

ON THE DERIVATION OF THE RELATION BETWEEN PRESUPPOSITIONS AND DEACCENTUATION: A BEST CASE MODEL

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1. INTRODUCTION

The basic observation...

- Factivity can be triggered (e.g. by modals, pronouns/clitics, prosody)

...and the basic proposal

- Some prosodically expressed information is part of the numeration (in the sense of an abstract morpheme, Embick and Noyer 2006) / drives (narrow) syntax

2. FACTIVITY AND SOME TRIGGERS OF IT

Factivity is defined in terms of presuppositions (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970)

- factive verbs presuppose the truth of their CP complements:

(1) I regretted that John left (*but in fact he didn't).

- non-factive verbs assert the truth of their CP complements

(2) I believed that John left (but in fact he didn't).

Also for non-factive verbs factivity can be triggered

- by modals

- (3) a. I believed that John left (but in fact he didn't).
b. Can you believe that John left? *In fact, he didn't.
c. I can believe that John left (*but in fact he didn't).

• by pleonastic *it*:

(4) I didn't believe it that John left. [I.e., It's incredible that John left.] *In fact he didn't.

The same pattern is replicable in German – note the correlative pronoun *es* 'it'.

- (5) a. *Er glaubte, dass Peter verstarb (aber tatsächlich lebt er noch).*
 he believed that Peter died (but factually lives he still)
 'He believed that Peter died (but in fact he is still alive).'
- b. *Er glaubte es, dass Peter verstarb (*aber tatsächlich lebt er noch).*
 he believed it that Peter died (but factually lives he still)
 'As for the fact that Peter died he believed it (*but actually he is still alive).'

Similarly, across several so-called clitic doubling languages (e.g. Albanian, Modern Greek), factivity is triggered by clitic pronouns doubling the CP complement:

- (6) a. *Besova se Beni shkoi (por në fakt ai nuk shkoi).* (Albanian)
 believed-I that Ben left (but in fact he not left)
 'I believed that Ben left (but in fact he didn't)'
- b. *E besova se Beni shkoi (*por në fakt (ai) nuk shkoi).*
 3S,CL,ACC believed-I that Ben left (but in fact he not left)
 'I believed the fact that Ben left (*but in fact he didn't)'
- (7) a. *Pistepsa oti o Janis efije (ala stin pragmatikotita den ejine kati tetio).* (MG)
 believed-I that the Janis left (but in.the reality neg happened something such)
- b. *To pistepsa oti o Janis efije (*ala stin pragmatikotita den ejine kati tetio).*
 it_{CL,ACC} believed-I that the Janis left (but in.the reality not happened something such)

2.1. CLITIC DOUBLING AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

A minimal pair:

- (8) a. *Ana lexoi libr-in.* (Albanian)
 Anna_{NOM} read book-the_{ACC}
 'Anna read the book.'
- b. *Ana e lexoi libr-in.*
 Anna_{NOM} 3S,CL,ACC read book-the_{ACC}
 'Anna read the Book.'

Complementarity of felicity conditions between sentences with/out doubled DPs

(9) A: *What did Anna do?* B: *Ana (*e) lexoi librin.*

(10) A: *What did Ana read?* B: *Ana (*e) lexoi librin.*

(11) A: *Who read the book?* B: *Ana *(e) lexoi librin.*

(12) A: *What did A do with the book?* B: *Ana *(e) lexoi librin.*

Principle (Kallulli 2000, 2001)

(13) Doubling clitics mark their associated DP/CP as [+Topic] (in the sense: [+Given])

2.2. PROSODY

Fig.1 English, non-factive, e.g. (2)

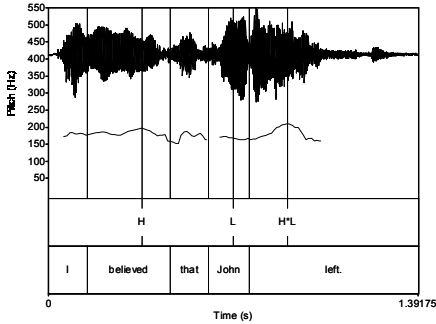


Fig.3 German: non-factive, e.g. (5a)

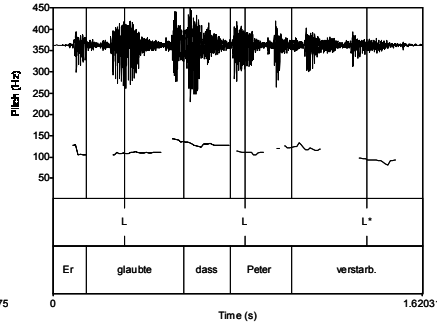


Fig.5 Albanian: non-factive, e.g. (6a)

