

Lecture I

Root-phenomena and the syntax-to-discourse relation

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Aim

This lecture will give an introduction to the relation between syntactic structure and the discourse functionality of utterances. In the center will be the relation between syntactically defined clause types and illocutionary types as definable by speech act theory. Finite verb fronting (V1, V2) as seen in the majority of the Germanic languages, seems to be an important ingredient in turning propositions into utterances. The discussion will draw comparisons with head-final languages, which normally lack verb movement.

Structure

Part 1 gives a short introduction to the distinction between clause type and illocutionary force.

Part 2 turns to the role of the finite verb in Germanic

Part 3 will link the results to typing particles

Part 4 turns to emphasis as a root-sensitive feature

Clausal architecture is organized in roughly three layers

V-PROJECTION	verb plus its arguments; theta-role discharge; event structure	
T-PROJECTION	tense, number, person, “INWARDS ORIENTED” structural case, ...	
C-PROJECTION	link to a matrix sentence or to discourse	“OUTWARDS ORIENTED”

Here, we focus on the C-projection and its role in clausal typing (CT) and its possible extension to illocutionary force (ILL).

I. Clause Type vs. Illocutionary Force

Rizzi (1997) assumes a singular Force projection. According to this, an indirect question as in

- (1) *John wonders where Mary went*

has Force. But the wh-clause is not a speech act. If it were, embedding would fail

- (2) **John wonders where did Mary go*

Since both wh-complements belong to the interrogative CT, a distinction between CT and ILL is required.

[Curiously, (2) is ok in Irish English, cf. McCloskey, 2006]

Speech Acts (ILL)

Searle distinguishes five classes of speech acts

1. Assertives

speech acts that commit a speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition

2. Directives

speech acts that are to cause the hearer to take a particular action, e.g. requests, commands and advice

3. Commissives

speech acts that commit a speaker to some future action, e.g. promises and oaths

4. Expressives

speech acts that express the speaker's attitudes and emotions towards the proposition, e.g. congratulations, excuses and thanks

5. Declarations

speech acts that change the reality in accord with the proposition of the declaration, e.g. baptisms, pronouncing someone guilty or pronouncing someone husband and wife.

Clause Types (CT)

Many languages distinguish formally no more than three types of clauses

1. Statements

declarative clauses

John took out the garbage

2. Questions

interrogative clauses

Did John take out the garbage?

