

13

A different perspective on embedded Verb Second

Unifying embedded root phenomena

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13.1 Introduction

The overarching questions of interest in this chapter are not new: what are the properties of, and the factors that restrict the availability of, embedded verb movement? I take a new approach by examining lesser-studied instances of embedded verb movement alongside well-established cases, using this enlarged data set to better understand the characteristics and interpretation of embedded verb movement across a subset of Germanic languages. In doing this, I aim to further refine our understanding of the syntax of embedded V-to-C constructions in so-called ‘limited’ and ‘residual’ V2 systems and the extent to which the same mechanisms are at play.

The lesser-studied data presented here are English embedded inverted questions (EIQs), familiar from work by Henry (1995), Green (2002), and McCloskey (2006). The core characteristics of EIQs are detailed in McCloskey (2006): they feature subject-auxiliary inversion and other root phenomena such as topicalized arguments while lacking overt complementizers. Their distribution is restricted to predicates that select from ‘true’ open information-seeking questions such as *ask*, *wonder*, and *want to know* but not *know*, *find out*.¹ Woods (2016b) expands on this description of EIQs: they may contain speech-act adverbs and some typically root discourse particles; they show clear dependency relations with the matrix clause such as indexicality, Sequence of Tense, and binding phenomena; they are subtly interpretively different from typical embedded interrogative clauses, as perspective-sensitive material will orient to the original discourse rather than to the current discourse. EIQs also require that the question expressed in the EIQ was an accessible and accessed question under discussion (QUD; cf. Roberts 1996; 2012) in the original discourse.

Parallels with so-called ‘limited’ embedded Verb Second in German and Swedish are immediately apparent, in particular the restricted distribution and the discourse factors involved. This chapter, therefore, aims to examine to what extent EIQs and ‘limited’ embedded Verb Second (henceforth EV2)² can be accounted for under a unified approach.

¹ This classification is too restrictive, as EIQs also appear under the bleached verb of communication *say*.

² All further references to EV2 refer specifically to EV2 in German and Swedish and should not be understood as applicable to embedded Verb Second in languages like Yiddish, Afrikaans, and Icelandic, or even other Mainland Scandinavian Languages—see Hrafnbjargarson et al. (2010) for microvariation in EV2 between Swedish and (for example) dialects of Norwegian.

I also examine the structure and semantics of EIQs and EV2 to account not only for their root-like syntax but also their unique interpretation.

The semantico-pragmatic innovation in this chapter is the claim that the effect of verb-movement in both EIQs and EV2 is not assertion in the sense of Julien (2009; 2015; Chapter 11 of this volume) or at-issueness, either in the sense of MPU (Main Point of Utterance: Simons 2007; Jensen and Christensen 2013)³ or the QUD framework (Antomo 2016), but perspective-fixing, as proposed (in slightly different terms) by Wiklund (2010). In doing this, I aim to refine the concept of illocutionary force, what it means to mark illocutionary force, and the extent to which it is embeddable in natural language.

The syntactic innovations in this chapter are twofold. Firstly, I build on split CP analyses and recent proposals in speech act syntax by proposing, firstly, that EIQs are extended CPs headed by an Illocutionary Act Phrase (IAP); and secondly, that EIQs, and plausibly EV2 clauses in German and Swedish, are unselected nominal appositives that modify a nominal complement to the matrix verb. This nominal complement may or may not be overtly expressed.

13.2 EIQ core data

Prototypical examples of EIQs are shown in (1).

- (1) a. Martin_i said he_i didn't know so I_j asked him_i when he_i did make his_i mind up, could I_j be the first to know. (*Chester Chronicle*, 18 Jan 2018)
b. I wonder what would he have done in my position. (North West English)⁴

The examples in (1) are taken from the English spoken in North West England, around Liverpool, Cheshire, and Manchester, but EIQs are used and judged grammatical⁵ in a range of English dialects including African American English (Green 2002), New York English⁶, Belfast English (Henry 1995), other Irish Englishes (McCloskey 2006), Indian Englishes (Bhatt 2000; Stringer 2015) and North East English dialects such as Tyneside English (Stringer 2015).

The distribution of EIQs is the same across all these dialects; they typically appear under rogative verbs, in the sense of Lahiri (2002), or *say* and are blocked under factive and resolute verbs, except in the presence of interrogation (2a), modality (2b–c), negation (2d), or imperative mood (2e).

³ See Wiklund et al. (2009) and Djärv et al. (2017) for refutation of the MPU-licensing hypothesis for Mainland Scandinavian EV2.

⁴ Examples labelled North West English are from my own Chester dialect, unless otherwise stated, and have been checked with at least two other speakers of similar, geographically and linguistically near, dialects around Liverpool, Manchester, and Cheshire.

⁵ I separate usage from grammaticality judgements as I have, anecdotally and formally (see Woods 2016a), found EIQs to be judged ungrammatical by speakers who, nevertheless, use EIQs apparently unconsciously in dialects ranging from northern Indian to southern English. EIQs appear to fly under speakers' radars, particularly in speech, until attention is drawn to them.

⁶ Barbara Z. Pearson and Craig Sailor (p.c.).

- (2) a. Do we know how were words chosen for the lists? (New York English)⁷
b. I wanted to know could they do it for me. (AAE, Green 2002)
c. Me mam wants to know was me dad happy yesterday.
(Tyneside Eng, Stringer 2015)
d. I don't understand what was the utility of it. (Indian Eng)⁸
e. Find out does he take sugar in his tea. (Irish Eng, McCloskey 2006)

Their distribution suggests that EIQs are not selected by the matrix verb, because operators such as negation do not typically interfere with selection,⁹ as typical embedded clauses can occur with the predicates in (2) in the absence of any other factors:

- (3) a. We know how words were chosen for the lists.
b. My mum wants to know if my dad was happy yesterday.
c. I understand what the utility of it was.
d. I found out if he takes sugar in his tea.

EIQs also have a number of other characteristics which differentiate them from typical embedded interrogatives. Most obviously, they permit subject-auxiliary inversion and do-support. They permit other kinds of typically root phenomena such as speech-act adverbs, topicalized arguments, and some discourse particles.

- (4) a. Jane asked him seriously would he cook dinner for her.
=Addressee is required to respond seriously
b. Maryam asked (if) this book, was it worth reading.
c. Jamie asked please would I help him.¹⁰

They also contain information about the affective properties of the original speech act and this aspect of them can be questioned, suggesting that it is at-issue:

- (5) A: You asked me could I cook dinner for you.
B: No I didn't, I asked could you make me a cup of tea.
B': No I didn't, I was much more polite about it than that!

Compare the following dialogues, which show that EIQs pattern more closely with direct than indirect speech:

- (6) A: You asked me if I could cook dinner for you.
B: # No I didn't, I was much more polite about it than that!
- (7) A: You asked me, 'Could you cook dinner for me?'
B: No I didn't, I was much more polite about it than that!

⁷ Attested New York English data provided by Barbara Pearson (p.c.).

⁸ Attested Indian English data provided by Jyoti Iyer (p.c.).

⁹ See Mayr (2017) and Elliott and Woods (2017) for other cases in which negation and other Downward Entailing operators affect the felicity of interrogative clauses with certain matrix predicates due to semantic factors.

¹⁰ See (Woods 2015, to appear) for evidence that *please* is an overt marker of illocutionary force.

To native-speaker ears, (6) is strange because the standard complement clause does not convey anything about how B originally spoke, at least in any way that is directly challengeable. (5) on the other hand is felt, like (7), to convey something of the original way of asking in addition to just the content of the request.

Some discourse particles, such as confirmational, ¹¹ are still excluded from EIQs, however:¹²

- (8) a. *I asked her was she taking the mickey, huh.
 b. *I don't know what was she doing, eh.

Note that even in the case of typical embedded clauses, confirmational can only be construed with the matrix clause:

- (9) a. # I asked her if she was taking the mickey, huh.
 b. Did you ask if she taking the mickey, huh?
 c. Are you taking the mickey, huh?

