Variation and Change in German Embedded V2
Svetlana Petrova / Wuppertal

1. Object
- licensing conditions of asyndetic verb-second complement clauses (aV2) as variants of canonical dass-clauses with verb-final order (dass-Vfnal) 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. verbs of saying: OHG quedan, sagen *say*, sprechen *speak*, zellen *tell*; MHG sagen, queden *say*, zel(e)n *tell*, jehen *claim, confess*
  2. doxastic predicates: OHG wanen, meinen *think*, dunken *seems*; MHG denken, meinen, (ge)trown *think, suggest*, geloben *believe*
  3. factive emotive verbs: OHG anton, irruufen, karon, klagan, kumen, niuwon, niowan *regret*, buzen *repent*, truoben, mormon, momenti *wesan be sad*; MHG (be)ruwen, klagen, niuwesen *regret, repent*, leid *sln be sorry*
  4. semi-factive verbs: OHG gwieren *prove*, MHG bezuigien *prove*
  5. non-assertive verbs: OHG abohon, firsan, lusahan, (fr)loogan *deny*, blugison, zwilfan *doubt*; MHG loog(en) *deny*, zwief(e)n *doubt*
  6. implicative verbs: OHG (gi)recken, (gi)werkwar, wurken, gimahhon, geschaßen *cause*; MHG geschaffen, wirken, würken, vrümen *cause*
  7. negative implicative verbs: OHG gubiran *beware*, inthaben *abstain from*, biwenken, (bi)midan *prevent*, biwarkan, elten, liribaran *refrain from*; MHG (ver)midtir, 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, Vinter 1995, Hooper and Thompsin 1973)

3. Results
- total of sentential complements of all types in the corpus: 6.4% (333/5,172) in ReA and 14.5% (475/3,287) 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

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 complementizer *ni* in the complement of overtly negative matrix predicates (2)b (see also Schnoor 2004:181f and Jäger 2008: 75f)

(2) a. *aer* auuar launcita mit e`idu [daz aer den man ni uuest]* [tha]z ... *NEGexpl-Vfn]*
   her again denied on oath that he knew this man *(MF 1..MXIII)*
   Neg knew.3sgSubjPret
- 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 Vfn for phonological reasons, plus an XP preceding Vfn

(3) a. *Ez zwelfte *ôch [daz* vnter hve (Jesus) (Christus) *ni* geborn *wre]* [tha]z ... *NEGexpl ... Vfn]*
   he doubted also that our lord Jesus Christ was not born *(14..1-alem-PU;G > M322-G1)*
   He also doubted that our Lord Jesus Christ was not born *(141-alem-PU;G > M322-G1)*
   Neussago *nieht* [hin wenig substantia ãndere]
   ‘He also doubted that our Lord Jesus Christ was not born’ *(1/4..1-alem-PU;G > M322-G1)*
   neg-deny NEG one substance Neg-3sgSubjPret harder substance than other
   ‘He also doubted that our Lord Jesus Christ was not born’ *(1/4..1-alem-PU;G > M322-G1)*
   Xp = NEGexpl-Vfn ...]
   do not deny that one substance is harder than the other one *(N_Cat_noklkbzeat.Booth.Cat.Bohl.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 dexsemu quide ni bluchsee eoman, [ni dhiz *sli* chiuissuo dher ander held godes]* in this.DataSg sentence Neg dobt.3sgSubjPret anyone Neg this is.3sgSubjPret truly the other shape God.Gen
   ‘Nobody should doubt that this sentence demonstrates the other shape of God’ *(Isidor_1.0 > I_DeFideE_3)*
   ‘Nobody should doubt that this sentence demonstrates the other shape of God’ *(Isidor_1.0 > I_DeFideE_3)*
   loss of negative complementator *ni* and replacement by negative expletive marker as a clitic in the left periphery of the clause, attracting the verb to Fin*  

(5) *[ni ... SprekFfn *dhiz [sli * [chiuissuo dher ander held godes] [i]]]*  
   loss of negative complementor *ni* and replacement by negative expletive marker as a clitic in the left periphery of the clause, attracting the verb to Fin*  

(6) *[ni ... SprekFfn *dhiz [sli * [chiuissuo dher ander held godes] [i]]]*  
   loss of negative complementor *ni* and replacement by negative expletive marker as a clitic in the left periphery of the clause, attracting the verb to Fin*  

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 investigated in previous work involves verbs with a complex negative semantics (non-assertive 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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