



1. Introduction

- (1) a) Ich habe die Antwort (ACC) gewusst. (German)
I – have – the – answer – known
 'I knew the answer.'
- b) Ich habe gewusst, [_{CP} **dass** [_{IP} Katzen Milch mögen]]. (German)
I – have – known – that – cats – milk – like
 'I knew that cats like milk.'
- (2) a) Man in doxtar-**rā** didam. (Persian)
I – DET – girl-OBJ – saw
 'I saw this girl.'
- b) Man midānam [_{CP} **ke** [_{IP} gorbehā šir dust dārand]]. (Persian)
I – know – that – cats – milk – like – have
 'I know that cats like milk.'
- (3) Mary wa [_{PP} [_{CP} John ga koohii **o** nomu no] **o**] mi-ta
Mary – TOP – John – NOM – coffee – ACC – drinks – CMP – ACC – seePST
 'Mary saw that John drank coffee.'
- (4) Man [_{PP} [_{DP} **in** [_{CP} ke [_{IP} gorbehā šir dust dārand]]] **rā**] midānam.
I – this – that – cats – milk – like – have – ACC – know
 'I know that cats like milk.'
- (5) a) Jeder weiß, [_{CP} Katzen mögen Milch].
everybody – knows – cats – like – milk
- b) * [_{CP} Katzen mögen Milch], weiß jeder.
- c) [_{CP} **Dass** Katzen Milch mögen], weiß jeder.
that – cats – milk – like – everybody – knows

1. Only case marked arguments can occur in a preverbal case position (e.g. SPEC/AgrO).
2. Clauses may occur in a preverbal case position if a language parametrically has the option to case mark CPs.
3. Arguments within VP are licensed irrespective of their lexical category.
4. Before the realisation of abstract case, a phrase must be selected by D°. If a language realises D° overtly, case marked CPs can also have an overt determiner, like in Persian.
5. D° selects phrases of the category [N]. Complementisers realise a categorial feature [N] of a functional head selecting clausal arguments.
6. If a language realises case overtly, CPs in case position are overtly case marked, too, like in Persian and Japanese.
7. Languages like German, which do not have adpositional case marking, do not have this option. However, if nominalised by the complementiser, the CP may move through SPEC/AgrO to the topic position.

2. Preliminaries

2.1. Determiners in Persian

- (6) man [PP [DP **an** [CP **che** [C: (ke) [IP to t_i maxfi mikoni]]] **ra**] midoonam. (Öhl&Lotfi 2005)
ich – DET – *was* – COMP – *du* – *verstecken* – *tust* – ACC – *weiß*
 'Ich weiß, was du versteckst'.
- (7) Man [PP [DP **in** [CP **ke** [IP to **che** ro maxfi mikoni]]] **ra**] midoonam
ich – DET – COMP – *du* – *was* – *verstecken* – *tust* – ACC – *weiß*

