

Clause integration and verb position in German – Drawing the boundary between subordinating clause linkers and their paratactic homonyms*

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Abstract

In this paper, I discuss the well-known phenomenon of German adverbial subordinators introducing clauses with main clause word order (such as *obwohl* ‘although’, *wobei* ‘whereby’, *weil* ‘because’, *während* ‘whereas’). I argue that these connectors do not behave in a deviant or non-canonical way in these cases but that adverbial subordinators have paratactic homonyms which belong to a separate class within the inventory of clause linkers in German. Building on data from spontaneous speech production, evidence comes mainly from the distribution of structural main clause phenomena and illocutionary types, and from the role of embedded verb second. These findings have also implications concerning the structural richness of the left periphery of main vs subordinate clauses. I come to the conclusion that main and subordinate clauses differ with respect to their internal syntax, and that subtypes of subordinate clauses showing varying degrees of syntactic integration can be sufficiently distinguished by just their external syntax.

1 Introduction

This paper aims at contributing to the ongoing lively discussion on main clause word order in (allegedly or genuine) subordinate clauses in German. In particular, I am going to discuss the use of paratactic variants of (originally only) subordinating connectors, such as *obwohl* (‘although’), *wobei* (‘whereby’), *während* (‘whereas’), *wogegen* (‘whereas’), *weil* (‘because’), and *dass* (‘that’).¹ In the course of the investigation, it will turn out that the structural richness of the left periphery of clauses is suitable for the distinction of dependent and independent clauses. With this criterion in hand, I will reinterpret some of the subordinations that are hitherto understood as adverbial subordinations; I propose instead that they be analysed as connectors of independent clauses (or better: utterances) at discourse level; moreover, to a subset of usages of the complementiser *dass* I will assign the function and position of an illocution-marking particle.

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¹ Some of these connectors have developed lexical variants historically; today these variants have the same meaning, but differ with respect to token frequencies. These subordinations include: *obwohl* and its alternatives *obgleich*, *obschon*, *obzwar* ‘although’; *während* and its alternatives *währenddessen*, *währenddem* ‘whereas’; *wogegen* and its alternative *wohingegen* ‘whereas’. The latter subjunction, *wohingegen*, has been formed in analogy to *wogegen* and *hingegen* (cf. DWB, 1960, vol. 30, col. 1024, s.v. *wohingegen*).

In German, it seems to be possible, at first glance, to change subordinate clause word order (which is verb final by default) to main clause word order (which usually requires the finite verb to be in the first or second position; V1/V2) rather freely in some types of subordinate clauses. This change apparently lends particular main clause features to the subordinate clause, such as greater pragmatic weight, rhematicity, assertive potential, and others (examples are given in (1)–(7)). It is particularly this effect that has led a number of linguists to interpret this variation as a more general – ongoing and spreading – process of pragmatization of verb placement (for example, Küper 1991, 1993; Günthner 2000b). Another conclusion drawn by several authors from the data below entails that V2 counts among the embeddable root phenomena in German. Note that the a.-examples in (1) (V1 conditional) and (2) (V2 complement) are considered special in that they are comparatively rare and can always be substituted by the corresponding verb final b.-examples, whereas examples (3a)–(7a) are usually assessed as non-canonical and deviant because they do not fit the linguistic norm of Standard German (as opposed to (3b)–(7b)).

- (1) a. **Hätte** ich nicht seit meiner frühen Jugend Migräne gehabt,
had I not since my early youth migraine had
 wäre ich Musiker geworden.
was I musician become
 ‘If I hadn’t suffered from migraine since my early youth, I’d have
 become a musician.’ (Zifonun et al. 1997: 2281)
- b. **Wenn** ich nicht seit meiner frühen Jugend Migräne gehabt **hätte**,
if I not since my early youth migraine had had
 wäre ich Musiker geworden.
was I musician become
- (2) a. Erst am Ende möchte man glauben, der Berichterstatter **sei**
only at.the end likes one believe the correspondent be
 leibhaftig in das Drei-Seen-Land zwischen Mittelland und Jura
physically in the three-lakes-land between midland and Jura
 gereist.
travelled
 ‘Not before the end one is inclined to believe that the correspondent
 has travelled in person to the Land of the Three Lakes between the
 Swiss Central Plateau and the Jura Mountains.’
 (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung* Online [Swiss newspaper], 02/07/2002)
- b. Erst am Ende möchte man glauben, **dass** der Berichterstatter
only at.the end likes one believe that the correspondent
 leibhaftig in das Drei-Seen-Land zwischen Mittelland und Jura
physically in the three-lakes-land between midland and Jura
 gereist **sei**.
travelled be

- (3) a. ne das stimmt so sicher nicht.
no this is correct so surely not
 also **weil** – man **kann** es ja wissenschaftlich untersuchen.
well because one can it PTCL scientifically investigate
 ‘No, this is certainly not true, well, because you can investigate it
 scientifically after all.’ (Günthner 1993: 37)
- b. Nee, das stimmt so sicher nicht, **weil** man es ja wissenschaftlich unter-
 suchen **kann**.
- (4) a. Mit dem Zug fahren ist sehr schön, **obwohl** es **ist** ziemlich teuer.
with the train ride is very nice although it is quite expensive
 ‘It is very nice to go by train, it is quite expensive, however.’
 (Gaumann 1983: 229)
- b. Mit dem Zug fahren ist sehr schön, **obwohl** es ziemlich teuer **ist**.
- (5) a. Sie sind anders, weeßte, wir sind anders als ihre Kinderärzte oder ihre
 Hausärzte, oder ick bin anders,
 ‘They are different, you know, we are different from their paediatrici-
 cians or their family doctors or I am different’
wobei ick **bin** ja wahrscheinlich nich anders als die andern
however I am PTCL probably not different than the others
 bei uns, sag ick ma
at us say I PTCL
 ‘However, I am probably not different from the others here, I’d say.’
 (Berliner Wendekorpus, Kira22, 1993)
- b. **wobei** ick ja wahrscheinlich nich anders **bin** als die andern bei uns
- (6) a. Mit Südafrika ist aber noch nicht fest, **während** mit
with South_Africa is however still not firm whereas with
 den Seychellen **klappt**=s.
the Seychelles works=it
 ‘South Africa isn’t sure yet, whereas the Seychelles are working out
 fine.’ (Gaumann 1983: 232)
- b. Mit Südafrika ist aber noch nicht fest, **während** es mit den Seychellen
klappt.
- (7) a. Und dann kam raus, **dass** von den Selbständigen **haben**
and then turned out that of the self-employed have
 zehn Prozent Grüne gewählt.
ten percent Green elected
 ‘And then it turned out that ten percent of the self-employed have
 elected The Green Party.’ (Utterance of a German politician, 2009)
- b. Und dann kam raus, **dass** von den Selbständigen zehn Prozent Grüne
 gewählt **haben**.

Formally, these examples fall into two categories. In (1a) and (2a) a subjunction and a complementiser are omitted. Given that subjunction/complementiser and moved finite verb occupy the same syntactic slot, the V1/V2 form can be explained by a purely syntactic mechanism in these cases: With no complementiser present there is nothing to prevent the finite verb from being fronted, yielding V-in-C.² This is, however, no appropriate explanation for the examples in the second group, (3a) to (7a). Here, so it seems, the word order varies in spite of the presence of a subjunction or complementiser (this is true not only for the well-known case of causal *weil* ‘because’, but also for a number of other adverbial subjunctions).³

In what follows, I will address the question whether verb placement is flexible in German subordinate clauses and whether it can really be used at will as a strategy to pursue pragmatic goals, such as highlighting some parts of the conveyed information. To anticipate the result: the answer will be ‘no’. I will argue that what looks like free variation of verb placement is not pragmatically driven but results from specific syntactic conditions. In the first category (ex. (1)–(2)) verb fronting is triggered by complementiser omission, in the second category (ex. (3)–(7)) word order variation is an immediate reflex of the particular type of clause linkage (which, of course, has pragmatic consequences).⁴ Furthermore, it will become apparent that the accessibility of the left periphery of clauses (as evidenced by the admissibility of structural main clause phenomena) can be used as a reliable criterion for discriminating main from subordinate clauses, regardless of verb positions. The class of subordinate clauses may then be further subdivided by their degree of syntactic integration into their host clause, as has been already suggested similarly in a number of diverging approaches, such as Helbig (1980), Fabricius-Hansen (1992), Reis (1997), Pittner (1999), Pasch et al. (2003), Holler (2005, 2008), Wöllstein (2008), Antomo/Steinbach (2010), Frey (2011), Blühdorn (2012), Blühdorn/Lohnstein (2012), Reich/Reis (2013).

In this article, the focus is on finite clauses which follow an adverbial subjunction or a complementiser and show different word order patterns with re-

² Here, I follow standard assumptions on German clause structure as explicated, for instance, in Grewendorf (2002, 2013). According to these assumptions, within a split C-domain the head position of FinP is occupied by a complementiser/subjunction in subordinate clauses and by the fronted finite verb in V1/V2 clauses. In V2 clauses, the specifier of FinP is filled by a phrase due to an EPP requirement (which led to the classification as a “low V2 language“ by Grewendorf 2010, 2013). Hence, in German, sentence types are determined by the presence/absence of a complementiser in Fin⁰ and by the way of filling the specifier position of FinP (the so-called ‘prefield’) (Grewendorf 2013). Positions above FinP are targeted only if special marking of topic-/focushood or similar discourse related features is involved.

³ Connectors whose status as complementiser/subjunction is unclear as well as connective adverbs are left aside, here. The first group consists of, for instance, the hypothetical comparative particle *als* (‘as if’) (Oppenrieder 1991; Demske 2014; Bücking 2015), *außer* (‘except’) (Abraham 1979), and *kaum* (‘scarcely’) (Reis 2011); connective adverbs are, for example, *insofern* (‘insofar’), and *trotzdem* (‘nonetheless’).