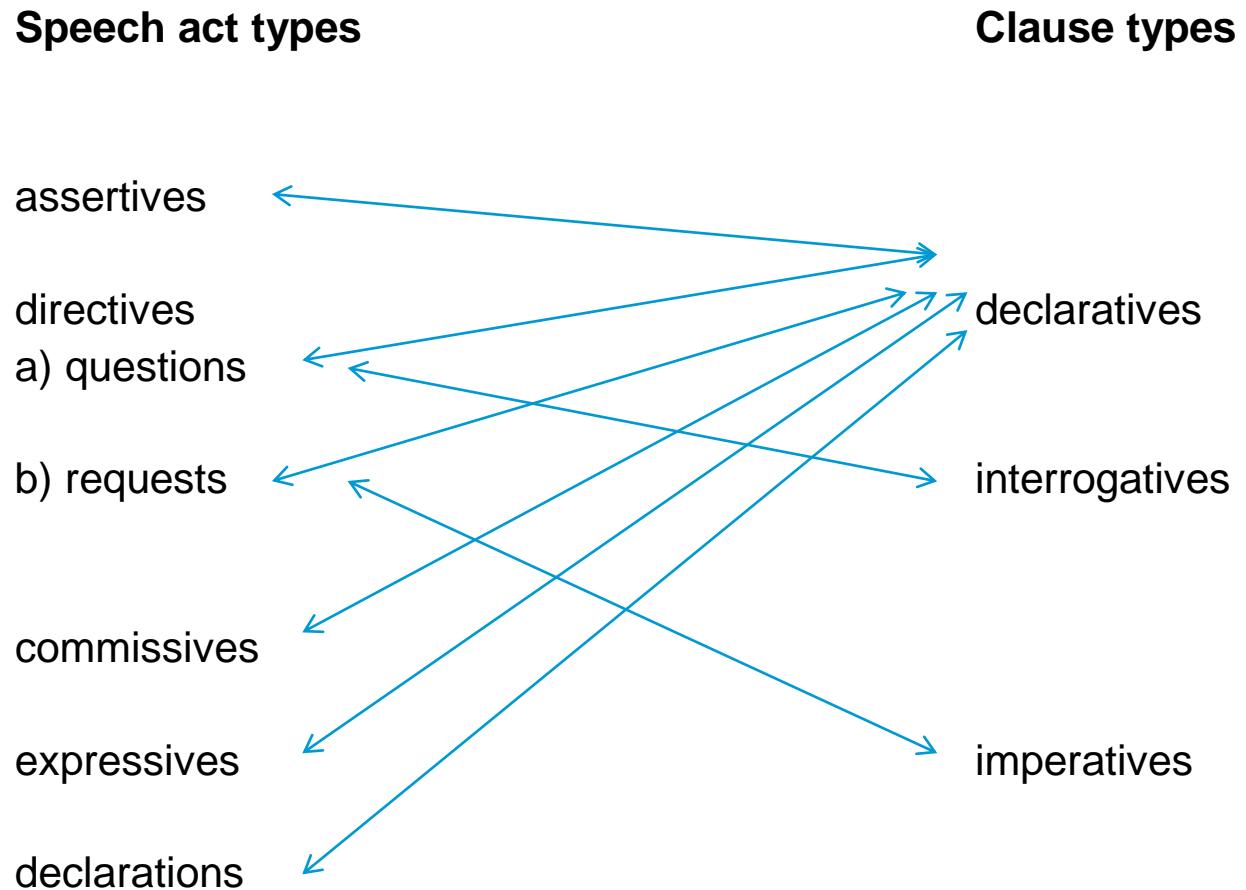
What did Jon take out?

3. Commands

imperative clauses

Take out the garbage!

Looking from the side of root clauses, the mapping from speech acts onto clause types is imperfect. Virtually all ILL-types are parasitic on declaratives.



Sometimes languages draw a distinction between CT and ILL by using different vocabulary. Consider Bangla (a.k.a. Bengali; Indo-Aryan).

- (3) ora jante ceyechilo [Sibu aS -be **ki na**] Bangla
they know want-PST3 Sibu come-FUT3 KI NA
“They wanted to know whether Sibu will come”

(4) Sibu kal aS -be **-ki** ?
Sibu tomorrow come-FUT3-KI
“Will Sibu come tomorrow?”

ki na types the embedded clause as a polar question $\lambda p [p \vee \neg p]$;

ki does more: it expresses an illocutionary act by which the speaker wants from the addressee an answer as to which of *p* or $\neg p$ is true; *ki* can do far more than *ki na*.

While *ki* may be omitted in running speech due to rising intonation, *ki na* may not.

Germanic uses complementizers (a sort of particles) for indirect polar questions and V-fronting for direct polar questions. Examples from German

(5) Ich weiss nicht, **ob** die Gäste schon angekommen sind German

I know not whether the guests already arrived have

“I don’t know whether the guests have already arrived”

(6) **Sind** die Gäste schon angekommen?

are the guests already arrived

“Have the guests already arrived?”

Similar typing differences can be seen in modern French. In modern French there is an increasing tendency to ask information questions with *wh*-in-situ. In general, however, *wh* has to be fronted in subordinate clauses (indirect questions).

II. Movement of the finite verb

Let us now focus more closely on the role of the verb in clausal typing and its illocutionary effects

German is a V-final language. If so, the verb is in a clause-final base position as in (5).

- (5) Ich weiss nicht, ob die Gäste schon angekommen **sind**

So what is the purpose of moving it to the front, a position which we identify as Fin°?

- (6) **Sind** die Gäste schon angekommen **sind**?

