

Komplementierertypen und Grammatikalisierung

1. Preliminaries

1.1. Functional Phrases in the C-Domain

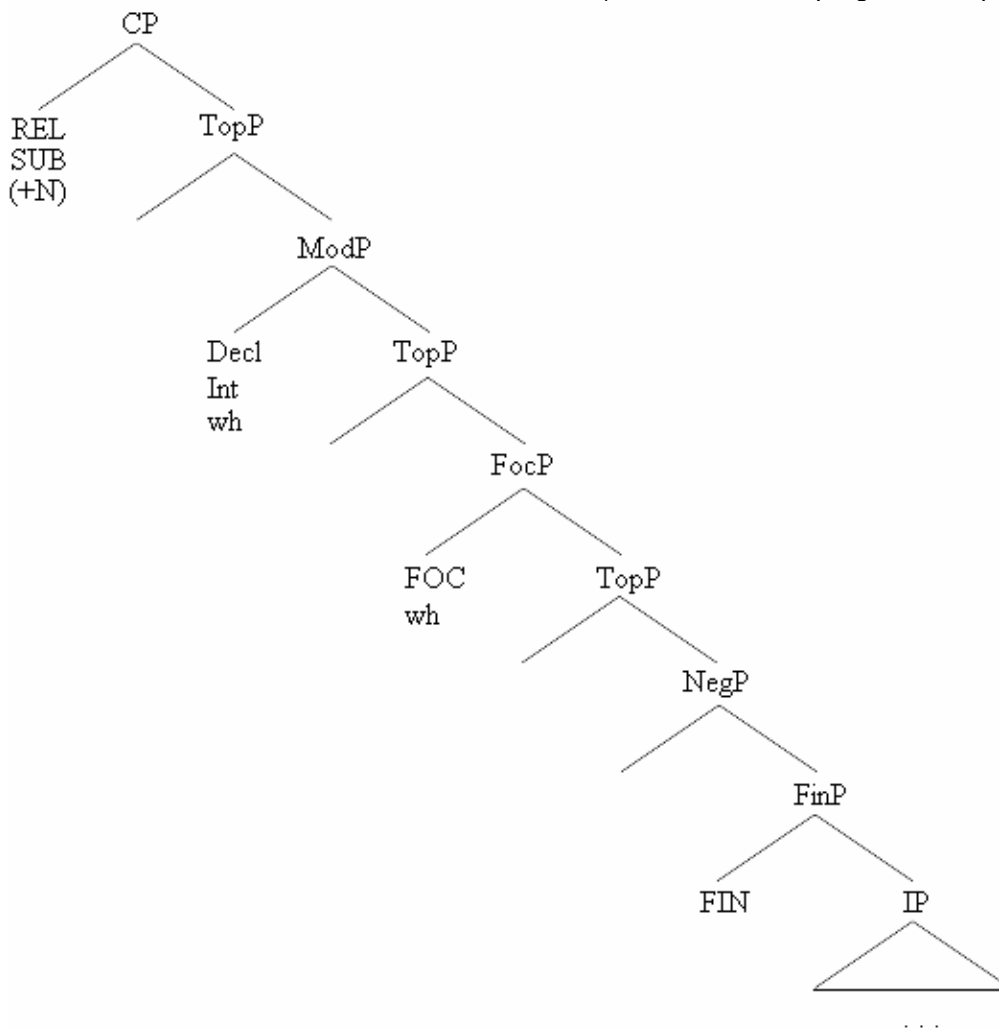
(1) Syntactic Structure of the left periphery (C-Domain)

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} [... [_{ModP} [... [_{Neg} [_{FinP} ...] (Öhl 2004b: 165; cf. Roussou 2000: 79)

➤ According to cross linguistic evidence, these *potential* positions in the C-system are more or less specified for the following kinds of features they can host:

(2) (cf. Öhl, 2006b, *in progress*; adapted from Rizzi 1997)



