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Author(s): James Griffiths

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# Parenthetical verb constructions, fragment answers, and constituent modification

**James Griffiths**

**Abstract** I argue that *parenthetical verb clauses* (PVCs) (Urmson in Mind 1952) such as *John reckons, I confess*, and *she hopes* always *modify* (that is, 'have an interpretative effect upon') propositions that may express illocutionary force. I illustrate that the apparent ability of PVCs to modify subclausal constituents is illusory, and that insights into how PVCs interact with the proposition that they modify are gained from exploring the syntactic mechanisms that maintain this illusion—the most important of which is the insight that constructions in which a PVC is observed modifying a subclausal constituent are best understood as *fragment amalgams*.

**Keywords** Amalgamation · Fragment answers · Parenthetical verbs · PF-deletion

## 1 Introduction

The italicised clauses in (1) may be interpreted as mitigating the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition denoted by the clause that follows it (see Simons 2007 and references therein).

(1)  a.  {*I think / I'm told*} Pete and Lucy are coming to the party.
     b.  {*Pete$_i$ reckons / Pete$_i$ says*} he$_i$ and Lucy are coming to the party.[1]

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[1] The following sub/superscripting conventions are adopted: subscripted numbers denote syntactic movement, and subscripted letters denote coreference. When a moved XP also corefers with another element, superscripted letters are employed. For example, in (i) XP has moved and corefers with YP, which has not moved.

(i)     [YP$^i$ [XP$^i_1$ ... $t_1$]].

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J. Griffiths (✉)
CLCG, Groningen, The Netherlands
e-mail: j.e.griffiths@rug.nl

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Urmson (1952) calls this interpretation of such clauses their *parenthetical use*, and dubs such clauses *parenthetical verb clauses* (PVCs). Although typically found in an initial position, PVCs may also linearly follow or interpolate into the phrase they *modify* (that is, 'have an interpretative effect upon') (2).

(2)    a.    Pete and Lucy are coming to the party, {*I think* / *I'm told*}.
       b.    Pete$_i$ and Lucy are, {*he$_i$ reckons* / *he$_i$ says*}, coming to the party.

*Parenthetical use* is not restricted to the mitigation of epistemic commitment. PVCs may also express the speaker's emotional stance towards the modified clause (3a), (4a) or express the illocutionary force with which the speaker intends to convey the modified clause (3b), (4b). Note that (1), (3a), (4a), and (3b), (4b) do not denote discrete pragmatic classes, but represent positions on a cline (Urmson 1952:486; Schneider 2007:243) of what Rooryck (2001) calls *evidential meanings*.

(3)    a.    {*I hope* / *I pray* / *I fear*} John will be late.
       b.    {*I admit* / *I confess* / *I concede*} John will be late.

(4)    a.    John will, {*I hope* / *I pray* / *I fear*}, be late.
       b.    John will, {*I admit* / *I confess* / *I concede*}, be late.

PVCs are not restricted to modifying declarative clauses. They may also modify interrogatives (5), (6), where they function to modify the addressee's response. Thus, declarative-PVCs (*DECL-PVCs*) and interrogative-PVCs (*INT-PVCs*) can be delimited.

(5)    a.    {*Do you reckon* / *does the Chancellor expect*} the economy will recover?
       b.    Who {*do the police now admit* / *does the Home Office concede*} has been falsely accused?
       c.    Who {*do the Mancunians hope* / *do the bookkeepers pray*} will win the football league tomorrow?

(6)    a.    Will the economy, {*do you reckon* / *does the Chancellor expect*}, recover?
       b.    Who has, {*do the police now admit* / *does the Home Office concede*}, been falsely accused?
       c.    Who will, {*do the Mancunians hope* / *do the bookies fear*}, win the football league tomorrow?

Even though the modified clauses in (1) and (3) display root clause properties (Emonds 1976; Heycock 2006), they are conventionally—though not exclusively—analysed as the syntactic sister of the parenthetical verb (Emonds 1976, 2004, 2012; De Cuba 2007, among others) (7a).[2] This *subordination* analysis is typically extended to the modified clauses in (5), too (7b).

(7)    a.    [$_{CP1}$ *I think* [$_{CP2}$ John and Bill are coming to the party]].
       b.    [$_{CP1}$ *Do you reckon* [$_{CP2}$ the economy will ever recover]]?

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[2] The possibility that *Pete and Lucy are coming to the party* is not the sister of *think/told/reckon/say* in (1) has been entertained, notably by Den Besten (1977) and Reis (1997).

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PVCs that follow or interpolate into the clause they modify have, in recent years, been analysed as paratactically related to the clause they modify. A paratactic analysis maintains that the parenthetical verb and the modified clause are not syntactic sisters (8) (for recent proposals, see Reis 1995, 2000, 2002; Steinbach 2007; Fortmann 2007; Van Maastricht 2011).[3] PVCs that do not directly c-select for the modified clause are understood as syntactically *paratactic*, while the clause they modify is understood as the PVC's *host*.

(8)  a.  [[$_{CP2}$ John and Bill are coming to the party], [$_{CP1}$ *I think*]].
     b.  [$_{CP2}$ John and Bill are, [$_{CP1}$ *I think*], coming to the party].
     c.  [[$_{CP2}$ Will the economy recover], [$_{CP1}$ *do you reckon*]]?
     d.  [$_{CP2}$ Will the economy, [$_{CP1}$ *do you reckon*], recover]?

Thus, it seems important to separate parenthetical **use** from parenthetical **syntax**. While all PVCs display a parenthetical use, from a syntactic perspective one can distinguish between two types of PVCs, *subordinating parenthetical verb clauses* (SUB-PVCs), and *paratactic parenthetical verb clauses* (PAR-PVCs).

The aim of this paper is to decide whether the PVCs observed in (9) and (10) are SUB-PVCs or PAR-PVCs (where SMALL CAPS denotes nuclear prosodic prominence below).

(9)      A:   What has John bought?
     a.  B:   *I reckon* a GIFT.
     b.  B:   A GIFT, *I think*.
     c.  B:   A gift, *I hope*, for MARY.

(10)  a.  John and [*they say* his WIFE] are coming to the party together.
      b.  John and [his WIFE *I concede*] are coming to the party together.
      c.  John and [his *I hope* WIFE] are coming to the party together.

The constructions in (9) are *fragment answer PVC* constructions. The interpretation of (9) is similar to the interpretation of (1) to (4), even though in (9) the modified proposition is denoted by a subclausal constituent. The constructions in (10) are *constituent PVC* constructions. Their interpretation is different: these PVCs modify a subclausal constituent. In (10a), for example, the PVC is interpreted as mitigating the speaker's commitment to having correctly identified the DP *his wife* from some contextually relevant set of possible accompaniers of *John*.

For such constructions, I will argue that:

(11)  a.  PVCs that linearly precede a modified fragment answer or constituent are SUB-PVCs.
      b.  PVCs that linearly interpolate into or follow a modified fragment answer or constituent are PAR-PVCs.

The statements listed in (11) runs contrary to the conclusions of Corver and Thiersch (2001). I apply the law of the excluded middle to reach the conclusions in (11).

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[3]*Contra* Ross (1973), Rooryck (2001), and Newmeyer (2012).

I demonstrate in Sect. 2 that PAR-PVCs that modify a clause (hereafter *clausal* PAR-PVCs) such as those in (8) display a distinct set of properties $\{p_1, \ldots, p_n\}$ in English, Dutch and German. I illustrate in Sect. 3 that Corver and Thiersch's (2001) analysis of fragment answer and constituent PVCs requires unwarranted alterations to $\{p_1, \ldots, p_n\}$ in order to accommodate as PAR-PVCs (9a) and (10a). To ensure that $\{p_1, \ldots, p_n\}$ remains unaltered, I deny that (9a) and (10a) are PAR-PVCs. Consequently, (9a) and (10a) must be SUB-PVCs. In Sects. 4–5, where my analysis of the syntax of fragment answer and constituent PVCs is presented, evidence is provided to support this view. Section 6 concludes.

## 2 Background: clausal PAR-PVCs

While utterance-initial clausal PVCs such as those in (7) require no introduction (especially if one adopts, as I do, the consensus view that they are superordinate clauses), some background information on clausal PAR-PVCs is required, so that one can make an informed assessment of the previous literature on fragment answer and constituent PVCs. After a more precise delimitation of clausal PAR-PVCs in Sect. 2.1, I sketch an account of how they and their hosts interact within the narrow syntax (Sect. 2.2). I then list the properties that distinguish clausal PAR-PVCs from clausal SUB-PVCs (Sect. 2.3).

### 2.1 The delimiting properties of clausal PAR-PVCs

Clausal PAR-PVCs form a proper subset of parenthetical clauses that may interpolate into or linearly follow their clausal host (hereafter *interpolating clauses*). Such interpolating clauses are PAR-PVCs if they modify clauses that may express illocutionary force. Provided pragmatic coherence is obtained, DECL-PAR-PVCs may modify assertions (as (1) and (4) illustrate), declarations, commissives, and optatives (*inter alia*) (12).

(12)  a.   I hereby name this ship the Paralus, {*I am happy to say* / * *I reckon*}.
      b.   I do swear that I will bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, {*I declare* / * *I hope*}.
      c.   Live long, {*I wish* / * *Mary tells me*}, and prosper!

Assertions can be conjoined (Krifka 1999), and certain 'peripheral' adverbial clauses may be asserted (Reis 2000; Haegeman 2006). DECL-PAR-PVs may modify such clauses (13).

(13)  a.   Harry kissed Chloe and [Sue$_i$, {*she$_i$ claims* / *I hope* / *I confess*}, kissed Nathan].
      b.   Zoë has eaten all the cream cakes, {whereas/while/when/(al)though} [Tom, {*I'm told* / *I fear* / *I concede*}, hasn't eaten any].

DECL-PAR-PVCs cannot interpolate into or follow clauses that cannot express illocutionary force, such as factive complements, clausal complements of nouns, clausal subjects, and temporal and conditional adverbial clauses (14) (where square brackets indicates the intended modified clause).

(14)   a.   *Pete denies that [Graham, {*I reckon / I hope / I admit*}, will be late].
       b.   *It was Mary$_1$ that [Sam, {*I'm told / I pray / I concede*}, kissed $t_1$].
       c.   *That [Jack, {*I hear / I hope / I recite*}, is absent] is unforgivable.
       d.   *Bob heard the rumour that [Kathy will, {*Mary says / I fear / I swear*}, be late].
       e.   *After [Richard$_i$ was, {*he$_i$ says / I pray / I confess*}, suspended from his job], he had a breakdown.
       f.   *Provided [Emma is, {*I'm convinced / I hope / I declare*}, of sound mind], she can return to work.
       g.   *Until [Paul is, {*they tell me / I fear / I assert*}, able to cope], we will have to suspend him.
       h.   *Before [Susan is, {*people are saying / I pray / I promise*}, able to return to work], her behaviour will need to be evaluated.

INT-PAR-PVCs modify clauses that denote erotetic acts (see (6)). Thus, INT-PAR-PVCs cannot modify [+Q]-typed complement clauses (15a) or clauses that, while comprising a part of the questioned proposition, cannot denote an independent erotetic act (15b).

(15)   a.   *Sean wonders whether [Ed will, {*do you reckon / admit / hope*}, be late].
       b.   *Will Eloise leave before [Andy, {*do you reckon / admit / hope*}, returns to the party]?

This distributional restriction on PAR-PVCs distinguishes them from other interpolating clauses that look similar to PVCs on the surface. The restriction excludes *subject-oriented* parentheticals (Reinhart 1983), which are often structurally indistinguishable from PAR-PVCs. Subject-oriented parentheticals interpolate into reported speech (16) (Reis 2000:11; Griffiths, to appear), and are consequently understood as expressing the opinions of the subject of the parenthetical clause (16a). *Inter alia*, PAR-PVCs and subject-oriented parentheticals are distinguished by their scope. Subject-oriented parentheticals must be interpreted as modifying the entire utterance in which they are observed, whereas PAR-PVCs need not (compare (14) and (17)).

(16)   a.   His$_i$ horrible boss is coming over later, *Trevor$_i$ says.*
            (*interpretation*: Trevor, and not the speaker, thinks that Trevor's boss is horrible.)
       b.   "My$_i$ horrible boss is coming over later," Trevor$_i$ says.
       c.   Who has, Lucille {*asks / wonders / ponders*} (to herself), taken her glass of wine?

(17)   a.   [That I$_i$ am well-liked at school, *Betty$_i$ thinks to herself*, comforts me$_i$.]
       b.   *[That I$_i$ am well-liked at school, *Betty$_i$ thinks to herself*], comforts her$_i$.

*As*-parentheticals are also excluded. They may modify any type of proposition (Potts 2002) and thus are not limited to modifying propositions that can express illocutionary force. This is illustrated by (18), where the *as*-parenthetical interpolates into a conditional (18a) and a factive clause (18b).

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(18)  a.   If [John, *as Fred claims*, plays drums], then he can audition for our band.
                                                                                    (conditional)
       b.   That [Ali is tough, *as Sid asserted*], surprises Dave a great deal.
                                                                                    (factive clause)

Another delimiting property of the PAR-PVCs under investigation here is that they
are *integrated*, in the sense of Reis (1995, 2000, 2002). An interpolating-clause is
integrated if, among other things (see Reis 2000:9–13 for an exhaustive list), it may
form a prosodic intonational domain with a constituent of the clause into which it in-
terpolates (Dehé 2007). That PAR-PVCs can be integrated excludes truly independent
parenthetical insertions such as those examined by Fortmann (2007). While such in-
sertions exhibit the same syntactic distribution and pragmatic functions as PAR-PVCs,
they obligatorily form an isolated intonational domain, and may display correlative
pronouns, while the PAR-PVCs under investigation here may not.

