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# The Highest Force Hypothesis

Subordination in Swedish

David Petersson

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For the past two months, my elder son Manne, who is two and a half years old, has kept asking me the same questions almost every day: “Is ‘the book’ finished now? Why not? Can you turn off the computer and come play now? Why?” Feeling like the Sisyphus of grammar, I have had to give him the same disappointing answer every day: “No, not today. I have to work for a just little while longer. But soon...very soon” I am sure my younger son, Jona, has also been wondering why his father spends his days (and sometimes nights) just sitting on a wooden chair, staring at a screen, and I think he has tried to strike up a prattle about this issue a few times. My partner Linnéa can speak, but, unlike our sons, she has been kind and understanding enough not to mention the “when”-question with words or other vocalisations too often.

Tomorrow, I will finally be able announce the joyous news that the book is finished. I will simply turn off my computer, rise from my wooden chair, and return to the world of the living. Quite possibly, the soundtrack of this scene of triumph will include trumpets. But if it weren't for the help and support that I have received from my supervisors, colleagues, friends and family members, chances are I would have spent the rest of my natural life rolling the boulder of grammar up and down the same hillside (trumpets playing only on the rare occasion).

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Lund, November 2014

David Petersson

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# 1 Introduction

The topic of this dissertation is subordination, a concept that is at the heart of syntactic studies. To define a canonical subordinate clause might be unproblematic, but the task becomes less trivial and more intriguing if we take less typical constructions into consideration. In Swedish, there are three construction types that contain clauses that are particularly difficult to classify as unambiguous main or subordinate clauses. These are the so-called “embedded V2”-constructions, direct speech constructions, and exclamatives. Consider (1.1):

- (1.1)a Han sa att jag gillar inte sill. “Embedded V2”-construction  
*he said that I like not herring*  
‘He said that I do not like herring.’
- b Han sa: Jag gillar inte sill. Direct speech-construction  
*he said I like not herring*  
‘He said: I do not like herring.’
- c Att du inte gillar sill! *att*-exclamative  
*that you not like herring*  
≈ ‘I can’t believe you don’t like herring!’

What makes the examples above difficult to analyse is that they involve clauses that seem to have both main and subordinate clause properties. In this dissertation, I propose a general hypothesis to account for the properties of super- and subordination, *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, which I argue solves the problems associated with the constructions exemplified in (1.1). According to this hypothesis, which is presented in detail in chapter 3, every main clause is anchored in the discourse and receives a speech act value. This anchoring takes place in the highest domain of a syntactic structure (the so-called C-domain) that contains positions for the encoding of a speech act value [+illocutionary force] and the origo, the speaker’s PERSON, HERE and NOW. The status of a clause as main or subordinate depends solely on whether it has a speech act value and on whether it is directly related to the origo of the communicative situation.

Drawing on the seminal work of den Besten (1983), I assume that verb movement in Swedish invariably targets the highest C-domain of the structure. Under this assumption, we can determine whether the clauses in (1.1) are main or subordinate by the position of the finite verb. Naturally, this solution gives rise to a number of potential problems that

are addressed in this work. The overarching aim of this dissertation is not only to discuss the three clause types exemplified in (1.1), but to reach a deeper understanding of super- and subordination in general.

In the Swedish grammatical tradition, the terms super- and subordination are standardly used to refer to a hierarchical relation in syntax, where one linguistic entity constitutes a part of another (See Teleman & al., 1999, volume 1:158,179,234,239; see also Crystal, 2008:462). Schematically, this can be represented as in (1.2):

(1.2) [X[Y]]

In (1.2), *Y* represents a linguistic entity that is integrated as a constituent of a larger linguistic entity, *X*. *Y* is thus subordinate in relation to *X*, whereas *X* is superordinate in relation to *Y*. This asymmetric part-whole relation is widely viewed as the principal basis of the distinction between main and subordinate clauses. According to standard definitions, a main clause is a syntactically independent clause, whereas a subordinate clause is a clause that is syntactically dependent in the sense that it is integrated as a constituent of a superordinate linguistic entity (see eg. Teleman & al, 1999, 1:158,179). In terms of traditional grammar, a subordinate clause is either an argument, an adjunct, or an attributive modifier of a noun.

Defined as above, main and subordinate clauses are two possible values in a binary distinction of syntactic hierarchies. An important point in this dissertation is that this syntactic dichotomy is mirrored in a corresponding discourse-semantic dichotomy. As pointed out in Teleman & al. (1999), a canonical main clause conveys a speech act, whereas a subordinate clause does not (volume 4:462,675). In view of the fact that main and subordinate clauses are distinguished from each other based on dependency, this correlation between syntactic and discourse-semantic status is expected. The assumption that a clause is syntactically dependent entails that it does not occur in isolation, and a clause that does not occur in isolation therefore should not be able to constitute an independent unit in discourse.

It is a long standing observation that the Germanic V2-languages are characterised by a difference in word order between main and subordinate clauses. In Swedish, this asymmetry is readily observable in clauses containing sentence adverbials such as the negative adverb *inte* 'not'.<sup>1</sup> Consider (1.3) and (1.4):

---

<sup>1</sup> Note that the structural differences between main and subordinate clauses in Swedish are not limited to the possible positions of sentence adverbials or the presence or absence of a complementiser. For an overview of the differences between canonical main clauses and subordinate clauses in Swedish, see for example Platzack (1986:79).

(1.3) Han gillar inte sill.  
*He likes not herring*  
 'He does not like herring.'

(1.4) Jag visste inte att han inte gillar sill.  
*I knew not that he not likes herring*  
 'I did not know that he does not like herring.'

The finite verb of the main clause in (1.3), *gillar* 'likes', precedes the negative adverb *inte* 'not'. In the subordinate clause, which is underlined in (1.4), this order is reversed, and negation precedes the finite verb.

Rooted in the work of den Besten (1983), the standard generative account of the structural asymmetry illustrated in (1.3) and (1.4) is based on the assumption that the Germanic V2-languages are characterised by verb movement to the C-domain and that there is a complementary distribution between finite verbs and complementisers in C°. The basic idea is that the finite verb moves to C° in a main clause but not in a subordinate clause, where this position instead hosts a complementiser thus blocking verb movement. The role of a complementiser is to anchor the clause in a superordinate syntactic structure (see Platzack 1998:89–96). The assumption that the negative element *inte* 'not' marks the upper boundary of the *vP/VP* (see Platzack, 2011:161) accounts for the fact that the word order of the main clause in (1.3) differs from that of the subordinate clause in (1.4). In the main clause, the finite verb has moved across the negative adverb *inte* and thus precedes it. In the subordinate clause, C° contains a complementiser *att* 'that'. Remaining in the V-domain, the verb is thus preceded by the negation.<sup>2</sup>

Thus far, I have shown that main and subordinate clauses, as defined on the basis of the syntactic asymmetry illustrated in (1.2), are complementary categories, and, consequently, they mutually exclude each other. I have also described how, in Swedish, the status of a clause in this dichotomy is typically mirrored in its syntactic structure and discourse-semantic status, that is whether or not the clause conveys a speech act. This gives us a basic model of super- and subordination in Swedish, according to which the hierarchical status of a clause can be determined on the basis of distinct criteria on separate levels of linguistic description. It is clear that this model is applicable to canonical main and subordinate clauses such as those in (1.3) and (1.4).

When certain less typical constructions are taken into consideration, however, it can be argued that the account outlined above is overly simplified. As mentioned, there are three

<sup>2</sup> The situation just described accounts for Mainland Scandinavian. In Icelandic, for instance, the verb moves to T° in subordinate clauses, meaning that the negative adverb is preceded by the verb in subordinate clauses as well as in main clauses.

common construction-types that pose a challenge to this dichotomous model of super- and subordination in Swedish: the so-called “embedded V2”-constructions, direct speech-constructions, and exclamatives. These constructions are of critical importance as they involve clauses which, at a first glance, appear to contradict the basic assumption of a correlation between a clause’s hierarchical status on the one hand and its syntactic and discourse-semantic properties on the other. Consider first the “embedded V2”-construction in (1.1a), repeated below as (1.5a), and the direct speech-construction in (1.1b), repeated below as (1.5b):

- (1.5) a **Han sa** att jag gillar inte sill. “Embedded V2”-construction  
*he said that I like not herring*  
 ‘He said that I do not like herring.’
- b **Han sa:** Jag gillar inte sill. Direct speech-construction  
*he said I like not herring*  
 ‘He said: I do not like herring.’

The example in (1.5a) involves a “matrix” *Han sa* ‘he said’ and an “embedded V2”-clause *att jag gillar inte sill* ‘that I do not like herring’. (1.5b) is a direct speech construction, consisting of a reporting segment *Han sa* ‘he said’ and a reported segment *jag gillar inte sill* ‘I do not like herring’. It is intuitive to think that the “embedded V2”-clause in (1.5a) and the reported segment in (1.5b) are complements of the transitive verb *sa* ‘said’. The problem with this assumption is that the segment following *sa* ‘said’ displays main clause word order in (1.5a) as well as (1.5b). Consider next the exclamative in (1.1c), repeated below as (1.6):

- (1.6) *Att du inte gillar sill!* *att-exclamative*  
*that you not like herring*  
 ≈ ‘I can’t believe you don’t like herring!’

Exclamatives, such as that in (1.6), have the structure of canonical subordinate clauses but nonetheless appear to be syntactically independent.

“Embedded V2”-clauses such as *att jag gillar inte sill* in (1.5a) are traditionally analysed as subordinate clauses. The same holds for the reported segment of a direct speech construction such as that in (1.5b). Exclamatives, on the other hand, are generally regarded as syntactically independent clauses that have the structure of canonical subordinate clauses. This is incompatible with den Besten’s generalisation, regarding the complementary distribution of finite verbs and complementisers. If the traditional analyses of the clauses in (1.5)–(1.6) are correct, then den Besten’s generalization does not

hold. On the other hand, if den Besten is right, the examples in (1.5a) and (1.5b) consist of two, syntactically independent clauses, whereas (1.6) is a syntactically subordinate clause.

In this dissertation, I argue that den Besten's generalisation holds. Specifically, I argue that “embedded V2”-constructions do not involve subordination, but rather consist of two independent main clauses as in (1.5a): *Han sa att* and *jag gillar inte sill*. I further argue here that direct speech constructions, such as that in (1.5b), also consist of two independent main clauses: *Han sa Ø*: and *jag gillar inte sill*. Under the analysis that I propose, the instance of *att* found in “embedded V2”-constructions is a pronominal element that constitutes the complement of the “matrix” predicate, in (1.5a), *sa* ‘said’. As for direct speech constructions, I argue that the reporting segment contains a null pronoun, which, in all material respects, is parallel to the pronominal instance of *att*. As regards exclamatives, I propose a solution according to which they are generally embedded under non-clausal matrices – ForcePs hosting an interjection or interjection-like element that may or may not be phonologically realised. Hence, the clausal parts of exclamatives, such as that in (1.6), are truly subordinate.

The outline of the dissertation is as follows: After a discussion of the assumed theoretical framework in chapter 2, I present the core proposal of this study, *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, in chapter 3. In chapters 4 and 5, I discuss “embedded V2”-clauses, and direct speech-constructions, which, as we have seen, are both problematic for an analysis based on the traditional dichotomy between main and subordinate clauses, since they seem to involve dependent main clause structures. Chapter 6 focuses on exclamatives that display the opposite problem; they seem to be independent utterances with a subordinate clause structure. Chapter 7 provides a summary and a conclusion, and, finally, a summary in Swedish is given in chapter 8.



# 2 Theoretical framework

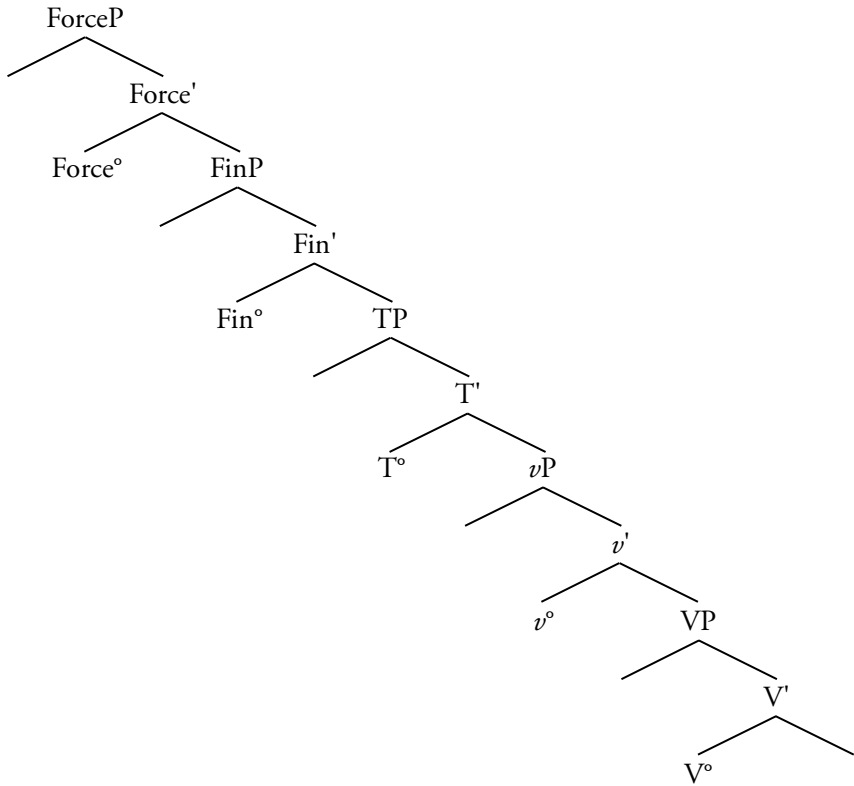
The purpose of this chapter is to present the theoretical framework of the dissertation and to define a set of key notions, thereby laying the groundwork for the formulation of *The Highest Force Hypothesis* in chapter 3. In section 2.1, I account for the basic syntactic structure of clauses assumed in this work, and in section 2.2, I present a definition of the notion of proposition and relate it to the syntactic structure of clauses. Section 2.3 is concerned with the syntactic and discourse semantic status of non-clausal syntactic structures and accounts for the encoding of illocutionary force in the syntactic model adopted in this dissertation. The chapter is concluded with a preliminary discussion of the distinction between main and subordinate clauses in section 2.4.

## 2.1 The architecture of clausal structures

The present work takes Chomsky's Minimalist Program as its point of departure (see Chomsky, 1995 and subsequent work). The syntactic model that I assume for clausal structures consists of a VP, a *v*P, a TP, and a split CP (the latter drawing on Rizzi (1997)). Consider the syntactic tree shown in (2.1):



(2.1)



Following standard assumptions, I assume that the argument structure of the verb is established in the V-domain, including the  $vP$ . According to *The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis* (UTAH), first introduced in Baker (1988), the arguments of a verb are assigned thematic roles in specific positions within the V-domain. Drawing on Platzack (2011:76), I assume that AGENTS are merged in Spec- $vP$ , the EXPERIENCER type of roles, which also includes BENEFICIENT and PATIENT, in Spec-VP, and THEME in the complement of V.<sup>3</sup> Since a distinction between  $vP$  and VP is rarely needed for the purposes of the present work, I will, henceforth, normally use a simplified notation, where VP is shorthand for both projections.

<sup>3</sup> Platzack (2011) labels the lowest projection of the clausal structure  $\sqrt{P}$ , and not VP. Since this distinction has no bearing on the general principles of theta role assignment, it will be ignored in this dissertation.

In the T-domain, information related to tense, aspect and mode is encoded. Most relevant for my dissertation is the encoding of tense and the establishment of the relation between the verb and the subject that forms the basis of a finite clause, which is the typical syntactic realisation of a proposition (see Platzack, 2011:79). Following Platzack (2011:77), I assume that T° “attaches vP to a timeline, enabling us to express temporal relations, such as before and after”.<sup>4</sup> I further assume that T° carries an uninterpretable phi-feature (person, number and gender), which, due to the presence of an EPP feature of T°, must be eliminated by the subject moving to Spec-TP (see Platzack, 2011:144). This means that a syntactic connection is established between the verb and its subject and that this connection is normally overtly realised in a Swedish clause. An exception to the canonical structure of clauses is the imperative clause, which does not appear to have a syntactic subject, at least not in the usual sense. I will return to the structure of imperative clauses in section 2.4.

The C-domain is the domain where the syntactic structure that has been built in the VP and TP is anchored, either in discourse or in a superordinate CP. Consequently, the CP plays a crucial role in the understanding of the possible hierarchical relations between clauses. Following Rizzi (1997), I assume a split CP-model, where the CP consists of a FinP and a ForceP.<sup>5</sup> The role of the lower projection of the two, FinP, is to establish an *origo*. The term *origo* dates back to Bühler (1934) and, in this dissertation, it refers to the speaker, to the speech location of the communicative situation, and to the speech time, that is I, HERE, and NOW. *Origo* constitutes a point of reference, in relation to which deictic distinctions concerning time, location and person encoded in the VP and/or TP, are interpreted. (For an elaborated account of the features of *origo*, see Sigurðsson (2004)). Within the boundaries of an independent syntactic tree, the values of *origo* are fixed to the speaker, the speaker’s position in space, and the speaker’s present. All deictically relevant categories, including tense, personal pronouns, and deictic adverbials of time or space are specifications that are necessarily interpreted in relation to *origo*. Consequently, the point of reference that is encoded in the head of FinP is a necessary prerequisite for the interpretation of all variable, deictically specifiable information, irrespective of whether it is rendered by an argument or an adjunct. However, the opposite does not apply; the presence of a TP is not a prerequisite for establishing a deictic *origo* in FinP. This will be important for the analyses of non-clausal ForceP structures and imperative clauses discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.4, respectively.

ForceP is the highest projection of the clause. This means that it faces “outwards”, in the case of subordinate clauses towards a superordinate ForceP-structure, and in the case of

<sup>4</sup> Swedish original: “T, [som] knyter vP till en tidslinje och möjliggör att man kan uttrycka tidsrelationer som före och efter” (Platzack, 2011:77). (English translation by D.P.)

<sup>5</sup> Rizzi proposes other potential layers of the CP, such as a TopP or a FocP, that are not discussed in this dissertation.

main clauses towards discourse. Force<sup>o</sup> is the node that encodes illocutionary force. According to the definition applied in this dissertation, having illocutionary force means being a potentially independent communicative utterance. The value is binary, meaning that a syntactic structure either has or lacks illocutionary force. Thus, the notion of illocutionary force must not be confused with the concept of specific speech acts. A verb in Force<sup>o</sup> marks that the clause has a speech act value, in other words that the value is [+illocutionary force].

However, a plus value for illocutionary force does not say anything about the specific speech act that the clause conveys. Before further discussion of speech acts, we will take a closer look at the concept of sentence type. Drawing loosely on Teleman & al (1999, volume 4:675–676), I assume that there are three basic sentence types: declaratives, interrogatives (which can be divided into *wh*-questions and *yes/no*-questions) and imperatives.<sup>6</sup> Two of these, declaratives and *yes/no*-questions, are exemplified in (2.2):

- (2.2) a. Du går och lägger dig.  
           *you go and lay REFL*  
           ≈ ‘You go to bed.’ / ‘You are going to bed.’
- b. Går du och lägger dig?  
           *go you and lay REFL*  
           ‘Are you going to bed’ / ‘Will you go to bed?’

From the point of view of sentence type, (2.2a) is a declarative, and (2.2b) is a *yes/no*-question. The sentence type is formally determined by the nature of the element in Spec-ForceP. In a declarative (main) clause, Spec-ForceP contains a non-*wh* XP, which is normally overtly realised.<sup>7</sup> In Swedish *yes/no*-questions, Spec-ForceP contains a silent

<sup>6</sup> Teleman & al (1999, volume 4:675–676), discern three additional sentence types: *exclamatives*, *suppositives* and *desideratives*. A common denominator of these three possible sentence types is that they consist of seemingly independent clauses that have the structure of canonical subordinate clauses. In chapter 6, I argue that exclamatives are embedded under non-clausal ForcePs. As a consequence, I conclude that exclamatives cannot be regarded as a sentence type on a par with declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. Suppositives and desideratives will not be discussed in this dissertation but it is reasonable to assume that they could be given an analysis similar to that which I propose for exclamatives in chapter 6. It should be mentioned that desideratives also can have main clause word order. In that case, they are introduced by the finite verb, either an instance of the auxiliaries *må* or *måtte* ‘may’, or a main verb in the optative mood (see Teleman & al., 1999, volume 4:675). I assume that the syntactic structure of these constructions, in all relevant respects, is parallel to that of imperative clauses.

<sup>7</sup> In the case of V1-declaratives, which are fairly common in spoken Swedish, the XP in Spec-ForceP lacks phonological representation, see Mörnsjö (2002:171).

question operator Q; in other words, such sentences display V1 word order.<sup>8,9</sup> *Wh*-questions have *wh*-elements/*wh*-operators in Spec-ForceP, and imperatives have an IMP operator in this position (see Platzack 2011:113). On this view, there is no fixed link between a sentence type and a particular speech act. Clearly, different sentence types are associated with different speech acts. However, this relation is only a typical correlation, not a fixed one. For instance, declarative main clauses are generally used to make statements, but in many contexts they may also be used to ask questions or make commands. In the case of (2.2a), a question or command reading is, in fact, more likely than a statement reading. Similarly, the *yes/no*-question in (2.2b) can be used to perform different speech acts. In addition to its canonical use as a *yes/no*-question, (2.2b) could be used to make a polite request or command. The use of a certain sentence type in a non-canonical way, for instance the use of a declarative to ask a question, is understood in terms of indirect speech acts (see for example Huang, 2007:109–110).

The crucial point is that an utterance marked [+illocutionary force] constitutes a potentially independent communicative utterance in a world of discourse. Since a finite verb in Force<sup>o</sup> gives the value [+illocutionary force], both (2.2a) and (2.2b) have illocutionary force. This is in contrast to their subordinate clause counterparts in (2.3), below.

- (2.3) a. att du går och lägger dig  
           *that you go and lay* REFL  
           ≈ ‘that you go to bed’ / ‘that you are going to bed’
- b. om du går och lägger dig.  
           *if you go and lay* REFL  
           ‘if/whether you are going to bed’

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the question operator Q, see Katz & Postal (1964), Waldmann (2008:39), and Platzack (2011:111–113). As pointed out above, Q is generally phonologically null in Swedish. However, a possible exception is *eller hur*, lit. ‘or how’. Normally, *eller hur* is used as a clause final tag question, but in contemporary Swedish, *eller hur* can also appear in a clause-initial position as in (i):

- (i) Eller hur är det dyrt i Norge?  
       *Eller hur is it expensive in Norway*  
       ≈ ‘It’s really expensive in Norway, don’t you think?’

This is a fairly recent development, which can be observed mainly in the spoken language of younger speakers. Petersson & Josefsson (2010) argue that clause initial *eller hur* should be analysed as an overt *yes/no*-question operator.

<sup>9</sup> In addition to the configuration of Spec-ForceP, mood is a property that may be relevant to the division into different sentence types. In Swedish, this is true, especially in the case of imperative clauses, as they are required to be in the imperative mood. However, as this has no bearing on the present work, I refrain from discussing the relation between mood and sentence type.

Examples (2.3a) and (2.3b) are canonical subordinate clauses with complementisers in Force° and, as I will show in the course of this work, such clauses lack illocutionary force. I will return to the relation between the hierarchical status of a clause and the contents of Force° in section 2.4.

## 2.2 Propositions and clauses

In this dissertation, I distinguish between the syntactic and the discourse-semantic aspects of subordination. The discussion of the syntactic relations is based on the syntactic term and/or concept *clause*. The analysis of the discourse aspect, on the other hand, relies on the notions of *origo* and *speech act*, and the account of the semantic dimension requires that the term and/or concept *proposition* be taken into consideration. In this section, I focus on the syntactic and semantic dimensions by defining the notions proposition and specifying the term clause. At this point, a terminological remark is called for: Throughout this work, the term *clause* will be used to refer to finite clauses only. Other structures, such as infinitival clauses or small clauses, are not included.

As stated in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2012) “The term ‘proposition’ has a broad use in contemporary philosophy. It is used to refer to some or all of the following: the primary bearers of truth-value, the objects of belief and other ‘propositional attitudes’ (i.e., what is believed, doubted etc.), the referents of *that*-clauses, and the meaning of sentences.”<sup>10</sup> It would be beyond the scope of this dissertation to problematize all the philosophical aspects of the notion *proposition* mentioned above. Following Platzack (2011:80), I will adopt the linguistically relevant definition proposed by Teleman & al. (1999, volume 1:214), where proposition is defined as “the part of a clause’s content that does not specify which speech act it expresses. The proposition in a statement, for instance, is precisely what is asserted to be true and, in a *yes/no*-question, that which truth-value is requested”.<sup>11</sup>

The definition of the notion proposition given above seems to correspond largely to definitions suggested elsewhere in the linguistic literature, for example Crystal (2001:275): “The unit of meaning which constitutes the subject matter of a statement, and which is asserted to be true or false. It takes the form of a simple declarative sentence, such as *The car is outside*”.

<sup>10</sup> See <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/propositions/>

<sup>11</sup> The Swedish original: “proposition, den del av en sats’ innehåll som inte anger vilken språkhandling det är fråga om. Propositionen i ett påstående är t.ex. just det som hävdas vara sant och i en underställande fråga det vars sanningsvärde efterfrågas”. (English translation by D.P.)

Starting with the definition presented in the work of Teleman & al. (1999), we can relate the notion of proposition to the syntactic structure of finite Swedish clauses as introduced in section 2.1. It can be gathered from Platzack (2011:77–82) that the proposition is related to the part of the syntactic structure of the clause that is located below the C-domain. Adopting this view, I assume that the syntactic structure relevant for the proposition consists only of the two lower domains: the TP and the VP.

Drawing on the seminal work of Holmberg & Platzack (1995), I also assume that *origo* – essential for the anchoring of a syntactic structure in a discourse context and necessary for the specification of the speaker’s *identity, here and now* – is related to a position outside of the T- and V-domains; it is specified on a higher level of the structure, namely in the FinP-projection. If the truth-value of a proposition can only be evaluated in relation to *origo*, meaning that this is possible only when the syntactic derivation reaches FinP, the claim made in *Stanfords Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2012) that propositions “are the primary bearers of truth and falsity”, would be problematic for my analysis. For this reason I argue that propositions (established below the C-domain) are related to truth and falsity in such a way that the specific truth-value can be given only after the *origo* is set in FinP (located in the C-domain). The information concerning time, locality and the identity of referents, which is rendered within the V- and T-domains, is possible to evaluate only in relation to *origo*, encoded in FinP.

In short, in the present work a finite clause is a syntactic structure that expresses a proposition and anchors it in a superordinate ForceP or in the discourse, represented in the highest ForceP-projection of the clausal structure.

## 2.3 Non-clausal ForceP-structures

Even though clauses, and more generally verbal structures, are at the heart of syntactic studies, it is also clear that non-verbal, or rather non-clausal structures may meet the criterion of being potentially communicative utterances and, consequently, have illocutionary force. If illocutionary force is a property that is encoded in ForceP, we may conclude that there are non-clausal ForceP-structures too. An example of non-clausal ForcePs are interjections. Consider (2.4):

- (2.4) a. Aj!  
           'Ouch!'

   
 b. Mums!  
           'Yum-yum!'

In addition to interjections, lexical elements such as particles and nouns (possibly also noun phrases) may constitute non-clausal ForcePs. Consider (2.5):

- (2.5) a. Ut!  
           *out*  
           'Get out!'

   
 b. Satan i gatan!  
           *Satan in street.DEF*  
           ≈ 'Well, I'll be god damned!'

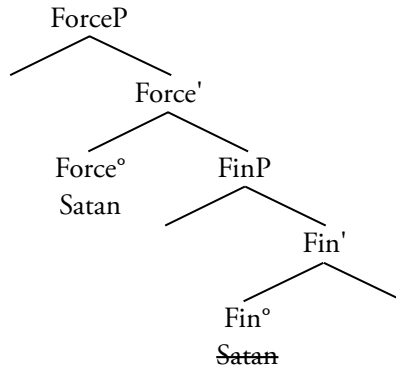
   
 c. Eld!  
           *Fire*  
           'Fire!'

In (2.5a), a particle is used to make a command. The example in (2.5b), which might formally be analysed as a noun phrase, is a fixed idiomatic expression that conveys a meaning of (mild) surprise and is used to make exclamations. Example (2.5c) is a noun that typically would be used to make a command. Irrespective of the class of lexical item that the structure contains, non-clausal ForceP-structures seem to be used primarily to convey either exclamations or commands.

Let us begin with interjections. A speaker who utters an interjection to make an exclamation does not express a proposition. Rather, he or she expresses a reaction to an event or a state of affairs that may or may not be specified linguistically. As no proposition is expressed by the interjection, I conclude that the VP and TP, the domains involved in establishing the proposition in a clause, are absent in non-clausal ForceP-structures. Based on this, I assume that non-clausal structures that convey speech acts have the basic structure illustrated in (2.6):

- (2.6) a. Satan!  
*Satan*  
 ‘Damn!’

b.



As (2.6b) shows, I assume that the interjection is first merged in Fin°, and moves to Force°, ending up in the same position as the finite verb of a main clause. The first step, external merge in Fin°, is motivated by the need for independent utterances to be anchored in the speaker's HERE and NOW. The idea that this is the right way to describe clauses, that is verbal structures, should not be controversial. However, in my view, it is reasonable to assume that this holds for non-verbal structures too. An interjection is a speaker's reaction and it relates to the speaker's HERE and NOW. As will be elaborated further in chapter 6, the speaker's NOW is the point of reference to which the tense of a subordinate clause is related, and this, for example, accounts for the difference in interpretation between present and past tense in pairs of *wh*-clauses, such as *Fan vad ni städar* (INTERJECTION what you clean) 'My, you really clean a lot' vs. *Fan vad ni städade* (INTERJECTION what you cleaned) 'My, you really cleaned a lot'. Movement of the interjection to Force° provides illocutionary force. In the first case, the present tense on *städar* 'clean' gives rise to an interpretation according to which the event of cleaning coincides with the time of utterance, the way present tense is generally interpreted in Swedish. In the second case, the event of cleaning has taken place before the time of utterance.

As seen in (2.6), I assume that interjections typically are heads, which makes them parallel to verbs when it comes to their XP/X° status. This is not problematic for cases such as *fan* lit. 'devil', *sjutton* lit. 'seventeen' or *usch* 'yuck'. However, there are cases of what appears to



be phrasal interjections, for instance *satan i gatan*, lit. ‘satan in the street’, and *jävlar I helvete*, lit. ‘devils in hell’. In such cases, I assume that the  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  and the  $\text{Force}^\circ$  are filled by virtue of being in a Spec-head configuration with an element in the specifier, hence blocking a complementiser in these positions.<sup>12</sup>

Due to the fact that the structure is non-clausal and, consequently, lacks a TP, no spatio-temporal relations can be established relative to origo in an exclamation consisting of a single interjection. However, drawing on analyses proposed by Magnusson (2007) and Stroh-Wollin (2008), I assume that non-clausal ForceP structures can take clausal complements, merged as complements of  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ .<sup>13</sup> In such cases, deictically relevant categories within the subordinate clause, such as tense and person, are interpreted in relation to the origo of the non-clausal ForceP-structure. Consider (2.7), where the interjection *fan* lit. ‘the devil’ takes a *som*-clause as its complement:

- (2.7) a. Fan som det ser ut!  
           *damn* SOM *it looks* PART  
           ≈ ‘It looks absolutely awful!’
- b. Fan som det såg ut!  
           *damn* SOM *it looked* PART  
           ≈ ‘It looked absolutely awful!’

The present tense *ser ut* ‘looks like’ in (2.7a), as well as the past tense *såg ut* ‘looked like’ in (2.7b), is interpreted in relation to the deictic NOW situated in the  $\text{FinP}$  of the non-clausal ForceP *fan* ‘damn’.

## 2.4 Main- and subordinate clauses – a preliminary discussion

In section 2.2, I defined a finite clause as a syntactic structure that expresses a proposition and anchors it in discourse. In this section, I discuss the basic property that distinguishes

<sup>12</sup> An alternative approach would be to assume that apparent phrasal interjections, such as *satan i gatan*, through a process of grammaticalization, have gone from being XP elements to being  $X^\circ$  elements. Such a development would, in that case, presumably be due to a version of Van Gelderen’s (2004) “Head Preference Principle” (Van Gelderen, 2004:18). Similar processes have given rise to new prepositions, such as *på grund av* (on ground of) ‘because’, and complementisers, such as *trots att* ‘despite’. For more discussion on this type of “complex” prepositions and complementisers, see Teleman & al. (1999, volume 1:170, volume 2:718,742).

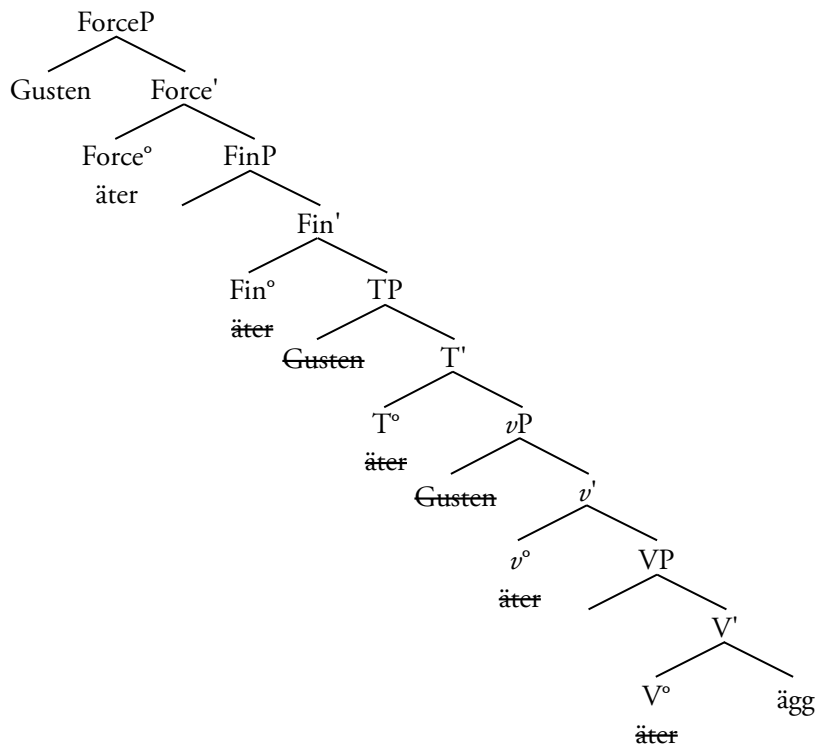
<sup>13</sup> A similar proposal has been put forth by Julien (2009a) who argues that *plus att* ‘plus that’ can constitute what she refers to as a “minimal matrix”.

main clauses from subordinate clauses: main clauses are anchored directly in the discourse, whereas subordinate clauses are related to the origo and illocutionary force of a superordinate ForceP-structure.