2.2. Split CP

- (8) a) Non so, a Gianni, **se** avrebbero potuto dirgli la verità. 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'.
- b) *Credo, a Gianni, **che** avrebbero dovuto dirgli la verità.
think-1.sg – DAT – G. – *that* – AUX-PQP-KONJ-3.pl – *must*-PII – *say*-INF – DET – *truth*
 'I think that they should have told the truth to John.'
- (9) a) *pu*: subordination marker (cf. Roussou 2000, 65, 79)
 b) *oti, an*: complementisers indicating clause mood (decl., interr.)
 c) *as*: particle indicating clause mood (imperative)
 d) *den, min*: negative particle
 e) *na, tha*: modal particles (subjunctive, future)
- (10) [C *pu* [Topic/ Focus [Force *oti/ an/ na/ as* [Neg *den/ min* [Fin *tha/ t_{na/as}* [IP Cl, V . . .]...]]] Roussou (2000, 79)
- (11) Ik vraag me af [CP **wie** [? **of** [? **dat** [IP taalkunde studeert]]]] (Dutch)
I – *ask* – *me* – *of* – *who* – *if* – COMP – *linguistics* – *studies*
- (12) a) jeg tror [CP **at** [TopP lingvistikk [FinP studerer [IP gutten]]]] (Norwegian)
I - *believe* -1stsg – COMP – *linguistics* – *studies* – *boy*DET
- b) Ich glaube, (***dass**) Linguistik studiert der Junge. (German)
 'I think the boy studies linguistics.'
- (13) She maintains [CP **that** [Irish stew]_i [FinP [IP she sort of likes t_i.]]]
- (14) Ik geloof [CP [FinP **dat** ([^{+TopP} deze boeken) [IP zij niet waarderen]]]] (Dutch)
I – *think* – *that* – *this* – *book* – *they* – NEG – *appreciate*
- (15) a) Non so, a Gianni, [CP [ModP **se** [avrebbero potuto dirgli la verità]]].
 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'.
- b) *Credo, a Gianni, [CbP **che** [ModP [avrebbero dovuto dirgli la verità]]].
think-1.sg – DAT – G. – *that* – AUX-PQP-KONJ-3.pl – *must*-PII – *say*-INF – DET – *truth*
 'I think that they should have told the truth to John.'
- (16) He wonders [CP [ModP **if** [FinP [IP the boy studies linguistics]]]]
- (17) **Syntactic Structure of the left periphery (C-Domain)**
 Matrix: [ForceP [hanging topic [scene setting adv. [left dislocation [list interpr. [contr.foc1 [contr.foc2 [inform. foc [FinP . . .]]]]]]]]]
 (Beninca&Poletto 2004, ex. 58)
 embedded: [CP [Topic/ Focus [ModP [Neg [FinP . . .]]]]] (Öhl 2004, 165; cf. Roussou 2000, 79)

- (18) **Distribution of Markers in the C-Domain** (Öhl, forthcoming)
 CP: subordination markers
 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)
- (19) a) lotfan marqūm farmāīd **ke** bā'es-e kamāl-e tašakkor xāhad šod (Lazard 1992:244)
please – write – condescend – SUB – cause-EZF – total-EZF – thank – will – be
 'Please send it, so I will be very thankful.' **(consecutive)**
- b) raftam **ke** ān ketāb-rā bexaram (Lazard 1992:218)
went.1SG – SUB – DEM – book-FOC – buy.1SG
 'I went to buy the book.' **(purpose clause)**
- c) nazdīk **ke** āmad ū-rā šenāxtam (Lazard 1992:238)
near – SUB – came – s/he-ACC – recognised.1SG
 'When s/he came near I recognised her/him.' **(temporal adverbial)**
- (20) pesar goft (**ke**) man yek rūz zabānšenāsī xāham xānd. (Ahmad Lotfi, p.c.)
Junge – sagte – SUB – ich – eins – Tag – Sprachwissenschaft – werde – studieren
 'Der Junge sagte: Eines Tages werde ich Sprachwissenschaft studieren.'
- (21) a) ū porsīd [_{CP} **ke** [_{ModP} **āyā** [_{IP} man zabānšenāsī xānde būdam]]]
he/she – asked – SUB – INT – I – linguistics – studied-had
 'He asked if I had studied linguistics.'
- b) Weisst Du, **ob** er Linguistik studiert?
 c) Do you know **if** he studies linguistics?
- (22) kesī-**ke** to dīde-ī emrūz raft. (Lazard 1992:229)
someone-SUB – you – have -seen – today – went
 'Someone that you saw went away today.'
- (23) Un oumo **che** ritengo potergli parlare. (Rizzi 1997: 310)
a – man – SUB – believe-1stsg – can-to – talk
 'A man of whom I believe that you can talk to him.'
- (24) a) Der Mann, **den** ich sehe.
the – man – who – I – see
 b) *Der Mann **dass** ich sehe.
the – man – SUB – I – see
- (25) a) De man **die** ik zie. (Joost Kremers, p.c.)
the – man – who – I – see
 b) *De man **dat** ik zie.
the – man – SUB – I – see
- (26) embedded CDom: [_{CP} [(topic/ focus)? [_{ModP} [(topic/ focus)? [_{FinP} [_{IP} ...]]]]]]] (cf. Öhl 2004, 165)
- (27) a) Ich frage mich [_{CP} **wer** [_{IP} so etwas liest]] (standard German)
I – ask – myself – who – such – thing – reads
- b) I frag me [_{SubP} [_{FocP} **wer** [_{FinP} **dass** [_{IP} so äps liast]]] (Swabian)
I – ask – myself – who – that – such – thing – reads
 'I wonder who would read such stuff.'