Example (9a) is infelicitous because the confirmational *huh* is incompatible with the matrix clause [I asked ...] for discourse reasons, but (9b) is fine because the pragmatic conditions for *huh* are met by the matrix clause [Did you ask ...]. (9c) shows that the content of the embedded clause in (9a–b) is compatible with *huh* such that its embedded status in (8) is alone responsible for the ungrammaticality in those examples. This is our first indication that, even if EIQs are root-like, they still differ from full root clauses. The proposal, to be followed up in Section 13.4 below, is that EIQs (and EV2) do not automatically constitute independent speech acts (contra de Cuba and Ürögdi 2009 and others) and so are syntactically smaller than true root clauses, even while being bigger than typical embedded clauses. In other words, EIQs/EV2 clauses do not contain all the relevant projections of independent speech acts, including those necessary for the use of confirmational like *huh*.

EIQs are only compatible with overt complementizers if some element, such as a topicalized argument or speech-act adverb, intervenes between the complementizer and the auxiliary (see (4b) for an example with a topic). They also form islands, though these islands differ in strength compared with both typical embedded clauses and representations of direct speech. (10)–(11) show that the extraction of arguments and adjuncts like *how* is strongly blocked in EIQs, like in direct speech reports. However, a grammaticality judgement survey of speakers of EIQ dialects (n=8)¹³ suggests that EIQs with extraction are more acceptable than direct speech reports with extraction (Woods 2016a: 274), as Table 13.1 shows.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (10) | a. *[Which book] _i did Dave ask, 'Should I read t _i ?'
b. ?[Which book] _i did Dave ask whether he should read t _i ?
c. *[Which book] _i did Dave ask should he read t _i ? | Direct speech
Indirect speech
EIQ |
| (11) | a. *How _i did Dave ask, 'Did Jane see Maryam t _i ?'
b. *How _i did Dave ask if Jane saw Maryam t _i ?
c. *How _i did Dave ask did Jane see Maryam t _i ? | Direct speech
Indirect speech
EIQ |

¹¹ See Wiltschko and Heim (2016) for more on the syntax of confirmational.

¹² Thanks to Sonja Thoma and Martina Wiltschko for discussion on this point.

¹³ Inter- and intra-speaker variability was very low in this small survey of 18 items, six per condition.

Table 13.1 Grammaticality judgements on extractability of arguments from different types of speech report (7-point Likert scale)

EIQs	Indirect speech report	Direct speech report
4.33	5.43	2.5

EIQs also tend towards direct speech reports in terms of their semantics and pragmatics. Direct speech reports strongly imply that a speech act with the same form as the report clause was performed in the original discourse, and indirect speech reports do not necessarily imply this. EIQs present a third case, as they imply that some relevant speech act was performed in the original discourse, but it may not exactly match the form of the EIQ. I claim that the EIQ expresses the QUD in the original discourse and that, as such, the speech act that was performed in the original discourse may have been some non-questioning speech act that nonetheless addresses that QUD.¹⁴

- (12) a. Everyone wanted to know: ‘Is Joe coming to the party?’ *Direct speech*
→ The question about Joe’s attendance was actually asked
b. Everyone wanted to know whether Joe could come to the party. *Indirect speech*
↔ The question about Joe’s attendance was actually asked
c. Everyone wanted to know could Joe come to the party *EIQ*
→ Joe’s attendance was overtly discussed in some form

Moreover, EIQs express an unambiguous shift in perspective, even though they do not feature indexical shifting:

- (13) They_j said oo, could we_i come over for coffee so we_i did [go over for coffee]
(Yorkshire English)¹⁵

Compare (13) with its non-inverted equivalent:

- (14) They_j *said/asked (*oo) if (*oo) we_i could ?come/go over for coffee so we_i did.

Several facts are noticeable: matrix verb *say* is not grammatical with a typical embedded interrogative; the affective marker *oo* is no longer grammatical; the embedded verb *come* is dispreferred compared with the related, but deictically opposed *go*. These enforced differences, particularly the latter two, support the observation that EIQs feature overtly marked perspective shifting in a way that typical embedded clauses do not. The latter are, instead, arguably ambiguous—while *go*, suggesting the current speaker as the perspective-holder, is preferred, *come* is not completely out. However, other overt markers of perspective and point of view such as the affective marker *oo* are not available. I will show that this is for

¹⁴ See Section 13.5.2 for more on how the implicature is established.

¹⁵ Attested 29 December 2015.

syntactic reasons which bolster the claim that typical embedded clauses are semantically different from EIQs.

These characteristics of EIQs may lead us to pursue an analysis in which they are fully unembedded, fully opaque referring expressions in the sense of theories of quotation such as the Demonstrative (Davidson 1979 and others) or Demonstration (Clark and Gerrig 1990; Recanati 2000) theories.

However, there are other ways in which EIQs pattern more closely with typically embedded clauses and do not appear to be simple demonstrations of a previous speech act. I have already noted that indexicals do not shift in EIQs; they also display Sequence of Tense phenomena (15) and a lack of ‘comma’ intonation (16):

- | | | |
|---------|---|------------------------|
| (15) a. | Last year, John asked me, ‘Is Maryam pregnant?’ | <i>Direct speech</i> |
| b. | Last year, John asked me whether Maryam was/*is pregnant | <i>Indirect speech</i> |
| c. | Last year, John asked me was/?is Maryam pregnant | <i>EIQ</i> |
| (16) a. | John asked me, ‘Will you come to dinner with me tonight?’ | <i>Direct speech</i> |
| b. | John asked me would I go to dinner with him last night. | <i>EIQ</i> |

Matrix quantifiers can bind into EIQs from subject position (17)–(18), if not from object position (19):

- | | | |
|---------|---|------------------------|
| (17) a. | *[Everyone] _i wondered, ‘Will Jack ask her _i out?’ | <i>Direct speech</i> |
| b. | [Everyone] _i wondered if Jack would ask her _i out. | <i>Indirect speech</i> |
| c. | [Everyone] _i wondered would Jack ask her _i out. | <i>EIQ</i> |
| (18) a. | Every girl wondered, ‘Will Jack ask me out in a bowling alley?’ | <i>Direct speech</i> |
| | every > a; *a > every | |
| b. | Every girl wondered if Jack would ask her out in a bowling alley | <i>Indirect speech</i> |
| | every > a; a > every | |
| c. | Every girl wondered would Jack ask her out in a bowling alley | <i>EIQ</i> |
| | every > a; a > every ¹⁶ | |
| (19) a. | *Maryam asked [everyone] _i , ‘Can I take him _i to the dance?’ | <i>Direct speech</i> |
| b. | Maryam asked [everyone] _i if she could take him _i to the dance. | <i>Indirect speech</i> |
| c. | *Maryam asked [everyone] _i could she take him _i to the dance. | <i>EIQ</i> |

In addition, too close an approximation between EIQs and either indirect or direct speech reports would mask characteristics of EIQs that are unique to them alone. EIQs are sensitive to the person of the embedded arguments in the sense that there is a strong preference for the speaker or addressee to be an argument of either the matrix or embedded predicate. This is not a syntactic restriction but rather a pragmatic one, as either the speaker or addressee is expected to have privileged information about the original speech act and context. Consider (20).

¹⁶ Thanks to George Tsoulas and Klaus Abels for their help with this point.

- (20) a. John_i asked Maryam_j, ‘Could I_i meet you_j at the weekend?’
b. ??John asked Maryam if I_{speaker} could meet you_{addressee} at the weekend
c. John asked Maryam could I_{speaker} meet you_{addressee} at the weekend

Without context it is much easier to construe (20c) as a direct speech quotation because of its string similarity and because it is hard to see why John could ask that question of Maryam and expect an answer; in fact, the typical complement clause in (20b) is pragmatically weird for the same reason and cannot be saved by being string-similar to a direct quotation. As further evidence that this effect is pragmatic, however, (21) shows that context improves the ease of achieving an EIQ reading.