It is a long standing observation that the Germanic V2-languages are characterised by a structural asymmetry between main and subordinate clauses. Since den Besten (1983), it has become a widely accepted view that this asymmetry is related to properties of the C-domain. The standard assumption is that the finite verb of a main clause moves from  $V^{\circ}$  to  $C^{\circ}$  (possibly with  $T^{\circ}$  as an intermediate landing site). In a subordinate clause, on the other hand, a complementiser is merged directly in  $C^{\circ}$ , preventing the finite verb of the clause from moving out of the VP (see Holmberg & Platzack 1995; Vikner 1995). I apply this analysis to the split CP-model of this dissertation and assume that the finite verb of a main clause moves to  $\text{Force}^{\circ}$ , through  $\text{Fin}^{\circ}$ . Verb movement to  $\text{Fin}^{\circ}$  ensures that the structure gets a deictic origo, whereas the final movement to  $\text{Force}^{\circ}$  marks the clause [+illocutionary force] (see section 2.1). If the verb can move, it will always move to  $\text{Force}^{\circ}$ . Since contemporary standard Swedish does not have V-to-T-movement in subordinate clauses (see eg. Vikner, 1995:142–147), verb movement clearly indicates the position of the highest ForceP in a syntactic structure. The basic structure of a Swedish main clause is illustrated in (2.8):

- (2.8) a. *Gusten äter ägg.*  
*Gusten eats eggs*  
 ‘Gusten eats/is eating eggs.’

b.

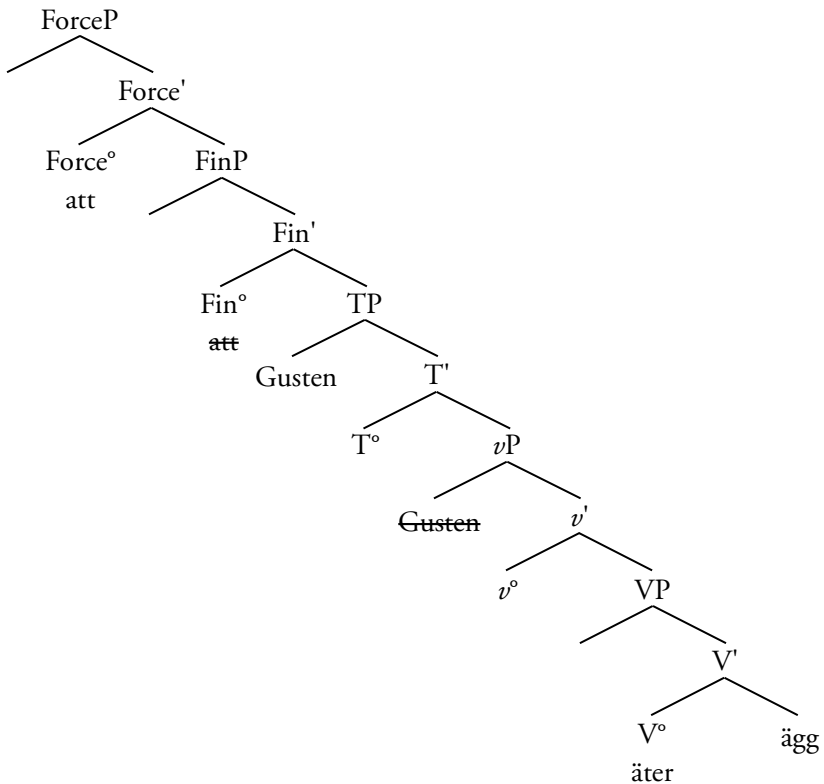


In subordinate clauses, I assume that a complementiser moves to Force°, after being merged in Fin°. The complementiser not only prevents the finite verb of the subordinate clause from moving to Force°, but, more importantly, it constitutes a syntactic anchoring

point. Once the complementiser has moved from  $\text{Fin}^\circ$  to  $\text{Force}^\circ$ , the clause is ready to be linked to the origo and illocutionary force of a superordinate ForceP-structure. When the derivation reaches the C-domain of this superordinate structure, its propositional content gets a point of reference, in relation to which it can be interpreted. Without a superordinate ForceP, the derivation of a clause with a complementiser in  $\text{Force}^\circ$  crashes. The basic structure of a Swedish subordinate clause, such as that in (2.9 a) is illustrated in (2.9 b).

- (2.9) a. att Gusten äter ägg  
           *that Gusten eats eggs*  
           ‘that Gusten eats/is eating eggs’

b.



The assumption of a complementary distribution between finite verbs and complementisers can lead to a unified account of the distinction between main and subordinate instances of declarative and interrogative clauses in Swedish. However, the syntactic tree used in (2.8) and (2.9) is not straightforwardly applicable to imperative clauses, a third basic sentence type. As I will show, imperative clauses are, in certain respects, fundamentally different from declarative and interrogative clauses, a fact which I take to suggest that they do not involve exactly the same set of functional projections as members of the two other basic sentence types do.

Imperative clauses always involve a verb in the imperative mood, and this verb invariably precedes any sentence adverbials within the clause. Further, imperative clauses clearly constitute potentially independent communicative utterances. Based on these facts, we can conclude that imperative clauses are parallel to declarative and interrogative main clauses in the sense that they display V-to-Force-movement (and thus have a structure which involves at least a VP and a ForceP). However, according to Platzack & Rosengren, (1998), imperative clauses have neither (ordinary) tense nor (ordinary) syntactic subjects. Further, they cannot be embedded, although they themselves can take clausal complements.<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, these are properties that imperative clauses and non-clausal ForcePs have in common.

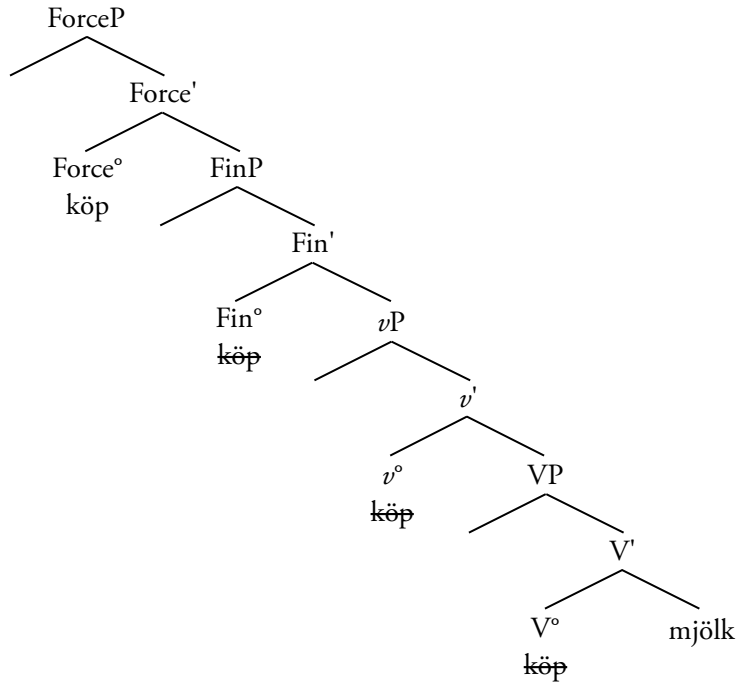
There is at present no common understanding as to how the properties of imperative clauses are best accounted for. Platzack & Rosengren (1998) have suggested that the characteristics of imperatives are due to the absence of a FinP. This is an interesting proposal, but, in my view, it raises more questions than it answers. As I argued in section 2.1, the *origo* (the values I, HERE, and NOW) is fixed in Fin°. A consequence of this assumption is that FinP cannot be absent in an imperative clause, since it would be impossible to interpret its proposition in a given communicative situation without the point of reference that the *origo* provides. In this work, I will therefore assume that Swedish imperative clauses do not have TPs. I thus propose that an imperative clause, such as the one in (2.10a), has the structure illustrated in (2.10b).

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<sup>14</sup> Platzack (2007) discusses presumed instances of embedded imperative clauses in old Swedish. The clauses in question are embedded under *at* 'that'. In chapter 4, I discuss contemporary examples of "embedded V2"-constructions where imperative clauses occur after *att*, arguing that this configuration is expected under the assumption that "embedded V2"-constructions consist of independent main clauses. Supposed embedded imperative clauses in Old Swedish will not be discussed in this dissertation. However, it is reasonable to assume that they could be analysed in the same way as imperative clauses occurring after *att* in "embedded V2"-constructions in contemporary Swedish.

- (2.10) a. *Köp mjölk!*  
*buy milk*  
 ‘Buy milk!’

b.



As mentioned in section 2.1, I adopt Platzack's (2011) view that T° carries a feature, “which semantically signals the presence of a time-dimension” (p. 133–134) and a feature  $\neg\Phi^{\text{EPP}}$ , which is eliminated as the subject moves to Spec-TP (p. 78–79). Under this assumption, the absence of a T-domain would provide a tenable account for the fact that imperative clauses have neither tense distinctions, nor grammatical subjects.<sup>15</sup> However,

<sup>15</sup> However, the analysis that I propose for imperative clauses is not unproblematic, neither from a theoretical, nor a cross-linguistic perspective. I assume that imperative clauses convey propositions. Given that the subject is hosted in Spec-TP, a syntactic tree lacking a TP would not be straightforwardly compatible with the view that the TP is responsible for “the establishing of the relation between the verb and the subject, which forms the basis of a finite sentence, which is the typical syntactic realisation of a proposition” (section 2.1). Another piece of evidence against the idea that imperative clauses perhaps lack a T-domain is given by German data. Since verbs in the imperative, in German, display number agreement with the addressee, there must be a position hosting the number and person features of the addressee.

the precise configuration of imperative clauses has little or no bearing on the issues investigated in this work. For the purposes of this dissertation, the relevant facts concerning imperative clauses are, firstly, that they display V-to-Force-movement and, secondly, that they can take clausal complements although they cannot themselves be embedded. These properties are adequately accounted for by the structure in (2.10b).

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# 3 The Highest Force Hypothesis

In this chapter, the main proposal of this dissertation is formulated as *The Highest Force Hypothesis*. This hypothesis, which is set in the syntactic model introduced in the preceding chapter, consists of two separate but related principles that together are intended to provide the basis for a unified account of asymmetric relations between ForceP-structures in Swedish:

## (3.1) The Highest Force Hypothesis:

- a. A well-formed independent syntactic tree has precisely one origo and one specification with the value [+illocutionary force]. Both are encoded in the highest projections of the structure, that is, in the highest FinP and ForceP, respectively.
- b. In Swedish, the finite verb of a clause moves to the head of the highest ForceP, unless such movement is blocked by a complementiser. In embedded ForceP-structures, the head of ForceP contains a complementiser (overt or phonologically null).

Whereas the first part of *The Highest Force Hypothesis* is potentially universal and applies to clausal and non-clausal structures alike, the second part is concerned with clauses in Swedish. A Swedish main clause is a clause that is encoded for illocutionary force through V-to-Force-movement. From this follows that a clause where the verb has moved from  $V^\circ$  to  $\text{Force}^\circ$  cannot be embedded. In a subordinate clause, on the other hand, no verb movement takes place. Instead,  $\text{Force}^\circ$  contains a complementiser that anchors the clause in the illocutionary force of a higher ForceP-structure. Non-clausal ForceP-structures have neither a VP, nor a TP. Consequently, illocutionary force is not encoded by means of verb movement in these cases. In non-clausal ForceP-structures, I assume that in principle any other lexical item may move to the ForceP, after being first merged in the FinP.<sup>16</sup> In conclusion, this means that if the highest ForceP contains an element other than a complementiser, the structure in question is coded for a plus value of illocutionary force.

Following the principles of the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (1995), I consider syntax to be a system that builds hierarchical linguistic structures by means of strict binary

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<sup>16</sup> As pointed out in chapter 2, we will have to assume that XPs moving to Spec-ForceP give rise to the same effect. Crucially, by virtue of Spec-head agreement,  $\text{Force}^\circ$  hosts the corresponding features, thus preventing the insertion of a complementiser.



branching. This is not a controversial stand, but it has crucial consequences as far as the possible hierarchical relations between ForceP-structures are concerned. Under the assumption that syntax is a strictly binary system, it follows that only two possible relations may obtain between two syntactic structures (coordination being disregarded): From a syntactic point of view, they are either integrated in such a way that one is superordinate and the other subordinate, or not integrated – in other words independent from each other.

As stated in *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, illocutionary force is always established in the highest ForceP of a syntactic structure. In light of the conclusion that a ForceP that contains an element other than a complementiser is coded for illocutionary force, it follows that the only ForceP-structures that can be embedded are subordinate clauses, since they, by definition, have complementisers in Force°. Consequently, the syntactic integration between two ForceP-structures is possible only in the case of hypotaxis. The range of available relations between two ForcePs (clausal or non-clausal) are summarised in (3.2):

(3.2) A: **Non-syntactic relation.**

- i): Textual relation between two syntactically independent ForcePs in discourse.
- ii): Parataxis. Two syntactically independent ForcePs are related to each other by an extra-syntactic operator, such as *och* ‘and’.

B: **Syntactic integration.**

Hypotaxis. A complementiser in Force° anchors a ForceP-structure in the origo and illocutionary force of a higher ForceP-structure.

From *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, it follows that coordinated main clauses have to be analysed as independent ForcePs. This might be controversial, but since the main interest of my study is asymmetric relations between ForcePs I will put aside the topic of coordination here. A binary view of syntax thus leaves only two possible relations between ForcePs: 1. Syntactic relation – subordination, and 2. Non-syntactic relation – text.

In this dissertation, I will test *The Highest Force Hypothesis* by applying it to “embedded V2”-clauses (chapter 4), reported speech constructions (chapter 5) and exclamatives (chapter 6). My goal is to show not only that these problematic structures can be subsumed under *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, but that we also can achieve a deeper understanding of these “construction types” in particular and subordination in general by applying this hypothesis.

## 4 “Embedded V2”

This chapter is concerned with so-called “embedded V2”-clauses. As the term implies, such clauses are characterised by an apparent mix of main clause and subordinate clause properties. Two examples are given in (4.1). They should be compared to a canonical *att*-clause (henceforth simply termed *att*-clause) in (4.2). The relevant segments are underlined.

- (4.1)a. De sa att vi kan inte ändra den här analysen.  
*they said that we can not change this here analysis.DEF*  
‘They said that we cannot change this analysis.’
- b. De sa att den här analysen kan vi inte ändra.  
*they said that this here analysis.DEF can we not change*  
‘They said that this analysis, we cannot change.’
- (4.2) De sa att de inte kunde ändra den där analysen.  
*they said that they not could change that there analysis.DEF*  
‘They said that they couldn’t change that analysis.’

At a first glance, it seems completely natural to assume that the “embedded V2”-clauses in (4.1) are assigned a thematic role by the verb *sa* ‘said’. Furthermore, the underlined segments in (4.1a) and (4.1b) are introduced by *att*, and it would seem straightforward to assume that this *att* is identical to the complementiser *att* ‘that’ in (4.2). If this is the case, we must conclude that an “embedded V2”-clause is syntactically integrated into a matrix clause, in other words into a higher ForceP-structure. This, in turn, would mean that “embedded V2”-clauses are subordinate clauses, just as the canonical *att*-clause is in (4.2). This kind of solution has largely been taken for granted, and the traditional hypotactic approach to “embedded V2”-constructions relies on the validity of such an analysis, see for instance Andersson (1975), Platzack (1986), Holmberg & Platzack (1995), Vikner (1995), Teleman & al. (1999), Stroh-Wollin (2002, 2011), Bentzen & al. (2007a), Julien (2007), Waldmann (2008), and Brandtler (2012).

However, the standardly assumed hypotactic analyses are associated with problems. First of all, they are inconsistent with the fact that “embedded V2”-clauses display verb movement to the C-domain. The finite verb of an “embedded V2”-clause precedes sentence adverbials, such as the negative adverb *inte* ‘not’, which shows that it has moved out of the VP. Since Swedish does not have V-to-T-movement (see Vikner 1995:142–

147), this is a clear indication of verb movement to the C-domain. This is also confirmed by the possibility of fronting a non-subject constituent, as in (4.1b). Spec-TP and Spec-ForceP are the only positions that are available to the subject of a Swedish clause, and the fact that the finite verb of an “embedded V2”-clause can precede the subject allows us to conclude that it occupies a head position above Spec-TP, in other words a position in the C-domain (see also Vikner 1995:142–147 and Platzack 2011:103–104). However, if *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, outlined in chapter 3, is correct, it follows that a so-called “embedded V2”-clause cannot be syntactically integrated into a superordinate clause. The hypothesis states that verb movement in Swedish clauses invariably targets the highest ForceP of the structure, which – by definition – is not subordinated.

Judging from the surface structure alone, an “embedded V2”-clause appears to be precisely what the traditional term suggests: a subordinate clause with the internal structure of a main clause. Such a conclusion would challenge *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, as formulated here in chapter 3. More seriously, it would refute the general concept of main clauses and subordinate clauses as discrete categories. In light of this, it is clear that an explanation of “embedded V2”-constructions is crucial to a deeper understanding of super- and subordination. In general, the value of a syntactic analysis of “embedded V2”-constructions depends on its consistency with a general theory on super- and subordination. Conversely, the value of a general theory on super- and subordination depends on its ability to account for different clausal structures without resorting to *ad hoc* solutions. The purpose of this chapter is to achieve both a deeper understanding of subordination and to explain “embedded V2” without resorting to such solutions.

Let us first of all consider the background to the discussion about “embedded V2”-constructions. The syntactic and semantic status of “embedded V2”-clauses was first highlighted in the aftermath of Emonds’ (1969) seminal work on so-called *root transformations*. Emonds defines a root sentence as “either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S or the reported S in discourse” (Emonds 1969:6, as cited in Hooper & Thompson 1973). Note that in the terminology of this dissertation, Emonds’ notion of a root, in all relevant respects, appears to correspond to the highest ForceP of a clausal structure, in other words to a main clause. Arguing that certain transformations, such as topicalisation and left dislocation, can occur in root sentences only, Emonds makes the following generalisation: “a [Root Transformation] is one in which any constituents moved, inserted or copied are immediately dominated by a root in derived structure” (Emonds 1969:7, as cited in Hooper & Thompson 1973). However, this claim was later questioned by Hooper & Thompson (1973), who draws attention to constructions that, according to their view, show that root transformations are applicable in subordinate clauses also. Consider (4.3) and (4.4), which are from Hooper & Thompson (1973:474):

(4.3) I exclaimed that never in my life had I seen such a crowd.

(4.4) The scout reported that beyond the next hill stood a large fortress.

On the basis of examples such as (4.3) and (4.4), Hooper & Thompson dismiss Emonds' generalisation concerning the applicability of root transformations, stating that it does "not seem possible to define the domain of [a Root Transformation] in terms of syntactic structures in any general way" (1973:495). Instead, Hooper & Thompson link root transformations to the notion of assertion, arguing that the transformations in question occur only in clauses that convey asserted propositions. This claim is based on their observation that the applicability of embedded root transformations seems to be restricted by the semantic properties of the matrix predicate. They distinguish between two basic groups of predicates: those that take asserted complement clauses (for example *say* or *think*) and those that take presupposed complement clauses (for example *regret* or *be strange*). They find that root transformations are possible in clauses following assertive predicates, but not in clauses following factive predicates. This leads them to conclude that root transformations "operate only on Ss that are asserted" (Hooper & Thompson 1973:495).

At this point it is necessary to emphasize that Hooper & Thompson's observations are solid. However, in what follows I will argue that the semantic classification of the clauses as asserted is an epiphenomenon; the alleged subordinate clauses in (4.3) and (4.4), (or rather their Swedish counterparts) are asserted, because they are main clauses.

Andersson's (1975) extensive study on main clauses and subordinate clauses in Swedish largely follows the analysis proposed by Hooper & Thompson (1973). Unlike Hooper & Thompson, however, Andersson makes an explicit distinction between syntactic and semantic subordination, defining a syntactically subordinate clause as "a clause that is introduced by a complementizer" (Andersson 1975:52) and a semantically subordinate clause as a clause "that does not make a statement, ask a question or give a command" (Andersson 1975:45).<sup>17</sup> Conversely, a syntactic main clause is defined as "a clause that is not introduced by a complementizer" (Andersson 1975:57) and a semantic main clause as "a clause that makes a statement, asks a question or gives a command" (Andersson 1975:57). A crucial point in Andersson (1975) is that the two kinds, or aspects of

<sup>17</sup> Andersson tentatively defines a complementiser as "an invariable morpheme whose effect is to convert a sentence to a nominal" (1975:178). By merely discussing and attempting to define the notion of a complementiser, Andersson (1975) stands out favourably, along with Stroh-Wollin (2002:151–152) – especially among the proponents of a hypotactic approach to "embedded V2"-constructions. Questions concerning the role and status of the supposed complementiser *att* have generally been scarce in the literature on "embedded V2"-constructions. This is interesting and somewhat remarkable, as the assumption that "embedded V2"-clauses are subordinate immediately affects the way in which the notion of a complementiser can, and cannot, be construed.

subordination do not necessarily have to coincide. In his view, a clause can be syntactically subordinate in the sense that it is introduced by a complementiser and, at the same time, be a main clause from a semantic point of view, in the sense that it conveys one of the three basic speech acts that he includes in the definition. Andersson states that “root transformations are applicable in main clauses and asserted subordinate clauses” (1975:41).<sup>18</sup> Consequently, according to Andersson’s model, “embedded V2”-clauses are subordinate clauses from a syntactic point of view, but main clauses from a semantic point of view.

In recent years, the view that “embedded V2”-clauses convey asserted propositions has been questioned and the issue has become a matter of much debate, see Bentzen & al. (2007a,b) Juel Jensen & Karoli Christensen (2013), Julien (2007, 2009b), Stroh-Wollin (2011), Wiklund (2009a,b), Gärtner & Michaelis (2010). The fundamental assumption concerning the syntactic relation between “embedded V2”-clauses and their “matrices”, on the other hand, has remained virtually unchallenged. As far as Swedish is concerned, there has been a broad consensus ever since Andersson (1975) that “embedded V2”-clauses are subordinate in the sense that they are integrated as constituents in their “matrices”. It should be mentioned though that there are some exceptions. One is Petersson (2009), who argues that the clauses involved in an “embedded V2”-construction are “independent main clauses” (Petersson, 2009:147). Another is Holmberg (1986), who compares “embedded V2”-clauses to direct reports in a discussion on restrictions on extraction. Holmberg tentatively considers the possibility that neither direct speech constructions, nor “embedded V2”-constructions should be analysed in terms of government (Holmberg, 1986:112–113). Although Holmberg does not elaborate on this idea, it seems to point towards the analysis that I propose in section 4.4, namely that “embedded V2”-clauses are main clauses. It should also be mentioned that de Haan (2001) and Biberauer (2002) have considered paratactic analyses of “embedded V2”-constructions in West Frisian and Afrikaans, respectively. I will return briefly to the possibility of a paratactic relation in 4.4.2, where I argue that V2-clauses occurring after “complementisers” other than *att* are in fact coordinated with the clauses that precede them.

However, the assumption of a hypotactic relation between the clauses involved in an “embedded V2”-construction gives rise to a theoretical problem regarding the alleged

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<sup>18</sup> Note that Andersson’s (1975) definition of the domain of root transformations is broader than Hooper & Thompson’s (1973). Andersson includes all main clauses that convey speech acts (declaratives, questions and imperatives), whereas Hooper & Thompson limit the domain of root transformations to clauses that convey asserted propositions. In this respect, Andersson’s (1975) proposal is not so different from *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, proposed in chapter 3 above. According to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, all clauses that convey speech acts are main clauses. Consequently, the decisive issue is whether a clause has illocutionary force or not. Which specific illocution a clause may be used to express is not relevant as far as its hierarchical status is concerned.

complementiser *att*. Since the work of den Besten (1983), it has become generally accepted among generative grammarians that Germanic V2-languages, such as Swedish, are characterised by verb movement to the C-domain in main clauses. The standard assumption is that the finite verb moves to C° (Force° in the model assumed in this study) in a main clause, but not in a subordinate clause, where this position instead hosts a complementiser that blocks verb movement (see for instance Platzack 1998:89–96). As I have shown, it is clear that “embedded V2”-clauses display V-to-Force movement. A hypotactic analysis of “embedded V2”-constructions is thus incompatible with the standard account of V2-word order, as it contradicts the basic idea that complementisers and finite verbs compete for the same position.

Platzack’s (1986) solution to the “embedded V2” phenomenon is to assume that the CP can be recursive. According to the recursive CP-approach, “embedded V2”-clauses have a double set of CPs – one containing the presumed complementiser and one containing the finite verb. The idea that the C-domain of “embedded V2”-clauses contains an additional projection, which is absent in canonical subordinate clauses, has since become a standard assumption, see for example, Holmberg & Platzack (1995), Vikner (1995), Stroh-Wollin (2002), Roll (2004), Bentzen & al. (2007a), Julien (2007), Waldmann (2008), and Brandtler (2012).<sup>19</sup> Based on this solution, advocates of the view that “embedded V2”-clauses are syntactically integrated into their “matrices” have argued that a hypotactic analysis is compatible with the fact that “embedded V2”-clauses display verb movement to the C-domain; *att* is assumed to occupy a higher head position than the verb. An analysis along these lines captures the surface structure of “embedded V2”-constructions and, technically, it circumvents a contradiction with the standard account of verb movement in the Germanic V2-languages, namely that the finite verb and the complementiser compete for the same position. However, this analysis has the drawback that the supposed recursion in fact appears to be a single iteration that is possible only in a small set of clausal structures). As Brandtler points out, referring to Vikner (1995), “there is something suspicious about a recursive rule that may only be applied once” (Brandtler 2012:32). The problem is that the postulation of an additional projection in the C-

<sup>19</sup> Whereas some researchers adopt Platzack’s (1986) early proposal of a recursive CP (eg. Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Vikner 1995, and Brandtler 2012), others base their solutions on Rizzi’s (1997) split CP-model, assuming what might be referred to as a ForceP-analysis (eg. Stroh-Wollin 2002, Bentzen & al. 2007a, and Julien 2007). Technically, the latter approach offers a way around the problem of assuming a recursive rule that can only be applied once. In Julien’s (2007) model, for instance, the finite verb of an “embedded V2”-clause moves to a ForceP, situated immediately below a projection called SubP, which hosts the presumed complementiser *att*. Crucially however, Julien’s analysis of canonical *att*-clauses does not involve any ForceP (Julien, 2007:139–140). As far as I can see, the difference between a recursive CP-analysis and a ForceP-analysis is thus only superficial. Both analyses are based on the assumption that “embedded V2”-clauses contain an additional projection in the C-domain. Since this means assuming a set of projections which is unparalleled in main clauses as well as subordinate clauses, both analyses appear to be *ad hoc*.

domain is an *ad hoc* solution, which, as we shall see, is necessitated by the implicit assumption of an unproven premise, namely that the instance of *att* occurring in “embedded V2”-constructions is indeed a complementiser. This becomes clearer if we trace this approach to “embedded V2”-constructions back to its roots in the early works of Hooper & Thompson (1973) and Andersson (1975).

As pointed out above, Hooper & Thompson (1973) observed that, in certain environments, so-called root transformations were applicable in clausal structures following elements such as *that* or *because*. Hooper & Thompson argued that this empirical fact showed that root transformations were applicable in subordinate clauses and that this, in turn, refuted Emonds’ generalisation. Hooper & Thompson’s line of reasoning was adopted by Andersson (1975), who showed that Swedish is parallel to English with respect to the applicability of root transformations. Since then, the conclusion that subordinate clauses may display main clause properties has been widely accepted, and in subsequent research on “embedded V2”-constructions in Swedish (and Scandinavian), the fundamental assumption of a hypotactic relation has been viewed as an uncontroversial point of departure.

The basic empirical observations reported for English by Hooper & Thompson (1973) are of course correct, as are those reported for Swedish by Andersson (1975). But the conclusion that these observations falsify Emonds’ (1969) generalisation concerning the applicability of root transformations is logically fallacious. In the case of Swedish, it is an empirical fact that a clausal structure displaying V-to-Force-movement, under certain circumstances, may occur immediately after *att*. Crucially, however, this empirical fact does not necessarily entail that V-to-Force-movement may take place in subordinate clauses. A hypotactic relation is a theoretical possibility but, in the absence of independent evidence showing otherwise, it is equally possible that a V2-clause following *att* is a syntactically independent main clause. The latter possibility would require that the status of *att* be reconsidered, but it would also mean that the idea behind Emonds’ generalisation could be maintained and that “embedded V2”-clauses could be analysed in accordance with the standard account of verb movement in the Germanic V2-languages. As such, the empirical fact that “embedded V2”-clauses display V-to-Force-movement does not necessitate the *ad hoc* postulation of an additional projection in the C-domain. What would necessitate such a solution is instead the presumption that *att* is a complementiser and that the segment introduced by *att* consequently must be a subordinate clause. This is an unproven premise, the validity of which, for the past four decades, has been taken for granted, and which calls for critical scrutiny.

Let us now take a look at the data, and, for the sake of exposition, start with cases where the “embedded V2”-construction minimally consists of two clauses, a “matrix” and the “embedded V2”-clause. (As I will show in section 4.1.4, the presumed complementiser *att*

may be followed by a non-clausal ForceP-structure too, for instance an interjection.) Consider again (4.1), repeated below:

- (4.1) a. De sa att vi kan inte ändra den här analysen.  
*they said that we can not change this here analysis.DEF*  
 ‘They said that we cannot change this analysis.’
- b. De sa att den här analysen kan vi inte ändra.  
*they said that this here analysis.DEF can we not change*  
 ‘They said that this analysis, we cannot change.’

In “embedded V2”-constructions, such as the one in (4.1a) and (4.1b) above, neither clause is well-formed without the other. It should be noted, however, that this claim is valid only if *att* is analysed as a part of the “embedded” clause. In section 4.2, I present a proposal, according to which *att* is a pronominal element serving as the complement of the “matrix” predicate. If “embedded V2”-constructions are analysed in accordance with this proposal, the presence or absence of a preceding “matrix” does not affect the grammaticality of the “embedded” clause. Nevertheless, it is trivially true that the clauses of this type of “embedded V2”-construction are somehow connected. The crucial question is whether the nature of this connection is syntactic or not. Considering its far-reaching implications for our understanding of the notion of subordination in general, it is clear that the answer to this question has relevance beyond the particular case of “embedded V2”-clauses in Swedish. Nevertheless, the issue has rarely been discussed in the literature, as “embedded V2”-clauses, in accordance with the tradition dating back to Hooper & Thompson (1973), have been studied mainly from the perspective of the clauses that precede them, that is the “matrices”. Linguists have considered the semantic properties of the “matrix” predicates, attempting to account for the syntax and semantics of “embedded V2”-clauses in terms of selection. As this approach presupposes a hypotactic relation, it is not surprising that the fundamental issue of whether or not “embedded V2”-clauses are syntactically integrated into their “matrices” has attracted little attention in the literature.

Apart from the fact that *att* is traditionally construed as a complementiser, the main argument in favour of analysing “embedded V2”-constructions in terms of hypotaxis is, as pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, that the “embedded” clause, at a first glance, appears to be assigned a thematic role by the “matrix” predicate. Consider (4.5):



- (4.5)a. Gusten sa att här kan vi inte sitta och vänta på revolutionen.  
*Gusten said that here can we not sit and wait on revolution.*DEF  
 ‘Gusten said that we cannot sit around here waiting for the revolution.’
- b. \*Gusten sa.  
*Gusten said*

The verb *sa* ‘said’ is transitive and, as seen in (4.5b), an “embedded V2”-construction is rendered ungrammatical if the “embedded” clause is left out. In light of this, it is tempting to conclude that the “embedded V2”-clause is the complement of the “matrix” verb. However, as stated in chapters 2 and 3, V-to-Force-movement is the core characteristic of a main clause in Swedish. If this is valid, arguing that a Swedish V2-clause can be the complement of a verb is thus essentially tantamount to claiming that a main clause can be a subordinate clause. Consequently, the core problem with the hypotactic approach to “embedded V2”-constructions is that the analysis is an obvious contradiction in terms, if main clauses and subordinate clauses are, in any way, to be construed as distinct categories.

My conclusion is that a hypotactic analysis cannot account for the properties of “embedded V2”-constructions in a satisfactory way, and I will therefore pursue a radically different approach in the present chapter. Rather than initially focussing on the “matrix” clause, I will take a closer look at the properties of the “embedded V2”-clause. I set out from the observation that “embedded V2”-clauses are characterised by V-to-Force movement and follow this empirical fact to its simple and logical conclusion: “Embedded V2”-clauses have the structure of main clauses because they are main clauses.

The status of the element *att* ‘that’ plays a key role in the analysis that I will propose later in this chapter. Traditional hypotactic analyses rest on the assumption that the instance of *att* found in “embedded V2”-constructions is a complementiser, the same as the *att* that introduces canonical *att*-clauses. I believe that this is one of the fundamental misconceptions behind the contradictory idea of embedded main clauses. Instead, I will propose that *att* occurring in “embedded V2”-constructions is not a complementiser but a pronominal element. More specifically, I will suggest that this instance of *att* is the true complement of the “matrix” predicate and not a part of the “embedded” clause.<sup>20</sup> A more detailed discussion of the nature of *att* in “embedded V2”-constructions is given in section 4.4.1.

<sup>20</sup> Under the analysis proposed here, Swedish *att* ‘that’ seems to be very similar to English *that* and, probably to some extent, German *das/dass* ‘that’, but a closer investigation of these lexical items will be postponed to further research. The infinitive particle *att* ‘to’ is a homograph which will not be discussed in the present work.

In the course of this chapter, I aim to show that the seemingly contradictory properties of “embedded V2”-constructions fall into place once the clauses involved are analysed as syntactically independent structures, which are linked to each other on a textual level. My proposal offers a simple and consistent analysis, according to which the syntax of “embedded V2”-constructions is parallel to that of direct speech constructions, which will be discussed in chapter 5. Consequently, according to my analysis, the “embedded V2”-construction and the direct speech construction will be given a unified account within the framework of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*.

Before I present the outline of the rest of this chapter, a terminological remark is called for. Almost needless to say, it follows from my analysis that the terms “embedded V2”-clause and “matrix” are misnomers for the segments involved in the “constructions” investigated in the present chapter. As they are firmly established in the literature, however, I will stick to these terms for reasons of simplicity, despite the fact that they are not consistent with my analysis.