- (28) Ik vraag me af [_{SubP} [_{FocP} **wie** [_{ModP} **of** [_{FinP} **dat** [_{IP} taalkunde studeert]]]]]
I – ask – me – of – who – if – COMP – linguistics – studies
 "I wonder who studies linguistics."
- (29) men shal wel knowe **who that** I am. (Caxton, AD 1485, cf. HAEGEMAN 1991, 349)
 'Men shall well know who I am.'
- (30) a) ū porsīd [_{CP} **ke** [_{ModP} **āyā** [_{IP} man zabānšenāsī xānde būdam]]]
he/she – asked – SUB – INT – I – linguistics – studied-had
 'He asked if I had studied linguistics.'
- b) Weisst Du, **ob** er Linguistik studiert?
 b) Do you know **if** he studies linguistics?¹

3. Analysis

3.1. Syntactically Embedded CPs are NPs

- (31) *The NP-Shell Hypothesis* Müller (1993, 60)
 All embedded finite clauses are NPs with a phonetically empty head.
- (32) C is *visible* for its governor V iff either one of (i) through (iv) holds: Bayer (1995, 54)
- (i) V governs a trace of CP.
 - (ii) V is head adjacent to C.
 - (iii) Due to SPEC-head-agreement, a feature appears on SPEC/C which satisfies V's s-selection requirements.
 - (iv) The head C has nominal features and can (under certain conditions such as brevity) optionally be treated as NP.

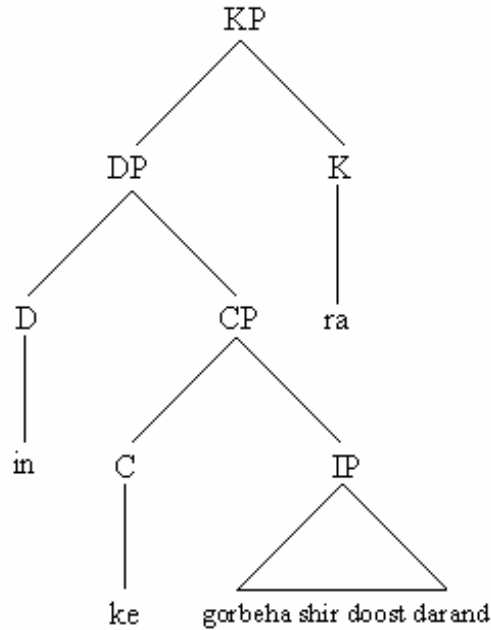
3.2. How is case structurally represented?

- (33) a) Man [_{PP} **vase** [_{DP} in [_{CP} ke [_{TP} autobus biyad]]]] vaisadam.
I – for – DET – COMP – bus – comes – wait
 "I'm waiting for the bus to come."
- b) Man [_{PP} **be** [_{DP} in [_{CP} ke u nayoomad]] e'teraz daram
I – to – this – that – s/he – not-came – objection – have
 "I have an objection to him/her not showing up."
- c) Man [_{PP} **az** [_{DP} in [_{CP} ke u nayoomad asabani shodam]]
I – from – this – that – s/he – not-came – angry – became
 "I got angry as s/he didn't show up."
- d) Man mimoonam [_{PP} **ta** [_{DP} in [_{CP} ke [_{TP} to biyayi]...]]
I – stay – till – DP – COMP – you – come
 "I wait till you come."
- (34) a) I am expecting [_{KP} ACC [_{DP} the bus]]
 b) I am waiting [_{KP} for [_{DP} the bus]]

¹ We assume that, like only few languages have explicit declarative particles but particles indicating other clause moods, languages with subordination particles may lack a declarative complementiser. The reason is that declaratives are the least marked clause type and thus may be modally underspecified.