     I have now delimited PAR-PVCs according to their function, distribution and level
of integration. Of the varied types of interpolating clauses observed in English, Dutch
and German, these three properties sufficiently delimit PAR-PVCs from the rest.

## 2.2 The syntax of clausal PAR-PVCs

While no agreement has been reached regarding their internal make-up, there is
general accord that PAR-PVCs are CPs that contain transitive verbs whose object
$\theta$-role is either (i) assigned to a null proposition-denoting element that is con-
tained within the PVC, c-selected by the PVC verb, and which co-refers with the
host (according to Corver and Thiersch 2001; Fortmann 2007; and Van Maas-
tricht 2011), or (ii) discharged via a semantic licensing mechanism that links the
host and the PVC verb at the interpretative interface (according to Reis 2002;
Steinbach 2007). Like other parentheticals such as appositions and appositive rela-
tive clauses (cf. de Vries 2007), PAR-PVCs display what Potts (2005) calls *scopeless-
ness*—i.e. no narrow syntax relations can be established across the host/PAR-PVC
boundary. Thus, PAR-PVCs escape the scope of linearly preceding operators (19),
(20), and do not license binding dependencies that require c-command (21).

(19)   John won't be late, *I reckon*.
         *Interpretation*:      a.    $\text{reckon}(p, \text{I}) \land \neg[\text{will-be-late(John)}]$
                                b.    $*\neg[\text{reckon}(p, \text{I}) \land \text{will-be-late(John)}]$

(20)   John might, *I fear*, be late.
         *Interpretation*:      a.    $\text{fear}(p, \text{I}) \land \Diamond[\text{be-late(John)}]$
                                b.    $*\Diamond[\text{fear}(p, \text{I}) \land \text{be-late(John)}]$

(21)   a.   *Who$_1$ will John, $t_1$ *thinks*, be late?
       b.   John won't, {*everyone* / *\*anyone*} *thinks*, be late.
       c.   Billy has, [*every girl in the class*]$_i$ *admits*, a crush on her$_{k/*i}$.

Examples (19) to (21) raise the question of precisely how one should model scope-
lessness and simultaneously link PAR-PVCs and their hosts in the syntax.

A number of paratactic accounts have been proposed that address this issue, each requiring some addition to or amendment of the 'core' generative rules of grammar.[4] Such drastic amendment illustrates the necessity for modelling parataxis as a linguistic primitive that is distinct from hypotaxis.

For Potts (2005, esp. 103–117), parataxis should be modelled in terms of multidimensional semantics. Potts claims that if a parenthetical conventionally implicates the truth of a secondary proposition while leaving the content of the host clause unaltered, that parenthetical exhibits a different logical type to its host. In Potts' model, a parenthetical proposition is $t^c$, while a host proposition is $t^a$. This derives scopelessness, as a binder of one semantic type cannot bind a bindee of another, regardless of the syntactic c-command relations that may pertain between them. Thus, on Potts' approach, one may maintain that parentheticals are, from a syntactic perspective, regular clausal adjuncts.

To see whether PAR-PVCs can be classed as conventional implicatures (CIs), and thus can be accommodated into Potts' model, PAR-PVCs can be compared to *as*-parentheticals such as (22), which are, for Potts, exemplar CIs. Potts (2002:652) notes that *as*-parentheticals conventionally implicate the truth of the complement of *as*. Their lexical denotation is given in (23).

(22)  John will, *as Bill predicted*, be late.

(23)  **as** $= \lambda P \in D_{\langle\langle s,t\rangle,t\rangle} \, [\lambda p \in D_{\langle s,t\rangle} : P(p) \text{ is true } [p]]$          (Potts 2002:654)

According to (35), *as* performs a partial identity function, taking a set of propositions and returning a proposition that is true. Thus, *as* serves only to restrict the context (to contexts in which, in the case of (22), *that Bill predicted that John will be late* is true), and does not alter the truth-conditions of the host.

With respect to truth-conditional semantics, PAR-PVCs function identically to *as*-parentheticals. In the case of (24), *that John and Bill say that they are coming to the party* is implicated to be true, and the truth-conditions of the host are left unaltered by the presence of the PAR-PVC. PAR-PVCs differ only in that they take a more restricted input: sets of propositions that may express illocutionary force.

(24)  [John and Bill]$_i$ are, *they$_i$ say*, coming to the party.

While input restrictions prevent PAR-PVCs from obtaining CI-status, they do not exclude a multidimensional semantic analysis of PAR-PVCs similar to Potts' *per se*.[5] One could perhaps account for the distribution of PAR-PVCs by extending one's model to include speech-act predicates (see Krifka 2012) for which PAR-PVCs select.

In this paper I take a different tack altogether, and adopt an approach that accounts for scopelessness in terms of 'c-commandless' syntax. In light of recent research suggesting that parentheticals demand unidimensional semantics (AnderBois

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[4]See McCawley (1982), Haegeman (2009), Espinal (1991), and Ackema and Neeleman (2004:89–106). For a discussion of McCawley (1982), see Potts (2005:196–210). For an argument against Haegeman (2009) and Espinal (1991), see Griffiths and de Vries (2013).

[5]CI-status as defined in Potts (2005), at least. Potts (2005:92) himself rejects the idea that PAR-PVCs are CIs.

et al. 2011), this approach seems promising, as without multidimensional semantics scopelessness must be modelled elsewhere in the grammar.

Instead of adding a semantic primitive (i.e. $\tau^c$s) to the grammar, de Vries (2007, 2008, 2012) adds a syntactic primitive. De Vries argues for the addition of '*par*-Merge' to the set of Merger operations which, since Chomsky (2000), has included set-Merge and pair-Merge. The output of *par*-Merge $\alpha$, unlike the output of set-Merge or pair-Merge, does not dominate its input $\beta$ and $\gamma$. Consequently $\beta$ and $\gamma$ are not dominated by any nodes which come to dominate $\alpha$. Thus, *par*-Merge results in the absence of c-command. To restrict the free application of *par*-Merge, de Vries argues that *par*-Merge is permitted only when one of the inputs for *par*-Merge is the functional head *Par*. De Vries' account is thus more inclusive than Potts', as, for de Vries, a *par*-Merged XP need not be a CI. On de Vries' account, one may retain Potts' insight that the denotation of specific lexemes such *as* in *as*-parentheticals provides the interpretation of parentheticals as a secondary information (i.e. context-restrictors) without adopting Potts' distinction between $t^c$ and $t^a$ logical types.

De Vries' approach confers a number of additional benefits, two of which I now briefly outline. (For further advantages of this approach, see de Vries 2007, 2012, and Griffiths and de Vries 2013.) Firstly, that parenthetical constituents can be construed recursively—the hallmark of syntax—is naturally explained on de Vries' approach (25), as *par*-Merge, like regular Merge, can utilise as its input a previous output of *par*-Merge.

(25)  I still owe Anna—and Anna, who hit Joop, an unpleasant guy, as you know, disappeared last night—250 dollars.                                    (de Vries 2012)

Secondly, the existence of Par provides a syntactic locus for parenthetical coordinators (26); coordinators that clearly do not display the same lexical semantics as their logical '∧' and '∨' counterparts.[6]

(26)  a.   The United States of America, *or* America for short...
       b.   You could cut the atmosphere with a knife, *and* a blunt knife at that.
                                                                        (Heringa 2012:144)

By adopting de Vries' approach, one may account for scopelessness while retaining the core assumptions that (i) syntax proceeds by successive application of Merge, (ii) linear order reflects (to a large degree) syntactic structure, and (iii) the post-

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[6] The distribution of parenthetical coordinators is *terra incognita*. Only certain types of parenthetical insertions may employ them, and very often the choice of coordinator is restricted by the type of parenthetical. For instance, the apposition in (26a) cannot display the parenthetical conjoiner *and*; it appears to select only for *or* (see (i)). Integrated parentheticals do not permit the use of a coordinator. The example in (ii) illustrates that PVCs are interpreted as unintegrated when a parenthetical coordinator is displayed. Integrated parentheticals without an unintegrated counterpart are rendered unacceptable if a parenthetical coordinator is employed (iii).

(i)     *The United States of America, *and America for short*...
(ii)     John will—*or so Mary tells me*—be late.
(iii)    *John will, {*and/or/but*} as Mary predicted, be late.

syntactic interfaces are *interpretative* only (i.e. no reordering transformations may occur there) (Chomsky 1995).

On de Vries' approach, clausal PAR-PVCs are derived as in (27) and (28). Here, the input for *par*-Merge is Par and the PVC (where I use angular brackets to represent *par*-Merge). The output is ParP. ParP then pair-Merges to the host clause. In each case, the position of adjunction is semantically irreleva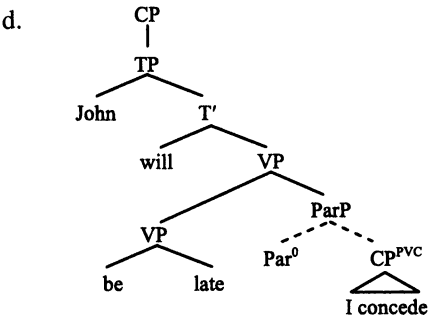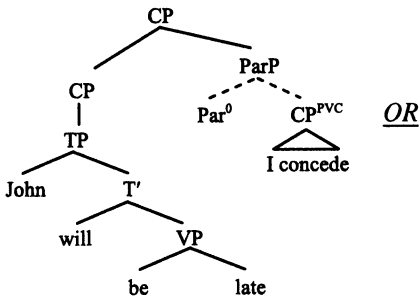nt, as the co-indexation of the PVC's object variable and the host clause (either at LF, following Reis 2002 and Steinbach 2007, or across the discourse, following Corver and Thiersch 2001), ensures that the PVC is correctly interpreted with the widest scope.

(27)   John will, *I fear*, be late.
   $[_{CP} [_{TP}$ John will $[_{VP} <_{ParP}$ Par$^0$ $[_{CP}$$^{PVC}$ I fear$]>$ $[_{VP}$ be late$]]]]$.

```
        CP
        |
        TP                      (where ---- represents par-Merge)
       /  \
   John    T'
          /  \
       will    VP
             /    \
         ParP      VP
        /   \     /   \
    Par⁰  CPᴾⱽᶜ  be   late
           △
        I fear
```

(28)   John will be late, *I concede*.
   a.   $[_{CP} [_{CP} [_{TP}$ John will $[_{VP}$ be late$]]]$ $<_{ParP}$ Par$^0$ $[_{CP}$$^{PVC}$ I concede$]>]$. *OR*
   b.   $[_{CP} [_{TP}$ John will $[_{VP} [_{VP}$ be late$]$ $<_{ParP}$ Par$^0$ $[_{CP}$$^{PVC}$ I concede$]>]]]$.
   c.
```
                 CP
                /  \
           CP       ParP
           |       /   \
           TP    Par⁰   CPᴾⱽᶜ    OR
          /  \          △
      John    T'     I concede
             /  \
          will   VP
                /  \
              be   late
```
   d.
```
           CP
           |
           TP
          /  \
      John    T'
             /  \
          will    VP
                 /    \
              VP       ParP
             /  \     /   \
           be  late Par⁰  CPᴾⱽᶜ
                          △
                       I concede
```

## 2.3 SUB-PVCs vs. PAR-PVCs

As mentioned in Sect. 1, I adopt here the orthodox view that utterance-initial PVC verbs c-select for the clause they precede (they are SUB-PVCs), while utterance-medial or utterance-final PVC verbs do not (they are PAR-PVCs). Under such an approach, one can delimit a number of properties associated with 'SUB-PVC' and 'PAR-PVC' status.

Firstly, Dutch and German PAR-PVCs display obligatory subject-verb inversion (29).[7] This inversion is prohibited in their SUB-PVC counterparts (30).

(29)  a.  Ich habe, {*muss ich gestehen* / * *ich muss gestehen*}, nicht alle Seiten
          I    have   must I   confess    I    must confess    not   all   pages
          gelesen.                                                               *German*
          read
          'I have, *I must confess*, not read all the pages.'
      b.  Ich kann, {*fürchte ich* / * *ich fürchte*}, nicht allzu   viel   beitragen.
          I    can   fear   I       I   fear     not   all.too much contribute
          'I cannot, *I fear*, contribute all that much.'
      c.  Ik heb, {*beken   ik* / *    *ik beken*}, niet echt   een mening.     *Dutch*
          I   have  confess I       I   confess not   really an   opinion
          'I don't really have, *I confess*, an opinion.'
      d.  Ik heb  nu   wel genoeg gedaan, {*hoop ik* / * *ik hoop*}.
          I   have now PRT enough done      hope I     I   hope
          'I've now done enough, *I hope.*'

(30)  a.  {*Ich muss* / * *muss ich*} gestehen, ich habe nicht alle Seiten gelesen.
                                                                              *German*
      b.  {*Ich fürchte* / * *fürchte ich*}, ich kann nicht allzu viel beitragen.
      c.  {*Ik beken* / * *beken ik*} dat ik echt niet een mening heb.     *Dutch*
      d.  {*Ik hoop* / * *hoop ik*} dat ik nu wel genoeg hebben gedaan

Secondly, those interpolating DECL-PVCs that serve to mitigate the speaker's commitment for the truth of the host utterance (hereafter *mitigative-PVCs*) are optionally introduced by the adverb *so/zo* in English, Dutch and German (31). *So/zo* is illicit in the SUB-PVC counterparts to (31), as (32) illustrates.