- (21) Context: John is my secretary and Maryam is your secretary and we are overdue a meeting.
John asked Maryam could I_{speaker} meet you_{addressee} at the weekend

Finally, EIQs cannot be fronted, as shown in (22).

- (22) a. *Whether she_i could come to the party, Maryam_i asked.
b. Could she_i come to the party, Maryam_i asked.
c. *Seriously could she_i come to the party, Maryam_i asked.
d. ?Whether she_i could come to the party, Maryam_i didn’t know.
e. *Could she_i come to the party, Maryam_i didn’t know.
f. *Seriously could she_i come to the party, Maryam_i didn’t know.

Note that example (22b) is perfectly acceptable. However, I argue that (22b) is not an EIQ, but an example of Free Indirect Discourse (FID), which is similar to but subtly different from an EIQ. The crucial difference is that EIQs are more limited in terms of their indexical interpretation than FID, though they do overlap. This is outlined in (23).

- (23) *Both of the sentences below are spoken on 5 May.*
a. Maryam asked John yesterday would he leave tomorrow.
yesterday=4 May; tomorrow=6 May
b. Would he leave tomorrow, Maryam asked John yesterday.
yesterday=4 May, tomorrow=5 May if anchor is third-person (Maryam)
OR
yesterday=4 May, tomorrow=6 May if anchor is third-person (narrator)

In addition, I have not yet found an attested example of an EIQ with a fronted embedded clause in either speech or writing, though this could just be a sampling error.

13.2.1 Summary

In this section I have shown that EIQs are a special kind of representation of speech and thought that differ syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically from both typical embedded questions and direct quotation. I have shown that syntactic embedding is present due

to the lack of indexical shift, presence of Sequence of Tense, and the facts around quantifier binding into EIQs. Despite this, EIQs are semantically, and pragmatically closer to direct speech in that (1) they imply that the question contained in the EIQ was an open question in the original discourse, regardless of the exact matrix predicate, (2) expressive elements and root-like structures express the shape and not-at-issue content of the original questioning act, and (3) perspective shifts to the original discourse participants. That said, they also have their own characteristics that differ from both direct and indirect speech reports.

In Section 13.3 I consider similar constructions in ‘limited’ V2 languages, namely embedded Verb Second (EV2) in German and Swedish, to discern the differences and similarities between these ‘marginal’ embedded cases with root phenomena. I then in Sections 13.4 and 13.5 propose an analysis that can be applied in subtly different ways to account for the shared characteristics of the EIQ and EV2 phenomena in the languages considered here. One particular philosophical question to consider is as follows: in EIQs and EV2, some sort of independent illocutionary force appears to be present through the expression of interlocutor attitudes, commitments, and not-at-issue content. How, then, do we deal with the fact that neither EIQs nor EV2s seem to call on the current addressee to respond? In these cases, what does it mean to have independent illocutionary force?

13.3 EV2 in German and Swedish

I confine my cross-linguistic survey to ‘limited V2’ languages that can deploy embedded verb movement for a particular pragmatic effect, principally because they present the closest analogue to English in the broader Germanic family. I leave the important task of considering other languages such as Icelandic, Yiddish, and Afrikaans to my fellow authors in this volume and limit myself to German and Swedish due to the large volume of studies already conducted on EV2 in these languages (as cited throughout this chapter).

Due to the existence of such a body of literature, the key characteristics of German and Swedish EV2 are well-documented, but I rehearse them here for clarity. EV2 in these languages strongly tends to occur under so-called ‘bridge verbs’ (Vikner 1995), as shown in (24).

- (24) Jag ska säga dej att jag är inte ett dugg intresserad. (Swedish)
I will say you that I am not a dew interested
‘I tell you that I am not the least bit interested.’ (Julien 2009)

EIQs also appear under *say*, but in other ways EV2 appears to have an ‘opposite’ distribution to EIQs. EV2 is blocked under interrogative verbs and has typically been said to be blocked under negation, modality, and interrogation (Vikner 1995; Heycock 2006). Both EV2 and EIQs are typically blocked under factive verbs. That said, there is increasing evidence for EV2 under negation and interrogation (Wiklund et al. 2009) and under semi-factives (Wiklund et al. 2009; Djärv et al. 2017):

- (25) Vi upptäckte att han läste inte den bloggen varje dag. (Swedish)
we discovered that he not read that blog_{DEF} every day
‘We discovered that he didn’t read this blog every day.’ (Wiklund et al. 2009: 1924)

EV2 and EIQs also share various structural characteristics. EV2 clauses are resistant to extraction (Hrafnbjargarson et al. 2010; Bentzen 2010) and extraposition, may be bound into by matrix subjects (Hrafnbjargarson et al. 2010 for Swedish, Reis 1997 for German), are more permissive than non-V2 clauses towards discourse markers and speech-act adverbs, and the perspective holder is also disambiguated (Wiklund 2010). In EV2 clauses, the speaker's perspective alone is reaffirmed rather than the original discourse participants' perspectives. This has been characterized by proponents of an assertion approach to EV2 as the speaker taking greater personal responsibility for the truth of the V2 embedded clause than a non-Verb-Second embedded clause (M. Krifka (p.c.); also Julien 2009; 2015; Chapter 11 of this volume). Take the example in (26).

- (26) a. Maria denkt, dass Peter glücklich ist.
Maariyah thinks that Peter happy is
Speaker committed to the truth of the proposition 'Maariyah thinks ...'
- b. Maria denkt, Peter ist glücklich.
Maariyah thinks Peter is happy
Speaker committed to the truth of 'Maariyah thinks ...' and endorses the proposition 'Peter is happy'

Assertion theorists claims that the speaker commitment to or responsibility for the embedded clause in (26b) is as a result of the V2 property.

However, there are also those that refute this characterization of V2. There is a range of data that cast doubt on the assertion theory, for example the availability of V2 in disjunction contexts in German (Gärtner and Michaelis, Chapter 12 of this volume) where the speaker would appear to be endorsing two (possibly mutually exclusive) propositions. In Swedish, Wiklund (2010) claims that certain root phenomena can occur in Swedish non-V2 embedded clauses, including expressive elements, suggesting that verb movement alone does not license such elements:

- (27) a. Hon sa att han ärligt talat inte hade förstått det.
she said that he honestly speaking not had understood that
'She said that, honestly speaking, he had not understood that.'
- b. Hon sa att han hade ärligt talat inte förstått det.
she said that he had honestly speaking not understood that
'She said that, honestly speaking, he had not understood that.'

(Wiklund 2010: 86)

Wiklund (2010: 85–6) notes that some embedded non-V2 clauses can contain (for example) speech-act adverbs, but these clauses are subject to the same restrictions as EV2 clauses in terms of their distribution under certain predicates, their non-frontability, and their islandhood. She therefore concludes that, on the assumption that these elements are indicative of assertoric force, non-V2 embedded clauses can also have assertoric force. This also suggests that assertoric force is not strictly tied to verb movement, but to the extension of the left periphery more generally. She therefore claims that the role of verb movement is to disambiguate possible perspectives, as only EV2 clauses are

unambiguously interpreted as being from the current speaker’s perspective—non-EV2 clauses with perspectival elements can be interpreted from the current speaker’s or matrix subject’s perspective. She therefore tentatively suggests that verb movement marks evidentiality.