1.2. Types of Complementisers and their Distribution: some Hypotheses

(3) a. ū porsīd [_{CP} **ke** [_{ModP} **āyā** [_{FinP} [_{IP} man zabānšenāsī xānde būdam]...]] (Persian; Öhl 2004b: 165)
he/she – asked – SUB – INT – I – linguistics – studied-had

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

c. man nemīdānam [_{CP} **ke** [_{ModP} **āyā** [_{FocP} **či-o**_i [_{FinP} [_{IP} ū 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.¹

(4) Muje malum nahin [_{CP} **ki** [_{ModP} **kya** [_{FinP} [_{IP}wo ladke bhasha padh raha hai]...]] (Hindi; cf. Öhl 2004b: 165)
mir – wiss – NEG-ist – SUB – Q – der – Junge – Sprache – studier – ist
 'Ich weiß nicht, ob der Junge Linguistik studiert.'

(5) Ami nije-ke jiggEsh kori [_{CP} **je** [_{TopP} chele-TA [_{ModP} **ki** [_{FinP} [_{IP} lingwistiks pORe]...]] (Bengali; cf. Öhl 2004b: 165)
ich – mir – Frage – tue – SUB – Junge-def – Q – Linguistik – studiert
 'Ich frage mich, ob der Junge Linguistik studiert.'

(6) a. *Credo, a Gianni, **che** avrebbero dovuto dirgli la verità. (Italian; 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 [_{ModP} **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.'

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

⇒ Ital. **che** ist kein satztypindizierender *Komplementierer*, sondern ein reiner *Subordinationsmarkierer*.

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

(8) a. (Man) midānestam [(**ke**) [pesar-e zabanšenāsi xāhad xānd]]
I – knew – SUB – boy – linguistics – FUT – studied
 "I knew that the boy would study linguistics."

b. maiN jaantaa thaa [**ki** [laṛkaa bhaasaa-vijnan paṛhega]]
I – know – was – SUB – boy – linguistics – study(FUT)
 "I knew that the boy would study linguistics."

c. Ami bol-lam [**je** [chele-TA lingwistiks pORe]]
I – said – SUB – boyDEF – linguistics – studies

➤ 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.

(9) a. Nomizo [_{CP} [_{ModP} **oti** [_{NegP} **den** [_{FinP} **tha** [_{IP} to agorasi]...]]] (Greek; cf. Roussou 2000: 66)
think-1stsg – COMP – NEG – FUT – ObjCl – buy-3rdsg
 'I think he won't buy it.'

b. Anarotjeme [_{CP} [_{ModP} **an** [_{FinP} **tha** [_{IP} to agorasi]...]]] (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 Mod:

(10) Nomízo [_{CP} [_{TopP} (ta míla) [_{ModP} **óti** [_{TopP} (ta míla) 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.'

¹ Öhl (2003, 2005b, 2006b) und Öhl&Lotfi (*in progress*) argumentieren auf der Basis von Komplementsatzdistribution, Kasusmarkierung und Extraktionsdaten für einen peripheren Kopf [N] in der CDom. Vgl. auch die *NP-Shell Hypothesis* von Müller (1993: 60). Zu nominalen Eigenschaften von C, vgl. Kayne (1984), Webelhuth (1989, Ch.4), Müller&Stenerfeld (1993: 37ff).

