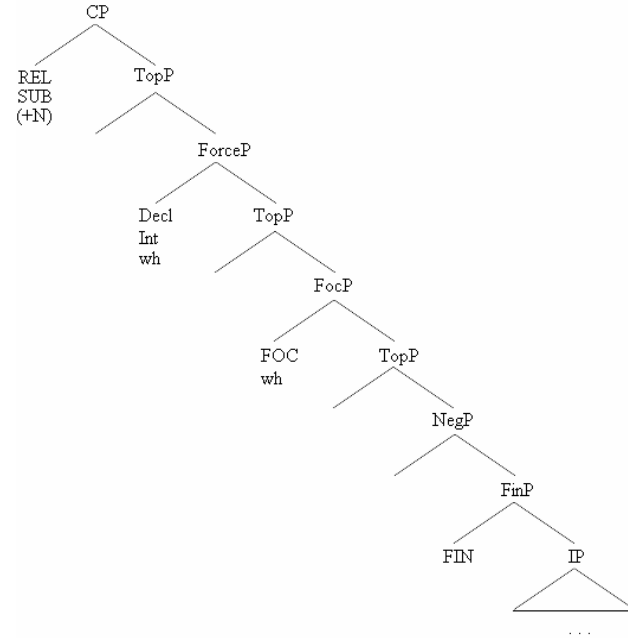


Indo-European Complementisers: Variation, distribution and diachrony (Dezember 06)

1. Preliminaries and Predictions

1.1. Functional Phrases in the C-Domain

(1) (cf. Öhl, *in progress*; Öhl&Lotfi, *in progress*; adapted from Rizzi 1997)¹



1.2. Types of Complementisers and their Distribution: some Hypotheses

(2) a. \bar{u} porsid [_{CP} **ke** [_{ForceP} **āyā** [_{FinP} [_{IP} man zabānšenāsī xānde būdam]...]] (Öhl 2004b: 165)
he/she – asked – SUB – INT – I – linguistics – studied-had

b. He asked [_{CP} [_{ForceP} **if** [_{FinP} [_{IP} I studied linguistics] ...]]

c. man nemīdānam [_{CP} **ke** [_{ForceP} **āyā** [_{FocP} **či-oi** [_{FinP} [_{IP} \bar{u} tī mīxānad]...]]] (cf. Ahmad R. Lotfi, p.c.)
I – NEG-know – SUB – INT – what-ACC – he/she – studies
 'I wonder what he/she studies.'

➤ Elements indicating the clause type are generated in a deeper position than mere subordination markers. The phrase hosting the type feature is dominated by a phrase hosting some feature of syntactic subordination.

(3) Muje malum nahin [_{CP} **ki** [_{ForceP} **kya** [_{FinP} [_{IP} wo ladke bhasha padh raha hai]...]] (Hindi; cf. Öhl 2004a, 165)
mir – wiss – NEG-ist – SUB – Q – der – Junge – Sprache – studier – ist

'Ich weiß nicht, ob der Junge Linguistik studiert.'

(4) Ami nije-ke jiggEsh kori [_{CP} **je** [_{TopP} chele-TA [_{ForceP} **ki** [_{FinP} [_{IP} lingwistik pORe]...]]] (Bengali; cf. Öhl 2004a, 165)
ich – mir – Frage – tue – SUB – Junge-def – Q – Linguistik – studiert

'Ich frage mich, ob der Junge Linguistik studiert.'

(5) a. *Credo, a Gianni, **che** avrebbero dovuto dirgli la verità. (cf. Rizzi 2001: 289)
think-1stsg – DAT – G. – that – AUX-PQP-SUBJ-3.pl – must-PII – say-INF – DET – truth

'I think **that** they should have told the truth to John.'

b. Non so, [_{CP} [_{TopP} a Gianni [_{ForceP} **se** [_{IP} avrebbero potuto dirgli la verità]...]]] (cf. Rizzi 2001: 289)
 NEG – know-1stsg – DAT – G. – if – AUX-PQP-SUBJ-3rdpl – can-PII – say-INF – DET – truth

'I do not know **if** they could have told the truth to John.'

(6) Credo, [_{CP} **che** [_{TopP} a Gianni [_{ForceP} [_{FocP} [_{FinP} [_{IP} avrebbero dovuto dirgli la verità]...]]]]
think-1stsg – DAT – G. – SUB – AUX-PQP-SUBJ-3.pl – must-PII – say-INF – DET – truth

➤ Distributional variation of complementisers follows from different positions in a parametrically variant C-Domain, where functional phrases are ordered corresponding to the conceptual hierarchy of the features projecting them.