(31)  a.  John will, {(*so*) *I think* (**so*) / (*so*) *they say* (**so*)}, arrive at the conference
          on time.
      b.  Ik heb, (*zo*) *denk ik* (?*zo*), mijn keuze  gemaakt.[8]              *Dutch*
          I   have so   think I   so     my   choice made
          'I have, *so I think*, made my choice.'

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[7] This inversion is restricted to reportative ((i) and (ii)) (cf. Reinhart 1983; Collins and Branigan 1997) and unintegrated (iii) PVCs in English, and is prohibited in integrated PVCs.

(i)    Someday he$_i$ will, *thinks Orestes$_i$ to himself*, avenge his$_i$ father's death.    *free indirect quotation*
(ii)   "Someday I$_i$ will," *swears Orestes$_i$*, "avenge my$_i$ father's death."              *direct quotation*
(iii)  John's horrible girlfriend has left the country—*or so says Mary, at least.*

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    c.   In der Partei, *(so) glaubt/sagt   sie  (\*so)*, muß vieles anders
         In the party  so   believes/says she   so   must much other
         werden.                                                    *German*
         become
         'In the party, *so she believes/says*, a lot much change.'     (modified from
         Reis 2000:11)

(32)  a.   {(*\*So) I think (\*so) / (\*so) they say (\*so*)} John will arrive at the conference
         on time.
     b.   (*\*Zo) ik denk (\*zo*) dat het boek op tafel ligt.                 *Dutch*
         so  I  think   so  that the book on table lies
         '*I believe* the book's on the table.'   (where *zo* scopes over the PVC alone)[9]
     c.   (*\*So) ich glaube (\*so*) es wird regnen.                     *German*
         so  I   believe   so  it  will  rain
         '*I believe* it will rain.'

Thirdly, English mitigative PAR-PVCs may display semantically vacuous negation if
*not* is displayed in the host clause (this is analysed as in instance of *Not*-HOPPING in
Ross 1973) (33a), while their SUB-PVC counterparts cannot. If negation is displayed
in latter, a *metalinguistic negation* (Horn 1985) interpretation is obtained (33b).

(33)  a.   Eve won't be coming, *I don't think.*
                                    (*interpretation*: [I think ¬[Eve will be coming]])
     b.   *I don't think* Eve WON'T be coming.
                                    (*interpretation*: ¬ [I think ¬[Eve will be coming]])

---

[8] In Dutch, *denk ik zo* is degraded in a medial position, but acceptable if it follows the host. Such variation
is problematic for analyses of the internal syntax of PAR-PVCs like Corver and Thiersch's (2001) (as
will be illustrated in Sect. 3), where subject-verb inversion is triggered by the movement of *zo* from the
direct object position to SpecCP. As I remain ambivalent towards correct analysis of the internal syntax of
PAR-PVCs here, such variation is irrelevant to the proposal I outline in Sects. 4–5.

[9] While both Dutch and German permit a utterance-initial instance of *so/zo* (which in turn triggers subject-
verb inversion), this instance of *so/zo* displays properties distinct from the *so/zo* under investigation here.
As (i) and (ii) illustrate, utterance-initial *so/zo* scopes over the entire utterance, unlike its counterpart in
PAR-PVCs, which scopes over the PVC alone. The interpretation also differs: in interpolating PVCs, *so/zo*
is understood as a deictic adverb, while in (i) and (ii) *so/zo* is roughly paraphrased as *thus* or *hence* in
English. Furthermore, this instance of *so/zo* may appear in utterance-initial clauses that do not display
a parenthetical use (such as (iii)), which suggests that *so/zo*'s utterance-initial expression is unrelated to
parenthesis. Thus, when I maintain in the main text that sentence-PVCs cannot host *so/zo*, I refer to the
deictic adverb associated with clauses that display a parenthetical use.

(i)     So glaube ich {es wird regnen / daß es regnen wird}.  (*interpretation*: thus, I believe it will rain.)
                                                                         *German*
(ii)    Zo denk ik dat het boek op tafel ligt.     (*interpretation*: thus, I believe the book is on the table.)
                                                                           *Dutch*
(iii)   So bereue ich, dass ich Böses tat und Gutes unterliess.                  *German*
       so regret I    that I   evils  did and goods neglected
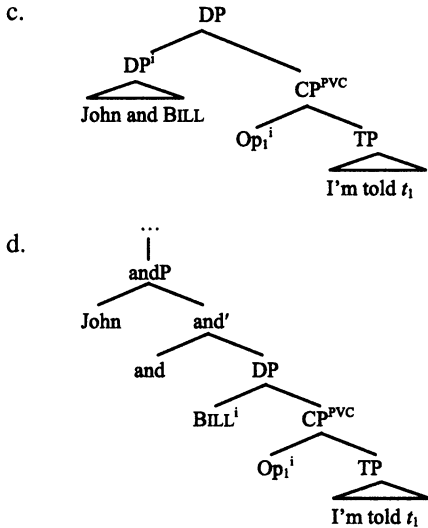       'Thus, I regret that I did evil and neglected good.'

## 3 Fragment answer and constituent PVCs: the previous literature

Having established a plausible analysis for *clausal* PAR-*PVCs* (i.e. PAR-PVCs that modify clauses) in Sect. 2, I now proceed to investigate the syntax of fragment answer and constituent PVC constructions such as those exemplified in (34) and (35) (repeated from (9) and (10)). The aim of the remainder of the paper is to discover whether these constructions are PAR-PVCs or SUB-PVCs.
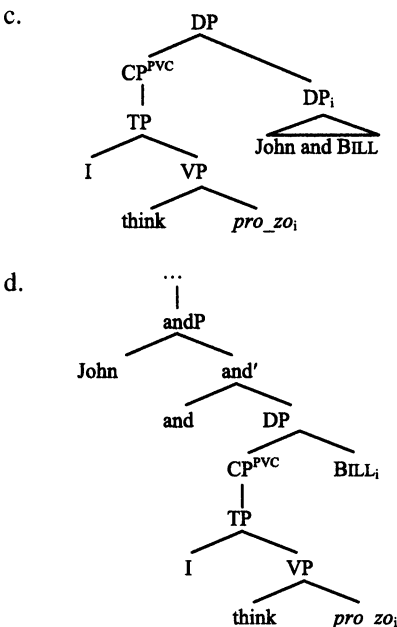
(34)    A:    What has John bought?
  a.  B:    *I reckon* a GIFT.
  b.  B:    A GIFT, *I think*.
  c.  B:    A gift, *I hope*, for MARY.

(35) a.    John and [*they say* his WIFE] are coming to the party together.
  b.    John and [his WIFE *I concede*] are coming to the party together.
  c.    John and [his *I hope* WIFE] are coming to the party together.

Corver and Thiersch (2001) (henceforth: *C&T*) claim that (34) and (35) are PAR-PVC constructions. They liken the PVCs in (34b–c) and (35b–c) to relative clauses (adopting an *adjunction analysis* of relative clauses) (36), and treat those in (34a) and (35a) as left-branching adjuncts that contain a proform dubbed *pro_zo* (37).

(36)    A:    Who's coming to the party?
  a.  B:    $[_{DP} [_{DP}$ John and BILL$]^i$, $[_{CP}$ $^{PVC}$ Op$_1{}^i$ $[_{TP}$ I'm told $t_1]]]$.
  b.    John and $[_{DP} [_{DP}$ BILL$]^i$ $[_{CP}$ $^{PVC}$ Op$_1{}^i$ $[_{TP}$ I'm told $t_1]]]$ are coming to the party.
  c.



  d.



(37)    A:    Who's coming to the party?
  a.  B:    $[_{DP} [_{CP}$ $^{PVC}$ I think *pro_zo$_i$*$]$ $[_{DP}$ John and BILL$]_i]$.
  b.    John and $[_{DP} [_{CP}$ $^{PVC}$ I think *pro_zo$_i$*$]$ $[_{DP}$ BILL$]_i]$ are coming to the party.

c.
```
                    DP
           CPᴾⱽᶜ
            |              DPᵢ
           TP         John and BILL
         I    VP
         think   pro_zoᵢ
```

d.
```
                 ...
                  |
                andP
      John            and'
                 and      DP
                      CPᴾⱽᶜ   BILLᵢ
                       |
                      TP
                    I    VP
                    think   pro_zoᵢ
```

C&T assume an analysis of clausal PAR-PVCs in which Op is understood as a propositional variable that corefers with the host clause. Op A$'$-moves to SpecCP of the PVC, triggering subject-verb inversion in Dutch and German (38). As (36) has illustrated, C&T extend this analysis to interpolating fragment answer and constituent PVC constructions.[10] At first glance, C&T's analysis seems plausible, as the PVCs in (36) and clausal PAR-PVCs show identical properties. Like clausal PAR-PVCs, interpolating fragment answer and constituent PVCs (i) display obligatory subject-verb inversion in Dutch and German, (ii) may display *so/zo* (which C&T regard as the realisation of Op) (39), and (iii) may display a semantically vacuous instance of *not* in English (40).

(38)  [Het boek ligt op tafel]$^i$, [$_{CP}$ Op/zo$_1$$^i$ [$_{C'}$ denk$_2$ [$_{TP}$ ik $t_2t_1$]]].          *Dutch*
       the  book lies on table,               so       think      I
       'The book is on the table, (*so*) *I think.*'

(39)  a.  A:  Waar   is het boek?                                            *Dutch*
               Where is the book?
           B:  Tussen   de tafel en   de kast,       {(*zo*) *denk ik* / * *ik denk* (*zo*)}.
               between the table and the cupboard    so  think I      I  think  so
               'Between the table and the cupboard, *I think.*'

---

[10]More accurately, C&T only extend the analysis in (38) to PVCs that follow their host, as they do not discuss utterance-medial PVC constructions at all. The analysis in (38) easily extends to these medial cases however, if one adopts the *par*-Merge approach (see Sect. 2.2).

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    b.  Tussen  [TILBURG {(zo) *dacht    ik* / *? *ik dacht    (zo)*}] en
        between Tilburg     so thought I    I thought so    and
        Amsterdam wordt de weg opengebroken.
        Amsterdam is     the road broken.open
        'Between [TILBURG *I thought*] and Amsterdam the road is broken open.'
                                      (modified from Corver and Thiersch 2001:15)

(40)  a.  A:  Where on earth are my car keys?
         B:  Not on the TABLE, *I don't think.*
                              (*interpretation*: [I think ¬[not on the table]])
     b.  John but [not BILL *I don't think*] are coming to the party.
                                  (*interpretation*: [I think ¬[Bill]])

Because Op binds a propositional variable and thus can only corefer with a proposition, the constructions in (36a) are interpretable only if their hosts, which are subclausal constituents, can be ascribed propositional meaning. Although the host in (39aB) could be straightforwardly embellished in this manner (cf. Groenendijk and Stokhof 1984; Ginzburg and Sag 2000), whether the host in (39b) could be similarly embellished is questionable. Here, *Bill* appears to receive two different denotations: one as an entity coordinated with *John*, and one as a proposition modified by *they say*. Even if *Bill* can be embellished with propositional meaning, for (39b) to be interpretable one must permit that *Bill* can be utilised twice by the semantics (once as *e*, once as $\langle s, t \rangle$), something that Potts (2005) permits but Klein and Sag (1985) prohibit.

    Regarding their analysis of (34a) and (35a), C&T attribute PAR-PVC status to PVC constructions that look distinctly like SUB-PVCs. Like clausal SUB-PVCs, such PVC constructions prohibit subject-verb inversion in Dutch and German, cannot display *so/zo* (41), and cannot display a semantically vacuous instance of *not* in English (42).

(41)  a.  A:  Waar is het boek?                              *Dutch*
            Where is the book?
         B:  {*Ik denk* (*zo) /* (*zo*) *denk ik*} tussen   de tafel en de kast.
            I think  so     so think I   between the table and the cupboard
            '*I think* between the table and the cupboard.'
     b.  Tussen [{*ik dacht*  (*zo) /* (*zo*) *dacht   ik*} TILBURG] en  Amsterdam
        between  I thought  so     so thought I   Tilburg     and Amsterdam
        wordt de weg opengebroken.
        is     the road broken.open
        'Between [*I thought* TILBURG] and Amsterdam the road is broken open.'

(42)  a.  A:  Where on earth are my car keys?
         B:  ?*I don't think* NOT on the table.
                             (*intended interpretation*: ¬[I think ¬[on the table]])
     b.  ?John but [*I don't think* NOT Bill] are coming to the party.
                             (*intended interpretation*: ¬[I think ¬[Bill]])

By attributing PAR-PVC-status to constructions such as (34a) and (35a), C&T alter the set of properties attributed to clausal PAR-PVCs to include a new type of host-denoting element, *pro_zo*. From a conceptual perspective, the inclusion of *pro_zo* is

*ad hoc.* Empirically, its inclusion is unevidenced, as *pro_zo* is never phonologically realised as *so/zo* in the relevant context, as illustrated in (41).[11] Moreover, the postulation that PVCs that linearly precede their host are PAR-PVCs overgeneralises, as nothing prevents one extending the *pro_zo* analysis to utterance-initial PVC constructions such as those in (1) (repeated in (43)), which are (almost) unanimously analysed as hypotactic, and not paratactic, constructions (see Sect. 1).

(43)   a.   {*I think* (\**so*) / *I'm told* (\**so*)} Pete and Lucy are coming to the party.
       b.   {*Pete*ᵢ *reckons* (\**so*) / *Pete*ᵢ *says* (\**so*)} heᵢ and Lucy are coming to the party.