The remainder of this chapter is organised as follows: In sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3, I describe the key syntactic, discourse semantic and prosodic characteristics of “embedded V2”-constructions, showing that the supposedly “embedded” clauses cannot be syntactically integrated into the clauses that precede them. I develop a new analysis in 4.4, according to which “embedded V2”-clauses and their “matrices” are syntactically independent ForceP-structures that are linked on a textual level only.

## 4.1 Syntactic properties of “embedded V2”-constructions

The prevailing view has been that an “embedded V2”-clause is subordinated to the clause that precedes it. In effect, this means that the hierarchical status of “embedded V2”-clauses has been determined, not on the basis of their own syntactic or semantic properties, but on the basis of the valency requirements of the “matrix” predicates.<sup>21</sup> It also

<sup>21</sup> As pointed out in the introductory section of this chapter, the presence of the presumed complementiser *att* ‘that’ can be viewed as argument in support of a hypotactic analysis of “embedded V2”-constructions. Crucially, however, this seems to have been treated only as a secondary argument. The fact that the “matrix” predicate is transitive appears to be the primary argument, motivating the traditional approach to “embedded V2”-constructions. That these arguments are not equally important can be concluded on the basis of other construction types investigated in this dissertation. Firstly, the reported segment of a direct speech construction, which lacks a complementiser, has traditionally been analysed as the complement of a reporting verb (see e.g. Teleman & al. 1999, volume 4:845). Apparently, the presence of a complementiser has not been considered a prerequisite for a subordination analysis in this case. Secondly, *att*- and *som*-exclamatives also appear to be introduced by complementisers (see chapter 6). Nonetheless, such clauses are traditionally viewed as independent main clauses (see for example D’Hertefeldt & Verstrete 2014:94–95

means that the syntactic relation between the clauses involved in an “embedded V2”-construction has been assumed to be parallel to that between a canonical *att*-clause and its matrix. At a first glance, such an assumption may seem a reasonable point of departure, considering the similarities in the surface structures of the two kinds of constructions. However, a closer examination reveals that the similarities are merely superficial. In addition to the position of the finite verb, there are a number of fundamental differences between “embedded V2”-clauses and *att*-clauses. In this section, I point at four differences, ranging from restrictions on movement to the possible forms of the structure following *att*.

#### 4.1.1 “Embedded V2”-clauses cannot be topicalised

As noted by Andersson (1975:21), “embedded V2”-clauses differ from *att*-clauses in that they are not topicalisable (see also Teleman & al. 1999, volume 4:538, Stroh-Wollin 2002:148, Petersson 2009:114–116 and Wiklund 2009a:34 for the same observation). This is an important observation, considering the fact that virtually any constituent may be moved to the highest Spec-ForceP position of a declarative main clause in Swedish.<sup>22</sup> Consider (4.6) and (4.7):

##### *att*-clause

- (4.6) a. Jag förstod redan som barn att Elvis inte fanns på riktigt.  
*I understood already as child that Elvis not existed on real*  
 ≈ ‘Already when I was a child, it was clear to me that Elvis did not exist in reality.’
- b. Att Elvis inte fanns på riktigt förstod jag redan som barn.  
*that Elvis not existed on real understood I already as child*  
 ≈ ‘Already when I was a child, it was clear to me that Elvis did not exist in reality.’

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and Teleman & al. 1999, volume 4:676).

<sup>22</sup> It should be pointed out that topicalisation is not completely unrestricted in declarative main clauses. For instance, it is normally difficult to topicalise verb particles. Also, there are a number of (modal) sentence adverbs which are not possible to topicalise, see Teleman & al. (1999, volume 4:98–99 and 414–415).

### “Embedded V2”-clause

- (4.7) a. Jag förstod redan som barn att Elvis fanns inte på riktigt.  
*I understood already as child that Elvis existed not on real*  
 ≈ ‘It was clear to me already when I was a child that Elvis was did not exist in reality.’
- b. \*Att Elvis fanns inte på riktigt förstod jag redan som barn.  
*that Elvis existed not on real understood I already as child*

The *att*-clause in (4.6a) has the form of a canonical subordinate clause and constitutes the complement of the verb *förstod* ‘understood’. Since this *att*-clause is a constituent of a superordinate ForceP-structure, we expect that it is possible to topicalise it. As seen in (4.6b), this prediction is borne out. If we were to assume that “embedded V2”-clauses and *att*-clauses are parallel with respect to their hierarchical status, we would also expect it to be possible to topicalise an “embedded V2”-clause. As shown in (4.7b), however, this is ruled out.<sup>23</sup>

#### 4.1.2 “Embedded V2”-clauses are islands for movement

It is a long standing observation that constituents cannot be extracted from “embedded V2”-clauses in Swedish (see for instance Holmberg, 1986:110–112, Platzack, 1986:227, Vikner, 1995:108–116, Bentzen & al. 2007c:123–125 and Petersson 2009:116–118).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> There seems to be a robust consensus about the data in (4.6)–(4.7); see the references above. However, there is one exception in the literature. Based on her own grammaticality judgements of two constructed Norwegian sentences, Julien (2007:147) arrives at the conclusion “that having an embedded V2 clause in the initial position of its matrix clause is not barred for structural reasons, at least not in Norwegian”. This is too far-reaching a conclusion, considering the size and nature of the data on which it is founded. In the absence of more substantial empirical data suggesting otherwise, I thus maintain that “embedded V2”-clauses cannot be topicalised.

<sup>24</sup> Extraction from “embedded V2”-clauses appears to be ungrammatical in the standard varieties of all three mainland Scandinavian languages (see Faarlund & al. 1997:1098 for Norwegian and Vikner, 1995:112,115 for Danish). It has however been claimed that there are varieties of Swedish and Norwegian which, to varying degrees, are exempt to this restriction. Bentzen & al. (2007c) state that it is possible to extract a constituent from an “embedded V2”-clause in Norwegian, if the constituent in question is an argument and the clause from which it is extracted is subject-initial (Bentzen & al. 2007c:123–124). Julien (2007) reports even more liberal grammaticality judgements, stating that she has found speakers of both Swedish and Norwegian who accept extraction from “embedded V2”-clauses, even when the clause in question is “embedded” under a factive predicate (Julien 2007:147–150). Unlike Bentzen & al. (2007c) who appear to base their account on introspection data, Julien (2007) refers to an empirical investigation to support her claims regarding extraction from “embedded V2”-clauses.

However, Julien provides very little information about this investigation, except that “these speakers [who accept extraction from embedded V2-clauses] come from the north of Norway and from the

In this respect, “embedded V2”-clauses are very different from *att*-clauses, which normally allow the extraction of non-subject constituents (see Teleman & al. 1999, volume 4:421). Consider (4.8) and (4.9):

***att*-clause**

- (4.8) Den boken vet jag att Gusten inte har läst ~~den boken.~~  
*that book.DEF know I that Gusten not has read that book.DEF*  
 ‘That book, I know Gusten has not read.’

**“Embedded V2”-clause**

- (4.9)\* Den boken vet jag att Gusten har inte läst ~~den boken.~~  
*that book.DEF know I that Gusten has not read that book.DEF*

(4.8) shows that it is possible to extract a constituent from an *att*-clause that constitutes the complement of a matrix predicate. The DP complement of *läst* ‘read’, *den boken* ‘that book’, has moved out of the *att*-clause and into the Spec-ForceP position of the matrix clause. As shown in (4.9), the corresponding operation is strictly ungrammatical with an “embedded V2”-construction. Under the assumption that “embedded V2”-clauses and *att*-clauses have the same hierarchical status, there are no obvious reasons as to why they should differ with respect to the possibilities of extraction.

### 4.1.3 “Embedded V2” is restricted by the class of “matrix” predicate

It is a long standing observation that “embedded V2”-clauses, in contrast to *att*-clauses, cannot occur after so called factive or non-assertive predicates. The standard assumption has long been that the restricted distribution of “embedded V2”-clauses is due to the selective properties of the “matrix” predicates. As I will show in this section, however, this

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southern part of Sweden, from Darlecarlia and from Finland” (Julien 2007:147, footnote 15). The scarce information about the investigation makes it difficult to assess the reliability and relevance of Julien’s data. But assuming that the data presented by Bentzen & al. (2007c) and Julien (2007) are accurate, a possible explanation might be that speakers who accept these extractions have grammars that involve V-to-T-movement, a property which has been claimed to characterise certain dialects spoken in northern Norway (Hróarsdóttir & al. 2006:7–9), Darlecarlia (Garbacz 2010:114 and Rosenkvist 2010:241–242) and Finland (Platzack & Holmberg 1989). As far as I can see, V-to-T-movement could account for all alleged cases of extraction from “embedded V2”-clauses reported by Bentzen & al. (2007c) and eight of the ten examples presented by Julien (2007). However, Julien claims that a subset of the speakers who accept extraction from subject-initial clauses with V>neg word order also can “move a constituent out of a V2 clause that have [sic] a non-subject in initial position” (2007:149). Clearly, this could not be explained in terms of V-to-T-movement. However, in the absence of substantial and well documented empirical evidence, I will set aside for now the problematic data in Julien (2007).

approach cannot adequately account for the empirical data, a fact which poses a problem to the view that “embedded V2”-clauses are linked hypotactically to their “matrices”.

In their work on the applicability of root transformations, Hooper & Thompson (1973) introduced a typology of predicates, which has since been widely used to describe the distribution of “embedded V2”-clauses (see e.g. Andersson 1975, Stroh-Wollin 2002, Bentzen & al. 2007b, and Julien 2007). The typology in question comprises five classes of predicates, which are distinguished on the basis of the semantic status of the propositions conveyed by the clauses that they may take as their complements. Consider (4.10):

- (4.10) A) Strongly assertive predicates (such as *säga* ‘say’)  
 B) Weakly assertive predicates (such as *tro* ‘think’)  
 C) Non-assertive predicates (such as *tvivla på* ‘doubt’)  
 D) Factive predicates (such as *ångra* ‘regret’)  
 E) Semi-factive predicates (such as *upptäcka* ‘discover’)

*Att*-clauses may be embedded under predicates belonging to any of the classes listed in (4.10), whereas “embedded V2”-clauses, cannot occur after predicates of classes C and D (see eg. Andersson 1975:30–34, Bentzen & al. 2007b:97–102 and Brandtler 2012:81).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Although Hooper & Thompson’s (1973) typology provides an instructive tool when describing the distribution of “embedded V2”-clauses, it should be noted that its categories do not cover the entire range of possible “matrix” predicates. “Embedded V2”-clauses may appear in contexts which are not straightforwardly compatible with the classes of predicates that Hooper & Thompson distinguished. As Julien (2007:126–129) shows, “embedded V2”-clauses are possible not only after copula verbs, but also after a number of prepositions and nouns. In addition to the possible environments identified by Julien (2007), it is also noteworthy that “embedded V2”-clauses may follow after certain verbs of perception, such as *se* ‘see’ or *känna* ‘feel’. Consider (i) and (ii):

- (i) Problemet är att vi har inte några cyklar. Copula verb  
*problem.DEF is that we have not any bikes*  
 ‘The problem is that we do not have any bikes.’
- (ii) Jag kände direkt att det här kommer aldrig att gå bra. Perception verb  
*I felt immediately that it here comes never to go well*  
 ≈ ‘I immediately got the feeling that this is bound to go wrong.’

In view of (i) and (ii), it is clear that Hooper & Thompson’s (1973) typology of predicates cannot provide a fully comprehensive description of the distribution of “embedded V2”-clauses in Swedish. Probably, it would be more accurate to state that “embedded V2”-clauses may occur after predicates that are compatible with the illocutions that they convey. For our present purposes, however, Hooper & Thompson’s typology is by and large adequate. It suffices to conclude that “embedded V2”-clauses may

Consider (4.11)–(4.15) and compare the *att*-clauses in the a-examples to the “embedded V2”-clauses in the b-examples:

(4.11) A) **Strongly assertive predicates**

- a. Lisa säger att Kalle inte får komma.  
*Lisa says that Kalle not may come*  
 ‘Lisa says that Kalle can’t come.’
- b. Lisa säger att Kalle får inte komma.  
*Lisa says that Kalle may not come*  
 ‘Lisa says that Kalle can’t come.’

(4.12) B) **Weakly assertive predicates**

- a. Jag tror att du nog måste acceptera de villkoren.  
*I think that you probably must accept those terms.DEF*  
 ‘I think that you probably are going to have to accept those terms.’
- b. Jag tror att de villkoren måste du nog acceptera.  
*I think that those terms.DEF must you probably accept*  
 ‘I think that you are probably going to have to accept those terms.’

(4.13) C) **Non-assertive predicates**

- a. Jag betvivlar att Gusten verkligen har varit i Stockholm.  
*I doubt that Gusten actually has been in Stockholm*  
 ‘I doubt it that Gusten has actually been in Stockholm.’
- b. \*Jag betvivlar att Gusten har verkligen varit i Stockholm.  
*I doubt that Gusten has actually been in Stockholm*

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occur after predicates of classes A, B and E but not after predicates of classes C and D.

## (4.14) D) Factive predicates

- a. Lisa ångrar att hon inte köpte cykeln.  
*Lisa regrets that she not bought bike.*DEF  
 ‘Lisa regrets that she did not buy the bike.’
- b. \* Lisa ångrar att hon köpte inte cykeln.  
*Lisa regrets that she bought not bike.*DEF

## (4.15) E) Semi-factive predicates

- a. Han insåg att de inte förstod vad han sa.  
*he realised that they not understood what he said*  
 ‘He realised that they did not understand what he was saying.’
- b. Han insåg att de förstod inte vad han sa.  
*he realised that they understood not what he said*  
 ‘He realised that they did not understand what he was saying.’

As (4.13) and (4.14) show, “embedded V2”-clauses differ from *att*-clauses in the sense that they cannot occur after non-assertive or factive predicates.<sup>26</sup> This is a long-standing observation and its possible discourse semantic implications, which I will return to in section 4.2, have been discussed extensively in the literature (see for instance Andersson 1975:29–41, Holmberg 1986:109, Julien 2007:118–126, Bentzen & al. 2007b:97–103 and Brandtler 2012:81–84). The syntactic aspects of the differences illustrated in (4.13) and (4.14) have received less attention. Nevertheless, the distributional differences between *att*-clauses and “embedded V2”-clauses are equally relevant from a syntactic point of view. As I will show, the restrictions illustrated in (4.11)–(4.15) pose a problem for hypotactic analyses of “embedded V2”-constructions.

<sup>26</sup> It should be pointed out that there are diverging views as to whether or not “embedded V2”-clauses are always ruled out after predicates of class D. In particular, the liberal judgements reported in Julien (2007:122–124) stand out. According to the Norwegian data presented by Julien, “embedded V2”-clauses are ungrammatical after the factive predicates *angre* ‘regret’ and *rart* ‘strange’. On the other hand, she states that “embedded V2”-clauses are grammatical after the following predicates: *tenke på* ‘think about’, *glemme* ‘forget’, *rimleg* ‘reasonable’, *elementært* ‘elementary’ and *greie* ‘manage’. Categorising these predicates as unambiguously factive, she concludes that “embedded V2” is not necessarily ungrammatical after predicates of class D. As a native speaker of Swedish, I consider “embedded V2”-clauses to be strictly ungrammatical after factive predicates, and my intuition is confirmed by the judgements reported by Bentzen & al. (2007a:101–102) and Brandtler (2012:81). All things considered, the overall picture is quite clear: “embedded V2”-clauses have a very limited acceptability after predicates of class D.



According to the traditional, hypotactic analysis, “embedded V2”-clauses are syntactically integrated into their “matrices” in the same way as *att*-clauses. Hence, the fact that the two kinds of clauses differ with respect to their distribution could not be due to differences in the syntactic relation between the “matrix” and its complement; “embedded V2”-clauses and *att*-clauses are assumed to be parallel with respect to their hierarchical status. On this view the distributive differences illustrated in (4.11)–(4.15) must be attributed to the properties of the embedding predicate. Thus, proponents of the hypotactic approach to “embedded V2”-constructions have claimed that the classes of Hooper & Thompson’s predicate typology form two groups with respect to their selective properties. The assumption has been that predicates of the classes C and D “take” or “select” *att*-clauses as their complements, whereas predicates of the classes A, B and E “take” or “select” either *att*-clauses or “embedded V2”-clauses as their complements (see e.g. Bentzen & al. 2007b:97–103, Stroh-Wollin 2002:141–142 and Brandtler 2012:81).<sup>27</sup> That this account correctly describes the distribution of both “embedded V2”-clauses and *att*-clauses is hardly surprising as it merely restates Hooper & Thompson’s (1973) empirical observations concerning the distribution of “embedded root transformations”. As we shall see, however, the idea that the restricted distribution of “embedded V2”-clauses can be accounted for in terms of the selective properties of the “matrix” predicate carries an inherent flaw, which effectively deprives it of explanatory value.

Grimshaw (1979) makes a distinction between semantic selection, which “expresses restrictions between predicates and the semantic type of their complements” and subcategorisation which, “expresses restrictions between predicates and the syntactic category of their complements” (Grimshaw, 1979:279). Following Grimshaw’s line of reasoning, I take selection and subcategorisation to be the processes whereby a predicate (or a class of predicates) picks out a complement (or a class of complements) which meets with its semantic and syntactic requirements respectively (see Grimshaw 1979:280). Further, I assume that the complement is chosen from a set and that the predicate, by selecting a complement which fulfils the relevant criteria, necessarily also excludes any potential complement that does not. Trivial as it may seem, it is a crucial point that the notions of subcategorisation and selection are meaningful only by virtue of the fact that they also entail exclusion.

Since the works of Hooper & Thompson (1973) and Andersson (1975), it has been widely accepted that “embedded V2”-clauses and *att*-clauses do not differ with respect to their hierarchical status, but with respect to their discourse semantic properties. The prevalent view has been that “embedded V2”-clauses are always asserted, whereas

<sup>27</sup> Predicates of classes A, B and E are sometimes referred to collectively as “bridge verbs” but, as pointed out by Vikner (1995:70, footnote 7), this term was originally used for predicates that allow extraction from their complement clauses. The term “bridge verb” is thus not ideal for “matrix” predicates of “embedded V2”-constructions as “embedded V2”-clauses are islands for movement.

canonical *att*-clauses lack illocutionary force. The traditional, hypotactic analysis thus rests on the assumption that “embedded V2”-clauses constitute a subset of the category of *att*-clauses. On this view, consequently, subcategorisation cannot explain the restricted distribution of “embedded V2”-clauses. Proponents of a hypotactic analysis are thus left only with the possibility of accounting for the distribution of “embedded V2”-clauses in terms of semantic selection. And this is where the problem emerges.

It has been claimed repeatedly that “embedded V2”-clauses convey asserted propositions, whereas *att*-clauses lack illocutionary force (see e.g. Andersson 1975, Stroh-Wollin 2002, Roll 2006, and Julien 2007). As I will show in section 4.2.1, the generalisation must be made broader to correctly account for the empirical data. However, for the sake of the argument, we may assume that the propositions conveyed by “embedded V2”-clauses are asserted and that those conveyed by *att*-clauses are not. Under a hypotactic analysis, this clear-cut division ought to constitute ideal conditions for semantic selection. There would only be two possible kinds of clausal complements, distinguished by their discourse semantic properties but, supposedly, parallel in terms of hierarchical status.

However, the data does not support an analysis according to which the different distributions of *att*-clauses and “embedded V2”-clauses are accounted for in terms of semantic selection. The crucial problem is that *att*-clauses can be embedded under predicates of all five classes. This means that semantic selection presents a possible explanation only for class C and D predicates, i.e. predicates after which “embedded V2”-clauses are ruled out. But as far as predicates of the classes A, B and E are concerned, the notion of selection is not applicable, as it would mean selection without exclusion. In view of this, I conclude that the traditional, hypotactic analyses of “embedded V2”-constructions are unable to provide a satisfactory explanation for the distributive differences illustrated in (4.11)–(4.15).

#### 4.1.4 “Embedded V2”-clauses are (almost) unrestricted in terms of form

In the literature, the term “embedded V2”-clause has normally been used with exclusive reference to constructions where a presumed complementiser, *att* ‘that’ is followed by what has the form of a declarative main clause (see e.g. Holmberg 1986:109–113, Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Vikner 1995, Stroh-Wollin 2002, 2011, Roll 2004, 2006, 2009, Bentzen & al. 2007 a,b, Julien 2007, and Brandtler 2012).<sup>28</sup> This might well be the most common type of “embedded V2”-construction in Swedish, and for that reason, it might also be considered the most typical one. Importantly, however there is a large

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<sup>28</sup> An exception is Petersson (2009:143–145), who draws attention to the fact that *att* ‘that’ may be followed also by imperative clauses.

number of other structures that may follow after *att*. As I will show in this section, the possibilities range from main clause questions and imperative clauses to non-clausal ForcePs, texts, and clauses in foreign languages. The only kind of structure that is ruled out is a canonical *att*-clause (or the complementiser in any other canonical subordinate clause). In view of this, I argue that the traditional hypotactic analysis of “embedded V2”-constructions is untenable.

In chapter 5 I will show that the relation between the clauses involved in an “embedded V2”-construction is completely parallel to that between the reporting and the reported segments of a canonical direct speech construction. This, previously little discussed similarity between these two kinds of constructions, will be important for the general proposals advanced here.<sup>29</sup>

The fact that non-declarative structures may follow after *att* is explicitly mentioned and exemplified in Teleman & al. (1999). When stating that *att* may introduce the reported segments of both unshifted reports and direct speech constructions, they point out that the clause following the presumed complementiser does not necessarily have to have the form of a declarative main clause (see Teleman & al. 1999, volume 4:866–867).<sup>30</sup> As we shall see, it does not even have to be a single clause; both shorter or longer texts and non-clausal elements are possible. Consider (4.16)–(4.24), which contain examples collected from the internet. Note that, although largely colloquial in style, all sentences are perfectly grammatical. The “embedded V2”-clauses are underlined.

(4.16) **Declarative main clause**

Han sa att vi kan inte fortsätta så här mer.  
*he said that we can not continue so here more*  
 ≈ ‘He said: we can’t go on like this any longer.’

(4.17) **Yes/no-question**

Jag sa att måste ni flytta så långt bort!!  
*I said that must you move so far away*  
 ≈ ‘I said: do you have to move so far away?’

<sup>29</sup> As pointed out in the introductory section of this chapter, the parallelism in question was noted by Holmberg (1986:112–113).

<sup>30</sup> The terms “direct speech” and “unshifted report” refer to two kinds of reported speech constructions, which are defined and discussed in chapter 5. Teleman & al. (1999) refer to these constructions as report sentences (Sw. *referatmeningar*) and citation sentences (Sw. *citatmeningar*) respectively.

(4.18) **Wh-question**

Jag sa att hur ska jag kunna lova det?  
*I said that how shall I be.able.to promise that*  
 ≈ ‘I said: how could I make such a promise?’

(4.19) **Imperative clause**

Läkaren sa att byt jobb.  
*doctor.DEF said that change job*  
 ≈ ‘The doctor said: get another job.’

(4.20) **Exclamative<sup>31</sup>**

Folk kom fram och sa att “vad kul att se dig nykter”  
*people came forth and said that what fun to see you sober*  
 ≈ ‘People came up and said “how nice to see you sober”

(4.21) **Non-clausal ForceP + exclamative**

Jag sa att oj vad snabbt du skriver.  
*I said that oh what fast you write*  
 ≈ ‘I said: My, you write fast.’

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<sup>31</sup> The heading “exclamative” is intended only to capture the surface structure of exclamative constructions such as the one following *att* in (4.20). I will return to the syntax of Swedish exclamatives in chapter 6, where I argue that all exclamatives are in fact non-clausal ForceP structures. My claim in chapter 6 is that exclamatives minimally and obligatorily consist of a non-clausal ForceP, the head of which typically contains an overt or covert interjection. Consequently, under my analysis, the clausal part of the construction, which traditionally has been viewed as the exclamative proper, is a regular subordinate clause that is embedded as the complement of Force°.

## (4.22) Text

Hon sa att “du är inte lik dig själv idag. Du brukar  
*she said that you are not like you self today you are.usually*

alltid vara så glad, sprallig och alltid svara på frågor.  
*always be so happy lively and always answer on questions*

Men nu sitter du helt tyst... vad är det som händer?”  
*but now sit you completely quiet what is it that happens*

≈ ‘She said that “you are not yourself today. Normally, you are always so happy, lively, always answering questions. But now, you are sitting all quiet...what is happening?”’

## (4.23) Foreign language

Jag sa att: No hablo español.

*I said that -----Spanish-----*

≈ ‘I said: No hablo español.’

## (4.24) Non-clausal ForceP + declarative main clause

Hon sa att nej det var det inte.

*she said that no it was it not*

≈ ‘She said that, no it wasn’t.’

(4.16)–(4.24), are authentic constructions, which show that *att* may be followed by a wide variety of structures. Crucially, however, they have two properties in common: Firstly, none of them are otherwise possible to embed. Secondly, all of them can constitute the reported segment of a typical direct speech construction without *att*. Consider (4.25–4.37):

## (4.25) Declarative main clause

Han sa: vi kan inte fortsätta så här mer.

*he said we can not continue so here more*

‘He said: we can’t go on like this any longer.’

(4.26) **Yes/no-question**

Jag sa: måste ni flytta så långt bort!!  
*I said must you move so far away*  
 'I said: do you have to move so far away?'

(4.27) **Wh-question**

Jag sa hur ska jag kunna lova det?  
*I said how shall I be.able.to promise that*  
 'I said: how could I make such a promise?'

(4.28) **Imperative clause**

Läkaren sa: byt jobb.  
*doctor.DEF said change job*  
 'The doctor said: find another job.'

(4.29) **Exclamative**

Folk kom fram och sa: "vad kul att se dig nykter"  
*people came forth and said what fun to see you sober*  
 'People came up and said: "how nice to see you sober"'

(4.30) **Non-clausal ForceP + exclamative**

Jag sa: oj vad snabbt du skriver.  
*I said oh what fast you write*  
 'I said: My, you write fast.'

## (4.31) Text

Hon sa: "du är inte lik dig själv idag. Du brukar  
*she said you are not like you self today you are.usually*

alltid vara så glad, sprallig och alltid svara på frågor.  
*Always be so happy lively and always answer on questions*

Men nu sitter du helt tyst... vad är det som händer?"  
*but now sit you completely quiet what is it that happens*

≈ 'She said: 'you are not yourself today. Normally, you are always so happy, lively, always answering questions. But now, you are sitting all quiet...what is happening?''

## (4.32) Foreign language

Jag sa: No hablo español.

*I said -----Spanish-----*

'I said: No hablo español.'

## (4.33) Non-clausal ForceP + declarative main clause

Hon sa: nej det var det inte.

*she said no it was it not*

'She said: no it wasn't.'

Apart from the absence of the supposed complementiser *att*, the direct speech constructions in (4.25)–(4.33) are completely parallel to the “embedded V2”-constructions in (4.16)–(4.24) and just as grammatical. This will be further elaborated in chapter 5, but this far we may conclude that an “embedded V2” clause can have the form of a quote – apart from the element *att*. The structures which are ruled out as reported segments of direct speech constructions are precisely those that we would normally expect as constituent clauses in hypotactic constructions. Consider (4.34) and (4.35):

(4.34) Hon<sub>i</sub> sa att jag<sub>i</sub> inte äter sill.

Indirect speech

*She said that you not eat herring*

'She said that you do not eat herring.'

- (4.35) *Hon sa att att du inte äter sill.* “Embedded V2”  
*She said that that you not eat herring*  
 ≈ ‘She said: My, I can’t believe you don’t eat herring!’

(4.34), where the reported segment consists of a canonical subordinate clause, can only be interpreted as an indirect speech construction, where *Hon* ‘she’ and *jag* ‘I’ are not coindexed. (4.35) may, at a first glance, appear to contradict the generalisation that subordinate clauses cannot follow after *att* in “embedded V2”-constructions. However, (4.35) is grammatical only on a direct speech reading; that is a reading according to which the speaker quotes the “matrix” subject, *hon* ‘she’, as having uttered an *att*-exclamative, *att du inte äter sill* ‘My, I can’t believe you don’t eat herring’. In chapter 6, where the hierarchical status of exclamatives is addressed, I will argue that exclamatives, such as *att du inte äter sill*, are embedded under non-clausal ForcePs. Under this assumption, (4.35) does not contradict the claim that a single subordinate clause cannot follow after *att* in an “embedded V2”-construction.

The discussion about “embedded V2”-clauses in Swedish and Scandinavian in general has been characterised by a one-sided focus on constructions where *att* is followed by the structure of a declarative main clause. Accordingly, the fundamental syntactic difference between “embedded V2”-clauses and *att*-clauses has been described in terms of the position of the finite verb. Since the work of Hooper & Thomson (1973) and Andersson (1975), the prevailing view has been that “embedded V2”-clauses are a subcategory of *att*-clauses. They have been assumed to be syntactically distinct from regular *att*-clauses in the sense that they display verb movement to a head position in the C-domain and have a specifier position that is available for non-subject topicalisation. But apart from this, the syntax of “embedded V2”-clauses has been considered to be parallel to that of *att*-clauses. What I have shown above is that constructions of this kind represent only part of the relevant data. In view of the data in (4.16)–(4.24), it is clear that the assumption that “embedded V2”-clauses constitute a subset of *att*-clauses is unwarranted. It is based on an incomplete and misleading selection of data.

The main point of this section has been that *att* in “embedded V2” may be followed by a number of different clausal and non-clausal ForceP-structures which are otherwise incompatible with subordination. In this respect, “embedded V2”-clauses are very different from *att*-clauses but parallel to the reported segments of direct speech constructions. This observation will play a key role throughout the remainder of this chapter and also in chapter 5, where I discuss reported speech.



## 4.2 Discourse semantic properties – illocutionary force and origo

Clauses following immediately after *att* in “embedded V2”-constructions invariably display V-to-Force-movement.<sup>32</sup> If *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, outlined in chapter 3, is correct, we expect that “embedded V2”-clauses have illocutionary force and that their origos are independent from those of their “matrices”. As I show in this section, this expectation is borne out. Section 4.2.1 focusses on illocutionary force and 4.2.2 on origo.

### 4.2.1 Illocutionary force

Due to the work of Hooper & Thompson (1973) and Andersson (1975), it has become widely accepted that “embedded V2”-clauses and *att*-clauses differ in the sense that the former convey asserted propositions and thus have illocutionary force, whereas the latter, like other typical subordinate clauses, lack illocutionary force (see e.g. Platzack 1986, Holmberg 1986, Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Vikner 1995, Stroh-Wollin 2002, Roll 2006, 2009 and Julien 2007, 2009b). More recently, however, this view has been challenged by researchers questioning the idea of a strict correlation between verb movement to the C-domain and illocutionary force in the Germanic V2-languages. In a study on “embedded V2”-clauses in Scandinavian, Bentzen & al. (2007b) state that “V2 [word order] may occur independently of assertion and vice versa” (Bentzen & al. 2007b:115). Unsurprisingly, this claim has given rise to a vivid debate as to whether or not “embedded V2”-clauses have assertive force (see Julien 2007, 2009b, Wiklund 2009a,b, and Stroh-Wollin 2011).<sup>33</sup>

Much of the debate has centred around the validity of a “swear word-test”, proposed by Julien (2009b). The test in question involves the swear word/phrase *för fan*, lit. ‘for devil’ (and its Danish and Norwegian counterparts *for fanden* and *for faen*). This particular swear word phrase, Julien argues, “appears to have a closer affiliation with certain types of illocutionary force than other discourse oriented expressions”, having the ability to

<sup>32</sup> As illustrated in section 5.1.4, exclamatives may follow after *att* in “embedded V2”-constructions and the surface structure of an exclamative often coincides with that of a subordinate clause. The fact that exclamatives are possible in “embedded V2”-constructions might thus appear to contradict the generalisation that any clausal structure following immediately after *att* in an “embedded V2”-construction displays V-to-Force movement. This contradiction is merely superficial, however. As I will show in chapter 6, the clausal part of an exclamative is always embedded under a non-clausal ForceP.

<sup>33</sup> The discourse-semantic status of “embedded V2”-clauses has also been discussed in terms Simons’ (2007) notion of *Main Point of Utterance*, also including references to the information structural dimension (see eg. Bentzen & al., 2007b).

“strengthen an assertion or an imperative, and even the force in a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’” (Julien 2009b:226). Based on two examples, rendered below as (4.36a) and (4.36b), Julien claims that “*för fan* (and its counterparts) is better in embedded V2 clauses than in embedded non-V2 clauses” (Julien, 2009b:228).

(4.36) a. Hon sa **att** hon **hade** för fan inte betalat räkning-en i tid.  
*She said that she had for devil not paid bill-DEF in time*  
 ‘She said that she had for fuck’s sake not paid the bill on time.’

b. ?? Hon sa **att** hon för fan inte **hade** betalat räkning-en i tid.  
*she said that she for devil not had paid bill-DEF in time*

Julien (2009b) concludes that “[i]f it is true that *för fan* is affiliated with illocutionary force, the contrast between [4.36a] and [4.36b] suggests that illocutionary force is present in the embedded clause in [4.36a], which has V2 order, in a way that it is not in the embedded clause in [4.36b], which has non-V2 order” (Julien, 2009b:228). As opposed to Julien (2009b), I find (4.36b) grammatical and, for that reason, question the value of the swear word-test that she proposes. However, unlike Wiklund (2009a,b), I agree with Julien’s view that the “embedded V2”-clauses, like the one in (4.36a), convey asserted propositions and thus have illocutionary force. The opposite holds for canonical *att*-clauses. Along with Julien (2007, 2009b), I also argue that there is a clear link between verb movement to the C-domain and illocutionary force in the Scandinavian languages – “Embedded V2”-clauses are no exceptions to this generalisation. This is in accordance with the traditional account of V2 word order (see e.g. Platzack 1986, Holmberg 1986, Holmberg & Platzack 1995, Vikner 1995, Stroh-Wollin 2002, and Julien 2007, 2009b). Crucially however, I do not link “embedded V2”-clauses with the specific illocution of assertion.

In view of the fact that constructions where *att* is followed by the structure of a declarative main clause are the most common instances of “embedded V2”-clauses, it is not surprising that “embedded V2”-clauses traditionally have been associated with assertion. However, as shown in section 4.4.1, *att* may also be followed by a wide range of non-declarative ForceP-structures, including imperative clauses and exclamatives. It is clear that such structures cannot convey asserted propositions. Crucially, however, they have illocutionary force. I thus make the more general claim that all “embedded V2”-clauses have the value [+illocutionary force]. For reasons of time and space, however, the discussion in this chapter will be based on constructions where *att* is followed by declarative main clauses.

