

THE COMPLEMENT OF *verba dicendi* PARENTHETICALS

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*Abstract.** The topic of this article is a quite frequent parenthetical construction in German. The predicate of this type of parenthetical is constituted by a verb which governs a COMP function, in particular a *verbum dicendi* or *verbum sentiendi* as for instance in *Theo kam – sagt Paul – mit seinem Hund* (*Theo came – says Paul – with his dog*). The value of this COMP function is not projected from a constituent within the parenthetical. Due to the interpretation of the construction, the host provides the complement of the parenthetical verb. It is argued that the value of the COMP function is represented by an fstructure whose PRED value is specified as 'pro'. This pronominal PRED value is anaphorically linked to the f structure of the host. After the exposition of this account some restrictions on the this construction concerning the lexical choice of the parenthetical verb and its constituents will be considered.

1 Parentheticals with *verba dicendi*

The examples in (1) show a certain type of parenthetical constructions in German which contain a verbal predicate – mostly a *verbum dicendi* or *verbum sentiendi* – that subcategorizes for a propositional argument.¹

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

In the case of an ordinary complementation structure, the propositional argument of a verb like *sagen* (say) is expressed by a clausal CP as in *Paul sagt, daß Theo kommt* (Paul says that Theo comes). The grammatical function which is assigned to this argument is COMP. Anyway, in order to meet the requirements of the completeness condition, a clause whose predicate governs a COMP function must also contain a complement clause. This requirement also holds for clausal parentheticals. The constructions in (1), however, are peculiar because the complement of the verb *sagt* is not included in the parenthetical string which is also referred to as a *reduced parenthetical*.

Since the constructions in (1) are grammatical as a whole, the parenthetical's verb cannot suffer from a completeness condition violation despite the fact that there is no (clausal) complement of this verb located within the parenthetical string itself. There is also no doubt with respect to the content of the (missing) complement. In all three cases in (1) the host clause is interpreted as a statement made by the parenthetical's subject *Paul*. Hence, the complement of *sagt* is somehow linked to the host clause. The question, then, is: how is the complement of the verb represented and how is it linked to the host clause?

One might speculate that the sentences in (1) are somehow derived from a monoclausal construction with the parenthetical as its root and the host as a complement. But such an analysis is questionable for a number of reasons.

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¹ There are a number of (quasi) defining criteria to determine a parenthetical string. Optionality and separation from the surrounding string by intonational breaks are two at least sufficient conditions. In the following, parentheticals are marked by dashes.

The parenthetical in (1c) has the structure of a verb-final clause. Verb-final clauses constitute subordinate clauses in German but not root structures. Therefore, it would be quite unreasonable to assume that the parenthetical in (1c) forms the matrix clause of the whole construction. The parentheticals in (1a) and (1b) have an apparent verb-first structure and verb-second structure respectively. Both types occur as root clauses in German. Hence, a monoclausal complementation structure is not per se dubious. However, restrictions on the interpretation like the impossibility of variable binding from the host into the parenthetical and vice versa and the restriction on scope of negation to the parenthetical and the host respectively indicate that both clausal components of the construction are not functionally integrated as complementation structures normally are.²

On the other hand it might be argued that an account of the reduced parenthetical constructions in (1) should refrain from any syntactic consideration altogether. In this case the saturation of the verbs propositional argument slot would have to be transferred to some mechanism of post syntactic semantic interpretation. However, such a turn also faces a number of empirical and conceptual problems.

In general, verbs do not allow of any dispensation from their subcategorization requirements in German. An argument of a verb may remain implicit, an issue we will discuss immediately. But it is not possible to infer a missing argument from the discourse, say, from the preceding sentence even if some salient entity is available.

Moreover, such a mechanism would require some kind of syntactic argument reduction which cancels the COMP function from the predicate's semantic form. This device, however, would have to be distinct from other known mechanisms of argument structure modification like passivization. While the syntactic realization of the argument within the functional domain of the verb would have to be suppressed, the requirement of the semantic argument to get saturated by some overt syntactic material would have to be maintained, since this argument cannot be missing altogether. For these reasons, a syntactic account is worth considering.

Instead of a monoclausal complementation structure, there are three possible modes of syntactic explanation. According to the first one, the complement of the parenthetical's verb is represented as an implicit argument which has to be anaphorically linked to the host clause. Implicit arguments are common with verbs like *essen* (to eat) or *öffnen* (to open) in German.

The second possible account employs a phonologically unexpressed copy of the host clause within the parenthetical. Finally, the complement may also be conceived as a pronominal which is anaphorically linked to the host clause. In the absence of phonological realization, this pronominal has to be represented either by an empty element in the constituent structure of the parenthetical or as an f-structure value of the COMP function implemented in the parenthetical's f-structure which is not projected from a c-structure complement.