⁴ These pragmatic consequences involve interpretations of inter-clausal semantic relations at different levels (propositional, epistemic, illocutionary), as suggested already by, e.g., Sweetser (1990), Brandt (1990), Zifonun et al. (1997), Pasch et al. (2003), and Breindl et al. (2014).

spect to the position of the finite verb (as seen in the ex. (3)–(7) above).⁵ The conceptual pair ‘main clause’ and ‘subordinate clause’ is conceived of as practically synonymous to ‘independent’ and ‘dependent clause’, here. These terms are used according to the definitions of subordination and dependence given by Reich/Reis (2013), which, in short, entail that subordination is closely tied to syntactic or semantic dependence.⁶ – My argumentation rests upon data from spontaneous speech production in contemporary German, drawn from publicly accessible corpora⁷ and from internet sources. As the phenomena discussed in this paper are characteristic primarily of spoken German, I rely exclusively on data from spoken language or from informal, conceptually oral texts, such as weblogs, internet forums, etc.

The paper is structured as follows: In the next section, I briefly discuss embedded main clause phenomena in German and address some resulting implications for the internal and external syntax of subordinate clauses (section 2). The results of this section provide a means to determine the dependence or independence of clauses without referring to verb placement: the permissibility of structural main clause phenomena. The findings are used in section 3 to describe and analyse several ‘non-canonical’ word order patterns that involve ‘embedded V2’. Against this backdrop, the internal syntax of subordinate vs. main clauses is investigated in section 4. From this, syntactic analyses of V2 in complement clauses are derived. Section 5 draws conclusions from the foregoing analyses and discusses some theoretical implications that arise from these findings for the syntax of clause combining and the status of V2 in German.

2 Embedded main clause phenomena and the internal and external syntax of subordinate clauses

Given the generally neat distribution of verb final order in subordinate clauses and the non-verb final orders V1 and V2 (V-in-C) in main clauses, the V2 property is classified as a main clause phenomenon (MCP) (or: root phenomenon) in German and, in fact, as a most prominent one. In this context it is not a new observation that MCP can also occur in subordinate clauses under certain condi-

⁵ V2 in relative clauses cannot be discussed within this paper; for detailed discussions see Schuetze-Coburn (1984), Holler (2005, 2008), Gärtner (2001), Ebert/Endriss/Gärtner (2007), Ravetto (2007), Birkner (2008), and Catasso/Hinterhölzl, this volume.

⁶ Put into syntactic terms, this amounts to a definition according to which a clause X is dependent on a clause Y if the maximal node of Y dominates the maximal node of X, with no other maximal node of a clause Z intervening in between (Reich/Reis 2013: 540; in the German original: “S2 ist genau dann von S1 (unmittelbar) abhängig, wenn der maximale [!] Satzknoden von S1 den maximalen Satzknoden von S2 dominiert (und dabei kein dritter Satzknoden S3 interveniert).”).

⁷ These corpora involve the *Pfeffer-Korpus*, the *Freiburger Korpus*, the *Zwirner-Korpus* (all compiled in the 1950s to 1970s), and the *Forschungs- und Lehrkorpus Gesprochenes Deutsch (FOLK)* (containing data from the period 2005–2012), which are now part of the database *Datenbank für Gesprochenes Deutsch* at the Institut für Deutsche Sprache Mannheim (IDS). They are available online on the website of the IDS: <http://dgd.ids-mannheim.de>.

tions (see, among others, Hooper/Thompson 1973; Green 1976; for an overview cf. Heycock 2006), and it is still not quite clear what these conditions look like exactly. For German it was observed that a subset of adverbial, complement and relative clauses is compatible with a number of MCP. The MCP referred to in the literature include primarily expressions which are speaker-oriented and/or sensitive to illocutionary type, such as (epistemic/evaluative) sentence adverbials and performative expressions. – Another MCP that gained great attention in recent studies on embedded root phenomena in German is the use of modal particles.⁸ Comparing subordinate clauses one can find the following discrepancies with respect to grammaticality judgements:

- (8) a. Temporal clause
 *Während er **wohl** [/ja] den Brief schrieb, ist er gestört worden.
while he PTCL the letter wrote is he interrupted been
 ‘While he was writing a letter, he was interrupted.’
 (Asbach-Schnitker 1977: 47)
- b. Adversative clause
 Gestern ist sie den ganzen Tag zu Hause geblieben, während sie
yesterday is she the whole day at home stayed whereas she
doch sonst bei schönem Wetter meistens einen Ausflug macht.
PTCL otherwise at beautiful weather mostly an outing makes
 ‘Yesterday, she stayed at home all day, whereas on other days she usually goes for an outing in fine weather.’ (Thurmair 1989: 78)
- (9) a. Factive complement clause
 *Er leugnete, daß er die Zeugin **ja** unter Druck gesetzt hatte.
he denied that he the witness PTCL under pressure set had
 ‘He denied that he had put the witness under pressure.’
 (Thurmair 1989: 109)
- b. Non-factive complement clause
 Maria fiel ein, dass Hans **ja** längst hier sein müsste.
M. come.to.mind that H. PTCL long.since here be ought
 ‘It came to Maria’s mind that Hans ought to have been here for a long time.’
 (Frey 2011: 59)
- (10) a. Restrictive relative clause
 Derjenige, der (***ja/*doch**) als letzter heimkommt, sollte das
the.one who PTCL as last home.comes should the
 Tor schließen.
gate shut
 ‘The one who comes home last should shut the gate.’
 (Thurmair 1989: 80)

⁸ See, for example, Thurmair (1989), Bayer (2001), Kwon (2005), Coniglio (2011), Frey (2011, 2012).

b. Non-restrictive relative clause

Für Sonntag hab ich Hans eingeladen, der mich ja schon
for Sunday have I H. invited who me PTCL already
 ewig mal besuchen wollte.
eternally PTCL visit wanted
 ‘For Sunday, I invited Hans, who has wanted to visit me for ages.’

The permissibility of particles that interact with illocutionary information and the accessibility of speaker attitudes led to the conclusion that these subordinate clauses possess illocutionary potential of their own. On the further assumption that illocutionary features and speaker orientation are coded in syntax, several authors have inferred that there must be a structural difference between those adverbial, complement and relative clauses that allow this kind of MCP, and those that do not (Coniglio 2011; Coniglio/Zegrean 2012; Frey 2011, 2012; Frey/Truckenbrodt 2015). The central claim of these authors is that German subordinate clauses are equipped structurally in a different way, which is to say that they come in different sizes. The structural difference concerns the left periphery of the clauses. According to mainstream cartographic approaches (subsequent to Rizzi 1997 and further developments) illocutionary features are represented in the highest projection, which is ForceP. If – so the reasoning of, e.g., Coniglio and Frey – a clause disallows Force-related elements like modal particles and speaker-oriented adverbials, no Force projection can be present. From this they infer that adverbial (and complement) clauses which disallow illocutionarily sensitive elements have a reduced structure – viz. lacking Force and other projections of the C-domain (this is why they are assigned the category of FinPs). Conversely, subordinate clauses which permit Force-related elements are considered as displaying a fully articulated C-domain. Accordingly, these clauses are categorised as ForcePs and treated on a par with root clauses.

Coniglio and Frey’s assumptions alike rest upon an analysis of English adverbials by Liliane Haegeman, who differentiates between central and peripheral adverbial clauses on the basis of the presence or absence of an articulated C-domain. She grounds her argumentation on the fact that some types of adverbial clauses allow speaker-oriented expressions and specific syntactic operations which are typical for main clauses while others do not (see Haegeman 2004, 2006, 2010 for details, and cf. ex. (15)–(17) below).⁹

Table 1 summarises the correlation between the permissibility of modal particles and the availability of a Force projection in German, as supposed by Coniglio and Frey:

⁹ For comparison, I give Haegeman’s conception of the structural differences between central and peripheral adverbial clauses as opposed to root clauses (Haegeman 2006: 1662):

Central adverbial clause	Sub				Fin
Peripheral adverbial clause	Sub	Top	Focus	Force	Fin
Root clause		Top	Focus	Force	Fin

Table 1: Distribution of modal particles and ForceP in subordinate clauses (Coniglio 2011: 202)

	Subordinate clauses	
	FinP	ForceP
Modal particles	–	+

Further, the (non-)occurrence of modal particles and Force is closely linked to the degree of syntactic integration of subordinate clauses into their matrix clause. According to Coniglio and Frey, only the subgroup of subordinate clauses that show signs of disintegration can contain modal particles. By testing for degree of integration by means of variable binding they demonstrate that the presence of a modal particle blocks the ability of a superordinate quantifier to bind into the subordinate clause (Coniglio 2011: 200–202, and Frey 2011: 58f.). This gives rise to the assumption that modal particles and variable binding are complementarily distributed in subordinate clauses. Complementing Table 1, this reveals the picture in Table 2 (again according to Coniglio and Frey):

Table 2: Distribution of modal particles, variable binding and FinP/ForceP in subordinate clauses (Coniglio 2011: 202)

	Subordinate clauses	
	FinP	ForceP
Modal particles	–	+
Variable binding	+	–

Following Haegeman again, it is assumed by Coniglio (2011), Coniglio/Zegrean (2012), Frey (2011, 2012, this volume), and Frey/Truckenbrodt (2015) that a Force-containing subordinate clause attaches to its host clause at the highest point in the syntactic structure (i.e., by adjunction to ForceP/CP).¹⁰ The authors also adopt Haegeman’s term “peripheral (adverbial) clauses” to refer to these highly adjoined subordinate clauses in German, as opposed to “central (adverbial) clauses”, which reside inside the VP layer.

In the remainder of this section I will show that the analysis defended by Coniglio and Frey has its shortcomings. As will become apparent there are strong empirical objections against this view. I am going to discuss two points that seem particularly problematic to me:

First, the occurrence of modal particles in subordinate clauses is not as restricted as assumed by Coniglio and Frey (and others).

¹⁰ This is the position which is designated for hosting so-called continuative verb final clauses in other accounts, see, for example, Holler (2005, 2008), and Blühdorn/Lohnstein (2012). These authors analyse them as unintegrated dependent clauses. Neither Coniglio nor Frey differentiate between peripheral adverbial clauses and unintegrated adverbial clauses. I will turn back to this problem below (see section 4, ex. (23)).

Second, if peripheral subordinate clauses are taken to be root clauses that display a fully expanded C-domain, one would expect that they easily allow structural MCP which involve the left periphery – contrary to what one finds in fact.

