

V1 clauses aren't V2 clauses 'in disguise'

General view on V2:

The finite verb moves to C and some XP moves to its specifier

Reason: some kind of EPP-feature
if no XP is topicalized, an expletive is inserted

The same structure for Wh-questions
Wh-feature on C → criterial approach

V1 clauses aren't V2 clauses 'in disguise'

What about V-initial clauses?

- (1) a. Hat Hans sich aufgeregt? Y/N question
has H. himself got-upset
- b. Hat Hans sich aufgeregt! V-initial exclamative
has H. himself got-upset
- c. Kommt Fritzchen aus der Schule.... V-initial narrative
Comes F. from school...
- d. Ist der Ruf erst ruiniert, lebt es sich ganz ungeniert V-initial conditional
Is he reputation ruined, lives one unabashed

➤ Y/N questions: empty Q-operator
that ensures the interpretation as Q

➤ other V-initial clauses
like V1 narratives, V1 exclamatives etc:
marginal, periphery...

But again: empty operator such that
the EPP feature is checked

V2s in disguise?...

V2 in disguise → one simple principle....

Advantages:

- uniform analysis
- interpretation is 'direct'
one-to-one mapping

Disadvantages:

- untypical operators
- flexibility in interpretation
cannot be captured

Claim: V1 structures are syntactically underspecified
w.r.t. their clause type

Common nominator (ex negativo):
V1 are **not** plain assertions:

- Y/N questions
- expressives (Potts (2005))
- facts (Ginzburg & Sag 2001)

Structure of the talk

- I. Background on the representation of Illocutionary Force (IF-) values and how they are represented in the syntax
- I. Case study on Y/N questions and exclamatives
- II. 'Facts' and their properties
- III. Speculations on simple V/2 declaratives

Background:

Plain assertion: Speaker (S) is knowledgeable (=S+) about proposition (p).

By uttering p to addressee (A),
not knowledgeable about p (= A-)...

...

- S updates the CG
- S is committed to the truth value of p

typical assertion: [S+,A-]
typical question: [S-, A+]

typical assertion: [S+,A-]
clause type: declarative
category: TP (in V2 languages CP?)

typical question: [S-,A+]
clause type: interrogative
category: CP

imperative: [S-, A-]
clause type: imperative
category: VP (?)

What about the other/minor clause types?

Expressives, Exclamatives

under discussion: Verb-initial exclamatives
of the following kind, equivalent with wh-exclamatives
as in a':

- (
- a. *Hat der sich aufgeregt!*
has he refl. fussed
'How he fussed!'
 - b. *Schnarcht der!*
snores he
'How he snores!'
a ≈ a'. *Wie/was der sich aufgeregt hat!*
how he refl. fussed has
'How he fussed!'

Exclamatives involve necessarily a
degree component, see Rett (2006)

- a. **hat der den Gipfel erreicht*
- b. *hat der den Gipfel schnell erreicht*
has he the summit (quickly) reached

- a. *Hab ich Durst* ? ?!
- b. *Hab ich einen Durst* *? !
have I (a) thirst

Exclamatives involve necessarily a **evaluative** component, see Potts (2005), the truth value is not accessible:

Spricht der ein Deutsch !

das stimmt nicht

Finde ich auch

→an exclamative does not update CG,
rather, speaker assumes that the addressee knows already
about p, and merely communicates his attitude towards p

exclamative: [S+,A+]

clause type: exclamative

category: CP

Observation:

These structures are syntactically under-specified: with the right intonation, they can also be interpreted as Y/N questions:

- a. a. *Hat der sich aufgeregt ! ?*
has he refl. fussed
'How he fussed'
- b. *Schnarcht der ! ?*
snores he
'How he snores'

Disambiguation only via non-syntactic means:

1. Intonation
2. specific lexical choice
3. certain particles

Disambiguation only via non-syntactic means:

2. specific lexical choice:

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|-----|-------------|------|
| a. | Machen | die | Wein | ? *! |
| b. | Machen | die | einen Wein | *? ! |
| | make they | (a) | wine | |
| | ,What a wine they create! | | | |
| a. | Spricht | der | Deutsch | ? *! |
| b. | Spricht | der | ein Deutsch | *? ! |
| | speaks | he | (a) German | |
| | ,What a German he speaks! | | | |

Disambiguation only via non-syntactic means:
3. certain particles:

- a. *Hat der aber lange Haare* ! *?
has he prt (=but) long hair
- b. *Hat der eigentlich lange Haare* *! ?
has he prt (=actually) long hair