In the following subsections, I present and discuss three tests, which, I argue, provide conclusive evidence to the effect that “embedded V2”-clauses, unlike *att*-clauses, do have illocutionary force. The rationale behind this is that in order to have assertive force, a clause has to have illocutionary force. The reverse does not hold, though; there are a number of syntactic configurations that have illocutionary force, without being assertive.

#### 4.2.1.1 *The target of a tag question*

In a typological study of subordination, Cristofaro (2003) argues that (pragmatic) “non-assertion” can be considered the defining property of subordinate clauses (Cristofaro, 2003:33). To determine whether or not the propositional content of a clause is asserted, she proposes a set of assertiveness tests, including a tag-question test. The test in question is based on the fact that tag questions such as *doesn't it* or *isn't it* target asserted propositions. This holds true also for the Swedish tag question *eller hur* lit. ‘or how’. If “embedded V2”-clauses that are traditionally assumed to be subordinate clauses, that is of the “*att*-type”, exemplified in (4.37), lack illocutionary force, we predict that the propositions that they convey cannot be targeted by the tag question *eller hur*. However, this is not the case. Consider (4.37) and (4.38):

##### (4.37) **Att-clause**

Han sa att den här satsen inte är överordnad, eller hur.  
*He said that this here clause.DEF not is superordinate or how*  
 ‘He said that this clause is not superordinate, didn't he.’

##### (4.38) “Embedded V2”-clause

Han sa att den här satsen är inte underordnad, eller hur.  
*He said that this here clause.DEF is not subordinate or how*  
 ‘He said that this clause is not subordinate, didn't he / is it.’

The meaning of the canonical hypotactic construction in (4.37) can be paraphrased as “He said *X*, didn't he”, where *X* equals “that this clause is not superordinate”. A reading where the tag question targets the proposition of the *att*-clause is not available. This confirms the standard assumption that subordinate clauses lack illocutionary force. In the case of the “embedded V2”-construction construction in (4.38), on the other hand, two readings are available. The tag question can target the “matrix”-clause in (4.38). In that case, the meaning of (4.38) can be rephrased as “He said *X*, didn't he”, where *X* equals “this clause is not subordinate”. Crucially, however, the tag question can also target the contents of the “embedded V2”-clause. This reading should be understood as “He said *X*”,

where  $X$  equals “this clause is not subordinate, is it”. That the latter reading is available is a strong indication that “embedded V2”-clauses do have illocutionary force.<sup>34</sup>

#### 4.2.1.2 *Challenging a proposition*

Somewhat simplified, the illocutionary act of assertion can be described as an attempt by a speaker A to make a hearer B accept a proposition as part of the common ground (cf. Stalnacker, 1978:153). B can challenge the proposition that A asserts by answering *nej* ‘no’ or *jo* ≈ ‘oh yes’. The choice between the two interjections depends on whether or not the asserted proposition is negated, that is whether A asserts the truth of P or  $\neg$ P. If A asserts P, then B can object by answering *nej* ‘no’, but not by answering *jo* ≈ ‘oh yes’. Conversely, if A asserts  $\neg$ P, then B can object by answering *jo* ≈ ‘oh yes’, but not by answering *nej* ‘no’.<sup>35</sup> Consider (4.39) and (4.40):

<sup>34</sup> Both Cristofaro (2003:37) and Nordström (2009:92) apply the same kind of tag question test to a reported speech construction in English. Curiously, however, they reach the opposite conclusion. Consider Cristofaro’s (2003:37) test in (i):

- (i) \* He said it’s raining, isn’t it?

Cristofaro views the sentence in (i) as evidence that the reported segment of a reported speech construction is not asserted. In turn, she takes this to indicate that the reported segment is dependent upon the reporting clause, i.e. that it is subordinate. However, both Cristofaro and Nordström appear to overlook a crucial fact: the structure of the sentence in (i) is ambiguous. Since English is not a V2-language, the surface structure does not tell us whether the reported segment in (i) is a main clause or a subordinate clause, where the complementiser ‘that’ has been omitted. Based on its structure alone, the sentence in (i) may, consequently, be either a direct or an indirect speech construction. If the reported segment is interpreted as a subordinate clause, the sentence is correctly deemed ungrammatical. According to a native speaker informant, however, an utterance such as that in (ii) can be reported by means of a direct speech construction, as in (iii).

- (ii) It’s raining, isn’t it?

- (iii) He said, “it’s raining, isn’t it?”

According to my analysis, Cristofaro’s ungrammatical example in (i) is an indirect speech construction, whereas the grammatical example in (iii) is a direct speech construction. The fact that native speakers accept (iii) as a grammatical construction, shows that the reported segment of a direct speech construction has its own illocutionary force in English, just as it does in Swedish. The two languages seem to differ only with respect to the graphic representation of direct speech: In English, quotation marks appear to be necessary. In Swedish, they do not.

<sup>35</sup> In regional varieties spoken in northern Sweden, *jo* can also be used more or less interchangeably with *ja*. In these varieties *jo* can thus be used to express the acceptance of a negated proposition. However, this is not possible in standard Swedish, where *jo* is used in way which is very similar to the use of the German particle *doch*.

(4.39) Speaker A: – Kalle bor i Stockholm.  
*Kalle lives in Stockholm*  
 ‘Kalle lives in Stockholm.’

Speaker B: – Nej!  
 ‘No!’

(4.40) Speaker A: – Kalle bor inte i Stockholm.  
*Kalle lives not in Stockholm*  
 ‘Kalle does not live in Stockholm.’

Speaker B: – Jo!  
*oh yes*  
 ‘Yes, he does!’

A single *nej* or *jo* can only be used to object to an asserted proposition. We thus predict that a hearer cannot challenge the proposition conveyed in a canonical subordinate clause by answering *nej* or *jo*. As shown in (4.41), this prediction is borne out.

(4.41) Speaker A: – Du vet att Kalle inte bor i Stockholm.  
*You know that Kalle not lives in Stockholm*  
 ‘You know that Kalle does not live in Stockholm.’

Speaker B: – \* Jo!  
*oh yes*  
 Intended meaning: ‘Yes, he does!’

If “embedded V2”-clauses lack illocutionary force, we expect it to be impossible for the hearer to object to the proposition of such a clause by answering with a single *nej* or *jo*, but this is not the case. Consider (4.42):

(4.42) Speaker A: – Du vet att Kalle bor inte i Stockholm.  
*you know that Kalle lives not in Stockholm*  
 ‘You know that Kalle does not live in Stockholm.’

Speaker B: – Jo!  
*oh yes*  
 ‘Yes, he does!’

As shown in (4.42), B can object to the proposition of the “embedded V2”-clause by answering *jo*. This too is a strong indication that the “embedded V2”-clause has illocutionary force.<sup>36</sup>

#### 4.2.1.3 *The form of the matrix*

In contrast to matrices of *att*-clauses, which may be negated and are principally unrestricted in terms of sentence type, “matrices” of “embedded V2”-clauses cannot normally be negated or have the form of an interrogative. Consider (4.43) and (4.44). The a-examples contain canonical *att*-clauses and the b-examples contain “embedded V2”-clauses.

#### (4.43) Negated matrix/”matrix”

- a. Jag tror inte att han inte var hemma. *att*-clause  
*I think not that he not was home*  
 ‘I do not think that he was not at home.’
- b.\* Jag tror inte att han var inte hemma. “embedded V2”-clause  
*I think not that he was not home*

#### (4.44) Interrogative matrix/”matrix”

- a. Tror du att han inte var hemma? *att*-clause  
*think you that he not was home*  
 ‘Do you think that he was not at home?’
- b.\* Tror du att han var inte hemma? “embedded V2”-clause  
*Think you that he was not home*

The ungrammaticality of (4.43b) and (4.44b) is difficult to explain under the assumption that “embedded V2”-clauses lack illocutionary force, but expected if such clauses do have illocutionary force. The reason for this is simply that it is pragmatically odd to first negate or question a proposition, and immediately afterwards assert the same proposition.

<sup>36</sup> It should be mentioned that B could answer *Ja* ‘yes’ or *Nej* ‘no’ in (4.42) as well. In such cases the proposition rendered by *du vet* ‘you know’ is either accepted or rejected. This shows that *ja* ‘yes’ and *nej* ‘no’ do not necessarily target the closest proposition.

Consequently, the fact that the examples in (4.43a) and (4.44.a) are grammatical, whereas those in (4.43b) and (4.44b) are ungrammatical, strongly supports the conclusion that “embedded V2”-clauses have illocutionary force, as opposed to canonical *att*-clauses.

## 4.2.2 An “embedded V2”-clause has an independent origo

As defined in chapter 2, the term *origo* refers to “the speaker, to the speech location of the communicative situation, and to the speech time, that is I, HERE and NOW”. The values of *origo* constitute a point of reference that is necessary for interpreting any variable deictic information within a ForceP-structure, and without which the proposition of a clause cannot be evaluated in terms of its truth value. The concept of *origo* is closely related to the notion of finiteness, and in the model applied in this dissertation, *origo* is established in  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ . According to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, the values of *origo* are always specified in the highest  $\text{FinP}$  of a well-formed and independent syntactic tree. In subordinate clauses, the complementiser, which is first merged in  $\text{Fin}^\circ$ , anchors the clause in the *origo* of a superordinate ForceP. The propositional content and deictic information of a subordinate clause is thus evaluated and interpreted in relation to the deictic point of reference provided in the highest  $\text{FinP}$  of the syntactic tree of which the subordinate clause is a part.

If *The Highest Force Hypothesis* is valid, it follows that a subject in the first person singular occurring in a subordinate clause cannot be coindexed with a third person subject in the matrix. This prediction is borne out. Consider (4.45):

- (4.45) Kalle<sub>i</sub> vet att jag<sub>i</sub> inte får äta sill.  
*Kalle knows that I not may eat herring*  
 ‘Kalle knows that I am not allowed to eat herring.’

As indicated in (4.45), *jag* ‘I’, cannot be coindexed with *Kalle*; *jag* can only be interpreted as being identical with the speaker who utters the entire sentence in (4.45). This is in keeping with the assumption that the subordinate clause is anchored in the *origo* of the matrix. However, if the identity of the speaker is the same in two or more adjacent ForcePs, this does not entail that these ForcePs are connected syntactically. In texts, which by definition consist of two or more independent ForcePs, the *origos* of the ForcePs involved are normally in sequence, meaning that the identity of the speaker will be the same in all of the ForcePs involved in the text (if not, the text will be incoherent). Consider (4.46):

- (4.46) Jag<sub>i</sub> får inte äta sill. Det vet Kalle<sub>i;j</sub>.  
*I may not eat herring it knows Kalle*  
 ≈‘I am not allowed to eat herring. Kalle knows that.’

(4.46) illustrates the normal case, where the origos of the syntactically independent ForcePs involved in a text are in sequence, so that the identity of the speaker is consistent throughout the text. However, there is one crucial exception to this general rule – the direct speech construction. The most characteristic property of this construction is that it involves a shift to a new origo, meaning that the identity of the speaker may differ between the reporting segment and the reported segment of the construction. Consider (4.47):

- (4.47) Kalle<sub>i</sub> sa: jag<sub>i</sub> får inte äta sill.  
*Kalle said I may not eat herring*  
 ‘Kalle said: I am not allowed to eat herring.’

As the indexation in (4.47) shows, the third person subject of the reporting segment, *Kalle sa* ‘Kalle said’, is coindexed with the first person subject of the reported segment, *jag får inte äta sill* ‘I may not eat herring’ in this direct speech construction. This provides conclusive evidence that the reported segment is not anchored in the origo of the reporting segment. In chapter 5, I argue that this is a clear indication that the two segments of a direct speech construction are not connected syntactically.

If “embedded V2”-clauses are syntactically integrated into their “matrices” on a par with *att*-clauses, we expect a shift to a new origo of the kind illustrated in (4.46) to be impossible in “embedded V2”-constructions. However, this is not the case. Consider (4.48):

- (4.48) Han<sub>i</sub> sa att jag<sub>i</sub> får inte äta sill.  
*he said that I may not eat herring*  
 ‘He said that I am not allowed to eat herring.’

The example in (4.48) shows that a shift to a new origo can indeed take place in “embedded V2”-constructions. The “embedded V2”-clause is thus not anchored in the origo of the “matrix”, a fact which strongly indicates that the “embedded V2”-clause is not subordinated to the “matrix”.

A test very similar to that in (4.48) is applied by Biberauer (2002) in support of her claim that some seemingly embedded non-verb-final clauses in Afrikaans are not embedded but “juxtaposed” with their matrices. As a criterion for identifying truly embedded clauses, she mentions pronoun change and sequence of tense effects. Julien (2007:143) applies



these criteria to “embedded V2”-clauses in Mainland Scandinavian, giving the Swedish example in (4.49) (alongside a parallel Norwegian example):

- (4.49) a. Han sade till GP att han **hade** *inte* ens hunnit  
*He said to GP that he had not even had.time.to*

tänka på OS.  
*think about the Olympics*

‘He told GP [a Swedish newspaper] that he had not even had time to think about the Olympics.’

- b. Jag **har** *inte* ens hunnit tänka på OS.  
*I have not even had.time.to think about the Olympics*  
 ‘I have not even had time to think about the Olympics.’

According to Julien (2007:142–143), the “original utterance” quoted in (4.49a) must have had the form given in (4.49b). She thus concludes that “pronoun change and sequence of tense obtains here. Hence, following Biberauer we have indications that the embedded V2 [clause] in [(4.49a) is] really embedded” (Julien, 2007:143). Given that “the original utterance” quoted in (4.49a) had the form rendered in (4.49b), which is possible but not necessarily the case, I agree with Julien’s conclusion that “pronoun change and sequence of tense obtains”. In that case, the “embedded V2”-construction in (4.49a) does not involve a shift to a new origo. Crucially however, this does not tell us whether or not the clauses involved in (4.49a) are linked hypotactically. As shown in (4.46), the origos of two syntactically independent ForcePs in a text are also in sequence. Later in chapter 5, I will argue that (4.49a) is an example of an *unshifted report*, a construction type which consists of two syntactically unattached segments but, crucially, does not involve a shift to a new origo. What Julien (2007) does not mention is that (4.49b) can also be quoted as in (4.50):

- (4.50) Han<sub>i</sub> sade till GP att jag<sub>i</sub> har *inte* ens hunnit tänka  
*he said to GP that I have not even had.time.to think*

på OS.  
*about the Olympics*

≈‘He said this to GP: I have not even had time to think about the Olympics.’

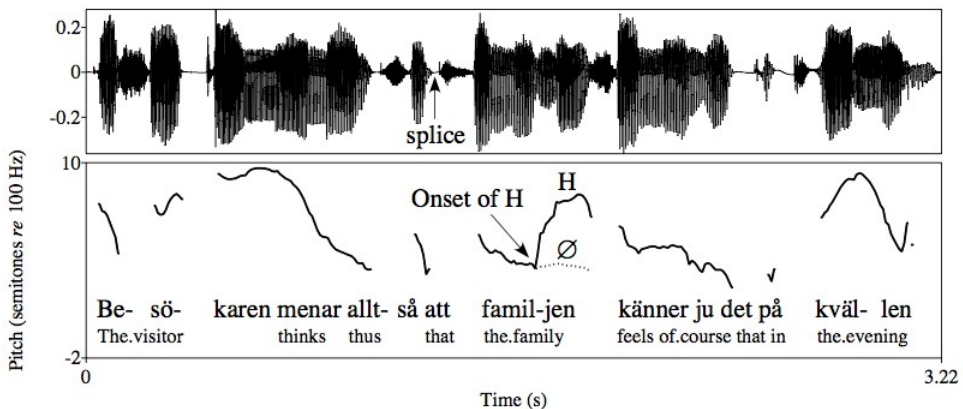
As the indexation in (4.50) shows, the third person “matrix” subject designates the same person as the first person subject in the “embedded V2”-clause. This means that a shift to a new origo has taken place, which in turn indicates that the “embedded V2”-clause is not anchored in the origo of the “matrix”. The conclusion is that a deitic shift indicates that the clause is not embedded in a matrix. Non-shift, on the other hand, does not indicate that the clause is embedded.

### 4.3 Prosodic properties

The syntactic and discourse-semantic aspects of the difference between canonical *att*-clauses and “embedded V2”-clauses have been discussed extensively in the literature. A less acknowledged fact is that the two kinds of constructions are distinctly different from each other also with respect to their prosodic properties. As I will show in this section, these differences, which have been thoroughly investigated in the works of Roll (2004, 2006 and 2009), strongly support the conclusion that “embedded V2”-clauses are not syntactically integrated into their “matrices”.

According to Roll & al. (2009), the left edge of a main clause in standard Swedish is “marked by a high (H) tone associated with the last syllable of the first prosodic word” (Roll & al., 2009:59). As shown by Roll (2006), this high tone is also present in “embedded V2”-clauses but, crucially, not in canonical *att*-clauses. In other words, the prosody of “embedded V2”-clauses patterns with that of main clauses rather than that of subordinate clauses. Consider figure A below, which taken from Roll (2009:35) (reproduced with permission from Mikael Roll):

Figure A



The solid line in figure A shows the prosodic contour of an “embedded V2”-construction: *Besökaren menar alltså att familjen känner ju det på kvällen*, where the position of the sentence adverbial *ju* indicates verb movement. As can be seen, the second syllable of the first constituent in the “matrix”, *besökaren* ‘the visitor’, is associated with a high tone. In the same way, a high tone is found on the second syllable of the first constituent in the “embedded V2”-clause, *familjen* ‘the family’. If it is accurate that this kind of high tone falls on the first prosodic word, the prosodic properties of “embedded V2”-clauses illustrated in figure A suggest that *att* is not a part of the same prosodic phrase as the rest of the “embedded V2”-clause, hence that it belongs to the “matrix”, rather than the segment that follows.

#### 4.4 Proposal: “Embedded V2”-clauses are not embedded

Swedish is a Germanic V2-language and, as stated by *The Highest Force Hypothesis* in chapter 3, this means that the finite verb will move to the head of the highest ForceP unless such movement is blocked by a complementiser. On this view, Swedish is characterised by an overt and obligatory coding of the hierarchical status of clausal ForcePs. If *The Highest Force Hypothesis* is valid, it follows that an “embedded V2”-clause cannot be connected hypotactically to its “matrix”. My conclusion is therefore that the ForcePs of an “embedded V2”-construction are connected on a textual level but syntactically unattached. As a first step towards an analysis, I argue that the relation between an “embedded V2”-clause and its “matrix” can be represented as in (4.51):

(4.51) [ForceP *A*] [ForceP *B*]

The syntactic, discourse semantic and prosodic properties of “embedded V2”-constructions appear contradictory and require auxiliary assumptions only if the ForcePs involved are construed as syntactically integrated. If, on the other hand, the basic syntax of an “embedded V2”-construction is analysed along the lines of the simple representation in (4.51), the empirical facts presented in sections 4.1–4.3 fall into place.

However, the assumption that the ForcePs involved in an “embedded V2”-construction are not linked syntactically gives rise to two potential problems: Firstly, the “matrix” predicate would seem to lack an argument, as the “embedded V2”-clause is not an argument of the “matrix verb”. Secondly, *att* cannot be a complementiser. As I will show,

the key to solving both of these potential problems lies in the status of the element *att*. According to the analysis that I propose in this section, the instance of *att* occurring in “embedded V2”-constructions is not a complementiser but a pronominal element which constitutes the complement of the “matrix”. As a pronoun it is best described in terms of its function; it is a “linguistic pointer”.

In the next section, I will focus on *att* as a linguistic pointer and account for its properties by comparing it to the demonstrative pronoun *det här* ‘this’ and the demonstrative use of the pronoun *det* ‘that’.

#### 4.4.1 The properties of the pronominal element *att*

As we have seen in the preceding sections, the traditional hypotactic analyses of “embedded V2”-clauses rest on the assumption that the instance of *att* involved in this construction is a complementiser, in all relevant aspects parallel to *att* that introduces *att*-clauses. This, I argue, is a fundamental misconception and, as I will show in this section, the problems associated with the contradictory idea of embedded main clauses can be resolved by an analysis, according to which the *att* occurring in “embedded V2”-constructions is a linguistic pointer that constitutes the complement of the “matrix” predicate.

The view that *att* is a complementiser, irrespective of whether it occurs in a canonical *att*-clause or an “embedded V2”-construction, is firmly anchored in the Swedish grammatical tradition. It is thus to be expected that a proposal to the effect that there are two separate instances of *att*, differing with respect to their categorial status, may give rise to questions. However, if we take diachronic data as well as data from closely related Germanic languages into consideration, it becomes clear that there are good reasons for such an assumption.

It is generally accepted that the complementiser *att* ‘that’ has evolved from a demonstrative pronoun, just as its counterparts in the other Germanic languages have (see eg. Hellquist, 1957, volume 1:39, Wessén, 1965:74–75, Pettersson, 1996:111, and Delsing & Falk, in prep.). This relation between the complementiser and the pronoun is also readily observable in contemporary German (*das/daß* ‘that’), Dutch (*dat/dat* ‘that’) and English (*that/that*). My claim is consequently that Swedish has retained (or possibly once again developed) a pronominal homonym to the complementiser *att* ‘that’. Under this analysis, Swedish *att* ‘that’ is probably very similar to English *that* and German *das/daß* ‘that’.

Assuming that there are in fact two instances of *att* in contemporary Swedish, *att<sub>comp</sub>* and *att<sub>pron</sub>*, let us consider the properties of *att<sub>pron</sub>*. In the following, I will argue that *att<sub>pron</sub>* is a kind of demonstrative pronoun that is used to point forward to one or more syntactically independent ForceP-structures in discourse, without making reference to their propositional contents.

To understand the use and properties of *att<sub>pron</sub>*, it is instructive to compare it to the demonstrative pronoun *det här* ‘this’. Consider (4.52) and (4.53):

(4.52) Han<sub>i</sub> sa det här: Jag<sub>i</sub> äter inte gröt.  
*He said it here I eat not porridge*  
 ‘He said this: I do not eat porridge.’

(4.53) Han<sub>i</sub> sa att jag<sub>i</sub> äter inte gröt.  
*he said that I eat not porridge*  
 ‘He said that I do not eat porridge.’

The example in (4.52) is a direct speech construction involving two ForcePs, which, although linked on a textual level, are clearly syntactically independent from each other. The complement of the verb *sa* ‘said’ is the demonstrative pronoun *det här* ‘this’. This pronoun points forward in the discourse to the following ForceP *Jag äter inte gröt*. It satisfies the valency requirement of the verb *sa* ‘said’ and it also establishes a textual relation between the first ForceP, *Han sa det här*, and the ForceP that follows, *Jag äter inte gröt*. The relation between the ForcePs in (4.53) is essentially parallel to that between the ForcePs in (4.52). In (4.53), *att* constitutes the complement of the “matrix” predicate *sa* ‘said’ and points forward to the following ForceP in the discourse, thus establishing a textual link between the clauses *Han sa att* (parallel to *han sa det här*) and *jag äter inte gröt*. The shift to a new origo that is induced by the “embedded V2”-clause relates to the pointing function, performed by *att* in the same way as *det här* in (4.52); the independent syntactic entity that follows *att* “re-enacts” the speech act to which *att* points. For this reason we may say that, in (4.53), *att*, together with the verb of saying, raises an expectation of a “replay” of the speech act to which it points.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> The pronoun *att* in “embedded V2”-clauses could also be compared to a demonstrative such as *så här* ‘like this’:

(i) Han gjorde så här: [dansar]  
*he did so here* [dances]  
 ‘He did like this: [dances]’

Due to the verb *gjorde* ‘did’, in the “matrix”, the pronominal *så här* points towards an act in the physical world and raises the expectation of a re-enacting of this act. See 5.3.3 for more discussion.

*Att*<sub>pron</sub> is not a referential pronoun, which takes a proposition or other linguistic entity as its antecedent. It is a linguistic pointer, and as such it simply points towards an independent ForceP (or a sequence of independent ForcePs) in the discourse that follows.<sup>38</sup> As noted by Holmes & Hinchliffe (1994:540), the use of *att*<sub>pron</sub> is, in this respect, quite similar to the use of colon in writing. Consider (4.54):

- (4.54) a Han sa: Jag äter inte gröt.  
*he said I eat not porridge*  
 ‘He said: I do not eat porridge.’
- b Han sa att jag äter inte gröt.  
*he said that I eat not porridge*  
 ‘He said that I do not eat porridge.’

The comparison with a colon captures an important property of *att*<sub>pron</sub>, namely that it can only point forward in discourse. Consider (4.55):

- (4.55) a. \*Jag äter inte gröt: sa han.  
*I eat not porridge said he*
- b. \*Jag äter inte gröt, att sa han.  
*I eat not porridge that said he*

The examples in (4.55) show that neither colon, nor *att*<sub>pron</sub>, can point at a preceding segment in discourse. However, this does not mean that a linguistic pointer cannot point

<sup>38</sup> It should be mentioned that *att*, in certain cases, can be preceded by *det* in “embedded V2”-constructions (see for example Petersson, 2009:141). Consider (i):

- (i) Han sa det att jag får faktiskt inte ha höns längre.  
*He said it that I may actually not have chickens longer*  
 ≈‘He said that I am actually not allowed to have chickens any more.’

In (i), *att* is preceded by an instance of *det*, an element which could be construed as a referential pronoun. If *det* is, in fact, a referential pronoun in (i), the question is how we should view the function of *att* in this construction. As a solution to this problem, Petersson (2009: 141–142) proposes an analysis, according to which the role of *att*, in cases such as (i), is to determine the direction of reference of the anaphor *det*. Although such a proposal could explain the fact that constructions of the kind illustrated in (i) do not seem to involve a shift to a new origo (see chapter 5), it does not account for the relative syntactic positions of *det* and *att*. Another possibility could be that, in constructions such as (i), *det* is not a pronoun, but a determiner. In that case *det att* would be a single DP. A possible drawback to such a solution would be that it would lead us to predict a shift to a new origo if the “matrix” predicate is a verb of saying, and it is not clear that this prediction is borne out. For reasons of time, however, a detailed account of constructions such as that in (i) will have to be postponed to later studies.

in that direction. In chapter 5, I propose an analysis of direct speech constructions, according to which the reporting segment contains a pronominal element that points to adjacent ForcePs in discourse. If the reporting segment occurs within or after the reported segment, this pronominal element must, I argue, be assumed to point at one or more adjacent ForcePs in the preceding discourse. However, this pronominal element appears to lack phonological form in Swedish.

Another property of *att<sub>pron</sub>*, which is adequately captured by the comparison with the punctuation marker colon is the adjacency requirement. Due to this requirement, *att<sub>pron</sub>* differs from most canonical pronouns in the sense that it cannot be topicalised.<sup>39</sup> Consider (4.56):

- (4.56) a. Det här sa han: Jag äter inte gröt.  
*it here said he I eat not porridge*  
 ≈ ‘This is what he said: I do not eat porridge.’
- b. \*Att sa han: jag äter inte gröt.  
*that said he I eat not porridge*

Once again the adjacency requirement is due to the particular properties of *att<sub>pron</sub>* as a purely linguistic pointer. In order to understand this, we may compare the way in which *att<sub>pron</sub>* is used to point in discourse with the way in which an extended finger can be used to point in space. Imagine two persons standing at the same side of a table. On the table, there is a fork. If person *A* points to the fork and asks “what is that?”, person *B* is likely to answer “a fork”. Suppose now that person *A* hides the fork from sight by placing a large

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<sup>39</sup> It should also be mentioned that *att<sub>pron</sub>* cannot undergo object shift. However, this is a property that it has in common with other demonstrative pronouns such as *det här* ‘this’. Consider (i)–(iii):

- (i) Jag såg den inte.  
*I saw it not*  
 ‘I did not see it.’
- (ii) \*Jag såg det här inte.  
*I saw this here not*  
 Intended meaning: ‘I did not see this.’
- (iii) \*Jag såg att inte.  
*I saw that not*  
 Intended meaning: ≈ ‘I did not see this.’

(i) shows that an anaphor such as *den* ‘it’ may undergo object shift. As seen in (ii) and (iii), this is not possible with the demonstrative pronoun *det här* or the linguistic pointer *att<sub>pron</sub>*.

box in front of it. Then, if person *A* points in the same way as he or she did before and asks “what is that?”, person *B* is likely to answer “a box”. In the same way, *att*<sub>pron</sub> points forwards to the closest ForceP in discourse. This explains why (4.56b) is ungrammatical.

#### 4.4.2 A note on V2-clauses after other “complementisers”

Clauses with V2 word order may occur, not only after *att*, but also after elements such as *för att* lit. ‘for that’, and *därför att* lit. ‘because that’ (see for example Holmes & Hinchliffe, 1994:539, and Teleman & al, 1999, volume 4:626). Consider the examples in (4.57) and (4.58):

(4.57) Lisa stannar hemma idag för att hennes bil fungerar inte.  
*Lisa stays home today for that her car works not*  
 ‘Lisa stays at home today because her car does not work.’

(4.58) Anna kommer att bli arg därför att Kalle har inte handlat.  
*Anna comes to become angry because that Kalle has not shopped*  
 ≈ ‘Anna is going to be angry because Kalle has not been to the grocery.’

In the literature, it is sometimes assumed that constructions such as those in (4.57) and (4.58) are hypotactic (see for example Andersson, 1975:61, and Waldmann, 2008:33). Under such an analysis, *för att* lit. ‘for that’, and *därför att* lit. ‘because that’ are viewed as complementisers. However, as pointed out by Teleman (1967:170) and Teleman & al. (1999, volume 4:626), the presumed complementisers in constructions such as those exemplified in (4.57) and (4.58) can be replaced by the unambiguous coordinating conjunction *ty* ‘because/as’. Consider (4.59) and (4.60):

(4.59) Lisa stannar hemma idag ty hennes bil fungerar inte.  
*Lisa stays home today because her car works not*  
 ‘Lisa stays at home today because her car does not work.’

(4.60) Anna kommer att bli arg ty Kalle har inte handlat.  
*Anna comes to become angry because Kalle has not shopped*  
 ≈ ‘Anna is going to be angry because Kalle has not been to the grocery.’

The paratactic constructions in (4.59) and (4.60) are synonymous with their counterparts in (4.57) and (4.58). Following Teleman (1967) and Teleman & al (1999), I thus assume that constructions such as those in (4.57) and (4.58) consist of coordinated main clauses



and, consequently, that they can be accounted for in accordance with the principles of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Assuming that constructions such as those in (4.57) and (4.58) are adequately analysed in terms of parataxis, it seems that *The Highest Force Hypothesis* can account for the majority of the Swedish constructions that involve actual or putative complementisers. However, one Swedish construction type that is potentially problematic is the so-called “question-shaped conditional clause” (Sw. ”frågeformad konditionalsats”). Consider (i):

- (i) Har du nåt i huvudet så håller du tyst om de här problemen.  
*have you anything in head.DEF so hold you quiet about these here problems*  
 ≈ ‘If you have any sense, you keep quiet about these problems.’

The first clause in (i) appears to be a conditional clause with the structure of a *yes/no*-question. Such examples are not discussed in this dissertation, but an investigation of constructions of this type would be natural as a next step in testing the explanatory value of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*. Should *The Highest Force Hypothesis* later be tested against other Germanic V2-languages, there are of course additional construction types that have to be investigated in detail. Among these, one of the more interesting would be German relative clauses with V2 word order, a construction type which has been investigated in the works of Gärtner (2001, 2002). Consider (ii), which is taken from Gärtner (2001:98):

- (ii) Das Blatt hat eine Seite, (I) [die ist ganz schwarz].  
*the sheet has a side that is completely black*  
 ‘The paper has a side that it completely black.’

As shown by Gärtner (2001), there are substantial reasons to conclude that the relation between the clauses in (ii) cannot straightforwardly be accounted for in terms of an anaphoric link. In view of this, German relative clauses with V2 word order could be a potential challenge to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, and would thus be highly relevant for further studies.

# 5 Reported speech

Most of our daily linguistic communication consists of first hand speech acts that are made by, and addressed to, speakers that are present in the speech situation. These exchanges cover most of our communicative needs. But some situations require the ability to speak about what speakers say or have said in order to make “secondary” speech acts. To do this, we use reported speech.

Simplifying somewhat, a reported speech construction can be characterised as a speech act about a speech act. The concept is fairly intuitive and it is hardly surprising to find that scholars working in this field claim or predict that reported speech can be found in all natural languages, in one form or another (see Coulmas 1986, Haberland 1986, Li 1986 and Nordqvist 2001).<sup>41</sup> However, the syntax of the actual constructions that we use to “speak about speech acts” can be quite puzzling. In Swedish and related Germanic languages, reported speech raises theoretical problems in relation to the notions of super- and subordination. Of particular interest is the hierarchical relation between the reporting and the reported segments of a direct speech construction.

My main claim here is that the quoted segment in a direct speech construction is an independent syntactic unit – a main clause or a non-clausal ForceP – and, as a consequence, that this construction has the same syntax as “embedded V2”, discussed in the previous chapter.

As in all Germanic languages, there are two different kinds of reported speech in Swedish: indirect speech and direct speech. Consider (5.1) and (5.2):

(5.1) Kalle sa att han inte var hungrig. Indirect speech  
*Kalle said that he not was hungry*  
'Kalle said that he wasn't hungry.'

(5.2) Kalle sa: jag är inte hungrig. Direct speech  
*Kalle said I am not hungry*  
'Kalle said: I'm not hungry.'

Both direct and indirect speech constructions consist of two segments, one expressing the act of quoting and the other conveying the quote. I will refer to the former as *the*

<sup>41</sup> Li (1986:39–40) states that direct, but not indirect speech, is universal. He mentions Paez, Navajo and Amharic as examples of languages that lack indirect speech. From a theoretical point of view, Li's assumption is reasonable. Arguably, direct speech only requires some sort of reporting verb and the ability to arrange main clauses in sequence. This ought to be possible in all natural languages.

reporting segment and to the latter as *the reported segment* or *the reported clause*. Consider (5.3) and (5.4), which correspond to (5.1) and (5.2):

- |       |                    |                               |                 |
|-------|--------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| (5.3) | Reporting segment: | Reported segment/clause:      |                 |
|       | Kalle sa           | att han inte var hungrig.     | Indirect speech |
|       | <i>Kalle said</i>  | <i>that he not was hungry</i> |                 |

‘Kalle said that he was hungry.’

- |       |                   |                          |               |
|-------|-------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| (5.4) | Reported segment: | Reported segment/clause: |               |
|       | Kalle sa:         | jag är inte hungrig.     | Direct speech |
|       | <i>Kalle said</i> | <i>I am not hungry</i>   |               |

‘Kalle said: I am not hungry.’