- There is no topic position available in front of the subordination marker *πov*:
 - (11) a. **xarika* [to petros [_{CP} **pu** [_{IP} efevye]...]
happy-RET-1stsg – DET – Peter – COMP – leave-IMPERF
 b. *xarika* [_{CP} **pu** [_{TopP} [_{ModP} [_{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:
 - (12) *Theli* [_{CP} (**oti*) [_{ModP} **na** [_{NegP} min [_{FinP} to [_{IP} agorasi]...]]] (cf. Roussou 2000: 79)
want-3rdsg – COMP – SBJT – NEG – ObjCl – buy-3^dsg
 'I do not want him to buy it.'
 - (13) a. [_{RelativeP} *pu* [_{TopicP} [_{FocusP} [_{WhP/Sub.TypeP} *oti* [_{TopicP} [_{IP}]...]]] (cf. Alexiadou 1997: 79)
 b. [_{CP} *pu* [_{Topic/ Focus} [_{Mod} *oti/ an/ na* [_{Topic/ Focus} [_{Neg} *den/min* [_{Fin} *tha/ t_{na}* [_{IP} V . . .]...]]] (cf. Roussou 2000: 79)
- Subordination markers but not complementisers indicating the clause type are used as relativisers.
 - (14) a. *Thelun éna voitho* [_{CP} (**ta* *anglika*) **pu** [_{TopP} ✓(*ta* *anglika*) [_{ModP} **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.'
 - (15) *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.'
 - (16) *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.'
 - (17) a. *Der Mann, den ich sehe.* (German)
the – man – who – I – see
 b. **Der Mann dass ich sehe.*
the – man – SUB – I – see
 - (18) 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).
 - (19) 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*
 - (20) 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?'
- Sprachen mit reinen Subordinierern erlauben V2 in eingeleiteten Nebensätzen.
 - (21) 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
- (22) Jón segir [_{CP} **að** [_{FocP} Þessum hring, [_{TopP} honum [_{FinP} **hafi** [_{IP} Ólafur lofað Maríu ___]]] (Icelandic; Thráinsson 1979: 64)
J. – says – SUB – this – ring_{DAT} – DEM_{DAT} – has – Olaf_{NOM} – promised – Mary_{DAT}
- (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) Vi vet [_{FocP} **hvem** [_{FinP} **som** [_{IP} ikke skjønnte dette spørsmålet]...]] (Norwegian; Taraldsen 1986: 8)
we – know – who – COMP – NEG – understood – that – question
- (25) Han undrade [_{FocP} **vem** [_{FinP} **som** [_{IP} inte hade öppnat dörren]...]] (Schwedish; Platzack 1986: 41)
he – wondered – who – COMP – NEG – had – opened – door-DET
- (26) Ik geloof [_{CP} [_{FinP} **dat** ([*_{TopP} deze boeken) [_{IP} zij niet waarderen]...]] (Dutch; cf. Gelderen 2003: 16)
I – think – that – this – book – they – NEG – appreciate
- (27) a. %Ik vraag me af [_{CP} [_{Mod+FocP} **wie of** [_{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} **studiert** [_{IP} der Junge]...]]

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

- (28) **Distribution of Markers in the C-Domain of Embedded Clauses** (Öhl, *in progress a*)

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

1.3. Grammaticalisation

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

- (29) **Least Effort Strategy** (LES) (Roberts 1993, 10)

Representations assigned to sentences of the input to acquisition should be such that they contain the set of the shortest possible chains (consistent with (a) principles of grammar, (b) **other aspects of the trigger experience**).²

² Dies besagt im Grunde, dass, sofern die Grammatik es zulässt und der Input es ermöglicht, ihm beim Spracherwerb diejenige Struktur mit dem geringsten generativen Aufwand zugewiesen wird. Hervorhebung von mir (PÖ).

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)

(30) **Maxime of cognitive economy** (cf. Öhl, *in progress* a+b; Korn&Öhl, *to appear*)

Generate minimal structures converging with sufficient specification of logical interpretation.

(31) **Competing Principles of Cognitive Economy** (cf. Öhl, *in progress* a+b)

a) structures are minimal wrt the generative expense

b) structures are sufficiently specified wrt the logical interpretation

• *Impact on the two main domains of language change (speech/performance vs. grammar/parametrisation):*

Effects 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)

Effects 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)

2. Grammaticalisation of COMPs

2.1. Observations and 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 are grammaticalised from elements that occur deeper in the structure or have even been 'infiltrated' from outside: *demonstratives* and *pragmatic markers*.
- Complementisers indicating the clause type can diachronically develop to mere subordination markers due to loss of semantic features. This continuous grammaticalisation by *desemanticisation* can be correlated to successive generation of items 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' ModP. This strongly indicates the innate knowledge of functional features in the C-Domain.

2.2. Structural Simplification: REL > SUB and the LES

- Mere markers of subordination arose through structural reanalysis of relative constructions due to economy principle (31a) and the correlated loss of semantic features.