(35)

(cf. Ghomeishi 1997)



- (36) a) John asked the time.
b) John wondered *(about) the time.

- (37) a) John asked what time it was.
b) John wondered *(about) what time it was.

3.3. Syncretic Heads

- (38) Ze weet [**wie** [of [dat [hij had willen opbellen]]]] Hoekstra (1993)
sie – weiß – wer – ob – dass – ihn – hat – wollen – anrufen
 'Sie weiß, wer ihn anrufen wollte.'

- (39) Ze weet [**wie** [hij had willen opbellen]]

- (40) **Feature Scattering Principle** (Giorgi&Pianesi 1997, 15)
 Each feature can head a projection.

- (41) **Principle of Feature Syncretism** (Öhl 2003, 90)
 F_1 and F_2 can syncretise a node F° iff there is no $F_3 \neq F_1 \vee F_2$ logically superordinate to F_2 and subordinate to F_1 . F_α and F_γ may not syncretise if there is a F_β and a logical hierarchy $\alpha > \beta > \gamma$.

- (42) SUB > W > INT > FIN

- (43) U porsid [_{CP} **ke** [_{ModP} **aya** [man zabanshenasi khandeh boodam]...]]
er – fragte – SUB – INT – ich – Linguistik – studieren – würde

- (44) Er fragte [_{CP} **ob** [ich Linguistik studiere]]

3.4. Typological representation of Case

- (45) a) Mary wa John ga koohii o nomu **no o** mi-ta
M. – TOP – J. – NOM – Kaffee – ACC – trinkt – SUB – ACC – seh-PRÄT
 'Mary sah, dass John Kaffee trank.'

- b) Mary wa John ni jibun ni hana o motteku-ru **no o** tanon-da
M. – TOP – J. – DAT – ihr – DAT – Blumen – ACC – bring-PRS – SUB – ACC – bitt-PST
 'Mary bittet John, dass er ihr Blumen bringt.'

- (46) Watashi wa kare ga benkyo shi-ta **koto o** shira-nakat-ta.
ich – TOP – *er* – NOM – *Studium* – *tu*-PRÄT – SUB – ACC – *wiss*-NEG-PRÄT
 'Ich wusste nicht, dass er studierte.'

- (47) a) Chele-Ta [[or baba aS-be] **bole**] Sune-che (Bayer 1995, 59)
Junge-DEF – *sein* – *Vater* – *komm*-FUT – COMP – *hör*-PRÄT
 b) Chele-Ta Sune-che [**je** [or baba aS-be]]
Junge-DEF – *hör*-PRÄT – COMP – *sein* – *Vater* – *komm*-FUT
 'Der Junge hat gehört, dass sein Vater kommen wird.'

• Scattered vs. non-Scattered Case:

- (48) a) Type 1: [DP [D' D^{+case} [. . .]]]
 b) Type 2: [KP [K' K [DP [D' D [. . .]]]]]

⇒ Only type 2 is able to case-mark CPs overtly.

3.5. COMP-drop

1. The inflected verb of the embedded clause must be modally marked – either for *subjunctive*, *conditional* or *future tense*.
2. The predicate selecting the CP must be of a specific class. Poletto (2000, 123) identifies this class with the so called *bridge verbs* allowing embedding of V2 in Germanic languages (cf. Vikner 1995, 71f; *assertive verbs* after Meinunger 2004, 315f).

- (49) Credo (**che**) abbia già parlato con te. (Poletto 2000, 119)
Glaube – COMP – PerfAUX-SBJ – *schon* – *gesprachen* – *mit* – *dir*
 'Ich glaube, er hat bereits mit dir gesprochen'.

