

Parenthetical main clauses – or not?

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Root phenomena: some construction types of interest

- main clauses
- embedded clauses introduced by a C showing V2 or fronting
- embedded (object) clauses *not* introduced by C showing V2, etc.
- peripheral adverbial clauses
- free *dat/dass* clauses, unintegrated dependent clauses
- cause/reason clauses introduced by a quasi-coordinator
- para-*so* construction

- independent parentheticals
- reporting and comment clauses
- appositive relative clauses
- appositions
- V2 quasi-relatives
- V2 quasi-appositive relative clauses
- sentence amalgams (Horn, Andrews), transparent free relatives

‘Embedded’ Main Clause Phenomena

<=>

Parenthesis *or* Coordination *or* CP recursion

- What are main clause phenomena? Are these a fixed set of characteristics? If not, which ones are decisive, and for what?
- What is a main clause to begin with?
(syntactically, semantically, phonologically)
- What is parenthesis? Can it be defined independently?
- ...

Main Clause Phenomena

- I
 - verb second
 - fronting
 - inversion
 - left dislocation

- II
 - speaker orientation
 - ‘high’ adverbs/adverbial phrases/modal particles
 - illocutionary force, speech act
 - scopal independence

- III
 - separate intonational phrase / phonological disintegration
 - additional pitch accent

Appositions

(1) John, frankly not an Einstein, claimed that 2 times 3 is 5.

- speaker orientation
- high adverbs
- independent intonational domain
- propositional (‘independent lambda term’)
- secondary information
- undeniability (‘conventional implicature’)
- independent illocutionary force

Primary proposition: ‘John claimed that two times three is five.’

Secondary proposition: ‘He (John) is frankly not an Einstein.’

=> appositions are main clauses (on a secondary level of communication)

=> parenthesis at the constituent level

N.B. *Not* a solution:

[_{matrixCP} ... [_{DP} antecedent [_{ForceP} ... appositive material ...]] ...]

Appositive relative clauses

Scopal independence (contrary to RRC):

- (2) [Geen enkele klimmer]_i sprak over de berg die
no single climber spoke about the mountain REL
hij_i vorige maand bedwongen had.
he last month conquered had (RRC)
- (3) # [Geen enkele klimmer]_i sprak over de Eiger, die
hij_i vorige maand bedwongen had. (ARC)

speech act (situation: commentator in charge)

- (4) Dit is mijn student Joop, die u hierbij de hand-out overhandigt.
this is my student Joop, who you hereby the hand-out gives

However: V_{final} , no fronting (apart from REL), etc.

=> ARC is semantically a main clause.

=> ARC is structurally an embedded clause.

Parenthesis

Parenthesis: [_{ParP} (anchor) [Par XP]

- A parenthetical phrase/clause is the complement of a functional head Par.
- If there is an anchor, ParP is coordination-like: specification.
- If there is no anchor, ParP can be adjoined to or within the matrix.
- Par defines a syntactically impenetrable domain, and causes both LF and PF effects.

(Two possible takes on this: either Par triggers a specialized kind of merge, or Par assigns some special feature to its complement.)

Parenthesis $\neq$ orphanage

- Possible linear interruption (unlike subsequent sentences)
 - LF and PF effects (N.B. Y-model of grammar)
 - Secondary information
 - The ‘two roots problem’ $\rightarrow$ connection
-
- Application at sentence level or constituent level
 - Constituency effects for appositive constructions
 - Case in appositional constructions
 - Recursion

Appositive relative clauses as complex appositions

[_{ParP} [_{DP} antecedent] [Par [_{DP} D [_{CP} relative clause]]]]

John, a carpenter $\approx$ *John, who is a carpenter* $\approx$ 'John, (i.e.) someone_{specific} who is a carpenter'

- ARC is a complex apposition, with the same parenthetical properties.
- D-CP is a full restrictive relative construction (Kayne), here interpreted as a semi-free relative.
- The attribution is DP-internal (someone is a carpenter).
- The relationship with the antecedent is identification $\Rightarrow$ specific semantics: E-type link, but also indefinite since there is no implied uniqueness.

