

## The timing of Merge: Deriving certain clause-linking mismatches

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### 1. Introduction

#### The issues

- Different degrees of integration of [CLAUSE] — [CLAUSE] combinations in German (Reis 1997, 2006, Gärtner 2001, 2002, Meinunger 2004, Heycock 2006, Truckenbrodt 2006a, b, Gärtner and Michaelis 2010, among others)

[R97: Reis 1997; R06: Reis 2006; W93: Wegener 1993]

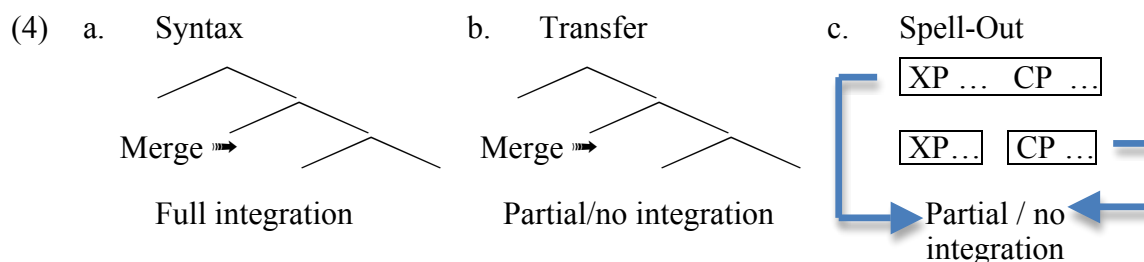
- (1) Full integration: syntactic mobility, bound variable interpretation
  - a. *Jeder<sub>i</sub> möchte gern glauben, dass er<sub>i</sub> unheimlich beliebt sei.*
  - b. *Dass er<sub>i</sub> unheimlich beliebt sei, möchte jeder<sub>i</sub> gern glauben.* R97: 139
- (2) Partial integration: no syntactic mobility; ✓ bound variable interpretation
  - a. *Jeder<sub>i</sub> möchte gern glauben, er<sub>i</sub> sei unheimlich beliebt.* V2 R97: 139
  - b. *\*Er sei unheimlich beliebt, möchte jeder gern glauben.* V2 R97: 139
  - c. *Jeder<sub>i</sub> war blöd, dass er<sub>i</sub> darauf eingegangen ist.* R97: 136
  - d. *\*Dass du kommst, bist du blöd.* R97: 133
- (3) No integration: no syntactic mobility; no bound variable interpretation
  - a. *Tom hat sich auch beworben, weshalb ich hiermit zurücktrete.* R06: 374
  - b. *\*Jeder<sub>i</sub> plant einen Urlaub, weshalb er<sub>i</sub> schon jetzt vergnügt ist.* R97: 136
  - c. *\*Weshalb ich (hiermit) zurücktrete, hat Tom sich auch beworben.*

- Why/how are selected V2 clauses relatively non-integrated (only partially integrated)?
- How does integration relate to structure and illocutionary (in)dependence?
- How is non-integration compatible with V-final (i.e., embedded, subordinate) structures?
- Syntax, pragmatics, both?

#### This talk

- Cyclic Spell-Out model and the CP domain
- Fully integrated clauses: Merge in Syntax
- Partially integrated clauses: Merge at Transfer; single Spell-Out domain
- Non-integrated clauses: Merge at Transfer; separate Spell-Out domains
- Illocutionary force in partially integrated and non-integrated clauses (some preliminary)

#### Main proposal



## 2. Cyclic Spell-Out model and the ‘illocutionary’ domain

### 2.1 Background about phases and Spell-Out

#### *Cyclic spell-out*

- Structure is built incrementally; complete cycles (phases) are transferred to the interfaces
- Spell-out of the complement of the phase head.
- Accessibility: *Spelled-out* domains are visible for the further computation but ‘untouchable’: no movement out of, or syntactic Agree into a spelled-out domain is possible (but LF/semantic relations, such as variable binding are possible).

#### *Dynamic phase view*

- Standard phase approach (Chomsky 2000, 2001): *vP*, CP (maybe DP, PP) are phases.
- Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (2005): complement of a lexical verb, whatever its label or size, is an agreement domain.

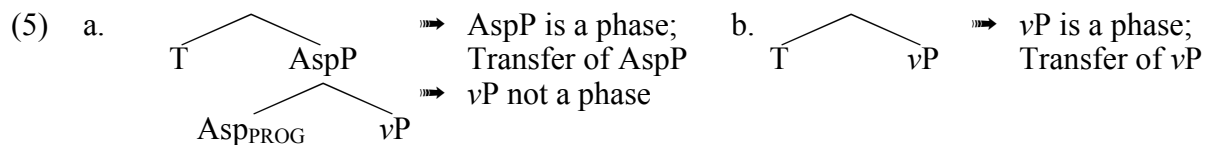
The highest projection of a cyclic domain constitutes a phase (Wurmbrand 2011, To appear):

- Aspect domain: theta-domain plus event structure/Aktionsart dependent aspect (progressive, perfective, imperfective)
- T+C-domain: discourse domain, mood, tense, modal domain

[Evidence: ellipsis, QR, reconstruction in raising infinitives, apparent long-distance Agree(ment) in infinitives and subjunctives]

#### *Transfer under this view*

- For an XP to ‘know’ if it is a complete cyclic domain, the next head must merge with XP.
- If that head belongs to the same cyclic domain, XP is not a phase; if the head belongs to a different cyclic domain, XP is a phase and is transferred.



