

ΔiaLing

- **24 mei 2018** om 15u30 in het lokaal 120.025 (2^{de} verdieping, Blandijn):

Varro's Linguistic Theory: Etymology, Morphology and Syntax

Prof. Dr. Wolfgang De Melo
(Oxford University)

Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BC) is the earliest Roman grammarian whose work has come down to us in more than fragments. His *De lingua Latina* ('On the Latin language') originally comprised twenty-five short books, of which we still have books 5-10 and a number of fragments from other books. The extant portions discuss etymology, morphology and syntax. I have now completed an edition and translation of the text, together with an introduction and commentary, and am going to present selected aspects of this work.

Varro's etymology comprises synchronic connections between superficially similar words, but also contains diachronic elements. I will present his achievements and shortcomings, showing also his attempts to connect Latin diachronically with Greek and Sabine. The morphological part is surprisingly advanced and modern; we are going to look at Varro's ideas about tense, gender and number.

Little is preserved of Varro's syntax. I shall go through the remaining fragments and discuss how representative they were of the syntactic section as a whole.

- **31 mei 2018** om 15u in de Grote Vergaderzaal (3^{de} verdieping, Blandijn):

A syntax of restricting modal domains? Unintegrated event conditionals in German

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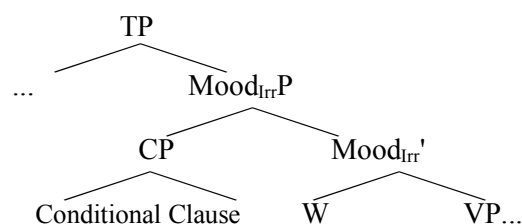
A syntax of restricting modal domains? Unintegrated event conditionals in German

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The presentation discusses the question how a syntactic link between a conditional and the modal domain of the main clause/associated clause is established. In the literature (Haegeman 2003 and following), there seems to be an answer already: The attachment site of the conditional determines its semantics. Haegeman (2003) distinguishes three different types of conditional clauses: (a) event conditionals, which adjoin inside IP (b) premise conditionals, which attach outside the associated clauses. A third type, (c) relevance conditionals, do not affect the Force projection of their associated clauses (Haegeman 2002, Frey 2012). Event conditionals should therefore show characteristics of clausal integration, they should be Central Adverbial Clauses (CACs), while premise and relevance conditionals should be Peripheral and Unintegrated Adverbial Clauses (PACs and NACs), respectively (Haegeman 2003: 326). While Haegeman (2010 and following) investigates differences in their internal syntax, Frey (2012) argues that the external syntax of PACs and CACs has important consequences for embedding. Integrated clauses such as CACs allow for binding of a quantified DP into the integrated clause, they allow for correlates and appear in the scope of matrix clause negation (Frey 2012: 407).

Semantically, *if*-clauses are understood as devices for restricting the domains of various operators (Kratzer 1986). Analyzing conditionals as correlative or free relative adjuncts, the conditional adjuncts restrict the operator by binding a variable in the modal complex of the main clause via lambda abstraction (Rawlins 2013). The question now arises whether the binding of a variable in the matrix clause is a purely semantic operation or whether there has to be a syntactic configuration between the world variable in the matrix clause and the conditional. The question whether a syntactic link between the modal domain of the matrix clause and the conditional is desirable and necessary at all sets the scope for the presentation. It seems intuitive to understand the adjunction of central event conditionals within IP as adjunction to a Mood Projection (Cinque 1999) lower than T. In fact, Haegeman and Endo (forthcoming) propose that the attachment site of CACs in the matrix clause should be Mood_{irr}. While the exact Mood Projection where the conditional attaches may be debatable, this suggests a structure as in (1)

(1)