The first two alternatives are not suitable due to empirical reasons. An account in the sense of the third variant, however, is capable of explaining the construction.

² The examples in (i) illustrate the facts about scope of negation.

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| (i) a. <i>Theo kam nicht – sagt Paul – mit seinem Hund</i>
Theo came not says Paul with his dog | *Neg>sagt, sagt>Neg |
| b. <i>Theo kam – so sagt Paul – nicht mit seinem Hund</i>
Theo came so says Paul not with his dog | *Neg>sagt, sagt>Neg |
| c. <i>Theo kam nicht – wie Paul sagt – mit seinem Hund</i>
Theo came not as Paul says with his dog | Neg>sagt, sagt>Neg |

For a detailed discussion of these aspects of the parenthetical construction cf. Fortmann (2005).

2 Implicit Argument Account (to be rejected)

The internal argument of verbs like *essen* (to eat), *öffnen* (to open), *helfen* (to help) and some others may be missing in a clause. But this argument is after all present in the interpretation of the predicate as in implicit argument. (3) shows the counterparts of the transitive verbs in (2).

- (2)
- a. *Theo ißt mit Appetit eine Schweinshaxe*
Theo eats with appetite a knuckle of pork
 - b. *Theo hat mir die Tür öffnet*
Theo has me the door opened
 - c. *Theo hilft seinem Chef nur widerwillig*
Theo helps his chief only unwillingly
- (3)
- a. *Theo ißt mit Appetit*
Theo eats with appetite
 - b. *Theo hat mir öffnet*
Theo has me opened
 - c. *Theo hilft nur widerwillig*
Theo helps only unwillingly

Although in principle the argument of the verbs in (3) may remain implicit, its interpretation is not free but subject to selectional restrictions. So for instance the verb *öffnen* in its syntactically intransitive use restricts its implicit argument to the entrance to a room or locality. While (3b) may be satisfactorily substituted for (2b), (4b) is not a possible paraphrase of (4a).

- (4)
- a. *Theo öffnet gerade die Sardinendose*
Theo opens just the sardine tin
 - b. *Theo öffnet gerade* ≠ (4a)

A statement like (4b) is even impossible in a context from which the content of the argument can be inferred as in (5). In this case an overt pronoun is required. This means that the implicit argument of the verb is not accessible for an anaphoric relation to some suitable antecedent in the discourse environment.

- (5) *Theo hat eine Sardinendose gekauft. Er öffnet *(sie) gerade.*
Theo has a sardine tin bought He opens (it) just

Verbs which occur in reduced parentheticals may impose selectional restrictions on their clausal complement, too. These restrictions affect the determination of the sentence mood of the complement. The verbs *glauben*, *meinen*, (to believe) for instance, require a declarative complement and are incompatible with an interrogative.

- (6)
- a. **Paul glaubt/meint wer mit seinem Hund kam*
Paul believes who with his dog came
 - b. *Paul glaubt/meint daß Karl mit seinem Hund kam*
Paul believes that Karl with his dog came

However, selectional restrictions by the verb do not apply in the case of a reduced parenthetical.

- (7) a. *wer kam – glaubt/meint Paul – mit seinem Hund?*
 who came believes Paul with his dog
 b. *wer kam – so glaubt/meint Paul – mit seinem Hund?*
 who came so believes Paul with his dog
 c. *wer kam – wie Paul glaubt/meint – mit seinem Hund?*
 who came as Paul believes with his dog

The ineffectualness of selectional restrictions raises doubts as to the representation of the verb's complement by an implicit argument. The fact that the host clause is anaphorically linked to the argument of the parenthetical's verb does not accord with the properties of an implicit argument, either.

3 Copy Account (to be rejected)

Let us next turn to the second possible account in terms of a phonologically unpronounced copy of the host clause contained in the parenthetical clause. (8) represents the string of terminal elements of the sentence in (1a)³.

- (8) *Theo kam – sagt Paul ~~Theo kam mit seinem Hund~~ – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo came says Paul with his dog

Although the facts about the interpretation namely that the statement of the host is attributed to the parenthetical's subject are captured, this account faces the same objections concerning the selectional requirements by the verb as pointed out in the previous section. In (9) the interrogative complement clause does not meet the restriction imposed by the verb *meinen*.