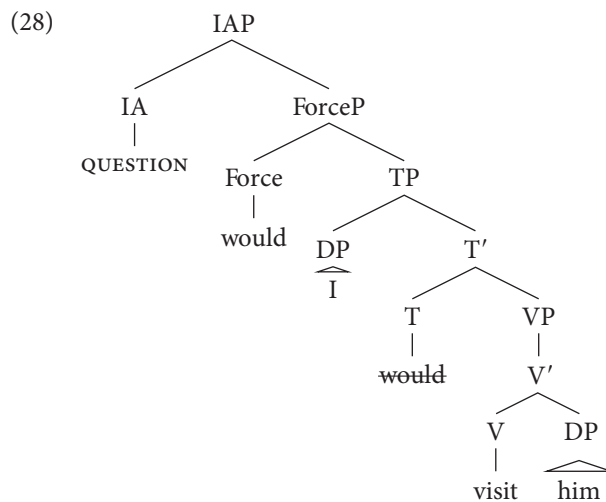
The idea that verb movement marks the disambiguation of perspectives seems plausible in the light of the EIQ data presented above. It is also compatible with proposals by, for example, Krifka (2014) that illocutionary force is an extra piece of information added to the update of a Stalnakerian common ground along with the proposition, if we claim that that piece of information is the identity of the embedded perspective holder rather than a proposition with the content that the current speaker endorses the embedded proposition. That verb movement to C should play this role is echoed in the filling of embedded C in marked ways in non-Germanic languages such as distinct complementizers in Japanese (Miyagawa 2012) and recomplementation constructions in Spanish (Villa-García 2015), Catalan (González i Planas 2014), and European Portuguese (Mascarenhas 2009).

I now go on to consider how the EIQ data can help us further refine such a claim and examine how this helps us analyse the syntax of EIQs. The following analysis proceeds in two parts: I first present the structure of the embedded clause (Section 13.4) and then examine its syntactic relationship to the matrix predicate (Section 13.5).

13.4 In the spirit of CP recursion

13.4.1 The structure of the EIQ/EV2 clause

The syntactic analysis that I pursue for EIQs and EV2 includes an Illocutionary Act Phrase (IAP) that selects for CP. This retains the spirit of CP recursion analyses such as McCloskey (2006), while distinguishing between different functional heads in the manner of the speech act syntacticians cited above.



The IA head encodes the illocutionary force of the original or reaffirmed speech act; in EIQs that is questioning or requesting¹⁷ and in EV2 is assertive force. Importantly, despite my use of the term ‘assertive’, I do not assume that the speaker is strongly committed to the truth of the proposition (as in Julien’s (2009; 2015; Chapter 11 of this volume) work), or that the EV2 clause is the Main Point of Utterance (MPU, as in Simons (2007)). I will go on to show that the effect of representing illocutionary force in the embedded clause is in fact much weaker; it contributes perspectival information with respect to the relevant context by indicating the identity of non-overt speaker/addressee parameters, but does not impose any discourse obligations or commitments on current or original discourse participants. This is because the IAP is still smaller than a full root clause, which I assume to have at least one more projection that is responsible for the imposition of discourse commitments. This projection is analogous to Wiltschko and Heim’s (2016) ‘Call on Addressee’ layer and is the point at which discourse commitments are forged. In the absence of this final root layer, which is crucial for the integration of root-only discourse particles such as confirmationals (see (8)–(9) and Wiltschko and Heim 2016: 329), perspectives but not commitments are encoded.

Crucially, the IAP is not present in standard indirect speech reports. This means they lack *independent* illocutionary force in that they are ambiguous as to the perspective being taken. They are also syntactically more limited in terms of movement¹⁸ and merge of clausal elements into the left periphery (both heads and XPs) due to the presence of fewer syntactic projections.

In Section 13.4.2 I will provide more support for perspectival disambiguation in both English and German/Swedish. In Section 13.5 I will elaborate on the syntax of the IAP within the clause, which will lead in Section 13.5.4 to a fuller exposition of how perspectives are differently fixed in English compared with German and Swedish.

13.4.2 Embedded imperatives

Embedded imperatives have different interpretations in English compared with German.¹⁹ In German (Meinunger 2004, Kaufmann and Poschmann 2013; Kaufmann 2015) the embedded imperative subject is the current addressee.²⁰ In English, the embedded imperative subject is the original addressee.

¹⁷ Arguments and evidence for the difference between questioning and requesting force comes from the distribution of the discourse particle *please* in English, see Woods (2016c).

¹⁸ What about Wiklund’s (2010) observations about perspectival material in non-EV2 clauses? Space does not permit full investigation of such cases, but the availability of embedded imperatives in English (Section 13.4.2) suggests that the relationship between Force and verbal mood can be satisfied non-overtly in at least certain relevant constructions. I leave this issue for future work.

¹⁹ Swedish does not appear to permit embedded imperatives. Kaufmann (2012) notes their presence in Old Swedish in the event that the current and reported addressee are the same, but examples such as ‘Dave sa (att) var inte oförskämnd mot hans mamma’ (Dave said (that) don’t be imp. rude to his mother) are judged to be bad in modern Swedish. Thanks to Kajsa Djärv for her help and intuitions.

²⁰ Kaufmann (2012: 206) discusses the embeddability of imperative forms in Old High German, suggesting that they are far from an innovation, though the example she provides is in a verb-final clause headed by an overt complementizer.

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- (29) *Context: On Monday, Magda tells Michael ‘Claudia should leave at 5, not 7.’ Michael tells Claudia, who intends to book the train at 7:*

Magda hat gesagt fahr schon früher

Magda has said leave.IMP already earlier

‘Magda said you Claudia should leave earlier.’

(Kaufmann 2015: 8)

- (30) I talked to [a lawyer]_i yesterday and she_i said don’t speak to her_i sister

Interpretation: Lawyer advised the current speaker not to speak to the lawyer’s sister.

(Adapted from Kaufmann 2015: 9)

An anonymous reviewer queries the reading in (30), suggesting that adding ‘on your behalf’ to (30) results in the same reading as in (29):

- (31) I talked to [a lawyer]_i on your behalf yesterday and she_i said don’t speak to her_i sister.

Proffered interpretation: Speaker X talked to lawyer about addressee Y’s situation and lawyer Z said Y should not talk to Z’s sister.

However, to native-speaker ears, the person who is advised to speak to the sister in (31) can be *either* addressee Y or speaker X,²¹ as Kaufmann (2015: 9) also notes.

Another difference between German and English is that German appears to retain a ‘remnant of imperative conditions in [the] actual context’ (Kaufmann 2015: 10). By this, she means that the current speaker must know that the world is not currently as the imperative demands it be in order for an embedded imperative with that content to be felicitous. This does not hold in English, where only the original speaker in the original context is required to know that the content of the imperative does not hold at that time—for example, in both (30) and (31), the speaker may know that in the current context, the lawyer’s sister has been spoken to.

The importance of the data points above are as follows:

- (32) a. English and German embedded imperatives are root-like in terms of verbal morphology (German) and the availability of *do* + clitic negation (English).
b. English, German, and Swedish embedded ‘speech acts’ are, however, not like root speech acts as they do not de facto impose the same discourse conditions.
c. English embedded ‘speech acts’ are **shifty**—the relevant non-overt speaker/addressee parameters and any perspectival items are interpreted with respect to the **original reported context** (though no discourse obligations hold).
d. German EV2/embedded imperatives and Swedish EV2 are **fixy**—the relevant non-overt speaker/addressee parameters and any perspectival items are interpreted with respect to the **current context** (though, again, no discourse obligations hold).

²¹ Thanks to Rebecca Tollan for her help and judgements.

This is further supported by interpretations of reason clauses with verb movement in both English and German:²²

- (34) Peter sagte, dass er glücklich ist, weil das wolltest du doch unbedingt
Peter said that he happy is because that wanted.2SG you PRT absolutely
wissen.
know.INF
'Peter said that he was happy, (and I tell you this) because you absolutely wanted to
know it.'

Assertion under *because* made from speaker's POV, not Peter's

- (35) Maryam thinks that everyone likes One Direction because who doesn't find Harry
Styles dreamy?