Notice there is strong evidence that it is not precisely the verb that undergoes head movement to the front (V1) or to the 2nd position (V2) but the φ -features and tense.

One of the clearest demonstrations comes from the NPI-verb *brauchen*, a deontic modal that must be in the scope a downward entailing operator.

- (7) dass er sich *(nicht) zu fürchten **braucht** German

that he REF not to be-afraid needs

“that he doesn’t need to be afraid”

- (8) Er **braucht** sich *(nicht) zu fürchten

“He doesn’t need to be afraid”

If it was the lexical verb which moves, it would be outside the c-command domain of negation in (8), and (8) should be out. However, in fact it is not. Thus, at the CI-interface (8) must be as in (9).

- (9) Er **brauch**-3SG,PRES sich nicht zu fürchten **brauch**-3SG,PRES

What has moved are only the finiteness features, the verb stays behind, here in the c-command domain of the negator *nicht*.

So we repeat the question: what is the purpose of moving these features to Fin°?

Wechsler, Stephen (1991)

Verb second and illocutionary force

Working mainly on Swedish data, Wechsler was one of the first to suggest that V2 was in the service of illocutionary force marking. For the Germanic languages in which the finite verb competes with Comp for the C-position, he claims

I propose that the two syntactic features C and FIN together constitute an illocutionary force indicator for Germanic in the sense of Searle (1969).

Verbs that permit V2-complements in these languages (*believe, hope, wish say, claim, anticipate* etc.) are introducers of indirect assertions.

The discussion of -wh V2 clauses is hampered by the fact that the mapping from CT to ILL is more liberal than in other clause types.

- | | | |
|------|---|---------------|
| (10) | Du bist nicht in die Arbeit gegangen.
you are not to the work gone
“You did not go to work” | ASSERTION |
| (11) | Du bist nicht in die / Arbeit gegangen?
“Did you not go to work?” | QUESTION |
| (12) | Du bist WO gewesen?
you are where been
“You have been WHERE?” | ECHO-QUESTION |
| (13) | Du bist um 8 Uhr zu Hause!
you are at 8 o'clock at home
“Be at home by 8 o'clock!” | IMPERATIVE |

Thus, this type seems to be some kind of a default.

For V1-clauses and +wh V2 clauses, the the mapping from CT to ILL is more straightforward. +wh cannot denote an assertion (although it may implicate one as in a rhetorical question); V1 cannot denote an assertion (although there are cases which, due to a zero expletive, look like V2-assertions). It can be no accident that none of these can be truly embedded:

- (14) a. *Wer **wird** als Lehrer eingestellt, ist fraglich. (Jacobs, 2015)
who will as teacher be-hired is questionable
- b. Wer als Lehrer eingestellt **wird**, ist fraglich.
„It is questionable who will be hired as a teacher“
- (15) a. *Er empfahl ihr, **besorge** sofort die Eintrittskarten
he recommended her organize immediately the tickets
- b. Er empfahl ihr, sofort die Eintrittskarten zu **besorgen**
„He recommended her to organize the tickets immediately“

With caveats about declaratives in mind, we may claim that V1/V2 serves the determination of a CT which in turn serves the interpretation of an abstract layer of ILL.

Assuming a minimalist feature valuation set-up, the derivation boils down to:

- (16) a. [Fin [... V_{fin}]]]] move V_{fin} / Agree \Rightarrow
 $\#V_{fin}$ N_{fin}
- b. [Fin [... V_{fin}]]]] merge CT / Agree \Rightarrow
 $\#V_{fin}$ N_{fin}
- c. [CT [Fin V_{fin} [... V_{fin}]]]] merge ILL / Agree \Rightarrow
 $\#Fin$ $iFin$
- d. [ILL [CT [Fin V_{fin} [... V_{fin}]]]]]
 $\#CT$ iCT

Truckenbrodt, Hubert (2006)

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

Truckebrodt presents novel evidence for the role of V_{fin} -to-C raising in force typing.