$\Rightarrow$ Relativization and parenthesis are orthogonal processes.

ARC: root or not? Solution

ARC is a complex parenthetical DP, complement of Par.
=> Semantic root phenomena

The relative CP in an ARC is structurally embedded in DP.
=> subordinate clause => no structural root phenomena

V2 quasi-relative

(5) Ik ken een man die zijn OREN kan bewegen. (RRC)

I know a man who his ears can move

(6) Ik ken een MAN (en) die kan zijn OREN bewegen. (V2 'rel')

'I know a man and he can move his ears.'

- (6) not a relative clause
- DEM (die, dat, daar) and *not* REL (die, wie, dat, wat, waar)
- optional *en*
- preposed DEM: promotion of sentence topic
- specific indefinite antecedent
- obligatorily sentence-final
- paratactic relationship
- two pitch accents, but *not* sentence-final fall \.

V2 quasi-ARC

(7) Joop, die een nieuwe auto heeft gekocht, kwam op bezoek. (ARC)

Joop REL a new car has bought came on visit.

(8) Joop – die heeft een nieuwe auto gekocht – kwam op bezoek.

DEM

(V2 quasi-ARC)

- parenthesis, not only coordination
- secondary message
- can be sentence-medial

Some parentheticals

- (9) Roos hield, zoals Charlotte wel wist, van lezen.
Roos loved as Charlotte AFF knew of reading
'Roos loved to read, as Charlotte knew indeed.'
- (10) Roos is gisteren – waarom verbaast mij dit niet? – naar A. vertrokken.
Roos is yesterday why surprises me this not to A left
- (11) Hij bakt, (zo) vindt hij zelf, hele goede appeltaart.
he bakes so thinks he self very good apple.pie
- (12) "Ik denk," (zo) zei Jan (gisteren tegen Piet), "dat dit leuk is."
I think so said Jan yesterday to Piet that this fun is
- => V2 unless start with a complementizer; scopally independent, etc.

Horn type amalgam

(13) Die is *ik gok dat het vanochtend was* op vakantie gegaan.
DEM is I guess that it this.morning was on holiday gone
'He went I guess it was this morning on holiday.'

- Intrusive clause
- 'shared' phrase
- V2
- scopally independent (except for the shared phrase)

two propositions:

1. He went on holiday sometime. (primary message)
2. I think that it was this morning. (secondary message)

Andrews type amalgam

(14) Hans heeft *je raadt nooit hoeveel mensen* uitgenodigd voor zijn verjaardag.