- (9) *wer kam – meint Paul ~~wer kam mit seinem Hund~~ – mit seinem Hund?*
 who came believes Paul with his dog

Furthermore, the claim that the complete host clause is interpreted as the parenthetical verb's complement must be relativized. In cases like those in (1) this interpretation is most natural. In (1) each host clause contains only one parenthetical. However, multiple insertion of reduced parentheticals into one host is also possible. In this case the whole construction is interpreted as, for instance, a résumé of a number of assertions made by different speakers. These assertions need not be completely identical. It is only necessary that the speakers refer to an identical event. Hence, (10a) is possible in the face of statements like (10b-d).

- (10) 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 today come
 d. Karl: *jemand ist mit seinem Hund gekommen*
 someone has with his dog come

³ The unpronounced copy is crossed out in the following examples.

If, on the other hand, it is intended to express that an identical statement is made by three different individuals this is most naturally achieved by inserting one parenthetical with a coordinated subject into the host clause as in (11).

- (11) *Theo ist – sagen Paul, Fritz und Karl – heute mit seinem Hund gekommen*
 Theo has say Paul, Fred and Karl today with his dog come

It is obvious that the differing interpretations of the verb's complements in (10a) cannot emerge from an identical copy of the host clause inside the three parentheticals.

4 Empty/Incorporated Pronoun

Anaphoric relations across clause boundaries are regularly established by pronominal elements. Pronominals may also remain silent in certain contexts, as in pro-drop languages. Therefore the representation of the complement of the parenthetical verb by an empty pronominal is worth considering.

In the first place this account is justified by the fact that a reduced parenthetical may be freely substituted by a parenthetical with an overt pro-form. Apart from possible pragmatic effects, the interpretation of both variants is the same. The counterparts of (1) with an overt pronominal expressing the parenthetical verb's complement are listed in (12).

- (12) a. *Theo kommt – Paul hat es gesagt – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes Paul has it said with his dog
 b. *Theo kommt – so hat Paul es gesagt – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes so has Paul it said with his dog
 c. *Theo kommt – wie Paul es gesagt hat – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes as Paul it said has with his dog

In the previous section it is pointed out that there is some flexibility in the anaphoric relation of the complement to the host which is evident in multiple parenthetical constructions. The very same flexibility persists if the complement is realized by an overt pronominal.

- (13) a. *Theo ist heute – Fritz sagt es – mit seinem Hund – Karl sagt es – gekommen*
 Theo is today Fred says it with his dog Carl says it come
 b. Fritz: *Theo ist heute gekommen*
 Theo has today come
 c. Karl: *jemand ist mit seinem Hund gekommen*
 someone has with his dog come

In order to represent the complement, an empty pronoun within the c-structure representation of the parenthetical may be employed. LFG provides for an alternative representation at the level of f-structure alone, which will be elaborated in the following.

In the case of verb-first reduced parentheticals an alternative approach based on topic drop (Huang 1984, Sternefeld 1987) might be proposed. In German, topic drop is possible with subject and object functions.

- (14) A: *was ist mit Theo?*
 what is with Theo (what about Theo)
 B: *ist gerade weggegangen* subject-drop
 has just left
 B: *habe ich gerade getroffen* object-drop
 have I just met

Topic drop is also available with sentential complements alternating with a subject or an object.

- (15) A: *daß Fritz kommt hat Theo überrascht*
 that Fred comes has Theo surprised
 B: *hat mich ebenfalls überrascht* subject-drop
 has me also surprised
- (16) A: *Theo hat gesagt daß Fritz kommt*
 Theo has said that Fred comes
 B: *hat Paul ebenfalls gesagt* object-drop
 has Paul also said

However, it is impossible with other functions than subject and object. Namely, obliques are excluded from topic drop. This restriction also holds of sentential complements which alternate with an oblique function.

- (17) A: *Theo hat Paul (darüber) informiert daß Fritz kommt*
 Theo has Paul (correlative Prn) informed that Fred comes
 B: *??hat mich ebenfalls informiert*
 has me also informed
- (18) A: *Theo hat sich (darüber) beschwert daß Fritz kommt*
 Theo has refl. (correlative Prn) complained that Fred comes
 B: **habe ich mich gefreut*
 have I refl. enjoyed

If an account of verb-first reduced parentheticals in terms of topic drop were suitable, verbs like *informieren*, *sich beschweren*, which either take an oblique PP or a clausal complement, would be expected to be incompatible with this construction. As the examples in (19) show this is not the case.

- (19) a. *Theo kommt – informiert uns Paul – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes informs us Paul with his dog
 b. *Theo kommt – beschwert sich Paul – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes complains refl. Paul with his dog
 c. *Theo kommt – freut sich Paul – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes enjoys refl. Paul with his dog

Apart from the fact that a topic drop analysis cannot be extended to verb-second and verb-final parentheticals since in both cases the SpecCP position is filled, it is not capable of covering the facts about verb-first parentheticals in a consistent way.