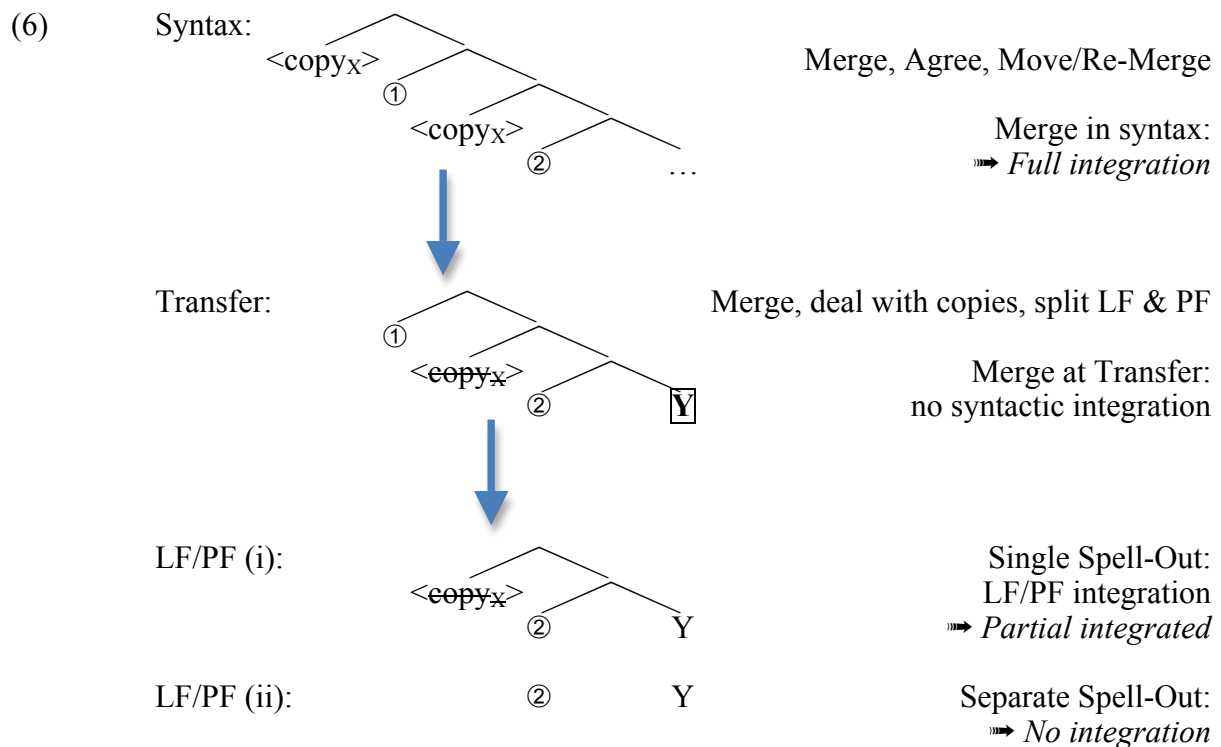
- CP: When CP is complete, Transfer occurs; TP is spelled-out
- How is a root CP spelled out?
- Projection above CP;  $\pi$ P/CP (Gärtner 2001, Branigan 2004), supra-sentential paratactic  $\pi$ P (Gärtner 2001, 2002, Antomo 2009) ForceP (Chomsky 1995, Gärtner and Michaelis 2010), SAP (Meinunger 2004).

#### *Proposal*

- TPs/CPs that do not Merge with anything in syntax (root clauses) project a phrase ( $CP_{IL}$ ) marking them as utterances, as speech acts with separate illocutionary force potential.
- $CP_{IL}$  is added *at Transfer*; the additional projection shifts the phase to  $CP_{IL}$ , and the (regular) CP becomes a *Spell-Out domain* (SOD).
- Type of  $CP_{IL}$  depends on the structure and features of the lower CP (see section 5).

## 2.2 Different degrees of integration—basic proposal

Main proposal



<i>Operations at Transfer</i>	①	Completed phase is transferred
	②	CP <sub>IL</sub> projection of root clauses
	③	Merge
	④	Spell-Out

[Ignored here for the rest of the talk: Copy Chain reduction (Nunes 1995, 1999, 2004); splitting of *u*Fs and *i*Fs (Wurmbrand 2012).]

### 3. Fully integrated clauses

- CPs Merge as complements or adjuncts in syntax.
- Syntactic operations (Move, Agree) can target these CPs.

Syntactic mobility is evidence for syntactic integration.

- Topicalization, scrambling (grammatical, but marked due to middle field parsing complexity), subject movement.
- Extraposition: expletives (correlates) indicate syntactic movement.
- Fragment answers: involve movement of the fragment to a focus position, followed by ellipsis of the rest of the clause (Merchant 2004).

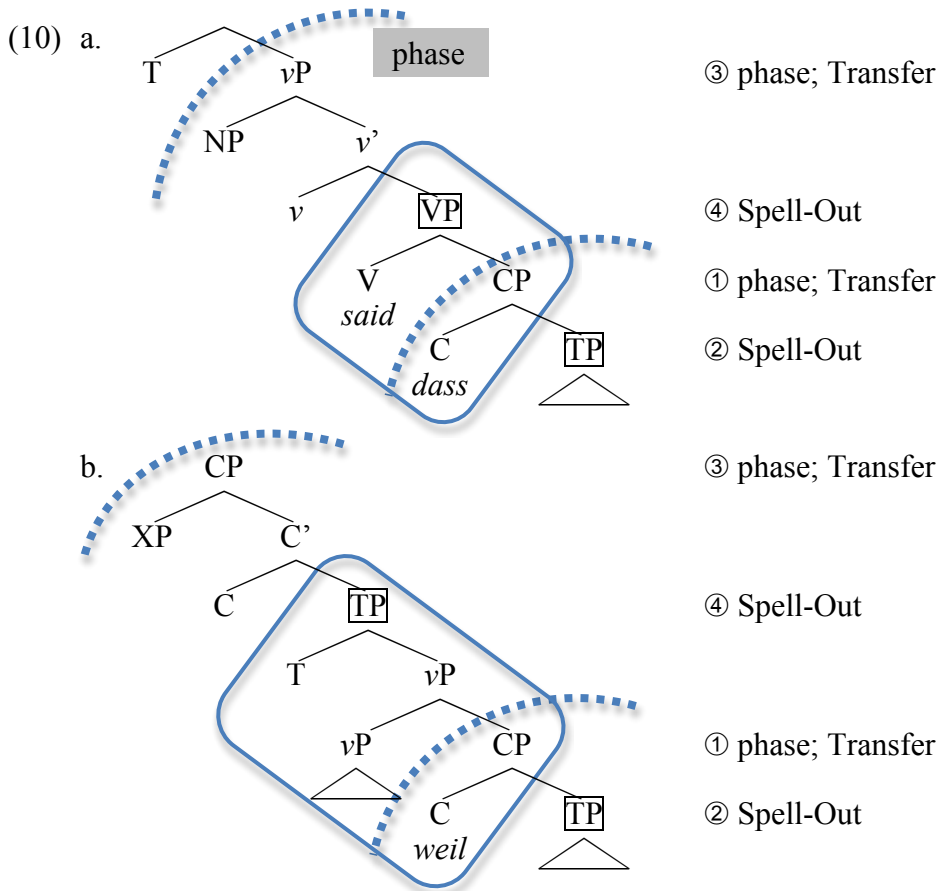
- (7) a. *Dass Peter in Paris ist, kann ich ihr doch erzählen.* R97: 129  
 b. *Ich kann (es) ihr doch erzählen, dass Peter in Paris ist.* R97: 129  
 c. *Wenn man es \*(drauf) anlegt, dass Peter kündigt...* R97: 130  
 d. *Was hast du ihm erzählt? Dass Peter in Paris ist.* R97: 130  
 e. *Dass er zur Tatzeit in Paris war, wurde ihm nicht geglaubt.*

