

Parentheticals and speaker anchoring

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Terminology and overview

- (1) a. It's raining, as Mary said. *as*-parenthetical
b. It's raining, Mary said. bare parenthetical
- (2) a. Es regnet, wie Maria gesagt hat German *wie* instead of *as*
b. Es regnet, sagt Maria German bare parenthetical: V1 word order
- (3) *as*-parentheticals Potts (2002)
↕
bare parentheticals Bolinger (1968), Slifting: Ross (1973)
root phenomena: Hooper and Thompson (1978), Steinbach (1997)
Haegeman (2004): speaker anchoring of root clauses
perspectives: Reinhart (1983)
- > a view on bare parentheticals as root phenomena
---> elements of a formal analysis of root phenomena and bare parentheticals

1. Observations and previous analyses

1.1. Core elements of Potts' analysis of *as*-parentheticals

Ross (1967), 6.1.1.4: parenthetical-internal movement in *as*-clauses.

Potts (2002): detailed argumentation for movement of an empty operator in *as*-parentheticals.

- (4) a. "... even though people were crabby and snappish ... she DID, mostly, love them as she knew she ought to" (Jane Smiley, *Moo*, p. 26)
b. as Op₁ she knew she ought to t₁
- (5) * Durians are delicious, exactly as Op₁ Nina spoke with [a grocer who claimed t₁]
- (6) * Jim Durrow is a blackjack ace, just as Op₁ they smiled politely [when he reported t₁].

Potts: this movement is semantically interpreted by lambda-abstraction:

- (7) a. as Op₁ Mary claims t₁
b. λp claim(m, p)

Potts (2002): *as*-parentheticals are syntactically regular adjuncts that have untypical semantics:
- They scope over what they c-command: (7b) is applied to the syntactic sister.
- Higher elements don't scope over the parenthetical, e.g. the negation in (8):

- (8) a. It is not true that Ames stole the documents, *as Mary claims*.
 b. Main clause: It is not true that Ames stole the documents.
 c. *As*-clause: Mary claims that Ames stole the documents.
- (9) $[[\text{as Mary claims}]] = \lambda p_{\langle s, t \rangle} p$,
 conventionally implicating: $\text{claim}(m, p)$

1.2. Syntactic movement in bare parentheticals

Ross (1973): parenthetical-internal movement in bare parentheticals.

- (10) Max has a tuba, Op_1 I believe that Pete pointed out t_1 .
- (11) * Max has a tuba, Op_1 I believe [your claim that Pete pointed out t_1].
- (12) * Max has a tuba, Op_1 Ted [is reading a book] and [will find out t_1].

1.3. No clause-internal scope for bare parentheticals

Pittner (1995): clause-internal scope which German *as*-parentheticals. The salient reading of (a), namely (c), is not available in (b), which only has the reading in (d):

- (13) a. Kohl wird nicht, *wie die Opposition vorschlug*, die Steuern erhöhen.
 Kohl will not as the opposition suggested the taxes raise
 'Kohl will not, as the opposition suggested, raise taxes.'
 b. Kohl wird, *wie die Opposition vorschlug*, nicht die Steuern erhöhen.
 Kohl will as the opposition suggested, not the taxes raise
 'Kohl will, as the opposition suggested, not raise taxes.'
 c. The opposition suggested to raise the taxes.
 d. The opposition suggested not to raise the taxes.

Clause-internal scope in the English examples of Potts (2002):

- (14) a. Ames did not steal the documents, as the senators claimed.
 b. Ames₁ did not $[[t_1$ steal the documents], as the senators claimed].
 b'. -> the senators claimed he stole the documents
 c. $[[\text{Ames}_1$ did not t_1 steal the documents], as the senators claimed.
 c'. -> the senators claimed Ames did not steal the documents

Pittner (1995): mentions that no evidence for (clause-internal) scope-taking with bare parentheticals. Our illustrations in German and English:

- (15) a. Kohl wird nicht, *sagte die Opposition*, die Steuern erhöhen.
Kohl will not said the opposition the taxes raise.
'Kohl will not, the opposition said, raise taxes.'
- b. Kohl wird, *sagte die Opposition*, nicht die Steuern erhöhen.
Kohl will said the opposition not the taxes raise.
'Kohl will, the opposition said, not raise taxes.'

both: -> The opposition said that Kohl will not raise the taxes.

not a possible reading of either: The opposition said that Kohl will raise the taxes.