(7) a. Nomizo [_{CP} [_{ForceP} **oti** [_{NegP} **den** [_{FinP} **tha** [_{IP} to agoras]]...]]] (cf. Roussou 2000: 66)
think-1stsg – COMP – NEG – FUT – ObjCl – buy-3rdsg

'I think he won't buy it.'

b. Anarotjeme [_{CP} [_{ForceP} **an** [_{FinP} **tha** [_{IP} to agoras]]...]]] (cf. Roussou 2000: 79)
wonder-1stsg – COMP – FUT – ObjCl – buy-3rdsg

'I wonder whether he will buy it.'

• Topics (Focus?) can precede **óti**; **tha** (future PTC) in Fin^o indicates that **óti** is in Force:

(8) Nomizo [_{CP} [_{TopP} (ta mila) [_{ForceP} **óti** [_{TopP} (ta mila) den [_{FinP} **tha** to [_{IP} fai o Pétros]...]]]]
think-1.sg – DET – apples – COMP – NEG – FUT – ObjCl – eat-3rdsg – DET – Peter

'I do not think Peter will eat those apples.'

• There is no topic position available in front of the subordination marker **poiv**:

(9) a. *xarika [to petros [_{CP} **pu** [_{IP} efevye]...]]
happy-PRET-1stsg – DET – Peter – COMP – leave-IMPERF

b. xarika [_{CP} **pu** [_{TopP} [_{ForceP} [_{IP} efevye to petros]...]]] (cf. Nicholas 1998: 60)

'I was happy that Peter was leaving.'

• Note also the complementary distribution of **va** (subjunctive PTC) and **óti** in Greek:

(10) Theli [_{CP} (*oti) [_{ForceP} **na** [_{NegP} min [_{FinP} to [_{IP} agoras]]...]]] (cf. Roussou 2000: 79)
want-3rdsg – COMP – SBJT – NEG – ObjCl – buy-3rdsg

'I do not want him to buy it.'

(11) a. [_{RelativeP} **pu** [_{TopicP} [_{FocusP} [_{WhP/Sub.TypeP} **oti** [_{TopicP} [_{IP}]...]]]]] (cf. Alexiadou 1997: 79)

b. [_{CP} **pu** [_{Topic/ Focus} [_{Force} **oti/ an/ na** [_{Topic/ Focus} [_{Neg} **den/min** [_{Fin} **tha/ta** [_{IP} V . . .]...]]]]] (cf. Roussou 2000: 79)

➤ Subordination markers but not complementisers indicating the clause type are used as relativisers.

(12) a. Thelun éna voitho [_{CP} (*ta anglika) **pu** [_{TopP} ✓(ta anglika) [_{ForceP} **na** [_{FinP} [_{IP} (to) milai kala]...]]] (Roussou 2000: 78)
wollen – einen – assistenten – SUB – das – Englische – SBJ – ObjCl – spricht – gut

b. *Thelun éna voitho [(ta anglika) **óti** (ta anglika) na (to) milai kala]...]

'Sie wollen einen Assistenten, der gut Englisch spricht.'

(13) kesī **ke** to dīde-ī emrūz raft. (Persian; Lazard 1992:229)
someone – SUB – you – have -seen – today – went

'Someone that you saw went away today.'

¹ Öhl (2003, 2005b) und Öhl&Lotfi (*in progress*) argumentieren auf der Basis von Komplementsatzdistribution, Kasusmarkierung und Extraktionsdaten für einen peripheren Kopf [N] in der C-Dom. Vgl. auch die *NP-Shell Hypothesis* von Müller (1993: 60). Zu nominalen Eigenschaften von C, vgl. Kayne (1984), Webelhuth (1989, Ch.4), Müller&Sternefeld (1993: 37ff).

- (14) Un oumo **che** ritengo potergli parlare. (Italian; Rizzi 1997: 310)
a – man – SUB – believe-1stsg – can-to – talk
 'A man of whom I believe that you can talk to him.'
- (15) a. Der Mann, **den** ich sehe. (German)
the – man – who – I – see
 b. *Der Mann **dass** ich sehe.
the – man – SUB – I – see
- (16) a. De man **die** ik zie. (Dutch; Joost Kremers, p.c.)
the – man – who – I – see
 b. *De man **dat** ik zie.
the – man – SUB – I – see

➤ Topics follow relative *wh*-operators but precede interrogative *wh*-operators (in Italian).