Indirect speech constructions are quite uncomplicated from a hierarchical point of view. As illustrated in (5.1) above, an indirect speech construction consists of a matrix clause, expressing the act of quoting, and a canonical subordinate clause conveying the content of the quote. The idea that *att han inte var hungrig* in (5.1) is a subordinate clause should not be controversial. In the case of direct speech, on the other hand, the connection and hierarchical relation between the reporting segment and the reported segment is not immediately clear. Typically, a Swedish direct speech construction looks like the example in (5.2) above. It involves two parts: a reporting segment containing at least a subject and a verb of saying, such as *sa* ‘said’, and a segment conveying the quote. Intuitively, one would assume that the quote is the argument of the verb of saying, consequently the direct object, as illustrated in (5.5):

- |       |           |             |          |               |                 |             |
|-------|-----------|-------------|----------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|
| (5.5) | Han       | sa,         | jag      | är            | faktiskt        | här.        |
|       | subject   | verb        | -----    | direct object | -----           |             |
|       | <i>he</i> | <i>said</i> | <i>I</i> | <i>am</i>     | <i>actually</i> | <i>here</i> |
- ‘He said, I am actually here.’

The crux of the matter is that both segments in (5.5), *han sa* ‘he said’ and *jag är faktiskt här* ‘I am actually here’, have main clause properties. This, of course, complicates matters. As seen in chapters 2 and 3, a main clause functioning as a complement of a verb would be a contradiction in terms. On the other hand, if the reported segment in direct speech is not analysed as a complement, the reporting verb appears to lack an argument.

In the course of this chapter, it will become evident that the theoretical problems associated with analysing the syntax of reported speech in a Germanic V2-language, such

as Swedish, are directly linked to our understanding of the notions of super- and subordination, hence addressing the same issue as “embedded V2” in chapter 4. To analyse a reported segment in a direct speech construction as a constituent of a reporting segment, as has been done in the literature (see below), would be tantamount to saying that a main clause can be subordinate. Such an analysis, which would be based on the superficial properties, is unappealing and would go against the *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, formulated in chapter 3. Conversely, if the reported segment of a direct speech construction is analysed as a main clause, the problem with the valency requirement of the verb of saying, *sa* ‘said’ in (5.2) has to be solved.

The overarching idea in this chapter (and in this dissertation) is that a syntactic analysis of direct speech has to be consistent with a general theory on super- and subordination. And, conversely, a relevant theory on super- and subordination should be able to handle all kinds of reported speech constructions without resorting to *ad hoc* solutions.

In my analysis, I focus on the syntactic aspects of reported speech in Swedish and propose an analysis based on *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, outlined in chapter 3. I aim to show that by applying the principles of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, we can reach a unified account of reported speech that is not only descriptively accurate, but also theoretically consistent.

## 5.1 Background

The purpose of this section is to give a descriptive account of the basic syntactic and discourse-semantic properties of direct and indirect speech constructions in Swedish. This account will form the empirical basis for the analysis proposed in section 5.3.

The section is divided into three subsections. The first one, 5.1.1, shows the basic properties of direct and indirect speech constructions. Section 5.1.2 is concerned with deixis and illocutionary force in the analysed structures, and 5.1.3 discusses the form of the reported segment.

### 5.1.1 Basic properties of direct and indirect speech constructions

In this section I will show that the two versions of reported speech, illustrated in (5.1) and (5.2) above, differ with respect to the hierarchical relation between the reporting and the reported segments. As discussed in the introductory section of this chapter, the nature of

this relation is a theoretical problem in the case of direct speech. In contrast, the hierarchical relation between the segments involved in indirect speech constructions is quite clear and straightforward. As a point of departure, let us take a closer look at the indirect speech construction. In this construction we invariably find a main clause matrix, expressing the act of quoting, and a subordinate complement clause conveying the proposition(s), loosely speaking the contents, of the reported speech act(s), but crucially not the quote itself. Consider (5.6)–(5.8):

- (5.6) Jag är faktiskt här.  
*I am actually here*  
 ‘I am actually here.’
- (5.7) Han sa att han faktiskt var där. Indirect speech  
*he said that he actually was there*  
 ‘He said that he actually was there.’
- (5.8) Han sa, jag är faktiskt här. Direct speech  
*he said I am actually here*  
 ‘He said, I am actually here.’

Example (5.6) above represents an utterance made by a speaker A. In (5.7) and (5.8), a speaker B quotes A’s utterance by means of indirect and direct speech, respectively. Let us first consider the properties of the reporting segment.

The syntactic properties of the reporting segment in (5.7) and (5.8) clearly indicate that this segment is a main clause, both in indirect and in direct speech. It has V2 word order, which is clear if we compare (5.9)–(5.10) below to (5.7)–(5.8) above. In (5.7)–(5.8) the subject precedes the finite verb, whereas, in (5.9), the preverbal constituent is an adverbial of time. The position of the sentence adverbial *nog* ‘probably’, located after the verb *sa* ‘said’ in (5.9)–(5.10) shows that verb movement to Force° has taken place.

- (5.9) Då sa han nog att han faktiskt var där.  
*then said he probably that he actually was there*  
 ‘Then, he probably said that he actually was there.’
- (5.10) Då sa han nog, jag är faktiskt här.  
*then said he probably I am actually here*  
 ‘Then, he probably said, I am actually here.’

My conclusion, that the reporting segments of both direct and indirect speech are main clauses, should not be controversial.

All reporting segments contain a reporting verb. In this respect, it is instructive to think of reported speech as a particular kind of “construction” (the term construction used in a non-technical sense). The basic structure of this “construction” could be formalised as “*X SAY Y*”, where *X* represents the person who makes the quote and *Y* represents the reported speech act or proposition. Within the VP, the SAY-verb (which is the term that I will use henceforth) assigns the thematic roles AGENT and THEME to the arguments *X* and *Y*, respectively. In many cases, the SAY-verb is a typical *verba dicendi* such as *säga* ‘say’ or *fråga* ‘ask’. However, it is also clear that a large number of verbs that are not inherently transitive or normally considered typical *verba dicendi*, can be inserted into reporting “constructions” and function as SAY-verbs. When used as SAY-verbs, many of these verbs also express the manner in which the quoted utterance was made (see Teleman & al., 1999, volume 4:863). *Stöna* ‘moan’, *hosta* ‘cough’ and *skratta* ‘laugh’ are examples of verbs that can be used as SAY-verbs.<sup>42</sup>

In this dissertation, I define SAY-verbs in terms of their function: A SAY-verb is a transitive verb that takes a complement which denotes what is reported. It is important to note that this also includes verbs such as *skriva* ‘write’ and certain *verba sentendi* such as *tänka* ‘think’ and *tycka* ‘think’, when used as verbs of report or saying.<sup>43</sup> There is nothing indicating that there are any relevant syntactic differences between reported speech, thought, or writing, as far as the hierarchical relation between the reporting segment and the reported speech act or proposition is concerned (see also Teleman & al., volume 4:845).

A SAY-verb is transitive, meaning that it requires a complement. The nature of this complement is central to the understanding of reported speech, and it plays a key role in the analysis presented later in section 5.3. In the course of this chapter, it will become

<sup>42</sup> In the literature, verbs that appear in reporting clauses are normally referred to as verbs of saying (or equivalent). However, verbs of saying form a narrower category than SAY-verbs do. For more discussion of verbs of saying or communication verbs, see Banfield (1982) and Partee (1973).

<sup>43</sup> Reported speech is often thought of in terms of a reporting utterance and an original utterance. This view is represented in Landén’s (1985) account of reported speech in German. Her model includes two speakers: Sprecher 1 and Sprecher 2. She assumes that Sprecher 1 makes an original utterance (“Originaläußerung”) which is quoted by Sprecher 2 (Landén, 1985:19). Landén’s model covers typical cases of reported speech, where one speaker simply reproduces another speaker’s utterance. However, reported speech is equally useful for speaking about possible or imaginable speech acts and the speech acts that are reported may be set in the present or the future, just as well as in the past. Furthermore, the fact that verbs like *skriva* ‘write’ or *tänka* ‘think’ may be used as SAY-verbs shows that the reported speech act does not have to be an actual utterance in the first place. The conclusion is consequently that the view that reported speech is a reproduction of an original utterance or its proposition is overly simplified and misleading.

clear that the complement of such a verb can be of three different kinds: It may either be a subordinate clause, a demonstrative element or an anaphor. I will argue that each of these three possibilities corresponds to a specific kind of reported speech construction.

So far, we have seen that the reporting segments of both direct and indirect speech constructions display the same syntactic properties; they are main clauses. Let us now turn to the reported segment of the two constructions. Consider (5.11)–(5.17). For the sake of exposition, the reporting segments are in bold.

### Indirect speech

- (5.11) **Glen sa** att korven förmodligen skulle smaka bättre  
*Glen said that sausage.DEF probably would taste better*

om man stekte den.  
*if one fried it*

‘Glen said that the sausage probably would taste better if one fries it.’

- (5.12) Att korven förmodligen skulle smaka bättre  
*that sausage.DEF probably would taste better*

om man stekte den **sa Glen.**  
*if one fried it said Glen*

≈‘That the sausage probably would taste better if one fried it, is what Glen said.’

### Direct speech

- (5.13) **Glen sa,** korven smakar förmodligen bättre  
*Glen said sausage.DEF tastes probably better*

om man steker den.  
*if one fries it*

‘Glen said, the sausage probably tastes better if one fries it.’

(5.14) Korven smakar förmodligen bättre  
*sausage.DEF tastes probably better*

om man steker den, **sa Glen.**  
*if one fries it said Glen*

‘The sausage probably tastes better if one fries it, Gusten said.’

(5.15) Korven, **sa Glen,** smakar förmodligen bättre  
*sausage.DEF said Glen tastes probably better*

om man steker den.  
*if one fries it*

‘The sausage, Glen said, probably tastes better if one fries it.’

(5.16) Korven smakar, **sa Glen,** förmodligen bättre  
*sausage.DEF tastes said Glen probably better*

om man steker den.  
*if one fries it*

≈‘The sausage probably tastes better if one fries it, Glen said.’

(5.17) Korven smakar förmodligen bättre, **sa Glen,**  
*sausage.DEF tastes probably better said Glen*

om man steker den.  
*if one fries it*

‘The sausage probably tastes better, Glen said, if one fries it.’

Examples (5.11)–(5.14) show that the reporting segment (in bold) of both kinds of reported speech may either precede or be preceded by the reported segment. These positions are precisely the ones that we expect to be available for a matrix in relation to its complement clause; the complement would then be in its base position in (5.11) and (5.13), and in Spec-ForceP in (5.12) and (5.14).



In direct speech constructions, however, the reporting segment can also surface in linear positions within reported segment. The sentences in (5.15)–(5.17) illustrate three intermediate positions available to the reporting segment. In (5.15), the reporting segment is wedged between the subject and the finite verb of the reported segment. In (5.16) it surfaces after the finite verb, in the typical linear position of sentence adverbials, and in (5.17) finally, the reporting segment appears between two adverbials.<sup>44</sup> The positions are indicated below in (5.15')–(5.17') corresponding to (5.15)–(5.17) above:

(5.15') Korven, **sa Glen,** smakar förmodligen bättre om man steker den.  
 reported reporting reported  
 segment segment segment

(5.16') Korven smakar, **sa Glen,** förmodligen bättre om man steker den.  
 reported reporting reported  
 segment segment segment

(5.17') Korven smakar förmodligen bättre, **sa Glen,** om man steker den.  
 reported reporting reported  
 segment segment segment

The configurations in (5.15')–(5.17') would be very odd, if we were to assume that they reflect a syntactic relation according to which the SAY-verb would take the reported segment as its complement; it would be a highly exceptional to assume that a matrix verb + subject would have moved to a position within its complement. My conclusion is that an analysis along those lines is not viable. So, if the reported segment in the direct speech construction in (5.8) (repeated below as (5.18)) is not the complement of *sa* 'said, the main alternative is that it is an independent syntactic unit, in other words a main clause. This alternative is supported by the fact that the reported segment is identical to the "original utterance" in (5.6), which is an unambiguous main clause. Furthermore, verb movement to Force<sup>o</sup> has taken place, which is indicated by the verb preceding the sentence adverbial *faktiskt* 'in fact'.

<sup>44</sup> Although the order between the reporting clause and the reported speech act is very flexible in the case of direct speech, it is not entirely unrestricted. A reporting clause may, for instance, normally not split a constituent of the clause conveying the reported speech act (see Peterson, 1999). Crucially however, I follow Peterson (1999) and Kaltenböck (2007) in assuming that the constraints concerning the reporting clause's possible positions are not syntactic in the sense that they are the result of a C-command relation between the segments involved in a direct speech construction. This is discussed in further detail in section 5.3.2.

- (5.18) Han sa, jag är faktiskt här. Direct speech  
*he said I am actually here*  
 ‘He said, I am actually here.’

That the verb of the reported segment has moved to to Force<sup>o</sup> is further supported by the fact that it can be preceded by non-subject constituents. Consider (5.19) and (5.20) where an adverbial of location and a sentence adverbial precedes the finite verb:

- (5.19) Han sa, här är jag faktiskt.  
*He said here am I actually*  
 ‘He said, here I am, actually.’

- (5.20) Han sa, faktiskt är jag här.  
*he said actually am I here*  
 ‘He said, actually, I am here.’

The conclusion so far is that the reported segment of a direct speech construction has main clause properties, and that the reported segment of an indirect speech construction has the properties of a subordinate clause.

### 5.1.2 Deixis and illocutionary force

If the reported segments of direct and indirect speech constructions differ in their hierarchical relation to the reporting segment, we predict that this difference should be reflected in differences related to illocutionary force and the interpretation of deictic elements. As we will see, this is also the case. More specifically, a reported speech act in the form of a main clause has its own origo and illocutionary force, whereas the subordinate clause of an indirect speech construction is anchored in the origo and speech act value of the reporting segment.

According to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, a subordinate clause is a clause that is embedded in a higher ForceP-structure. The syntactic link between the subordinate clause and its matrix is established by a complementiser situated in the Force<sup>o</sup>-position of the subordinate clause. Its function is to anchor the proposition conveyed by the subordinate clause in the origo and illocutionary force of the matrix. This is in contrast to a main clause, which is an independent ForceP-structure and, consequently, has its own origo and illocutionary force.

The interpretation of deictic elements is directly dependent on the value of the origo to which they are related. This makes them perfect tools for locating the origo of the clauses involved in reported speech constructions. Consider (5.21)–(5.23), where (5.21) represents the “original” utterance:

(5.21) Jag ska nog till Pelle imorgon.  
*I shall probably to Pelle tomorrow*  
 ‘I’m probably going to Pelle tomorrow.’  
 (uttered by Gusten on Monday)

(5.22) Igår sa Gusten<sub>i</sub> att han<sub>i</sub> nog skulle hit idag.  
*yesterday said Gusten that he probably should here today*  
 ‘Yesterday, Gusten said that he probably was coming here today.’  
 (uttered in Pelle’s house on Tuesday)

(5.23) Igår sa Gusten<sub>i</sub>, jag<sub>i</sub> ska nog till Pelle imorgon.  
*yesterday said Gusten I shall probably to Pelle tomorrow*  
 ‘Yesterday, Gusten said, I’m probably going to Pelle tomorrow.’  
 (uttered in Pelle’s house on Tuesday)

Gusten’s utterance in (5.21) contains four elements, which are relevant from a deictic point of view: the tense of the finite verb, the personal pronoun *jag* ‘I’, the locative adverbial *till Pelle* ‘to Pelle’ and the adverbial of time *imorgon* ‘tomorrow’. In the indirect speech construction in (5.22), these elements have been adjusted to fit the origo of the reporting segment.<sup>45</sup> *Jag* ‘I’ has been changed to *han* ‘he’ and the present tense has shifted to past tense. The locative adverbial has been changed from *till Pelle* ‘to Pelle’ to *hit* ‘to here’ and the adverbial of time, finally, has been changed from *imorgon* ‘tomorrow’ to *idag* ‘today’. In (5.23) the same utterance is quoted in a direct speech construction. As we can

<sup>45</sup> There are indirect speech constructions where the finite verb of the reported segment does not seem to be adjusted to the origo of the reporting clause. Consider (i):

(i) Vladimir sa att Gusten inte lever längre.  
*Vladimir said that Gusten not lives longer*  
 ‘Vladimir said that Gusten is no longer alive’

As we see, the finite verb of the reported proposition is not in the past tense as that of the reporting clause, but in the present. It might consequently seem as if though the subordinate clause is not deictically adjusted to its matrix. However, it is probably more correct to conclude that the proposition denoted in the reported segment is still relevant and valid at the time that the speaker utters the sentence in (i). In that case, the tense of the reported proposition is adjusted to the origo of the reporting clause, after all.

see, the reported segment of (5.23) is identical to the “original” utterance in (5.21). None of the deictic elements in the reported segment have been adjusted to the origo of the reporting segment. They are still interpreted from the point of view of Gusten’s original utterance, and this allows us to conclude that the sentence in (5.23) contains two origos: one in the reporting segment and one in the reported segment.

According to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, an independent syntactic structure contains precisely one origo, located in its highest ForceP. That the deictic elements appearing within the reported segment in (5.23) are not adjusted to the origo of the reporting segment is thus an indication that both segments consist of main clauses.

We now turn to the issue of illocutionary force. As stated in *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, verb movement from V° to Force° is in Swedish intrinsically associated with [+illocutionary force]. A clause containing a complementiser in Force°, on the other hand, cannot have illocutionary force, as the role of the complementiser is to anchor the clause in the origo and illocutionary force of a superordinate ForceP-structure. This generalisation follows from the most basic principle of the hypothesis, namely that only the highest ForceP of a syntactic structure can carry illocutionary force; when the finite verb of a Swedish clause moves, it always moves to the highest ForceP. Consequently, it follows that movement of the finite verb to Force° indicates that the clause has the value [+illocutionary force]. The reverse holds for subordinate clauses. This line of reasoning predicts that an indirect speech construction conveys only one speech act, whereas a direct speech construction conveys (at least) two speech acts. As we shall see, this prediction is borne out too.

That the reported segments of the two construction types differ with respect to illocutionary force can be shown using the tag question-test introduced in chapter 4. Recall that the test is based on the fact that the tag question *eller hur* lit. ‘or how’ only targets asserted propositions. Now consider (5.24) and (5.25):

- (5.24) Han sa att Kalle inte var hemma, eller hur.  
*he said that Kalle not was home* TAG QUESTION  
 ‘He said that Kalle wasn’t at home, didn’t he?’

- (5.25) Han sa, Kalle är inte hemma, eller hur.  
*he said Kalle is not home* TAG QUESTION  
 ‘He said, Kalle isn’t at home, didn’t he/is he?’

The meaning of the indirect speech construction in (5.24) can be paraphrased as “He said *X*, didn’t he”, where *X* equals “that Kalle wasn’t at home”. A reading where the tag question targets the reported segment is not available. Based on this observation, we

conclude that the reported segment of an indirect speech construction lacks illocutionary force. In the case of the direct speech construction in (5.25), on the other hand, two readings are available. The tag question can target the reporting segment, just as in indirect speech. In that case, the meaning of (5.25) can be paraphrased as “He said *X*, didn’t he”, where *X* equals “Kalle isn’t at home”. Crucially, however, the tag question can also target the reported segment. The tag question is then part of the reported segment. This could be paraphrased as “He said *X*”, where *X* equals “Kalle isn’t at home, is he”.

To conclude, this section has shown that the different surface structures of clauses appearing in the reported segments of the two varieties of reported speech reflect a difference in hierarchical status. The reported segment of an indirect speech construction is a subordinate clause. Its complementiser anchors the segment in the origo and illocutionary force of the reporting segment. A clause appearing in the reported segment of a direct speech construction, on the other hand, is a main clause which has its own origo and conveys a speech act, separate from that of the reporting segment.

### 5.1.3 The form of the reported segment

If the reported segment in a direct speech construction is a main clause, we predict that it can consist of any type of main clause. This prediction is born out. In fact, the reported segment of a direct speech construction can consist of any kind of independent ForceP. Consider (5.26)–(5.32), where the reported segments are underlined:

(5.26) **Exclamative**<sup>46</sup>

Han sa, (fan) vilken stor bil du har.  
*he said devil which big car you have*  
 ‘He said, (damn) what a big car you’ve got.’

(5.27) **Imperative clause**

Köp, skrek hon.  
*buy screamed she*  
 ‘Buy, she screamed.’

<sup>46</sup> In chapter 6, I argue that the clausal part of an exclamative is embedded under a non-clausal ForceP. In (5.26), the non-clausal matrix can be realised as the interjection *fan* ‘shit’.

## (5.29) Ellipsis

Till höger om grepen, sa han och pekade på väggen.  
*to right of pitch.fork.DEF said he and pointed on wall.DEF*  
 ‘To the right of the pitch fork, ha said and pointed to the wall.’

## (5.30) Foreign language

Er hat meinen neuen Fleischwolf gestohlen, sa hon med asky.  
 -----GERMAN----- said she with disgust  
 ‘Er hat meinen neuen Fleischwolf gestohlen, she said with disgust.’

## (5.31) Ungrammatical clause

Min katt vara stor, sa Kalle  
*my cat be big said Kalle*  
 ‘“My cat be big”, Kalle said.’

## (5.32) Nonsensical utterance

Gnöbbeliblurt fnöskar tryllet, sa Lisa med ett självbelåtet leende.  
*Gnöbbeliblurt fnöskar tryllet said Lisa with a smug smile*  
 ‘Gnöbbeliblurt fnöskar tryllet, Lisa said with a smug smile.’

As shown in (5.26)–(5.32), the reported segment of a direct speech construction can consist of a number of different ForceP-structures, the common denominator of which is that they cannot otherwise be embedded. Of particular interest is the fact that the reported segment can be a sequence of main clauses and/or non-clausal Force structures that are related only through discourse, that is, a text (see also Teleman & al., 1999, volume 4:846). In such cases, two or more speech acts are conveyed within the reported segment of the construction. From a theoretical point of view, the number of syntactically independent ForceP structures that can be contained within the reported segment of a direct speech construction is unlimited.<sup>47</sup> Consider (5.33):

<sup>47</sup> Cases where the boundaries of the reported speech construction are actually ambiguous or unclear are presumably quite rare, not least due to the fact that more explicit signals can be used to indicate the length of the reported segment. This is especially true in the case of written discourse, where reported speech acts are normally enclosed by citation marks. In spoken discourse, the speaker may accommodate prosodically, for instance by changing his or her tone of voice, dialect etc. for the duration of the reported speech act.

(5.33) Hon<sub>i</sub> sa: Jag<sub>i</sub> vill inte hem. Jag<sub>i</sub> tycker inte om maten där.  
*she said I want not home I like not PART food.DEF there*

Sen började hon<sub>i</sub> gråta.  
*then began she cry*

‘She said: I don’t want to go home. I don’t like the food there. The she began to cry.’

Example (5.33) is a text consisting of two parts: a direct speech construction, *Hon sa: Jag vill inte hem. Jag tycker inte om maten där*, and a declarative main clause *Sen började hon gråta*. Within the reported segment of the direct speech construction, we find yet a text, consisting of two syntactically unattached main clauses *Jag vill inte hem* and *Jag tycker inte om maten där*. The origos of the latter clauses form a “synchronized” sequence in the sense that the reference of the first person pronoun *jag* ‘I’ is consistent through the whole reported segment. Crucially, however, the origos of the reported speech acts are not in sequence with those of the reporting segment and the main clause that appears after the reported speech construction. This can be concluded from the fact that the first person subjects of the former are coreferential with the third person subjects of the latter. In effect, this means that (5.33) contains two separate sequences of origos. Informally, the relation between the two texts found in (5.33) can consequently be given the representation in (5.34).

(5.34) Hon sa X. Sen började hon gråta.  
*she said x then began she cry*  
 ‘She said X. Then she began to cry.’

The observation that the reported segment of a direct speech construction can be of almost any type is in striking contrast to the possibilities of indirect speech. Teleman & al. state that the reported segment of an indirect speech construction may consist of either an *att*-clause or, if the quoted speech act is a question, an *om-/huruvida*-clause (‘if-/whether-clause’) or a subordinate *wh*-clause (1999, volume 4:850). The three possibilities are illustrated in (5.35)–(5.37).

(5.35) Hon sa att korv inte kunde bli dålig.  
*she said that sausage not could become bad*  
 ‘She said that sausage couldn’t turn.’

(5.36) Jag frågade om det kanske berodde på skinnet.  
*I asked if it perhaps depended on skin.DEF*  
 ‘I asked if this was perhaps due to its skin.’

(5.37) Hon undrade varför ingen hade tänkt  
*she wondered why no one had thought*

på den möjligheten tidigare.  
*on that possibility.DEF earlier*

‘She wondered why no one had thought about that possibility before.’

The examples in (5.35)–(5.37) do not only illustrate the possible forms of the reported segment in an indirect speech construction. They also represent precisely those structures that are ruled out as reported segments of direct speech constructions. In principle, all other structures can constitute the reported segment of a direct speech construction.

## 5.2 Previous analyses of direct speech constructions

In this section, two previously proposed influential analyses of direct speech constructions are presented and discussed. In both analyses, the reporting segment and the reported segment are assumed to be syntactically integrated, but in opposite ways.

Teleman & al. (1999, volume 4:857–860) propose a solution according to which the reported segment in direct speech is a complement of the verb within the reporting segment. The authors note that the relation between the reporting segment and the reported segment act differs in some respects from canonical instances of subordination, not least concerning the linear positions available to the reporting segments. However, as indicated by the following quote, they nonetheless analyse direct speech in terms of hypotaxis: “The subordinated reported sentence is typically the object of a verb in the superordinate clause [the reporting segment]” (Teleman & al., 1999, volume 4:860).<sup>48</sup>

de Vries (2008) proposes a slightly different version of the “complement-analysis”. His investigation of reported speech focusses on Dutch, but since both Dutch and Swedish are Germanic V2-languages, the results of his study ought to be equally applicable to

<sup>48</sup> Swedish original: ”Den underordnade anförda meningen är vanligen objekt till ett verb i den överordnade satsen”. (English translation by D.P.)



Swedish. de Vries makes the following observations regarding the structure of reported speech acts in Dutch direct speech constructions (de Vries, 2008:41–44):

- A) If the quote is a clause, it has V2 word order (Dutch is a V2-language).
- B) The reported segment may be in a different language than the reporting segment.
- C) “...a quotation can be an incomplete clause, a combination of sentences, or even a string of non-linguistic symbols or sounds”.

Based largely on the observations in A)–C), de Vries concludes that quotes in direct speech constructions are both semantically and syntactically opaque (de Vries 2008:41). He even reaches the following tentative conclusion: “It is probably correct to state that in general, syntactically conditioned dependency relations between elements from the matrix and elements from the quote are impossible” (de Vries 2008:44–45). Despite this conclusion, de Vries considers the reported segment to be syntactically integrated into the reporting segment. He refers to direct speech constructions where the reporting segment precedes the reported speech act as “*embedded direct speech*” and states that “[a] quotation can be a major constituent of a clause” (de Vries, 2008:50). He presents the sentence in (5.38) as an example of a so-called “embedded direct speech”-construction where “the quote functions as a direct object” (de Vries, 2008:50).

- (5.38) Joop vroeg: ”Mag ik nog een cake-je?”  
*Joop asked may I still a cake-DIM*  
 ‘Joop asked, ”Can I have another piece of cake?’”

It is a bit surprising that de Vries, on the one hand, claims that the reported speech act is semantically and syntactically opaque, and, on the other hand, maintains that it is a syntactically integrated constituent of the reporting clause (the “matrix”). The solution that allows us to reconcile these seemingly contradictory properties, de Vries argues, is an analysis according to which the quote is a nominal element. He claims that “quotations are grammatically opaque and that embedded quotations are assigned a nominal categorial status upon insertion into a new derivation”. He further states that “the fact that quotations are inserted as if they were atomic, creates the possibility of using them as nominal heads (even as parts of a compound), as well as full arguments” (de Vries, 2008:70).

It is worth pointing out that de Vries discusses a proposal by Davidson (1984), according to which “[t]he contents of the quotation /.../ are outside of the matrix clause, which, at

the semantic level contains only a pronominal” (de Vries, 2008:46). (This is in line with the analysis that I propose in this chapter.) As de Vries acknowledges, this style of analysis can account for the fact that the quoted utterance is opaque, since it does not assume any syntactic connection between the reporting segment and the reported speech act. de Vries nonetheless dismisses a Davidson style analysis on the following grounds: “A disadvantage /.../ is that the quote must be a verbatim rendering of the original text” (ibid).<sup>49</sup>

By definition, a SAY-verb requires a complement and, of course, the reported segment is an obvious candidate for playing that role. For this reason, the analyses proposed by de Vries and Teleman & al. may, at first, seem rather appealing. By analysing the reported speech act as a complement, the valency requirements of the SAY-verb are satisfied. However, I argue that this is an unsatisfactory account and, crucially, one that gives rise to more theoretical problems than it actually solves.

The most important drawback of a “complement-analysis” is that it does not offer a unified account that includes all direct speech constructions, irrespective of the reporting segment’s linear position. The analysis can only handle constructions where the reporting segment appears before or after the reporting segment, such as those in (5.13) and (5.14) above. Consider once again (5.16), repeated below as (5.39):

- (5.39) Korven        smakar, sa        Glen, förmodligen    bättre  
                   *sausage.DEF tastes        said    Glen probably        better*
- om man steker den.  
                   *if one fries it*

‘The sausage probably tastes better if one fries it, Glen said.’

As pointed out above, if we were to analyse the reported clause as a complement in examples such as (5.39), we would reach the rather peculiar conclusion that the matrix of a direct speech construction may be contained within its own complement. A further,

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<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, however, it does not become clear why a pronominal analysis requires that the quote is a verbatim rendering of the original text. I believe that Teleman & al. are on the right track when they state that the speaker in the case of direct speech “renders a person’s utterance or thought as he believes that he or she actually phrased it” (1999, volume 4:846). Swedish original: “I en citatmening återger talaren en persons replik eller tanke så som han föreställer sig att denne verkligen formulerat den” (English translation by D.P.). In effect, this means that a reported speech act is normally presented and treated as a verbatim rendering of an actual utterance or thought. Put differently, a reported speech act is a verbatim reproduction in the world of discourse. Whether or not it, in reality, corresponds to the quoted utterance is not relevant from a syntactic point of view. I fail to see how a pronominal, non-syntactic analysis would alter this.

equally peculiar, consequence of such an analysis is that it would entail that the finite verb of a matrix clause (*sa*) can be preceded by two separate and entirely different phrases (the DP *korven* and the verb *smakar*). As pointed out by Josefsson (2009:166), this is quite an unfortunate analysis since a finite verb preceded by two unrelated phrases is a structural configuration which is otherwise not found in the Swedish language.<sup>50</sup>

As a result of the inability of the “complement analysis” to account for cases where the reporting segment appears within the reported segment, its proponents must resort to proposing different analyses, depending on the position of the reporting segment. Under de Vries’ account of direct speech in Dutch, constructions where the reporting segment precedes the reported segments are thought of as an “embedded direct speech”. The reporting segment is then considered to be a matrix. But if the reporting segment appears within the reported segment, de Vries claims that it is “added as a parenthetical to the quotation” (de Vries, 2008:49). However, what this means in terms of the hierarchical relation between the reporting and reported segments is not clear since no comments are given as to the syntactic status of parentheticals.

Another problematic issue with the “complement analysis” is that a pronominal element, such as *följande* ‘the following’, can occur between the SAY-verb and the reported segment. Consider (5.40):<sup>51</sup>

- (5.40) Han sa följande: jag förstår inte den här analysen.  
*he said following I understand not this here analysis.DEF*  
 ‘He said the following: I don’t understand this analysis.’

<sup>50</sup> Particularly problematic for a unified complement-analysis is the fact that the SAY-verb may be preceded by two semantically distinct phrases. In some cases, the finite verb of a Swedish declarative main clause may, at least on a superficial analysis, be preceded by two phrases. Consider, for example, (i):

- (i) Johan, honom har jag inte sett sedan han flyttade till USA.  
*Johan him have I not seen since he moved to USA*  
 ≈ ‘Johan, I haven’t seen him since he moved to the USA.’

Crucially however, Josefsson (2012) shows that main clauses where the finite verb is preceded by two phrases are grammatical only if these phrases constitute a semantic unit in the sense that they are identical in reference. Based on her observation she tentatively suggests the following reformulation of the V2 criterion in Swedish: “At most one semantically distinct element may precede the finite verb in declarative main clauses in Swedish” (Josefsson, 2012:368). This is an interesting suggestion. However, since it falls outside of the immediate scope of this dissertation it will not be considered in further detail. Important here is the fact that two separate and semantically distinct phrases preceding the finite verb of a main clause is an ungrammatical configuration in Swedish.

<sup>51</sup> For details on the pronominal status of *följande* ‘following’, see Teleman & al. (1999, volume 1:313 and 457).

The pronominal *följande* must arguably be analysed as the complement of the SAY-verb *sa* ‘said’. To maintain that the reported segment *jag förstår inte den här analysen* is a complement too in (5.40) would, in other words, be tantamount to assuming that a SAY-verb can take two complements with identical thematic roles. Consequently, an advocate of the complement-analysis would, reasonably, have to propose two separate, and fundamentally different analyses for direct speech constructions: one for cases with an overt pronominal argument and one for cases without such an argument. The lack of a unified account is a significant disadvantage of the analyses proposed by Teleman & al. (1999) and de Vries (2008).

Another issue that makes a complement-analysis rather problematic is the fact that the reported segment of a direct speech construction can have virtually any structure, as long as it conveys at least one speech act. As shown in section 5.1.3, subordinate clauses are the only structures that are ruled out as reported segments in direct speech. This is hardly surprising in light of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*. One of the core points of the hypothesis is that only the highest ForceP of a syntactic structure carries illocutionary force, and since a subordinate clause, by definition, cannot be the topmost ForceP of a syntactic tree, it cannot convey a speech act. On a complement-analysis, on the other hand, it is quite problematic that the only requirement that applies to the reported segment of a direct speech construction is that it conveys at least one speech act. This requirement allows for a great number of structural configurations which are normally not possible to embed, including all kinds of V2-clauses, imperatives and exclamatives, but it rules out precisely that structural configuration which we typically associate with clausal complements, namely subordinate clauses.

The complement-analysis is faced with yet another problem associated with the illocutionary force of the reported segment. As was shown in section 4.1, the reported segment may consist of a sequence of independent ForcePs. Consider (5.41), which is a modification of (5.33) above:

- (5.41) Honsa: Jag vill hem. Maten är vedervärdig. Sen började hon gråta.  
*she said I want home food.DEF is foul then began she cry*  
 ‘She said: I want to go home. The food is foul. Then she began to cry.’