To summarise: while C&T's analysis of interpolating fragment answer and constituent PVCs seems plausible from a syntactic perspective, the assumption upon which it is based—namely, that subclausal constituents can be embellished with propositional meaning—renders it problematic. C&T's analysis of PVCs that precede a fragment answer or constituent as PAR-PVCs requires alterations to the set of properties attributed to clausal PAR-PVCs in Sect. 2. While such alterations are not *a priori* detrimental, I have argued that C&T's alterations are unwarranted.

In Sects. 4–5, I advance my analysis of fragment answer and constituent PVC constructions. As will be illustrated, my analysis requires no alterations to the set of properties attributed to clausal PAR-PVCs in Sect. 2. Under my analysis, all PAR-PVCs are **clausal** PAR-PVCs.

## 4 Fragment answer PVC constructions: the analysis

In Sect. 3 it was illustrated that, by analysing PVCs that precede the fragment answer that they modify as PAR-PVCs, one is required to stipulate the existence of a *sui generis* syntactic element such as C&T's *pro_zo*. The stipulation of *pro_zo* is not only *ad hoc*, but also empirically unwarranted, as *pro_zo* is never realised as *so/zo*.

I suggest that PVCs that precede the fragment answer they modify, like PVCs that precede the clause they modify, are not PAR-PVCs, but SUB-PVCs. Thus, I suggest that the parenthetical verb and the modified fragment answer are syntactic sisters. On such an approach, the problem above is immediately resolved. If the parenthetical verb and fragment answer are syntactic sisters, there is no *sui generis* element, and thus no realisation of *so/zo*.

---

[11]C&T (2001:26, en.13) provide (i) as evidence that *pro_zo* may be phonologically realised.

(i)   Ik denk maar (zo): Morgen   is er   nog een dag.
      I think PRT   so   tomorrow is there yet  a    day
      'I tend to think like this: tomorrow is another day.'                    (my translation)

C&T concede that examples like (i) are 'much more limited than host-final [PAR-*PVC*—J.G.] constructions'. I do not believe that (i) provides an example of *pro_zo*. (i) is neither a fragment answer nor a modified constituent, it is a CP; and, according to C&T, *pro_zo* is limited to PVCs that precede fragment answers and constituents. To my (non-native) ear, (i) is a self-reporting clause of an idiomatic expression, and therefore does not function as a PVC in any sense. In this case, *zo* is understood as '*thus*', as in the examples in fn. 9.

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Thus, I claim fragment answer PVCs come in two flavours: PAR-PVC and SUB-PVC. Adopting an approach that treats fragment answers as CPs reduced by ellipsis (Merchant 2004), I now attempt to defend this claim.

The theoretical framework of ellipsis I adopt is the *PF-deletion approach* (Merchant 2001). It maintains that ellipsis is non-pronunciation at PF. In non-coordination environments, ellipsis must target constituents that are composed of only discourse-old (or *given*) material. For ellipsis to be licensed, discourse-new material must A'-move to a functional projection that dominates the target of ellipsis. (This is dubbed *remnant-movement*.) Assuming the tenets of the PF-deletion approach, I propose that, *modulo* remnant-movement and TP-ellipsis, fragment answer and clausal PAR-PVC constructions are syntactically identical.[12] They are, from a syntactic and semantic perspective, the same construction.

### 4.1 Fragment answer PVC constructions: the syntax

I treat CP2 in constructions like (44B) as an elliptical clause embedded under a parenthetical verb. Aside from the application of ellipsis, I treat (44B) as identical to a clausal SUB-PVC construction like (45).

(44)  A:  Who's done it?
      B:  $[_{CP1}$ I assume $[_{CP2}$ $[_{REMNANT}$ John's MOTHER$]_1$ $[_{TP}$ ~~$t_1$ has done it~~$]]]$.
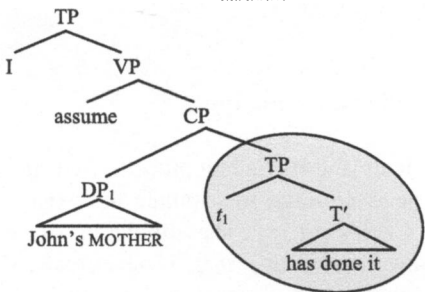


(where ⬭ represents the ellipsis site)

(45)  $[_{CP1}$ I assume $[_{CP2}$ John's mother has done it$]]$.

I treat fragment answer PVCs like (46) and (47) as root clauses to which ellipsis is applied and to which PVCs are *par*-Merged. Aside from the application of ellipsis, I treat them as identical to clausal PAR-PVC constructions like (48) and (49).

(46)  A:  Who will be late?
      B:  $[_{CP}$ $[_{CP}$ [John and BILL$]_1$ $[_{TP}$ ~~$t_1$ will be late~~$]]$ $<_{ParP}$ Par$^0$ $[_{CP}{}^{PVC}$ I think$]>]$.
      B':  $[_{CP}$ $[_{DP}$ $[_{DP}$ John and BILL$]$ $<_{ParP}$ Par$^0$ $[_{CP}{}^{PVC}$ I think$>]_1$ $[_{TP}$ ~~$t_1$ will be late~~$]]$.

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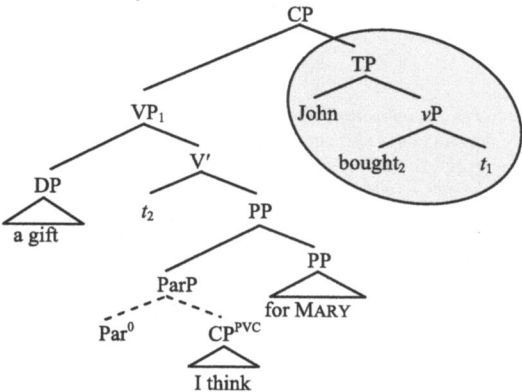[12] I refer to the two operations that derive fragment answers—namely, remnant-movement and TP-ellipsis—simply as *ellipsis* hereafter.

B:



$$OR^{13}$$

B′:
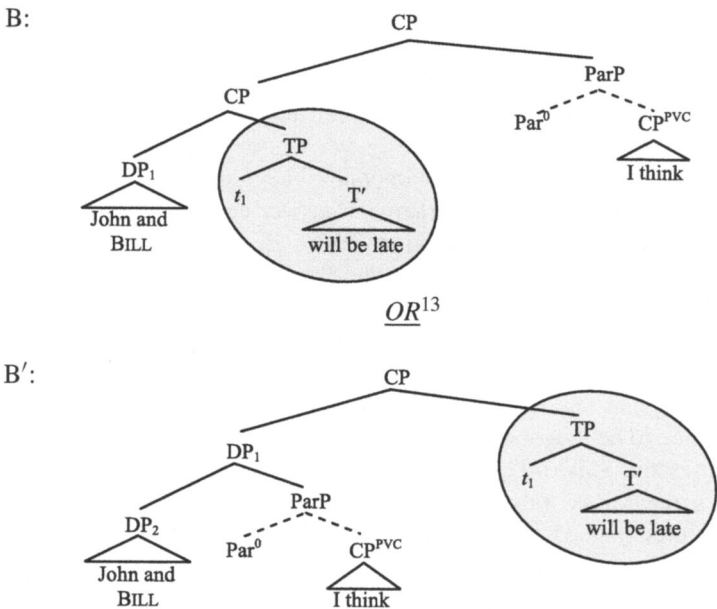


(47)  A:  What's John bought?

    B:  $[_{CP}$ $[_{VP}$ A gift $[_{V'}$ $t_2$ $[_{PP}$ $<_{ParP}$ $Par^0$ $[_{CP}{}^{PVC}$ I think$]>[_{PP}$ for MARY$]]]]_1$ $[_{TP}$ ~~John bought$_2$ $t_T$~~$]]$.



(48)  $[_{CP}$ $[_{CP}$ John and Bill are coming to the party$]$ $<_{ParP}$ $Par^0$ $[_{CP}{}^{PVC}$ I think$]>]$.

(49)  $[_{CP}$ John bought a gift $[_{PP}$ $<_{ParP}$ $Par^0$ $[_{CP}{}^{PVC}$ I think$]>[_{PP}$ for Mary$]]]$.

As mentioned above, the PF-deletion approach to fragment answers requires A′-fronting of the remnant to position within the CP-domain of the elided clause for

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[13]Both (46B) and (46B′) are possible derivations of *John and Bill, I think* because the position of the PVC's adjunction via *par*-Merge is semantically irrelevant. Co-indexation of Op/*so* (on C&T's approach) or semantic licensing (on Reis 2000's approach) ensures that the PVC is correctly interpreted with the widest scope (see Sect. 2.2).

ellipsis to be licensed. Griffiths and Lipták (2014) illustrate that non-wh-remnants of ellipsis occupy the same functional projection as *topicalised* (Emonds 1976) constituents in non-elliptical environments. If Griffiths and Lipták are correct, then, for my analysis to be feasible, one must be assured that topicalisation is permitted in clauses modified by PVCs.

Topicalisation is often said to be a *root clause phenomenon* (Hooper and Thompson 1973; Emonds 1976). Thus, if fragment answer constructions such as (46B), (46B′), and (47B) are root clauses to which PVCs are adjoined via *par*-Merge, one can be assured that topicalisation is licensable. The same assurance is provided in the case of (44B), too. While not all subordinated clauses permit topicalisation, the general consensus is that (i) topicalisation is syntactically unconstrained in clauses that, at some point in the derivation, could potentially be root clauses (Drubig 1992:382; Breul 2004:213), and that (ii) potential root clauses must carry illocutionary force for topicalisation to be pragmatically licensed (Hooper and Thompson 1973; Drubig 1992:390; Erteschik-Shir 1997; Breul 2004:213). In the case of (44B) (ii) is trivially met, as PVCs, regardless of their linear position, always modify clauses that express illocutionary force (indeed, this is their delimiting property; see Sect. 2.1).[14]

In Sects. 4.2–4.3, I provide evidence for the analysis advanced above. It should be noted that evidence is provided from mitigative DECL-PVCs (*I think, I guess, they say*, etc.) alone. I invoke this restriction solely for convenience. Constraints on pragmatic coherence dictate that fragment answer and constituent PVC constructions involving PVCs such as I *admit/confess/concede* and I *hope/fear/pray*, require specific contexts for licensing. Rather than construct these contexts, I concentrate solely on mitigative PVCs, which are pragmatically licensed in almost any environment. (Mitigative and non-mitigative PVCs are contrasted in (50) below.)[15]

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[14] Another property commonly cited as a diagnostic of root clause status is V2 in Germanic. While German permits embedded V2, standard Dutch does not. An anonymous reviewer is concerned that the absence of V2 embedded clauses in Dutch is suggestive of Dutch's lack of utterance-initial PVCs. I contest this, as utterance-initial clauses in Dutch may receive a PVC-interpretation regardless of the position of the embedded verb (i). Thus, the availability of V2 in Dutch and German embedded clauses seems to be tied to some extraneous restriction, not to the parenthetical interpretation of the embedding verb. The same reasoning applies to topicalisation in embedded clauses. Dutch permits embedded fragment answers (ii), which are derived via a topicalisation operation permitted only under ellipsis—i.e. when the complementiser (and the remainder of the clause excluding the remnant of ellipsis) is rendered unpronounced (Temmerman 2013).

(i)    Ik ben bang dat je kat dood is. (*I'm afraid that your cat is dead.*)                                                                  *Dutch*

(ii)   A:    Wie dacht    Carl dat de wedstrijd zou    winnen?
             who thought Carl that the contest    would win
             'Who did Carl think would win the contest?'
       B:    Hij had gedacht [CP Kim ~~dat t₁ de wedstrijd zou~~        ~~winnen~~]]].
             he  had thought        Kim that  the contest   would         win
             '*He thought* Kim.'                                                             (modified from Temmerman 2013)

[15] That the degradation in acceptability in (50) is caused by pragmatic incoherence and not syntactic ill-formedness is exemplified by comparing the constructions in (50) to (iB). (iB) is completely unacceptable because the factive verb *deny* does not permit embedded topicalisation (ii), and thus do not permit embedded fragment answers. If similar restrictions were enforced in (50), one would expect the examples in (50) to be completely unacceptable too. That they are not, and that manipulation of the context increases or decreases their acceptability, suggests a pragmatic explanation for the degradation observed in (50).

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(50)  a.  A:  Who wrote *The Tempest?*
         B:  ({*I think* / ? *I hope* / ? *I confess*}) SHAKESPEARE, ({*I think* / ? *I hope* / ? *I confess*}).

      b.  A:  How many press-ups did you do at the gym today?
         B:  ({*I think* / ? *I hope* / *I confess*}) ONLY THREE, ({*I think* / ? *I hope* / *I confess*}).

      c.  A:  Who will win the next general election?
         B:  ({*I think* / *I hope* / ? *I confess*}) The LIB DEMS, ({*I think* / *I hope* / ? *I confess*}).

## 4.2 Connectivity effects

In this subsection, I illustrate that fragment answers, whether modified by a PVC or not, display *connectivity effects*. I show that fragment answers display the same distribution of Case, anaphoric binding, and scope as their non-elliptical counterparts. The presence of these connectivity effects suggests that fragment answers are not base-generated in syntactic isolation, but in an argument or adjunct position within an elided clause.

