Variable verb positions in German exclamatives

Imke Driemel
Universität Leipzig
imke.driemel@uni-leipzig.de

German exclamatives come in all sorts of syntactic forms, including variable verb positions, see (1a) and (1b).

(1) a. Wen die alles kennt!
   who she all knows
   ‘How many people she knows!’
   b. Wen kennt die alles!
   who knows she all
   ‘How many people she knows!’

Prior accounts attribute T-to-C movement in German to the ability either to carry assertional force (Gärtner 2002), to carry unambiguous sentence force (Schwabe 2007), or to carry sentence force at all (Lohnstein 2000). Since (1a) and (1b) clearly come with exclamative sentence force, none of the accounts seem to be transferrable to exclamatives. Neither can the verb positions be related to an at-issue/non-at-issue distinction (Antomo 2015) since exclamatives are commonly taken to be factive (D’Avis 2002, Abels 2010). Thus, I suggest an analysis along the lines of a speech act encoding syntax (Haegeman and Hill 2013) that takes the addressee of an exclamative into account: in V-final wh-exclamatives the speaker merely wants to express his surprise whereas in V2 wh-exclamatives the speaker wants the addressee to be surprised as well. Following Truckenbrodt (2004, 2006), I assume that an addressee feature on exclamative C is responsible for T-to-C movement in German V2-exclamatives. This addressee requirement can be implemented as a presupposition – granted that felicity conditions such as the preparatory and sincerity condition (Searle 1969) can be encoded as presuppositions on speech acts that have to be fulfilled in order for them to be successful (see also Roguska 2008). The account provides an explanation for the apparent “optionality” of verb positions since there are hardly any specific contexts in which the speaker either wants or does not want the addressee to be surprised.

On the semantic motivation of syntactic verb movement to C in German. ThL 32.