In (5.41), the reported segment consists of two declarative main clauses: *Jag vill hem* and *maten är vedervärdig*. Together, these clauses form a short text (somewhat non-technically defined as a coherent sequence of two or more thematically related ForcePs). Under the assumption that reported segments in direct speech constructions are complements of the SAY-verbs, it would consequently follow that entire texts can be embedded as constituents. Once again, this would be a theoretical singularity. de Vries’ solution is to say that such

texts should be regarded as a particular kind of noun phrase. Such a proposal is problematic, though. Although noun phrases may well convey certain kinds of speech acts, these speech acts do not normally have a propositional content in a conventional sense. More importantly, a regular noun phrase could certainly not be used to convey statements or questions since these are speech acts that are based on a predication, a notion which relies on the connection between a verb and a noun phrase. The NP-analysis that de Vries proposes is consequently not satisfactory.

The complement-analysis is not the only hypotactic style solution that has been put forth. It has also been suggested that the reporting segment can be analysed as a kind of sentence adverbial in the reported segment. From a syntactic point of view, the sentence adverbial-analysis is hypotactic, just like the complement-analysis, but it assumes the opposite hierarchical relation between the reporting segment and the reported segment. Let us consider two analyses that assume this relation.

Teleman & al. (1999, volume 4:857) and Petersson (2008) point out that the reporting segment, in some respects, resembles a sentence adverbial. Petersson argues that there is reason, at least from a semantic perspective, to consider analysing the reporting segment as a sentence adverbial in relation to the reported segment. As sentence adverbials are normally considered to be constituents (cf. Teleman & al., 1999, volume 1:221–222), the reporting segment would then have to be considered to be subordinate in relation to the segment conveying the reported speech act. Petersson bases this proposal on two observations. Firstly, he notes that the reporting segment seems to have a modalizing effect on the reported segment. To illustrate this, he uses the sentence pair in (5.42) and (5.43) (Petersson, 2008:80):

(5.42) Dansande Råven tog dina mockasiner.  
*Dancing Fox took your moccasins*  
 ‘Dancing Fox took your moccasins.’

(5.43) Dansande Råven tog dina mockasiner, sa Sjungande Molnet.  
*Dancing Fox took your moccasins said Singing Cloud*  
 ‘Dancing Fox took your moccasins, Dancing cloud said.’

Petersson points out that the speaker in (5.42) can be accused of lying if the proposition conveyed by the clause *Dansande Råven tog dina mockasiner* should turn out to be false. In (5.43), however, he notes, that the speaker is not responsible for the truth of the reported speech act. He concludes that the reporting segment in (5.43) has a function comparable to a modalizing sentence adverbial (Petersson, 2008:80). In further support of a sentence adverbial-analysis, Petersson points to the fact that the reporting segment may appear in

the canonical sentence adverbial position and that it, in that case, often may be felicitously replaced by a canonical modal sentence adverbial (ibid:81 and 89–90). Consider (5.44) and its paraphrase in (5.45):

(5.44) Johan måste, säger Kalle, be Lisa om ursäkt.  
*Johan must says Kalle ask Lisa for excuse*  
 ‘Johan must apologize to Lisa, Kalle says.’

(5.45) Johan måste, enligt Kalle, be Lisa om ursäkt.  
*Johan must according Kalle ask Lisa for excuse*  
 ‘Johan must, according to Kalle, apologize to Lisa.’

The reporting segment in (5.44) appears in the typical sentence adverbial position of the clause constituting the reported segment. In (5.45), the reporting segment has been paraphrased by an unambiguous sentence adverbial, the PP *enligt Kalle*. The two sentences do not have exactly the same flavour to them but, all in all, the difference in meaning is quite subtle. Petersson (2008:81) argues that examples such as (5.44) and (5.45) lend support to an analysis where the reporting segment is considered a sentence adverbial.

However, the idea that the reporting segment can be viewed as a sentence adverbial is problematic for three reasons. First of all, the analysis cannot offer a unified account of direct and indirect speech constructions. As was shown in section 5.1.1, the reporting segment can appear in at least five different positions relative to the reported segment, provided that the latter is conveyed by a clause. Only two of the linear positions, in which the reporting segment may surface, are positions that may normally host sentence adverbials, the middle field, more specifically the position of the negation *inte*, and the initial position of the clause. The reporting segment can only be paraphrased by a sentence adverbial in those cases where their distributions happen to coincide. In the other positions, the reporting segment cannot be substituted by a sentence adverbial. Consider (5.46) and (5.47), where the reporting segment *säger Lisa* (say Lisa) ‘Lisa says’ is compared to *enligt Lisa* (according to Lisa) ‘according to Lisa’:

(5.46) a. Lisa säger, sill är inte dyrt.  
*Lisa says herring is not expensive*  
 ‘Lisa says, herring is not expensive.’

b. \*Enligt Lisa, sill är inte dyrt.  
*according Lisa herring is not expensive*  
 Intended meaning: ‘According to Lisa, herring is not expensive.’

- (5.47) a. Sill, säger Lisa, är inte dyrt.  
*herring says Lisa is not expensive*  
 ‘Herring, Lisa says, is not expensive.’
- b. \*Sill, enligt Lisa, är inte dyrt.  
*herring according Lisa is not expensive*  
 Intended meaning: ‘According to Lisa, herring is not expensive.’

A reporting segment may appear in front of the reported segment, as in (5.46a), or wedged between the first constituent and finite verb of the clause conveying the reported segment, as in (5.47a). As illustrated in (5.46b) and (5.47b), these positions are normally not available to sentence adverbials (or any other kind of constituent).

Teleman (1974) and Svensson (1981) propose a less generalised version of the adverbial-analysis. Neither of them discusses the distributional differences between reporting segments and sentence adverbials in detail. But the significance of the relative position of the reporting segment is nonetheless reflected in the analyses that they suggest. This is clear as they apply different analyses, depending on the position of the reporting segment. If the reporting segment precedes the reported segment, Teleman (1974:187) and Svensson (1981) consider it to be a matrix. If the reporting segment appears in an intermediate or final position relative to the reported, they instead regard it as a kind of sentence adverbial and refer to it as a “omkategoriserad sats” ‘recategorised reporting clause’ (Teleman, 1974:188; Svensson, 1981:71).

A second problem that comes with the sentence adverbial-analysis is the fact that it does not solve the valency problem.

A third problem associated with the sentence adverbial-analysis is that it is applicable only to constructions where the reported speech act is conveyed in the form of a complete main clause. The analysis cannot account for cases where the reported segment is not a clause. Consider (5.48) and (5.49):

- (5.48) \*Aj, enligt Kalle.  
*ouch according.to Kalle*
- (5.49) Aj, sa han.  
*ouch said he*  
 ‘ouch, he said.’

It is obvious that a linguistic structure that cannot be assigned a truth-value cannot be modalized epistemically. The ungrammatical exclamative in (5.48) illustrates the fact that

only structures that carry propositions can be modalized by sentence adverbials. As seen in (5.49), however, exclamatives can be reported by means of direct speech. Consequently, we can conclude that reporting segments cannot be analysed as sentence adverbials, at least not in cases where the reported speech act consists of a non-clausal Force structure.

As we have seen, an analysis, according to which the reporting segment is assumed to function as a kind of sentence adverbial, gives rise to considerable theoretical problems. However, it is important to point out that this does not mean that the reporting segment cannot be seen as having a modalizing function, from a pragmatic point of view. But, crucially, such a modalizing effect does not require syntactic integration. This is illustrated by (5.50).

- (5.50) Lisa stal din moped. Det sa Sven.  
*Lisa stole your moped it said Sven*  
 'Lisa stole your moped. That's what Sven said.'

The example in (5.50) consists of two declarative main clauses. They are clearly not linked syntactically. Rather, they are two independent clauses that form a text. Nevertheless, the second clause influences the evaluation of the first clause, since *det* 'it' refers to its proposition. If it turns out that someone other than Lisa stole the addressee's moped, it is not the speaker, but Sven, who can be accused of lying. This shows that modalizing effects can obtain across syntactic boundaries. In turn, this allows us to conclude that modalizing effects constitute a poor diagnostic criterion for determining the hierarchical relation between clauses.

To sum up, there are only two logical possibilities if the two segments of a direct speech construction are linked hypotactically in such a way that the reported segment is embedded in the reporting segment or the other way around. In this section, we have looked at analyses taking both positions. As has been shown there are considerable problems associated with both alternatives. It is particularly troubling that neither one of the analyses that have been discussed can offer a unified account of direct speech in Swedish. Consequently, the conclusion of this section is that neither the reporting nor the reported segment can be a constituent of the other.



### 5.3 Direct speech – two unattached ForcePs

In this section, I present and elaborate my analysis of direct speech. Drawing on Banfield (1982), I argue that the reporting segment and the reported speech act are not linked syntactically, but related to each other on a textual level.

The core ideas of Banfield's proposal are introduced in section 5.3.1. Drawing on these ideas, I present my analysis of the syntax of direct speech in section 5.3.2. In section 5.3.3 finally, I argue that the characteristic shift in perspective is due to the properties of the complement that the SAY-verb takes.

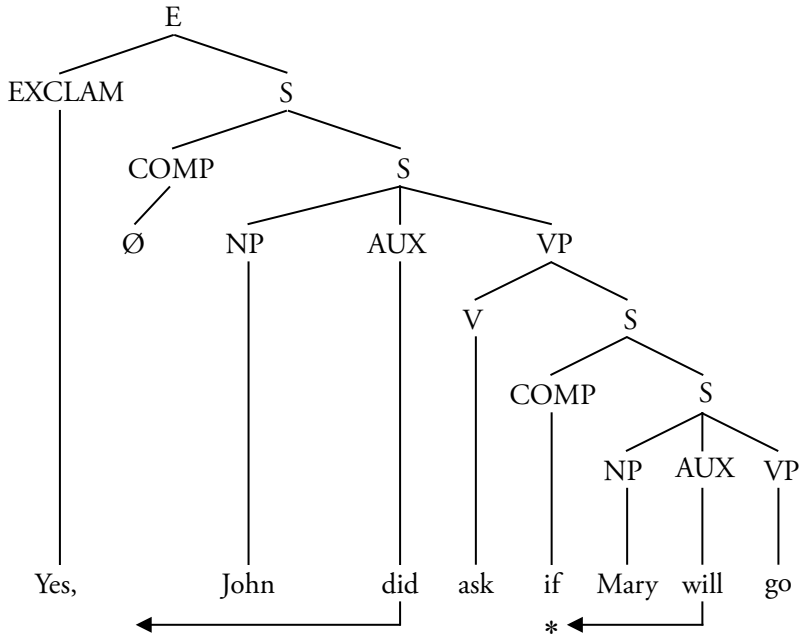
#### 5.3.1 *The anaphoric E principle – Banfield (1982)*

As shown in the preceding sections, a hypotactic analysis of direct speech is not viable. Banfield (1982) makes the same observation and – following an idea originally put forth by Partee (1973) – she draws the simple and consistent conclusion that “direct speech consists of two successive, independent sentences in discourse [...] and not of embedding” (Banfield, 1982:43). She proposes an analysis of direct speech constructions which is based on two interacting principles: the “*anaphoric E principle*” and what she terms “*Shift to a new TEXT*”. She argues that these two principles, when combined, can account both for the large number of structures that may appear in the reported segment and the characteristic shift in point of view.

Banfield introduces a node E (for “expression”). It is the highest available node in her syntactic model and it hosts “expressive elements” generated outside of S (Banfield, 1982:39). She states that the E-node, unlike an S-node (corresponding to a CP in contemporary terminology), is not recursive: “The fact that expressive elements and constructions cannot be embedded we now account for by not permitting the node E to be recursive, except through coordination” (ibid). Consider (5.51), which is an example from Banfield (1982:40), illustrating her use of the E-node:

(5.51) a. Yes, John did ask if Mary will go.

b.



The interjection *Yes* is linked to the lower S-structure that contains the declarative main clause *John did ask if Mary will go*. Banfield consequently seems to consider “expressive” elements or constructions hosted by E to, somehow, dominate and be syntactically integrated with lower Ss. Note that the E-node appears to correspond to a highest ForceP within the framework of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*. In this study, the sentence in (5.51a) would consequently be analysed as consisting of two syntactically unattached ForceP structures, one non-clausal, *Yes*, and one clausal, *John did ask if Mary will go*.

Let us now turn to the question of direct speech. As mentioned, Banfield concludes that the two segments of a direct speech construction cannot be attached to each other syntactically. This conclusion leads back once again to the question of how the valency requirements of the SAY-verb are satisfied. Banfield resolves this issue by assuming that the reporting segment contains a pronominal which may be realised optionally. This pronominal element constitutes the “object” of the “communication verb” and is coreferential with the E conveying the reported segment (Banfield, 1982:43). She summarises this analysis as the “Anaphoric E principle”:

(5.52) *Anaphoric E principle:*

Certain anaphoric NP objects of linguistic communication verbs (such as *this*, *the following statement*, *this song* etc.) may be coreferential with a following [or] preceding E or sequence of Es. (Banfield, 1982:52)

According to *the anaphoric E principle*, the relation between the segments involved in a direct speech construction is non-syntactic. The reporting segment and the reported segment are linked to each other only on a textual level, by means of pronominal reference. From a syntactic point of view, the relation between the segments of a direct speech construction is consequently not different from any other discourse relation between unattached ForceP-structures.

*The anaphoric E principle* explains the basic syntax of direct speech constructions. However, an analysis of direct speech is incomplete without an explanation of the characteristic shift in perspective. Consider example (5.53) below, which is a slight modification of (5.41):

(5.53) **Hon<sub>i</sub>** sa till **mig<sub>j</sub>**; **Jag<sub>i</sub>** vill hem. **Min<sub>i</sub>** mat är vedervärdig.  
*she said to me I want home my food is foul*

Sen började **hon<sub>i</sub>** gråta inför **mig<sub>j</sub>**.  
*then began she cry before me*

‘She said: I want to go home. My food is foul. Then she began to cry before me.’

There are in total six instances of the personal pronouns *hon* ‘she’, *mig* ‘me’, *jag* ‘I’ and *min* ‘my’ in (5.53). The pronouns *jag* and *min* are coreferent with both instances of *hon* and refer to the speaker of the reported segment. The pronoun *mig*, on the other hand, refers to the person that utters the whole sequence. In other words, there is a shift of perspective after the first *mig*, and a shift back after *vedervärdig*.

Banfield describes this shift in terms of a principle, which she terms “shift to a new TEXT”. This principle is based on a generalisation that resembles one of the main points of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, namely that a ForceP can contain only one origo (see chapter 3).

Deixis plays a central role in Banfield’s analysis of direct speech and she formulates two principles governing the interpretation of deictic elements within an E-structure. Firstly, she states that there can be only one referent of *I* (the speaker) within one E:

(5.54) *1 E/1 I:*

For every expression (E), there is a unique referent of I (the SPEAKER), to whom all expressive elements are attributed, and a unique referent of you (the ADDRESSEE/HEARER). (Banfield, 1982:57)

Banfield's claim about the reference of the first person pronoun is highly relevant for the analysis proposed in this dissertation.<sup>52</sup>

The second principle that she proposes concerns time and the interpretation of tense:

(5.55) *1 E/1 PRESENT:*

For every expression (E), there is a unique referent of the present tense, which is cotemporal with NOW. (Banfield, 1982:58)

Banfield combines the two above mentioned principles into one single principle: "1 E/1 SPEAKER & PRESENT". Together, she argues, "they account for the assignment of point of view to the E's single speaker and moment of utterance" (ibid).

Having presented the principles concerning deictic interpretation within a single E-structure, Banfield turns to the assignment of point of view in what she calls TEXTS. A TEXT in this sense is defined as "a sequence of one or more appropriately related E's" (ibid:59). Banfield argues that there are two requirements on an "appropriate" relation between two Es. The first requirement is formulated in the following principle: "*Concordance of person: 1 TEXT/ 1 SPEAKER*" (ibid). She shows that this is a necessary condition for a TEXT, by presenting the example in (5.56).

(5.56) \* I<sub>i</sub> am in my<sub>i</sub> mother's room. It's I<sub>k</sub> who live there now.

<sup>52</sup> The reference of second person pronouns is normally consistent within one ForceP-structure. However, it is clear that the reference is not fixed in syntax. This can be concluded from examples such as (i).

- (i) Jag vet att du<sub>i</sub> inte åt upp chokladen  
*I know that you.NOM not ate up chocolate.DEF*

eftersom jag såg dig<sub>j</sub> göra det.  
*because I saw you.ACC do it*

'I know that you<sub>i</sub> didn't eat the chocolate since I saw you<sub>j</sub> doing it.'

It follows from basic pragmatic principles that *du* ('you.NOM') and *dig* ('you.ACC') are not coreferential.

(5.56) shows that the reference of the first person pronoun cannot shift between two Es (i.e. highest ForceP-structures) if they are to form an acceptable TEXT.

The second condition for an “appropriate” relation between two Es, Banfield argues, is the concordance of tense. She formulates this requirement in the following principle:

(5.57) *Concordance of tense:*

1 TEXT/1 PRESENT. Throughout a TEXT, every instance of PRESENT is cotemporal with the speech act and every instance of PAST anterior to PRESENT. (Banfield, 1982:60)

As defined by Banfield, a TEXT is a sequence of one or more Es that concord with respect to time and reference of the first person. By and large, this is an adequate description of a regular textual relation between two Es (or ForcePs) in discourse. Crucially, however, it is not applicable to direct speech constructions. What characterises direct speech is a breach of the continuity in perspective. On Banfield’s analysis, this is accounted for in terms of a “shift to a new TEXT”:<sup>53</sup>

(5.58) *Shift to a new TEXT:*

SPEAKER and PRESENT may change in referent in a sequence of [...] Es when the new E is coreferential with a demonstrative in the [...] complement of a communication verb. The new SPEAKER is coreferential with the subject of the communication verb; the new ADDRESSEE/HEARER, with its indirect object. (ibid:61)

To summarise, Banfield analyses direct speech in terms of two interacting principles. According to *the anaphoric E principle*, the reporting segment contains a “proform complement” that is “coreferential with a following [or] preceding E or sequence of Es” (ibid:52). This means that the reported segment is not a constituent of the reporting segment. The shift in perspective is explained as a “shift to a new TEXT”, which can occur only in cases where an E is coreferential with the complement of a SAY-verb. This leads Banfield to the following conclusion: “Direct speech is thus the only relationship that the grammar defines between two TEXTS. The principle that achieves this, Shift to a new Text

<sup>53</sup> Banfield’s view on the nature of the complement is not completely clear. With respect to this issue, the definition of a “Shift to a New TEXT” contradicts the “Anaphoric E principle”. As Banfield presents the concept of a “Shift to a New TEXT”, she refers to the complement as a “demonstrative”. Clearly, this is not consistent with the “Anaphoric E principle”, which states that the complement is an “anaphoric NP”. In sections 5.3.3 and 5.4, I show that both demonstratives and anaphora are possible complements. Crucially, however, I argue that these two kinds of pronominal elements give rise to two different readings.

[...], specifies the only possible way that the reference of the first person pronoun may change” (ibid:61).

The general outline of Banfield’s proposal is appealing. Her analysis offers a satisfactory account of the structural variation found in the reported segments of direct speech constructions. In the following sections, I show how the core ideas of her analysis can be adapted to the theoretical framework of this dissertation and give a unified account of direct speech in Swedish.

### 5.3.2 A syntactic analysis of direct speech in Swedish

Banfield’s analysis of direct speech revolves around the idea that the complement of the SAY-verb is a pronominal which refers to the reported segment as its antecedent. In this section, I apply this basic assumption to the theoretical framework of *The Highest Force Hypothesis* and propose a syntactic analysis for direct speech constructions in Swedish.

As was shown in section 5.1, both the reporting and the reported segment of a Swedish direct speech construction display precisely those properties that we associate with the highest available ForceP of a syntactic structure: The reporting segment has the typical properties of a main clause and the reported segment can have, principally, any form except that of a subordinate clause. Furthermore, both segments have illocutionary force and independent origos. The only conclusion that is consistent with these facts is that neither one of the segments involved in a direct speech construction is a syntactic constituent of the other. Drawing on Banfield (1982), I thus argue that Swedish direct speech constructions have the basic structure illustrated in (5.59).

- (5.59) Gusten sa Ø<sub>i</sub>: [ jag ser inte älgen]<sub>i</sub>.  
*Gusten said I see not elk.DEF*  
 ‘Gusten said: I don’t see the elk.’

According to the proposed analysis in (5.59), the reporting segment and the reported speech act are not linked syntactically. The complement of the SAY-verb is an optionally realised pronominal element, coindexed with the reported speech act. This pronominal establishes a textual relation between the segments, but crucially, not a syntactic connection (syntactic as defined in terms of constituenthood).

The approach illustrated in (5.59) has a considerable advantage over analyses that assume a syntactic link between the reporting segment and the reported segment. It accounts for the large number of different structural configurations that may appear in the reported segment. Since there is no syntactic link between the segments of a direct speech

construction, the ForceP(s) that convey(s) the reported speech act(s) is/are not subject to the structural restrictions that apply to complements. Consequently, any structural configuration that can convey an independent speech act can occur in the reported segment of a direct speech construction. Importantly, this includes sequences of two or more ForcePs, i.e. texts.<sup>54</sup> It is clear that pronouns can refer to several propositions, conveyed in a sequence of syntactically unattached ForcePs. For example, the anaphor *det* ‘it/that’ can refer to a whole story. Consequently, reported segments consisting of entire texts do not pose any problem to the analysis. Furthermore, the absence of a syntactic link between the segments explains the only structural restriction that actually does apply to a reported speech act. The reported segment of a direct speech construction cannot consist of a subordinate clause (see section 5.1.3). This follows from the fact that a subordinate clause, by definition, must be anchored in a higher ForceP of the complex clausal structure. In the case of direct speech, a reported segment consisting of a subordinate clause is consequently ruled out since there is no superordinate ForceP to which it can attach.

Thus far, my analysis has followed the outline of Banfield’s (1982) proposal. However, our analyses differ concerning whether or not the linear order between the segments influences the analysis. On Banfield’s account, the reporting segment is analysed as an E only if it precedes the reported segment. In all other positions, the reporting segment is considered to be parenthetical and analysed as an S, rather than an E (ibid:45).

As opposed to Banfield, I argue that all instances of direct speech can be given a unified account, irrespective of the linear order in which the segments appear. I base this on Kaltenböck (2007) and Peterson (1999) who argue that parentheticals, including reporting segments, are in fact characterised by the absence of a syntactic link to their hosts. Kaltenböck describes the relation between a parenthetical and its host in the following way:

Parenthetical clauses are /.../ not only syntactically non-dependent on their host, but also syntactically not attached or integrated (i.e., do not form a syntactic unit with the host); they are merely adjacent to the host, i.e., they intersect with the host structure purely on the linear axis and are not linked by any syntactic nodes (Kaltenböck, 2007:35).

According to Kaltenböck, the reporting clause is unattached to the reported speech act, irrespective of what linear position it appears in. Consequently, the relative position of the reporting segment cannot be assumed to reflect any syntactic differences.

The linear position of the reporting segment determines the order in which the segments of a direct speech construction appear on the linear axis. Consider (5.60) and (5.61):

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<sup>54</sup> The notion text here refers to a sequence of at least two syntactically unattached ForcePs.

(5.60) Jan sa Ø, jag ska koka kaffe snart.  
*Jan said I shall cook coffee soon*  
 ‘Jan said, I will make coffee soon.’

(5.61) Jag ska, Ø sa han, koka kaffe snart.  
*I shall said he cook coffee soon*  
 ‘I will, he said, make coffee soon.’

In cases where the reporting segment precedes the reported segment, the complement of the verb must be situated in the VP, since the only other possible position, Spec-ForceP, is occupied by the subject or some other element. If the reporting segment appears within or after the reported segment, on the other hand, the most reasonable assumption is that the Ø-complement is located in Spec-ForceP. The two possibilities are illustrated in (5.62), where A represents the reporting segment and B represents the reported segment.

(5.62) I) The reporting clause precedes the reported segment: A → B.

II) The reporting segment appears within or after the reported segment: B → A.

In this section, I have argued that the reporting segment and the reported segment of a direct speech construction are not linked syntactically. This analysis offers a unified account of direct speech in Swedish. However, the analysis that I have proposed so far does not fully explain the shift in perspective that is characteristic of direct speech constructions. In the next section, I argue that this shift is brought about by the SAY-verb taking a demonstrative as its complement.

### 5.3.3 Demonstrating a speech act – Shifting to a new origo

In the previous subsection, I claimed that the segments involved in a direct speech construction are syntactically independent, related to each other only on a textual level. From a syntactic point of view, the relation between the reporting segment and the reported segment is not different from that of typical texts where a pronominal complement in one clause refers to the contents of following or preceding clauses. However, it is clear that the relation between the segments of a direct speech construction does not follow the pattern of a typical text. Direct speech constructions involve a shift in perspective which does not occur in other texts. From a descriptive point of view, this shift means that the origo of the reported segment is not in sequence with the origo of the



reporting segment. (Recall the idea that origos being in sequence means that the value of I (the speaker) is the same). In this section, I argue that the question of whether or not a shift to a new origo takes place depends on whether the complement of the SAY-verb is a demonstrative or an anaphoric pronoun.

An anaphor, such as *det* ‘it/that’ can be defined as a pronoun that takes a proposition in the preceding discourse as its antecedent.<sup>55</sup> Relevant to our purposes is the idea that the antecedent of such a pronoun, i.e. the entity or entities to which it refers, may be one or more propositions. All clauses carry propositions, but, as pointed out in chapter 2, the syntactic realisation of a proposition does not involve the CP-domain. Consequently, the illocutionary force and origo of a preceding clause is not included in the antecedent of an anaphor. This means that a shift to a new origo cannot take place if the complement of the SAY-verb is an anaphor. Consider (5.63):

- (5.63) Jag<sub>i</sub> får inte komma på festen. Det sa [ min<sub>i</sub> bror]<sub>j/\*i</sub>.  
*I may not come on party.DEF it said my brother*  
 ‘I can’t come to the party. That’s what my brother said.’

As the indexation in (5.63) indicates, *jag* ‘I’ cannot be coreferential with *min bror* ‘my brother’, but with *min* ‘my’. Putting it differently, *min bror*, ‘my brother’, cannot have uttered *Jag får inte komma på festen*. *Jag*, ‘I’, refers to the person that utters the whole sequence. This allows us to conclude that no shift to a new origo has taken place. Instead the origos of the two clauses are in sequence. Crucially, the anaphoric pronoun *det* ‘it’ does not refer to the preceding ForceP structure, but to the proposition conveyed in the first clause. In the case of (5.63), *det* corresponds to the proposition conveyed by a corresponding subordinate clause *att jag inte får komma på festen*.

To sum up: neither the illocutionary force nor the origo of the preceding clause is part of the antecedent, and a shift to a new origo cannot take place if the SAY-verb takes an anaphor as its complement. To put this in other words: when a pronoun, such as *det* is used to refer to a proposition, no shift of perspective can take place. This is not discussed in Banfield (1982), and her *anaphoric E principle* cannot, in a satisfactory way, explain the shift in perspective that characterizes direct speech.

I propose an analysis where direct speech is viewed as a linguistic device which allows the speaker to demonstrate speech acts. This, I argue, requires two things: a SAY-verb and a demonstrative complement. The demonstrative element is extremely important, as it is

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<sup>55</sup> Apart from the fact that cataphoric pronouns refer forwards in discourse, the same line of reasoning applies to both anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns.

what makes it possible for the speaker to point at, i.e. demonstrate, a speech act, rather than refer to a proposition.

To understand how demonstrative complements lead to a shift to a new origo, we can set out from demonstrations of non-linguistic actions or events. In Swedish, *så här* ‘like this’ is often used in such demonstrations. Consider (5.64):

- (5.64) Han brukade göra så här<sub>i</sub>: [talaren gör dansrörelser]<sub>i</sub>  
*he used.to do like this* [the speaker makes dancing movements]  
 ‘He used to do this: [the speaker makes dancing movements].’

Example (5.64) shows that *så här* ‘like this’ can be used as a demonstrative to point to an extralinguistic event or entity. Crucially, the event that the speaker demonstrates, or rather re-enacts, is set in another time and place than the utterance of the preceding clause. Also, the speaker might imitate actions made by another person. In effect, this means that (5.64) involves a shift to a new origo, albeit non-linguistic.

As a demonstrative, *så här* ‘like this’ can also be used as the complement of a SAY-verb. The speaker then demonstrates one or more speech acts with which the demonstrative element is coindexed. A reported speech construction where the complement of the SAY-verb is overtly realised as *så här* ‘like this’ involves a shift to a new origo. Consider (5.65):

- (5.65) Han<sub>i</sub> sa så här: Jag<sub>i</sub> får inte komma på festen.  
*he said like this I may not come on party.DEF*  
 ≈ ‘He said this: I’m not allowed to come to the party.’

(5.65) illustrates the principle underlying the shift to a new origo that characterises direct speech. The SAY-verb takes a demonstrative complement, in (5.65), overtly realised as *så här* ‘like this’. It does not refer to a proposition. Instead, it allows the speaker to point to a ForceP – a speech act – in discourse, and by pointing to this ForceP, the speaker also points to the origo of this particular ForceP. In the reported segment the speaker re-enacts or replays the speech act that he or she pointed to, and with it the origo of this speech act.

It is important to note that I do not assume that all direct speech constructions contain a phonologically null correspondent to *så här* ‘like this’. The pronominal *så här* ‘like this’ is only one of several possible realisations of demonstrative complements. When *så här* is used to demonstrate something in the physical world, the “direction” in which it points is not fixed, but determined largely by the speaker’s gestures. When used to demonstrate a speech act, however, *så här* always points forward in the linguistic discourse. Consequently, the complement of the SAY-verb can normally only be realised as *så här* in cases where the reporting segment precedes the reported speech act(s). If the reporting

segment is preceded by the reported speech act(s), the demonstrative is possible to realise overtly as *så* 'so'. Consider (5.66), where the speaker demonstrates a speech act in the preceding discourse:

- (5.66) Jag får inte komma på festen. Så sa han.  
*I may not come on party.DEF so said he*  
 ≈ 'I'm not allowed to come to the party. That's what he said.'

Thus far, I have argued that a shift to a new origo can take place only if the SAY-verb takes a demonstrative as its complement. If the complement is an anaphoric pronoun, it takes one or more propositions as its antecedent. The syntactic realisation of a proposition does not include the CP, which carries the origo and illocutionary force of a ForceP structure, and consequently, a shift to a new origo does not take place in cases where the SAY-verb takes an anaphoric pronoun as its complement. To illustrate the two possibilities, I have used *det* 'it' as an example of an overt referential (anaphoric) pronoun and *så här* 'like this' and *så* 'so' as examples of overtly realised demonstratives.

However, it is necessary to point out that the idea of a pure demonstrative without reference is only relevant as an idealised concept (see Bühler, 1934:142). It is reasonable to assume that there are no pronouns that are completely non-referential; there is always some amount of lexical content. Conversely, pronouns that are typically used to refer can, in many cases, also be used indexically, that is to point rather than refer. A more viable approach to the concepts of reference and indexicality is therefore to think of them as values on a scale. On such a scale, pure deixis and pure referentiality would be located at the far ends but, crucially, they would not correspond to any actual lexical items. Between these conceptual extremes, a given pronominal element could be found in different positions. What positions a particular lexical item could have on the scale would be likely to vary, not only with the linguistic context in which it appears, but also with the mental lexicons of different speaker. Although there are clear tendencies (in its canonical, referential use *det* 'it' is quite close to the referential end-point, whereas *så här* 'like this' is close to the deictic end-point), this means that an overtly realised complement alone does not necessarily tell us whether or not a given construction involves a shift to a new origo. Instead, this must be determined on the basis of how the construction in question is interpreted in a particular situation. On a reading that involves a shift to a new origo, the complement is a demonstrative. On a reading that does not involve a shift to a new origo, the complement is (or is interpreted as) an anaphoric or cataphoric pronoun. Consider (5.67) and (5.68):

(5.67) Idag, Ø sa han<sub>i</sub>, ska jag<sub>j</sub> få pannkakor med sylt.  
*today said he shall I get pancakes with jam*  
 ‘Today, he said, I am going to get pancakes with jam.’

(5.68) Idag, det sa han<sub>i</sub>, ska jag<sub>j</sub> få pannkakor med sylt.  
*today it said he shall I get pancakes with jam*  
 ≈‘Today, that he said, I am going to get pancakes with jam.’

Note that *han* ‘he’ and *jag* ‘I’ are coindexed in (5.67), but not in (5.68), where *jag* ‘I’ refers to the speaker. This indicates that a shift to a new origo has taken place in (5.67) but not in (5.68). This allows us to conclude that the verb of the reporting clause in (5.67) takes a demonstrative as its complement. In (5.68), on the other hand, the complement of the reporting verb is an overt anaphor, *det* ‘it’. Unlike the demonstrative, this pronoun does not point to the preceding ForceP. It takes the propositional content of the preceding ForceP-structure (i.e. the structure below FinP) as its antecedent.<sup>56</sup> As indicated by the indexation, this means that a shift to a new origo cannot take place.

This brings us to the topic of the next section: unshifted reports.

## 5.4 Referential complements – the case of unshifted reports

This section is concerned with a third kind of reported speech construction which I refer to as “unshifted reports”. These constructions display the same basic structure as direct speech constructions but do not involve a shift to a new origo. Consider (5.69), which is an example used by Teleman & al. (1999, volume 4:853), to which I have added indexation, square brackets and the sentence adverbial *faktiskt* ‘actually’:<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> There is reason to believe that a reporting segment occurring within the reported segment is interpreted as following the reported segment.

<sup>57</sup> Teleman & al. (1999) refer to unshifted reports as “report sentences” (Sw. referatmeningar).

- (5.69) Jag<sub>i/j</sub> simmade faktiskt femti meter på en väldigt bra tid,  
*I swam actually fifty meters on a very good time*
- sa [ min<sub>i</sub> gympalärare ],  
*said my gym teacher*

‘I actually swam fifty meters in a great time, my gym teacher said.’

As indicated by the indexation, the sentence in (5.69) has two possible readings. On the *jag*-reading, where the pronoun *jag* ‘I’ is identical with with *min gympalärare* ‘my gym teacher’, the sentence is a canonical example of a direct speech construction which can be explained according to the analysis presented in section 5.3; there is a shift to a new origo in the reported segment, which means that it is a direct quote. However, *jag* ‘I’ may also refer to the speaker, i.e. the person who utters the whole sentence. On this reading, (5.69) is an example of an unshifted report, as it, in that case, does not involve a shift to a new origo. In that case, the identity of *jag* and *min* is the same in the reporting and reported segments.

