

Embedded V2, Factivity and Main Point of Utterance

Kajsa Djärv*, Caroline Heycock† and Hannah Rohde†

*University of Pennsylvania, †University of Edinburgh

kdjarv@sas.upenn.edu, caroline.heycock@ed.ac.uk, hannah.rohde@ed.ac.uk

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Introduction

- What are the constraints on where V2 can appear in complement clauses (one type of **E**Embedded **V2**)?
- Is EV2 sensitive primarily to local lexical constraints or to pragmatic factors concerning the status of the embedded clause in the larger discourse context?
- Today: New experimental results.

Outline

Introduction

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Background

- Swedish, like all Scandinavian languages, is robustly V2 in root clauses.
- In embedded clauses, V2 is never required, but is sometimes possible:

(1) EV2 evidenced by Subject V_{fin}-Neg/Adv order:

Han sa att han (**har**) aldrig (**har**) gillat broccoli.
 He said that he **have** never **have** liked broccoli.
 ‘He said that he’s never liked broccoli.’

(2) EV2 evidenced by XP-V_{fin}-Subject order:

Han sa att broccoli **har** han aldrig gillat.
 He said that broccoli.TOP **has** he never liked.
 ‘He said that broccoli, he has never liked.’

Embedded V2 has been linked to assertion...



Background

Certain factive predicates claimed to resist EV2 (e.g. *be happy*):

- (3) Han var glad att han (***behövde**) inte (**behövde**) betala
 he was happy that he **needed** not **needed** pay
 hela notan.
 whole bill

‘He was happy that he didn’t have to pay the whole bill.’

- (4) * Han var glad att hela notan **behövde** han inte
 he was happy that whole bill.TOP **needed** he not
 betala.
 pay

‘He was happy that he didn’t have to pay the whole bill.’

Factive complements are presupposed; resist assertion...



Background

The so-called ‘semi-factives’ (e.g. *discover*) don’t presuppose their complements in e.g. questions and conditionals, but **do** presuppose their complements elsewhere—

- (5) Han upptäckte att han (**behövde**) inte (**behövde**) betala
 He discovered that he **needed** not **needed** pay
 hela notan.
 whole bill.

‘He discovered that he didn’t have the pay the whole bill.’

- (6) Han upptäckte att hela notan **behövde** han inte
 He discovered that whole bill.TOP **needed** he not
 betala.
 pay.

‘He discovered that he didn’t have the pay the whole bill.’

But they appear to allow EV2 **even when** their complements are presupposed!

Background

Sharpening the notion of assertion:

Simons' (2007: 1035–6) “Main Point of Utterance” (MPU)

The MPU of an utterance U is the proposition p communicated by U that renders U **relevant**.

Questions/response sequences can be used as diagnostic: the proposition communicated by the response that answers the question is the main point of the response.

- (7) Q. Why didn't **Kate** come to the party?
A. John thinks that **she's left town**.
- (8) Q. Why didn't **John** invite Kate to the party?
A. **He thinks that** she's left town.



Background

Questions:

- What determines the distribution of EV2?
- How does factivity / assertion (MPU) interact with EV2?



Two Hypotheses

Local Lexical Selection (Wiklund *et al.* 2009):

Claims:

- Indirect relation between MPU and EV2: Both licensed by ForceP, selected by assertives and semifactives only.
- Factives select a smaller clause, incompatible with both EV2 and MPU. (MPU lexically licensed, *contra* Simons)
- EV2 and MPU-interpretation both optional, and independent, properties of ForceP.

Evidence: acceptable examples of ...

- ... Embedded MPU, without EV2. [MPU \nrightarrow EV2]
- ... EV2 in non-MPU embedded clauses. [EV2 \nrightarrow MPU]



Two Hypotheses

Global Pragmatic Effects (Jensen & Christensen 2013):

Claim:

- MPU \iff EV2.
- MPU pragmatic (following Simons), not lexically licensed.

Evidence:

- Corpus data: Correlation of EV2 and predicate class.
- Problem: Corpus in fact not coded for MPU.