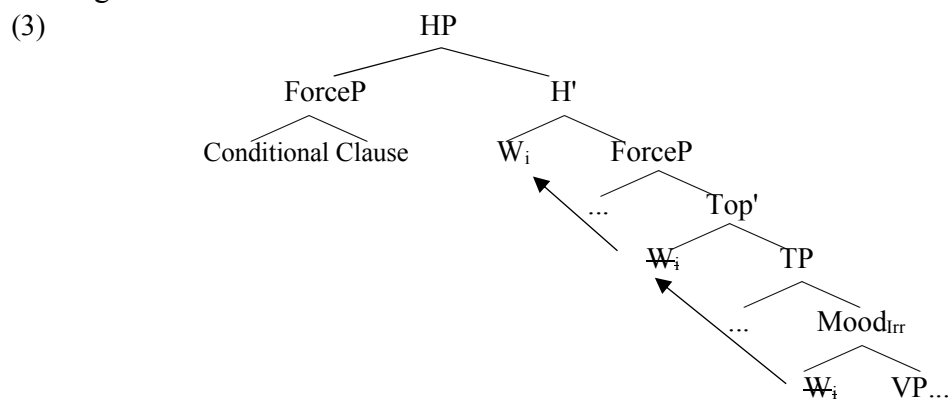
The conditional clause merges in SpecMood_{irr} and directly c-commands the world variable of the matrix clause (W), which is in the head position of MoodP. Therefore, in CACs, the restriction of the matrix modal domain is established via Spec-Head agreement. This account seems to be quite explanatory, were it not for event conditionals that appear to be attached higher in the matrix clause, such as German V1 conditionals (2).

- (2) Gehst du auf Arbeit, bin ich allein zu Hause.
Go you to work am I alone at home
"If you go to work, I am alone at home"

Semantically, those clauses are event conditionals, but they do not meet the diagnostic criteria for syntactic embedding (Axel & Wöllstein 2009: 2). The question is then how the semantic

binding of a variable in the matrix domain is generated syntactically, if it is not via a Spec-Head configuration.

In my talk, I want to discuss a possible solution to this problem still analyzing these conditionals as correlatives. In contrast to integrated conditionals, where the world variable which is restricted stays in the TP domain of the matrix clause, I propose that in unintegrated conditionals the matrix world variable moves via Top^0 to a discourse head H (Cinque 2008), where the conditional merges and a Spec-Head configuration for domain restriction is established (3). The internal merge of this copy via Top^0 is argued to be responsible for resumptive pronouns in preverbal topic position in the matrix clause. Resumption is understood as an intermediate step between integration and non-integration (Axel & Wöllstein 2009). Movement is triggered by features in the left periphery of the conditional clause, which percolate to the left periphery of the matrix clause.¹ Internal and external syntax of conditionals therefore determine the degree of integration.



Against the background of previous research on the syntax of V1 conditionals (Axel & Wöllstein 2009, Reis & Wöllstein 2010, Breitbarth et al. 2016) and the well-established diachronic development from syntactic non-integration to syntactic integration of adverbials in West-Germanic languages (König & van der Auwera 1988), the present account suggests that a syntactic link between a conditional and associated clause must generally be established via a Spec-Head configuration of the conditional clause and the matrix clause world variable, as shown in trees (1) and (3). The present account also aims at explaining how the syntactic link between conditional and associated clause was established in older West-Germanic languages and how conditionals became integrated into the main clause.

Selected References:

Axel, Katrin & Wöllstein, Angelika. 2009. German Verb-First Conditionals as Unintegrated Clauses. A Case Study in Converging Synchronic and Diachronic Evidence. In S. Winkler & S. Featherston (eds.), *The Fruits of Empirical Linguistics* I-II. (= Studies in Generative Grammar 101). Mouton De Gruyter. 1–35. **Breitbarth, Anne & Delva, Sara & Leuschner, Torsten.** 2016. A (very) imperfect sandwich : English *should*, German *sollte* and Dutch *mocht/moest* as grammaticalizing markers of conditionality. In *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 28(4). 282–316. **Cinque, Guglielmo.** 1999. Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective. Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax. Oxford University Press. **Frey, Werner.** 2012. On two types of adverbial clauses allowing root phenomena. In Lobke Aelbrecht, Liliane Haegeman & Rachel Nye (eds.), *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*, 405–429. John Benjamins. **Haegeman, Liliane.** 2003. Conditional Clauses: External and Internal Syntax. In *Mind & Language* 18/4. 317–339. **Kratzer, Angelika.** 1986. Conditionals. In Farley, A. M., P. T. Farley, and K.-E. McCullough (eds.), *Proceedings of CLS 22, Part 2: Papers from the Parasession on Pragmatics and Grammatical Theory*. 1–15. **Rawlins, Kyle.** 2013. (Un)conditionals. *Natural Language Semantics* 21(2). 111–178.

¹One reason to assume that the left periphery of the conditional determines the degree of integration is that V1 conditionals with German *sollte*, English *should* and Dutch *moest* are mostly integrated (Reis & Wöllstein 2010, Breitbarth 2015, Breitbarth et al 2016).