- Single focus background grouping; transparency for bound variable dependencies.
- Evidence for PF, LF integration.

- (8) a. *Ich hab erfahren, dass nun PETER sauer ist.* R97: 130  
 b. *Ich hab [keinem Studenten]<sub>i</sub> geglaubt, dass er<sub>i</sub> krank war.*

- (Certain) Adverbial clauses can also be fully integrated.

- (9) a. *Weil das Kind krank ist, muss Peter zu Hause bleiben.*  
 b. *Peter muss deshalb zu Hause sein, weil das Kind krank ist.* R97: 132  
 c. *Warum gab es Streit? Weil Peter das Haus verkaufen wollte.* R97: 135  
 d. *[Kein Student]<sub>i</sub> ist durchgefallen, weil er<sub>i</sub> die Fragen nicht verstanden hat (sondern nur weil er nicht genug gelernt hat).* not » weil



- CP<sub>IL</sub> is not added onto these embedded clauses, since both CPs Merge with something in syntax—V (complements), vP or TP (adjuncts).
- CP is part of the SOD of the matrix VP (complement), TP (adjuncts).
- Embedded TP, after spelled-out, is visible, but not accessible anymore (LF binding into embedded clause is possible).
- No separate illocutionary domain: no CP<sub>IL</sub>; features of a regular CP contribute to the properties of CP<sub>IL</sub> (Zimmermann 2009, Truckenbrodt 2006a, b), see below, but the CP features alone do not trigger a illocutionary force; only in conjunction with a CP<sub>IL</sub>.
- If the regular CP is the sole source for illocutionary properties, certain CPs need to be exempt (Truckenbrodt 2006b: 400 “The idea is that integrated adjunct clauses ‘check’, or ‘melt in’ their [-WH] specification with a [-WH] specification of their host clause, so that no separate epistemic interpretation results for the adjunct clause”).

#### 4. Partially integrated clauses

- Allow none of the syntactic mobility tests, but behave the same as integrated clauses regarding PF and LF integration properties (Reis 1997).

##### 4.1 Embedded V2 complement clauses

- |         |  |    |          |
|---------|--|----|----------|
| (11) a. | <i>*Er<sub>i</sub> sei unheimlich beliebt, möchte jeder<sub>i</sub> gern glauben.</i>                          | V2 | R97: 139 |
| b.      | <i>Hans hat (*<u>es</u>) geglaubt, Peter geht dahin zu Fuss.</i>   | V2 | R97: 139 |
| c.      | <i>Was würdest du in diesem Fall glauben?</i><br><i><u>Dass</u> Fritz gelogen hätte. *Fritz hätte gelogen.</i> | V2 | R97: 140 |
| d.      | <i>*Er sei zur Tatzeit in Paris gewesen, wurde ihm geglaubt.</i>   | V2 |          |
- 
- |         |  |    |          |
|---------|--|----|----------|
| (12) a. | <i>Jeder<sub>i</sub> möchte gern glauben, er<sub>i</sub> sei unheimlich beliebt.</i> | V2 | R97: 139 |
| b.      | <i>Ich hatte geglaubt, sie KÄME.</i>   | V2 | R97: 140 |

- Embedded V2 clauses: preceded by non-terminal intonation, no prosodic break before (Truckenbrodt 2006a; see also Bošković & Lasnik 2003 for English embedded root clauses—assumption: V and embedded null C must be in the same prosodic domain)
- Two-sentence intonation impossible (creates selectional violation).

- |         |   |                           |
|---------|---|---------------------------|
| (13) a. | <i>Peter vermutet [∕], er hat etwas vergessen. [∕]</i>  | [Truckenbrodt 2006a: 404] |
| b.      | <i>*Peter vermutet. [∕] Er hat etwas vergessen. [∕]</i> |                           |

*Assumptions* (see Wurmbrand 2011a for a formal implementation):

- V2 CP: carries *i*T features (due to V/T-to-C).
- *that* CP, CP<sub>IL</sub>: carry φ features.
- V can only Merge with an XP carrying φ features (Pesetsky and Torrego 2006).

- |         |  |    |  |    |  |
|---------|--|----|--|----|--|
| (14) a. | <pre>       graph TD         VP --&gt; V[V say [+φ]]         VP --&gt; CPNP[CP/NP [+φ] dass...]       </pre> | b. | <pre>       graph TD         Root[*] --&gt; V[V say [+φ]]         Root --&gt; TPCP[TP/CP [+T] V2]       </pre> | c. | <pre>       graph TD         VP --&gt; V[V say [+φ]]         VP --&gt; CPIL[CP<sub>IL</sub> [+φ]]         CPIL --&gt; V2CP[V2-CP]       </pre> |
|---------|--|----|--|----|--|

- A root CP (also TP—English) cannot Merge with V in syntax.
- CP<sub>IL</sub> is only added at Transfer (i.e., if nothing merges with a CP), hence root CPs can only Merge at Transfer.

This derives the lack of syntactic integration.

- Allowing counter-cyclic Merge, CP<sub>IL</sub> can Merge with V directly.
- The selectional properties are satisfied in the usual way.