According to Stalnaker (1978), uttering a proposition p amounts to the fact that the Speaker wants from the Addressee that it becomes common ground that p .

In V1-interrogatives, the proposition $\lambda p [p \vee \neg p]$ denotes the true answer to whether p holds or not, i.e. the answer will contribute to the common ground.

In the conversation game it is important that A controls by virtue of his information whether p (the true answer) becomes common ground.

- (17) Stefan: Ich hab seit Jahren nichts mehr von Peter gehört.
‘I haven’t heard from Peter in years.’
- Heiner: Ich auch nicht.
‘Me neither.’
- Stefan: #**Mag** er immer noch kubanische Zigarren?
likes he always still Cuban cigars
‘Does he still like Cuban cigars?’

Stefan’s question fails because Heiner fails to control whether it becomes common ground whether Peter still likes Cuban cigars.

Notice now that German also allows polar interrogatives in which the finite verb has not moved to Fin/C because Fin/C is occupied by the disjunctive complementizer *ob* (lit. “if”; whether).

- (18) Stefan: Ich hab seit Jahren nichts mehr von Peter gehört.
‘I haven’t heard from Peter in years.’
- Heiner: Ich auch nicht.
‘Me neither.’
- Stefan: Ob er immer noch kubanische Zigarren mag?
whether he always still Cuban cigars likes
‘I wonder whether he still likes Cuban cigars?’

All of a sudden and although Heiner’s ignorance persists, Stefan’s question does not fail any longer. Obviously, Stefan’s speech act does not touch Heiner’s control over $\lambda p [p \vee \neg p]$.

Truckenbrodt attributes this to a significant difference between V1 and V-finality.

V-final interrogatives have frequently been identified as “deliberative questions”, i.e. questions which appear to be self-directed. While V1-questions demand an answer from A, V-final questions do not.

V1-questions show evidence for the presence of A's knowledge in the common ground, while V-final sentence types show evidence for its absence in what Truckenbrodt calls the "context index".

The same point can be made when knowledge is involved which A controls necessarily or quasi necessarily. This must be the reason for the pragmatic differences between a and b in (19)

(19) S asks A

- a. Hast du Schmerzen?
have you pain
„Are you in pain?“

- b. #Ob du Schmerzen hast?
whether you pain have

As one can assume epistemological priority of knowledge about direct physical perception (cf. Wittgenstein's „On certainty“), (19b) is infelicitous. It ignores the fact that A must be in possession of the true answer to $\lambda p [p \vee \neg p]$.

If these considerations are on the right track, there may finally be a core grammatical reason for verb fronting.

The φ -features of the verb establish a relation with the common ground that is shared by S and A at the actual moment of communication.

Truckenbrodt interprets (20) as in (21).

- (20) Hat der Peter das gemacht?
 'Has Peter done this?'

- (21) S wants from A that it is common ground whether Peter
 has done this.

There is a deontic part (S wants s.th. from A) and an epistemic part (the common ground). Directives like *Come here!*, *Sit down!* are reduced to the deontic part; they lack the epistemic part.

If these considerations are on the right track, V-fronting is in the service of
A comparison of V2 clauses and corresponding root V-final clauses shows that the
former involve the epistemic component of turning p into common ground between S
and A whereas the latter are used as directives lacking the epistemic component
altogether or involving it under the exclusion of A.

- (22) a. Dass du nicht zu spät nach Hause kommst! DIRECTIVE
that you not too late to home come
'Don't get home too late!'
- b. Noch einmal Venedig sehen! DESIDERATIVE
still once Venice see.INF
'Oh, could I see Venice once again!'
- c. Wo eine Bleibe finden? SELF-DIRECTED
where a place.to.stay find
'Where find a place to stay?'

V-fronting seems to be a means to type a proposition p in such a way that $\text{CT}(p)$ can be interpreted as $\text{ILL}(\text{CT}(p))$ under reference to the common ground between S and A.