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

(32) abāz ward **kū** āmad hē

zurück – kehre – wo – gekommen – bist

'kehre zurück (dorthin), woher du gekommen bist'

(M 2 | R ii 28)

(33) 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] ...'

(34) 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.'

(35) 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'

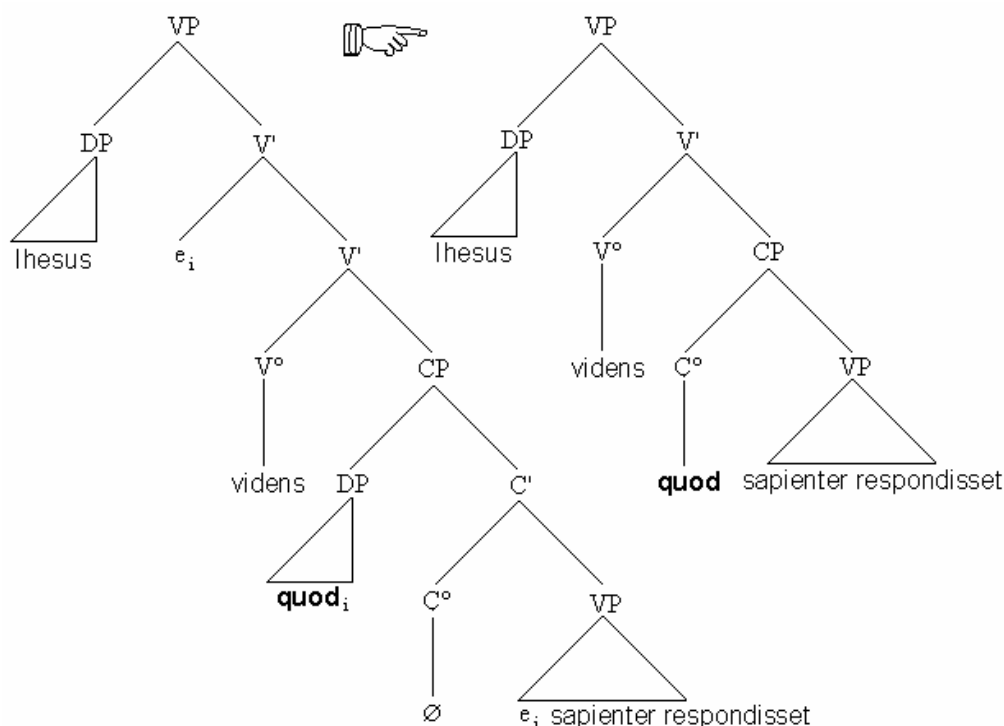
(36) īn šab **ke** dīgar rūz hasanak-rā bar dār mīkardand (cf. Jahani 2000: 37)
DEM – *Nacht* – SUB – *anderer* – *Tag* – PN-RA – *zu* – *Galgen* – *machten*
 bū-sahl nazdīk-e pedar-am āmad.
 PN – *nahe*-EZF – *Vater*-PRON1SG – *kam*
 'In jener Nacht, als anderntags Hasanak gehenkt wurde, kam Bu-Sahl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

• Latin *quod* (cf. Öhl 2006a):

(37) a. Et cum audissent principes sacerdotum et Pharisei parabolās eius, cognoverunt **quod** de ipsis diceret. (Mt. 21,46) (T)³
und – *als* – *gehört-hatten* – *Höchsten* – *Priester*-GEN – *und* – *Pharisäer* – *Gleichnisse* – *seine* – *erkannten*3.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*

(38)⁴



³ 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'.

⁴ Cf. also *van Gelderen's* economy principle 'heads over phrases' (Gelderen 2004, 61).