5 A Possible Objection against a Syntactic Representation

As pointed out by Jonas Kuhn (p.c.) a possible objection against a syntactic representation of the complement of the *verba dicendi et sentiendi* in reduced parentheticals may arise from certain parenthetical constructions in German whose predicate is formed by verbs that do not denote speech acts or thoughts at all. The parenthetical is functionally complete in these cases. So, for instance, the host clause of the parenthetical construction in (20) is interpreted as an utterance by the referent of the parenthetical's subject although the verb *hereinstürzen* (*to rush in*) is a verb of movement.

- (20) *Theo kommt – stürzte Arthur zur Tür herein – mit seinem Hund!*
Theo comes rushed Arthur to the door in with his dog

It is obvious that in the case of (20) the attribution of the utterance of the host to *Arthur* cannot be mediated by the parenthetical's predicate. Instead, some other pragmatic advice has to be postulated in order to achieve this interpretation. If some non-syntactic account is necessary anyway then, one may argue, it should be possible to extend it to reduced parentheticals as well.

A common characteristic of (20) and (1a) obtains with respect to the structure of the parenthetical clauses. Both are apparent verb-first clauses, in both cases the sentence mood is declarative instead of interrogative. The latter fact, by the way, confirms the assumption that the sentence mood of the verb-first parenthetical is determined independently of the non overt representation of the verb's complement.

Nevertheless, constructions like (20) diverge from reduced parentheticals as in (1) to an extent that casts doubt on a unified analysis of both types. For example, multiple insertion which is possible with reduced parentheticals, do not seem as natural with functionally complete ones. (21) sounds a bit odd.

- (21) *?Theo will – erhob sich Paul vom Stuhl – heute – stürzte Arthur zur Tür herein*
Theo wants raised refl.Paul from the chair today rushed Arthur to the door in
mit seinem Hund kommen.
with his dog come

(21) becomes completely acceptable if one or the other parenthetical is cancelled.

A second more substantial divergence concerns the determination of sentence mood of the host clause. Subjunctive mood of the host is compatible with a parenthetical containing a *verbum dicendi*, but it is unsuitable with a functionally complete one.

- (22) *Theo komme – sagt Paul – mit seinem Hund*
Theo comes_{subjunct} says Paul with his dog

- (23) *??Theo komme – stürzte Arthur zur Tür herein – mit seinem Hund*
Theo comes_{subjunct} rushed Arthur to the door in with his dog

Finally certain adverbs and focus particles which may occur freely within a reduced parenthetical are excluded from functionally complete ones.

- (24) a. *Theo kommt – behauptet* sicherlich (auch) *Paul – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes claims certainly also Paul with his dog
 b. *Theo kommt – glaubt* vielleicht (sogar) *Paul – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes believes perhaps even Paul with his dog
- (25) a. *??Theo kommt – stürzte* sicherlich (auch) *Paul zur Tür herein – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes rushed certainly also Paul to the door in with his dog
 b. *??Theo kommt – erhebt sich* vielleicht (sogar) *Paul – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes raises refl. perhaps even Paul with his dog

An adjunct to a functionally complete parenthetical, if possible, does only modify the event denoted by the verb (*stürzte* in (26b)) but not the mode of utterance of the host.

- (26) a. *Theo kommt – sagte Paul hastig – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes said Paul hasty with his dog
 b. *Theo kommt – stürzte Paul hastig zur Tür herein – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes rushed Paul hasty to the door in with his dog

Functionally complete parentheticals a in (20) obviously lack properties of a complementation structure which, on the other hand, are common with parentheticals that contain a complement taking verb. Furthermore, the interpretation of the host in its relation to the parenthetical resembles adjunction much more than complementation. The example in (20), for instance, may be paraphrased by (27).

- (27) *Mit dem Aufschrei: Theo kommt mit seinem Hund! stürzte Arthur zur Tür herein*
 with the shout Theo comes with his dog rushed Arthur to the door in

The adjunct in (27), as well as the host clause in (20), modify the event denoted by the parenthetical. Adjunction may also account for the *reported speech* reading which is obligatory with functionally complete parentheticals. It is not the propositional content of the host but the act of uttering it which qualifies the Modification of the parenthetical event. Reduced parentheticals, however, like true complementation structures are not restricted to this reading.