This view is essentially an update of the classic analysis of embedded root phenomena in Hooper & Thompson 1973.



Experiment 1: Factivity & MPU in English

Testing:

- Can we use Simons' (2007) Q&A paradigm to reliably manipulate MPU in an experimental setting?
- Can factives embed MPU clauses?



Experiment 1: Factivity & MPU in English

Experiment:

- L1 English speakers (n=47)
- Task:
 - Read short Q&A-pairs (24 items, 24 fillers).
 - Rate directness of answer on 1-5 scale
 - Factive predicates: ‘be happy’, ‘be disappointed’, ‘be relieved’, ‘be surprised’.
 - Non-factive predicates: ‘I got the impression’, ‘it seemed to me’.



Experiment 1: Factivity & MPU in English

Items: 2 discourse contexts × 3 embedding contexts:

A: I hear that you went to Paris last summer.

- What was the city like?

Specific (sets up MPU = EC)

- How was it?

General (sets up MPU = EC/MC)

B: I was surprised that the city was really great.

Factive

I got the impression that the city was really great.

NonFact

The city was really great.

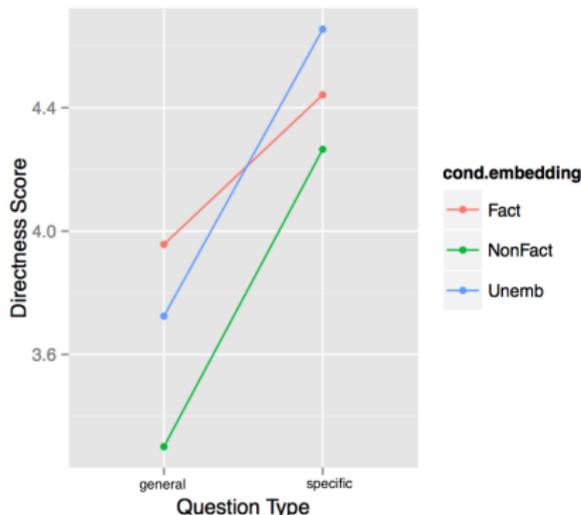
Unembedded

Relevant Predictions (Factives vs. Non-factives):

- If manipulation of MPU is successful, then the non-factives (at least) should be judged as more direct answers in the Specific than in the General condition.
- Difference between factive and non-factive in Specific condition: if factives can't embed MPU, then the factive complement should not be a possible direct answer to the Specific question.



Experiment 1: Factivity & MPU in English



- If manipulation of MPU is successful, then the non-factives (at least) should be judged as more direct answers in the Specific than in the General condition. → Confirmed.
- Difference between factive and non-factive in Specific condition: if factives can't embed MPU, then the factive complement should not be a possible direct answer to the Specific question. → Falsified: factives *can* embed MPU.



Experiment 2: Swedish Embedded V2

Now that we have established participants show sensitivity to Q&A manipulation, we can make use of this in experimental investigation of EV2 in Swedish.

- Test for the effect on acceptability of EV2 in Swedish of:
 - a. Local syntactic/semantic context (matrix predicate type);
 - b. Discourse pragmatic context (MPU).



Experiment 2: Swedish Embedded V2

- L1 Swedish speakers (n=118)
- Task:
 - Read short dialogues (16 items, 16 fillers).
 - Rate the acceptability of the answers on 1-6 scale.
 - 2 MPU contexts (main/embedded) \times 4 predicate types \times 2 word orders (EV2/EV3).



Experiment 2: Swedish Embedded V2

Clause-embedding predicates used in Expt 1, by predicate-type:

Assertive (com)	Assertive (epist)	Factive	Semifactive
<i>säga</i> say	<i>anta</i> suppose	<i>vara lättad</i> be relieved	<i>upptäcka</i> discover
<i>berätta</i> tell	<i>förmoda</i> assume	<i>vara glad</i> be happy	<i>märka</i> notice
<i>förklara</i> explain	<i>gissa</i> guess	<i>vara ledsen</i> be sad/sorry	<i>komma fram till</i> arrive at
<i>hävda</i> claim	<i>vara säker</i> be sure	<i>vara förvånad</i> be surprised	<i>få veta</i> come to know

Experiment 2: Swedish Embedded V2

Background: Little Albin and his mother Carina went to the cinema.