2.3. Gain of Functional Features due to Reinterpretation

2.3.1. COMPs indicating the clause type (Fin- and Mod- 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).
- (39) a. chît man **dáz**. îeht sî in presenti geuuâro. táz íst so. (NOTK. Cons. 37f.)
says – someone – DEM – something – be – in – present – true – DEM – is – so
- b. joh gizalta in sar **thaz** – [IP thiu 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 marker⁵ 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).
- (40) a. sto expectans **sî** quid mi imperent (BRUGMANN 1904, 696)
stand1stSg – expecting – SO – what – to-me – order3rdPI
 'I stand waiting – so what may they order me?'
- b. **sî** 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?)
- (41) a. Captivî cōnābantur, **sî** effugere possent. (BAYER & LINDAUER 1990, 221)
prisoners – tried – COMP – escape – could
 'The prisoners tried out, if they could escape.' (⇒ INT-COMP?)
- b. **Sî** tacuisses, philosophus mansisses. (Boethius, Cons., II/7)
COMP – be-silent2ndSgPstPerf – philosopher – remain2ndSgPstPerf
 'If you had been silent, you would have remained a philosopher.' (⇒ COND-COMP?)
- c. Observabant autem scribę et Pharisei, **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'⁶.

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

- (42) a. nih niuĵasatidana, **ibai** aufto ufarhauĵs in stauai atdriusai unhulĵins. (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 guþ þans us gabaurþai astans ni freidida, **ibai** aufto ni þuk freidĵai. (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'.

⁵ Zum Phänomen der Grammatikalisierung von Diskursfunktionen zu grammatischen / syntaktischen Funktionen, vgl. Lehmann (1995: 113ff).

⁶ An etymological correlation with both ModE *or* (= ModG *oder*) and the Goth. interrogative marker *-u* is also often assumed (cf. FRIEDRICH KLUGE ²³1995, 595ff).

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

(43) jah qaþ im Iesus: **ibai** magun sunjus brupfadis, und þatei miþ im ist brupfafs, 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.

(44) 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'

(45) a. ih fragen íuuih, **oba** íz arloubit sí 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

(46) a. Blinter **oba** blintemo leitidon forgibit, beidae 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 íuer gúat, **ob** ir imo fólget joh inan bítten wollet? (Otfried 2,22,40) (T)

how – much – more – gives – lord – your – goods – COMP – you – him – follow – and – beg – him – want

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

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

(48) Doch **wenn** man zu Ehren von Sankt Peters Stuhl solches tun will (. . .), meinewegen.

2.3.2. Greek *ὅτι* and *που*

• hópu (→'opu) → opu → pu (cf. Nicholas 1998, 1)

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

(49) Peþeni 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.'

(50) a. o anθropos **pu** íðes ine o θios mu. (Nicholas 1998, 50)

the – man – SUB – saw-1stsg – is – the – uncle – POSS

'The man you saw is my uncle.'

b. θa mu pis tin etia **pu** eyeluses. (Nicholas 1998, 51)

FUT – SubjCl – tell – the – reason – SUB – laugh-RET-2ndpl

'You will tell me the reason why you were laughing.'

• hóti → hótī → oti (cf. Nicholas 1998, 211)

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

(51) ... kai eko:lúomen auton, **hóti** ouk akolout^heí 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; *degrammaticalisation* ?

- **Hypothesis:** **ὅτι** has been restricted in its function as a subordination marker, because the Greek language learners recategorised it as an element realising the head Mod°. Thus it became a COMP indicating the clause-type 'declarative'. Parallel to that, **πὸς** became a subordination marker by loss of the feature REL.

3. Outlook

- Gibt es einen funktionellen Zusammenhang zwischen Komplementiererpositionen und Strategien der Informationsstrukturierung, der sich in der Parametrisierung niederschlägt (vgl. Öhl, *in preparation*) ?
- OV+Scrambling vs. Split CP ? (Deutsch, Latein vs. Englisch, Italienisch)
- OV > VO → COMP: Fin > Mod/ C ? (Englisch, Skandinavisch)
- ! Gelderen (2003) shows that in Middle English before 1200AD the COMP **that** was generated in Fin°. Only since it has diachronically moved to a higher COMP-Position, it can precede a topic in modern English:

(52) She maintains [_{CP} **that** [_{TOPP} [Irish stew]_i] [_{FINP} [_{IP} she sort of likes _{t_i}]]]

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