- (16) Ames did not steal the documents, *the senators claimed*.
-> the senators claimed that Ames did not steal the documents
not a possible reading: they claimed that Ames stole the documents

Ross (1973): Slifting (S-lifting), of which the idea is sketched here.

- (17) Slifting
- a. The senators claimed [that Ames did not steal the documents]. ->
- b. [Ames did not steal the documents,] the senators claimed.

Condition on Slifting: the host clause is a finite *that*-clause before Slifting.

1.4. Bare parentheticals as root phenomena

Hooper and Thompson (1973): *Complement preposing* (\approx Slifting) is a root transformation.
The effect: The host clause of a bare parenthetical must be a root clause (see also Steinbach (2007)).

- (18) a. The captain, [who is, *I think*, our best player,] will graduate next year. non-restrictive
b. * The boy [that is, *I think*, our best player] will graduate next year. restrictive
- (19) a. It's been raining, [because there are puddles outside,] *I am afraid*. non-restrictive
You came in here [because you like me], *don't you?*
b. * The customer stomped out [after the clerk, *I guess*, insulted her]. restrictive

Steinbach (2007): arguments for German to the same effect.

1.5. Haegeman's *speaker-anchoring* and Bolinger's *I represents that*

Haegeman (2004): root clauses have a ForceP that includes speaker anchoring in Force.

Bolinger (1968): "postposed main phrases (PMPs)"

- (20) a. I believe [they're ready].
b. [They're ready], I believe.

Not allowed by predicates of doubting and denying:

- (21) a. I doubt [that it's relevant]. G: Ich bezweifle, dass es relevant ist.
b. * [It's relevant] I doubt. G: * Es ist relevant, bezweifle ich.

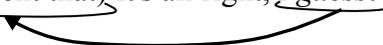
Not allowed by what Bolinger called "predicates of causing" (p. 5); our description: predicates establishing a preference or an obligation.

- (22) a. I insist that it stop immediately. G: Ich will, dass das aufhört. (*will*, 'want')
 b. * [It stop immediately], I insist. G: * Das hört auf, will ich.

Bolinger arrives at the suggestion to characterize the verbs that allow these parentheticals

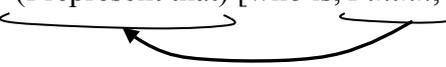
"in terms of a mental picture or representation to the mind. If we think of every declarative sentence as carrying some such element as *I represent that*, e.g.,
 [...] (I represent that) John has the money.
 we equip the sentence with a slot in which PMPs [bare parentheticals, H.T./F.S.] and other sentence adverbs fit, as a way of tempering the representation: expressing varying degrees of firmness in relation to any participant in the situation." (Bolinger (1968), p.16)

Semantically, a step ahead relative to Ross' slifting transformation:

- (23) (I represent that) It's all right, I guess.
- 

Silent representation of main clause cannot be "I doubt" or "I want", but it can conceivably be "I believe" or "I guess".

Adopting this idea for the moment, we identify this silent representation with Haegeman's speaker anchoring and generalize it to other root clauses, as in (24).

- (24) (I represent that) The captain will graduate next year.
 (I represent that) [who is, *I think*, our best player,]
- 

See also classification of non-restrictive relatives as assertions by Stowell (2005) and the description of supplements as tied to by the speaker or another person in Harris and Potts (2009).

1.6 Bare parentheticals and perspective

Reinhart (1983)

- (25) Speaker-oriented main clause, parenthetical providing source or evidence

John will be late, he said. G. Hans wird zu spät kommen – sagte er.

- (26) Main clause in the perspective of the parenthetical's subject

He would be late, John said. G. Er werde zu spät kommen, sagte Hans.
 He will be late, John said. G. Er wird zu spät kommen, sagte Hans.