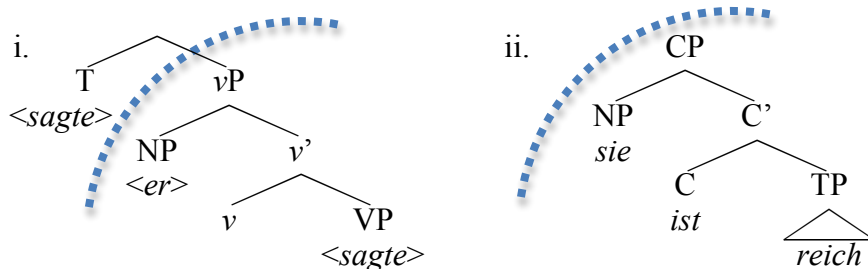
No special treatment is necessary for selection/theta-assignment of embedded V2 clauses.

- After Merge, the derivation continues like the one with integrated clauses.
- Embedded CP<sub>IL</sub> is spelled-out together with the matrix VP.

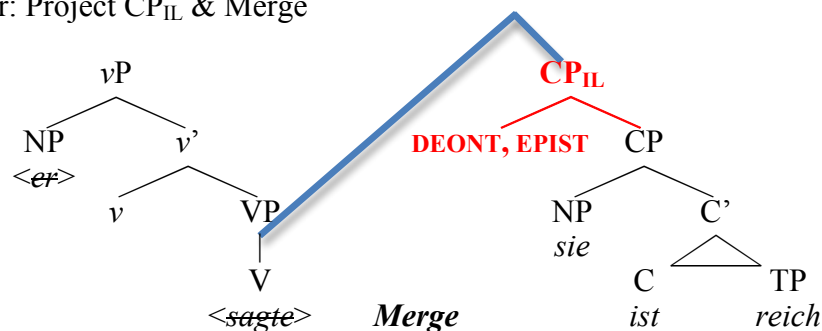
This derives LF/PF integration.

Only difference: embedded V2 clause is interpreted with separate illocutionary force.  
V2 CP: triggers assertive force—DEONT, EPIST (Truckenbrodt 2006a, b; see 5)

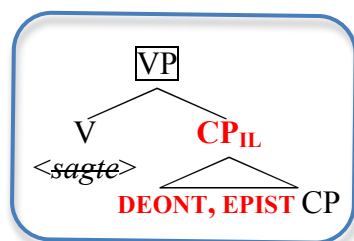
(15) Syntax: matrix vP and embedded CP built in two workspaces



Transfer: Project CP<sub>IL</sub> & Merge



Spell-Out



Open question: Can that clauses also Merge at Transfer?

- Yes: free *dass* clauses, *dass* exclamatives/imperatives (next sections).
- Complement clauses? When syntactic integration is required (e.g., when the CP undergoes movement), Merge must be in Syntax.
- Late Merge is typically only possible for adjuncts.
- Empirical question: Can *dass* complement clauses ever allow separate illocutionary force? I am not sure at this point (some tests do not appear to be horribly impossible).

## 4.2 Free *dass* clauses

- (16) a. \*Dass du nicht kommst, bist du blöd. modified from R97: 133  
 cf. Dass du nicht kommst, ist blöd. Complement clause
- b. Fritz ist (\*es/\*daX) blöd, dass er kommt. R97: 133
- c. Wieso/warum ist Fritz blöd? \*Dass er Ernas Nerzmantel bezahlt. R97: 133
- (17) a. Du bist BLÖD, dass du kommst. R97: 133
- b. Jeder<sub>i</sub> war blöd, dass er<sub>i</sub> darauf eingegangen ist. R97: 136

- No syntactic integration, PF, LF integration  $\Rightarrow$  Merge at Transfer
- Free *dass* clauses are most common with negative evaluative predicates; furthermore, the speaker disapproves of the situation and the content of the *dass* clause.
- Even in the more neutral (18g), there is a sense of disapproval about the closed door; or at least, the speaker expresses that it is unexpected that the subject is not opening the door (but should be doing so); the sentence cannot be used to simply describe the situation.

- (18) a. *Ist denn etwas los, dass Max so schreit?* R97: 132  
 b. *Für wen hältst du mich eigentlich, dass du so brüllst?* “  
 c. *Fritz muss verrückt sein, dass er kommt.* “  
 d. *Der hat doch einen Vogel, dass er in der heutigen Zeit seine Stelle aufgibt.* “  
 e. *Fritz ist ein Idiot, dass er Erna den Nerzmantel bezahlt.* “  
 f. *Fritz ist dumm/blöd, dass er kommt.* “  
 g. *Er muss im Garten sein, dass er nicht aufmacht.* “

- Often degraded with positive evaluative predicates, unless an epistemic modal is added.

- (19) a. *?Er ist schlau, dass er ihr nichts davon erzählt.*  
 cf. *Es ist schlau von ihm, dass er ihr nichts davon erzählt.*  
 b. *?Er ist nett, dass er ihr den Nerzmantel bezahlt.*  
 cf. *Es ist nett von ihm, dass er ihr den Nerzmantel bezahlt.*  
 c. *Ihr neuer Freund muss nett sein, dass er ihr den Nerzmantel bezahlt.*

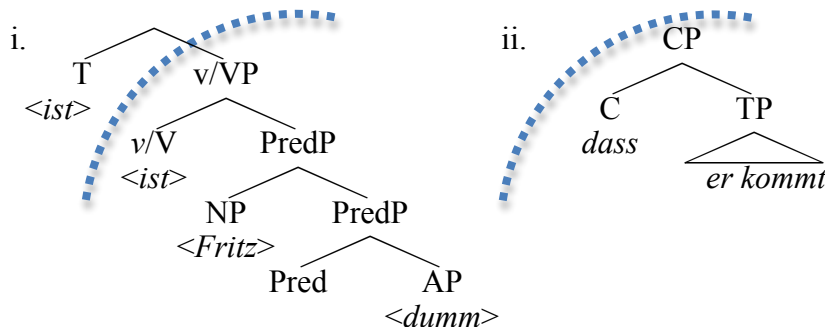
- Similarly, free *dass* clauses are impossible with eventive predicates, but become natural again when an epistemic (but not a root) modal is used, or they appear in a question.

(20) [Situation: the dog always barks when people sing.]