- (17) a. Un uomo **a cui**, il premio Nobel, lo daranno senz'altro (cf. Rizzi 1997, 289)
ein Mann dem den Nobelpreis ihn sie-werden-geben sicherlich
 'ein Mann, dem sie sicherlich den Nobelpreis geben werden'
 b. *Un uomo, il premio Nobel, **a cui** lo daranno senz'altro
- (18) a. * **A chi**, il premio Nobel, lo daranno?
wem den Nobelpreis ihn sie-werden-geben
 b. Il premio Nobel, **a chi** lo daranno?
den Nobelpreis wen ihn sie-werden-geben
 'Den Nobelpreis, wem werden sie den geben?'

➤ In the absence of markers of clause mood, the clause type is interpreted by default.

- (19) a. jeg hevder [_{CP} **at** [_{TOPP} lingvistikk [_{FINP} **studerer** [_{IP} gutt-en]...]] (Norwegian; cf. Öhl 2003: 166)
I – claim-1stsg – COMP – linguistics – studies – boy-DET
 b. jeg tror [_{CP} **at** [_{TOPP} lingvistikk [_{FINP} **studerer** [_{IP} gutt-en]...]] (Öhl 2003: 166)
I – believe – COMP – linguistics – studies – boy-DET
 c. Ve ved [_{CP} **at** [_{TOPP} denne bog [_{FINP} **har** [_{IP} Bo ikke læst]...]] (Danish; cf. Vikner 1995: 67)
we – know – COMP – this – book – has – Bo – NEG – read
- (20) Jón segir [_{CP} **að** [_{FocP} Þessum hring, [_{TOPP} honum [_{FINP} **hafi** [_{IP} Ólafur lofað Maríu ___]]] (Icelandic; Þráinsson 1979: 64)
J. – says – SUB – this – ring_{DAT} – DEM_{DAT} – has – Olaf_{NOM} – promised – Mary_{DAT}
- (21) Vi vet [_{FocP} **hvem** [_{FINP} **som** [_{IP} ikke skjønnte dette spørsmålet]...]] (Norwegian; Taraldsen 1986: 8)
we – know – who – COMP – NEG – understood – that – question
- (22) Han undrade [_{FocP} **vem** [_{FINP} **som** [_{IP} inte hade öppnat dörren]...]] (Swedish; Platzack 1986: 41)
he – wondered – who – COMP – NEG – had – opened – door-DET
- (23) tse chay khabar [_{CP} **ki** [_{FocP} **kyaa** [_{FINP} **kor** [_{IP} tem]...]] (Kaschmiri, Bhatt 1999: 159f)
you – AUX – know – COMP – what – did – he
 'You know what he did.'

➤ Complementisers representing features of finiteness are generated in the lowest position of the C-Domain.

- (24) Ik geloof [_{CP} [_{FINP} **dat** ([_{-TOPP} deze boeken] [_{IP} zij niet waarden]...]] (Dutch; cf. Gelderen 2003: 16)
I – think – that – this – book – they – NEG – appreciate
- (25) a. %lk vraag me af [_{CP} [_{FocP} **wie** [_{FINP} **dat** [_{IP} taalkunde studeert]...]] (Dutch; Öhl 2003: 225)
I – ask – me – of – who – if – that – linguistics – studies
 'I wonder who studies linguistics.'
 b. *Ich glaube [_{CP} **dass** [_{TOPP} Linguistik [_{FINP} **studies** [_{IP} der Junge]...]]

➤ Elements indicating clause mood can stand either in Fin° or Force° of embedded clauses. Elements indicating syntactic subordination, however, can stand in all three positions.

(26) **Distribution of Markers in the C-Domain of embedded Clauses** (Öhl, forthcoming)

CP: subordination markers; relative elements

ModP: elements that indicate clause mood (and may indicate subordination) (particles, complementisers, *wh*-elements(?))

FinP: elements that indicate finiteness and verbal mood (and may indicate clause mood and subordination) (particles, complementisers, *wh*-elements(?); *I*-elements)

⇒ Elements generated in Fin° may overtly or covertly move to Force° in order to check the type features, and may also move on to Force°, as may elements generated in Mod°. Elements generated in C°, however, are mere subordinators (or relativisers).

