Variation and Change in German Embedded V2

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1. Object

- licensing conditions of asyndetic verb-second complement clauses (aV2) as variants of canonical *dass*-clauses with verb-final order (*dass*-Vfinal) in OHG and MHG
- motivation: distribution of putative aV2 complements in historical German is broader than in modern German and changes over time (Axel-Tober 2012, *inter alia*)

2. Corpus

- sentential complements of various classes of matrix predicates that differ in their complementation behavior in modern German and cross-linguistically, in *Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch* (ReA, only High German) and *Referenzkorpus Mittelhochdeutsch* (ReM, only prose texts)
- typology of predicates tested

(1) a. verbs of saying: OHG *quedan*, *sagen* 'say', *sprehhan* 'speak', *zellen* 'tell'; MHG *sagen*, *quëden* 'say', *zèl(e)n* 'tell', *jëhen* 'claim, confess'
b. doxastic predicates: OHG *wanen*, *meinen* 'think', *dunken* 'it seems'; MHG *dènken*, *mèinen*, (*ge)trûwen* 'think, suggest', *gelouben* 'believe'
c. factive emotive verbs: OHG *anton*, *irruofen*, *karon*, *klagon*, *kumen*, *riuwon*, *riozan* 'regret', *buozen* 'repent', *truoben*, *mornen*, *mornenti wesan* 'be sad'; MHG (*be)riuwen*, *klagen*, *riuwesen* 'regret, repent', *lèid sîn* 'be sorry'
d. semi-factive verbs: OHG *biwaren* 'prove'; MHG *beziugen* 'prove'
e. non-assertive verbs: OHG *abohon*, *firsagen*, *firsahhan*, (*fir)louganen* 'deny', *blugison*, *zwifalon* 'doubt'; MHG *loug(en)en* 'deny', *zwîvel(e)n* 'doubt'
f. implicative verbs: OHG (*gi)recken*, (*gi)werkon*, *wurken*, *gimahhon*, *geschaffen* 'cause'; MHG *geschaffen*, *wirken*, *würken*, *vrümen* '*cause*'
g. negative implicative verbs: OHG *giborgen* 'beware', *inthaben* 'abstain from', *biwenken*, (*bi)midan* 'prevent', *biwankon*, *elten*, *firberan* 'refrain from'; MHG (*ver)mîden*, *bewarn* 'prevent'

- general properties underlying the typology in (1)a-g: lexical equivalents of (1)a-b license aV2 in modern German, embedded V2 in Germanic and embedded root transformations cross-linguistically, those in (1)c-g do not (Reis 1997, Vikner 1995, Hooper and Thomspon 1973)

3. Results

- total of sentential complements of all types in the corpus: 6.4% (333/5.172) in ReA and 14.5% (475/3.267) in ReM
- total and ratio of aV2 in the corpus: 15.3% (51/333) in ReA and 13.9% (66/475) in ReM
- distribution of aV2 according to type of matrix predicate, see Table 1
- main difference between modern German and historical German: non-assertives and negative implicative verbs

	ReA			ReM		
	total	**aV2**	**%**	**total**	**aV2**	**%**
verbs of saying	228	36	15.7	211	49	23.2
doxastic predicates	67	9	13.4	188	8	4.3
factive emotives	5	-	-	12	-	-
semi-factives	-	-	-	14	-	-
non-assertives	10	4	40	21	8	38
implicative verbs	5	-	-	2	-	-
negative implicative	18	2	11.1	27	1	3.7
total	**333**	**51**	**15.3**	**475**	**66**	**13.9**

Table 1: *Number and ratio of aV2 according to matrix predicate in ReA and ReM*

4. Focus on non-assertives and negative-implicative verbs

- similar behaviour in OHG and MHG: i. both involve an inherent negative feature; ii. both trigger expletive (paratactic) negation (Jespersen 1917); iii. type and position of the exponent of expletive negation differ according to the polarity of the matrix predicate, but there is change giving rise to apparent aV2 which is also lost later
- earliest attestation: expletive negation is realized by way of preverbal negation in complement to affirmative matrix predicates (2)a, and a negative complementzier ***ni*** in the complement of overtly negative matrix predicates (2)b (see also Schrodt 2004:181f and Jäger 2008: 75f)

(2) a. aer auuar laucnita mit eidu [daz ær den man ***ni*** *uuisti*] [*thaz* … ***NEGexpl***-Vfin]
her again denied on oath that he the man.Acc Neg knew.3SgSubjPret
'again, he denied on oath that he knew this man' (MF_1_M.XXIII)
b. ***ni*** móht ih mih inthában sar, [***ni***h hera *giílti* zi thír] [***NEGexpl*** …. Vfin]
Neg could I Refl abstain.from just Neg-I here hurried-1SgSubj to you.Dat

- late-OHG and MHG: *thaz*+ expl. Neg is kept in complements of affirmative matrix clauses (3)a, but the negative complementizer ***ni*** in the complements of negative matrix predicates is lost and replaced by a ***ne*** as a clitic in the left periphery that attracts Vfin for phonological reasons, plus an XP preceding Vfin

(3) a. Er zwiflete ǒch [daz v̇nſer hˢre (Jesus) (Christus) ***nít*** geborn *wˢe*] [*thaz* … ***NEGexpl*** … Vfin]
he doubted also that our lord Jesus Christ not born was.3SgSubjPret
'He also doubted that our Lord Jesus Christ was not born' (14_1-alem-PU-G > M322-G1)
b. Íh ***ne***uerságo ***nîeht***. [éin substantia ***ne***sî hártôr substantia dánne ánderiu] [XP – ***NEGexpl***-Vfin …]
I Neg-deny NEG one substance Neg-is-3SgSubjPres harder substance than other
'I do not deny that one substance is harder than the other one' (N_Cat_notkbcat-Boeth.Cat.Boeth.Cat.33)

- diachronic scenario involving a change in the lexical filling and the positional realisation of the negative expletive complementizer in a system that allows for double complementizers (Poletto 2000); crucial evidence: verb movement in *ni*-clauses in early OHG, see (4)

(4) In dhesemu quhide ***ni*** bluchisoe eoman, [***ni*** dhiz ***sii*** chiuuisso dher ander heit godes]
in this.DatSg sentence Neg doubt.3SgSubjPres anyone Neg this is.3SgSubjPres truly the other shape God.Gen
'Nobody should doubt that this sentence demonstrates the other shape of God' (Isidor_1.0 > I_DeFide_3)

(5) $[_{Force°}$ ***ni*** … $[_{SpecFinP}$ dhiz$_j$ $[_{Fin°}$ ***sii***$_i$ $[_{IP}$ chiuuisso t_j dher ander heit godes $t_i]]]]$

- loss of negative complementizer ***ni*** and replacement by negative expletive marker as a clitic in the left periphery of the clause, attracting the verb to Fin°

(6) $[_{Force°}$ ***ni***$_{\mathbf{EXPL}}$ … $[_{Fin°}$ $[_{IP/VP}$ ….***Vfin***$]]]$ → $[_{Force°}$ … $[_{SpecFinP}$ **XP** $[_{Fin°}$ ***ne***$_{\mathbf{EXPL\text{-}CL}}$***+Vfin*** $[_{IP/VP}$ …t_{XP}…$t_{Vfin}]]]]$

5. Conclusions

- corpus study reveals that for the predicate groups tested, there is no change regarding the licensing of aV2 over time
- problematic domain that was also detected in the previous research involves verbs with a complex negative semantics (non-assertives and negative implicatives)
- apparent aV2 in the complements of these predicates only after negative matrix clauses results from loss of complementizer and changes in negation

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