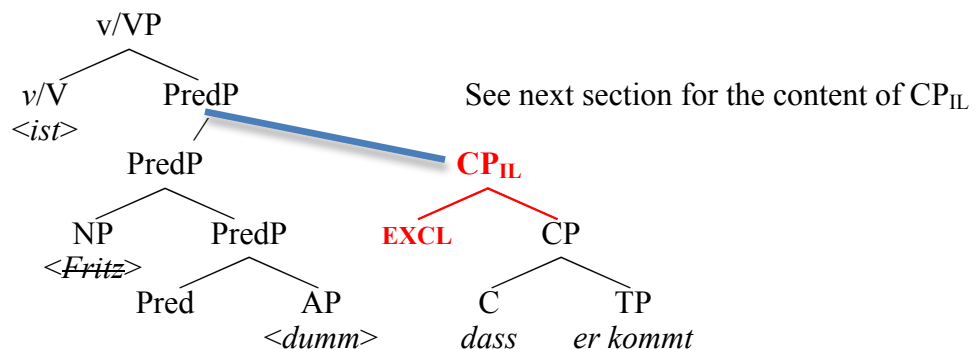
- a. *\*Hans singt gerade, dass der Hund so laut bellt.*  
 b. *Hans muss/\*darf gerade singen, dass der Hund so laut bellt. ✓ epistemic/\*deontic*  
 c. *Wer singt gerade, dass der Hund so laut bellt?*

- It is not clear to me if the attachment site of the *dass* clause is different in examples with questions, epistemic modals, and evaluative predicates. I give only one option below, but assume that TP adjunction (above the modal) is also an option.

(21) Syntax: matrix vP and embedded CP built in two workspaces



Transfer



Spell-Out: Whole PredP, now including the *that* clause, is spelled-out, hence PF/LF integration results.

## 5. Illocutionary force

### 5.1 Assertive force

- Embedded V2 clauses: assertive force (Hooper and Thompson 1973, Wechsler 1991)
- Evidence for separate illocutionary domains (Wegener 1993, Reis 1997, 2006, Truckenbrodt 2006a, b): illocutionary force; assertive particles (*nämlich, ja, doch*); question tags; speech act adverbials (*ehrlich gesagt, leider, bitte*); performative use (*hiermit*)
- [+assertional] (Gärtner 2001), DECLAR operator (Krifka 2001, Zimmermann 2009), AS-SERT operator (Meinunger 2004), DEONT, EPIST context indices (Truckenbrodt 2006a, b).

(22) a. *Root Rule:* [Truckenbrodt 2006b: 394]

Utterances (more generally: communicative acts) are interpreted as purposeful, i.e. expressing a volition on the part of the speaker:  $CG \rightsquigarrow CG + \text{“Deont}_S\text{”}$  (...). In the cases discussed here, the meaning of the utterance is interpreted in the scope of this volition, i.e. as part of “...” in the preceding formula.

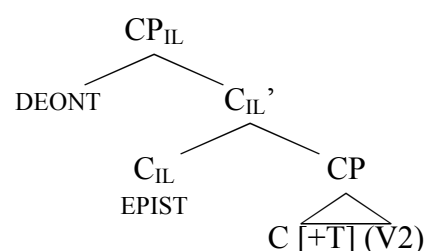
b. *Epistemic interpretation of [+T]* Inspired by Truckenbrodt (2006b: 395)

A specification of [+T] in C associates  $C_{IL}$  with a presupposition that looks for an epistemic context. The proposition p is embedded in that epistemic context.

(23) V2 — assertive force

*S wants it to be common ground that  $C_{IL}$ '*

*Speaker believes/assume/knows that CP*



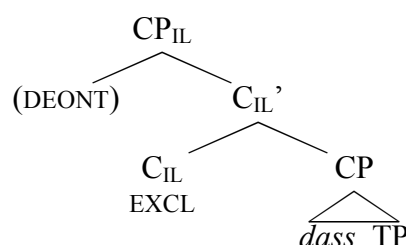
### 5.2 Free dass clauses — very preliminary!

- Free *dass* clauses require a matrix clause with either an evaluative predicate, or an epistemic modal or a question.
- Non-selected *dass* clauses receive a factive interpretation (Reis 1997).
- Hypothesis: *dass* triggers exclamative (or expressive/emotive) illocutionary force in  $CP_{IL}$  (as before, this will only arise if there is a  $CP_{IL}$  on top of the *that* CP, which in turn only arises if the *that* CP does not Merge with anything in syntax).

(24) *dass* exclamatives

*S wants it to be common ground that  $C_{IL}$ '*

*expressive/emotive*



*Some initial plausibility*

- Exclamatives are characterized by factivity (Grimshaw 1979, Zanuttini and Portner 2003), hence the factive interpretation of free *that* clauses would follow if they share properties with exclamatives.
- If exclamatives involve *domain widening* (Zanuttini and Portner 2003), an operator is needed to give rise to a set of alternative propositions or situations which can be extended



(widened), and which then yields the sense of surprise, unexpectedness. The restriction of free *dass* clauses to evaluative predicates, epistemic modal, and question contexts may be related to exclamative domain widening.

- The analysis can be extended to root *dass* clauses.

- (25) a. *Dass die immer nur Turnschuhe anzieht!* [Truckenbrodt 2006: 277]  
 b. *Dass du (ja) das Fenster öffnest!* [Truckenbrodt 2006: 269]  
 Truckenbrodt (2006): ‘S wants (from X ( $\approx$ you)) that you open the window.’

- *dass* imperatives seem to involve a stronger directive force than V1 imperatives (a stronger sense of disapproval if the command is not carried out), and are not always possible in contexts where V1 imperatives are (cf. Kaufmann 2012 for discussion of “S wants” in imperatives). Furthermore, particles (*ja*, *mir*, *bloß*) are required for many speakers in *dass*-imperatives, which may be related to exclamative or expressive force (in contrast to simple deontic imperatives).

