

verba dicendi Parentheticals

– Abstract –

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The parenthetical constructions in German shown in (1) all have in common that the predicate of the parenthetical is formed by a verb which selects a sentential complement. However, the (value of the) COMP function governed by this verb is not mapped from a constituent of the parenthetical itself. Instead, the hosting clause which contains the parenthetical is interpreted as the complement of the parenthetical's verbal predicate.

- (1) a. Theo kommt – sagt Paul – mit seinem Hund
Theo comes – says Paul – with his dog
b. Theo kommt – so sagt Paul – mit seinem Hund
Theo comes – so says Paul – with his dog
c. Theo kommt – wie Paul sagt – mit seinem Hund
Theo comes – as Paul says – with his dog

Although the hosting clause in (1) is obviously related to the COMP function of the verb within the parenthetical, these three constructions differ from each other in many important respects. The parentheticals in (1a)/(1b) have the structure of a verb-first clause and a verb-second clause respectively whereas (1c) is an instance of a verb-final clause. The parentheticals in (1a)/(1b) are not (completely) integrated into the host as relevant tests for constituency show, as for instance scope of negation.

- (2) a. Theo kommt nicht – sagt Paul – mit seinem Hund *neg>sagt, sagt>neg
Theo comes not – says Paul – with his dog
b. Theo kommt nicht – so sagt Paul – mit seinem Hund *neg>sagt, sagt>neg
Theo comes not – so says Paul – with his dog

The parenthetical in (1c) is structurally integrated into the host like an adjunct clause.

- (3) Theo kommt nicht – wie Paul sagt – mit seinem Hund neg>sagt, sagt>neg
Theo comes not – as Paul says – with his dog

The structural relation between the host and the parenthetical clause can be modelled in the sense of Fortmann (2005) differentiating between *syntactically non-integrated* and *syntactically integrated* parentheticals: In (2a) and (2b) the host and the parenthetical are part of a single c-structure, but they are mapped onto two independent f-structures none of which contains the other. In the case of a *wie*-parenthetical like in (3), the latter is mapped onto the value of an ADJUNCT function of the host. In both cases, the c-structure configuration does not give rise to a (direct) functional integration of the host's f-structure into the parenthetical's f-structure as the value of a COMP function.

With respect to the representation of the parenthetical and its complement, three possible accounts will be discussed and assessed. 1. the complement of the verb may be conceived of as an implicit argument parallel to verbs like *essen* (*eat*); 2. it may be analysed as a trace or unpronounced copy of the host; 3. an empty pronominal element may represent the complement. The first alternative has to be rejected since selectional restrictions which usually apply to implicit arguments are not observed. Verbs like *behaupten* which exclude wh-complements are possible with parentheticals.

- (4) a. wer kommt – hat Paul behauptet – mit seinem Hund?
who comes – has Paul claimed – with his dog
b. *Paul hat behauptet wer mit seinem Hund kommt

For the same reason a movement analyses in the line of Ross (1973) or Emonds (1976) (leaving a trace or a copy) is misleading. Furthermore, multiple parentheticals give rise to an interpretation which is incompatible with a movement analysis. It is possible to ascribe different assertions (5b-d) to the subjects of the parentheticals in (5a) as long as they are talking about the same event. This is incompatible with the assumption that the host is copied into the phrase structure of the parenthetical.

- (5) a. Theo – sagt Paul – ist heute – sagt Fritz – mit seinem Hund – sagt Karl - gekommen
Theo says Paul has today says Fritz with his dog says Karl come
 b. Paul: Theo ist gekommen (*Theo has come*)
 c. Fritz: ein Mann ist heute gekommen (*a man has come today*)
 d. Karl: jemand ist mit seinem Hund gekommen (*someone has come with his dog*)

In accordance with the differentiation between syntactically integrated and syntactically non integrated parentheticals a uniform explanation of the missing complement is possible if an empty pronoun is postulated which is anaphorically linked to the host. This approach does not encounter the obstacles in (4) and (5) and it is positively motivated by the fact that in any of the examples in (1) an overt pronominal *es* can be inserted.

- (6) Theo kommt – (so) sagt Paul e_{pro} / wie Paul e_{pro} sagt – mit seinem Hund

Based on this analysis certain peculiarities of the three constructions in (1) can also be accounted for. 1. In general the choice of the parenthetical's predicate, negation and adverbial modification are restricted for pragmatic reasons in parentheticals with an (overt oder silent) pronoun that refers to the host. The simultaneous assertions of the host and the parenthetical are attributed to the speaker. As a consequence, the content of the host cannot be negated by the parenthetical's subject.

- (7) a. *Theo kommt – verneint Paul – mit seinem Hund
Theo comes denies Paul with his dog
 b. ??Theo kommt – Paul verneint es – mit seinem Hund

2. The empty pronominal is part of the focus of the sentence whereas, an overt pronoun is (part of) its topic. This gives rise to a further restriction. (7b) can be remedied by the insertion of a sentential adverb, but (7a) cannot. Explicit reference to the host as a previously made utterance is possible if it is interpreted as a topic but blocked if interpreted as a focus.

- (8) a. ??Theo kommt – verneint Paul jedoch – mit seinem Hund
Theo comes denies Paul however with his dog
 b. Theo kommt – Paul verneint es jedoch – mit seinem Hund

3. The pronominal adverb *so* in (1b) is likewise linked to the host. But there is a certain division of labour between this element and the (empty) pronoun. The latter represents the content of the host, whereas the former is linked to its form, hence the deviance of (9). A denial cannot be uttered in the form of the host.

- (9) ??Theo kommt – so verneint (es) Paul jedoch – mit seinem Hund

Since the adverb undoubtedly fills the SpecCP of the parenthetical clause in (8) the analysis of *as*-parentheticals in English proposed by Potts (2002) who employs an empty operator in SpecCP binding a variable within the VP does not allow for a unified account of the constructions in (1).

4. The *wie*-Parenthetical instantiates an adverbial free relative clause with the adverb *wie* filling the SpecCP. A parallel construction is also possible with the local adverb *wo*. Since both *wo* and *wie* are phrasal constituents neither can be categorised as a preposition (contrary to the assumption also made by Potts).

- (9) ich habe den Schlüssel – wo ich dir gesagt habe – versteckt
I have the key where I you told have hidden

References

- Emonds, J., (1976) *A Transformational Approach to English Syntax*, Academic Press.
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 Potts, C., (2002) *The Syntax and Semantics of As-Parentheticals*, NLLT, 623-689.
 Ross., J., (1973) *Slifting*, in: M. Gross e.a. (eds.) *The Formal Analysis of Natural Languages*, 133-169.