Firstly, remnants of ellipsis display the same Case as their non-elliptical counterparts, as (51) illustrates.[16]

(51)       A:  Whose car will he take?
      a.  B:  He will take John's car.              *non-elliptical answer*
          B':*He will take John car.
      b.  B:  *I reckon* he will take John's car.    *non-elliptical answer* + SUB-PVC
          B':*I reckon* he will take John car.
      c.  B:  JOHN'S.                               *fragment answer*
          B':*JOHN.
      d.  B:  JOHN'S, *I think.*                     *fragment answer* + PAR-PVC
          B':*JOHN, *I think.*
      e.  B:  *I reckon* JOHN'S.                      *fragment answer* + SUB-PVC
          B':*I reckon* JOHN.

Like their non-elliptical counterparts, fragment answers also obey the Binding Theory. Principle C is obeyed by fragments, as is illustrated by (52) and (53), where the R-expression cannot be bound by either a co-referring pronoun or epithet.

(52)  a.  A:  Where is he$_i$ staying?
         B:  He$_i$ is staying in John's$_{k/*i}$ apartment.          *non-elliptical answer*
         B':  *I guess* he$_i$ is staying in John's$_{k/*i}$ apartment.
                                              *non-elliptical answer* + SUB-PVC

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(i)       A:   Who did Lucy kiss? Was it Pete?
          B:   *I don't know! But *I deny* PETE.

(ii)   I don't who exactly Lucy kissed, but I deny that {she kissed PETE /* PETE she kissed}.

[16]The diagnostics employed in (51) to (56) come from Merchant (2004:676–684).

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    b.   B:  In John's$_{k/*i}$ APARTMENT.       *fragment answer*
         B′:  In John's$_{k/*i}$ APARTMENT, *I guess.*  *fragment answer +* PAR-PVC
         B″: *I guess* in John's$_{k/*i}$ APARTMENT.   *fragment answer +* SUB-PVC

(53)  a.   A:  What does John$_i$ think?
         B:  John$_i$ thinks that the bastard$_{k/*i}$ is being spied on.
         B′: *One assumes* John$_i$ thinks that the bastard$_{k/*i}$ is being spied on.
    b.   B:  That the bastard$_{k/*i}$ is being SPIED ON.
         B′:  That the bastard$_{k/*i}$ is being SPIED ON, *one assumes.*
         B″: *One assumes* that the bastard$_{k/*i}$ is being SPIED ON.

The same reasoning applies to principle B effects, which are also obeyed by fragment answers.

(54)  a.   A:  Who did John$_i$ try to shave?
         B:  John$_i$ tried to shave him$_{k/*i}$.
         B′: *I imagine* John$_i$ tried to shave him$_{k/*i}$.
    b.   B:  HIM$_{k/*i}$.
         B′:  HIM$_{k/*i}$, *I imagine.*
         B″: *I imagine* HIM$_{k/*i}$.

Principle A effects are also observed in fragment answers.

(55)  a.   A:  Who does John$_i$ think Sue$_k$ will invite?
         B:  John$_i$ thinks Sue$_k$ will invite {herself$_k$ / him$_i$ / * himself$_i$}.
         B′: *I'd wager* John$_i$ thinks Sue$_k$ will invite {herself$_k$ / him$_i$ / * himself$_i$}.
    b.   B:  {HERSELF$_k$ / HIM$_i$ / * HIMSELF$_i$}.
         B′:  {HERSELF$_k$ / HIM$_i$ / * HIMSELF$_i$}, *I'd wager.*
         B″: *I'd wager* {HERSELF$_k$ / HIM$_i$ / * HIMSELF$_i$}.

Scope ambiguities observed in full sentential declaratives are also observed fragment answers.

(56)  a.   A:  Who does every Englishman$_i$ admire?
         B:  Every Englishman$_i$ admires his$_i$ mother.     ($\exists > \forall$ & $\forall > \exists$)
         B′: *I'm told* every Englishman$_i$ admires his$_i$ mother.  ($\exists > \forall$ & $\forall > \exists$)
    b.   B:  His$_i$ MOTHER.                          ($\exists > \forall$ & $\forall > \exists$)
         B′:  His$_i$ MOTHER, *I'm told.*             ($\exists > \forall$ & $\forall > \exists$)
         B″: *I'm told* his$_i$ MOTHER.             ($\exists > \forall$ & $\forall > \exists$)

The examples above illustrate that fragment answers distribute identically to their non-elliptical counterparts with respect to Case, anaphoric binding and scope. Note that these connectivity effects only provide a hint that fragment answers are derived via ellipsis, as anaphoric binding effects and quantifier scope effects have been documented to apply across separate utterances in the discourse (Kamp 1981; Heim 1988, among others). Thus, it could well be the case that fragment answers are base-generated as non-sentential responses, as Groenendijk and Stokhof (1984), Ginzburg and Sag (2000), and Valmala (2007) suggest. In Sect. 4.3 I provide further evidence to favour the ellipsis hypothesis adopted here.

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## 4.3 Strong island (in)sensitivity and unfrontable remnants

Griffiths and Lipták (2014) observe that regular fragment answers are unacceptable if the fragment answer provides an alternative to a definite individual contained within a strong syntactic island in the *licensing clause* (i.e. the clause to which the fragment answer is a response) (see the initial B-responses in (57)). The same observation, it seems, extends to modified fragments too (see the second and third B-responses in (57)). Griffiths and Lipták observe that fragment answers are acceptable if they pick out a definite individual from the set denoted by an existential quantifier or indefinite expression that is contained within a strong syntactic island in the licensing clause (see the initial B-examples in (58)). The same observation, it seems, extends to modified fragments too (see the second and third B-responses in (58)).

(57) a. A: I heard that [ISLAND Irv and JOHN] were dancing together last night.
  B: *{No, BILL/      no, BILL, *I heard* /      no, *I heard* BILL}.

   b. A: I imagine John wants [ISLAND a SHORT list].
  B: *{No, LONG /      no, LONG, *I reckon* /      no, *I reckon* LONG}.

   c. A: I heard that [ISLAND a biography of the YOUNGEST Marx brother] is going to be published this year.
  B: *{No, OLDEST /      no, OLDEST, *I think* /      no, *I think* OLDEST}.

   d. A: I heard they hired [ISLAND someone who speaks BULGARIAN fluently].
  B: *{No, ROMANIAN /      no, ROMANIAN, *I heard* /      no, *I heard* RO-MANIAN}.

   e. A: I hear that Abby is likely to get mad [ISLAND if BEN speaks to Mary].
  B: *{No, BILL /      no, BILL, *I'm told* /      no, *I'm told* BILL}.

(58) a. A: I heard that [ISLAND Irv and a certain someone from your class] were dancing together last night.
  B: {Yeah, BILL /      yeah, BILL, *I guess* /      yeah, *I guess* BILL}.

   b. A: I imagine John wants [ISLAND a detailed list].
  B: I'm afraid he does.
  {VERY detailed /      VERY detailed, *I reckon* /      *I reckon* VERY detailed}.

   c. A: I heard that [ISLAND a biography of one of the Marx brothers] is going to be published this year.
  B: {Yeah, GROUCHO /      yeah, GROUCHO, *I think* /      yeah, *I think* GROUCHO}.

   d. A: I heard they hired [ISLAND someone who speaks a Balkan language fluently].
  B: {Yeah, ROMANIAN / yeah, ROMANIAN, *I hear* /      yeah, *I hear* ROMANIAN}.

   e. A: I hear that Abby is likely to get mad [ISLAND if one of the guys from your class speaks to Mary].
  B: {Yeah, JOHN /      yeah, JOHN, *I believe* /      yeah, *I believe* JOHN}.

Griffiths and Lipták (2014) adopt the *PF-deletion* approach to clausal ellipsis to explain the observations in (57) and (58), and treat the unacceptability of the fragments in (57) as cases of strong island violations. Advocates of the PF-deletion approach have argued that, if the remnant-movement required for ellipsis crosses two or more bounding nodes, the Subjacency condition may be obviated provided ellipsis occurs (Ross 1967; Merchant 2001). This island-obviation is evidenced in sluices such as (59), where the wh-remnant violates the *Left Branch Condition* (Ross 1967) and yet the sluice is acceptable.

(59)   Dave bought an expensive car, but I don't know [[how expensive]₁ [~~Dave bought~~ [ISLAND ~~a t₁ car~~]]].

Island-obviation under ellipsis is not completely unconstrained. Fox and Lasnik (2003) and Fox and Takahashi (2005) have argued that strong syntactic islands can be obviated only if the remnant of ellipsis and its correlate in the licensing clause bind their variables from parallel positions by LF. Griffiths and Lipták (2014) claim that this parallelism condition is trivially obeyed in the fragment answers in (58), as both the indefinite expression in the licensing clause and the remnant in the elided clause take sentential scope, binding their variables from parallel positions (60).

(60)   A:  Mary kissed someone last night.
       B:  Yeah, BILL₁ <Mary kissed $t_1$ last night>.
*LF*:  A:  [someone₁ $\lambda x$ ([TP Mary kissed $x_1$ last night])        (*licensing clause*)
       B:  [BILL₁      $\lambda x$ ([TP Mary kissed $x_1$ last night])        (*elided clause*)

Griffiths and Lipták propose that the fragment answers in (57) stand in a *contrastive* relation to their correlate in the licensing clause, as the fragment answer provides an alternative to the definite individual expressed in the licensing clause. Following Drubig (1994), Rooth (1997), Krifka (2006), and Winkler (2013), they assume that contrastive focus is island-sensitive at LF. Consequently, to take sentential scope at LF, a contrastively focused element must pied-pipe the strong island in which it is contained to a position above TP. Thus, the correct LF representation of (61) is (62a) and not (62b) (Krifka 2006).

(61)   John only introduced the man that JILL admires to Sue.

(62)   a.   LF:   John only [[the man that Jill admires]₁ $\lambda x$ ([vP introduced $x_1$])] to Sue.
       b.   LF:   # John only [Jill₁ $\lambda x$ ([vP introduced the man that $x_1$ admires])] to Sue.

Consequently, licensing clauses containing a correlate that contrasts with the remnant will exhibit, by LF, the syntax in (63), where the island containing the correlate is pied-piped to a position where the correlate takes sentential scope.

(63)   A:  Did John introduce the man that JILL admires to Sue?
       *LF*: [[the man that JILL admires]₁ $\lambda x$ ([TP did John introduce $x_1$ to Sue])]

If the parallelism constraint on island-obviation under ellipsis is taken seriously, a fragment answer containing a contrastive remnant must also pied-pipe the island in

which it is contained to LF, to ensure parallelism between the licensing clause and the elided clause is achieved. This results in 'long' contrastive fragment answers, where the entire island is spelled-out as the response.

(64)   A:   Did John introduce the man that JILL admires to Sue?
       $LF$: [[the man that JILL admires]$_1$      $\lambda x$ ([$_{TP}$ did John introduce $x_1$ to Sue])].

       B:   No, [[the man that HEATHER admires]$_1$      [$_{TP}$ ~~John introduced $t_1$ to Sue~~]].
       $LF$: [[the man that HEATHER admires]$_1$ $\lambda x$ ([$_{TP}$ John introduced $x_1$ to Sue])].

'Short' fragment answers, such as those in (57), are not acceptable because the licensing clause and the elided clause are not parallel at LF (65).[17]

(65)   A:   Did John introduce the man that JILL admires to Sue?
       $LF$: [[the man that JILL admires]$_1$      $\lambda x$ ([$_{TP}$ did John introduce $x_1$ to Sue])].

       B:   *No, [HEATHER$_1$    [$_{TP}$ ~~John introduced the man that $t_1$ admires to Sue~~]].
       $LF$: [HEATHER$_1$    $\lambda x$ ([$_{TP}$ John introduced the man that $x_1$ admires to Sue])].

Griffiths and Lipták's analysis of the contrastive/non-contrastive distinction observed in fragment answers relies upon the idea the fragment answers are derived from full-fledged CPs via ellipsis. If their analysis is correct, this provides support for the PF-deletion approach, and also for the analysis of fragment answer PVCs defended in this paper.

Further support for the PF-deletion approach to fragment answers comes from *unfrontable remnants*. If fragments are derived by ellipsis, one expects constructions in which topicalisation is prohibited, such as (66B), which is unacceptable if the complementiser *that* is absent (Breul 2004:182; Haegeman and Guéron 1999:99), to be unavailable as regular fragment answers, and hence as fragment answers that are modified by PVCs. This prediction is borne out (67).

(66)   A:   What didn't he expect?
       B:   [*(That)] John would come, he didn't expect.                (Breul 2004:182)

(67)   A:   What didn't he expect?
       B:   [[[*(That)] John would come]$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~he didn't expect $t_1$~~]].
       B′:   [[[[*(That)] John would come]$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~he didn't expect~~]]$^i$, [$_{CP}$$^{PVC}$ one assumes]].
       B″:   [$_{CP1}$ One assumes [$_{CP2}$ [[*(That)] John would come]$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~he didn't expect $t_1$~~]]].

To summarise Sect. 4: I proposed that fragment answer PVC constructions are, underlyingly, clausal PVC constructions. The former differs from the latter in that ellipsis

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[17]Note that the parallelism constraint also explains why (iB) is unacceptable, as *accommodated* arguments (Fox 1999) always take island-bound scope (Fodor and Fodor 1980; Mittwoch 1982), while the remnant takes high scope at LF. The resulting structure is non-parallel.

(i)   A:   Sandy was trying to work out which student would speak.
      B:   *Yeah, to the DIRECTOR.

occurs within the host. This proposal captures the observations that (i) PVCs that follow or interpolate into the fragment answer or clause that they modify display identical properties, and (ii) PVCs that precede the fragment answer or clause that they modify display identical properties.