- (26) a. *Sei lieb zu deiner Schwester!* Request  
 b. *#Dass du lieb zu deiner Schwester bist!*  
 c. *Dass du (mir) ja lieb zu deiner Schwester bist!* Strong directive, order; threat

- (27) a. *Liebes Christkind! Bring mir bitte eine Ritterburg!*  
 b. *#Liebes Christkind! Dass du mir bitte (##ja) eine Ritterburg bringst!*  
 c. *Lieber Gott! Mach mein Pony wieder gesund!*  
 d. *#Lieber Gott! Dass du (##ja) mein Pony wieder gesund machst!*  
 e. To the boss: *Bitte geben Sie mir noch eine Chance!*  
 f. #To the boss: *Dass Sie mir bitten noch eine Chance geben!*

- (28) a. *Mach bitte (bitte) nichts kaputt!* ✓ polite ‘bitte’  $\Rightarrow$  request  
 b. *Dass du (mir) bitte (??bitte) (ja) nichts kaputt machst!* ??polite ‘bitte’  $\Rightarrow$  threat

*Aside: Disapproval?*

- Speaker’s disapproval clearly plays a role in certain free *that* clauses (and indirectly also in the stronger directive force of *dass* imperatives), but it does not seem to be the case that it is required in all free *dass* clauses.
- One possibility (M. Kaufmann, p.c.; cf. Portner 2006) is that *that* CPs presuppose anchoring in a contextually determined attitude background (e.g., *I want/I am surprised/I wish*).
- Another option may be to include what Bastos (2006) has called a *bothering inference* (which triggers ordering of propositions w.r.t. speaker’s expectation and approval, with the target presupposition being the lowest ranked, least expected/approved one).

## 6. Non-integrated clauses

*No integration — neither in syntax, nor LF, PF*

### 6.1 Complementizer + V2 clause

- (29) a. *\*Denn alles war gutgegangen, war Julia glücklich.* [Heycock 2006: (8)]  
 b. *\*Weil er hatte Kopfweh, ist er nach Hause gefahren.* W93: 292  
 c. *\*Er ist deswegen nach Hause gefahren, weil er hatte Kopfweh.* W93: 293  
 cf. *Er ist deswegen nach Hause gefahren, weil er Kopfweh hatte.* “  
 d. *Warum ist er nach Hause gefahren? Weil er Kopfweh hatte. ?\*Weil er hatte Kopfweh.*

- (30) a. \*Niemand<sub>i</sub> war böse, denn er<sub>i</sub> ist zu früh aufgestanden. [Heycock 2006: (7)]  
 b. Ich bin FROH, denn er ist geKOMmen/\*gekommen. [Heycock 2006: (14)]

- *denn* ‘for, because’, *weil* ‘since, because’, *obwohl* ‘although’: function as speech act elements (head of CP<sub>IL</sub>) in their non-integrated uses (Gärtner 2001, Antomo 2009 also suggests that *weil* can be an overt realization of  $\pi$  above a V2 CP).
- Not (regular) complementizers (in this use), but combine with a regular root (V2) CP
- Can combine with declaratives, questions, and imperatives.

- (31) a. Ruf mich doch nachher nochmal an. Weil — ich bin grad aufn Sprung. W93: 296  
 b. Warum kauft ihr denn keine größeren Müslipäckchen? Weil — die reichen doch nirgends hin. W93: 296  
 c. Das kann mich gar nicht mehr ärgern, weil ich trete hiermit zurück. R06: 374

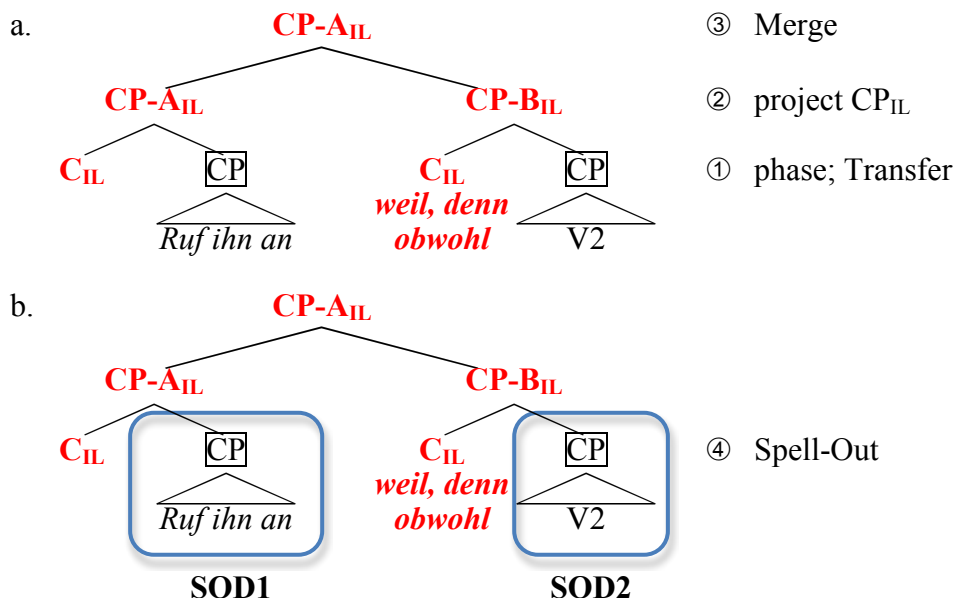
- (32) a. Wir können ja nachher ins Kino gegen, obwohl viel Lust hab ich eigentlich nicht. W93: 297  
 b. Willst du noch ins Kino gehen, obwohl viel Lust hab ich eigentlich nicht?  
 c. Ruf ihn doch einfach an, obwohl das kann er dann auch wieder falsch verstehen.

- (33) a. Ruf ihn an, denn ich halte dein Gejammere nicht länger aus.  
 b. Wer soll der neue Chef werden, denn das geht uns ja alle was an, oder?

Meaning (for further meanings of *weil* see below)

- Give reason/restriction for previous utterance
- ‘I am saying (declarative)/asking (interrogative)/telling you to do (imperative) this because/although CP’

(34) Syntax: matrix and ‘embedded’ CP built in two workspaces



- CPs are spelled-out separately.
- Spell-Out domains do not interact.
- Result: Non-integration at PF and LF.
- Technical detail set aside here: spell-out of the remaining structure.

## 6.2 *weil*

- Wegener (1993): V2 *weil* clauses cannot be in the scope of negation; V-final *weil* CPs expressing the reason for the matrix proposition are ambiguous w.r.t scope of negation.
- V2 *weil* clauses cannot be in the scope of *only* (see Antomo 2009 for *auch* and questions).