Hans has you guess never how.many people invited for his birthday

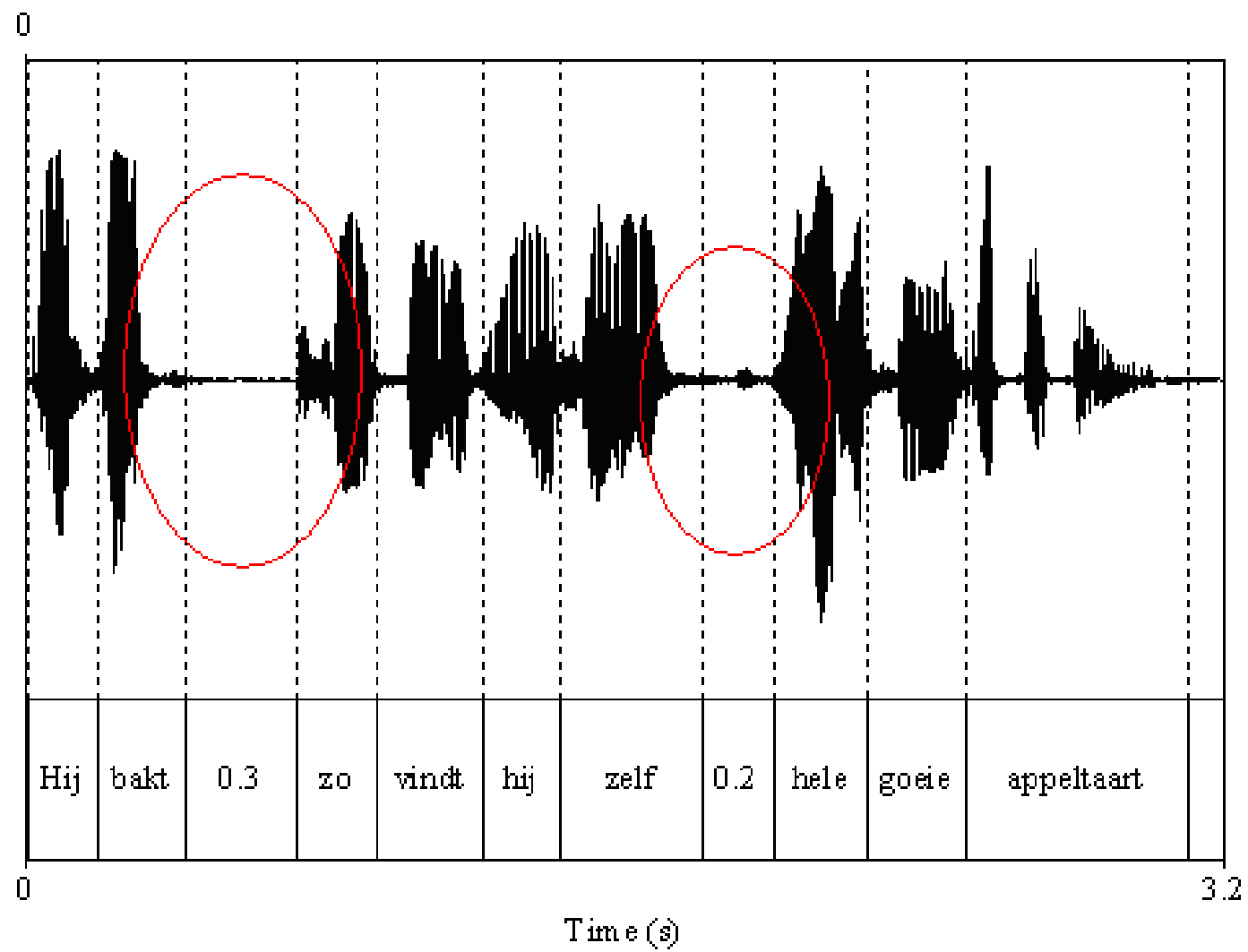
‘Hans invited you’ll never guess how many people for his birthday.’