I begin with the first problem: The distribution in Table 2 predicts that modal particles are ruled out in central, i.e. fully integrated, subordinate clauses given that no Force head is present there. Coniglio (2011) and, following him, Frey (2011, 2012) consider temporal clauses, complement clauses of factive verbs or nouns, and clauses within the scope of a quantifier or a correlative pronominal adverb as uniformly fully integrated and therefore as not compatible with modal particles. Yet, speakers produce such clauses very naturally, and it is not even hard to extract them from larger data sources. The data in (11)–(13) present examples which all contain the modal particle *ja*:¹¹

(11) Temporal clause

Und schon auf der dreistündigen Fahrt hierher wurde mir klar, wie gut es war, für ein paar Tage alleine unterwegs zu sein und mal nicht nur eine Auszeit von der Arbeit und Melbourne zu haben, sondern auch von jeglichen sozialen Verpflichtungen. Ich konnte schon immer gut alleine sein. ‘During the three-hour journey to here I realised how good it was to travel alone for a few days and to have a break not only from work and from Melbourne but also from all social duties. I always liked to be alone.’

und das hat mir in den letzten drei Monaten, **als** ich **ja** nicht nur *and this has me in the last three months when I PTCL not only* im Hostel gearbeitet, sondern auch gelebt habe, wirklich gefehlt. *in the hostel worked but also lived have really missed* ‘and this is what I really missed in the last three months, when I not only worked in the hostel but also lived there.’ (Blog entry, 04/07/2012; <http://fabricatedtruth.com/?p=3528>)

(12) Factive complement clauses

a. Toll und ich Idiot hatte den ganzen Tag ignoriert **dass** wir *fantastic and I idiot had the whole day ignored that we* **ja** den 1. April haben! *PTCL the 1st April have* ‘Fantastic, and I ignored all day that it’s 1st of April today.’ (Forum entry, 01/04/2005; <http://www.tacheles-sozialhilfe.de/forum/thread.asp?FacId=211272>)

¹¹ Note that *ja* counts as a modal particle that resists most against being used in embedded contexts (some linguists question its embeddability entirely, for example Kratzer 1999; Zimmermann 2011). Testing other modal particles, such as *wohl* or *halt*, it is even easier to find evidence for their occurrence in fully integrated clauses.

- b. Ein Drittel aller Deutschen hat Angst vor Altersarmut [...].
one third of all Germans has fear before old-age poverty
 Selbst die Tatsache **dass** man **ja** privat vorsorgen kann
even the fact that one PTCL privately provide for can
 wird dieses Problem nicht kurzfristig lösen.
will this problem not promptly solve
 ‘A third of all Germans is afraid of old-age poverty. Even the fact
 that one can provide for the future privately won’t solve the problem
 in the short run.’ (Blog entry, 18/04/2013;
<http://gesundheitsfonds-so-nicht.de/arm-oder-nicht-arm/>)
- (13) a. Adverbial clause within the scope of a correlate
 Das konnte er auch deshalb, **weil** er **ja** bereits viel
this could he also therefore because he PTCL already much
 Erfahrung aus dem Bistum Osnabrück mitbrachte.
experience from the diocese O. with brought
 ‘He could this do because he brought with him much experience from
 the diocese of Osnabrück.’
 (Webpage of the diocese of Hamburg, 01/09/2008;
<http://www.erzbistum-hamburg.de>)
- b. Variable binding into an adverbial clause
 Wenn das Bild/Chart genug sehen, verkauft jeder_i, **weil**
if the picture/chart enough see sells everybody because
 er_i **ja** noch möglichst viele Gewinne einfahren will.
he PTCL still as possible much profit bring in wants
 Und *tada* der Kurs sinkt.
and INTERJ the market price drops
 ‘If enough people look at the picture or chart everybody starts selling
 because they want to make as large profits as possible – and *tada*
 the market price will drop.’ (Forum entry, 19/12/2013,
<http://forum.mods.de/bb/thread.php?TID=211750&page=13>)

This usage of modal particles suggests that their distribution is determined by semantic and pragmatic factors and not by syntactic ones (as also argued independently by Jacobs, ms.). The function of *ja* is generally described as signalling that the speaker assumes the conveyed information to be shared knowledge of speaker and addressee. This effect can be used for taking up again (or returning to) a previously mentioned issue. At the same time, the speaker expresses his/her belief that this information is true and uncontroversial.¹² The first-mentioned function motivates the occurrence of *ja* in the examples above. The second function, namely marking some information as indisputable, can explain why restrictive and factive clauses are normally dispreferred contexts for *ja*: As

¹² See, among others, Bublitz/Roncador (1975), Helbig (1988), Thurmair (1989), Lindner (1991), and Meibauer (1994).

these clauses trigger an existential presupposition, it is inappropriate to provide information about the speaker's stance with respect to the truth of the proposition of the clause (Brandt 1990).

Let us turn to the second point: The analysis of Coniglio and Frey entails that all those subordinate clauses that they assume to be ForcePs display the entire articulated C-domain. However, positions above FinP are not available for any visible syntactic processes in these clauses. This is all the more unexpected as movement to the left periphery is regarded as a typical MCP, and – according to Coniglio and Frey – it is a constitutive feature of peripheral subordinate clauses that they allow MCP. There is no obvious reason why the general compatibility with MCP should be restricted to non-structural types. However, if one looks, e.g., at syntactic topic-marking strategies all tests are negative:

(14) a. Left dislocation

*Gregor ist echt der kreativste Kopf in der Gruppe,
G. is really the most.creative head in the group
obwohl der Maik, der auch immer sehr gute Ideen **hat**.
although the M. he also always very good ideas has
 'Gregor is really the most creative head in the group, although Maik has always very good ideas, too.'

b. Argument fronting

*Wir suchen in seinen Bildern nicht nach allgemeinen Wahrheiten,
we search in his paintings not for general truths
obwohl Wahrheiten sie / diese Bilder trotzdem **enthalten**.
although truths they / these paintings nonetheless contain
 'We don't look for general truths in his paintings, although truths they / these paintings contain nonetheless.'

c. VP topicalisation

*Am Abend war Hannes mit seinen Kräften völlig am
at.the evening was H. with his strengths completely at.the
 Ende, **da den Aufstieg an einem einzigen Tag gemacht**
end because the ascent on a single day done
 er bis dahin noch nie **hatte**.
he until then before never had
 'In the evening, Hannes was completely at an end with his strength because he had never before accomplished the ascent of the mountain in a single day.'

d. Embedded *if-then*-clause

*Bei der Vorbereitung auf den Marathon musst du dich sehr
at the preparation on the marathon must you yourself very
 diszipliniert an deinen Trainingsplan halten, **weil wenn** du
disciplined to your training.schedule stick because if you
 nachlässig wirst, **dann** du die Routine **verlierst**.
lax become then you the routine loose
 ‘When you prepare yourself for the marathon you have to stick to the
 training plan very strictly, for if you become lax you loose your rou-
 tine.’

These data leave us with the conclusion that projections above FinP level are not syntactically accessible in subordinate clauses.

From the discussion above we can conclude that peripheral subordinate clauses do not differ from their fully integrated, central counterparts with respect to permissibility of modal particles and accessibility of the C-domain. This observation will amount to the conclusion that subordinate clauses in general do not differ from each other in their internal syntax.

It is important to note that Haegeman’s analysis, from which Coniglio and Frey borrow their basic theoretical assumptions, does not run into this problem. The situation in English looks quite different: apart from speaker-oriented adverbs and similar expressions it is exactly structural MCP which serve as evidence for assuming that peripheral adverbial and complement clauses are ForcePs in English. Fronting strategies that did not work in the German examples in (14) are easily applicable here (as opposed to central subordinate clauses, cf. the b.-examples):

- (15) Argument fronting in adverbial clauses
- a. We don’t look to his paintings for common place truths, **though truths** they contain none the less.
 (*Guardian*, G2, 18/02/2003, p. 8, col. 1; from Haegeman 2006: 1657)
 - b. ***While this paper** I was revising last week, I thought of another analysis.
 (Haegeman 2010: 629)
- (16) Argument fronting in complement clauses
- a. The inspector explained **that each part** he had examined very carefully.
 (Hooper/Thompson 1973: 474)
 - b. *I resent the fact **that each part** he had to examine carefully.
 (Hooper/Thompson 1973: 479)
- (17) Embedded *if-then* clause in adverbial clauses
- a. France will be expensive **while if** you go to England **then** you will get value for money.
 - b. *Mary does not enjoy a film on TV **until if** she has put her children to bed **then** they sleep well.
 (Haegeman 2004: 75)

In English, peripheral subordinate clauses indeed equal root clauses, the only difference being that a subjunction or complementiser is present within the former (cf. fn. 9 above). Accordingly, Haegeman analyses them as adjoined to their matrix clause at a very high point above IP level (which is adjunction to CP; Haegeman 2003: 327, Haegeman 2006: 1653) or, alternatively, as ‘orphans’ with no structural relation to their host clause whatsoever (Haegeman [1991] 2009).¹³ – As shown in (14), all this does not hold true for peripheral clauses in German as defined by Coniglio (and in a quite similar way by Frey).

Looking at it superficially, it seems as if these difficulties with respect to structural MCP in German subordinate clauses disappeared as soon as the formal feature ‘Verb Second’ comes in: in such an environment, left dislocation and other types of fronting become possible, as evinced by adverbial clauses (cf. (18)) and even *dass*-clauses (cf. (19)):

(18) a. Left dislocation¹⁴

Also da kommt man dann mit so allen möglichen Leuten zusammen,
die einen, die sind- die bilden sich wunder was ein, wunder wer sie
sind. Meistens sind es dann solche Leute, die praktisch vielleicht erst
vor kurzem zu etwas Geld gekommen sind,
‘Well, you meet all sorts of people there, some pride themselves terri-
bly on how important they are. Often these are people who came into
a little money only recently...’

währendem die wirklich feinen Leute, die lassen sich des
whereas the truly fine people they let REFL this
net anerkennen.

not note

‘... whereas the true gentlefolk don’t let it show.’

(*Pfeffer-Korpus*, Transcript 155, 1961)

b. Argument fronting

Wir suchen in seinen Bildern nicht nach allgemeinen Wahrheiten,
we search in his paintings not for general truths
obwohl Wahrheiten enthalten sie /diese Bilder trotzdem.
although truths contain they /these paintings nonetheless
‘We don’t look for general truths in his paintings, although truths they/
these paintings contain nonetheless.’