Unembedded V-final clauses may be typed by comp or wh, or they may not be typed in any obvious syntactic sense (bare infinitives; *Nicht hinauslehnen!* “Don’t lean out!”, *Hände hoch!* “Hands up!” etc.). They nevertheless receive an ILL-interpretation albeit one which does not make reference to the common ground between S and A.

We will come back to V-fronting and the necessity of distinguishing between CT and ILL.

III. A note on typing particles

The distinction between CT and ILL is well attested in languages that lack V-movement. We have already seen an example from Bangla, which is repeated here.

- (23) ora jante ceyechilo [Sibu aS -be **ki na**] Bangla
they know want-PST3 Sibu come-FUT3 KI NA
“They wanted to know whether Sibu will come”
- (24) Sibu kal aS -be **-ki** ?
Sibu tomorrow come-FUT3-KI
“Will Sibu come tomorrow?”

While *ki na* (lit. “what not”) is simply a clause-final typing particle, *ki* may interact with information structure.

- (25) a. Sibu kal aS -be **-ki** ? ALL FOCUS
Sibu tomorrow come-FUT3-KI
“Will it be the case that Sibu comes tomorrow?”
- b. Sibu-**ki** kal aS-be? NARROW FOCUS
“Will it be Sibu who comes tomorrow?”
- c. Sibu kal-**ki** aS-be? NARROW FOCUS
“Will it be tomorrow that Sibu comes?”

This syntactic behavior of root-clause *ki* is shared with a number of other particles of Bangla, all strictly confined to root clauses.

In Japanese questions, the particle *-ka* is found in embedded as well as in root interrogatives. Nevertheless, there is evidence for a similar root/non-root distinction. Consider the particle *-yo* which is independent of questions but adds to a question flavors of doubt, interest, irony etc.

-yo and similar particles are higher than typing particles like -ka, -ru or ro, the order *-yo-ka, *-yo-ru etc being out. They can also not arise in embedded interrogatives.

- (27) John-ga dare o butta ka (*-yo) siranai
 Jojn -NOM who ACC hit Q YO know.not
 “I don’t know whom John hit”

Similar root/non-root asymmetries have been pointed out by Miyagawa (2012), quoting Harada (1976) on politeness marking (-mas).

- (28) a. Dare-ga ki-mas-u ka?
who-NOM come-MAS-PRES-Q
“Who will come?”
- Miyagawa (2012)
- . b. Hanako-wa [dare-ga {kuru / *ki -mas-u} ka] sitte i-mas-u
Hanako-TOP who-NOM come come-MAS-PRES-Q know MAS-PRES
“Hanako knows who is coming”

Interestingly, politeness marking is still possible in embedded clauses after *verba dicendi* and in combination with the non-factive complementizer *to* as well as in adverbial clauses with *kara* (“because”).

It cannot be an accident that both types of embedded clauses show root-properties in German too, cf. Coniglio (2011) and Frey (2012).

IV. Emphatic topicalization

Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) vs. Hanging Topic (HT) in Italian

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|------------------|
| (29) | <i>A Gianni, Maria gli ha dato un bellissimo regalo</i>
to Gianni, Maria to him-gave a beautiful present | CLLD | Italian |
| (30) | <i>Gianni, Maria gli ha dato un bellissimo regalo</i>
Gianni, Maria to him-gave a beautiful present | HT | Giorgi (forthc.) |

The leftmost phrase seems to be base-generated in both cases. Nevertheless there are many differences. One of them is that CLLD can be embedded whereas HT can not.

- | | | |
|---------|---|------|
| (31) | <i>Tutti sanno che a Gianni, Maria gli ha dato un bellissimo regalo</i>
everybody knows that to Gianni, Maria to him-has given a wonderful present | CLLD |
| (32) a. | * <i>Tutti sanno, Gianni, che Maria gli ha dato un bellissimo regalo</i>
everybody knows G. that M. to him-has given a wonderful present | HT |
| b. | * <i>Tutti sanno che, Gianni, Maria gli ha dato un bellissimo regalo</i>
everybody knows that, Gianni, M. to him-has given a wonderful present | |

Giorgi suspects that HT is a root phenomenon with independent illocutionary force. She argues that the preposed XP in CLLD is part of an ellipsis whereas the preposed XP in HT is part of a discourse.