Embedded Clause MPU:

A: How did **Albin** find the cinema trip?

B: Carina gissade att **han** (hade) nog inte (hade) väntat sig så mycket action.

‘Carina guessed that he probably hadn’t expected that much action.’

Main Clause MPU:

A: How did **Carina** find the cinema trip?

B: **Hon** gissade att Albin (hade) nog inte (hade) väntat sig så mycket action.

‘She guessed that Albin probably hadn’t expected that much action.’

Position of verb (V2, V3) and **predicate type** varied in the Bs.



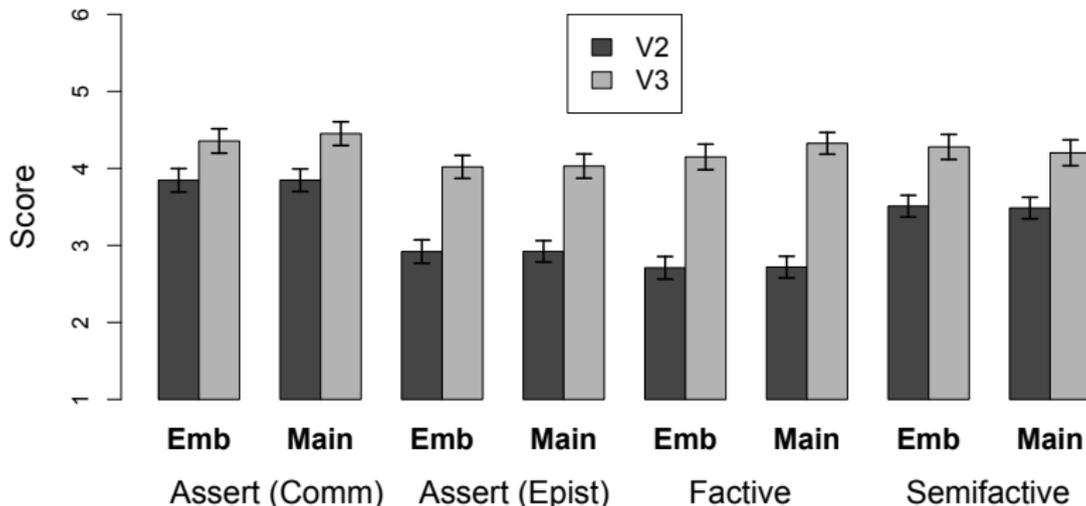
Experiment 2: Swedish Embedded V2

Predictions:

- Local Lexical Selection: EV2 will interact with predicate type, not MPU.
- Global Pragmatic Effect: EV2 will interact with MPU, not predicate type.



Experiment 2: Swedish Embedded V2



- Local Lexical Selection: EV2 interacts with pred. type, not MPU. → **yes**
- Global Pragmatic Effect: EV2 interacts with MPU, not pred. type. → **no**
- Results mirror pattern in EV2 in Jensen & Christensen's (2013) corpus data.



Conclusions I

- Claims about the effect of MPU can be tested experimentally.
- Our results confirm Wiklund et al's observation (*contra* hypothesis in e.g. Christensen & Jensen) that MPU has no direct effect on EV2 in Swedish.
- Results show that there is still work to be done to explain effects of embedding predicates on possibility of EV2:
 - Factives **can** embed MPU but still resist EV2: problem for characterisation of “licensing” environment à la Wiklund et al 2009.
 - Semifactives allow EV2 even when truth of complement is presupposed: problem for accounts based on island effect of factivity.



Conclusions II

Empirical & theoretical follow-ups:

- Single experiment combining measure of perception of MPU and judgment of EV2.
- Closer examination of “true” factives and semifactives.