¹³ In a later account, Haegeman dismisses both of her former analyses by deriving the differences between central and peripheral adverbial clauses from the presence/absence of operator movement to the left periphery (Haegeman 2010).

¹⁴ The availability of left dislocation in *weil*-V2 and *obwohl*-V2 clauses is already pointed out by Gohl/Günthner (1999), Günthner (1999, 2000a), and Antomo/Steinbach (2010, 2013).

- c. V(P) topicalisation
 Wir haben aus und durch noch immer zwei Zuchtstuten gehabt, eingetragene Zuchtstuten, auch prämiert und haben noch immer etwas an der Zucht festgehalten, ...
 ‘We had still two breed mares, listed, prize-winning breed mares, and we always kept on breeding a bit ...’
obgleich *rentierentut* sich das heute so gleich nicht mehr.¹⁵
however pay.off does REFL this today so equally not anymore
 ‘... however, nowadays, it is not as profitable as it used to be.’
 (Zwirner-Korpus, Transcript 5C6, 1958)
- d. Embedded *if-then*-clause
 A: Also unterscheiden sich Sport und Musik gar nicht so sehr?
 ‘Don’t differ sports and music from each other so much, then?’
 B: Nicht unbedingt. **Obwohl: Wenn** du im Sport deine Leistung bringst, **dann** bist du auch beliebt.
not necessarily however if you in.the sport your performance bring then are you also popular
 ‘Not necessarily so. However, if you perform well in sport then you are automatically popular.’
 (Interview in an online magazine, 29/10/2007, http://www.eventmagazin.info/_de/detail.php?rubric=talk&nr=1142)
- e. Topic drop
 Na pass auf, **weil** hast du vielleicht auch schon einmal erlebt.
well watch out because have you perhaps also already once experienced
 ‘Well, listen, because perhaps you’ve experienced something like that yourself already.’ (Blog entry, 17/04/2008, petrachtung.de/?p=22)
- f. Speech act adverbial attached to following clause
Obwohl, wenn man sich das überlegt, du könntest recht haben!
however when one REFL this considers you could right have
 ‘However, when one thinks it over, you could be right!’
 (Forum entry, 04/05/2006, archiv.bvb-forum.de/index.php?id=242568)
- (19) a. Left dislocation
 Und der nächste Punkt war, **dass die Unterschiede, die** waren zwischen Wohnvierteln und nicht zwischen Ethnien.
and the next point was that the differences they were between neighbourhoods and not between ethnicities
 ‘And the next point was that the differences were between neighbourhoods and not between ethnicities.’ (Academic discussion, 2009)

¹⁵ The connector *obgleich* represents one of the synonymous lexical variants of *obwohl*, cf. fn. 1.

- b. Fronting of contrastive phrase
 Ich hab gelesen, **dass in Sizilien** gibt=s welche, die sind
I have read that in Sicily exist=it some that are
 'n paar hundert Jahre alt.
a couple hundred years old
 'I've read that in Sicily there are some [olive trees] which are a couple of hundred years old.' (Private conversation about olive trees, 2003)
- c. Embedded *if-then*-clause
 In Paris ist es so, **dass wenn** du einmal in einem arabischen
in P. is it so that if you once in a Arabic
 Ghetto lebst, **dann** kommst du da nie mehr raus.
ghetto live then come you there never more out
 'In Paris it is such that if you live in an Arabic ghetto once, then you will never get out of it again.' (Forum entry, 28/03/2007; www.migrationboell.de/web/integration/47_1098.asp?nr=1)

These examples might give the impression that V2 were able to licence structural MCP in subordinate clauses. This would presuppose, however, that we are dealing with instances of dependent V2 here. This is not self-evident, though. In the next section, I will discuss data that support an opposing view: Neither are the V2 clauses in (18) and (19) dependent on their preceding clause nor are they bound to V2 syntax.

3 Paratactic clause linkage

When comparing subjunction/complementiser-introduced V2 clauses, as illustrated in (18) and (19), with their verb final counterparts one comes across a whole range of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic distinctions, which implies that these two formal types differ both structurally and functionally. This has been described at length for *weil* 'because'¹⁶, and – if far less detailed – also for *obwohl* 'although'¹⁷ and *wobei* 'whereby'¹⁸, and need not be repeated here in detail (see also Freywald, in press, for an extensive overview). The syntactic differences go hand in hand with semantic alterations. Particularly *obwohl* and *wobei* undergo a considerable semantic shift: Both the concessive *obwohl* and the additive *wobei* assume a corrective or annulling meaning when used paratactically. This semantics is used to cancel or withdraw the previous utterance. *Während* moves from a temporal subjunction with the meaning 'while' via the

¹⁶ As can be deduced from the vast number of publications on this topic, cf. Gaumann (1983), Wegener (1993, 1999), Pasch (1997), Uhmann (1998), Gohl/Günthner (1999), Scheutz (2001), Antomo/Steinbach (2010), Speyer (2011), Reis (2013), Frey (this volume) – to name just a few.

¹⁷ See, for example, Günthner (1996, 2000a), Breindl (2004a), Moraldo (2012), Antomo/Steinbach (2013).

¹⁸ Cf. Günthner (2000b), Mroczynski (2012).

adversative subjunction *während* ‘whereas’ to the paratactic conjunction, which establishes a contrast between the connected clauses. Only paratactic *weil* retains its causal meaning by and large; however, the causal relation is shifted from propositional to the speech act level.¹⁹

As for syntax, the investigations boil down to the result that the V2 variants do not form a part of the preceding clause, but are separated from it with respect to prosody and pragmatics. Syntactically, this is analysed as a very loose connection between the two connected clauses. In some studies the connection is modelled as a paratactic phrase πP , whose head takes the two clauses as arguments (Antomo/Steinbach 2010, 2013, following Gärtner 2001; a similar structural configuration is represented in the coordinative phrases assumed by Uhmman 1998 and Wöllstein 2008, among others).

In the light of the data presented in (20) and (22) below, I deem it inevitable to go even a step further and dispense with any structural relation between the two successive clauses.²⁰ Evidence comes from examples which show that the connected clauses cover the whole range of illocutionary types available for independent clauses. The connected clause is not necessarily assertive (as repeatedly noted in the literature), but can also realise virtually any conceivable speech act:

- (20) a. Ich kann dir kein Geld leihen,
I can you no money lend
weil greif mal `nem nackten Mann in die Tasche!
because grab PTCL a naked man in the pocket
 ‘I can’t lend you money, because try to dig into the pocket of a naked man!’
 (Pasch et al. 2003: 369)
- b. der fährt täglich (-)
this goes daily
obwohl (.) fährt der eigentlich auch am Sonntag?
however goes this actually also at.the Sunday
 ‘It runs daily – however, does it actually also run on Sundays?’
 (Günthner 1999: 425, conversation about the timetable of fast trains)

¹⁹ In contemporary German, the inventory of paratactic conjunctions shows remarkable symmetry and lexical redundancy: there are two causal connectors (*weil, denn*), two corrective connectors (*obwohl, wobei*), and two contrastive connectors (*während, wo(hin)gegen*).

²⁰ This view shares commonalities with Haegeman’s “radical orphanage approach” (Haegeman [1991] 2009): building on an “orphan analysis” proposed for non-restrictive relative clauses by Safir (1986), she assumes that “peripheral adverbials can best be treated as being outside the syntactic representation of the sentences which they modify”. Further she assumes that they “are not syntactically integrated into their modifée at any level of representation” (Haegeman [1991] 2009: 331). In contrast to her, however, I assume no modifying relation between the connected clauses. – In her later work, Haegeman discarded the idea of syntactic orphans and proposed adjunction of central adverbials to the CP of the host clause (see fn. 13 above).

- c. Jetzt darfst=e Dir noch nen Kölsch gönnen, **obwohl**
now may=you yourself still a Kölsch indulge.in however
 ... ob man da von gönnen sprechen kann bei der Spüliplörre
whether one there of indulge speak can at this dishwasher
 ‘Now you may indulge in a glass of Kölsch [= beer from Cologne];
 however, it is doubtful whether one can speak of ‘indulge’ given that it
 is like dishwasher.’ (Forum entry, 19/03/2010, <http://www.grillsportverein.de/forum/threads/uds-ugly-drumsmoker.125103/>)
- d. Querholzdübel heißen die Dinger. Kann dir jeder Schreiner herstellen. Am besten bringst ein Stück Holz mit,
 ‘They are called wooden dowels. Every carpenter can make them for you. It would be best to bring a piece of wood with you...’
weil, ob der das gerade auf Lager hat?
because whether that.one this currently on store has
 ‘... because I wonder whether he has them in store currently.’
 (Forum entry, 14/03/2013, <http://www.lindenstrasse.de/Dialog/Zuschauerpost/Themen/thread.jsp?id=76162>)

This variability is atypical not only of subordinate clauses in general, but would also run against an analysis of these structures as coordinative connections.²¹ As pointed out by Lang (1984, 1991), in coordination the connected clauses (just as conjuncts of any other category) are subject to specific similarity constraints. These constraints require, that, firstly, conjuncts be construed in parallel: they must be subsumable under a semantic “common integrator” and they must have parallel syntactic structures. Secondly, these similarity constraints determine that both coordinated clauses must constitute the same illocutionary type (Lang 1991: 602–603).²² None of these requirements is fulfilled by the examples in (20). On the contrary, it is perfectly possible to relate clauses of different illocutionary types to each other in these constructions.²³ In sum, as opposed to coordinating (as well

²¹ For such suggestions cf. Uhmann (1998), Wöllstein (2008), Antomo/Steinbach (2010, 2013), and others.