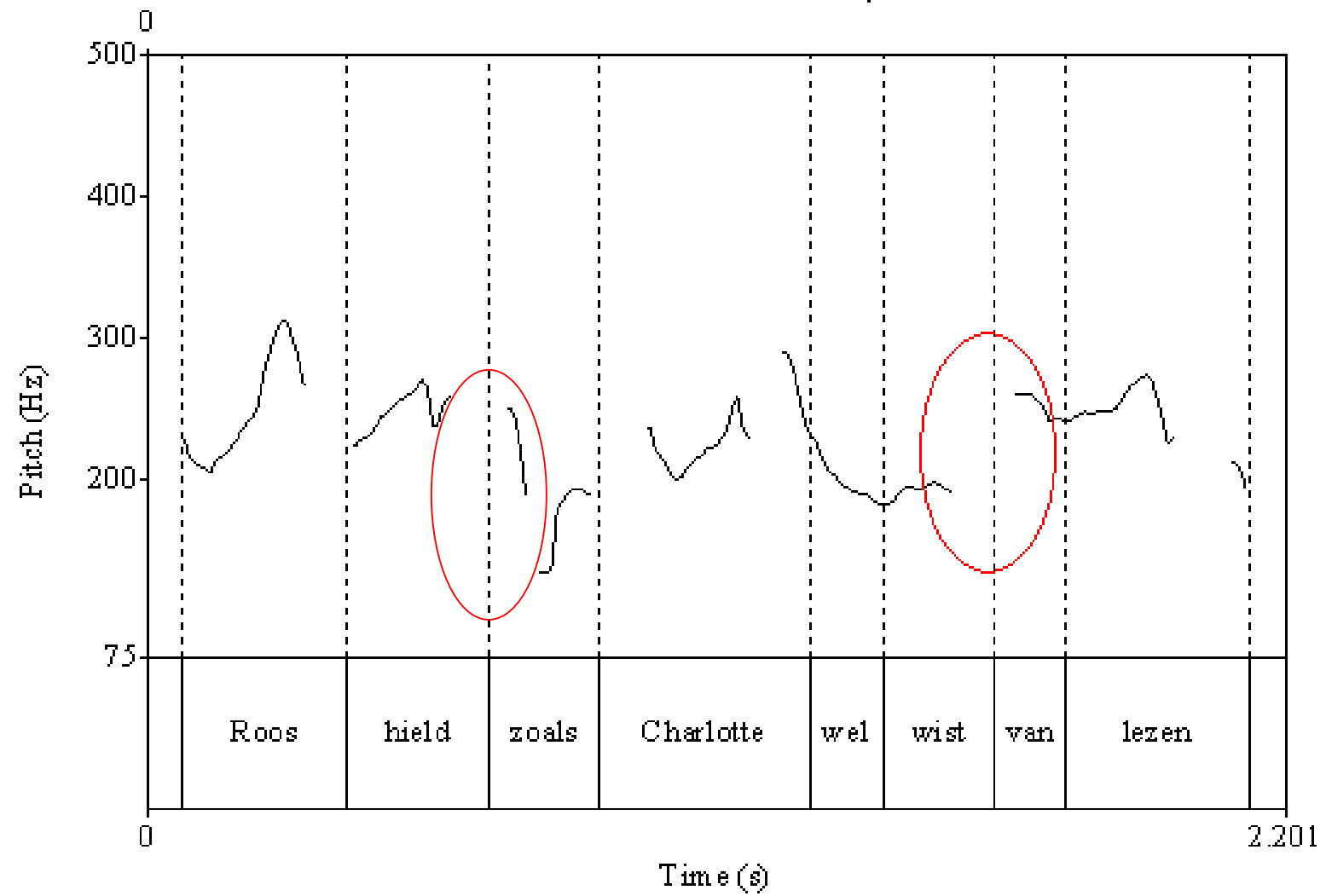
Transparent Free Relative

(15) Karel heeft *wat hij voor een gitaar hield* aan Mieke gegeven.

Karel has what he for a guitar held to Mieke given

‘Karel gave Mieke what he thought to be a guitar.’