Question under *because* asked from Maryam's POV, not speaker's

I therefore claim that the expression of independent illocutionary force is not about demanding a particular response from the addressee. It is, instead, the expression of unambiguous perspectives. As such, expressions of illocutionary force must preferably be marked as different from expressions without illocutionary force, in the case of the constructions here by verb movement into an extra projection, the IAP.

13.5 The interface with the matrix clause

In the discussion to follow I focus first on the EIQ and how it is integrated with the matrix clause, before turning to EV2 in German and Swedish.

13.5.1 Analyses to be rejected

It is immediately clear that the EIQ is not the complement of the matrix predicate; the interaction of modality and the acceptability of the EIQ is unexpected on such an analysis.

Neither is the EIQ co-ordinated with the matrix clause in the way proposed for German V2 *weil* ('because') clauses by Antomo (2012). A co-ordination analysis would produce the wrong scopal relations and make the wrong predictions about binding.

The EIQ is not a restrictive relative clause (RRC; cf. Berizzi 2010) as RRCs do not contain left-peripheral or at-issue information, are evaluated with respect to the same

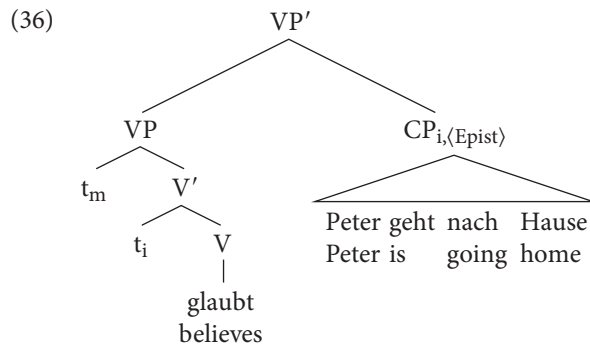
²² There is yet more potential evidence from differences in the interpretation of reason clauses. The example below is from Schwarz (2012).

- (33) *Context: The teacher thinks the glasses A, B, and C, which contained a clear liquid, were filled with vodka (they actually contained water).*
a. The teacher thinks John should be punished because he drank glasses A, B, and C.
b. The teacher thinks John should be punished because he drank every glass with water in it.

While Schwarz, a native German speaker, finds (33b) a valid description of the context, he reports that Ezra Keshet, a native English speaker does not. I concur with Keshet, but more careful controlled study is required on this point.

perspective as the matrix clause, and contain some gap or resumptive pronoun, which EIQs do not.

An adjunction²³ analysis is more superficially attractive and one variant has already been proposed for German EV2 by Truckenbrodt (2006: 285):



This analysis allows the V2 clause to be interpreted both as object of the verb and as a semi-independent assertion, but two key problems remain: the embedded clause starts out as the selected complement of the verb and the movement of the embedded clause to the right-adjoined position is not motivated in any independent way.

In the formulation of his proposal, Truckenbrodt rejects a Potts (2005)-style appositive relative clause (ARC) analysis due to the fact that EV2 clauses, like EIQs, interact with at-issue content. However, I will show that this problem is not insurmountable and that an apposition analysis can afford a range of advantages in terms of explaining the characteristics of EIQs.

13.5.2 EIQs as apposition

13.5.2.1 Syntactic and semantic support

There are a number of motivations for pursuing a Pottsian apposition analysis of EIQs. Firstly, the distribution of EIQs parallels that of ARCs and nominal appositives closely. EIQs may co-occur with an ‘anchoring’ DP such as [something] or [the question]:

- (37) Seeking to translate this question of morality to local issues, I asked **the question**, did the candidates agree that it was morally wrong and perhaps a misuse of public funds for local councillors to claim that there was no money available to install gas central heating in the homes of elderly disabled people when they always found money for hospitality allowances and trips abroad for themselves.

(BNC,²⁴ K55 8713)

²³ An anonymous reviewer notes that the analysis represented in (36) looks to be one of extraposition; I call it adjunction here to be faithful to Truckenbrodt’s use of terms.

²⁴ Examples of usage taken from the British National Corpus (BNC) were obtained under the terms of the BNC End User Licence. Copyright in the individual texts cited resides with the original IPR holders. For information and licensing conditions relating to the BNC, please see the website at <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk>.

The EIQ may also follow elements that indicate a specificational role for the EIQ with respect to DPs like [the question], for example *namely* or *to wit*. This is another property of the appositives examined by Potts (2005: 121–2).

- (38) When I saw how narrow the display was, I raised the question, to wit, is there something unique about the Fuji XPro, did Fuji make an error, or are they just being super conservative? (dpreview.com, cited in Woods 2016a: 211)

There is further evidence of the specificational behaviour of EIQs from a variant of the EIQ which occurs after copula BE:

- (39) a. This is quite distressing news, but the question is would he take it if offered?
(BNC, J1G 1639)
b. My first question is would this have happened if Chester had a Conservative MP instead of perversely voting Labour?
(Letter to the *Chester Chronicle*, 18 Jan. 2018)

EIQs may also appear in post-copular position in pseudoclefts:

- (40) a. [w]hat I wondered was, shall we do er a circular game and, get yourselves into a circle quickly (BNC, FM7 390)
b. And so they—they virtually—what they said was would we, would we again renew our pledge that they [the buses] came through Edingley.
(BNC, KM8 283)

The examples in (39) and (40) differ from prototypical EIQs in that they are not embedded under attitude verbs, but they share many of the same properties—they are not root questions, they share the syntactic properties of EIQs with respect to inversion and lack of indexical shift and they do not impose any obligations on the discourse participants.

It is also interesting that, as an anonymous reviewer notes, all postcopular EIQs involve a specificational rather than predicational copula. The EIQ clause specifies what the precopular XP consists of in terms of propositional and perspectival content, shows anaphor connectivity effects (similarly to typical EIQs), and exhibits extraction restrictions: properties of specificational pseudoclefts noted by den Dikken (2006: 313–16, 323–4). Linking this to our appositive analysis, Potts (2005, p.121) observes that some of the appositives in his study are ‘essentially a specificational copular clause of the sort studied by Mikkelsen (2002a,b,c, 2004a)’. There are other properties that prototypical and postcopular EIQs share with appositives, such as a preference for, though not an absolute ban on, indefinite articles in the ‘anchoring’ DP (contra McCawley 1998), especially with supporting context:

- (41) a. I raised the question, to wit, is there something unique about the Fuji XPro?
b. ?I raised a question, to wit, is there something unique about the Fuji XPro?
c. [No-one was voicing concerns so] I raised a question, to wit, is there something unique about the Fuji XPro?

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- (42) a. This is quite distressing news, but the question is would he take it if offered?
b. ?This is quite distressing news, but a question is would he take it if offered?
c. This is quite distressing news, but [there are lots of factors to consider and] a question [to bear in mind] is would he take it if offered? (BNC, J1G 1639)

Two other properties link specificational clauses, postcopular EIQs, and prototypical EIQs. Firstly, the subject/anchoring DP in these constructions may not be ‘strongly quantificational’:

- (43) a. *Most actresses in that movie are Ingrid Bergman and Liv Ullmann.
Mikkelsen (2004a: 165)
b. *Most questions are what was the utility of it.
c. *The kids asked most questions, namely what was the utility of it.²⁵

Secondly, while the clausal element is interpreted as referential (in the case of EIQs, it picks out a speech act with the relevant propositional and perspectival content), the subject/anchoring DP is non-referential (Mikkelsen 2004a: 68, part III). This is very difficult to demonstrate clearly—the tests that Mikkelsen uses are not appropriate for testing either prototypical or postcopular EIQs because they rely on grammatical gender. I appeal to the availability of [something] as an overt anchoring DP for the EIQ to suggest that the DP at least *can* be non-referential.