1.3. Predictions

- Diachronically, the type of complementiser is influenced by the category it is grammaticalised from. Tentatively, relative elements that are in a higher position already, are grammaticalised to subordination markers. Complementisers indicating the clause type, on the other hand, are grammaticalised from demonstratives and pragmatic markers.
- Complementisers indicating the clause type can diachronically develop to mere subordination markers. This can be regarded as further grammaticalisation due to the loss of semantic features. The elements will be generated in a higher phrase (→ loss of movement; *economy*).
- Very rarely, relative elements/ subordination markers develop to complementisers indicating the clause type. This puzzling 'gain of semantic features' can be explained as diachronic recategorisation due to structural reanalysis, when language learners start generating the subordination marker in the lower 'type-phrase' ForceP. This strongly indicates the innate knowledge of functional features in the C-Domain.

2. Grammaticalisation of COMPs

- *Clines* (cf. Lehmann 1995: 309)
 autonomous > dependent (pragmatic marker > COMP)
 concrete > abstract (REL > SUB)

Die gesamte Sprachentwicklung wird bestimmt von dem stets vorhandenen Widerspruch zwischen den kommunikativen und den expressiven Bedürfnissen des Menschen einerseits und andererseits seiner Neigung, seine geistige und physische Aktivität auf ein Minimum zu beschränken.
 Martinet ([1955] 1981: 85)

(27) **Maxime of cognitive economy** (cf. Öhl, *in progress*; Korn&Öhl, *to appear*)

Generate minimal structures converging with sufficient specification of logical interpretation.

(28) **Competing Principles of Cognitive Economy** (cf. Öhl, *in progress*)

- structures are minimal wrt the generative expense
- structures are sufficiently specified wrt the logical interpretation

Impact on speech production:

- ⇒ (a) may lead to structural simplification
- ⇒ (b) may lead to creative use of linguistic means (e.g. *lexical* elements implying *functional* meaning)

Impact on language acquisition:

- ⇒ (a) may lead to structural simplification
- ⇒ (b) may lead to assignment of functional features to lexical items by language learners and presupposes innate knowledge of functional features (in the C-Domain)

➤ Mere markers of subordination arose through structural reanalysis of relative constructions due to economy principle 28a) and the correlated loss of semantic features.

• Persian (cf. Korn&Öhl, *to appear*):

(29) abāz ward **kū** āmad hē (M 2 I R ii 28)
zurück – kehre – wo – gekommen – bist
'kehre zurück (dorthin), woher du gekommen bist'

(30) gyāgīhān **kū**-šān passazag (M 8251 I V 4)
Stellen – SUB/REL-PRON3PL – passend (Transliteration s. Andreas & Henning 1933: 310)
'die Orte/Stellen, wo/ die passend für sie [sind] ...'

(31) u-mān kāmag **kū** ōy ō dar ī amā frēstēh (Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān 2: 7, DDM 291)
und-PRON1PL – Wunsch – SUB – er/sie – zu – Hof – EZF – wir – schickst
'Und es ist unser Wunsch, dass du ihn zu unserem Hof schickst.'

(32) spāh Kirm **kē** pad diz būd (Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān 10: 17)
Armee – Eigenn. – REL – in – Burg – war (nach der Transliteration in Brunner 1977: 82)
'die Armee von Kirm, die in der Burg war'

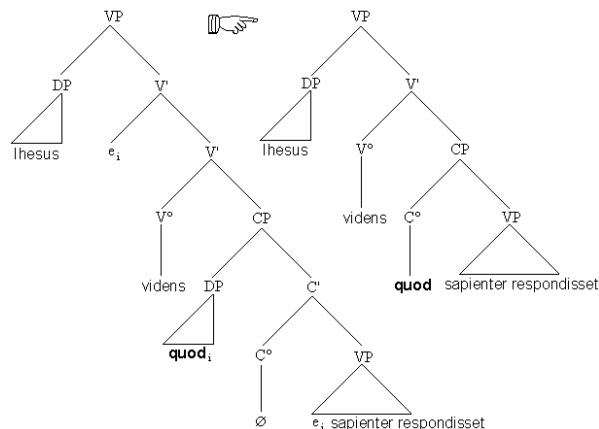
(33) īn šab **ke** dīgar rūz hasanak-rā bar dār mīkardand (cf. Jahani 2000: 37)
DEM – Nacht – SUB – anderer – Tag – PN-RA – zu – Galgen – machten
bū-sahl nazdīk-e pedar-am āmad.
PN – nahe-EZF – Vater-PRON1SG – kam
'In jener Nacht, als anderntags Hasanak gehenkt wurde, kam Bu-Sahl zu meinem Vater.'