## 5 Constituent PVCs: the analysis

In this section, I present my analysis of constituent PVC constructions. I begin by recalling their interpretation. In (68), *I think* mitigates the speaker's responsibility for correctly choosing the DP *Bill* from the set of *possible accompaniers of John*, where the restriction (*possible accompaniers of John*) is provided by the host clause content in which *Bill* is contained.

(68)  a.   John and [BILL *I think*] are coming to the party.
      b.   John and [*I think* BILL] are coming to the party.

Thus, in (68) it appears that *Bill* receives two different denotations, one as an entity that is coordinated with *John*, and one as a proposition (i.e. *Bill will accompany John to the party*) that is mitigated by *I think*. In Sect. 3 I noted that modelling this duel interpretation in the semantic component requires Bill to be utilised twice: something advised against by Klein and Sag (1985). Bearing this in mind, I model this duality in meaning by another means: the syntax.

   Considering that the <u>content kernel</u> of a Horn-amalgam (Lakoff 1974) like (69) exhibits the same duality of meaning observed in constituent PVCs constructions, I suggest that constituent PVC constructions are best understood as a type of amalgamation construction I call a *fragment amalgam*.

(69)   John is going to [*I think it is* <u>CHICAGO</u>] on Sunday.

To understand what is meant by this claim, I provide in Sect. 5.1 a brief outline of Horn-amalgams and Kluck's (2011) analysis thereof. Kluck's analysis will serve as a point departure for the discussion of fragment amalgams in Sect. 5.2. In Sect. 5.3, I provide evidence to support my proposal that apparent constituent PVC constructions should be analysed as fragment amalgams, and also discuss issues that arise from adopting this proposal.

### 5.1 Horn-amalgams: Kluck (2011)

Horn-amalgams are the amalgamation of two CPs, which appear *prime facie* to share a constituent (the *content kernel*). These two CPs are the *host clause* and the *interrupting clause* (IC). In the Horn-amalgam in (70), (71a) is the host clause, (71b) is the interrupting clause, and *Chicago* is the <u>content kernel</u>.

(70)   John is going to [*I think it is* CHICAGO] on Sunday.

(71)   a.   John is going to CHICAGO on Sunday.              *Host clause*
       b.   I think it is CHICAGO.                            *Interrupting clause*

Kluck (2011) shows that (71a–b) are better analysed as (72a–b). She shows that the content kernel is not shared between the host clause and the IC, but rather that the host clause contains a null variable *e* (akin to *someone, something, somehow*, etc.) which co-refers with the content kernel in the IC (72a). The IC itself is not a simple truncated cleft (as in (71b)), but a full *it*-cleft, in which the content of the host clause is redundantly repeated (72b). In Kluck's analysis the predicate of the *it*-cleft (i.e. the pivot *Chicago* plus the cleft clause *that John is going to on Sunday*) is derived by raising *Chicago* from its base-generated position within the cleft clause to a position that dominates the cleft clause.

(72)   a.   John is going to $e^i$ on Sunday.
       b.   I think it is [CHICAGO$_1^i$ [that John is going to $t_1$ on Sunday]].

Kluck (2011:275–291) proposes that (72a) and (72b) are amalgamated by *par*-Merge. While similar to the *par*-Merge discussed in Sect. 2.2 in relation to the attachment of clausal PAR-PVCs to their host clause, the *par*-Merge that derives Horn-amalgams displays a crucial difference. In Horn-amalgams, Par is bivalent, selecting for a complement (the IC) and a specifier (the null variable *e*), thus parenthetically **coordinating** *e* and the IC.[18] Par and the IC *par*-Merge, creating a bar-level, Par'. Because they are *par*-Merged, Par and the IC are paratactically construed with respect to Par' (and all the nodes which come to dominate Par'). Par' and *e* then concatenate via set-Merge to form ParP. ParP then set-Merges to the 'spine' of the host clause, and thus satisfies the c-selection requirements of the host clause's phrasal verb—just like a regular coordination phrase may (see (73)). The fact that Par selects for *e* provides an explanation for why ICs are always adjacent to *e* and are not *par*-Merged freely within the host clause.

(73)   John is going to [$_{ParP}$ $e^i$ <$_{Par'}$ Par$^0$ [$_{CP}$$^{IC}$ I think it's CHICAGO$_1^i$ that John is going to $t_1$ on Sunday]>] on Sunday.

To derive the surface structure seen in (73), the cleft clause of the IC undergoes ellipsis (74).

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[18]Paratactic coordination of *e* (typically a DP, NP, AP, or PP) and the IC (a CP) clearly violates the Law of Coordination of Likes. Kluck, building on the work of Koster (2000), argues that paratactic coordination need not obey this law. Rather than attempt to condense Kluck's in-depth argumentation here, I refer the interested reader to her work (Kluck 2011: Sect. 7.2).

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(74)   John is going to [$_{ParP}$ $e^i$ $<_{Par'}$ $Par^0$ [$_{CP}$$^{IP}$ I think it's C̲H̲I̲C̲A̲G̲O̲$_1$$^i$ ~~that John is going to $t_1$ on Sunday~~]>] on Sunday.



Assuming that both the remnant and its correlate are treated as existentially bound variables for the sake of licensing, semantic recoverability is obtained if the elided clause and its licensing clause mutually entail one another (Merchant 2001). Because the cleft clause and its licensing clause (i.e. the clause in which it is contained) mutually entail one another in (73) (see (75)), recoverability is obtained in Horn-amalgams (Kluck 2011:146–149).[19]

(75)   Licensing clause    $= \exists x$ (John is going to $x$ on Sunday)
       cleft clause        $= \exists x$ (John is going to $x$ on Sunday)

---

[19]If ellipsis does not occur in (74), the construction is unacceptable, as (i) illustrates. This suggests that, unlike ellipsis in sluices (Ross 1967) and regular fragment answers (Merchant 2004), ellipsis is obligatory in Horn-amalgams (and consequently fragment amalgams, see Sect. 5.2). How to model obligatory ellipsis is still uncertain (though see Richards 2001 and Thoms 2012 for pertinent proposals). That ellipsis is obligatory in Horn and fragment amalgams is not cause for suspicion however, as obligatory ellipsis is required in other well-studied elliptical constructions too, such as *multiple sluices* (Park and Kang 2007) (ii), *swipes* (Hartman and Ai 2009) (iii) and comparative deletion (Kennedy and Merchant 2000) (iv).

(i)   *John is going to [I think it is C̲H̲I̲C̲A̲G̲O̲ that John is going to on Sunday] on Sunday.

(ii)  I know that in each instance one of the girls got something for one of the boys.
      But they didn't tell me [[which]$_1$ [[for which]$_2$ [~~$t_1$ got something $t_2$~~]].

(iii) John fixed the car, but I don't know [what$_2$ [[with $t_2$]$_1$ [~~John fixed the car $t_1$~~]]].

(iv)  Norman wrote as interesting a thesis as Bert did [~~write a thesis~~].

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## 5.2 Fragment amalgams

As mentioned in introductory paragraphs of Sect. 5 above, I propose that what I called in pre-theoretical terms *constituent PVCs* such as those in (76) are actually, in theoretical terms, what I term *fragment amalgams*.

(76) a. John is going to [*I think* CHICAGO] on Sunday.
     b. John is going to [CHICAGO *I think*] on Sunday.

We saw in Sect. 5.1 that Kluck's (2011) analysis captures the duality of meaning of the content kernel in Horn-amalgams via parenthetical coordination of a clausal structure (in the case of Horn-amalgams, an *it*-cleft) at the level of the subclausal constituent. *Fragment amalgamation* is the extension of Kluck's proposal to other clausal structures. Pertinently, I propose that *fragment amalgams* are derived via parenthetical coordination of the clausal structures proposed for fragment answer PVC constructions in Sect. 4.1 (namely (44B), (46B–B′), and (47B)).

I now outline the proposed syntax for each of these fragment amalgam constructions in turn, and then discuss issues that arise from these proposals in Sect. 5.3.

Firstly, I propose that PVCs that linearly precede the constituent that they modify, and which do not license subject-verb inversion in Dutch and German, are SUB-PVCs. In these constructions, the parenthetical verb c-selects for a complement clause in which ellipsis occurs; thus deriving a complex clause with identical syntax to (44B). This complex clause is then parenthetically coordinated with *e*, in an identical manner to that observed in Sect. 5.1, where *e* and an *it*-cleft were parenthetically coordinated to derive Horn-amalgams.[20] This coordination derives the fragment amalgam in (77).

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[20]Note that the coreference between the content kernel and the IC is regular coreference, of the type R-expressions and pronouns display across the discourse. It is not AGREE, or any other linking mechanism that requires c-command to pertain between the 'probe' and 'goal'. That this relationship is anaphoric correctly predicts that coreference can be sustained at a distance, as (i) illustrates. (Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.)

(i) Bill gates has a fortune of [$e_i$ I heard the news that CNN claims that it is [more than 100 billion DOLLARS]$_i$].

Note however that coreference alone does not suffice to license *e*, as *e* is illicit in environments where coreference is established but *e* is not provided a definite description by a finite CP modifier (ii).

(ii) *John went to $e_i$. Pete went to Utrecht$_i$, too.

That *e*'s distribution is limited to amalgams raises the concern that its postulation is *ad hoc*. Fortunately, independent warrant for postulating *e* is available. From a semantic perspective, *e* is required to ensure that (iiia) correctly entails (iiib). (An account like C&T's incorrectly predicts that (iiia) entails (iiic).) Also, from an empirical perspective, *e* can be morphologically realised (iv).

(iii) a. John kissed [*I think* MARY] on Saturday.
     b. John kissed someone on Saturday.
     c. John kissed Mary on Saturday.

(iv) John kissed {*e*/someone}—*I think* MARY—on Saturday.

(77) John is going to [$_{ParP}$ $e^i$ $<_{Par'}$ Par$^0$ [$_{CP}$$^{IC}$ I think [$_{CP}$ CHICAGO$_1$$^i$ [~~John is going to $t_1$ on Sunday~~]]]>] on Sunday.



an identical derivation to (44B)
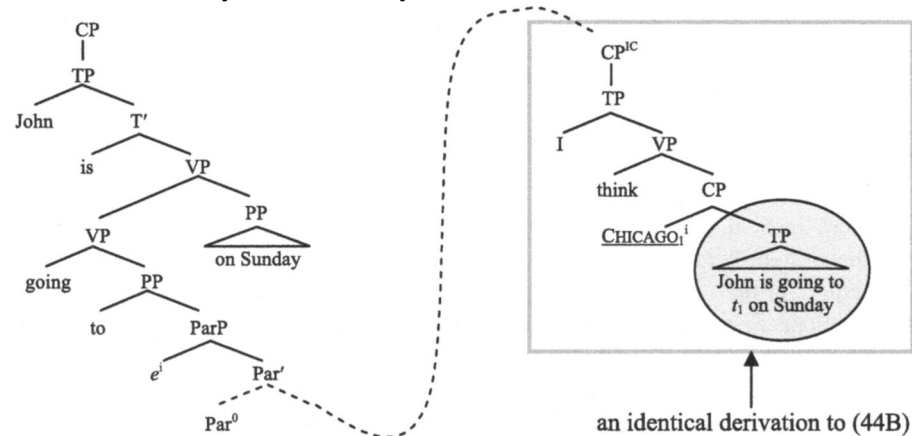
Recall from Sect. 4 that the derivation in (44B) accounts for the fact that mitigative PVCs that precede the fragment answer that they modify may not display *so/zo*. This is because, in (44B), the parenthetical verb c-selects the clausal host directly, rather than selecting for a host-denoting element such as C&T's *pro_zo*. If examples like (76a) display the underlying syntactic derivation in (77) (which **includes** (44B)), then one expects *so/zo* to be unavailable in these constructions, too. This is borne out, as (78) illustrates.

(78) a. John is going to [*I think* (\**so*) CHICAGO] on Sunday.

b. Tussen    [*ik dacht*    (\**zo*)   TILBURG] en   Amsterdam wordt de  weg
   between I   thought    so   Tilburg       and Amsterdam is      the road
   opengebroken.                                                          *Dutch*
   open-broken
   'Between [*I thought* TILBURG] and Amsterdam the road is broken open.'
                                                             (modified from C&T 2001)

c. Theo hat einen  [*ich glaube* (\**so*) ziemlich GEFÄHRLICHEN] Hund
   Theo has a.ACC I   believe    so   rather    dangerous.ACC Dog
   gekauft.                                                               *German*
   bought
   'Theo has bought a [*I believe* rather DANGEROUS] dog.'
                                                (modified from Fortmann 2007:90, fn. 4)

As discussed in Sect. 4, an embedded clause permits topicalisation—and therefore ellipsis—if it may express illocutionary force. Seeing as a clause $\gamma$ that is embedded under a parenthetical verb expresses illocutionary force by definition (see Sect. 1), $\gamma$ permits topicalisation and consequently ellipsis. This fact can be utilised to provide evidence that constructions like (76a) are indeed derived by ellipsis, as the derivation in (77) implies. To see how, consider the Horn-amalgam in (79), which illustrates

that Horn-amalgams are acceptable when the *it*-cleft in the IC is subordinated under a clause that does not perform a parenthetical (i.e. *evidential*) function.[21]

(79)  John will get [$_{\text{ParP}}$ $e_i$ $<_{\text{Par}'}$ Par$^0$ [I presume I have to convince you that it's a DIDGERIDOO$_i$]>] for his birthday.                              (Kluck 2011:182)

The Horn-amalgam in (79) contrasts with the fragment amalgam in (80b). In fragment amalgams, the content kernel must immediately follow a parenthetical verb (compare (80a) to (80b)).