²² Compare the ungrammatical coordinations of clauses which differ with respect to illocutionary type in (i) (taken from Lang 1991: 602):

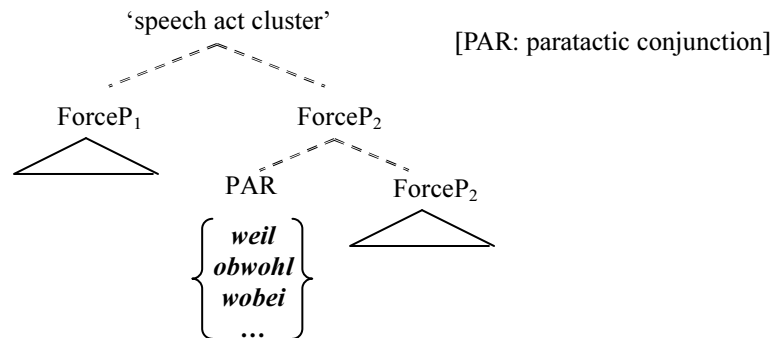
- (i) a. *Wie spät ist es und/oder/aber ich komme nicht pünktlich.
 ‘What’s the time and/or/but I won’t be on time.’
 b. *Wie spät ist es, aber nimm doch den Bus!
 ‘What’s the time but take the bus!’
 c. *Heute ist Dienstag oder sei pünktlich!
 ‘Today is Tuesday or be on time!’

²³ In this respect, adversative constructions with non-subordinating *während* and *wogegen* (‘whereas’) constitute an exception. Their structure is subject to restrictions very similar to those of true coordinations. This is due to the obligatorily parallel topic-comment structure in both conjuncts and to the double contrast relation between topics and comments of the combined clauses, which has been described only for subordinate, verb final adversative *während*-clauses so far (Clément/Thümmel 1996; Lohnstein 2004; Breindl 2004b; Blühdorn 2008; Christ 2014). These structural and semantic limitations hold in an even stricter way for paratactic *während*-constructions (see

as to subordinating) connectors, the instances of *weil*, *obwohl* and *wobei* in (20) do not impose any formal or semantic restrictions on the clauses they link to each other (a fact already pointed out by Reis 2013 with regard to *weil*). Hence, it is quite implausible to assume that they act as the syntactic head of a coordinative phrase – or as a syntactic head at all.²⁴ Instead, there is every indication that in these contexts the connectors *weil*, *obwohl*, etc. do not link clauses but virtually any utterances, which, accordingly, can formally be smaller or larger than clauses. This kind of linkage is not supposed to take place in syntax proper.

In the last-mentioned respect the proposal presented here goes also beyond the account of Höhle (1986), who defines a category “PARORD” [‘juxtaposing conjunctions’] for *dem* ‘for’ and non-subordinating *weil* ‘because’, separating them thus from coordinating conjunctions. Höhle states that a PARORD-element introduces the clause it precedes, which implies that it forms a syntactic constituent with this clause (the same assumption is taken as a basis in the aforementioned proposals). To me, it appears more appropriate to analyse *weil*, *obwohl* and *wobei* not as projecting syntactic elements, but rather as connective particles which operate at discourse level. Their function can be described as forming and organising a ‘speech act cluster’.²⁵ Semantically, they explicitly verbalise a specific discourse relation, such as Reason, Correction or Contrast. It is exactly this explicitness (and, hence, a decrease of semantic vagueness) what distinguishes these speech act clusters from an asyndetic sequence of utterances. The structure in (21) visualises the discourse-syntactic relations (dotted lines represent “discourse syntax”):

(21) Structure of a speech act cluster



Freywald, in press, for a detailed analysis). Thus, the inflexibility of *während*-V2-clauses with respect to syntactic form and illocutionary type does not result from any dependent status but is caused by special correspondence conditions.

²⁴ In addition, there are several further aspects which distinguish these constructions from coordinative ones, for example, only the latter allow gapping and (potential) permutation.

²⁵ These discourse-organisational functions correspond to some essential properties typically assigned to discourse markers. Accordingly, the non-subordinating instances of *weil*, *obwohl* and *wobei* are analysed as such by some authors (for example, Gohl/Günthner 1999; Günthner 1999, 2000a,b; Auer/Günthner 2005; Imo 2012; Mroczynski 2012).

The representation in (21) captures the fact that the instances of *weil*, *obwohl*, etc. are neither subordinating nor coordinating connectors but operate above sentence level, which suggests to locate this kind of linkage within discourse structure. This then inspires to explore the structural syntax-discourse interface more thoroughly by leaving the domain of ‘core syntax’ in order to model ‘discourse syntax’ (cf. Mithun 2008).

What is more, the data in (20) supply us also with evidence that V2 is not a necessary ingredient of this kind of linkage. As these examples demonstrate, in clauses after *weil*, *obwohl* and *wobei* the finite verb can occur in all of its usual positions, i.e. V1, V2 and even verb final orders are possible (cf. (20c,d)). Evidently, paratactic conjunctions do not determine the position of the finite verb in the subsequent clause.²⁶ The list can easily be further augmented by examples with a non-finite verb or with no verb at all:

- (22) a. Um 7,90 Euro unter der Woche und 16,90 Euro am Wochenende fällt die Auswahl zwischen verschiedenen Müslis, Joghurts, dunklem Schnittlauchbrot, [...] Waffeln oder Rührei und verschiedenen Säften schwer –
 ‘At a price of 7.90 euros during the week and 16.90 euros at weekends it is a difficult choice between various mueslis, yogurts, dark bread with chives, [...] waffles or scrambled eggs and various fruit juices – ’
 ... **obwohl**, warum nicht einfach alles ausprobieren?
however why not simply all out.try
 ‘However, who not try simply everything?’ (Restaurant review, <http://www.stadtbekannt.at/AlexAnders/>; retrieved 16/05/2014)
- b. Räum bitte dein Zimmer auf, **weil** wohin sonst mit
tidy please your room up because where.to otherwise with dem Gast?
the guest
 ‘Please, tidy up your room, because where could we put up the guest otherwise?’ (Reis 2013: 225)
- c. Das dürfte ja nicht unter das Grabeverbot fallen, da der Erdboden nicht beschädigt wird, oder?
 ‘This shouldn’t fall within the digging ban because the ground isn’t damaged, or should it?’
Wobei, wohin dann mit der ganzen Erde, wenn man den
however where.to then with the whole soil when one the Schatz sucht?
treasure searches
 ‘However, where to put all the soil when seeking the treasure?’

²⁶ This is again different with paratactic *während* – and also with non-subordinating *dass* –, which both are, according to the data, always followed by a V2 clause. This results from the specific functions of these two connectors; for *während* see fn. 23, for *dass* see section 4 below.

- Ok, vielleicht doch keine so gute Idee.
 ‘OK, maybe not such a good idea.’ (Forum entry, 04/05/2012,
<http://forum.geoclub.de/viewtopic.php?f=11&t=63528&start=20>)
- d. Wenn die Drehbuchautoren immer auf die Wünsche der Zuschauer eingehen würden, hätten wir bald nur noch eine Aneinanderreihung von Themen mit mehr oder weniger politischer oder sozialer Brisanz, die dann auch noch möglichst realitätsnah abgebildet sein sollten.
 ‘If the script writers always attended to the wishes of the TV viewers we would have a series of explosive political and social topics which, on top of that, would be presented as realistic as possible.’
 Nach einigen Monaten würde keiner mehr einschalten, **weil**
after few months would nobody more on.switch because
 gäh.
yawn
 ‘After a few months nobody would tune in anymore, because yawn!’
 (Forum entry, 14/03/2013, <http://www.lindenstrasse.de/Dialog/Zuschauerpost/Themen/thread.jsp?id=76162>)
- e. Verwende auch meist die Spaltenansicht; ist am schnellsten.
 ‘I also use the column view most of the time, this is the fastest way.’
 Daher stört mich das auch nicht sooo sehr (**obwohl** – grummel)
hence bothers me this also not so much although grumble
 ‘Hence, this doesn’t bother me that much (although – grumble ...)’
 (Forum entry, 17/01/2002, <http://www.macwelt.de/>)

As a consequence, the specific characteristics of paratactic *weil*- and other clauses cannot be derived from the semantics (or pragmatics) of the V2 feature (as has been done in several approaches, see for example Günthner 1999, 2000b; Antomo/Steinbach 2010; Antomo 2015; Catasso 2015). In fact, it matters neither whether the verb is moved to C nor whether it is present at all. What matters is the fact that the connected conjuncts are syntactically independent of each other, which is to say that they are syntactic roots and, at the same time, form fully-fledged discourse units. Reis (2013: 225) has already pointed this out for *weil*-clauses by concluding: “Dafür, dass mit ihnen stets eigenständige Sprechakte vollzogen werden, ist ihr Wurzelsatzstatus verantwortlich.” (2013: 225).²⁷

As a consequence, we may draw the more general conclusion from the discussion above that some connecting elements (paratactic *weil*, *obwohl* etc., but also other connectors, such as certain adverbials, e.g. *dennoch* ‘nevertheless’ and *bloß* ‘but’) do not trigger a specific word order pattern; hence, the subsequent clauses are indeed syntactically independent structures, i.e. main clauses. Additionally, it becomes evident that structural MCP are in fact *main clause* phenomena, as they obviously occur only there. With this result we get a distinctive fea-

²⁷ ‘The fact that they always represent speech acts is due to their root clause status.’ (my translation, UF)

ture that helps to classify clauses into subordinate and main clauses without referring to verb placement in the first place. A further outcome is the ability to tell central, peripheral, and unintegrated subordinate clauses apart by their external syntax alone. These issues will be the topic of the next section.