Notice, however, that the same restriction was found for embedded CPs in German and in Bangla with the difference that the fonted XP is the result of movement.

Bayer (2001) shows this for the Bavarian dialect of German, Bayer & Dasgupta (2014) also for Bangla.

- (33) a. Da Hans ob ~~da Hans~~ kummt woass-e ned.
the Hans whether comes know-I not
“As for Hans, I don’t know whether he will come”
- b. Moang dass-a ~~moang~~ kummt glaub-e ned
tomorrow that -he comes believe-I not
“As for tomorrow, I don’t believe he will show up”

I The fronted XP must come from a contrastive set of alternatives; weak element but also non-contrastable higher adverbs do not qualify. Movement cannot be focus driven, as focus (information as well as contrastive) is assigned lower in the tree. The crucial fact is that the fronted CP cannot be in the standard post-verbal position.

- (34) a. *I woass ned, da Hans ob ~~da Hans~~ kummt
I know not the Hans whether comes
- b. *I glaub ned, moang dass-a ~~moang~~ kummt
I believe not tomorrow that -he comes

While German and its dialects allows CP fronting, the situation in Bangla is extra surprising because complement CP headed by the complementizer *je* are absolutely immobile; the same is true for Hindi *ki*-clauses.

- (35) a. chele-Ta Sun-ech-e [je [or baba aS -b -en]]
boy -CF hear-PFC-3 COMP his father come -FUT-3
"The boy has heard that his father will come"
- b. *[je [or baba aS -b -en]] chele-Ta Sun-ech -e
COMP his father come-FUT -3 boy -CF hear-PFC-3

Although *je* is a simple subjoiner which never attracts wh-phrases and is not involved in focus assignment etc., it may attract XPs as we have seen in Bavarian.

In this case, the *je*-CP cannot remain in situ. It must move to the left edge of the root clause (or to a medial pre-vP position, which is independently known to be an operator position).

- (36) a. [or baba je aS -b -en] chele-Ta (ta) Ekhono Son-e-ni
his father JE come-FUT-3 boy -CF this yet hear-3-NEG.PST
“That his father will come, this the boy hasn't heard yet”
- b. *chele-Ta Ekhono Son-e -ni [or baba je aS -b- en]
boy -CF yet hear-3-NEG.PST his father JE come-FUT-3

(36a) has a flavor of speaker's excitement. Fronting *or baba* signals that the fact that this person will come is remarkable.

Bayer (2001) and Bayer & Dasgupta (2014) dub the XP-to-SpecCP movement *Emphatic Topicalization* (ET). Other call very similar things *mirative fronting* or *emphatic polarity*.

The operation is by all means a root phenomenon which, however, occurs in the embedded clause.

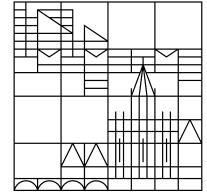
It is assumed that comp adopts an ET-feature and turns into a root-sensitive discourse particle.

ET cannot be interpreted in (36b), and the derivation crashes.

- (36) b. *chele-Ta Ekhono Son-e -ni [or baba je aS -b- en]
boy -CF yet hear-3-NEG.PST his father JE come-FUT-3

Pied-piping the ET-marked CP into the domain of the root-clause provides access to the enables ILL/CT layer in which ET can be interpreted.

- (37) a. [... [CP XP_{uEmp} [C' C°_{iEmp} [... [Foc' Foc° [... [VP ... XP_{uEmp} ... V°]]]]]]]] ⇒
- b. [... [CP [... [CP XP_{uEmp} [C' C°_{iEmp} [... [Foc' Foc° [... [VP ... V° [... [CP XP_{uEmp} [C' Prt°_{iEmp} [... [Foc' Foc°
[... [VP ... XP_{uEmp} ... V°]]]]]]]]]]]]



Thank you for your attention

ご清聴ありがとうございました