(80)  a.  John will get [$_{\text{ParP}}$ $e_i$ $<_{\text{Par}'}$ Par$^0$ [I presume <u>a DIDGERIDOO$_i$</u>]>] for his birthday.
      b.  *John will get [$_{\text{ParP}}$ $e_i$ $<_{\text{Par}'}$ Par$^0$ [I presume I have to convince you <u>a DIDGERIDOO$_i$</u>]>] for his birthday.

The contrast between (79) and (80b) is expected on the current account, which states that the content kernel of a fragment amalgam is a remnant of clausal ellipsis that is topicalised to the CP-domain of the IC's subordinate clause. As was discussed in Sect. 4, topicalisation is available only in subordinate clauses that may express illocutionary force. Thus, (80b) is unacceptable because topicalisation is unavailable (see (81)), and ellipsis cannot occur. Example (79), on the other hand, is acceptable because no topicalisation of the pivot of the *it*-cleft is required (see the derivation in (74)).

(81)  *I presume I have to convince you that a DIDGERIDOO$_1$ John'll get for $t_1$ his birthday.

Similar evidence that (76a) is derived from ellipsis comes from *unfrontable remnants*. As is well-known, manner adjuncts cannot be topicalised over clauses containing negation (82). That (83a) is as unacceptable as (82) further illustrates that (83) is derived from an ellipsis operation that requires topicalisation (see (83b)).[22]

(82)  *I heard [in an INAPPROPRIATE MANNER]$_1$ John didn't behave $t_1$ at the party.

(83)  a.  *John didn't behave [*I heard* in an INAPPROPRIATE MANNER] at the party.
      b.  *John didn't behave [$_{\text{ParP}}$ $e_i$ $<_{\text{Par}'}$ Par$^0$ [*I heard* [[in an INAPPROPRIATE MANNER]$_1$ ~~John didn't behave $t_1$ at the party~~]]>] at the party.

---

[21]One might argue that the *it*-cleft in (79) is c-selected by a parenthetical verb, contrary to my claim. I do not deny that the verb *convinced* can be used as a PVC (see (i)). All parenthetical verbs have a non-parenthetical function (see Sect. 1). What is important to assess is whether a verb performs a parenthetical function in the environment in which it is observed. In (79), *convinced* refers to an action due to be performed by the speaker. It does not refer to the speaker's mental state of *being convinced*—a state to which the speaker shifts the burden of responsibility for the truth of the assertion *John has stolen my identity* in (i). Thus, the use of *convinced* observed in (79) results in an unintegrated insertion when interpolated into a host clause (see (ii)), and not an integrated PAR-PVC.

(i)  John has, *I'm quite convinced*, stolen my identity.

(ii) John has—*I have to convince you*—stolen your identity.

[22]Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

Secondly, I propose that PVCs that interpolate into or follow the constituent that they modify, and which display subject-verb inversion in Dutch and German, are PAR-PVCs. These PAR-PVCs are *par*-Merged with a monovalent Par to create ParP. ParP is then pair-Merged to a root clause in which ellipsis occurs. The derivation of these root clauses is identical in all the relevant respects to the derivations in (46B–B′) (in the PVC-final cases, see (84a–b)), and to the derivation in (47B) (in the PVC-medial cases, see (85)). These root clauses are then paratactically coordinated with *e*, in an identical manner to that observed in Sect. 5.1, where *e* and an *it*-cleft were parenthetically coordinated to derive Horn-amalgams. This derives the fragment amalgams in (84) and (85).

(84)  [JOOP (*zo*) *denk ik*] en  Jaap komen uit  Nederland.                           *Dutch*
      Joop    so  think I  and Jaap come   out Netherlands
      '[JOOP *so I think*] and Jaap come from the Netherlands.'

   a.  Jaap en [$_{ParP}$ $e^i$ $<_{Par'}$ Par$^0$ [$_{CP}^{IC}$ [$_{CP}$ JOOP$_1^i$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Jaap en $t_1$ komen uit Nederland~~]] $<_{ParP}$ Par$^0$ [$_{CP}^{PVC}$ denk$_2$ ik $t_2$]>]>] komen uit Nederland.



an identical derivation to (46B)
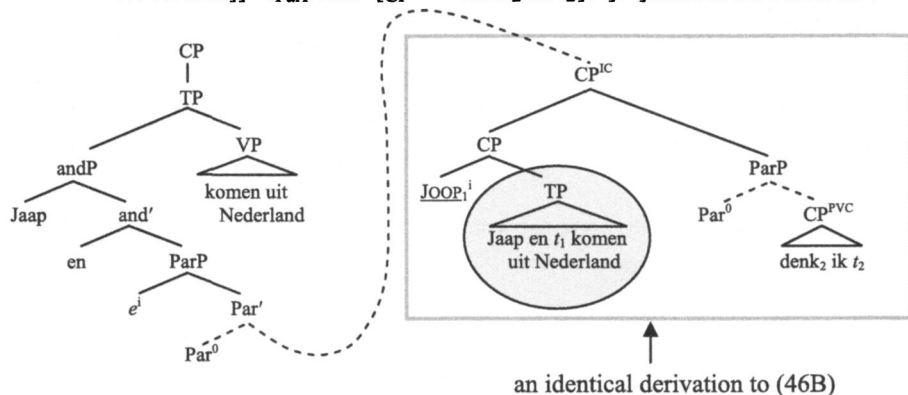
   *OR*

   b.  Jaap en [$_{ParP}$ $e^i$ $<_{Par'}$ Par$^0$ [$_{CP}^{IC}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ JOOP$^i$] $<_{ParP}$ Par$^0$ [$_{CP}^{PVC}$ denk$_2$ ik $t_2$]>]$_1$ [$_{TP}$ ~~Jaap en $t_1$ komen uit Nederland~~]]>] komen uit Nederland.



an identical derivation to (46B′)
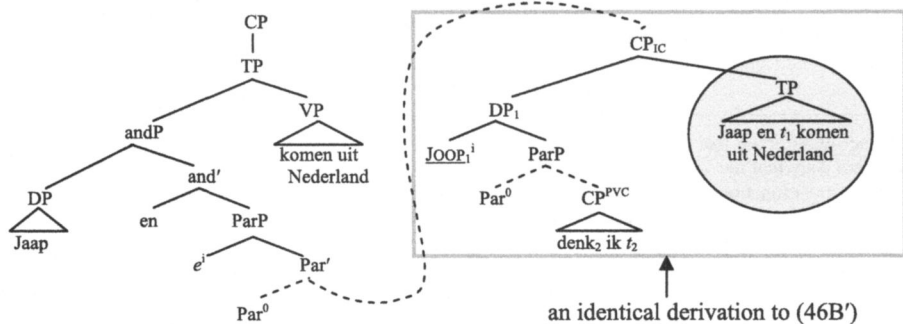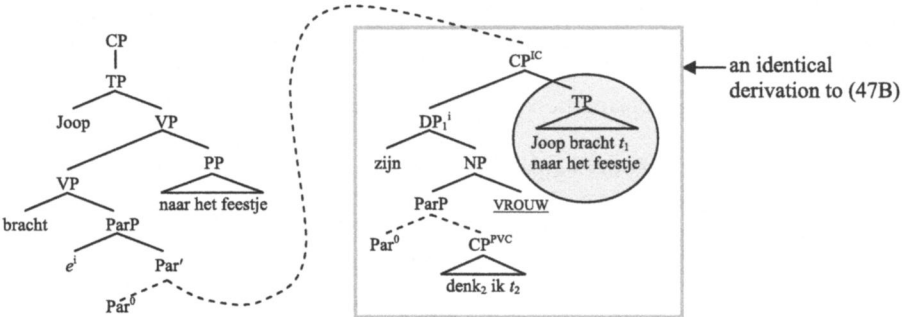
(85)  Joop bracht   [zijn (*zo*) *denk ik* VROUW] naar het feestje.
      Joop brought  his  so  think I  wife       to   the party
      'Joop brought [his, *so I think*, WIFE] to the party.'

[$_{CP}$$^{HOST}$ [$_{TP}$ Joop [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ bracht [$_{ParP}$ $e^i$ <$_{Par'}$ Par$^0$ [$_{CP}$$^{IC}$ [$_{DP}$ zijn [$_{NP}$ <$_{ParP}$ Par$^0$ [$_{CP}$$^{PVC}$ denk$_2$ ik $t_2$]>[$_{NP}$ V̲R̲O̲U̲W̲]]]$^i$]$_1$ [$_{TP}$ J̶o̶o̶p̶ ̶b̶r̶a̶c̶h̶t̶ ̶$t̶_T̶$ ̶n̶a̶a̶r̶ ̶h̶e̶t̶ ̶f̶e̶e̶s̶t̶j̶e̶]]> [$_{PP}$ naar het feestje]]]]



← an identical derivation to (47B)

Recall from Sect. 4.1 that the derivations in (46B–B′) and (47B) account for the fact that PVCs that interpolate into or follow the fragment answer that they modify may display *so/zo*. If examples like (76b) display the underlying syntactic derivation in (84a) or (84b) (which **include** (46B) or (46B′)), then one expects *so/zo* to be licensed in these constructions, too. This is borne out, as (86) illustrates.

(86) a. John is going to [C̲H̲I̲C̲A̲G̲O̲ (*so*) *I'm told*] on Sunday.

b. Tussen [T̲I̲L̲B̲U̲R̲G̲ (*zo*) *dacht ik*] en Amsterdam wordt de weg
   between Tilburg     so thought I   and Amsterdam is     the road
   opengebroken.                                              *Dutch*
   open-broken
   'Between *I thought so* Tilburg and Amsterdam the road is broken open.'

c. Theo hat [einen ziemlich G̲E̲F̲Ä̲H̲R̲L̲I̲C̲H̲E̲N̲ (*so*) *glaube ich*] Hund
   Theo has a.ACC rather    dangerous.ACC  so believe I    dog
   gekauft.                                                   *German*
   bought
   'Theo has bought a rather *I believe* dangerous dog.'

To summarise this subsection: I propose to model the duality in meaning of modified constituents by extending Kluck's (2011) analysis of Horn-amalgams to constituent PVC constructions. My proposal has three major benefits. Firstly, it requires no amendments to set of properties attributed to clausal PVCs in Sect. 2. On my proposal, the PVCs in constituent PVC constructions modify a clause, just as in clausal and fragment answer PVC constructions. Moreover, on my proposal, the verb in PVC-initial constituent PVC constructions c-selects for a clause, just as in the verb in clausal and fragment answer SUB-PVC constructions does. Secondly, my proposal confers parsimony in that it utilises the derivations posited for fragment answer PVC constructions in Sect. 4.1 to account for the distribution of constituent PVC constructions.[23] Thirdly, my proposal accounts for why the modified constituent is interpreted

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[23] An anonymous reviewer wonders why, if fragment amalgams contain fragment answers, island violations are that are observed some fragment answers are not observed in fragment amalgams. This can be explained by appeal to the parallelism constraint discussed in Sect. 4. Recall that island violations are ob-

with two semantic denotations (i.e. one as a variable and another as a proposition): there exist in the syntax two parenthetically coordinated constituents in the same argument position. One, $e$, is an entity, and another, the IC, is a proposition. Thus, the correct interpretation of constituent PVC constructions can be derived in the syntax, without recourse to an embellished LF.

### 5.3 Constituent PVC constructions as fragment amalgams: additional comments

In this subsection, I explore in greater depth the idea that constituent PVC constructions are fragment amalgams. Specifically, I clarify how my proposal accounts for the distribution of anaphor and strong quantifier binding and Case in constituent PVC constructions. In this subsection I also provide some remarks about structural ambiguity.

I first discuss anaphor and strong quantifier binding. Recall from Sect. 5.2 that the IC of fragment amalgams is undominated by any nodes that dominate Par', as Par' is the output of *par*-Merge of Par and the IC. In addition to this, also recall that the remnant of ellipsis within the IC is head of an A'-chain whose foot is base-generated in the elided clause. These two facts make an interesting prediction with respect to the distribution of anaphors and strong quantifiers in fragment amalgams; that (i) no variables within the IC can be bound by binders which c-command Par', and (ii) the remnant within the IC reconstructs into the elided clause.

This prediction is borne out. Regarding quantifier binding, consider the examples in (87). In (87a), the negatively quantified DP *no professor* cannot be interpreted as binding *his students* in the IC. Conversely, in (87b), *his mistress* **can** be interpreted as bound by *no professor*. The interpretation in (87b) is possible not because *his mistress* is bound by *no professor* in the host clause, but because *his mistress* is bound by a separate, unpronounced instance of *no professor* in the elided cleft clause into which *his mistress* reconstructs (see (88)).

(87)  a.  *No professor$_i$ taught [$_{ParP}$ $e$ $<_{Par'}$ Par$^0$ [*his$_i$ students think*
          *a BORING class*]>].
      c.  No professor$_i$ believes the gossip about [$_{ParP}$ $e$ $<$ Par$^0$ [*I think*
          *his$_i$ MISTRESS*]>].

(88)  *After reconstruction*:
      No professor believes the gossip about [$_{ParP}$ $e$ $<_{Par'}$ Par$^0$ [$_{IC}$ I think [H̶I̶S̶

---

served under ellipsis only if (A) a contrastive relationship pertains between the remnant of ellipsis and its correlate in the licensing clause (see (57)), and (B) the correlate is an *accommodated* argument contained within an island (see fn. 21). In fragment amalgams, neither situation arises. Regarding (A), the correlate in fragment amalgams (*e*, akin to *someone*, *something*, etc.) and the remnant (JAM in (i)) always stand in a non-contrastive relation: a relation that permits islands to be obviated under fragments (see (58)). Regarding (B), the correlate, while implicit, need never be *accommodated*, as the presence of the IC **entails** the presence of correlate.