6 Implementation

As argued in section 4, the complement of the parenthetical predicate equals a pronominal complement apart from phonological realization. This parallelism can be modelled by an empty pronominal element in the c-structure representation of the parenthetical. In an LFG mode of representation, however, it is more suitable to represent this pronominal solely in the parenthetical's f-structure representation. For certain cases of pro-drop languages, for instance, an account in terms of pronoun incorporation has been proposed by Bresnan (2001). According to this analysis, agreement morphology on the verb provides an f-structure value for the verb's SUBJ function.

In the absence of object-agreement in German, pronoun incorporation by the parenthetical's verb seems unavailable.⁴ Since the non overt realization of the propositional argument de-

⁴ But notice that an account in terms of pronoun incorporation might be pursued with reference to the morphological form of the pronominal *es*, which may occur in the parenthetical construction under consideration (cf. (12)). This pronominal element may also function as an expletive filling the SpecCP of a clause if no discourse function is defined or as a correlative element if a complement clause is extraposed (cf. Ber-

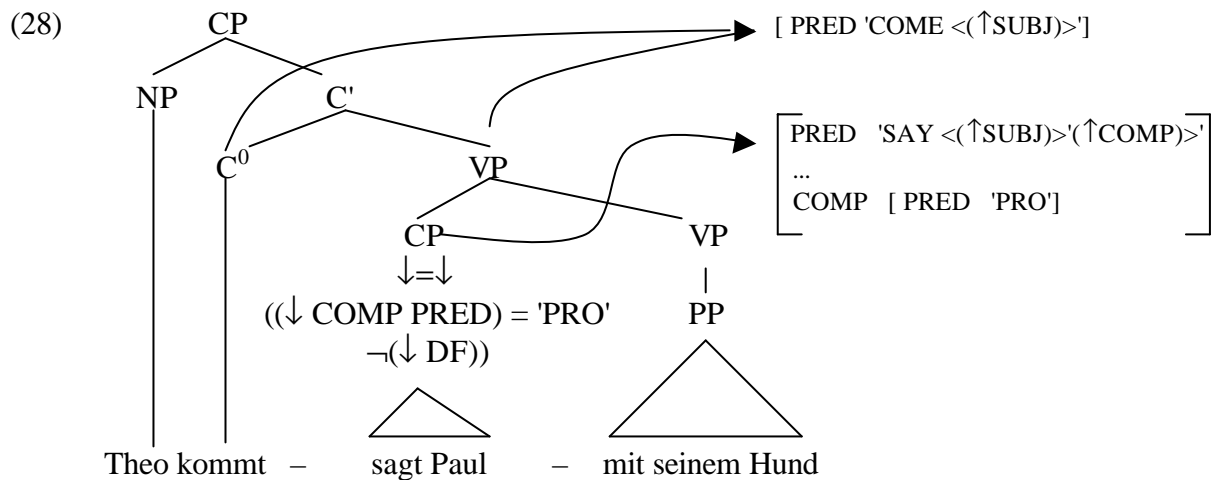
depends on the specific construction, the value of the respective function has to be structurally introduced by functional annotation of the c-structure node dominating the parenthetical.

Before going into details of the analysis proposed here, a remark on the structural relation of the parenthetical to the host is appropriate. As argued in Fortmann (2005) two types of clausal parentheticals have to be differentiated with respect to their structural integration into the host. Verb-first and verb-second parentheticals share a common c-structure representation with their host. Their f-structure representation, however, is not part of the host's f-structure. The functional dissociation is mediated by annotating a functional equation of the form $\downarrow=\downarrow$ to the node dominating the parenthetical string. This annotation prevents the f-structure of the parenthetical from unification with the host's f-structure as well as from embedding it as the value of an f-structure attribute.

Verb-final parentheticals, on the other hand, are regular constituents, which constitute integral parts of the c-structure as well as the f-structure of the host. Their corresponding f-structure is embedded into the host's f-structure as a member of its ADJUNCT's set value.

6.1 Verb-first reduced Parentheticals

In the case of a verb-first parenthetical as in (1a) an optional annotation is added to the dominating CP-node in (28). This annotation has two components. There is a defining equation which defines the PRED value of the verbs COMP function. The restriction to verb-first structure in this type of parenthetical is captured by a negative constraint which excludes a discourse function in the parenthetical's f-structure and, as a consequence, prohibits the occurrence of any constituent in SpecCP.