Crucially, the reported segment of an unshifted report is not a subordinate clause. Irrespective of whether the sentence in (5.69) is interpreted as having a shifted reading or not, the reported segment is a main clause. This is clear, firstly, because the finite verb has moved from V° to Force° and, secondly, because the clause can be used independently to convey a perfectly grammatical statement. Since the reporting segment and the reported segment are independent ForcePs, irrespective of whether the sentence is interpreted as a direct speech construction or an unshifted report, we can conclude that the two possible readings cannot be reflections of syntactic differences related to hierarchy – it is a question of the nature of the pronominal complement of *sa* ‘said’.

On my analysis, unshifted reports have the same basic syntax as direct speech constructions. Consequently, the segments of an unshifted report are syntactically independent and the SAY-verb takes an optionally realisable pronominal element as its complement. As we shall see, the difference in reading follows from differences concerning the properties of the pronominal complement. Consider (5.70):

(5.70) Jag<sub>i/j</sub> simmade faktiskt femti meter på en väldigt bra tid,  
*I swam actually fifty meters on a very good time*

Ø sa [min<sub>i</sub> gympalärare]<sub>j</sub>,  
*said my gym teacher*

‘I actually swam fifty meters in a great time, my gym teacher said.’

If the Ø pronoun in (5.70) is a demonstrative, there is a shift in (5.70), meaning that *jag* is coreferent with *min gympalärare*. If the Ø pronoun is an anaphoric pronoun there is no shift, and *jag* is not coreferent with *min gympalärare*, but with *min* ‘my’.

As we have seen, a construction where the pronominal complement of the SAY-verb is Ø can be interpreted either as a direct speech construction or an unshifted report. If the complement is an overt anaphor, however, only the unshifted reading is available. Consider (5.71):

(5.71) Jag<sub>i/\*j</sub> simmade faktiskt femti meter på en väldigt bra tid,  
*I swam actually fifty meters on a very good time*

det sa [min<sub>i</sub> gympalärare]<sub>j</sub>,  
*it said my gym teacher*

‘I actually swam fifty meters in a great time, that’s what my gym teacher said.’

My conclusion is that unshifted reports and direct speech constructions share the same basic syntax. They are distinguished only by the properties of their complements. In the case of direct speech, the complement is a demonstrative which points to ForceP structures in discourse. In the case of unshifted reports, the complement is a referential pronoun that takes one or more propositions as its antecedent. Since the syntactic realisation of a proposition does not include the CP-domain, a shift to a new origo cannot take place in cases where the complement of the SAY-verb is a referential pronoun. In an unshifted report the origos of the reporting segment and the reported segment are consequently in sequence.



## 6 Exclamatives and exclamations

The two previous chapters were concerned with “embedded V2”- and direct speech-constructions. At a first glance, these constructions appear to involve subordinate clauses with V2 word order, a configuration that would contradict the principles of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*. In this chapter, I turn to exclamatives, a less discussed group of constructions that also seem to pose a problem for *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, but, crucially, from the opposite direction. Whereas “embedded V2”- and direct speech-constructions initially seem to contain embedded main clause-structures, exclamatives instead consist of canonical subordinate clauses that appear to be independent as they are grammatical without overt matrices.

The chapter focuses on three kinds of clauses: *wh*-exclamatives, exemplified in (6.1), *som*-exclamatives, exemplified in (6.2), and *att*-exclamatives, exemplified in (6.3).<sup>58</sup>

(6.1) Vilken stor katt du (har) köpt!  
*which big cat you (have) bought*  
‘What a big cat you have bought!’

(6.2) Som ni (har) grisat ner!  
SOM you (have) made.a.mess PL  
‘What a mess you’ve made!’

(6.3) Att du inte (har) köpt bilen!  
*that you not (have) bought car.DEF*  
‘Oh, why haven’t you bought the car!’

Examples (6.1)–(6.3) represent the three basic kinds of exclamatives in Swedish. The aim of the present chapter is to account for their syntactic and discourse semantic status, based on the principles of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*.

Before starting the discussion, it is necessary to specify the terminology used in this chapter. The term *exclamative* will be used to refer to the construction types illustrated in (6.1)–(6.3). In the course of this chapter, I will argue that there is more structure than we see, and that the clauses in (6.1)–(6.3) are in fact embedded under non-clausal matrices, which optionally may be realised as interjections. An *exclamation*, on the other hand, is a

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<sup>58</sup> The word *som*, used as in (6.2), is generally considered a complementiser (see eg. Teleman & al. volume 4:759). In this chapter, I will simply gloss it as SOM.



speech act, which could be conveyed by an exclamative, which is the typical case, but also by other constructions or sentence types.

The chapter outline is as follows: In section 6.1, I give a descriptive account of the three basic kinds of Swedish exclamatives, exemplified in (6.1)–(6.3). This section also includes preliminary analyses, which are elaborated later in the chapter. In section 6.2, Icelandic and Danish data are presented, which serve as a basis of comparison in the subsequent discussion of Swedish exclamatives. Section 6.3 provides a detailed presentation and a critical discussion of two previous analyses, according to which Swedish exclamatives are main clauses. In section 6.4, the notion of presupposition is defined and discussed in more detail. It is shown that the propositional content is presupposed in all three types of exclamatives. In 6.5, I return to the core question of whether Swedish exclamatives are main clauses or subordinate clauses. I argue that they are subordinate – despite the apparent absence of matrices. I also elaborate my preliminary analyses from section 6.1, discussing the details of the subordination solution that I propose. Next, in section 6.6, I relate the analysis of Swedish exclamatives to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*. Finally, the main points of the chapter are summarised in section 6.7.

## 6.1 Exclamatives in Swedish – three basic types

This section provides a general description of the three basic categories of exclamatives in Swedish, exemplified in (6.1)–(6.3) above. The account is based mainly on the works of Delsing (2010), Teleman & al. (1999), and Rosengren (1992).

The outline is as follows: In 6.1.1, the basic meaning components and syntactic properties, common to all three categories of exclamatives are described. This is followed by a detailed presentation of *wh*-, *som*- and *att*-exclamatives respectively, in section 6.1.2. In 6.1.3, I discuss the possibilities of negating, modalizing and embedding Swedish exclamatives.

### 6.1.1 Form and meaning of Swedish exclamatives

Two basic facts will serve as a point of departure for our investigation of Swedish exclamatives. Firstly, from the point of view of mere surface properties, Swedish exclamatives look like canonical subordinate clauses. Secondly, they are grammatical and convey speech acts without the presence of an overtly realized matrix. Consider again (6.1)–(6.3), represented below as (6.4)–(6.6):

- (6.4) Vilken stor katt du (har) köpt!  
*Which big cat you (have) bought*  
 ‘What a big cat you have bought!’
- (6.5) Som ni (har) grisat ner!  
 SOM you (have) made.a.mess PL  
 ‘What a mess you’ve made!’
- (6.6) Att du inte (har) köpt bilen!  
*that you not (have) bought car.DEF*  
 ‘Oh, why haven’t you buy the car!’

First of all, let us consider the properties commonly associated with subordinate clauses in Swedish. The list below is based on Platzack (1987:81–84):

- A. Subordinate clauses are introduced by a subordinating element – a complementiser, a pronoun or an adverb,
- B. Finite instances of the auxiliary *ha* ‘have’ may be omitted,
- C. The subject is the first constituent after the subordinating element,
- D. If present, sentence adverbials precede the finite verb.

In traditional grammar, the properties listed above constitute typical but not necessary criteria for classifying a clause as subordinate. In a textbook, such as Josefsson (2009:165), the fulfillment of only one of these criteria is considered sufficient to classify a clause as subordinate.

It should be noted that the criteria in A–D are not completely parallel with respect to their applicability. Criteria A and C can always be used as tests for determining whether a particular clause is a subordinate clause or not. Criterion A is straightforwardly binary; a clause either does or does not contain a subordinating element, meaning that A is applicable to any clause.<sup>59</sup> With the exception of imperative clauses, which cannot contain syntactic subjects (see chapter 2), criterion C is applicable to most clauses in Swedish.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> It is important to keep in mind that complementisers may lack phonological representation. Consequently, criterion A only offers a very preliminary indication of a clause’s hierarchical status.

<sup>60</sup> Criterion C is not applicable to all *som*-clauses. In a relative *som*-clause, the subject is left out if it is coreferential with the antecedent. Concerning so-called V1-declaratives, it should be kept in mind that such clauses always contain a subject, although it may lack phonological representation (see Mörnsjö, 2002:171).

Criterion B requires that the clause contains (or can contain) the auxiliary *ha* 'have' and D, that it contains (or can contain) a sentence adverbial. Consequently, these criteria cannot always be applied as tests to determine whether a particular clause is subordinate or not.

A categorisation based on the criteria in A–D is overly simplified and unsatisfactory, not least due to the differences in applicability, but it can nevertheless serve as a preliminary indication as to whether a particular clause is a main clause or a subordinate clause. If we apply the criteria in A–D to the exclamatives in (6.4)–(6.6), we find that the *wh*-exclamative in (6.4) fulfils criteria A, B and C, and that the *som*-exclamative in (6.5) meets criteria A and B, whereas the *att*-exclamative in (6.6) fulfils all four criteria.

As mentioned, criteria B and D are not always applicable since they are based on the presence of optional constituents or the possibility of adding such elements. It should, however, be pointed out that *wh*- and *som*-exclamatives can never be tested according to criteria D; the insertion of a negating or modalizing sentence adverbial into these kinds of exclamatives always renders the sentence unacceptable, irrespective of whether it is placed before or after the finite verb. These restrictions are presumably due to semantic/pragmatic factors, rather than any strictly syntactic property of the clauses. This is discussed in detail later, in section 6.1.2.4.

If we now turn to the basic meanings conveyed by exclamatives, we may first note the rather obvious fact that exclamatives are used for making exclamations. Broadly speaking, this means that they express the speaker's surprise about and/or emotional reaction to, a particular state of affairs, conveyed by the clause.

In Swedish, exclamatives can be used to express either a speaker's surprise about the high degree of a variable *x* or that he or she finds a particular state of affairs remarkable (but not necessarily surprising): in (6.4) the size of the cat in question, in (6.5) the degree of messiness, and in (6.6) the fact that the listener has not bought a specific car. Thus, the common semantic/pragmatic denominator for all three basic kinds of Swedish exclamatives can be formulated as a 'reaction to a state of affairs'. However, there seems to be an important difference between *wh*- and *som*-exclamatives on the one hand, and *att*-exclamatives on the other. The former seems to practically always express surprise, whereas the latter usually expresses other kinds of attitudes.

Let us begin by looking at *wh*- and *som*-exclamatives. Although they are typically expressions of surprise, this does not give us an exhaustive description of what they convey; usually, an additional meaning component is present too. Let us call this component 'qualitative assessment'. Consider (6.7) and (6.8):

(6.7) Vad långhårig du har blivit!  
*what longhaired you have become*  
 ‘My, your hair has really grown long!’

(6.8) Som du slåss!  
*SOM you fight*  
 ‘My, the way you fight!’

Both the *wh*-exclamative in (6.7) and the *som*-exclamative in (6.8) operate on an implicit scale. The speaker expresses his or her surprise about the high value of a variable *x* in relation to this scale. In the case of the *wh*-clause in (6.7), the speaker is surprised about the length of the interlocutor’s hair and in (6.8) he or she finds the degree (or possibly the manner) to which the listener fights impressive, bad or surprising.

The speaker’s surprise is typically associated with a qualitative assessment of the state of affairs denoted in an exclamative clause. The speaker may find the quality good or poor, pleasing or displeasing. In isolation, the exclamative clauses themselves, do not always give sufficient information to decide the more exact nature of the speaker’s reaction. In order to determine, for instance, whether the speaker finds the particular state of affairs denoted by the clause favourable or not, contextual factors must be taken into consideration (see also Teleman & al, 1999, volume 4:765–766). In order to understand the full meaning of (6.7), for example, ‘your hair has (really) grown long’, we have to know about the speech situation in which this particular exclamative is uttered, since the attitude to long hair differs with speakers and situations.

The *wh*-exclamative in (6.7) and the *som*-exclamative in (6.8) both convey a certain amount of surprise on behalf of the speaker. *Att*-exclamatives, on the other hand, are different, and do not typically express surprise. Consider (6.9):

(6.9) Att du aldrig kan städa ditt rum!  
*that you never can clean your room*  
 ‘Why can’t you ever clean your room!’

The example in (6.9) takes as its point of departure a particular state of affairs, namely the addressee’s inability to clean his or her room. A speaker uttering this *att*-exclamative, treats this state of affairs as known, or immediately inferable, to both himself/herself and the hearer. Based on the assumption that cleaning one’s room is a positive thing, it is natural to infer that that the speaker in (6.9) expresses his or her discontentment with the lack of cleaning, expressed in the *att*-clause.

Although an *att*-exclamative, as in (6.9), does not necessarily convey a surprise reading, there are contexts where such clauses do express the speaker's surprise about the state of affairs denoted in the clause. Consider (6.10):

(6.10) Speaker A: Greger säger att grisar är lika mycket värda som människor.  
*Greger says that pigs are as much worth as humans*  
 'Greger says that pigs are just as valuable as people.'

Speaker B: Att man ens kan tänka en sådan tanke!  
*att one even can think a such thought*  
 'I can't believe anyone can even think such a thought!'

In the case of (6.10), it is reasonable to regard the *att*-exclamative in B as an expression of surprise. The speaker is surprised about a state of affairs that he or she has only just become aware of.<sup>61</sup> A conclusion is that *att*-clauses sometimes convey a surprise reaction. However, the meaning component that is always present in all three kinds of Swedish exclamatives is 'qualitative assessment'.

Let us now turn to the status of exclamatives in a communicative exchange. Exclamatives express exclamations and, as pointed out by Rosengren (1992:270), exclamations are typically initiative speech acts. In other words, exclamatives cannot serve as answers. Consider (6.11)–(6.13):

(6.11) Question: Vad tycker du om vädret idag?  
*what think you about weather.DEF today*  
 'What do you think of the weather today?'

# Answer: Vilket underbart väder vi har fått!  
*which wonderful weather we have gotten*  
 'What lovely weather we have today!'

<sup>61</sup> It is worth noting that the *att*-exclamative in (6.10b), requires a preceding utterance such as that in (6.10a). This points towards another difference between *wh*- and *som*-exclamatives on the one hand, and *att*-exclamatives on the other, namely that the former kinds are significantly much better in 'out of the blue' contexts than the latter. It seems that *att*-exclamatives have to be reactions to states of affairs that are somehow given or salient in the context, whereas *wh*- and *som*-exclamatives can be used to draw the listeners attention to a state of affairs that is not necessarily mentioned or otherwise contextually salient. I thank Johan Brandtler for bringing this to my attention.

(6.12) Question: Hur var det på jobbet?  
*how was it on work.DEF*  
 ‘How was your day at work?’

# Answer: Som jag har jobbat!  
*SOM I have worked*  
 ≈ ‘Boy have I been working hard!’

(6.13) Question: Vad tycker du om katten?  
*what think you about cat.DEF*  
 ‘What do you think of the cat?’

# Answer: Att han är så stor!  
*that he is so big*  
 ≈ ‘boy, that is a big cat!’

The fact that exclamatives are not normally appropriate as answers to questions is not unexpected, considering the nature of the speech act exclamation. Exclamatives are immediate verbal reactions to things, states or courses of events that the speaker has only just become aware of. This explains the direct, deictic nature of exclamatives. There are, however, apparent exceptions, which are worth commenting on. Consider (6.14) and (6.15) below:

(6.14) Speaker A: Greger kom med rosor idag.  
*Greger came with roses today*  
 ‘Greger brought roses today’

Speaker A/Speaker B: Vilket charmtroll han är!  
*which charm-troll he is*  
 ‘What a bundle of charm he is!’

(6.15) Speaker A: Greger spöade tydligen upp en åldring igår.  
*Greger beat apparantly up a geriatric yesterday*  
 ‘Apparently, Greger beat up a geriatric yesterday.’

Speaker A/Speaker B: Att det ens kan finnas såna människor!  
*that it even can exist such humans*  
 ‘I can’t believe there are people like him!’

The exclamative in the second sentence (6.14), *Vilket charmtroll han är!* ‘What a bundle of charm he is!’ and (6.15) *Att det ens kan finnas sådana människor* ‘I can’t believe that there are people like him!’ are both in a way reactions to their respective preceding statements. In light of this, it could perhaps seem reasonable to consider them responsive. However, I maintain that they are not answers. A question/answer-exchange requires two speakers, but in (6.14) and (6.15) it is fully possible that both sentences A and B are uttered by the same person. We may conclude that the exclamatives in (6.14) and (6.15) are reactive, but not always responses. Furthermore, the question is to what extent the exclamative in (6.15) is in fact a response to the preceding utterance, as such. The verbal reaction ‘I can’t believe there are people like him’ is rather a follow up on the content of the preceding sentence ‘Greger beat an old man yesterday’.

As we have just concluded, exclamatives cannot serve as answers to questions. They can however constitute verbal reactions to situations. This is in fact the typical case; a speaker utters an exclamative as a reaction to a particular state of affairs. In other words, the exclamative is not so much a response to the preceding utterance, but a reaction to the state of affairs, to which the first utterance is related, and, in such cases the exclamative serves as a comment to a linguistically expressed state of affairs. In light of this, we may conclude that a speaker may react to a linguistically expressed stimulus just as to a non-linguistic state of affairs which he or she observes or comes to think about. For that reason it might be illustrative to compare the initial declaratives in (6.14) and (6.15) to any other, non-linguistic, stimuli, to which one might react. A speaker may just as well utter the exclamative in (6.14) in reaction to seeing Greger bring roses for someone. Reacting to a linguistically expressed state of affairs is, in principle, not different from reacting to an observed, non-linguistic state of affairs. The deictic nature of exclamatives will be important in the following.

### 6.1.2 Detailed descriptions and preliminary analyses

In this section, I present a more detailed account of the three basic kinds of Swedish exclamatives. I also present preliminary analyses of their respective internal structure. These analyses are elaborated in section 6.5.4.

## 6.1.2.1 Wh-exclamatives

Wh-exclamatives<sup>62</sup> may be introduced either by the *wh*-elements *vilken*, lit. ‘which’ and *vad*, lit. ‘what’ or by the so/such-elements *så*, lit. ‘so’, *så(da)n*, lit. ‘such’ or *sicken* ‘such’ (see Delsing, 2010:18 and 22). These elements have different distributions. For instance, Delsing describes the difference between *vilken* and *vad*: “*Vad* is adverbial whereas *vilken* is pronominal. *Vad* can be used with adverbs, adjectives and verb phrases (which is impossible with *vilken*), whereas *vilken* may be used with nouns (which is impossible with *vad*)” (Delsing, 2010:20). The difference is illustrated in (6.16)–(6.19) (the examples are from Delsing 2010:20–21).

(6.16) Vad /\*Vilken dum han är!  
*what / which stupid he is*

(6.17) Vad /\*Vilket du röker ofta!  
*what / which you smoke often*

(6.18) Vilken/ \*Vad idiot han är!  
*which / what idiot he is*

(6.19) Vilket /\*Vad monster du har skapat!  
*which / what monster you have created*

Based on Delsing (2010:21), I assume that *vilken* is located in a determiner position of a DP and that *vad* corresponds to an adverbial modifier in an AP. This gives us the structures illustrated in (6.20) and (6.21) (after Delsing (2010:21)).

(6.20) [<sub>DP</sub> Vilken [ idiot]] han är!  
*which idiot he is*

(6.21) [<sub>AP</sub> Vad dum] han är!  
*what stupid he is*

The structures represented in (6.20) and (6.21) illustrate a point that is highly relevant to the present study, namely that the *wh*- or *such*-element forms a constituent with the nominal or adjectival head. On the basis of this observation, we may preliminarily assume the following structure for *wh*-exclamatives:

<sup>62</sup> These clauses are standardly referred to as *wh*-exclamatives. This particular term is however not entirely satisfactory, since it may suggest that the *wh*-elements found in exclamatives are semantically parallel to those that introduce questions, and this does not seem to be the case. This will be discussed further in section 6.5.4.1. For the sake of simplicity, however, I will continue to use the term *wh*-exclamatives.



- (6.22) a.  $[\text{ForceP Spec-ForceP} [\text{DP Vilka idioter}]_i \text{Force}^\circ [\text{TP han} [\text{VP känner } e_i]]]!$   
               *which idiots he knows*  
               ≈ ‘Man, he knows some real idiots!’
- b.  $[\text{ForceP}^\flat \text{Spec-ForceP} [\text{AP Vad dum}]_i \text{Force}^\circ [\text{TP han} [\text{VP är } e_i]]]!$   
               *what stupid he is*  
               ≈ ‘Man, he’s stupid!’
- c.  $[\text{ForceP}^\flat \text{Spec-ForceP} [\text{AP Så snäll}]_i \text{Force}^\circ [\text{TP han} [\text{VP är } e_i]]]!$   
               *So kind he is*  
               ‘How kind he is!’

The status and features of  $\text{Force}^\circ$  are of relevance for the theoretical analysis, but they will be discussed later in section 6.5.4.

### 6.1.2.2 Som-exclamatives

Just as *wh*-exclamatives, *som*-exclamatives are scalar, meaning that a speaker who utters a *som*-exclamative typically expresses his or her surprise about the high value that a variable *x* has on an implicit scale. This is illustrated in (6.23).

- (6.23) Som pojken svettas!  
           SOM *boy.DEF sweats*  
           ‘My, does he sweat a lot!’

The speaker who utters the exclamative in (6.23) expresses that he or she is surprised about how much the boy in question sweats (or possibly the manner in which he sweats). In other words, the verb phrase *svettas* is modified with respect to degree (or on a more peripheral reading, manner).

As pointed out by Delsing (2010:26), *som*-exclamatives are restricted to modifying verb phrases. They cannot modify adverbials or adjective phrases. Consider the sentences in (6.24)–(6.25):

- (6.24) \*Som han svettas mycket!  
           SOM *he sweats much*  
           Intended meaning: ‘My, does he sweat a lot!’

- (6.25) \* Som han är svettig!  
 SOM *he is sweaty*  
 Intended meaning: ‘My, is he sweaty!’

(6.24) is a *som*-exclamative modifying an adverb phrase (*mycket*) and (6.25) is a *som*-exclamative which modifies an adjectival phrase. As indicated above, both are ungrammatical. However, as can be seen in (6.26) and (6.27) below, these restrictions do not apply to *wh*-exclamatives.

- (6.26) Vad han svettas mycket!  
*what he sweats much*  
 ‘My, does he sweat a lot!’

- (6.27) Vad han är svettig!  
*what he is sweaty*  
 ‘My, is he sweaty!’

As illustrated in (6.26) and (6.27), both adverb phrases and adjectival phrases may be modified by *wh*-exclamatives introduced by *vad* ‘what’. This will give us a clue as to the structure of *som*-exclamatives.

The surface structure of a *som*-exclamative is parallel to that of relative clauses and comparative clauses introduced by *som*. Consider the sentences in (6.28) and (6.29):

- (6.28) ( Han snusar lika mycket) som hon röker.  
*he takes.snuff like much SOM she smokes*  
 ‘(He takes snuff just as much) as she smokes.’

- (6.29) Som hon röker!  
 SOM *she smokes*  
 ‘My, does she smoke a lot!’

The sentence in (6.28) consists of two segments, a matrix, *Han snusar lika mycket*, and a comparative clause introduced by the complementiser *som*, *som hon röker*. Example (6.29) is a *som*-exclamative. As we can see, the exclamative clause looks just like the corresponding comparative clause in the preceding example. The obvious difference between the two kinds of clauses exemplified in (6.28) and (6.29) is that the comparative clause requires an overtly realised matrix, whereas the exclamative does not.

A property common to all *som*-clauses is that they, at least on a superficial analysis, seem to lack a constituent. Consider (6.30)–(6.33):

(6.30) Jag såg mannen som du träffade.  
*I saw man.DEF SOM you met*  
 ‘I saw the man that you met.’

(6.31) \* Du träffade.  
*you met*

(6.32) Som det blev!  
*SOM it became*  
 ‘Outrageous/fantastic etc., the way things finally turned out!’

(6.33) \* Det blev.  
*it became*

The relative clause in (6.30) is grammatical although it lacks an overt realisation of the object. However, it is clear that the object is otherwise part of the valency of the verb *träffa* ‘meet’. This can be concluded from the main clause in (6.31), which is ungrammatical due to the fact that it lacks an object. The *som*-exclamative in (6.32) is parallel to the relative clause; it is grammatical without an overt realisation of the predicative. As illustrated by (6.33), the predicative is an obligatory argument of the verb *bli* ‘become’ in a regular main clause. As we shall see, all three kinds of *som*-clauses and their “missing” constituents can be given a unified account within a minimalist framework.

Under certain conditions, Swedish *som*-clauses may contain overtly realised material in Spec-CP. This is, for instance, the case in indirect *wh*-questions like the one in (6.34), where Spec-CP is filled by the pronoun *vem* ‘who’.

(6.34) Karin undrade vem som inte kunde komma på festen.  
*Karin wondered who SOM not could come on party.DEF*  
 ‘Karin wondered who couldn’t come to the party.’

Most Swedish *som*-clauses do not, and indeed cannot, contain any overtly realised constituent in Spec-CP. This is, for instance, the case with relative clauses introduced by *som*. Following Platzack (2000), Stroh-Wollin (2002) and Brandtler (2012), I assume that such *som*-clauses contain an operator situated in Spec-CP (Spec-ForceP, in the framework of this dissertation). This operator binds an empty position further down in the structure (in the case of relative clauses, presumably in the VP). The operator is coindexed with the empty position and typically has the same reference as the noun phrase that the relative clause modifies. The proposed structure is illustrated in (6.35):

- (6.35) Mannen<sub>i</sub> [<sub>ForceP</sub> Op<sub>i</sub> Force° som [<sub>VP</sub> Ø<sub>i</sub> köpte hunden]]  
*man.DEF SOM bought dog.DEF*  
 ‘The man who bought the dog’

In the relative clause in (6.35), the operator in Spec-ForceP binds an empty position in Spec-VP, corresponding to the position where the “missing” subject is base merged. The operator is coindexed with the noun phrase that is modified by the relative clause.<sup>63</sup>

An operator analysis can be extended to comparative clauses introduced by *som*. Consider (6.36):

- (6.36) Han snusar lika ofta<sub>i</sub> [<sub>ForceP</sub> Op<sub>i</sub> Force° som [<sub>TP</sub> hon [<sub>VP</sub> röker Ø<sub>i</sub>]]].  
*he takes.snuff like often SOM she smokes*  
 ‘He takes snuff just as often as she smokes.’

As illustrated in (6.36), I assume that comparative *som*-clauses have the same internal structure as relative *som*-clauses. They contain an operator (Op) in Spec-ForceP, which binds an empty position in the VP and is coindexed with a constituent in the matrix, in (6.36), the time adverbial *ofta* ‘often’.

Returning to *som*-exclamatives, there are no theoretical or empirical reasons to exclude these clauses from the operator analysis presented above. On the contrary, an operator analysis offers a straightforward account of *som*-exclamatives. The internal structure of a *som*-exclamative seems to correspond directly to a “regular” *som*-clause. A consequence is that a unified account of all Swedish *som*-clauses is reached if the operator-analysis is applied to *som*-exclamatives. The differences in use and meaning between the three kinds

<sup>63</sup> On the basis of negated cleft constructions, Stroh-Wollin (2002) argues that the reference of the constituent to which the operator in a *som*-clause corresponds is contextually determined. Consider (i):

- (i) Det var inte Kalle som Lisa träffade.  
*it was not Kalle SOM Lisa met*  
 ‘It wasn’t Kalle who Lisa met.’

Stroh-Wollin reasons along the following lines: In the relative clause in (i), it is presupposed that Lisa met someone. However, as the matrix clause is negated, this “someone” cannot be the subject of the main clause. On the basis of examples like the one in (i), she consequently argues that the reference of the operator is determined on the basis of pragmatic/contextual factors. In this case, however, Stroh-Wollin seems to overlook the crucial fact that *inte Kalle* ‘not Kalle’ identifies a semantically restricted set. As far as indexation is concerned, there is no principled difference between meeting *Kalle* and meeting *inte Kalle*. Both identify a restricted set. For this reason, I maintain the generalisation that the operator of a relative *som*-clause is coindexed with the noun phrase that the relative clause modifies. As a consequence, I have to conclude that *som*-exclamatives differ from relative *som*-clauses in this respect, since the operator in a *som*-exclamative, for obvious reasons, cannot be coindexed with a constituent in the matrix clause. This is discussed further in section 6.5.4.2.

of *som*-clauses are not due to clause internal factors, but rather to clause external factors and to the properties of the operator. I return to the hierarchical status of *som*-exclamatives in section 6.5, where I argue that the characteristic properties of all three kinds of Swedish exclamatives are due to the fact that they are non-clausal ForceP structures that take overt subordinate clauses as their complements. But let us first look at how the reading of a *som*-exclamative depends on whether or not the verb is gradable.

Delsing (2010:26) states that “[*s*]om seems to demand a manner reading”. Although a manner reading is often available, I do not agree that *som*-exclamatives are always associated with such a reading. On the contrary, a degree reading is in many cases more salient and less marked than a manner reading. Consider (6.37) and (6.38). Example (6.37) is taken from Delsing (2010:26):

(6.37) Som du bor!  
 SOM you live  
 ‘Your flat is really big/small/central...’

(6.38) Som han svettas!  
 SOM he sweats  
 ‘My, does he sweat a lot!’

The clause in (6.37) clearly has a manner reading. Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that the operator in Spec-ForceP binds an empty position corresponding to a manner adverbial. The *som*-exclamative in (6.38) can only marginally be interpreted as having a manner reading. What it conveys is instead a degree reading. Hence, the operator in Spec-ForceP binds an empty position corresponding to an adverbial of degree. The interpretation of *som*-clauses that have a degree reading is much more restricted than that of clauses with a manner reading. They always express that the action denoted by the verb is carried out to a high degree.

The different readings of the exclamatives in (6.37) and (6.38) can be directly related to semantic restrictions on gradability. The verb *bo* ‘to live’ is not gradable. A person either does, or does not live at a certain place. In contrast, *svettas* ‘to sweat’ is a clear example of a gradable verb. One can sweat a little, pretty much or very much (and everything in between). This explains why a degree reading is available in (6.38) but not in (6.37). As mentioned above, the exclamative in (6.38) can marginally be associated with a manner reading too. Consequently, we may conclude that gradability does not completely block a manner reading. It should however be emphasized that the degree reading is significantly more salient than the manner reading in cases such as (6.38), where the verb is gradable. For this reason, I argue that the degree reading is the typical and unmarked interpretation

and that a manner reading arises only in specific contexts or in cases where the verb is not gradable and consequently incompatible with a degree reading.

In connection with the discussion concerning the two possible readings of *som*-exclamatives, it is important to note that those *som*-exclamatives that convey a manner reading, do not, as such, constitute exceptions to the general characteristics of *som*-exclamatives – their scalarity. Both those *som*-exclamatives that convey a degree reading and those that convey a manner reading involve a scale. What essentially separates them is the element of meaning that is associated with this scalarity. In cases where the *som*-exclamative conveys a degree reading, it is the action, state or process denoted by the gradable verb that has a high value on an implicit scale. In the case of *som*-exclamatives expressing a manner reading, on the other hand, it is a value related to the manner adverbial, bound by the operator in Spec-ForceP, that has a high value on the implicit scale. Consider (6.39):

- (6.39) Som du bor!  
 SOM you live  
 ‘Your flat is really nice/awful etc.’

The operator in (6.39) corresponds to a manner adverbial such as *fint* ‘nice’ or *hemskt* ‘awful’. The crucial point is that this manner adverbial is scalar. Something can, for instance, be nice, pretty nice or even very nice (and everything in between). Consequently, it is the manner adverbial that contributes scalarity in those *som*-exclamatives that convey a manner reading. What a speaker who utters a *som*-exclamative such as the one in (6.39) expresses is thus that the covert manner adverbial has an unexpectedly high value on this implicit scale.

Before moving on to *att*-exclamatives, I propose a preliminary analysis of *som*-exclamatives. The structure that I assume is represented in (6.40):

- (6.40) [<sub>ForceP</sub> OP<sub>i Force°</sub> Som [<sub>TP</sub> han [<sub>VP</sub> svettas Ø<sub>i</sub>]]]  
 SOM he sweats  
 ‘My, does he sweat a lot!’

As can be concluded from the structural representation in (6.40), I argue that the internal structure of an exclamative *som*-clause is identical to that of other *som*-clauses. Importantly, this means that Force° contains a complementiser in *som*-exclamatives. As a consequence, the clause ought to lack illocutionary force, if *The Highest Force Hypothesis* is accurate. This is a crucial point, to which I will return later in sections 6.4 and 6.5.

6.1.2.3 *Att-exclamatives*

*Att*-exclamatives are introduced by the complementiser *att*. They differ from the other two categories of exclamatives in one significant respect. Unlike *wh*- and *som*-exclamatives they are polar and do not involve any scalar meaning. Instead, a speaker who utters an *att*-exclamative expresses that he or she finds it remarkable and possibly even surprising that P is the case. Consider (6.41) and (6.42):

(6.41) *Att* Lars (har) köpt höns!  
*that* Lars (has) bought chickens  
 ‘My, I didn’t know that Lars has bought chickens!’

(6.42) *Att* Kenneth inte (har) köpt höns än!  
*that* Kenneth not (has) bought chickens yet  
 ≈ ‘Strange, that Kenneth hasn’t bought chickens yet!’

In (6.41) and (6.42) the speakers express their surprise about the states of affairs denoted in the respective clauses. In the case of (6.41), the speaker had expected Lars not to have bought chickens, whereas the speaker in (6.42) contrarily had expected Kenneth to have bought chickens.

There is nothing indicating that the (internal) syntactic structure of an *att*-clause is not identical to that of a regular, subordinate *att*-clause. Consider (6.43):

(6.43) [<sub>ForceP</sub> *Att* [<sub>TP</sub> Lars [<sub>NEGP</sub> inte [<sub>VP</sub> ( har) köpt höns]]]].  
*that* Lars not ( has) bought chickens  
 ‘That Lars hasn’t bought chickens.’

Since it is the unmarked option, and nothing speaks against it, I take it that *att*-exclamatives have the same structure as canonical *att*-clauses. This means that *att* is a complementiser, which occupies Force°. As with *som*-exclamatives, this would mean that *att*-exclamatives are subordinate clauses without illocutionary force, given that *The Highest Force Hypothesis* is correct. This observation plays a crucial role in the analysis that I propose in sections 6.4 and 6.5.

6.1.2.4 *To modalize, negate and embed exclamatives*

In this section, data concerning the possibilities of negating, modalizing and embedding exclamatives are presented. These data are crucial to the subsequent semantic/pragmatic and syntactic analyses in sections 6.4 and 6.5 respectively.