These latter observations chime with de Cuba and Ürögdi’s split CP proposal for EV2 clauses (de Cuba and Ürögdi 2009; 2010) and EIQ clauses (de Cuba and Ürögdi 2010) wherein EIQs/EV2 clauses are non-referential cPs that select for a (potentially) referential CP. They claim to account for the distribution of both EIQs and EV2 with respect to factive verbs if one accepts their proposal that referentiality is the factor that differentiates the complements of non-factive verbs and (most) complements of factive verbs (see also Haegeman 2006; Haegeman and Ürögdi 2010). An apposition analysis, however, helps us understand *how* it is that the smaller clausal structure is referential while its superstructure contains a higher non-referential element; we do not need to appeal to either stipulated syntactic features such as [\pm factive] (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971) or operator movement (Haegeman and Ürögdi 2010), but make use of an existing grammatical option in the relevant language—apposition. The mechanisms by which apposition is interpreted are those by which EIQs are interpreted.

This approach further diverges from de Cuba and Ürögdi (2009; 2010) and Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010) in that illocutionary force itself is not the determinant of the referential status of a clause, but assumes that the fact of specifying illocutionary force means that the clause combines with other elements of the structure in such a way as to be interpreted as (non-)referential. The proposal here may, therefore, seem more baroque in some respects

²⁵ Note that this is also out if multiple EIQs are stacked, so the problem is not one of a clash between *most* and a single EIQ:

- (i) *The kids asked most questions, namely what was the utility of it, what would they do next, and why were they bothering.

than the cP/CP proposal, but ultimately again draws on structures and features already independently present in the languages of interest.

13.5.2.2 Pragmatic support

Moving on to the pragmatic motivation for an apposition analysis, the core of Potts's analysis of ARCs and nominal appositives is that they are conventional implicatures, and on closer analysis it can be seen that EIQs are too. Recall example (12): EIQs carry the implicature that some relevant speech act in the relevant discourse context was performed. Moreover, this implicature meets the following criteria for conventional implicatures:

- (44) a. Conventionality and detachability: EIQs are always an alternative to typical embedded interrogatives (cf. also de Villiers et al. 2011; Stringer 2015) and, in the absence of subject-auxiliary inversion, the implicature disappears (cf. (12b) vs (12c), (45) below).
 - b. Non-cancellability: the implicature cannot be denied by the speaker (see 45 below).
 - c. Non-backgrounding: the information that a speech act was made addressing such a QUD is a new piece of information conveyed by the current speaker (the hearer need not already know that a relevant previous speech act was made).
 - d. Projection through negation and interrogation: these operators do not affect the implicature that some speech act was performed (see (46) below), though the exact content may be queried.
 - e. Independence of at-issue meaning: EIQs do not impose new or additional discourse requirements.²⁶
 - f. Speaker-oriented: in the sense that the speaker is choosing to and takes responsibility for expressing the implicature that the relevant speech act was made.
- (45) a. I wanted to know if Joe was coming to the party but didn't mention it at all.
 - b. I wanted to know was Joe coming to the party #but didn't mention it at all.
- (46) a. I didn't ask would he cook tea for me #(. I asked would he cook lunch).
 - b. Did Jane ask was Mary coming? = something was asked

Example (46) is actually parallel to the example Truckenbrodt gives of EV2 interacting with at-issue content:

- (47) Hans glaubt nicht, Peter hat gewonnen, #(er glaubt nur, dass Peter gut
Hans believes not Peter has won he believes only that Peter good
abgeschnitten hat).
done has
'Hans does not believe that Peter has won, he only believes that Peter has done well.'
(Truckenbrodt 2006: 296)

²⁶ It is possible to use an EIQ in an indirect manner, as the QUD they express can directly overlap with the current QUD, but in that sense it is still the current QUD that is truly at-issue.

These examples illustrate how the conventional implicature they both carry projects through matrix negation. Moreover, EIQs and EV2 can be at-issue themselves; aspects of EIQs can be questioned (see example (5)) and, as we saw with the EIQs under imperatives in (2b–c), they can be relevant²⁷ to the QUD by having an answer that itself is an answer to the current QUD. This is less problematic than Truckenbrodt assumes, however, as ARCs and nominal appositives too can be relevant to the QUD:

(48) ARC

Q: Who's coming to the dinner tonight?

A: Well, I haven't spoken to Charles—as if he'd come anyway!—but I spoke to Sally, who is coming.

Matrix QUD: *Who have you spoken to about the dinner?*

ARC QUD: *Who is coming to the dinner tonight?*

(49) Nominal appositive

Q: Who's coming to the dinner tonight?

A: Well, I haven't spoken to Charles—as if he'd come anyway!—but I spoke to Sally, the ever-reliable dinner attendee.

Matrix QUD: *Who have you spoken to about the dinner?*

Appositive: *Who is coming to the dinner tonight?*

(50) *Context: On 6 May, I recount the events of the evening of 5 May*

I asked James would he cook tea for me tonight.

Matrix QUD: *What did you do last night; What did you ask James?*

EIQ QUD: *Will James cook tea for me tonight?*

In (48) and (49), the at-issue content of A's answer is not immediately relevant to the QUD expressed by Q, but the ARCs/nominal appositives are relevant to the QUD. Note that neither QUD entails the other. In the EIQ case in (50), an answer to the EIQ QUD is relevant to the matrix QUD, but not vice versa. This unidirectional relationship between the QUDs always holds because the EIQ QUD is evaluated according to the belief state and actions of the matrix (original) actors (cf. Truckenbrodt 2006). The superficial not-at-issueness in EIQs results from a lack of temporal overlap in the QUDs, which is also true of the ARC and nominal appositive cases.

As a final point, ARCs and EIQs are also similar on the basis of the characteristics discussed in Section 13.2: they contain perspectival content, they can be bound into, and they are obligatorily right-adjacent to the nominal that they specify or comment on.

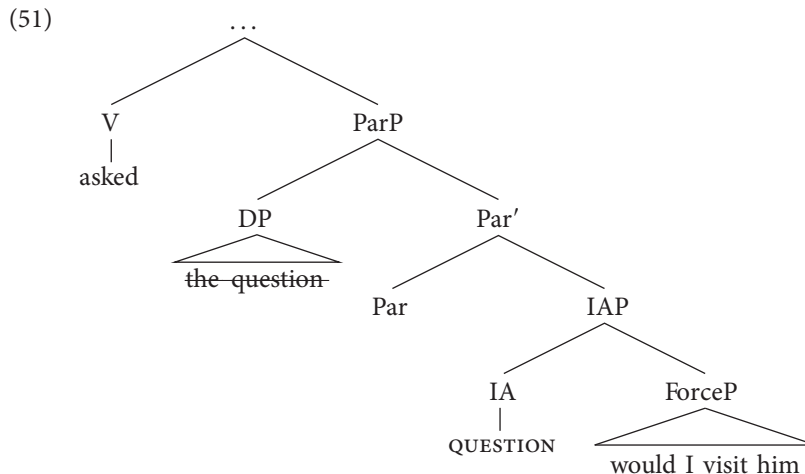
²⁷ I abide here by Simons et al.'s (2010) strict definition of relevance to the QUD and their argument that this is the core notion in understanding at-issueness:

Relevance to the QUD (Simons et al. 2010: 316)

- a. An assertion is relevant to a QUD iff it contextually entails a partial or complete answer to the QUD.
- b. A question is relevant to a QUD iff it has an answer which contextually entails a partial or complete answer to the QUD.

13.5.2.3 The proposed structure

I therefore propose that the EIQ, an IAP structure as shown in (28), composes with a nominal complement to the verb via an apposition relation of the kind proposed by Griffiths and de Vries (2013), where the nominal and the constituent in apposition with it form a constituent themselves via a functional parenthetical head. This is shown in the structure below.



This structure assumes that there is always a nominal complement to the lexical verb, and that nominal complement is specified by the EIQ standing in an apposition relation with it. In the case of prototypical EIQs, this nominal complement is silent. Moreover, this structure assumes that the IAP is of type *e* in order for the structure to properly compose semantically. Such an analysis of embedded clauses recalls Adger and Quer’s (2001) analysis of ‘unselected’ embedded questions, which have much in common with EIQs, including their restricted distribution and fixed position in the clause.