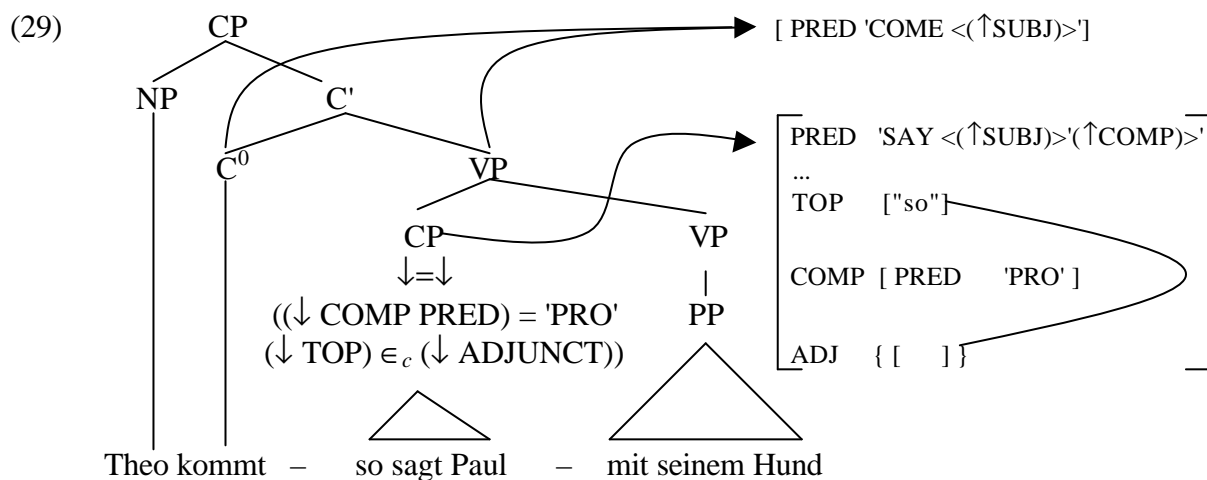


The interpretation of the host as the complement of the verb *sagt* (*say*) is mediated by the anaphoric relation of the COMP function's PRED value to the f-structure of the host clause. Since a deictic use of a pronominal is generally not possible with propositional arguments, the pronominal PRED value has to be linked to the next accessible f-structure.

man (2003)). *es* exhibits default specification of person (3. pers.) and number (sg.). It might be argued that a verb governing a COMP function is capable of defining the default agreement features of an incorporated pronominal.

6.2 Verb-second reduced Parentheticals

With respect to its structural relation to the host, a reduced verb-second parenthetical as in (1b) is on a par with a verb-first parenthetical. Its corresponding f-structure is not integrated into the f-structure of the host. The definition and the value of the verbs COMP function is likewise provided by the optional annotation of the parenthetical CP node. However, a distributional peculiarity of the reduced verb-second parenthetical has to be observed. Reduced verb-second parentheticals are only possible with a pronominal adverb *so* filling the preverbal SpecCP position.⁵ Hence, the TOP function of a reduced parenthetical is excluded from unification with a governable grammatical function. Instead, this function has to be unified with a member of an ADJUNCT function. This is also justified by the interpretation. In the case of a *so*-parenthetical the literal utterance of the host is attributed to the parenthetical's subject. The proadverb *so*, which refers to the form of the host, simultaneously modifies the parenthetical's predicate.⁶ The c- and f-structure representation is given in (29).



6.3 Verb-final reduced Parentheticals

As already mentioned, verb-final *wie*-parentheticals are functionally integrated into the host. In contrast to the verb-second *so*-parenthetical, no restrictions have to be imposed on the lexical choice of the adverb. Instead of *wie* (as), temporal and local adverbs may occur in the clause initial position of the parenthetical. The optional overt pronoun *es* in (30b/c) confirms the parallelism between reduced and functional complete parentheticals also in these cases.

⁵ It is impossible to reverse the order of *so* and *Paul* in (1b):

(i) **Theo kommt – Paul sagt so – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes Paul says so with his dog

⁶ The annotation proposed in (29) is necessary as far as the functional specification is concerned. It is not sufficient to determine the lexical choice of the proadverb *so*. This choice seems to depend on some general pragmatic conditions on the interpretation of this type of construction.

- (32) a. **Theo kam – bestreite ich – mit seinem Hund* (subject: 1.pers)
 Theo came deny I with his dog
 b. **Theo kam – sage ich nicht – mit einem Hund*
 Theo came say I not with his dog
 c. **Theo kam – bestreitet Paul – mit seinem Hund* (subject: 3.pers)
 Theo came denies Paul with his dog
 d. **Theo kam – sagt Paul nicht – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo came says Paul not with his dog

In (32) both the assertion of the host and the assertion of the parenthetical are attributed to the speaker. The assertion of the parenthetical, however, implies the refusal of (the truth) the host clause. The divergence of (32) seems to indicate that some condition on discourse coherence is offended. An assertion present in the discourse cannot be refused unless the refusal is explicitly marked.⁸

If the complement is expressed by an overt pronominal *es*, a negative predicate like *bestreiten* (*to deny*) is incompatible with a first person subject. Negative predicates with a second or third person subject and negated predicates in general are more acceptable than their counterparts in a reduced parenthetical. Yet a contrastive accent on either the verb or possibly some other constituent is necessary to make them fully acceptable.