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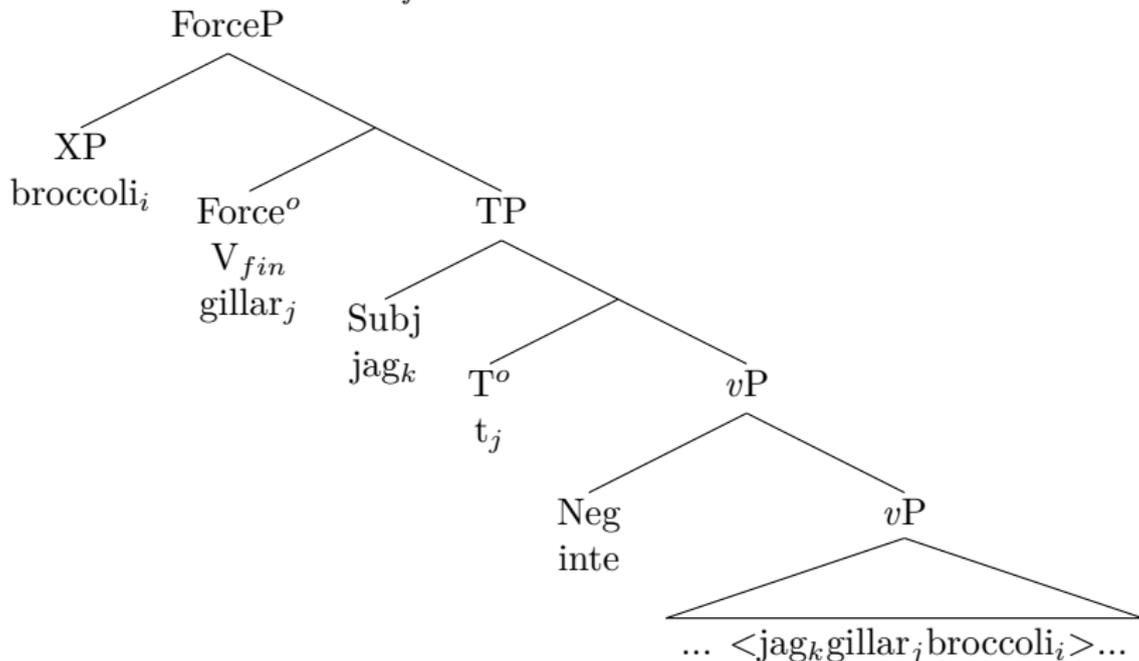
Background

These judgments are mirrored in corpus data from Danish, reported by Jensen & Christensen (2013):

Predicate Class	Assertive	Factive	Semifactive
Example	<i>säga</i> (tell)	<i>vara lättad</i> (be relieved)	<i>upptäcka</i> (discover)
% EV2	46%	15%	60%

Background

V2 as movement of V_{fin} to Force-head in C-domain:



Two Hypotheses

Local Lexical Selection (Wiklund *et al.* 2009):

Evidence: Primarily own judgments.

Q. Varför kom han inte på mötet igår?

‘Why didn’t he come to the meeting yesterday?’

A. Vi upptäckte att han (**hade**) tyvärr inte (**hade**)

we discovered that he **had** unfortunately not **had**

fått på vinterdäcken ännu.

put on winter-tires.def yet

‘We discovered that he unfortunately hadn’t changed to winter tires yet.’

→ Embedded clause is MPU, but both V-in-situ and EV2 claimed to be grammatical. So: MPU \nrightarrow EV2

Two Hypotheses

Local Lexical Selection (Wiklund *et al.* 2009):

Evidence: Primarily own judgments.

Q. Varför kom han inte på festen?
 why came he not to party.DEF
 ‘Why didn’t he come to the party?’

A. Kristine sa att han **fick** inte.
 Kristine said that he was-allowed not
 ‘Kristine said that he wasn’t allowed to.’

→ Embedded clause is EV2, but both main and embedded
 MPU claimed to be available. So: EV2 \nrightarrow MPU.