4 The internal and external syntax of dependent vs independent clauses

The observed distribution of structural main clause phenomena provides us with a criterion to distinguish main and subordinate clauses by means of their structural outfit only. As shown above, subordinate clauses are all equally incompatible with structural MCP, such as fronting of material to the left periphery. This suggests that the C-domain is not available in these clauses. In contrast, independent clauses allow such MCP without any problems, which indicates the existence of an accessible C-domain. Seen in this light, it is untenable to assume that subordinate clauses come in different sizes. Rather, a classification of clauses should draw a line between dependent, structurally reduced clauses (FinPs) on the one hand, and fully-fledged clauses (ForcePs, with an articulated C-domain) on the other, see Table 3:

Table 3: Structural size of subordinate clauses vs main clauses

FinP	ForceP
dependent (i.e. subordinate) clauses	independent (i.e. main) clauses

As already pointed out above, the class of subordinate clauses can be further subdivided according to the degree of integration into the host clause. Taking several different recent approaches together, subordinate clauses can be subclassified as follows: fully integrated (= central) subordinate clauses, weakly integrated (= peripheral) subordinate clauses, and non-integrated (= continuative) subordinate clauses. This latter category is not defined consistently, though. Here, I pursue the view that they are not integrated into, but nonetheless dependent on their host clause (as proposed in several studies, e.g., Eroms 2000; Holler 2005, 2008; Reich/Reis 2013; cf. Freywald, in press, for further discussion). In contrast to peripheral clauses, unintegrated subordinate clauses are topologically fixed: they are confined to the right edge of their host clause. As for prosody, they constitute a distinct intonational unit and are separated from the preceding clause by a final boundary tone. Moreover, unintegrated subordinate clauses have illocutionary potential of their own (as shown, for example, for continuative relative clauses by Holler 2005). Their sentence mood is restricted to the declarative, however, whereas their host clauses show full flexibility with respect to illocutionary type. This is taken as indication that unintegrated subordinate clauses do not exhibit full sentential force but are confined to

the default, which is declarative. The examples in (23) show that *weil*, *obwohl* and *wobei* are able to link unintegrated adverbial clauses, too.²⁸ These adverbial clauses do not modify another proposition but represent an epistemic or speech act-related statement, e.g., a reason for or a revision of a previously uttered speech act (this reflects again the differentiation of different levels of interpretation of clause combining, as identified by Sweetser 1990 for English, who distinguishes inter-clausal semantic relations at content/factual level, epistemic level and speech act level):

- (23) a. Gibt es noch warmes Wasser? **Weil** ich noch spülen **muß**.
Exists it still warm water because I still rinse must
 ‘Is there any hot water left? Because I have to do the washing-up.’
 (Uhmann 1998: 127)
- b. Torben: jetzt spiel aber kein solo (.)**obwohl** ich die geilen
now play PTCL no solo although I the wicked
 karten danach **hab**
cards for.it have
 ‘Don’t play a solo now; however, I have wicked cards for it.’
 Andrea: aua. (.2sec)
 ‘Ouch!’
 Eric: bube solo
 ‘Jack solo’ (Schlobinski/Kohl/Ludewigt 1998: 305)
- c. Wann kommt eigentlich Luise? **Wobei** ich mich **frage**,
when comes PTCL L. whereby I me ask
 ob die nicht vielleicht sogar abgesagt hat.
whether she not perhaps even cancelled has
 ‘When does Luise come? However, I’m asking myself whether she
 has maybe called off.’ (Pasch et al. 2003: 436)

The syntactic and semantic differences between central, peripheral and unintegrated subordinate clauses – and the pragmatic effects that result from them – can be sufficiently explained by their external syntax, i.e. by their position within the host structure. As has been noted in a number of studies before, these types of subordinate clauses (or their differently labelled equivalents) adjoin to the structure of their host clause at different points. It is uncontroversial that the higher in the structure a subordinate clause comes in, the more ‘outside’ and disintegrated it is. This explains why peripheral and unintegrated clauses are outside the scope of correlates or similar expressions, why they show topological inflexibility, why they do not allow variable binding, and why they are compati-

²⁸ This implies, further, that *weil*, *obwohl*, *wobei* (and *während*) are real all-rounders: they can connect central, peripheral and unintegrated adverbial clauses, and also independent clauses (cf. Zifonun et al. 1997; Pittner 1999; Günthner 1999; Pasch et al. 2003; Breindl et al. 2014 for similar findings; for an overview cf. Freywald, in press; cf. also the seminal work of Sweetser 1990 and Haegeman 2003, 2006, 2010, who discuss similar phenomena in English).

ble with speaker-oriented expressions. As for the exact adjunction sites of subordinate clauses with different degrees of integration, opinions are divided, however.²⁹ Building upon previous work on clause classification (cf. fn. 29), I have developed a systematisation of these different types of linkage for adverbial and complement clauses (Freywald, in press). Table 4 gives an overview over adjunction sites of adverbial clauses:³⁰

Table 4: Adjunction sites of dependent adverbial clauses according to degree of integration

Type of dependent clause	Adjunction site in the host clause
central adverbial clause	VP
peripheral adverbial clause	TP
unintegrated adverbial clause	CP

The absence of Force even in peripheral and unintegrated dependent clauses is reflected not only by their incompatibility with structural MCP but also by the fact that their illocutionary potential is confined to the default type, namely to the declarative.³¹ If peripheral and unintegrated subordinate clauses were root clauses (as proposed by Coniglio 2011, Frey 2011, 2012, and Frey/Truckenbrodt 2015), one would expect the availability of a variety of illocutionary types. Such an illocutionary diversity does not exist, however. This poses a challenge to the analysis proposed by Frey/Truckenbrodt (2015). They assume that peripheral adverbial clauses “are inherently root clauses” (2015: 85) and attach to the highest node of their host clause.³² According to Frey/Truckenbrodt, these clauses gain their illocutionary force “in a parasitic way” by participating in the illocutionary environment of the host clause, which is “the speaker’s Assertion” (2015: 88). It remains unclear, however, what happens if the illocutionary environment is not an assertion but an interrogative or an imperative. The data in (23) above prove that the peripheral adverbial clauses retain their declarative mood, and thus do not participate parasitically in the speech act properties of their host clause.

Finally, it is important to note, that the two criteria, permissibility of structural MCP and flexibility with respect to illocutionary type, are sufficient for the

²⁹ See, among others, Fabricius-Hansen (1992), Reis (1997), Pittner (1999), Holler (2005, 2008), Wöllstein (2008), Antomo/Steinbach (2010), Frey (2011), Blühdorn (2012), Blühdorn/Lohnstein (2012), Reich/Reis (2013).

³⁰ This can be seen as another syntactic modelling of the ideas on clause combining at different semantic levels by, e.g., Pittner (1999) for German and Sweetser (1990) for English.

³¹ The only exception are interrogative complement clauses introduced by *ob* ‘if’ or an interrogative pronoun or adverb. Here, the default is overridden by *wh*-features.

³² Frey/Truckenbrodt (2015) do not distinguish between peripheral adverbial clauses (which can occupy the first position in a V2 declarative clause, the so-called prefield) and unintegrated adverbial clauses (which are topologically fixed). Hence, apparently, they treat both types of not (or not fully) integrated adverbial clauses alike – in contrast to the analysis proposed in this paper (see Table 4 above).

distinction between main clauses and subordinate clauses. This has the advantage that the basal classification of main and subordinate clauses does not need to rely on the problematic criterion of verb position, as this is not decisive. – Both compatibility with structural MCP and illocutionary variability correlate with the feature of syntactic independence. This becomes obvious if one looks (i) at independent verb final clauses and (ii) at dependent V2 clauses.

(i) *Independent verb final clauses.* The first case concerns verb final clauses introduced by a complementiser or subjunction. They look exactly like subordinate clauses, but do not belong to any visible matrix structure. In order to reflect the in-between character of these (and similar) structures across languages the label ‘insubordination’ has been coined as a cover term (Evans 2007). By and large, these clauses are considered as syntactically and illocutionarily independent structures which carry dependency markers (Mithun 2008; Verstraete et al. 2012; D’Hertefelt/Verstraete 2014). This is also the view which is predominantly taken in previous work on independent verb final clauses in German.³³ It is confronted with an ellipsis approach, as represented, for example, in Schwabe (2006) and Lohnstein (2000). These authors assume that the verb final clause is selected by a deleted matrix predicate. However, the ellipsis analysis faces (at least) two severe problems. First, the allegedly deleted structure is not recoverable, and, second, most independent verb final clauses cannot be embedded as they are (Reis 1985: 282f.; Altmann 1987: 26f.).³⁴ These problems are mainly due to the fact that modal particles are almost always obligatory in these verb final clauses (ex. (24)). The same verb final clause does not allow a modal particle, however, if embedded under an overt matrix verb (ex. (25)) (Altmann 1987; Thurmair 1989):

- (24) a. Woher sie das **bloß** hat? / *Woher sie das hat?
wherefrom she this PTCL has
 ‘I wonder where she has got this from.’
- b. Dass er mir **nur** nicht wieder verloren geht! /
that he PTCL PTCL not again lost goes
 *Dass er mir nicht wieder verloren geht!
 ‘I wish that he won’t get lost again!’
- c. Was für tolle Ideen der **aber auch** hat!
what for great ideas he PTCL PTCL has
 ‘What great ideas he has!’
- (25) a. Ich wünschte, dass er mir (***nur**) nicht wieder verloren geht!
I wished that he PTCL PTCL not again lost goes
 ‘I wished that he won’t get lost again!’

³³ See, for example, Reis (1985), Altmann (1987), Meibauer (1989), Oppenrieder (1989), Truckenbrodt (2006), Gutzmann (2011), Panther/Thornburg (2011).

³⁴ Cf. Truckenbrodt (2013) for a more comprehensive review of the debate.

- b. Ich bin erstaunt, was für tolle Ideen der (***aber auch**) hat!
I am astonished what for great ideas he PTCL PTCL has
 ‘It astonishes me what great ideas he has!’

What is important for the discussion of the present paper is the fact that these independent verb final clauses permit structural MCP. Elements which target the far left of the sentence, such as speech act adverbials (in the sense of Mittwoch 1977) and Hanging Topics, can attach to these verb final clauses, see the examples in (27) and (26):³⁵

- (26) Speech act adverbials
- a. Wo wir grad von Bier sprechen, ob=s hier heute noch
where we currently of beer talk whether=it here today still
 was zu trinken gibt?
something to drink exists
 ‘Speaking of beer, is there going to be anything for drinks today?’
- b. Weil du gerade Maja erwähnst – wie die vorhin wieder
because you currently M. mention how she earlier again
 geguckt hat!
looked has
 ‘Since you just mention Maja, did you see how she frowned again!’
- (27) Hanging Topics
- a. Du sag mal, dein Mitbewohner, ob der heute wohl noch
you say PTCL your room-mate whether he today PTCL still
 das Geschirr wegräumt?
the dishes away.stows
 ‘Hey, tell me, your room-mate, I wonder whether he will clear away the dishes today.’
- b. Diese Unordnung, wie du die bloß immer hinkriegst!
this messiness how you that PTCL always manage
 ‘This messiness, I really wonder how you manage to produce it all the time!’

As the data in (26)–(27) show these clauses permit that a speech act adverbial or a Hanging Topic is adjoined to the highest node of the clause (which I take to be ForceP).³⁶ To conclude, verb final word order *per se* is not an obstruction of structural MCP or illocutionary force. Instead, the behavior of independent verb

³⁵ This extends also to non-finite main clauses (which are verb final by nature), cf. *Wenn ich mal kurz stören darf, bitte die leeren Gläser hier abstellen!* ‘Sorry for interrupting, please put the empty glasses here!’.