Whether in the matrix or the embedded clause, the mechanisms of the IAP and how it interacts with clause typing need to be elaborated. I propose that the relationship between IA and Force is one of feature inheritance analogous to that between Force (C) and T (cf. Chomsky 2008). While IA inherently carries illocutionary force features, these features are not principally realized on IA but in the CP layer, for example through verb movement to Force or the insertion of a particular complementizer (for example, the distinction between *to* or *koto* in Japanese: the former permits Hooper and Thompson (1973)-style root phenomena where the latter does not (Miyagawa 2012: 92–3). Features that have traditionally been proposed to trigger movement on clause-typing grounds, such as [wh], are, therefore, proposed to be inherited by Force from IA, though other related features that do not trigger movement, such as [Q], may be inherent to Force. Overt realization of the IA head may further specify the illocutionary act, for example the realization of IA as *please* to mark a clause not only as interrogative or imperative, but as a request (Woods 2015, to appear). This proposal has two syntactic and interpretive consequences: firstly, the presence of IA is obligatory to trigger syntactic root transformations such as verb movement to Force in languages like English (also German and Swedish)

but not obligatory for clause-typing more broadly. The second is that, as in the classic C-T inheritance case, when IA is present, it constitutes a Phase head, blocking extraction from its complement, as its specifier is not available as an escape hatch for, e.g., wh-movement.

13.5.3 EV2 as apposition?

In this section I consider whether apposition is also a good fit for understanding EV2 in German and Swedish. An anonymous reviewer notes that Mainland Scandinavian clauses headed by *at(t)* ('that') can optionally be introduced by the expletive *det* ('it'), as in (52):

- (52) a. Jeg mislikte sterkt (det) at han ville ikke være (Norwegian)²⁸
I resented strongly it that he wanted not to.be with
'I strongly resented (the fact) that he didn't want to come along.'
- b. Jeg sa det att jeg vil ikke begynne og selge til bank- och
I said it that I want not to.begin to sell to bank and
finansmarkede (Swedish)
finance.markets
'I said that I don't want to start selling to bank and finance markets.'

The anonymous reviewer also notes that this structure looks like the strictly non-factive, root-phenomena-permitting expletive *azt*-cP structure in Hungarian that de Cuba and Ürögdi (2009) examine. However, (s)he also notes that expletive *det* is also available with non-EV2 complements in Mainland Scandinavian:

- (53) Jeg mislikte sterkt (det) at han ikke ville være (Norwegian)
I resented strongly it that he not wanted to.be with
'I strongly resented (the fact) that he didn't want to come along.'

This is not a problem *prima facie* though, as typical embedded clauses containing *whether* are also compatible with nominal verbal complements and in specificational copular constructions in English:

- (54) a. She was wondering something, namely whether he was coming to the party.
b. She asked the question whether he was coming to the party.
c. The question is whether she's coming to the party.

In short, the availability of non-EV2 clauses with expletives and nominals does not preclude the apposition analysis given above, as the core element of the perspective fixing is hypothesized to come from the IAP rather than apposition itself.

²⁸ Thanks to the aforementioned reviewer for this example.

The picture in German is a little different. Reis (1997) notes that EV2 clauses cannot occur with an expletive correlate (55) but can occur as part of a nominal construction (56):

- (55) a. Hans hat (*es) geglaubt, Peter geht dahin zu Fuß.
 Hans has (*it) thought, Peter goes there.in by foot
 ‘Hans thought (*it) Peter went there by foot.’
- b. Jeder wird (*es) sagen, sie ist/sei zu jung dafür.
 Everyone will (*it) say, she is.ind/SUBJ too young it.for
 ‘Everyone will say (*it) she is too young for it.’ (Reis 1997: 139)
- (56) Die Idee/Illusion/Hoffnung, er könne damit reich werden, beflügelt ihn.
 The idea/impression/hope he could it.with rich become inspired him
 ‘The idea/impression/hope that he could become rich with it inspired him.’
 (Reis 1997: 140)

The crucial thing to note is that both German and Swedish EV2 clauses may occur with overt (pro)nominal elements, which suggests that an apposition analysis does not rely on the presence of a permanently overt (pro)nominal.

The broader claims made about an apposition account for EIQs also hold for EV2 in Swedish and German; as noted by Truckenbrodt (2006: n.13), the adjacency and post-nominal position of EV2 clauses parallels apposition in these languages, and appositive clauses in these languages are also speaker-oriented, though see Koev (2016) for some evidence that typical German appositives can shift to reported perspectives, echoing Wiklund’s (2010) observations about the ambiguity of perspective in non-V2 embedded clauses. Finally, the logic described above for the interaction of appositives and at-issue content in English is expected to hold in German and Swedish too—we already saw this to some extent for German—given that it is based on pragmatic reasoning rather than language-specific factors.

13.5.4 A remaining question: Perspective-shifting vs. perspective-fixing

This chapter makes the observation that English EIQs/embedded imperatives establish the perspective holder of the embedded clause as a participant in the original context, whereas German/Swedish EV2 and German embedded imperatives establish the perspective holder of the embedded clause as the current speaker. Determining the source of this difference must be left for future work,²⁹ but I will present one further piece of evidence for the ‘shiftiness’ of English compared with the ‘fixiness’ of German and Swedish.

It is well established that German and Swedish do not permit EIQ-equivalents; embedded verb movement is blocked under interrogative predicates such as *fragen/fråga* (‘ask’).³⁰

²⁹ Ideas towards a solution may be found in Woods (2016a), but these ideas are also still under further development.

³⁰ Julien (2009: 46–54) identifies putative embedded interrogatives in Mainland Scandinavian, but they clearly behave differently from the EV2 clauses discussed here: they are incompatible with overt complementizers and they almost always occur with an intonational pause. Not enough is said about, e.g., extraction and binding to know whether these cases really are equivalent to EIQs or are closer to parenthetical constructions.

We have not yet discussed, however, whether English permits overtly marked EV2-equivalents—that is to say, overtly marked embedded ‘assertions’ with the core properties of EV2/EIQs. Given that all of the constructions considered in this chapter are marked by either verb movement to C or clause-type-related verbal morphology, we might look for root assertions marked by verb movement and see whether they are embeddable in the same way as EV2/EIQs. Sailor (Chapter 6 of this volume) notes cases of subject-verb inversion in certain strongly assertive English utterances with a negative interpretation, such as the example in (57):

(57) Am I fuck going to that party!

The strong negative assertive interpretation is dependent on both the presence of auxiliary movement to C and the taboo word between T and vP; if either of these elements is missing, neither the negative reading nor the strong assertive reading obtain:

(58) a. *I am fuck going to the party!
b. Am I going to the party? *Question interpretation only*

As Woods (2016a) discusses, this so-called ‘fuck’ inversion is embeddable, at least by EIQ-dialect speakers:

(59) a. He said would he fuck go to the party.
b. What he said was would he fuck go to the party.

Embedded ‘fuck’ inversion receives the same perspectival interpretation as EIQs—it is the original speaker (the matrix subject), not the current speaker, who holds the strongly negative perspective with respect to the proposition in the embedded clause. They also pattern with EIQs with respect to their syntactic characteristics: indexicality, Sequence of Tense, binding, scope freezing, extraposition, and extraction (see Woods 2016b for the full data set).

The data above suggest that English is fully ‘shifty’—not only does the perspective shift to the original interlocutors, but it may shift between interlocutors depending on the type of illocutionary force that is embedded. ‘Shiftiness’ is crucial for interpreting interrogatives, as perspectival elements such as speech-act adverbs and evidential markers are interpreted according to the addressee rather than the speaker in interrogatives (cf. Fillmore 1975; Garrett 2001) and other contributions to the extensive literature on ‘interrogative flip’). This may be the reason that EIQ equivalents do not obtain in Swedish and German—the addressee cannot be construed as the perspective holder because the necessary ability to shift perspectives is not available. Further investigation, as well as full development of a mechanism for perspective-shifting and fixing, is necessary to fully evaluate this speculation.