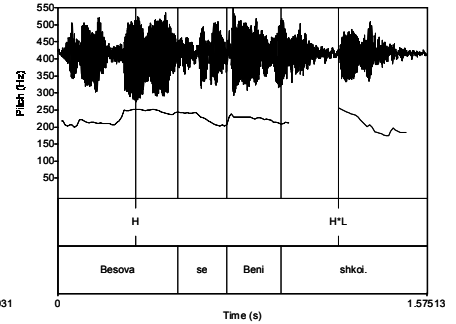


Fig.2 English, factive, e.g. (4)

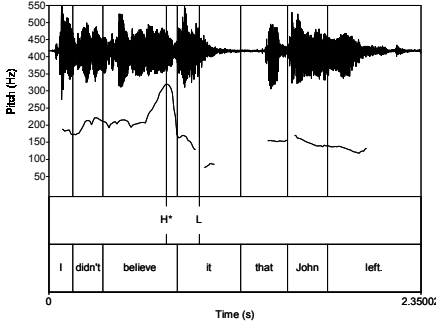


Fig.4 German: factive, e.g. (5b)

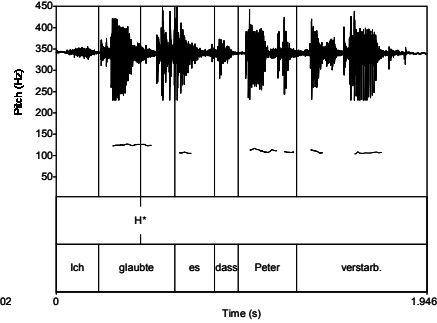


Fig.6 Albanian: factive, e.g. (6b)

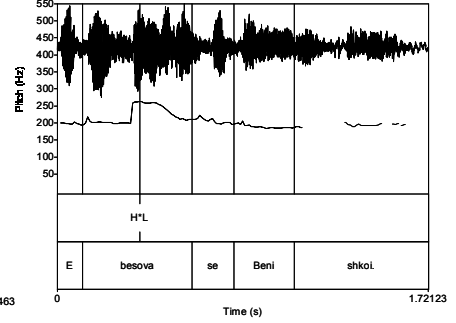


Fig.7 English: factive, e.g. (14)

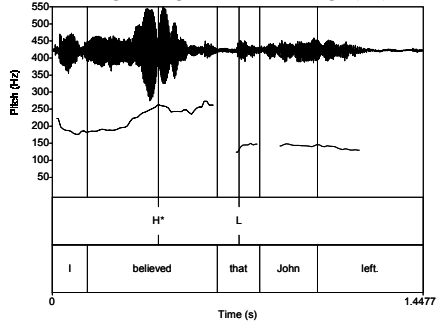
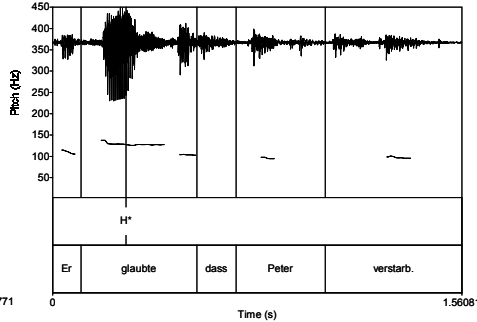


Fig.8 German: factive, e.g. (15)



• While correlative pronouns and/or modals are sufficient to trigger factivity in English / German, they are not necessary. Factivity in both languages can also be induced in the absence of these elements, provided that the matrix verb carries nuclear stress. (Fig.7 and Fig.8 – the prosodic structure of the underlined part of the examples in (14) and (15) in the given contexts (these were provided in order to elicit the factive reading), respectively. (Note also the similarity of the prosodic structures in Fig.2 and Fig.7 for English and in Fig.4 and Fig.8 for German.)

(14) I didn't see John leave my party, but then he called me from his home phone. Now it was obvious. I believed that John left.

(15) *Ich gab bekannt (die Tatsache), dass Peter verstarb. Zuerst wollte Hans nichts davon wissen. Dann zeigte ich ihm die Todesanzeige, und nun sah er die Sache anders. Er glaubte, dass Peter verstarb.*

'I made known (the fact) that Peter died. At first Hans didn't want to hear of it. Then I showed him the death certificate and now he saw the matter differently. He believed that Peter died.'

The (factive) embedded clauses are deaccented, and deaccenting is one means of expressing presupposition and/or discourse binding.¹

Accent on the verb can also come about because the verb is focused (i.e., verb focusing does not have to trigger factivity. Crucially, however, deaccenting of the clause and focus on the verb do not exclude each other.