- (33) a. **Theo kam – ich bestreite es – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo came I deny it with his dog
 b. ??*Theo kam – ich sage es nicht – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo came I say it not with his dog
 c. ??*Theo kam – Paul bestreitet es – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo came Paul denies it with his dog
 d. ??*Theo kam – Paul sagt es nicht – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo came Paul says it not with his dog

We will return to cases like (33b-d) immediately. Before, a second characteristic restriction has to be considered. Contrasting sentence adverbs like *allerdings/jedoch* (*however*) are incompatible with a reduced parenthetical.

- (34) a. **Theo kommt – sage ich allerdings/jedoch – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes say I however with his dog
 b. **Theo kommt – sagt allerdings/jedoch Fritz – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes says however Fred with his dog

Adverbs such as *jedenfalls* cannot occur in an isolated statement, anyway. They require some previous utterance in the discourse. They mark a contrast between these two statements. This contrast may result from the fact that the preceding statement is refused or otherwise modified. In (34), however, the statement attributed to the subject of the parenthetical and the statement of the host are identical. Likewise the parenthetical verb *sagen* denotes the same

⁸ Such a requirement is not peculiarity of for parentheticals. If in a discourse a statement is negated by a following one at least contrastive stress on the verb or some other constituent of the following sentence is required.

action as is performed by uttering the host. Hence no contrast obtains between the parenthetical and its host.

The examples listed in (33b-d) with an overt pronominal complement improve considerably if a contrasting *jedoch* is inserted into the parenthetical and the main verb is stressed as indicated by small capitals in (35).

- (35) a. *Theo kommt – ich SAGE es **jedoch** nicht – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes I say it however not with his dog
 b. *Theo kommt – Fritz SAGT es **jedoch** nicht – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes Fred says it however not with his dog
 c. *Theo kommt – Fritz BESTREITET es **jedoch** – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes Fred denies it however with his dog

In all three cases the presence of the contrasting adverb is licensed by the negation or the negative predicate respectively and by the contrasting stress.

Furthermore, the interpretation of (35a/b) involves the disambiguation of the verb *sagen*. This verb means either *to utter a statement* or *to claim*. The subject of the verb is committed to the truth of the statement in the latter but not in the former case. The example in (35a) is only compatible with the first reading (*to utter*). In the case of (35b) this reading is at least preferred. The referents of the parenthetical's subjects do not deny the truth of the host (this would be contradictory in the case of (35a)), but they do not utter it. In the case of (35c) the refusal of the host, which is uttered by the speaker, is attributed to the parenthetical's subject. Since the referent of the subject and the speaker are not identical no contradiction arises.

Surprisingly the examples (32b-d) with a reduced parenthetical do not improve if *jedoch* is inserted and the main verb is stressed.

- (36) a. *??Theo kommt – SAGE ich **jedoch** nicht – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes say I however not with his dog
 b. **Theo kommt – SAGT Fritz **jedoch** nicht – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes says Fred however not with his dog
 c. **Theo kommt – BESTREITET Fritz **jedoch** – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes denies Fred however with his dog

Prima facie (35) and (36) only differ with respect to the structural encoding of the parenthetical verb's complement, which is overt in (35) but not in (36).

But it is not the overt expression of the complement alone which distinguishes (35) from (36). In (35) the overt pronominal precedes the contrasting sentence adverb. As the examples in (37) demonstrate, this is indispensable. If the adverb precedes the pronominal, we obtain ungrammatical sentences.

- (37) a. **Theo kommt – ich SAGE **jedoch** es nicht – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes I say however it not with his dog
 b. **Theo kommt – Fritz SAGT **jedoch** es nicht – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes Fred says however it not with his dog
 c. **Theo kommt – Fritz BESTREITET **jedoch** es – mit seinem Hund*
 Theo comes Fred denies however it with his dog

