# On adverbial *ansonsten*-clauses

*Introduction* In this talk, we examine adverbial clauses headed by the complementizer *ansonsten* 'otherwise'. Our main aim is twofold. Firstly, we show that *ansonsten*-clauses attach at the ModP-level of the matrix clause. Secondly, we argue that the distinction between central and peripheral adverbial clauses along the lines of Haegeman (2003, 2010, 2012) needs to be extended in order to capture the behavior of *ansonsten*-clauses at the syntax-semantics interface.

*Phenomenon* In the administrative German language of Switzerland and Luxembourg, *ansonsten* can introduce a dependent clause with verb final position, cf. (1) below. Konopka & Waßner (2013) provide some corpus examples, but do not elaborate on them. In general, not much is known about adverbial *ansonsten*-clauses. This talk is meant to fill this research gap and to offer a novel analysis based on corpus and questionnaire data.

*Analysis* Mainly, we argue that *ansonsten*-clauses attach at the matrix ModP position, as illustrated in (2) for the example given in (1). Main evidence for our analysis comes from: a) movement to the left periphery of the matrix clause, b) licensing of discourse particles, c) variable binding, d) sensitivity to modal operators in the matrix clause, and e) interactions with negative and focus markers. As *ansonsten*-clauses cannot move to the matrix Spec,CP position, allow discourse particles and are not sensitive to negation operators, they cannot be analyzed as central adverbial clauses. But at the same time, they cannot be regarded as peripheral adverbial clauses either because they clearly allow variable binding, cf. (3) and Frey (2011, 2012) for discussion. Hence, another type is needed in order to capture this data. Due to the observation that *ansonsten*-clauses depend on a modal operator in the matrix clause, cf. (4b), we take them to be ModP-adjuncts. We show that all restrictions pointed out above straightforwardly follow from the structural attachment position. Finally, based on our discussion, we refine the typology of adverbial clauses along the lines of Endo (2012), concluding that more types of adverbial clauses are needed.

# References

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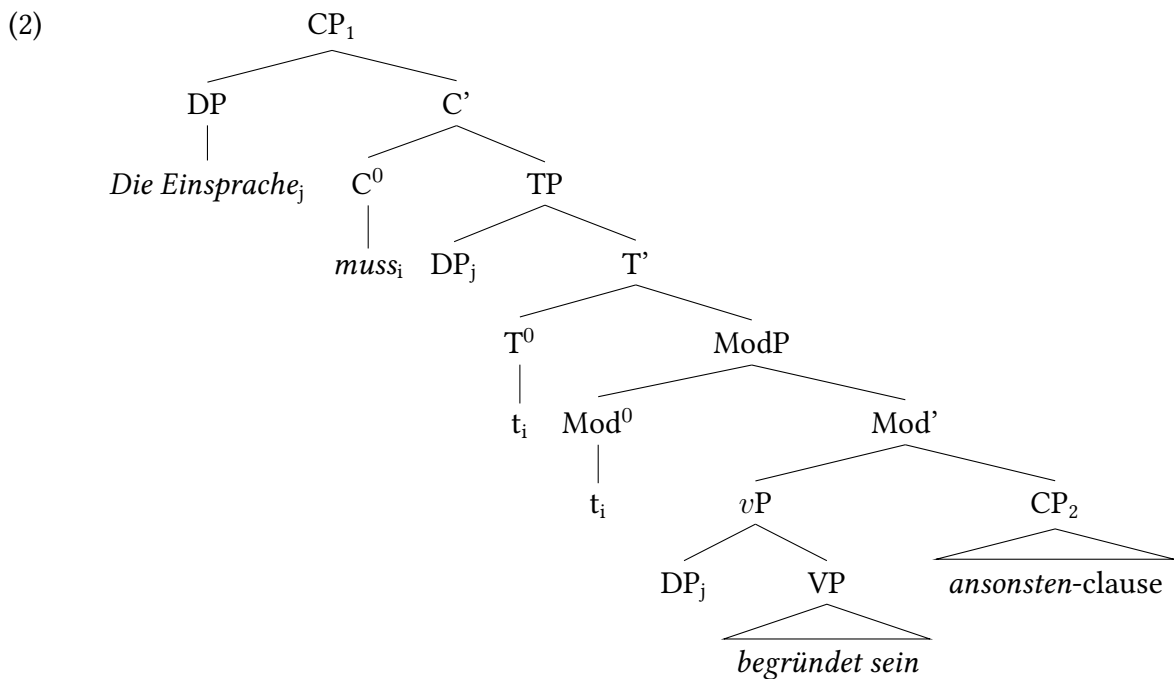
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(1)  [CP1 [Spec,CP Die Einsprache] [C$^0$ muss]  begründet  sein],
          the objection      must.3SG well-founded be.3SG
     [CP2 [Spec,CP ø] [C$^0$ **ansonsten**] sie [VP unzulässig  **ist**]].
                    otherwise    she    inadmissible 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)

(2)



(3)  **[Jeder Student]**$_i$ muss    in Deutschland versichert sein,  **ansonsten er**$_i$ nicht
     every student    must.3SG in Germany    covered be.INF COMP    he NEG
     studieren darf.
     study.INF may.3SG
     'Every student$_i$ in Germany has to be covered, otherwise he$_i$ is not allowed to study.'

(4)  a.  Die Einsprache **muss** begründet sein, **ansonsten** sie unzulässig ist.
     b.  *Die Einsprache ist begründet, **ansonsten** sie unzulässig ist.