Second case:

- (27) (John represents that) He would/will be late, John said.
- 

- (28) a. We sat around in a circle. G. Wir saßen im Kreis
 # Mary would be late. # Maria würde zu spät kommen.
 b. (I represent that) We sat around in a circle.
 (?? represents that) Mary would be late.

The perspective can be settled by the context:

- (29) a. We sat around in a circle. G. Wir saßen im Kreis.
Peter said we should begin. Peter sagte, wir sollen anfangen.
Mary would be late. Maria würde zu spät kommen.
- b. (Peter represents that) Mary would be late.

The perspective can also be settled by a bare parenthetical:

- (30) a. We sat around in a circle. G. Wir saßen im Kreis.
Mary would be late, Peter said. Maria würde zu spät kommen, sagte Peter.
- b. (?? represents that) Mary would be late, Peter said.
- c. -> (Peter represents that) Mary would be late, Peter said.

An *as*-parenthetical can not do this as readily:

- (31) We sat around in a circle. G. Wir saßen im Kreis.
(#) Mary would be late, as Peter said. (#) Maria würde zu spät kommen,
wie Peter sagte.

This is expected, if bare parentheticals, but not *as*-parentheticals, directly relate to this perspective.

1.7 Parentheticals in conditionals

Conditionals constitute a single assertion. The antecedent is not a root clause – not assertive-like.

- (32) a. If it rains, they will come back early.
b. (I represent that) If it rains, they will come back early.

The flexibility of *as*-parentheticals allows them to operate on the antecedent separately:

- (33) If [it rains], as Mary said, they will come back early.
-> Mary said that it will rain.

- (34) G. Wenn [es regnet], wie Maria gesagt hat, werden sie früher zurückkommen.
-> Maria said that it will rain.

Likewise, the *as*-parenthetical can operate on the consequent separately:

- (35) [Mary predicted that they will come back early. She thinks they will get bored.]
If it rains, [they will come back early,] as Mary predicted.
-> Mary predicted that they will come back early.
- (36) G. Wenn es regnet, [werden sie früher zurückkommen], wie Maria vorhersagte.
-> Mary predicted that they will come back early.

A bare parenthetical does not have either of these readings:

- (37) a. If it rains, Mary said, they will come back early.
b. If it rains, they will come back early, Mary said.
- (38) a. G. Wenn es regnet, sagte Maria, werden sie früher zurückkommen.
b. G. Wenn es regnet, werden sie früher zurückkommen, sagte Maria.

Instead, both (37a) and (37b) (and (38a,b)) have the reading shown in (39).

(39) (Mary represents that) If it rains, they will come back early, Mary said.

Thus, conditionals provide further support for the flexible attachment of *as*-parentheticals (Potts 2002) and the specific attachment of bare parentheticals to root clauses (Hooper and Thompson 1973, Steinbach 2007) and more specifically the perspective/speaker-anchoring of Bolinger (1968), Haegeman (2004) and Reinhart (1983).

1.8. Summary

From early suggestions about bare parentheticals in the literature, it is possible to patch together a picture of why parentheticals connect to root clauses: Root clauses have a perspectival anchor in C, to which bare parentheticals attach.

2 Elements of a formal analysis and their application to German

2.1 Perspective indices for root clauses

Assertive-like interpretation of declaratives:

Bolinger (1968): declaratives have silent *I represent that ...*

Ross (1970): declaratives have silent *I say to you that ...*

Oppenrieder (1987): declaratives make connection between content, speaker and truth.

Gunlogson (2003, 2008), Poschmann (2008): declaratives commit S (or A).

Truckenbrodt (2006a, b): C-position in German V2-declaratives represents epistemic interpretation.

Giorigi (2010): C-position contains representation of the speech time and perhaps S's location.

Sode (2014): Subjunctive shifts declarative from assertion by S to assertion by another person.

Krifka (2015): commitment phrase CmP and speech act phrase ActP in declaratives and questions.

Assertive-like interpretation of root clauses more generally (including declaratives):

Hooper and Thompson (1973): root clauses as asserted clauses

Reis (1997): German embedded V2-clauses (root clauses) as mediated assertions.