• Latin *quod*:

(34) a. Et cum audissent principes sacerdotum et Pharisēi parabolās eius, cognoverunt **quod** de ipsis diceret. (Mt. 21,46) (T)²
und – als – gehört-hatten – Höchsten – Priester-GEN – und – Pharisäer – Gleichnisse – seine – erkannten3.pl – dass/was – von – ihnen-selbst – sprech-3rdsg-PLQ

b. Ihesus autem videns **quod** sapienter respondisset, dixit illi: non es longe a regno dei. (Lk. 10,28) (T)
Jesus – aber – sehend – dass/was – klug – antwort-3rdsg-PQP – sagte – jenem – nicht – bist – lange – vom – Reich – Gottes

(35)³



² Text quotations marked by (T) are taken from the electronic text corpora 'Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien' (TITUS) (<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/texte.html>). The copyrighted font is 'Titus Western'.

³ Cf. also *van Gelderen's* economy principle 'heads over phrases' (Gelderen 2004, 61).

2.1. COMPs indicating the clause type (Fin- and Force- elements)

Claim: complementisers indicating the clause type may originate from elements that did not necessarily belong to the C-domain of a clause; they arose through the replacement of concrete semantic features by abstract functional features due to recategorisation as functional heads potentially representing features like SUB, *clause mood* or *finiteness* – which requires innate knowledge of these functional categories.

• German *dass* was recategorised from the 3rdsg.n demonstrative pronoun (cf. Müller&Frings 1959).

(36) a. chīt man **dāz**. īeht sī in presentī geuūāro. tāz īst so. (NOTK. Cons. 37f.)
says – someone – DEM – something – be – in – present – true – DEM – is – so

b. joh gizalta in sar **thaz** – [p̄ thiū salida untar in was] (OTFRIED 2,2,8)
and – payed – him – soon – DEM – good – luck – with – him – was

c. er thahta (...) **thaz**. **thaz** er ther duriwart was (OTFRIED 2,4,7)
he – thought – DEM – COMP – he – the – goalkeeper – was

• Romance *si* originally was a Lat./IE demonstrative adverb or discourse marker⁴ indicating expectation (cf. BRUGMANN 1904, 670, 696; comp. Lat. *sic*, Engl. *so*). It could indicate *prospectivity* and was the source for reanalysis of a whole range of nonveridical markers (e.g. interrogative & conditional complementisers).

(37) a. sto expectans **sī** quid mi imperent (BRUGMANN 1904, 696)
stand^{1st}Sg – expecting – SO – what – to-me – order^{3rd}PI

'I stand waiting – so what may they order me?'

b. **sī** nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus ostendat nemore? (Verg., Aen. 6, 187)
SO – now – itself – to-us – that – golden – tree-ABL – leave – show-SJT – grove-ABL

'Shall now that golden leave from the tree of the grove appear to us?' (⇒ INT-particle?)

(38) a. Captivī cōnābantur, **sī** effugere possent. (BAYER & LINDAUER 1990, 221)
prisoners – tried – COMP – escape – could

'The prisoners tried out, if they could escape.' (⇒ INT-COMP?)

b. **Sī** tacuisses, philosophus mansisses. (Boethius, Cons., II/7)
COMP – be-silent^{2nd}SgPstPerf – philosopher – remain^{2nd}SgPstPerf

'If you had been silent, you would have remained a philosopher.' (⇒ COND-COMP?)

c. Observabant autem scribē et Pharisēi, **si** in sabbato curaret, ut invenirent accusare illum. (Lk 6,8) (T)

• Complementisers like English *if* < OE (*g*)*if* or ModG *ob* < OHG *ibu*, *oba*, *ob* stem from PG **eba-* < IE **e-* (pronominal) + *b^ho-* 'both'⁵.

! The Goth. cognate *ibai* was, in the first place, a marker of prospectivity (cf. BRUGMANN 1904).

(39) a. nih niuġasatidana, **ibai** aufto ufarhauġips in stauai adriusai unġulġins. (1Tim 3, 6) (T)
NEG – newcomer – PTC – probably – arrogant – in – jury – fall – devil-GEN

'(He should be) no newcomer, so that he might become arrogant and fall to the jury of the devil.'

b. þandei ġuþ þans us gabaurþai astans ni freidida, **ibai** aufto ni þuk freidjai. (Rom 11, 21) (T)
as – god – DEM – from – origin – leaves – NEG – exempted – PTC – probably – NEG – you – exempt

'As god did not exempt the leaves, that were there from the beginning, he will (probably) not exempt you.'

