

***Ansonsten* 'otherwise' as a complementizer.
Its distribution and emergence conditions**

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In Present-day German *ansonsten* 'otherwise' is usually used as a(n) additive, habitual or contra-conditional adverb. In the following example one is inclined to analyze it contra-conditionally:

- (1) *Der Einspruch muss begründet sein.*
the objection must.3SG well:founded be.INF
[CP [Spec,CP ***Ansonsten***] [C⁰ *ist*_i] er [VP *unzulässig* [V⁰ *t*_i]]].
otherwise be.3SG he inadmissible

'The objection has to be well-founded otherwise it is inadmissible.'

Interestingly enough, *ansonsten* can be used as a complementizer, as well, introducing a contra-conditional adverbial clause and triggering verb last position in the embedded clause. This use is spread in particular in Swiss German, as the following example illustrates:

- (2) *Die Einsprache muss begründet sein.*
the objection must.3SG well:founded be.INF
[CP [Spec,CP \emptyset] [C⁰ ***ansonsten***] *sie* [VP *unzulässig* [V⁰ *ist*]]].
COMP she inadmissible be.3SG

'The objection has to be well-founded otherwise it is inadmissible.'

(<http://www.lexfind.ch/dtah/152688/2/>; last accessed on 5th December 2018)

The syntactic contrast – verb second position in (1) vs. verb last position in (2) – indicates that the embedded clause in (2) syntactically depends on the matrix clause. In our talk, we examine the contra-conditional adverbial *ansonsten*-clauses at the syntax-semantics interface and elaborate on the question of what type of A-bar dependency is established between the matrix and the embedded clause in (2). Synchronically, we provide empirical evidence showing that *ansonsten*-clauses cannot be analyzed as central or as peripheral adverbial clauses in the sense claimed by Haegeman (2012) and that more types of adverbial clauses are needed (cf. Haegeman & Endo, to appear). Diachronically, we outline emergence conditions of *ansonsten*-clauses. In doing so, we discuss diachronic data illustrating that (i) they emerged in the 18th century, (ii) the contra-conditional adverb *ansonsten* 'otherwise' as exemplified in (1) played a central role in the reanalysis, and (iii) this grammaticalization process is due to a causal relation between the matrix and the embedded clause (cf. also Eberhardt 2017 who draws similar conclusions with respect to German *zumal*-clauses).

References:

- Eberhardt, Ira. 2017. From a focus particle to a conjunction: Diachronic and synchronic analysis of German *zumal*. *Language* 93(2), special issue *New Insights into the Syntax and Semantics of Complementation* ed. by Łukasz Jędrzejowski, e66-e96; <https://ojs.ub.uni-konstanz.de/hs/index.php/hs/issue/view/14>.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2012. *Adverbial Clauses, Main Clause Phenomena, and the Composition of the Left Periphery* (The Cartography of Syntactic Structures 8). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haegeman, Liliane & Yoshio Endo. to appear. Adverbial clauses and adverbial concord. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics*, special collection *The Internal and External Syntax of Adverbial Clauses* ed. by Łukasz Jędrzejowski / Werner Frey & Andreas Pankau.