³⁶ Strikingly, exactly the same type of evidence is used as an argument in favour of an ellipsis analysis (Schwabe 2006: 450f.). According to Schwabe, only a (silent) matrix clause can act as an attachment site for left-dislocated phrases like the ones in (26) and (27). I do not see, however, why higher positions within the left periphery of an independent verb final clause or its highest node itself should not just as well serve as a position for hosting dislocated or highly adjoined constituents.

final clauses is entirely consistent with that of other independent clauses in these respects.

(ii) *Dependent verb second clauses.* Second, in the reverse case, it is no automatism that fronting to the left periphery and similar MCP become possible as soon as V2 orders occur. Again, this is the case only if the clause is a main clause. Subordinate V2 clauses, however, do not allow structural MCP. A case in point are V2 complements. As already illustrated above (ex. (2)), complement clauses introduced by *dass* ‘that’ can undergo complementiser drop under certain conditions (Reis 1997; Auer 1998; Meinunger 2006; Truckenbrodt 2006; Freywald 2013a). When *dass* is dropped, the finite verb must be fronted together with another constituent yielding a V2 clause. These V2 complement clauses show (almost) all properties of fully integrated clauses (for a detailed overview see the literature just mentioned).³⁷ Remarkably, the options to fill the prefield are far more limited here than in independent V2 clauses. All kinds of fronting phenomena that typically occur in main clauses are impossible here. The evidence from the examples in (28)–(30) shows that the V2 complements are clearly fully integrated into their matrix clauses (topicalisation, being within the scope of an *es*-correlate, and variable binding). In these contexts, left dislocation, argument fronting and VP-topicalisation lead to unacceptable results:

- (28) Topicalisation (→ left dislocation impossible)
- a. *Den Eindruck, [der neue Chef], [der] **ist** echt ein Scheusal,
the impression the new boss he is really a monster
 hatten irgendwie alle.
had somehow all
 ‘Everybody had somehow the impression that the new boss is a real monster.’
 - b. Den Eindruck, [der neue Chef] **ist/sei** ein Scheusal, hatten irgendwie alle.
- (29) Complement within the scope of an *es*-correlate (→ argument fronting impossible)
- a. *Mir wär es lieber, [die GANze Tüte Chips] **würden** sie nicht
me was it preferable the entire bag crisps would they not
 essen.
eat
 ‘I’d rather they wouldn’t eat the entire bag of crisps.’
 - b. Mir wär es lieber, [sie] **würden** nicht die GANze Tüte Chips essen.

³⁷ The situation is very similar in V1 conditional clauses in which the subjunction *wenn* ‘if, when’ is dropped. By and large, these clauses behave like their *wenn*-containing, verb-final counterparts but, at the same time, they show also signs of a deviant, more restricted behaviour, which presumably is due to their incomplete syntactic integration (see Axel/Wöllstein 2009; Hilpert 2010; and particularly Reis/Wöllstein 2010 and Pittner 2011a for discussion). For reasons of space I cannot go into details here, but have to refer to the literature.

- (30) Variable binding (→ VP topicalisation impossible)
- a. *Jeder_i war der Ansicht, [durchaus etwas im Ton
everybody was the opinion indeed slightly in.the tone
 vergriffen] **habe** er_i sich schon öfter.
be.mistaken has he REFL already often
 ‘Everyody had the opinion that he had indeed adopted the wrong tone
 occasionally.’
- b. Jeder_i war der Ansicht, [er_i] **habe** sich schon öfter durchaus etwas im
 Ton vergriffen.

Additionally (and not surprisingly), V2 complements are just as restricted to default declarative mood as other dependent clauses. And finally, there is no formal variation observable: V2 complement clauses are indeed restricted to just V2-structures; they do not allow any other type of word order.³⁸

In conclusion of this discussion, we arrive at the finding that verb fronting in these clauses is neither an indication of their possessing an expanded C-domain nor an indication of main-clause-hood. The correlation of structural outfit and (in)dependence, however, leads to a classification of clauses which does not rely on the position of the finite verb, see Table 5:

Table 5: Classification of dependent (i.e. subordinate) clauses and independent (i.e. main) clauses according to structural size

	FinP	ForceP
Verb final	central, peripheral and unintegrated dependent clauses	independent verb final clauses
V-in-C	V2 complements V1 conditionals (cf. fn. 37)	all V1/V2 main clauses

In contrast to (28)–(30) there are also syntactic configurations that feature V2 complements and that are not embedded under what looks like their matrix predicate. Fronting phenomena which did not work in (28)–(30) are now acceptable:

³⁸ There is one notable exception in Swiss German dialects as well as in the standard variety of Swiss German. Here, V1 clauses may occur as complements of evaluative adjectives:

- (i) S isch schaad, isch es scho Frittig.
it is pity is it already Friday
 ‘Too bad, it’s Friday already!’

This structure is still not well understood, but see Penner/Bader (1995), Löttscher (1997) and Dürscheid/Hefli (2006) for some data and discussion.

- (31) a. Left dislocation
 Alle hatten irgendwie den Eindruck, der neue Chef, der ist echt
all had somehow the impression the new boss he is really
 ein Scheusal.
a monster
 ‘Everybody had somehow the impression that the new boss is a real monster.’
- b. Argument fronting
 Ich hatte geglaubt, die GANze Tüte Chips würden sie nicht essen.
I had believed the entire bag crisps would they not eat
 ‘I thought they wouldn’t eat the entire bag of crisps.’
- c. VP topicalisation
 Das Ding ist, durchaus etwas im Ton vergriffen haben sich
the thing is definitely slightly in.the tone be.mistaken have REFL
 schon manche Anrufer.
already many callers
 ‘The thing is, many a caller have indeed adopted the wrong tone.’

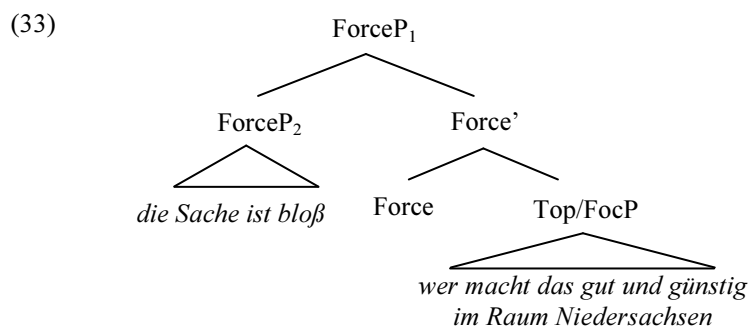
The comparison of the data in (28)–(30) and (31) suggests that two types of V2 complements must be distinguished: an embedded type (i.e. ‘true complements’) and an unembedded type (i.e. ‘pseudo-complements’). This distribution is exactly what is predicted by the correlations summarised in Table 5. V2 complements that allow MCP lack also other features of dependency: They are topologically fixed in that they must occur at the right edge of their matrix clause, they do not allow variable binding, they cannot occur in clauses which are embedded themselves, etc. (cf. Freywald 2015, in press). The most crucial argument, however, is that they tolerate variation with respect to illocutionary type and syntactic form (as opposed to ‘true V2 complements’). This is best illustrated by examples in which the first clause consists of a copulative structure containing a semantically bleached noun, cf. the examples in (32). Note that no connecting element is present between the first and the subsequent clause:

- (32) a. Das Problem ist halt, wann setzt du es ein?
the problem is PTCL when use you it in
 ‘The problem is, when do you apply it [= self-defence spray]?’
 Wenn dich zwei Typen in der Lederjacke anquatschen und nach einer
 Zigarette fragen? Willst du dann schon lossprühen?
 ‘When two blokes in leather jackets ask you for a cigarette? Do you
 want to start spraying then? (Forum entry, 08/04/2012,
<http://www.telefon-treff.de/showthread.php?threadid=510300>)

- b. Die Sache ist bloß wer macht das gut und günstig
the matter is PTCL who makes this good and cheap
 im Raum Niedersachsen!!!
in.the area Lower.Saxony
 ‘The thing is, who will do this well and cheaply in the area of Lower Saxony?’

(Forum entry, 30/06/2008, <http://www.motor-talk.de/forum/audi-cabrio-5-zylinder-ng-gasumruestung-t1883692.html>)

In Freywald (2015, in press, subm.) I present an analysis of these constructions which dispenses with a hypotactic structure altogether. I assume that these complex sentences consist of a fully equipped main clause (ForceP₁ = the former dependent clause) and a preceding, usually semantically and formally reduced clause (ForceP₂ = the former matrix clause) that accompanies and comments it.³⁹ Whereas ForceP₁ represents a full-fledged independent speech act, ForceP₂, fulfils the function of a secondary, subsidiary speech act which is oriented towards and reliant on the dominant one.⁴⁰ Thus, we do not get speech act clusters here – as was the case with non-subordinating *weil*, *obwohl*, etc. (see (21) above) –, but the structure presented in (33):



Different from speech act clusters, the structure in (33) does not represent a relation between two independent discourse units. The purpose of the subsidiary speech act is to provide the addressee with epistemic, evidential, evaluative, discourse-organisational or other meta-communicative information, which serves as a means to pave the way for the following main statement and to put it into the right context. This time, the connected clauses are both part of the same overarching structure. The first clause occupies a position at a very high struc-

³⁹ Such a reversal of dependency relations has already been described for similar structures: e.g., by Verhagen (2001), Thompson (2002), Aijmer (2007) for English and by Günthner/Imo (2004) and Imo (2007) for German.