➤ Firstly, it became a marker of interrogatives implying a negative answer (cf. BRUGMANN 1904).

⁴ Zum Phänomen der Grammatikalisierung von Diskursfunktionen zu grammatischen / syntaktischen Funktionen, vgl. Lehmann (1995: 113ff).

⁵ An etymological correlation with both ModE *or* (= ModG *oder*) and the Goth. interrogative marker *-u* is also often assumed (cf. FRIEDRICH KLUGE²³ 1995, 595ff).

- (40) jah qaþ im Iesus: **ibai** magun sunjus brufadis, und þatei miþ im ist brufafs, fastan? (Mc 2, 19) (T)
and – said – them – Jesus – PTC – may – sons – bridegroom-GEN – and – REL – with – them – is – bridegroom – fast
 'And Jesus spoke to them: May the bridegroom's sons and the bridegroom, who is with them, fast?'

➤ In German (and English), this marker of prospectivity developed into a COMP for both conditionals and interrogatives.

- (41) Simes wír ouh balde, **ob** es thúrft werde, ... (Otfried 4,5,49) (T)
see – we – also – soon – COMP – it – need – become-SBJT
 'We will also see soon if it becomes necessary'

- (42) a. ih fragen iuuuh, **oba** iz arloubit si in sambaztag uuola tuon oda ubilo ... (Tatian 69, 4) (T)
I – ask – you – COMP – it – allowed – be-SBJT – in – sabbath – well – do – or – evil

- b. Únkund ist mir thar to, **ob** er si úbildato; (Otfried 3, 20, 113) (T)
unknown – is – to-me – here – by – COMP – he – be-SBJT – sinner

- (43) a. Blinter **oba** blintemo leitidon forgibit, beidaie in gruobe uallent. (Tatian 84, 7) (T)
blind-NOM – PTC – blind-DAT – leadership – leave – both – in – pit – fall
 'The blind PTC leave the leadership to a blind, they will both fall into the pit.'

- b. Wio harto míhiles mer gíbit druhtin iuer gúat, **ob** ir imo fólget joh inan bitten wollet? (Otfried 2,22,40) (T)
how – much – more – gives – lord – your – goods – COMP – you – him – follow – and – beg – him – want

- (44) Doch **ob** man sanct Peters stuel zu ehren will solchs tun (. . .) lasz ich geschehen. (early NHG, LUTHER, 'An den ChristlichenAdel, 45603f)

➤ Ousting of Gm. **ob** by **wenn** as COND-marker in NHG: *lexical economy* (blocking of synonyms).

- (45) Doch **wenn** man zu Ehren von Sankt Peters Stuhl solches tun will (. . .), meinetwegen.

2.2. Greek **ὅτι** and **ποῦ**

- **ὅπου** (→'opu) → opu → pu (cf. Nicholas 1998, 1)

Relative adverb 'where' (pre-Classical) → relativiser (by 500AD) → subordination particle introducing complement, relative and adjunct clauses (CSMG)

- (46) Πεθενη I kori sti sofita tu spitiu, **'opu** ekinos tin ixē filakisi. (Nicholas 1998, 49)
 'The girl dies in the house attic, **where** he had imprisoned her.'

- (47) a. ο ανθρωπος **pu** idēs ine ο θιός mu. (Nicholas 1998, 50)
the – man – SUB – saw-1stsg – is – the – uncle – POSS
 'The man you saw is my uncle.'

- b. θα mu pis tin etia **pu** eyeluses. (Nicholas 1998, 51)
FUT – SubjCl – tell – the – reason – SUB – laugh-PRÉT-2ndpl
 'You will tell me the reason why you were laughing.'

- **ὅτι** → **ὅτι** → **ὅτι** (cf. Nicholas 1998, 211)

indefinite relative pronoun → relativiser → subordination particle introducing complement, relative and adjunct clauses (ancient>classical>middle greek) → complementiser (CSMG)

- (48) ... kai eko:lúomen auton, **hóti** ouk akolout^hēi met^h he:mô:n (middle Greek; NT Lc 9,49; Nicholas 1998: 239)
 '... and we forbade him, **because** he does not follow with us.'

⇒ extended use of **ὅτι** in middle Greek that was reduced again on the way to CSMG

- **Hypothesis: $\acute{o}\tau\iota$** has been restricted in its function as a subordination marker, because the Greek language learners recategorised it as an element realising the head Force^o. Thus it became a COMP indicating the clause-type 'declarative'. Parallel to that, **ποῦ** became a subordination marker by loss of the feature REL.

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