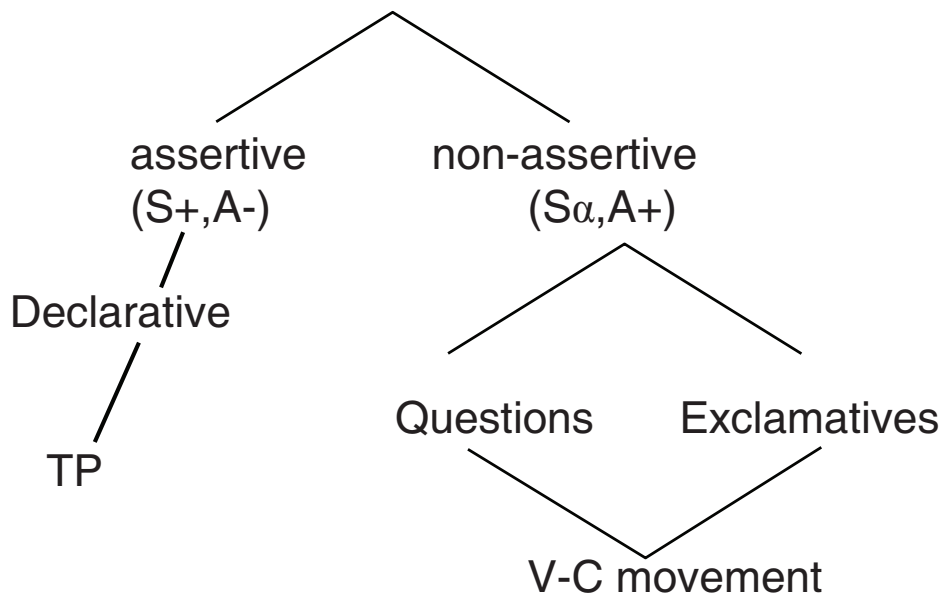
→ the syntax doesn't give a clue...

what is the common property of
exclamatives and Y/N questions?

typical question: [S-,A+]
clause type: interrogative
category: CP

exclamative: [S+,A+]
clause type: exclamative
category: CP

A+ is the trigger for V-C movement



What about the other V1 constructions?

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- c. Kommt Fritzchen aus der Schule....
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V1 narratives

more common in older stages:

a. & **erat** *anna proph&issa*
uuas *thô thâr anna uuizzaga* (T 38, 22)
'was then there A. the prophetess'

b. *Et pastores* **erant** *In regione eadem*
uuarun *thô hirta In thero lantskeffi* (T 35, 29)

Discourse properties, presentational; all-focus...
but:

Dicebat *autem & ad Inuitatos/ parabolam*
Quad *her tho zi then giladoten/ ratissa* (T 180,
9)
'told he then to the invited [people] a parable'

V1 narratives

Clearly a [S+,A-] configuration, but

- no commitment to the truth value on side of the speaker (remote instance)
- it is equally inadequate to respond to a narrative with the denial of the truth

Narrative ≈ already known by others, [S'+, A'+]

Facts....?

V1 conditionals (and other types)

Ist der Ruf erst ruiniert, lebt es sich ganz ungeniert
Is the reputation ruined, lives one unabashed

[Dies war merkwürdig] *War es doch der Staatschef, der...*
That was strange was it MP the state-chief who
For it had been the prime minister, who....
(causal)

Waren früher die Benzinpreise zu niedrig, (so) sind sie jetzt zu hoch
Were in former times the fuel prices too low, are they now too high
(confrontative)

(Reis, 1999)

V1 conditionals (and other types)

Ontological distinction made by Ginzburg and Sag (2001).

Two main differences between propositions and facts:

- facts can be causal
- no truth value

- a. The fact that Tony was ruthless made the fight against her difficult
- b. #The claim/hypothesis/proposition that Tony was ruthless made the fight against her difficult

- a. #The fact that Tony was ruthless is true
- b. The claim/hypothesis/proposition that Tony was ruthless is true/false

Overt reflex in German syntax: V-C movement!

Summary

- ❖ Clause types can be defined in terms of combinations of states of knowledgeability of speaker and hearer.
- ❖ [A+] has a reflex in the syntax in terms of V-C movement
- ❖ The actual value (of all these non-assertive) clause types is not encoded in the syntax; but must be inferred via other means (intonation, lexical choice...)

What about Verb second (V-C) in simple declarative clauses?

They do not differ in their discourse properties from ordinary TPs in SVO languages.

Declarative is the default: no marking!

Universal fseq: C T V (Starke 2001, Brandner 2004)

→ not positions, heads in the strict sense, rather labels!

Simple declaratives are 'virtual' TPs and the difference to non-V2 languages is that Spec-TP is not reserved for the subject but for all kinds of XPs (beside WH- and Focus-operators)

...open for discussion...