is supported by the fact that quotation passes the **hey-wait-a-minute** test, e.g. in the context of code-switching quotation:

(3) A: He asked ‘Suzuki ga kita’. [Suzuki ga kita is a declarative in Japanese]

   B: Hey, wait a minute, I didn’t know that’s a question!

**Third**, quotation enters a relation typical for complementation (with attitude verbs, e.g. say, claim) or adjunction (with irrealis verbs, e.g. agree, decide):

(4) He didn’t agree ‘He is smart’.

While in (1) the quoted speaker did not utter the quoted string, in (4) he expressed his disagreement by uttering the quoted string. **Fourth**, tenseless verbs (e.g. avoid, finish) treat direct quotation as purely phonological strings, without entering formal relations with their content:

(5) He finished ‘He is smart’.

2 Analysis. These effects align with the hierarchy of verbs developed by Wurmbrand & Lohninger (2019). Most of attitude verbs allow quotations, treating them as complements. Irrealis verbs allow quotations less often and combine with them via adjunction. Finally, only some tenseless verbs allow quotation, treating them as strings of symbols. Still, the above effects require a more fine-grained semantic account, which is secured by Cooper’s (2005) TTR framework. First, rather than simple types, like e or et, it provides dependent types, e.g. f(e). Second, except single formulas like \( \lambda x.\text{dog}(x) \), it allows various pieces of information encoded in separate fields within a bigger record of formulas. This goes in hand with the above observations. The root verb ask selects not an object of type QUEST, but presup(QUEST), presupposing that it is a question; hence the odd, but not ungrammatical, character of (2) and the effect in (3). Tenseless verbs take arguments of type STRING, as shown in (5). Finally, adjunction is interpreted as providing a separate field (not an argument of verb), so that negation in (4) scopes over the verb agree, but not quotation.