⁴⁰ I adopt the term and concept of “subsidiary speech acts” from Pittner (2000, 2011b). In using this notion to classify metalinguistic conditional and causal clauses she builds on work by Brandt/Rosengren (1992), who see the function of subsidiary illocutions in ensuring the success of the dominant illocution (“den Erfolg der dominierenden Illokution zu sichern”) within greater networks of illocutions (Brandt/Rosengren 1992: 18).

tural level within the Force projection of the second clause; this fact perfectly reflects the former's function, namely to specify the latter's speech act properties. In line with previous work on split-CP models, I take ForceP to encode information with respect to the anchoring of the utterance within the discourse; in other words, ForceP encodes "the fact that the speaker takes on the proposition as part of a speech act" (Haegeman 2003: 335).⁴¹ According to Haegeman "it was implicated in the licensing of, among other things, independent temporal reference, epistemic modality, topicalisation and the occurrence of markers of illocutionary force" (Haegeman 2006: 1661). In German, the Force head does not contain any lexical material, however – with the notable exception of *dass* in *dass*-V2-clauses.⁴²

Thus, the analysis proposed in (33) also provides an explanation for V2 clauses introduced by *dass* (see ex. (7) and (19) above). Here, the same structure applies: A short, often formulaic clause which conveys evidential, epistemic or evaluative information 'prepares' an up-coming statement.⁴³ The function of *dass* is to designate the illocutionary type of the whole sentence, which is that of an Assertion. Under this analysis, the former complementiser *dass* occurs as an overt Force element (parallel to overt illocution marking particles in other languages, for example Mandarin and Cantonese, see Yeh 2005; Li 2006; and Cheng 1997 who analyses them as C-heads):

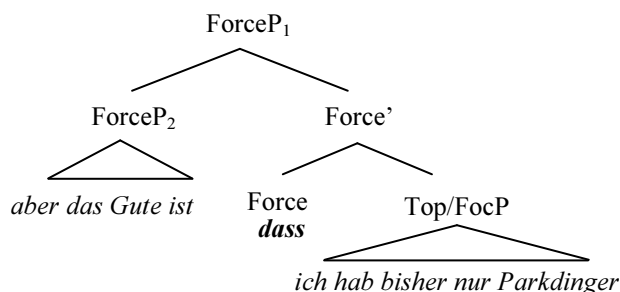
- (34) Aber das Gute ist, **dass** ich **hab** bisher nur Parkdinger.
but the good is that I have so far only parking things
 'The good thing is that I've only got parking tickets so far.'
 (Private conversation, 2003)

⁴¹ The label ForceP was replaced by the term "Speaker Deixis" since Haegeman (2006), referring to "a functional layer required to anchor a proposition to a speaker" (Haegeman 2006: 1663).

⁴² A common analysis of German clause structure maintains that complementisers and fronted finite verbs compete for a single position (Fin⁰); from this observation it can be concluded that sentence types are primarily determined in FinP; a corollary of this is that German does not have two different complementiser positions and, accordingly, does not differentiate between high and low complementisers – as opposed to, e.g., Cimbrian (cf. Grewendorf 2010, 2013; Bidese/Tomaselli, this volume; and fn. 2 above).

⁴³ As an anonymous reviewer observed, it is not possible to have a speech-act modifying adverbial in the specifier position of ForceP₁, such as *ehrlich gesagt* 'to be honest'; I think the reason for this lies in the diachronic persistence of some features of this construction during the grammaticalisation process. The data seem to suggest that – at the current stage of the constructional development – the first part of the structure must be a sentential, potentially complement-taking syntactic unit (a hypothetical prognosis would be that this is going to change in the future).

(34)'



Due to the determination of the illocutionary type by the assertion marker *dass*, the subsequent clause is formally confined to V2 syntax (see Freywald 2015, in press, subm., for details).⁴⁴ Only if Force is lexically empty, variability regarding syntactic form and illocutionary type occurs (as illustrated in (32) above).

To sum up this section, the permissibility of structural MCP can be used to prove the accessibility of syntactic positions in the left periphery of clauses. From the results of this test it must be inferred that all kinds of subordinate clauses disallow structural MCP involving left-most syntactic position and, probably, that they lack these positions altogether. I therefore conclude that subordinate (= dependent) clauses exhibit a reduced sentence structure (whose highest node is FinP), whereas main (= independent) clauses are of the category ForceP and possess a fully articulated left periphery. Furthermore, this classification has the capacity to distinguish integrated, dependent V2 complement clauses from non-integrated, independent V2 ‘pseudo-complement’ clauses and gives support to an analysis of the latter as a non-embedded, non-hypotactic structure.

5 Conclusion and outlook

In this paper, I have discussed the relevance of verb placement and syntactic integration in German subordinate clauses with the aim of exploring the transition zone between subordination and non-subordination more thoroughly. I have argued that it is sufficient to distinguish different types of subordinate clauses by their external syntax only, namely by their attachment site within or at their host clause. That way, it becomes possible to differentiate central, peripheral and un-integrated subordinate clauses appropriately. As I have shown, there is no empirical basis for assuming that subordinate clauses with different degrees of integration display different internal structures in terms of presence or absence of a Force projection.

⁴⁴ The analysis of *dass*-V2-clauses presented here is empirically based upon a collection of 371 attested *dass*-V2-constructions in total. Many examples are drawn from corpora, others were recorded or documented by myself from public broadcasting and conversations. The collection also contains examples gathered by Daniel M. Pottmann of Ruhr-Universität Bochum (cf. Pottmann 2011), who kindly gave me his data. To him I owe special thanks.

However, differences with respect to the internal syntax can be found in main vs subordinate clauses. Here, the distinction between clause structures that possess a fully equipped C-domain (ForceP) and ones that lack it (FinP) is useful and empirically verifiable. Evidence for this distinction is provided by the distribution of structural main clause phenomena, such as fronting strategies. This criterion proved reliable and made it possible to abstract away from verb placement. As a result, it became apparent that the formal feature V-to-C movement, and, in particular, V2, is no necessary requirement for and no clear indication of main-clause-hood. Against this backdrop, I compared cases of V2 in subordinate clauses and focused especially on their internal and external syntax. The embedded V2 phenomena under consideration turned out to be of very different sorts:

1. Speech act cluster	
connector:	paratactic conjunction – operates at discourse level (does not project syntactic structure) – in principle, does not impose any restrictions on its conjuncts in terms of syntactic form or illocutionary type – inventory in contemporary German: <i>weil, denn, obwohl, wobei, während, wo(hin)gegen</i> (mostly homonymous with subordinating connectors)
conjuncts:	independent clause + independent clause
2. Matrix-complement structure (V2 complement clause)	
connector:	zero
conjuncts:	matrix clause + complement clause (matrix predicate restricted to non-factive semantics; complement right-adjoined to matrix XP)
3. Utterance with ‘speech act comment’	
connector:	zero or illocution-marking particle – inventory in contemporary German: <i>dass</i>
conjuncts:	comment clause + independent clause (comment clause: subsidiary speech act; independent clause: virtually no syntactic or illocutionary restrictions)

Another conclusion to be drawn from the present study is that embedded V2 or V1 occurs in German only if a complementiser or subjunction is dropped. Hence, we arrive at the generalisation that V2 in complementiser/subjunction-introduced clauses does not exist. If connectors are present together with V2, then they do not embed.⁴⁵

Further perspectives on the topic not discussed in this paper include diachrony and cross-linguistic similarities. As for the diachronic development, it is still an unanswered question how the emergence of paratactic conjunctions came about. What is certain is that they derive from subjunctions. This is true even for *denn* (cf. Brooks 2006) – and also for *wobei* and *wogegen*, which originate from relative adverbs, but did not emerge from them directly. Instead, they passed through

⁴⁵ This corresponds to the conclusion drawn by Reis (this volume) in her study on German consecutive V2 clauses. Her findings support the view that subordinate adverbial clauses with V2 order do not exist in German.

an intermediate stage of additive subjunction (in the case of *wobei*) and of adversative subjunction (in the case of *wogegen*). There are several indications that the time span between the grammaticalisation of the subjunctions and the subsequent development of the paratactic conjunction might have been rather short. It is perfectly possible that subordinating and paratactic conjunctions grammaticalise roughly at the same time (the latter possibly lagging slightly behind). The details of these developmental processes must be left to future research, however. Some data and hypotheses concerning the history of the *obwohl*, *wobei*, *während* and *wogegen* – supported by extensive corpus analyses from more recent stages of German – are provided in Freywald (2013b, in press).

As to the cross-linguistic perspective, similar phenomena can be found in other languages too. As mentioned above, some of Haegeman's English peripheral adverbials share a number of commonalities with what I labelled speech act clusters in German. Both allow, for example, fronting operations (cf. (15)–(17) above) and the combination of different illocutions, as illustrated in (35):

- (35) a. No-one would have been too upset about her bad behaviour, **because** wasn't that what writers were put on earth to do?
(*Observer*, 20/8/2000, p. 27, col. 8; from Haegeman 2006: 1662)
- b. News about the anti-American demonstrations which had begun to appear in Berlin and other parts of Germany in the fortnight since the summit hadn't exactly helped sell what was supposed to be Michelle's greatest success. **Although** what did the mid-west care about Berlin?
(*BNC*, Verstraete 2002: 147; from Haegeman 2006: 1662)

Similar observations have already been reported by Lakoff (1984) and Sweetser (1990):

- (36) a. I'm going to cheat on my taxes, **since** who will ever find out?
b. I'm going to stay on my diet, **although** could I ever go for a deemed sum brunch!
(Lakoff 1984: 478)

For these cases, an analysis as speech cluster (close to Haegeman's abandoned orphanage approach) might well be suitable.

In all probability this analysis is also applicable to other languages which distinguish main and subordinate by means of word order, such as Danish, Swedish and Afrikaans (among others). In these three languages, some adverbial subjunctions are able to link clauses with main clause word order:

- (37) Danish
Hvis du begynder at kæmpe mod livets puls,
when you start to fight against of life pulse
så er du en tåbe, **fordi** det **kan** du ikke
so are you a fool because this can you not
'If you start to fight against the pulse of life you are a fool because this
you can't do.'
(Kristiansen et al. 1998: 116)

- (38) Swedish
 Hon hade ont om pengar på slutet **för att** då **hade**
she had sore of money at end because then had
 det mesta gått åt
the most went aside
 ‘She hasn’t got much money at the end because back then most of it was gone.’ (Teleman 1983: 12)
- (39) Afrikaans
 ... **terwyl**die voorkant **bestaan** uit hout
while the forefront consist of wood
 ‘... while the forefront is made of wood.’ (Ponelis 1993: 342)

These examples should suffice to emphasise that the development of paratactic connectors out of subjunctions (which may yield homonymy) is a more general phenomenon that is not restricted to the German language only. They may inspire us to go beyond the clause level when thinking about syntax.

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