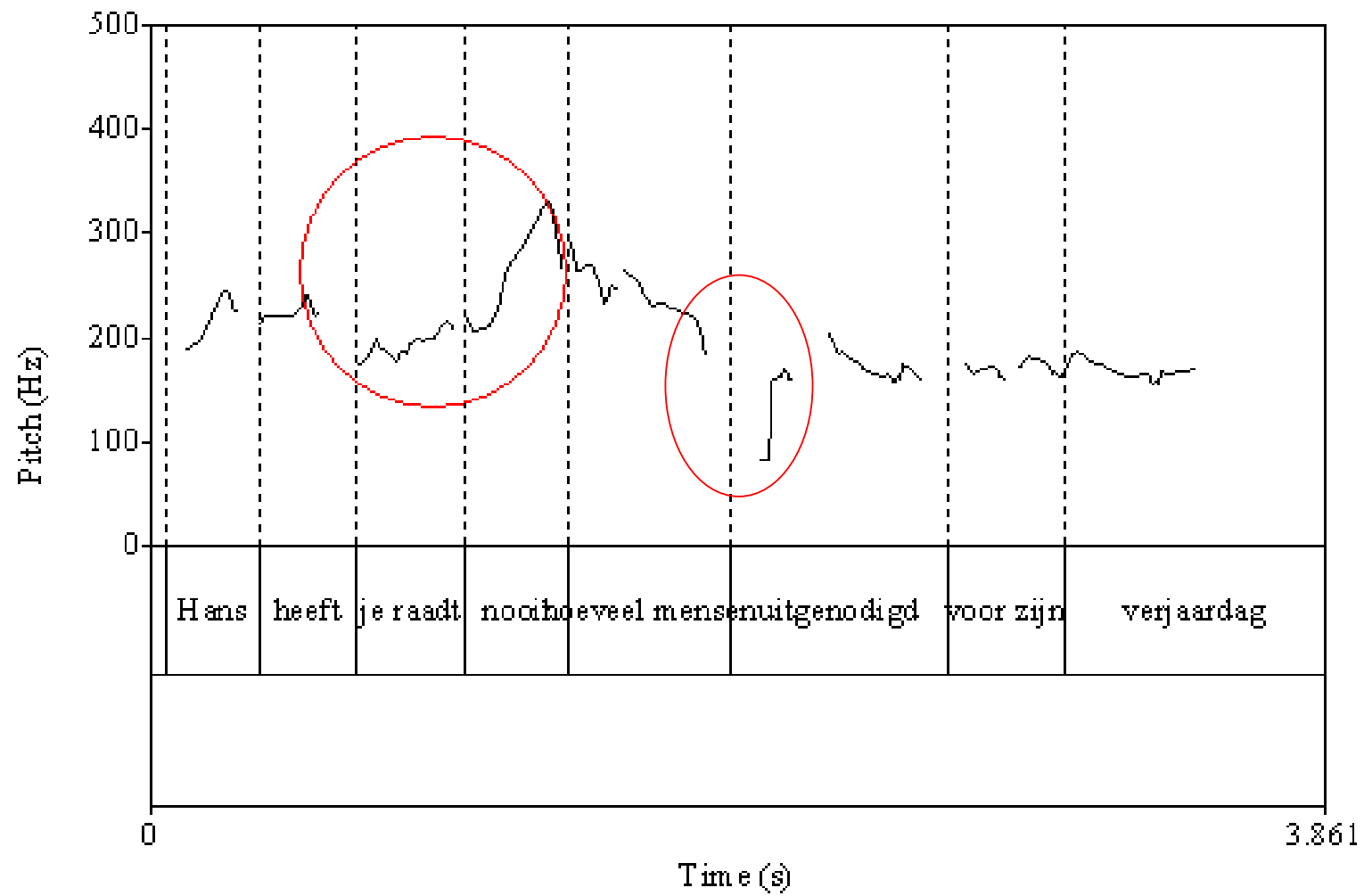


Pauses (≥ 0.1 s)

	LB	RB
Andrews	6%	0%
Horn	22%	6%
TFR	15%	14%
PAR	10%	14%

Pitch movement

	LB	RB
Andrews	89%	61%
Horn	72%	83%
TFR	65%	86%
PAR	71%	86%



Conclusion

Main clause behaviour is not a uniform phenomenon.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{Structural MCP} & \Leftrightarrow & \text{Semantic MCP} \\ ? \Rightarrow & & \Leftarrow ? \\ & \text{phonological MCP} & \end{array}$$

Some papers and books related to this project

- Cardoso, Adriana & Mark de Vries (2010) Internal and external heads in appositive constructions. Manuscript, University of Lisbon and University of Groningen.
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- de Vries, Mark (to appear) Unconventional Mergers. *Ways of Structure Building*, ed. by Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria & Vidal Valmala. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2009) The left and right periphery in Dutch. *The Linguistic Review* 26, 291-327.
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- (2007) Invisible Constituents? Parentheses as B-Merged Adverbial Phrases. In: N. Dehé & Y. Kavalova (eds.) *Parentheticals*, 203-234. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- (2006) The syntax of appositive relativization: On specifying coordination, false free relatives and promotion. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37, 229-270.
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