Haegeman (2004): relates root-clauses informally to speaker-anchoring in the Force head of ForceP.

Stowell (2005): classifies appositive relatives as asserted.

Reis (2006): appositives and peripheral adverbial clauses have assertional force

Harris and Potts (2009): supplements commit someone to their content.

Representation of beliefs, contexts, and belief context sets:

Hintikka (1969): representation of belief in terms of doxastic alternatives
Kaplan (1989): representation of the global context c in terms of parameters
Stalnaker (1978, 1988): global and local contexts in terms of beliefs
Heim (1992): context change semantics, implementing Stalnaker's notions
Schlenker (2005): indexed speech or thought events with a context set
Zimmermann (2012): perspectives in terms of doxastic alternatives
Eckardt (2015): global and local contexts, analysis and application to German
Maier (to appear): the semantics of mixed quotation

(40) Let the assignment g map (among other things) indices of type perspective to tuples $\langle x, t, w, \text{Dox} \rangle$, where $x \in D_e$, $t \in D_i$, $w \in D_s$ and $\text{Dox} = \lambda x \lambda t \lambda w \text{Dox}_{x,t,w}$.¹

Thus $\text{Dox}(x)(t)(w) = \text{Dox}_{x,t,w}$, the doxastic alternatives of x at t in w .

(41) Root clauses are CPs with a perspective index
a. adjoined to CP or
b. in the C-head (Force-head).

Adjunction to CP is gratuitous. It adds a conventional implicature and has the consequence that no ordinary meaning is defined for the resulting structure \rightarrow the result of adjunction cannot be embedded.

(42) Let $\llbracket [\text{CP}' [i] \text{CP}] \rrbracket^{w,g}$ have a non-embeddable meaning.
For $g(i) = \langle x, t, w, \text{Dox} \rangle$,
let CP' carry the conventional implicature that $\text{Dox}(x)(t)(w) \subseteq \lambda w' \llbracket \text{CP} \rrbracket^{w',g}$.

See Potts (2005) on conventional implicatures; see Gutzmann (2015) for related developments.

We use an informal shorthand $^{\text{Mary}}$, $^{\text{Speaker}}$ etc. for these indices. We assume that there are freely adjoined perspectives on unembedded declaratives, on appositive relatives and on peripheral adverbial clauses, for example:

(43) $^{\text{Sp.}}$ [The captain, $^{\text{Sp.}}$ [who is our best player,] will graduate next year.]

(44) $^{\text{Sp.}}$ [It's been raining, $^{\text{Sp.}}$ [because there are puddles outside]].

2.3 The perspective index is definite

With certain modals in English and German, the person to whom the truth of the proposition is attributed can be construed as indefinite:

(45) It is supposed to rain tomorrow. G. Es soll morgen regnen.

The perspective of a clause, on the other hand, seems to be interpreted like a definite:

(46) a. We sat around in a circle. # Mary would be late.
b. We sat around in a circle. Peter said we should begin. $^{\text{Peter}}$ [Mary would be late.]

¹ The current formalization is specific to beliefs in declaratives and root clauses. In a broader picture, the fourth position of the quadruple would allow an alternative value for the interpretation of imperative-like structures; see Condoravdi and Lauer (2012) and Oikonomou (2016) on the latter.

In a critical review of Potts (2005), Amaral, Roberts and Smith (2007) show that supplements can also be attributed to other people than the speaker.

The experiments of Harris and Potts (2009) confirm this. A shift away from the speaker seems to require a recoverable alternative attribution of the commitment. The results are very much compatible with a definite interpretation of the perspective.

We take this definiteness, not formalized here, to strengthen the suggestion that this aspect of the interpretation, i.e. the perspective, is represented in terms of a syntactic index.

2.4 Embedded root clauses and absorption (restrictions on their embedding)

Hooper and Thompson (1973): embedded root phenomena.

Reis (1997), Heycock (2006): German embedded V2 as an embedded root phenomenon.

Gärtner (2002): V2-clauses have *assertional proto-force*. This amounts to assertional force in unembedded position. It is *absorbed* in embedded position by certain predicates.