(35) a. *Er redet mit der Maria nicht, weil sie reich ist.* *nicht » weil; weil » nicht*  
 b. *Er redet mit der Maria nicht, weil sie nämlich reich ist.* *\*nicht » weil; ✓ weil » nicht*

(36) a. *Er redet mit der Maria nur, weil sie reich ist.* *nur » weil*  
 b. *\*Er redet mit der Maria nur, weil sie ist reich.* *\*nur » weil*  
 c. *Er redet mit der Maria nur, weil sie (?\*nämlich) reich ist.* *nur » weil*

- Correlates/extraposition (syntactic integration) is incompatible with separate illocutionary force; only V-final *weil* clauses are syntactically mobile (see previous section).

(37) a. *Peter muss (deshalb) zu Hause sein, weil das Kind krank ist.* R97: 132  
 b. *Peter muss (\*deshalb) zu Hause sein, weil nämlich das Licht brennt.* R97: 132

*Antomo (2009)*

- V2 *weil* clauses allow three interpretations — crucially, V2 *weil* clauses are non-integrated (e.g., they disallow variable binding) under any of these readings.
- V-final *weil* clauses allow only the propositional interpretation, unless they are separated by a comma intonation, in which case all three interpretations are possible again.

(38) a. *Die Straße ist weiß, weil es geschneit hat.* Propositional  
*Die Straße ist weiß, weil es hat geschneit.*  
 ‘The reason for why the street is white is that it snowed’  
 b. *Es hat einen Unfall gegeben, weil der Airbag ist aufgegangen.* Epistemic  
 ‘The reason for why the speaker believes that there must have been an accident is that the car’s inflatable safety bag is deployed’  
 c. *Hast du mal fünf Euro? Weil ich habe mein Portemonnaie vergessen.* Speech act  
 ‘Do you have five Euros? The reason I’m asking is that I forgot my wallet’

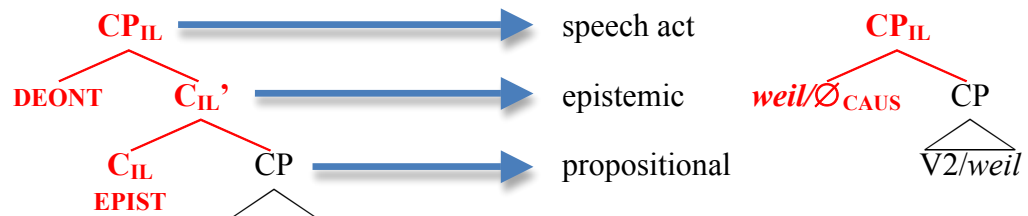
- Antomo argues that accounting for the different interpretations via different attachment sites is impossible, since non-integration holds for all interpretations (i.e., specifically, the propositional reading of a V2 *weil* clause cannot be derived by TP-adjunction, in contrast to the propositional reading of a V-final *weil* clause).
- Pragmatic factors derive the different interpretations.
- Syntactic disintegration (including impossibility of variable binding across a non-integrated *weil* clause) is attributed to the assertive force potential.

*But:*

- Assertive force potential does not entail non-integration at LF—as we have seen, selected embedded V2 clauses are only syntactically non-integrated, but they are integrated at LF.
- The approach here accounts for the whole picture (see table): full integration of V-final *weil* clauses, partial integration of embedded V2 complement clauses, and no integration of V2 *weil* clauses (and V-final *weil* clauses under the comma intonation).
- Furthermore, the composition of CP<sub>IL</sub>, allows a 1:1 syntax-semantics mapping.

	NEG/only/Q » <i>weil</i>	Merged	CP <sub>IL</sub>	V- position	Type of modification	Adjoined to
Integrated	Yes	Syntax	—	final	propositional	TP/vP
Non-integrated	No	Transfer	CAUS/∅ <sub>CAUS</sub>	V2/final	propositional	CP
Non-integrated	No	Transfer	CAUS/∅ <sub>CAUS</sub>	V2/final	epistemic	C <sub>IL</sub> '
Non-integrated	No	Transfer	CAUS/∅ <sub>CAUS</sub>	V2/final	speech act	CP <sub>IL</sub>

(39) Non-integrated *weil* clauses — adjunction options (at Transfer)



### 6.3 Verb-final clauses

- (40) a. \**Weshalb ich (hiermit) zurücktrete, hat Tom sich auch beworben.*  
cf. *Weshalb er zurücktritt, weiß keiner.* (Interrogative complement clause)
- b. \**Jeder<sub>i</sub> plant einen Urlaub, weshalb er<sub>i</sub> schon jetzt vergnügt ist.* R97: 136
- c. \**Jeder<sub>i</sub> muss wegfahren wollen, weil er<sub>i</sub> sein Auto zur Inspektion gibt.* R97: 136
- d. *Den Preis hat man IHR/\*ihr verliehen, weshalb nun PETER sauer ist.* R97: 128

#### Adverbial clauses

- (41) a. *Räum bitte dein Zimmer auf, weil morgen nämlich Besuch kommt.* R06: 374
- b. *Tom hat sich nicht beworben, obwohl er seit Jahren arbeitslos ist.* R06: 373
- c. *Tom mag Mathe, während Tim dieses Fach hasst.* R06: 373

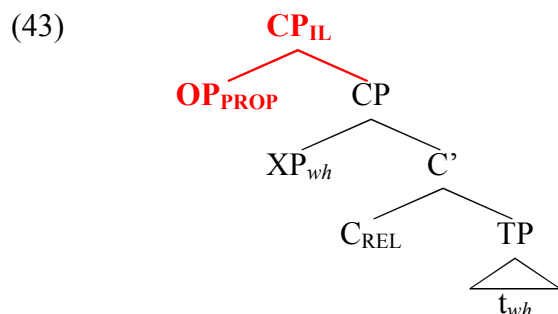
- The structure for these cases was given above.
- *Weil, obwohl* are merged as complementizers in the V-final structures, and the CPs do not Merge with the matrix clause in syntax.
- The CP is then transferred, which yields the insertion of a C<sub>CAUS</sub> head (triggered by the complementizer *weil*), and perhaps a ∅<sub>CONCESS</sub> (Gärtner 2001, for *obwohl*) at Transfer.
- The CP<sub>IL</sub>s combine as in (39).