This idea also raises questions about how we understand the structure and meaning of imperatives. According to certain accounts of root imperatives such as Portner (2004), the perspective holder in imperatives is the addressee, as they are the ones on whom the obligation expressed in the imperative falls. This might predict that we should not find

embedded imperatives in German. If we consider perspectival phenomena such as speech-act adverbs in English imperatives, however, the picture is less clear:³¹

- (60) Seriously, go and see your mother.
→I am being serious in my order: go and see your mother (speaker perspective)
→I expect you to act seriously in carrying out my order: go...
(addressee perspective)

If the data in (60) are correct, we expect that fully ‘shifty’ languages like English will allow embedded imperatives. We also expect them to be permitted in ‘fixy’ languages like German because the speaker can be the perspective holder. Of course, this does not preclude other considerations from ruling out embedded imperatives, which I assume to be the case for Swedish.

13.5.5 What about the distribution of EIQs/EV2?

Where does this leave us with respect to understanding the distribution of EV2 and EIQs? An assertion hypothesis is clearly out—apart from not accounting for EIQs at all, it both over- and undergenerates in German and in Swedish. It also makes the wrong prediction in the case of matrix negation in interaction with ‘bridge’ verbs, given the availability of EV2 under negation.

The syntactic analysis proposed here predicts that the predicate should be compatible with a DP complement; this falls out in English, as predicates like *to be uncertain* do not permit EIQs, despite having the right kind of pragmatic flavour. Note that *wonder* does not pose problems here; even though it cannot take a DP like ‘the question’, it is compatible with DPs like ‘something’.

- (61) *I was uncertain would he visit.
(62) I was wondering something: would he visit?

Typical EV2-embedding predicates like German *sagen* and Swedish *säga* (‘say’) appear to permit DP complements, though further research is required into the full range of predicates that may permit EV2 and EIQ.

From a pragmatic point of view, perhaps we can characterize EV2/EIQ-embedding predicates as those which permit a discourse participant to express an opinion on the embedded proposition; that is to say, that proposition must not be already established (and accepted by all parties) in the relevant discourse. This is different from assertion or MPU-based proposals, as a new proposition can be expressed in the discourse without being either asserted or the MPU. Potts (2005: 2–3) argues that appositives are neither the MPU nor presupposed:

- (63) Lance Armstrong, a Texan, won the 2003 Tour de France.

³¹ Thanks again to Rebecca Tollan for judgements here.

In (63), the MPU is [Lance Armstrong won the 2003 Tour de France]³² but the proposition [Lance Armstrong is a Texan] may perfectly naturally be non-established in the addressee's understanding. Potts (2005: 24) also asserts that [Lance Armstrong is a Texan] should not be understood as an assertion (in the Stalnakerian sense) 'on a par with' the assertion [Lance Armstrong won the 2003 Tour de France], primarily on the grounds that the former is not-at-issue. Potts does go on to characterize appositives as 'root-level assertions', but all the while maintaining that they differ from the root-level assertion that they are interpreted as a comment upon.

As Potts does not provide a definition of assertion, it is hard to evaluate the claim made here against his work. Let us look once more at the assertion hypothesis for a definition of assertion: Julien (Chapter 11 of this volume) claims to build on Krifka's (2014) definition of assertion, according to which 'the speaker takes on the commitment to guarantee that the content of the assertion is true', stating that 'the speaker uttering [an EV2 clause] expresses commitment to the assertion that the embedded clause represents, in addition to being responsible for the truth of the utterance as a whole' (Julien, Chapter 11 of this volume: 273). Unfortunately, that leaves us none the wiser as to what it means to 'commit to an assertion', as it is not entirely clear that this means that the speaker commits to the truth of the content of the EV2 clause in the same way as Krifka (2014). Moreover, as already established in this chapter, a truth-commitment-based approach does not account for EIQs, embedded imperatives, or embedded 'fuck' inversion (as this last is always future-oriented).

Returning then, to the perspective-fixing approach, its success is dependent on establishing a link between expressing perspectives on a proposition and whether or not that proposition is established in the discourse. A serious problem for this proposal as it stands is the incompatibility of EV2 under predicates like *doubt* and *deny*, whose complements are also neither asserted nor presupposed (Hooper and Thompson 1973; Wiklund et al. 2009).

Perhaps, though, the fact that predicates like *doubt* and *deny* express some bias towards the truth of the proposition (i.e. that it is not true) is strong enough to rule out further expression of a perspective towards the proposition. It is perhaps telling that virtually none of the EIQ examples in this chapter or in the literature is construed or construable as a biased question. One indicator of this is that there is only one example that I can find of an EIQ containing high negation:

- (64) Aunt Kate wants to know won't you carve the goose as usual.
(James Joyce (*Dubliners*) in McCloskey 2006: 115)

This example could be possibly explained away as a literary example from an author well known for his unusual use of punctuation that could be construed as a direct quote. If we construct examples that are obviously not string-identical to a direct quote, their grammaticality is far from certain:

- (65) ??He asked me wouldn't I cook tea for him.

³² I stick here to Potts's core example despite subsequent changes in the cycling record books.

We might then want to suggest that while embedded ‘speech acts’ do not express truth-commitment on the part of a current/original discourse participant, the embedded proposition must be unresolved in the relevant discourse and its truth not actively in doubt.

I therefore leave the question of distribution unresolved, but suggest that the following points for consideration may be useful in moving forward:

- (66) a. Is there a link between the expression of perspectives and non-establishment of a proposition in the discourse?
- b. To what extent does bias play a role in or interact with the availability of embedded ‘speech acts’?

13.6 Conclusion and future directions

It is clear that there are striking similarities between English embedded ‘speech acts’ and EV2 in languages like German and Swedish, both in their syntactic behaviour and their interpretation. However, perspectival elements and non-overt arguments are interpreted differently in the two types of embedded clause. I have claimed that the overt expression of illocutionary force via root-like verbal morphology and/or movement leads to perspective shifting (in English) or fixing (in German/Swedish) and that the disambiguation of perspectives is the true contribution of illocutionary force. In contrast with assertion or MPU theories, I claim that overt illocutionary force in the embedded clause marked in these ways does not express any discourse commitments or obligations on the part of any current discourse participant. This sets the scene for a full exploration of how this perspective shift comes about as a result of verb movement and why perspective shifting in English differs compared with German and Swedish.

In terms of the syntax of EIQs and EV2, I have claimed that they contain extended structure in comparison with typical embedded clauses, as they contain an IAP layer above Force. Certain root phenomena are permitted due to the presence of the IAP that are not permitted when Force is the highest projection. However, still other root phenomena remain banned, as the IAP is not the highest projection in a true root clause. The IAP is syntactically in an apposition relation with a nominal complement to the lexical verb, which may be overt or covert. In this way the IAP specifies the content and expressive aspects of the nominal verbal complement without itself being a complement to or direct modifier of the event expressed by the verb. The factors governing the compatibility of EIQs/EV2 with certain matrix predicates still remain to be fully worked out.

The analysis proposed here, in addition to extending extant work on embedded clauses with verb movement, also feeds into broader questions about the nature of clausal complements and their DP-like behaviour. Works ranging from Rosenbaum (1967) and Davies and Dubinsky (1998) to Han (2005), Takahashi (2010), Hartman (2012), Kastner (2015), and Moulton (2013; 2015) have already proposed that typical clausal complements are in fact DPs. If we follow this line of reasoning, then the next stage is to investigate in more detail the differences between ‘typical’ clausal complements and embedded illocutionary acts with respect to prototypical properties of DPs, such as definiteness, which may prove useful for further refining the distribution and meaning of different types of clausal complement.

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