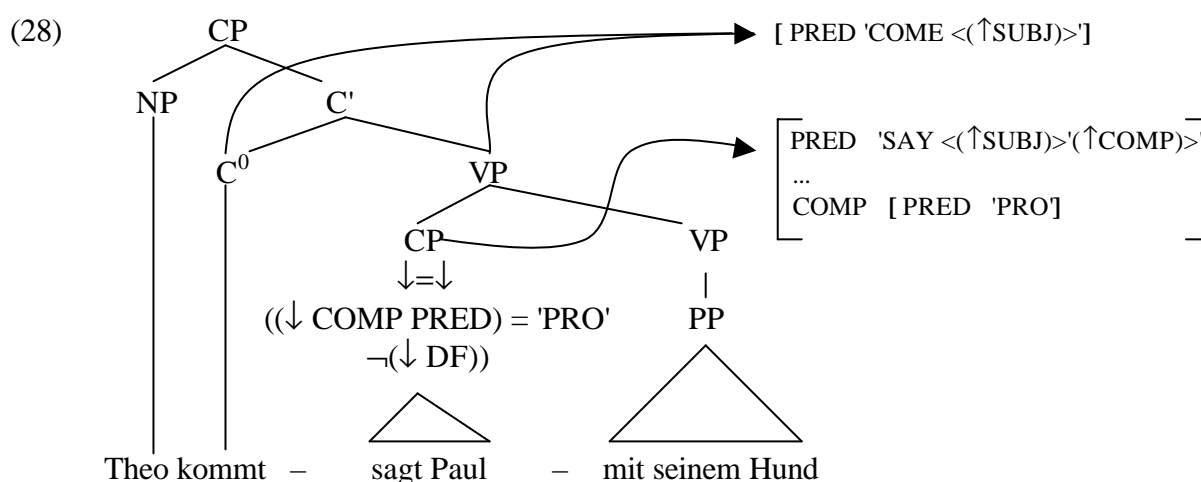
The divergence of (37) cannot emerge from a general ban on pronominal *es* in a position which is preceded by a sentence adverb. The second sentence in (38) is grammatical.

- (38) der Bulle ist aus dem Stall ausgebrochen. Theo hat *freundlicherweise* es mitgeteilt
the bull has from the stable escaped. Theo has kindly it told

In order to account for the fact that the position of the pronominal *es* affects the grammaticality of the sentence, we have to determine a grammatical specification which depends on the position preceding the position of the sentence adverb.

The position preceding the sentence adverb has been identified as an (*aboutness*) *topic position* by Frey (2004). We may assume that the pronominal *es* can occupy this position in (35) but not in (36). Notwithstanding the precise formulation of the structural conditions on the encoding of the associated topic function, it is clear that the complement of the parenthetical verb can only be associated with this function if the pronominal occupies the appropriate position. If the pronominal follows the adverb the topic function cannot be defined.

This reasoning also provides us with an explanation of the divergence of the examples in (36). On the one hand, in the absence of an overt pronominal in the appropriate position an aboutness topic cannot be defined as in the cases of (35). On the other hand, the optional annotation of the parenthetical in (28), repeated below, only provides an argument function, which is necessary to meet the completeness condition with respect to the parenthetical verb, but no additional discourse function.



After this sketch of an explanation of the structural conditions which differentiate the parenthetical constructions in (35) on the one hand, from constructions as in (36) and (37) on the other, we can turn to the question why the adverb *jedoch* requires the pronominal argument of the verb to be marked as a topic.

As pointed out above, this kind of adverb marks a contrast which obtains between two statements. In the case of (35) a contrast has to be established between the statement of the host and the statement of the parenthetical, which are both attributed to the speaker. The anaphoric relation of the pronominal complement of the parenthetical verb to the host by itself does only identify their respective content. It does not express that the host has actually been uttered in the discourse. However, by marking the pronominal as a topic of the parenthetical the content of the host is explicitly marked as the subject at issue and it can be inferred that a respective statement is already present in the discourse. Thereby the pragmatic licensing conditions on the contrasting adverb are optimally met.

The preceding discussion only considers restrictions on verb-first parentheticals. Similar restrictions can be observed with the two other types, verb-second and verb-final parentheticals.

They await further investigation. But an analysis seems promising which takes into account the structural conditions on the construction and the lexical semantics of the chosen lexical elements, in particular of the adverbs *so* and *wie*, and pragmatic conditions.

8 Summary

Based on parallels between reduced parentheticals and their counterparts containing an overt pronominal complement a syntactic representation of the missing complement of reduced *verba dicendi* parentheticals is proposed. Analogous to the case of pronoun incorporation, the locus of representation is the *f*structure which corresponds to the parenthetical CP. The definition of the verb's COMP function value is provided by an optional annotation of the parenthetical CP. Structural peculiarities of the three types of reduced parentheticals – verb-first, verb-second and verb-final parentheticals – concerning the specifier position of the CP are captured by additional constraints. Certain restrictions on the choice of the parenthetical verb and its constituents are attributed to the interaction of pragmatic conditions on this type of parenthetical constructions and their syntactic representation.

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