#### Relative clauses (I won't illustrate appositive relative clauses here)

- I propose that the following cases all involve relative clause structures modifying propositions. Many of the relative pronouns have anaphoric non-relative analogues.
- (42) a. *Tom hat sich auch beworben, weshalb ich hiermit zurücktrete.* R06: 374  
*Tom hat sich auch beworben. Deshalb/Deswegen bewerbe ich mich nicht.*
- b. *Warum soll ich das machen, wo ich doch überhaupt keine Zeit habe?* R06: 373
- c. *Um 9 Uhr schlief das Kind ein, woraufhin die Eltern fortgingen/was alle erleichterte/welcher Umstand die Eltern sehr beglückte.* R97: 127  
*Daraufhin gingen die Eltern fort. Das/Dieser Umstand hat alle erleichtert.*
- d. *Netanjahu lobte die Aussagen Präsident Obamas ausdrücklich, wobei er allerdings nur auf die Teile der Rede einging, die...* Corpus example  
*...Dabei ging er allerdings nur auf die Teile der Rede ein, die....*
- e. *Tom mag Mathe, wogegen Tim dieses Fach hasst.* R06: 373  
*Tom mag Mathe. Dagegen/Hingegen hasst Tim dieses Fach.*

## Structures

- CP: regular relative clause structure derivation — *wh* element to Spec,CP, no T/V-to-C.
- CP does not Merge in Syntax.
- At Transfer, a CP<sub>IL</sub> is projected, with an operator associating with the *wh*-XP.



- CP<sub>IL</sub> then combines with the matrix clause, which functions as the identifier of the embedded operator.
- The relative clauses above differ as to whether they are possible in questions and imperatives. (e.g., *weshalb* is very marginal in questions — \**Wann wurde darüber entschieden, weshalb ich hiermit zurücktrete*).
- This difference may relate to (im)possible adjunction sites (e.g., adjunction to CP is possible, a proposition which can identify the OP<sub>PROP</sub>, if CP<sub>IL</sub> is possible in questions).
- I have not worked through all the options in the different constructions yet.

## Evidence for adjunction

- Many of the non-integrated clauses can appear in either order, and, given the right context, both/either can be identified by the matrix proposition (both clauses can adjoin to matrix clause, or the third clause can adjoin to the second).

- (44) a. *Peter ist kurzsichtig, was ja eigentlich niemand stört, weshalb er aber wohl öfters unsicher wirkt.* R97: 128  
Reason for insecurity: that he is shortsighted (pragmatically more plausible) or that nobody is bother by his short-sightedness
- b. *Peter ist kurzsichtig, was viele Leute stört, weshalb er wohl öfters unsicher wirkt.*  
Easy interpretation: Reason for his insecurity is that his shortsightedness bothers many people (*weshalb* clause adjoins to *was* clause)
- c. *Peter ist kurzsichtig, weshalb er wohl öfters unsicher wirkt, was aber eigentlich niemanden stört.*  
Easy interpretation: People aren't bothered by his insecurity (*was* clause adjoins to *weshalb* clause)
- d. *Peter ist kurzsichtig, weshalb er manchmal unsicher wirkt, was aber sonst eigentlich niemanden stört.*  
Easy interpretation: People aren't bothered by his shortsightedness (both clauses adjoin to matrix clause)

- Multiple non-integrated clauses provide evidence for an adjunction structure, as proposed here, as opposed to configurations in which CP1 is the specifier, and CP2 is the complement of a C-related head.

## 7. Summary

Types of embedded clauses	Syntactic integration	PF, LF integration	V position	Separate illocutionary domain
<b>Merge in Syntax</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>V-final</b>	<b>no</b>
Selected <i>that</i> complements	Yes	Yes	V-final	no
Adverbial clauses ( <i>weil, wenn...</i> )	Yes	Yes	V-final	no
Restricted relative clauses	Yes	Yes	V-final	no
<b>Merge at Transfer; single SOD</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>V2, final</b>	<b>yes</b>
Selected V2 complements	No	Yes	V2	yes
Free (non-selected) <i>that</i> clauses	No	Yes	V-final	yes
<b>Merge at Transfer; separate SODs</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>V2, final</b>	<b>yes</b>
Adverbial clauses ( <i>denn, weil, obwohl</i> )	No	No	C+V2	yes
Adverbial/relative clauses ( <i>weshalb, was, wogegen, obwohl, weil, wobei,...</i> )	No	No	V-final	yes
Appositive relative clauses	No	No	V-final	yes

- Following Truckenbrodt (2006a, b), I have proposed that V/T-to-C plays a crucial role in determining the distribution of the integration and illocutionary potential:
  - T-to-C causes the CP to be marked *i*T on top, which makes it impossible for a V2 CP to combine with V, hence Transfer is forced, and Merge (necessary to satisfy the selectional properties of V) can only occur at Transfer.
  - Embedded V2 clauses are then not integrated in syntax, but they are at LF & PF.
  - Syntactically integrated CPs are always V-final and have no separate illocutionary force.
  - T in C also causes the epistemic interpretation of V2 clauses, which in turn gives rise to the epistemic reading in *weil* clauses.
- Adjunct clauses can Merge in syntax (full integration) or at Transfer (partial or no integration), depending on the interpretation (this is reminiscent of *late insertion* of modifiers; Lebeaux 1991, 1995, 2009, Fox and Nissenbaum 1999, Fox 2000).
- Specific interpretations depend on the composition of the CP and the Merge position.
- Syntax plays a crucial factor in the distribution of integration and illocutionary force.
- Not studied in detail yet (V2 relatives, Gärtner 2001; questions, distribution of embedded V2; ...)

*The flavors of CP<sub>IL</sub>: A first approximation*

Type of CP	Values, meaning	Merge options
V2 CP	<i>weil, denn, obwohl</i>	Merge with CP <sub>IL</sub> , C <sub>IL</sub> ', or CP
	DEONT, EPIST	Merge with V (embedded V2) —— (Root V2)
<i>weil, obwohl</i> clause	∅ <sub>CAUS</sub> , ∅ <sub>CONCESS</sub>	Merge with CP <sub>IL</sub> , C <sub>IL</sub> ', or CP
<i>that</i> clause	(DEONT,) EXCL ( <i>bothering inference?</i> )	Merge with VP/TP (free <i>dass</i> clause) —— ( <i>dass</i> root clause)
Relative clause	OP <sub>PROP</sub>	Merge with CP <sub>IL</sub> (others?)

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