2.4. INTERIM SUMMARY

- The prosodic structuring and the prosodic differentiation of the sentences with a verb used once as factive and once as non-factive is comparable in all three languages.
- Only in Albanian (and MG) there is a mechanism in the overt syntax that restricts both the information structure and the prosodic structure, namely the (clitic) pronoun. In English/German there is no pronoun always, but in view of factivity/non-factivity and prosodic structure correspondences, it appears that the relevant features are encoded prosodically, i.e., crucially still OVERTLY!

Questions to answer

- What is the connection between “topichood”/“givenness” and “presupposition”?
- How can the correlation between deaccenting and factivity be modelled syntactically?

¹ See e.g. Krifka (2001) on the role of deaccenting in determining the restrictor of an adverbial quantifier.

3. ANALYSIS

3.1 “GIVEN” VS. “PRESUPPOSED”

- A proposition can shift from being contextually “given” to being “presupposed”. I.e., to say that a sentence is “presupposed” can mean one of two things: either it is assumed to be true, or the proposition expressed by the sentence (“der Gedanke” in the sense of Frege) is “given”.

(16) Context: Hans has certainly heard in his geography class that Sydney is not the capital of Australia and that Toronto is not the capital of Canada.

Dennoch GLAUBT er (??es), dass Sydney die Hauptstadt von Australien ist.
still believes he it that Sydney the capital of Australia is
'Still, he believes that Sydney is the capital of Australia.'

3.2. “THE BEST CASE” (OR: IS PF REALLY SO DIFFERENT FROM CORE SYNTAX?)

“[T]he best case is that there is a single cycle only [...] and the [...] components of the derivation of <PHON, SEM> proceed cyclically in parallel. L contains operations that transfer each unit to Φ and to Σ . At the best case, these apply at the same stage of the cycle. Assume so.” (Chomsky 2004:107)

Contentions

- A definite pronoun naturally has the characteristic [+given], therefore it can mark a constituent as [+given].
- The status of the embedded clause as [+presupposed] must be expressed. This can be done via deaccenting and/or a clitic.
- The clitic is a probe for the goal (DP/CP) with an OCC-feature ([Topic]/[Destress]).

Implementation of clitic doubling as ‘Agree’ in the probe-goal relation (Chomsky 2000)

A probe is a set of uninterpretable ϕ -features that are valued and deleted by establishing an Agree relation with a goal containing matching interpretable ϕ -features.

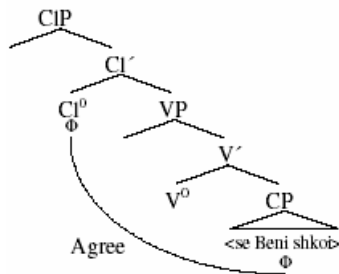
(17) Locality Condition (Chomsky 2000):

Agree holds between P and G just in case G is the closest set of features in the domain $D(P)$ of P that match those of P. The domain $D(P)$ of P is the sister of P, and G is closest to P if there is no G' matching P such that G is in $D(G')$.

The category with the probe-feature can also have an EPP- or an OCC-feature.

- OCC: the condition that an XP is an occurrence of a probe and licenses information structure.
- The OCC-feature of a head gets saturated by:
 - (i) Moving the required category in the domain of H (Chomsky 2001)
 - or:
 - (ii) Merging an expletive with H (Collins 1997, Bowers 2002)

(18)



- (19) **The Clitic Doubling Principle – A Universal Strategy**
 CI must be filled by prosodic information.

The locus of parametric variation

Unlike in English/German, in Albanian and other languages givenness of object DPs is achieved via doubling clitics (because English/German, but not Albanian allow free deaccenting).

English/German are similar to Albanian wrt object CPs; the “clitic”-strategy (“es”/“it”). Potential correlation with sentence length / heavier phonological weight (Féry & Samek-Lodovici 2006).

4. CONCLUSION

Our agenda was to argue that:

- ❶ Information structure is encoded in (core) syntax.
- ❷ At least some so-called PF-Operations are truly core syntax operations.

APPENDIX

Independent evidence for an (empty) expletive (parameter)

Unlike English/German, Dutch does not allow existential bare plurals in subject position, not even in embedded CPs.

- (20) a. *?*Honden kwamen de kamer binnen.* (van Geenhoven 1998)
dogs came the room in
b. *Er kwamen honden de kammer binnen.*
there came dogs the room in
'Dogs entered the room.'
- (21) a. **Fred denkt dat koeien op het dak liggen.* (Reuland 1988)
Fred thinks that cows on the roof lie
b. *Fred denkt dat er koeien op het dak liggen.*
Fred thinks that there cows on the roof lie
'Fred thinks that there are cows lying on the roof.'
c. *Fred denkt dat koeien lui zijn.*
Fred thinks that cows lazy are
'Fred thinks that cows are lazy.'

E(mpty) E(xpletive) P(arameter) is operative in English/German but not in Dutch.

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