- (50) sie haben **pro_a** gesagt, [_{ForceP} [_{TopP} der Junge_i [_{FinP} studiere_v² [_{IP} t_i Linguistik t_v]]]]_a
they – *have* – *pro* – *said* – DET – *boy* – *studies* – *linguistics*

- (51) a) jeg hevder (at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
I - *claim* -1stsg – COMP – *boy*DET – *studies* – *linguistics*
 b) jeg vet (at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
I - *know* -1stsg – COMP – *boy*DET – *studies* – *linguistics*
 c) jeg tror (at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
I - *believe* -1stsg – COMP – *boy*DET – *studies* – *linguistics*
 d) de sier (at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
they – *say* – COMP – *boy*DET – *studies* – *linguistics*
- (52) a) jeg hevder (at) lingvistikk studerer gutten
I - *claim* -1stsg – COMP – *linguistics* – *studies* – *boy*DET
 b) jeg vet (at) lingvistikk studerer gutten
I - *know* -1stsg – COMP – *linguistics* – *studies* – *boy*DET
 c) jeg tror (at) lingvistikk studerer gutten
I - *believe* -1stsg – COMP – *linguistics* – *studies* – *boy*DET
 d) de sier (at) lingvistikk studerer gutten
they – *say* – COMP – *linguistics* – *studies* – *boy*DET
- (53) a) jeg forventer *(at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
I - *expect* -1stsg – COMP – *boy*DET – *studies* – *linguistics*

² Note that like in Italian, German embedded V2 can be inflected for subjunctive - which has often been associated with indirect speech.

- b) jeg er overrasket over *(at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
I - am-1stsg - amazed - about - COMP - boyDET - studies - linguistics
- c) jeg vil *(at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
I - want -1stsg - COMP - boyDET - studies - linguistics
- d) de benekter *(at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
they - deny - COMP - boyDET - studies - linguistics
- e) jeg tviler på *(at) gutten studerer lingvistikk
I - doubt -1stsg - on - COMP - boyDET - studies - linguistics
- (54) a) *jeg forventer at LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
 b) *jeg er overrasket over at LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
 c) *jeg vil at LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
 d) *de benekter at LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
 e) *jeg tviler på at LINGVISTIKK studerer gutten
- (55) a) jeg hevder [_{SubP} at [_{TopP} lingvistikk [_{FinP} studerer [_{IP} gutten]]]]
I - claim-1stsg - COMP - linguistics - studies - boyDET
- b) jeg hevder **pro** [_{ForceP} [_{TopP} lingvistikk [_{FinP} studerer [_{IP} gutten]]]]
I - claim-1stsg pro - linguistics - studies - boyDET
- (56) a) Ja dumaju, [_{SubP} čto [_{FocP} lingvistiku [_{FinP} [_{IP} mal'čik [_I budet [_{VP} izučat']...]]]
I - think - SUB - linguistics - boy - will - studyINF
- b) Ja dumaju, [_{ForceP} [_{FocP} lingvistiku [_{FinP} [_{IP} v Valentinov den' niko [_{VP} s'udovol'stviam učit' ne zaxočet]...]]]
I - think - pro - linguistics - on - Valentine's - day - nobody - gladly - learn - NEG - want(FUT)-(PRF)
- (57) a) Ja otricaju, *(čto) mal'čik izučajet lingvistiku.
I - deny - that - boy - studies - linguistics
- b) Ja ožidaju, *(čto) mal'čik budet izučat' lingvistiku.
I - expect - that - boy - will - study - linguistics
- c) Ja byl udivljon, *(čto) mal'čik izučajet lingvistiku.
I - was - surprised - that - boy - studies - linguistics
- d) Ja sožaleju, *(čto) mal'čik izučajet lingvistiku.
I - regret - that - boy - studies - linguistics
- e) Ja somnevajus', *(čto) mal'čik izučajet lingvistiku.
I - doubt - that - boy - studies - linguistics
- f) Ja xoču, *(čto-)by mal'čik izučal lingvistiku.
I - want - that - PTC³ - boy - studied - linguistics
- (58) *Ich habe immer [_{DP} (das) [_{CP} dass das stimmt]] geglaubt

⇒ Since German *dass* is a Fin-Element but not a C-Element carrying [N], it cannot be selected by D^{+case} and thus cannot occur in a case position.

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³ *by* is a marker of modality that is attached/ cliticised to CMP.

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