(i)  John likes to spread butter and [$_{ParP}$ [$_{CORRELATE}$ $e^i$] $<_{Par'}$ *I believe* [[$_{REMNANT}$ J̲A̲M̲]$_1$$^i$ [J̶o̶h̶n̶ ̶l̶i̶k̶e̶s̶ ̶t̶o̶
     s̶p̶r̶e̶a̶d̶ ̶b̶u̶t̶t̶e̶r̶ ̶a̶n̶d̶ ̶$t_1$ ̶o̶n̶ ̶h̶i̶s̶ ̶t̶o̶a̶s̶t̶]]>] on his toast.

~~MISTRESS~~$_T$ [no professor$^i$ believes the gossip about [HIS MISTRESS]$_1{}^i$]]]>].

The same distribution is observed with reflexives. In (89a), *himself* cannot be bound by *John* in the host clause. Again, the content kernel in (89b) can be interpreted as bound, due to the fact that it reconstructs into the elided clause (see (90)).[24]

(89)  a.  *John$_i$ is going to [$_{ParP}$ $e$ <$_{Par'}$ Par$^0$ [*himself*$_i$ *reckons* <u>CHICAGO</u>]>] on Sunday.
      b.  A: Who does John regard a little too highly?
          B: John$_i$ regards [$_{ParP}$ $e$ <$_{Par'}$ Par$^0$ [*I think* <u>HIMSELF$_i$</u>]>] a little too highly.

(90)  *After reconstruction*:
      John regards [$_{ParP}$ $e$ <$_{Par'}$ Par$^0$ [I think [~~HIMSELF~~$_1$ [John$^i$ regards HIMSELF$_1{}^i$ a little too highly]]]>] a little too highly.

Now I turn to discuss case-marking. A salient dissimilarity observed between Horn-amalgams and fragment amalgams concerns the morphological case assigned to the content kernel. Kluck (2011) demonstrates that, in German and Greek, the content kernel is assigned nominative case—the same case that is assigned to pivots of *it*-clefts in regular *it*-cleft constructions (compare (91) to (92)).[25]

(91)  Ich glaube dass es {dieser    Junge /   *diesen    Jungen} war, den Bea
      I    believe that it   this.NOM boy.NOM  this.ACC boy.ACC was, that Bea
      schlug.                                                         *German*
      hit
      'I believe it was THIS BOY that Bea hit.'

(92)  Bea schlug [ich glaube dass es {dieser    Junge/   *diesen    Jungen} war].
      Bea hit      I    believe that it   this.NOM boy.NOM  this.ACC boy.ACC was
      'Bea hit [*I believe it was* <u>THIS BOY</u>].'              (Kluck 2011:187)

In fragment amalgams however, the content kernel receives the same case that the variable *e* in the host clause with which it is co-indexed would receive if *e* were morphologically realised. This is exemplified in the German example below.

(93)  A:  Hat Theo einen  NETTEN  Hund gekauft?                     *German*
          has Theo a.ACC  nice.ACC dog   bought
          'Has Theo bought a NICE dog?'
      B:  Theo hat [einen *ich glaube* <u>ziemlich GEFÄHRLICHEN</u>] Hund gekauft.
          Theo has a.ACC  I    believe rather    dangerous.ACC dog   bought
          'Theo has bought a [*I believe* <u>rather DANGEROUS</u>] dog.'

---

[24]It is important to note here that no difference in acceptability pertains between PVC-initial fragment amalgams (i.e. '…*I think* <u>CHICAGO</u>…') and PVC-final fragment amalgams (i.e. '…<u>CHICAGO</u> *I think*…') with respect to quantifier and reflexive binding. Thus, in (87) and (89), the same judgements hold regardless of the linear position of the PVC respective to the content kernel.

[25]For an anonymous reviewer, (92) is unacceptable without the accusatively Case-marked *diesen*. This suggests that Kluck's (2011) analysis of Horn-amalgams may need some amendment in order to account for possible speaker variation in the case-marking of the *it*-cleft's pivot.

This dissimilarity is expected on the current account, which treats the content kernel (i.e. *ziemlich gefährlichen* in (93B)) as a remnant of ellipsis in a subordinate clause. As was discussed in Sect. 4.2, remnants of ellipsis are assigned case in their base-generated position within the elided clause. Thus, the same distribution of case is expected—and is observed—in fragment amalgams.

(94)  Theo hat einen [*ich glaube* [CP [ziemlich GEFÄHRLICHEN]₁ [TP ~~Theo hat~~
      Theo has a.ACC I      believe      rather      dangerous.ACC      Theo has
      ~~einen *t*ₜ Hund gekauft~~]] Hund gekauft.
      a.ACC      dog      bought      dog      bought

To summarise, I have endeavoured to show that the distribution of case and variable-binding observed in constituent PVC constructions can be accounted for on an account that treats them as fragment amalgams.

The final issue I wish to address concerns structural ambiguity. Structural ambiguity is present whenever a PVC may exhibit either SUB-PVC or PAR-PVC word order. Often, prosody may disambiguate such structures, but not always. To provide an exemplar case of ambiguity, consider (95B), where the PVC shares an intonational domain with the prominent *für Mary*. (Guillemets denote the shared intonational domain, or a portion thereof.)

(95)  A:  Was  hat Hans gekauft?                                            *German*
          What has Hans bought?
      B:  Ein Geschenk «{(*so*) *glaube ich* / *ich glaube* (\**so*)} für MARY».
          a      gift            so believe I    I    believe  so  for Mary

That *für Mary* and the PVC share an intonational domain does not constitute evidence that the PVC exclusively modifies *für Mary*, as medial-PVCs may modify an entire host clause and yet share an intonational domain with only a subsection of it (Dehé 2007). Thus, (95B) is structurally and prosodically ambiguous between a fragment answer PAR-PVC construction (96a) and constituent SUB-PVC construction that is contained within a fragment answer (96b). This gives rise to the PVC's fluctuating word order.

(96)  a.  [CP [Ein Geschenk [<ParP Par⁰ [*glaube ich*]> [für MARY]]]₁ [~~Hans hat *t*ₜ~~
          ~~gekauft~~]].
      b.  [CP [Ein Geschenk [ParP *e*ⁱ <Par' Par⁰ [*ich glaube* [[für MARY]₂ [~~Hans hat~~
          ~~ein Geschenk *t*₂ gekauft~~]]]>]]₁ [~~Hans hat *t*ₜ gekauft~~]].

When the PVC shares an intonational domain with the prominent *ein Geschenk* (97B), the same prosodic and structural ambiguity arises, but in reverse. Here the PVC is interpreted as either modifying the constituent *ein Geschenk* (98b), or as modifying the entire fragment answer (98a).

(97)  B:  «Ein GESCHENK {(*so*) *glaube ich* / \* *ich glaube* (*so*)}» «für Mary».
                                                                              *German*

(98)  a.  [CP [Ein GESCHENK [<ParP Par⁰ [*glaube ich*]> [für Mary]]]₁ [~~Hans hat *t*ₜ~~
          ~~gekauft~~]].

   b.   $[_{CP}$ $[[_{ParP}$ $e^i$ $<_{Par'}$ $Par^0$ $[_{CP}$ $[_{CP}$ [Ein GESCHENK]$_2$ [~~Hans hat $t_2$ für Mary gekauft~~]] $<_{ParP}$ $Par^0$ [*glaube ich*]$>$]$>$][für Mary]]$_2$ [~~Hans hat $t_2$ gekauft~~]

Under either interpretation of (97B), the PVC does not linearly precede its host, and consequently only a PAR-PVC word order is permitted, as predicted on the current approach.

   Disambiguation of (95B) and (97B) is achieved when the PVC shares an intonational domain with neither *ein Geschenk* nor *für Mary* (99B). In (99B), only the 'fragment answer PVC' interpretation is available. Considering that the PVC in (99B) can only be interpreted as medial, only a PAR-PVC word order is permitted.

(99)   B:   «Ein GESCHENK»«{(*so*) *glaube ich* / * *ich glaube* (*so*)}» «für MARY».
                                                                                                  *German*

A different type of ambiguity may arise between constituent PVC constructions and certain clausal PVC constructions. This ambiguity is exemplified by cases like (100).

(100)      A:   Who kissed John?
   a.      B: MARY kissed John, *I hear*.
   b.      B: *I'll bet* John was kissed by MARY.

Although the PVCs in (100) are interpreted as modifying the constituent *Mary* rather than the entire clause, these constructions cannot be 'constituent PVCs' as defined here (i.e. as *fragment amalgams*), as the PVC and the modified constituent in each example are linearly non-adjacent. In fragment amalgams, the PVC and the modified constituent **must** appear linearly adjacent, as they are phrase-mates; the only two survivors of the ellipsis that occurs in the IC. Thus, (100a–b) are not 'true' constituent PVC constructions, but clausal PVC constructions in which the modified clause displays a particular focus-background structure. Thus, the narrow focus borne by *Mary* in (100) provides the received 'constituent PVC' interpretation.

   Needless to say, this 'focus-background' explanation for (100) cannot extend to all constituent PVC constructions (something that would render the *fragment amalgam* approach redundant) unless one wishes to lose an explanation for why one observes constituent PVCs with SUB-PVC properties (i.e. no *so/zo*, no subject-verb inversion) in Dutch and German. If such constituent PVCs were simply interpolated into the host clause in the same manner as clausal PAR-PVCs, one must concede that PAR-PVCs do not display a definitive set of properties (i.e. licensing *so/zo*, requiring subject-verb inversion): an unwelcome concession. Moreover, by appealing the focus-background structure of the host clause to explain 'constituent PVC' interpretations in all cases, one cannot account for why PVCs cannot interpolate into constituents other than those being modified—especially considering that parenthetical interpolation is syntactically unconstrained (Kaltenböck 2007:43).

(101)   A:   Who wrote this book?
            B: *[That *I guess* book was written by MARY].
                  (*intended interpretation*: that book was written by someone, and I guess that someone is MARY)

On the fragment amalgamation approach the unacceptability of (101B) is accounted for, however, as it predicts that only the constituent into which the PVC interpolates (*that book* in (101B)) can be paratactically coordinated with *e*, and thus only *that book* can be understood as providing a definite description of *e*.

Thus, the examples in (100) exemplify that a 'constituent PVC' interpretation can be attained by two means: either by (i) fragment amalgamation, or by (ii) attaching a PVC to a host clause that exhibits a particular focus-background structure. In many cases, the structure is ambiguous as to which means is employed. When the PVC and the modified constituent are linearly non-adjacent (as in (100)) however, (ii) is disambiguated. Conversely, when the PVC and the modified constituent are linearly adjacent and the PVC displays SUB-PVC word order in Dutch or German, (i) is disambiguated.

## 6 Conclusion

In this paper I endeavoured to provide a plausible syntactic analysis of *fragment answer* and *constituent parenthetical verb clauses* (i.e. PVC) constructions in English, Dutch, and German.

I proposed that clausal, fragment answer, and constituent PVC constructions are, from a syntactic perspective, identical in all the relevant respects. In each construction type, the PVC modifies a full clause. In the case of fragment answer PVC constructions, ellipsis occurs in the modified clause. In the case of constituent PVC constructions, the PVC + modified clause (in which ellipsis also occurs) are paratactically coordinated with subclausal constituent in a 'superstructure' host clause.

I proposed that PVCs that linearly precede the clause that they modify are *subordinating PVCs* (SUB-PVCs). In SUB-PVC constructions, the parenthetical verb and modified clause are syntactic sisters. This proposal accounts for the fact that such PVCs—regardless of whether they appear to modify a clause, fragment answer or a subclausal constituent in the surface string—display the same properties: they do not license *so/zo*, they do not license subject-verb inversion in Dutch and German, and they do not license semantically vacuous negation in English.

I proposed that PVCs that linearly interpolate into or follow the clause that they modify are *parenthetical PVCs* (PAR-PVCs). PAR-PVCs are attached to their host via monovalent *par*-Merge. This proposal accounts for the fact that such PVCs—regardless of whether they appear to modify a clause, fragment answer or subclausal constituent in the surface string—display the same properties: they license *so/zo*, they display obligatory subject-verb in Dutch and German, and they license semantically vacuous negation in English.

Considering that all PVCs modify clauses, and considering the observed dichotomy between SUB-PVCs and PAR-PVCs, the following generalisation can be advanced:

(102) PVCs that linearly precede the clause that they modify are *subordinating* PVCs.
PVCs that linearly interpolate into or follow the clause that they modify are *paratactic* PVCs.

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How to explain the generalisation in (102) depends upon one's preferred analysis of the internal syntax of PAR-PVCs. On a proposal such as Corver and Thiersch's (2001), one may account for (102) by postulating that the operator that occupies SpecCP of the PAR-PVC is an anaphor that must follow or be surrounded by the host clause with which it corefers. On an approach such as Reis's (2000, 2002) and Steinbach's (2007), one may account for (102) by postulating that semantic licensing of the parenthetical verb's missing argument is subject to directionality restrictions: the licensor (or a portion thereof) must linearly precede the licensee. Either approach satisfactorily prevents PAR-PVCs from arising in an utterance-initial position. Which approach (if either) is correct remains a topic for future investigation.

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