Meinunger (2004): predicates allowing embedded V2 shows parallel to those embedding

Romance infinitive (which, according to Bolinger, are the predicates allowed in parentheticals)

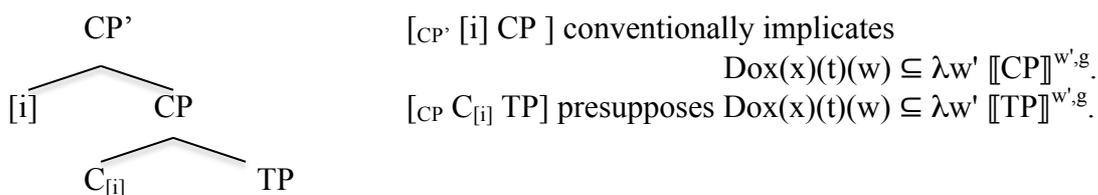
Truckenbrodt (2006a, b): Semantically interpreted index in C triggers V-to-C; its presupposition leads to Gärtner's absorption requirement.

Building on these suggestions, we implement a presuppositional interpretation of $C_{[i]}$, which amounts to a presupposition of belief of the embedded proposition:

- (47) a. $C_{[i]}$ triggers V-to-C movement in German.
 b. $[[[CP C_{[i]} TP]]]^{w,g}$, with $g(i) = \langle x, t, w, Dox \rangle$,
 is defined only if $Dox(x)(t)(w) \subseteq \lambda w' [[TP]]^{w',g}$.
 If defined, $[[[CP C_{[i]} TP]]]^{w,g} = [[TP]]^{w,g}$.

For unembedded V2-clauses, this presupposition is easily fulfilled by the conventional implicature of an adjoined index, given coindexation:

- (48) Assuming interpretation under g , with $g(i) = \langle x, t, w, Dox \rangle$



For embedded V2-clauses, the matrix clause will have to satisfy this presupposition. Predicates that can satisfy it:

- (49) a. x believes p
 b. x asserts p \approx x expresses that x believes p (Searle (1975))
 c. x dreams p \approx in x's sleep, x believes p (Heim (1998))
- (50) a. Maria glaubt, dass Peter nach Berlin kommt/komme. V-final complement
 b. Maria glaubt, Peter kommt/komme nach Berlin. V2 complement
 'Maria believes (that) Peter is coming to Berlin.'
- (51) a. Maria sagt, dass Peter nach Berlin kommt/komme. V-final complement
 b. Maria sagt, Peter kommt/komme nach Berlin. V2 complement

Correlates

Schwabe (2013): Some embedded V2-clauses with subjunctive allow pronominal correlates in the main clause.

However, these cannot occur in a parenthetical.

- (69) Er hat sich (**da**₁-mit) herausgeredet, [er habe das nicht gewusst]₁.
he has himself **there**-with talked-out-of-it he has.SUBJ that not known
- (70) *Er habe das nicht gewusst, [Op₁ hat er sich (***da**₁-mit) t₁ herausgeredet]
he has.SUBJ that not known has he himself **there**-with talked-out-of-it
- (71) **Es**₁ ist schwer zu glauben [Maria habe das nicht gewusst]₁.
it is difficult to believe Maria has.SUBJ that not known
- (72) *[Maria habe das nicht gewusst]₁ [Op₁ ist **es**₁ t₁ schwer zu glauben].
Maria has.SUBJ that not known is **it** difficult to believe

This seems to testify to the crucial role of the (Slifting) movement chain (here with an operator) in the parenthetical. In the current account, this chain is also crucial for the reconstruction of the perspectival absorption requirement.

A related, but weaker restriction is found with *wie*-parentheticals:

- (73) Peter ist nach Berlin gekommen, wie ich (***dar**-auf) (**es**) gehofft habe.
Peter is to Berlin come as I **it**-for **it** hoped have

The presence of the restriction (albeit in a weaker form) is compatible with Potts' operator movement analysis. The fact that it is weaker is compatible with the additional relevance of the movement chain for reconstruction with bare parentheticals.

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