Unlike declaratives, Swedish exclamatives may not be modalized by sentence adverbials. This is shown in (6.44)–(6.46):

(6.44) \* Vilka stora kor Gusten nog har!  
*Which big cows Gusten probably has*

(6.45) \* Som pojken nog svettas!  
 SOM *boy.DEF probably sweats*

(6.46) \* Att han kanske flyttat!  
*that he maybe moved*

That an exclamative cannot be modalized by a sentence adverbial is presumably due to the fact that its propositional content is presupposed. The speaker presents and treats the proposition denoted by the clause as uncontroversially true, and modalizing a presupposed proposition, particularly with respect to epistemicity, gives rise to a pragmatic/semantic clash, not only in the case of exclamatives. Consider (6.47):

(6.47) # Sture ångrar att han kanske köpte bilen.  
*Sture regrets that he maybe bought car.DEF*  
 ‘Sture regrets that he maybe bought the car.’

As a result of the fact that the matrix verb *ångra* ‘regret’ is factive, the *att*-clause in (6.47) (or rather its propositional content) is presupposed. However, since the *att*-clause is also modalized epistemically by the sentence adverbial *kanske* ‘maybe’, the result is a semantic/pragmatic clash. Expressing doubts as to whether a particular state of affairs is true is simply not compatible with presupposing its truth. The same semantic/pragmatic restrictions apply to exclamatives. In section 6.4, I show that all three basic kinds of Swedish exclamatives convey presupposed propositions, a fact that will play an important role in the analysis that I propose in section 6.5.

Regarding the possibilities to negate the clauses, the discussed types of exclamatives differ from each other. *Wh*- and *som*-exclamatives cannot be negated, whereas *att*-exclamatives can be. Consider (6.48)–(6.50):

(6.48) \* Vilken fet katt du inte har!  
*which fat cat you not have*

(6.49) \* Som pojken inte svettas!  
 SOM *boy.DEF not sweats*



- (6.50) Att han inte skäms!  
*that he not is.ashamed*  
 'I can't believe he isn't ashamed of himself!'

The possibilities of negating the different categories of exclamatives can be related to the division into scalar exclamatives on the one hand and polar exclamatives on the other. As pointed out by Rosengren (1992:302), the facts illustrated in (6.48)–(6.50) are expected. When a speaker utters a *wh*- or *som*-exclamative, he or she expresses that he or she finds the value of a variable in the clause remarkably high. The reason why these exclamatives cannot be negated is simply that a negated proposition is incompatible with a scalar reading. One cannot express a reaction to a value of a variable *x* related to an event or state of affairs that does not take place or exist, respectively. That *att*-exclamatives, on the other hand, can be negated is expected. They are polar, meaning that they express that the speaker finds it remarkable or possibly surprising that the propositional content of the clause holds. The state of affairs that are the source of the emotional reaction/assessment may just as well be *P* as  $\neg P$  and, consequently, *att*-exclamatives can be negated.

Rosengren's (1992) explanation as to the restrictions on negating *wh*- and *som*-exclamatives is appealing in its simplicity and straightforwardness and it does account for most cases. However, there are cases, where it does not seem to provide a completely satisfactory explanation. Consider (6.51) and (6.52):

- (6.51) Som han ljuger!  
 SOM *he lies*  
 ≈ 'He is always lying!'
- (6.52) \*Som han inte talar sanning!  
 SOM *he not speaks truth*  
 Intended meaning: 'He never tells the truth!'

As we can see, the clause in (6.51) is grammatical whereas the negated exclamative in (6.52) is ungrammatical. However, from a semantic point of view they are very similar. Both express that 'he is lying'. In light of this similarity one would perhaps expect that both would be grammatical.

In order to better understand the restrictions illustrated in (6.51) and (6.52), we must once again return to the operator analysis presented in 6.1.2. It was shown that *som*-exclamatives can be argued to contain an operator in Spec-ForceP that binds an empty position further down in the structure, corresponding to an adverbial of manner or

degree. To keep things simple, let us take a *som*-exclamative with a degree reading as our point of departure. Consider the analysis of (6.53):

- (6.53) \* [<sub>ForceP</sub> Op<sub>i</sub> Som] han inte talar sanning Ø<sub>i</sub>  
           SOM *he not speaks truth*

The operator in (6.53) binds an empty position which corresponds to an adverbial of degree. That the clause is ungrammatical is expected, because the predicate cannot be modified with respect to degree, a fact that can be concluded from the main clauses in (6.54) and (6.55).

- (6.54) Han talar sanning.  
        *he speaks truth*  
        ‘He speaks the truth.’

- (6.55) \* Han talar sanning mycket  
        *he speaks truth much*

As we can see, the clause in (6.54) is grammatical. In (6.55) on the other hand, the predicate is modified by a degree adverbial, which results in an ungrammatical sentence. If a certain predicate cannot be modified by an overtly realised degree adverbial in a regular main clause, we cannot expect the same predicate to be grammatical when modified in a *som*-clause containing an operator that binds a position corresponding to a degree adverbial.

Other restrictions on *som*-exclamatives can be explained along the same lines. Consider (6.56)–(6.59):

- (6.56) Han bryter mycket.  
        *he speaks.with.accent much*  
        ‘He speaks with a strong accent.’

- (6.57) \* Han talar med brytning mycket.  
        *he speaks with accent much*

- (6.58) [<sub>Force°</sub> Op<sub>i</sub> som] han bryter Ø<sub>i</sub>!  
           SOM *he speaks.with.accent*  
           ‘My, he really has a strong accent!’

- (6.59) \* [<sub>ForceP</sub> Op<sub>i</sub> som] han talar med brytning Ø!  
 SOM he speaks with accent

On the basis of (6.56), we can conclude that the verb *bryta* ‘to speak with an accent’ may be modified by a degree adverbial. As seen in (6.57), the string consisting of a verb and a PP, *tala med brytning* ‘speak with an accent’, is ungrammatical when modified by the same degree adverbial. It is to be expected that the *som*-exclamatives in (6.58) and (6.59) behave accordingly. *Bryta* may be modified by a degree adverbial and this is just as acceptable if this adverbial is covert and bound by and operator. *Tala med brytning*, on the other hand, does not allow an adverbial of degree, irrespective of whether it is overtly realised as in (6.56) or covert and bound by an operator as in (6.59).

Having considered the possibilities of modalizing and negating exclamatives, we turn, finally, to the possibilities of embedding them under overt, clausal matrices. As we shall see, all three categories of exclamatives can be embedded under regular declarative matrices. Consider (6.60)–(6.62):

- (6.60) Det är fruktansvärt vilka krämpor Gusten har!  
*it is terrible which ailments Gusten has*  
 ‘They’re just terrible, Gusten’s ailments!’
- (6.61) Det är hemskt som han svettas!  
*it is awful SOM he sweats*  
 ‘It’s just awful, the way he sweats!’
- (6.62) Det är fantastiskt att pojken inte svimmar!  
*it is fantastic that boy.DEF not faints*  
 ‘It’s amazing that the boy doesn’t faint!’

The sentences in (6.60)–(6.62) show that embedded exclamatives have the same structure as independent ones, that is, that of canonical subordinate clauses.

Concerning the matrices under which exclamatives can be embedded, two properties are of crucial importance. Firstly, the predicates of the matrices are normally factive (cf. Teleman & al., 1999, volume 4:563). Examples of possible predicates are adjectives and participles such as *beklämmande* ‘deplorable’, *otroligt* ‘unbelievable’, *hemskt* ‘awful’, *chockerande* ‘shocking’ and *förvånande* ‘surprising’.

The second property that should be mentioned about the matrix clause is the fact that it normally cannot be negated. Consider (6.63)–(6.65):

- (6.63) #Det är inte fruktansvärt vilka krämpor Gusten har!  
*it is not terrible which ailments Gusten has*  
 ‘They aren’t terrible, the ailments that Gusten has!’
- (6.64) #Det är inte hemskt som han svettas!  
*it is not awful SOM he sweats*  
 ‘It isn’t awful, the way he sweats!’
- (6.65) #Det är inte fantastiskt att pojken inte svimmar!  
*it is not fantastic that boy.DEF not faints*  
 ‘It isn’t fantastic that the boy doesn’t faint!’

The sentences in (6.63)–(6.65) are not necessarily bad in all contexts and uses but they cannot be understood as exclamations of any sort. This is straightforwardly explained if one considers the role of the matrix predicate. As pointed out in section 6.1.1, an exclamative expresses that the speaker finds  $p$ , or the high value of a variable in  $p$ , surprising or remarkable. When an exclamative is embedded, the matrix predicate (‘fantastic’, ‘awful’ etc.) is the element that carries the meaning component that something is remarkable or surprising. If the matrix is negated, then this meaning component is negated and that is incompatible with an exclamation of the kind normally expressed by exclamatives.

## 6.2 Exclamatives in Danish and Icelandic

The purpose of this section is to draw attention to certain features of exclamatives in Danish and Icelandic. These features are relevant, primarily, in connection with the discussions in sections 6.4 and 6.5. The Danish data support the view that Swedish exclamatives are subordinate whereas the Icelandic data support the conclusion that Swedish exclamatives are both presupposed and externally licensed.

### 6.2.1 V-to-Force-movement in Danish exclamatives

Scandinavian exclamatives normally display a canonical subordinate clause word order. This holds for Swedish, Norwegian and Icelandic alike. However, in Danish we find one deviation from this general pattern. Danish, *wh*-exclamatives come in two variants, one

with subordinate clause word order and one with main clause word order (see Delsing, 2010:31). Consider (6.66) and (6.67):

- (6.66) Hvor du har mange penge!  
*how you have many money*  
 ‘My, what a lot of money you’ve got!’
- (6.67) Hvor har du mange penge!  
*how have you many money*  
 ‘My, what a lot of money you’ve got!’

The Danish *wh*-exclamative in (6.66) has the word order of a canonical subordinate clause, and, consequently, it follows the same pattern as its Swedish counterparts. The clause in (6.67), on the other hand, has a canonical main clause word order, with the finite verb in the second position. It should be emphasised that (6.67) is an exclamation and not a question. This is in contrast to Swedish, where the equivalent V2-structure is normally interpreted as a question and cannot be perceived as an exclamative.<sup>64</sup> An important point is that the conditions that apply to verb movement in Danish are the same as in Swedish. Consequently, the linear V2 word order in (6.67) is an unmistakable indication of V-to-Force-movement (see chapter 2).

A crucial difference between the two variants of Danish *wh*-exclamatives is that examples such as (6.67), the kind with the word order of a canonical subordinate clause, can be embedded, whereas examples such as (6.68), the kind with V2 word order, cannot (Delsing 2010:32).<sup>65</sup> Consider (6.68) and (6.69):

<sup>64</sup> An example where a corresponding Swedish structure is used to ask a *wh*-question is given in (i):

- (i) Hur odlar du stora gurkor?  
*how grow you big cucumbers*  
 ‘How do you go about growing big cucumbers?’

As shown in (i), the structural configuration in question is not necessarily ungrammatical, as such. Crucially, however, it cannot be interpreted as an exclamation in Swedish.

<sup>65</sup> It should be mentioned that intuitions seem to differ. An informant whom I have been in contact with considered the following sentence to be grammatical:

- i) Det er utrolig hvor har du store fødder!  
*it is incredible how have you big feet*  
 ‘My, what big feet you have!’

However, a possible reason for the informant judgement of this particular sentence could perhaps be that it was perceived as consisting of two main clauses. The sentence would then correspond to (ii), in which case the second clause is not embedded and we consequently would expect it to be judged as grammatical.

(6.68) Det er utrolig hvor mange penge du har!  
*it is unbelievable how many money you have*  
 ‘My, what a lot of money you’ve got!’

(6.69) \*Det er utrolig hvor har du mange penge!  
*it is unbelievable how have you many money*  
 ‘My, what a lot of money you’ve got!’

It is clear that the two kinds of Danish *wh*-exclamatives differ with respect to the content of the C-domain. In the V2-variety, the verb has moved from V° to Force°. In the variety with a subordinate clause word order, on the other hand, the verb stays in situ in the VP. This indicates that Force° contains a silent complementiser, which prevents the verb from moving. The same situation holds for examples in canonical *wh*-questions. Consider the Swedish example in (6.70):

(6.70) Jag undrar var Ø du köpte den tårten.  
*I wonder where you bought that cake.DEF*  
 ‘I wonder where you bought that cake.’

According to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, this means that the two variants of *wh*-exclamatives found in Danish differ with respect to their hierarchical status. Those that have the structure of canonical subordinate clauses are, in fact, subordinate clauses, whereas those that display V2 word order are independent main clauses, as they meet the criterion of V-to-Force-movement.<sup>66</sup> The type of Danish exclamative illustrated in (6.66) has the same structure as the corresponding Swedish one, that I will argue is truly subordinate.

According to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, a syntactic structure can carry no more than one value [+illocutionary force], and this value is always encoded in the highest ForceP. If

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(ii) It is incredible. What big feet you have got!

<sup>66</sup> In section 6, I argue that the propositional content of a Swedish exclamative is presupposed. I assume that the presupposition is externally licensed through a factive adjective or an interjection, which constitutes a non-clausal matrix, under which the exclamative is embedded. However, since I argue that Danish *wh*-exclamatives with V2 word order are main clauses, their propositional content cannot be presupposed in the same way. Tentatively, I propose the following solution to this problem: Danish main clause exclamatives are structurally presupposed in the same way as *wh*-questions. A *wh*-question requests the value of a variable *x* (corresponding to the *wh*-element) that yields a true proposition. Everything apart from the *wh*-element is presupposed. I assume that the *wh*-words occurring in Danish *wh*-exclamatives with V2 word order has lost its interrogativity and only conveys a meaning of high degree.

the finite verb of a Swedish clause moves, it invariably targets the highest ForceP of the structure. The same conditions presumably apply to verb movement in Danish. Consequently, the differences concerning the possibilities of embedding the two kinds of Danish *wh*-exclamatives are expected in light of the principles of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*. In *wh*-exclamatives with V2 word order, the verb moves from  $V^{\circ}$  to Force $^{\circ}$ . According to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, this means that such exclamatives are independent main clauses that have illocutionary force. The fact that they cannot be embedded follows from the basic principle that a syntactic structure can have only one illocutionary force. In contrast, embedding a *wh*-exclamative with the structure of a subordinate clause yields a perfectly grammatical result, as shown in (6.68). This follows from the same basic principles. In exclamatives with a subordinate clause word order, the verb stays in situ in the VP. According to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, such clauses are consequently not coded for illocutionary force. Arguably, verb movement is blocked due to the presence of a silent complementiser in Force $^{\circ}$ , which anchors the clause in the origo and illocutionary force of a higher ForceP-structure, be that structure overt or covert.

As pointed out, the basic structure of Swedish exclamatives is parallel to that of Danish *wh*-exclamatives with subordinate clause word order. This supports the view that Swedish exclamatives are, in fact, subordinate according to the definition in chapter 2. In section 6.5, I propose an analysis according to which Swedish exclamatives are regular subordinate clauses that are embedded under non-clausal matrices that are themselves typically covert.

## 6.2.2 Icelandic *að*-exclamatives

Icelandic has preserved its mood system to a much greater extent than Swedish. Its use of mood is interesting, not least in connection with exclamatives, since it may offer some clues as to how they should be analysed in relation to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*.

The choice of mood in Icelandic subordinate clauses is largely dependent on the semantic properties of the matrix verb. Depending on whether the matrix predicate belongs to the class of (semi-)factives, non-factives or true factives, the finite verb of the subordinate clause may be either in the indicative or in the subjunctive. Semi-factives such as ‘know’ or ‘discover’, normally take complement clauses in the indicative, whereas non-factives such as ‘say’ or ‘believe’ and true factives such as ‘awful’ or ‘deplorable’ normally take complements in the subjunctive mood. Crucially, however, there are two different kinds of subjunctives, each of which is associated with its own class of matrix predicates. Sigurðsson (2010) distinguishes between the (regular) subjunctive on the one hand and the periphrastic *skulu*-subjunctives (‘shall’-subjunctives) on the other. Non-factives

normally take complements in the regular subjunctive, whereas true factives take complements in the *skulu*-subjunctive (Sigurðsson 2010:43–46). Consider the Icelandic examples in (6.71) and (6.72), which are taken from Sigurðsson (2010:45):

(6.71) Ég vona að tunglið brosi/\*brosir/\*skuli brosa.  
 I hope that moon.DEF smiles.SBJV/\*smiles.IND/\*shall.SBJV smile  
 ‘I hope that the moon smiles.’

(6.72) Það er gaman að tunglið skuli brosa/\*brosi/?brosir.  
 it is fun that moon.DEF shall.SBJV smile/\*smiles.SBJV/?smiles.IND  
 ‘It is fun that the moon smiles.’

As illustrated in (6.71), the non-factive matrix predicate *vona* ‘hope’ takes a complement clause in which the finite verb is in the regular subjunctive. Both the indicative and the *skulu*-subjunctive render the sentence ungrammatical. In (6.72), the matrix predicate is a true factive and, consequently, takes a complement clause in the *skulu*-subjunctive. The regular subjunctive is ungrammatical after this predicate and the indicative is only marginally acceptable. In a footnote, Sigurðsson comments on marginally acceptable cases where the subordinate clause is in the indicative even though embedded under a true factive. He argues that the matrix clauses, in these cases, contain a covert factive NP, which would explain the possibility of having the subordinate clause in the indicative. He writes: “True factives can be interpreted as taking a silent factive NP, like ~~the fact~~, the silent NP in turn heading the complement clause:

- (6.73) a. I regret (~~the fact~~) that the moon smiles.  
 b. (~~The fact~~) that the moon smiles is fun.

On a reading where a silent factive NP is semantically present, the complement may at least marginally be indicative” (Sigurðsson, 2010:45).

As we have seen, the verbal mood of a subordinate clause in Icelandic is determined by the semantic properties of the matrix predicate. The crucial point in this context is that there is a firm link between true factive matrix predicates and the periphrastic *skulu*-subjunctive. In light of this, it is interesting to find that the *skulu*-subjunctive is used, not only in canonical embedded *að*-clauses, but also in constructions where the *að*-clause lacks an overtly realised matrix. Consider (6.74):<sup>67</sup>

<sup>67</sup> This example was kindly given to me by Halldór Sigurðsson.



- (6.74) Að Maria skuli vera hér!  
*that Maria shall.SUBJUNCTIVE be here*  
 ‘My, I had no idea Maria would be here!’

Sigurðsson refers to clauses such as that in (6.74) as “independent clauses, with a subordinate form” (2010:42). Arguably, however, the term *að*-exclamative would be equally correct. It is a complementiser headed clause, which lacks an overtly realized matrix clause and is used to make polar exclamations. Just as its Swedish counterpart, the *att*-exclamative, it displays two characteristic properties. Firstly, it is introduced by a complementiser and, as a result, it has the structure of a canonical subordinate clause. Secondly, it is factive in the sense that its propositional content is presupposed. Both of these properties are associated with subordination. Considering these properties and the fact that the *skulu*-subjunctive otherwise typically is found in subordinate clauses embedded under true factives, the idea immediately presents itself, that these seemingly independent *að*-clauses are in fact embedded under a covert, true factive predicate.

Note that if mood is disregarded, the Icelandic *að*-exclamative in (6.74) patterns with the Swedish *att*-exclamative. The Icelandic data consequently lends support to the assumption that Swedish exclamatives are factive in the sense that their propositional content is presupposed and that this presupposition is licensed from outside of the clause which denotes the presupposed proposition. An analysis that is fully in line with Sigurðsson’s insight is presented in section 6.4.

### 6.3 Previous analyses of the hierarchical status of exclamatives

In this section, previous approaches to Swedish exclamatives are discussed in closer detail. In the majority of the analyses that have been put forth in the literature, it is argued (or more often simply presupposed) that exclamatives are independent main clauses. Among those that adopt a main clause analysis are Rosengren (1992, 1994), Teleman & al. (1999), Brandtler (2012), and Delsing (2010). In this section, I present and comment on two of these analyses, namely Teleman & al. (1999) and Delsing (2010).

### 6.3.1 Teleman & al. (1999)

It is the stated ambition of Teleman & al. (1999) to provide an exhaustive yet purely descriptive grammar of the Swedish language. The authors strive to make as few theoretical assumptions as possible as they account for the surface structure of grammar (see Teleman & al, 1999, volume 1:37–38). A “surface approach” to grammar is certainly motivated considering the descriptive purpose. Nevertheless, it is not possible to completely avoid making theoretical assumptions and choices, although they perhaps may be implicit.<sup>68</sup> In this section, we will consider some of the consequences that the choices made by Teleman & al. (1999) have for their account of Swedish exclamatives.

In order to understand how Teleman & al. (1999) have reached the conclusion that exclamatives are main clauses, we must turn to their definition of subordination. Since they strive to keep the description as close to the surface structure as possible, they are reluctant to assume covert structures (see Teleman & al., 1999, volume 1:37–38). This can be avoided by defining subordination in terms of overtly realized constituenthood. Consequently, Teleman & al. define a subordinate clause as a clause that functions as a constituent in another, overtly realised clause. As a result of this view, Swedish exclamatives must in general be considered to be main clauses, since they lack matrices but still function as independent grammatical utterances. However, there are instances of exclamatives where a finite matrix clause is realised. In such cases, the exclamatives meet the requirements for a subordinate clause classification. Consequently, Teleman & al. have to conclude that there are both main clause and subordinate clause instances of exclamatives. In fact, they discuss embedded exclamatives such as *Det är förfärligt vilka stora fötter han har!* ‘It’s awful, what big feet he has’ in a separate section, together with other subordinate clauses. In passing, the authors note that these unambiguously subordinate exclamatives have the same structure as their independent main clause counterparts. No further comments are made on this issue but it is a very important observation, as it would mean that, according to their analysis, exclamatives would differ significantly from other sentence types: All other Swedish sentence types that come in both a main clause and a subordinate clause version, display different structures depending on whether they are independent or not.

As pointed out in chapter 2, verb movement is standardly assumed to take place in main clauses but not in subordinate clauses. In main clauses, the finite verb undergoes V-to-Force-movement. In subordinate clauses, it does not. This is a difference that is directly reflected in the surface structure. If we are to follow the analysis suggested by Teleman &

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<sup>68</sup> Consider Engdahl (2001) who shows clearly that Teleman & al. (1999) diverge from their explicit goal to describe Swedish grammar, without assuming traces and other elements that do not show up “on the surface”.

al. (1999), we would have to conclude that this asymmetry does not apply to Swedish exclamatives. This speaks against such an analysis.

### 6.3.2 Delsing (2010)

The content of this section is based largely on the assumption that Delsing's (2010) account in effect presupposes that Swedish exclamatives are main clauses. It should however be emphasized that Delsing himself does not address the question as to whether exclamatives are main clauses or subordinate clauses in Swedish. In my view, however, a main clause solution follows from Delsing's analysis. The most important reason for this is the fact that Delsing argues that Swedish exclamatives are asserted, a property which is arguably incompatible with subordination (see chapters 2 and 3, and chapter 4, section 4.2.1).

Delsing's paper provides a survey of syntactic variation in Scandinavian exclamatives. He concludes that there are basically two possibilities as to how such an investigation can be carried out:

Either you define the sentence type of exclamatives in syntactic terms, and study the properties of these, or you define exclamatives in pragmatic terms, and investigate the range of syntactic variation in these. I have chosen to do the latter, mainly because the syntactic properties vary across languages. (Delsing, 2010:16)

It should be acknowledged that Delsing's approach does have certain advantages. By choosing to define exclamatives in pragmatic terms, he avoids the risk of overlooking relevant exclamative construction types by limiting the investigation to a specific structural configuration. However, Delsing's proposal is also very likely to miss the target. The risk is that one ends up studying a particular illocution, rather than a sentence type. This problem becomes obvious if we were to define another sentence type in a similar way. The speech act 'question' could, for instance, be defined pragmatically as 'a linguistically expressed request for a particular piece of information, act or entity'. If this definition were applied as a definition of the sentence type interrogative, one would necessarily also have to conclude that a canonical declarative structure used for making an inquiry is an interrogative with respect to sentence type, which would be an unfortunate analysis.

Without presenting further arguments in support of his view, Delsing claims that exclamatives contain an assertion and that this "assertion is related to a presupposition, typically a hidden expectation" (Delsing, 2010:16). He then presents the following definition of exclamatives: "I take the defining property of exclamatives to be a mismatch

between the assertion and the presupposition. This mismatch often gives rise to a surprise effect” (Delsing, 2010:16–17).

According to Delsing’s view, exclamatives are used to make statements, that is, their propositional content is asserted. Consequently, what is presupposed is not the proposition denoted by the clause but the expected or normal case. Consider (6.75):

- (6.75) Vilka stora fötter du har!  
*Which big feet you have*  
 ‘My, what big feet you’ve got!’

On Delsing’s analysis, (6.75) asserts ‘you have big feet’ and presupposes the expected case of normal foot size.

Delsing’s analysis suffers from three important weaknesses. Firstly, it is not clear how he defines the notions of presupposition and assertion. In my view, it is not evident why the expectation of normality is a presupposition. Secondly, it is not made clear how exclamatives get their assertive force. Clearly, it cannot be through the otherwise typical V-to-Force-movement.

Thirdly, as pointed out earlier, Delsing’s definition seems more like a definition of a particular illocution (exclamation) than a sentence type. This becomes clear if one considers an example such as (6.76), which is taken from Delsing (2010:24):

- (6.76) ÄR jag trött!  
*am I tired*  
 ‘Boy, am I tired!’

Delsing claims that the clause in (6.76) is an example of a V1-exclamative, a kind of exclamative which, according to him, is found in substandard varieties of southern Swedish. Structurally they coincide with regular Swedish *yes/no*-questions, but they are distinguished by a “strong stress on the verb” (Delsing, 2010:24–25). On my analysis, the clause in (6.76) is a main clause question, as far as hierarchical status and sentence type is concerned. It may perhaps be used to convey an exclamation but an exclamation is a speech act (which can be expressed by a number of different linguistic means), whereas an exclamative (arguably) is a sentence type. These notions must be kept apart. The fact that the clause in (6.76) can be used to express an exclamation does not make it an exclamative, just as a declarative structure employed to ask a question should not be categorised an interrogative, with respect to sentence type.

## 6.4 Presupposed propositions

On Delsing's analysis, exclamatives contain both an assertion and a presupposition. According to him, the proposition denoted by the clause is asserted. What is presupposed is an expectation of normality. However, Delsing's view is not unchallenged. On the contrary, it has repeatedly been argued that the proposition denoted by an exclamative is presupposed, rather than asserted. Among the proponents of this view are Zanuttini & Portner (2003), who investigate exclamatives on the basis of data from Italian, Paduan, and English, and Abel (2010), who discusses English *what-a* and *how-very* exclamatives. Also in accounts of Swedish, the propositions conveyed by exclamatives have been assumed to be presupposed (see for example D'Hertefelt & Verstraete 2014:91 and Teleman & al. 1999). Although they do not present any arguments in support of their view, Teleman & al. (1999, volume 4:767) claim that Swedish exclamatives (or 'expressive main clauses', as they call them), are factive. They write: "In an expressive main clause, the speaker presupposes that the state of affairs that gives rise to the surprise, or that the evaluation is concerned with, is true".<sup>69</sup> I agree with the idea that the proposition conveyed in an exclamative is presupposed, and in this section, I review the main arguments supporting this view.

The notion presupposition is often considered to be, in essence, a semantic concept and normally, consistency under negation provides a clear indication that a particular proposition is presupposed. This means that a proposition *A* presupposes a proposition *B* if *B* is true irrespective of whether *A* is affirmative or negative. This is illustrated below in (6.77).

- (6.77) a. Kalle ångrar att han köpte bilen.  
*Kalle regrets that he bought car.DEF*  
 'Kalle regrets that he bought the car.'
- b. Kalle ångrar inte att han köpte bilen  
*Kalle regrets not that he bought car.DEF*  
 'Kalle does not regret that he bought the car.'

As can be seen in (6.77), it is true that Kalle bought the car, irrespective of whether the matrix is negated or not. This allows us to conclude that the proposition conveyed by the *att*-clause is presupposed.

<sup>69</sup> Swedish original: "I en expressiv huvudsats förutsätter talaren att det som utlöser förvåningen eller som värderingen gäller är sant." (English translation by D.P.)

Unfortunately, a test of the kind exemplified in (6.77) cannot be felicitously applied to exclamatives, since their matrices cannot be negated (see section 6.1.2.4). Instead, I adopt a pragmatically oriented definition of presupposition (which, as such, does not contradict the semantic definition): A proposition is presupposed if the speaker presents and treats it as given and uncontroversially true. According to this view, the crucial difference between an asserted proposition and a presupposed one is that its truth value is up for discussion in the former case but not in the latter. A hearer may object to the truth of the presupposed proposition but it cannot be done in the same direct way as when the proposition is asserted by the speaker. In order to object to a presupposition, its truth value must be explicitly brought up to negotiation by the hearer and that requires more elaborate linguistic means than simply denying the truth of an asserted proposition.

Although I adopt a pragmatic definition of the notion, I maintain firstly that assertion and presupposition are mutually exclusive concepts, and, secondly, that a lexical presupposition normally must be triggered, or licensed, by an element outside of the presupposed proposition.<sup>70</sup>

Applying the pragmatic definition, we can test whether the propositional content of exclamatives is presupposed by using dialogue pairs. Consider (6.78)–(6.81):

(6.78) – Vilken klippa han är!  
           *which rock he is*  
           ‘What a great guy he is!’

– Ja!  
   ‘Yes!’

(6.79) – Vilken klippa han är!  
           *which rock he is*  
           ‘What a great guy he is!’

?? – Nej!  
       ‘No!’

<sup>70</sup> It should be noted that this does not apply to structural or existential presuppositions, which come about through a specific, clause internal structural configuration (*wh*-questions, clefts etc.) or definiteness respectively.

- (6.80) – Lars är en klippa.  
*Lars is a rock*  
 ‘Lars is a great guy.’
- Nej!  
 ‘No!’
- (6.81) – Vilken klippa han är!  
*which rock he is*  
 ‘What a great guy he is!’
- Nej, det tycker jag faktiskt inte.  
*no it think I actually not*  
 ‘Actually, I don’t really think so.’

As shown in (6.78), support (or affirmation) is an expected and accepted answer to the exclamative *vilken klippa han är!* To answer *nej* ‘no’, on the other hand, is not felicitous. If the second speaker in the dialogue wants to object to the propositional content, then he or she must bring it up to negotiation by using a more marked and lengthy answer, as in (6.81). This is normally not the case with ordinary declarative clauses, as in (6.80). When the first speaker, by using a declarative clause, has claimed that Lars is a great guy, the second speaker can object to that by simply answering *no*. This shows that the truth value of the proposition in the exclamative clause, as opposed to that in the declarative clause, is presented and treated as given or self-evident. This suggests that the proposition conveyed by the exclamative is presupposed.

The view that the propositional content of an exclamative is presupposed, is further supported by the fact that exclamatives embed under factive predicates, not non-factive, that is, assertive or non-assertive predicates. It is also in accordance with the Icelandic data presented in section 6.2; as was shown, the finite verb of an Icelandic *að*-exclamative is in the periphrastic *skulu*-subjunctive, a mood which is otherwise only found in *að*-clauses embedded under true factives. These Icelandic exclamatives are parallel to the Swedish *att*-exclamatives except for the mood of the finite verb. Assuming that exclamatives are presupposed, this mood is exactly what is to be expected.

Last but not least, an argument in support of the assumption that the propositional content of an exclamative is presupposed is provided by the fact that exclamatives cannot be modalized by sentence adverbials. If the proposition denoted by an exclamative were asserted, as Delsing proposes, we would expect it to be possible to modalize it by means of an epistemic sentence adverbial, such as *kanske* ‘maybe’ or *förmodligen* ‘probably’.

However, as was shown in section 6.1.2.4, the insertion of a modalizing sentence adverbial gives rise to a semantic/pragmatic clash, which makes the clause unacceptable. The restrictions on modalizing exclamation are expected and highly intuitive in light of a presupposition analysis: If the speaker presupposes the truth of a given proposition, we do not expect it to be possible for him or her to express uncertainty concerning the truth of this particular proposition at the same time.

## 6.5 The proposal: Swedish exclamation are subordinate

In this section I propose an analysis according to which Swedish exclamation are embedded under matrices that in most cases are covert, but which may also be overtly realised. The proposed analysis provides an explanation both for the typical subordinate clause word order found in Swedish exclamation and for the fact that the propositional content of an exclamation is presupposed.

### 6.5.1 Clausal and non-clausal matrices

As was shown in 6.3.1, all three variants of Swedish exclamation can be embedded under regular, full matrices. An example is given in (6.82).

- (6.82) Det är fruktansvärt vad han klagar!  
*it is terrible what he complains*  
 ‘My, really complains an awful lot!’

The sentence in (6.82) is a typical example of what Teleman & al. (1999) would call an embedded exclamation.<sup>71</sup> The matrix clause contains a subject (*det*), a finite verb (*är*) and a factive adjective (*fruktansvärt*). This matrix clause explains both the word order of the exclamation and the fact that it is presupposed. Firstly, because it is subordinated, it has the word order of a canonical subordinate clause. Secondly, it is embedded under a factive predicate which accounts for the fact that its propositional content is presupposed. The presupposition is externally licensed.

The claim that the *wh*-clause in (6.82) is a subordinate clause is quite uncontroversial – for example, it is the analysis proposed by Teleman & al. (1999) – I see no reason to

<sup>71</sup> It is important to note that there are no structural properties that distinguish these “embedded exclamation” from regular declarative main clauses that contain a subordinate *wh*-clause.



assume that a (superficially) independent exclamative like that in (6.83) is different. In fact, this would be the null hypothesis.

- (6.83) Vad han klagar!  
*what he complains*  
 ‘My, he really complains an awful lot!’

As pointed out in sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2, both Teleman & al. (1999) and Delsing (2010) assume that a *wh*-exclamative, such as the one in (6.83), should be analysed as a main clause. In doing so, however, they fail to give a convincing explanation both to the word order and the presupposed status of the clause.

A point, which, in my opinion, is absolutely crucial, is that the internal structure of the independent exclamative in (6.83), is identical to that of the clearly subordinated clause in (6.82). If the clause in (6.83) were a main clause, then exclamatives would deviate completely from the canonical Swedish pattern of asymmetry between main clauses and subordinate clauses with respect to the position of the finite verb.

In my view, it is significantly more consistent and theoretically economical to assume a unified analysis, according to which the exclamative in (6.83) is a subordinate clause, embedded under a covert matrix. An analysis along those lines accounts for both the word order and the presupposed status of the exclamative clause. This is the line of reasoning that I will pursue.

Let us take a look at exclamatives from an angle that we have not discussed so far. Stroh-Wollin (2008) shows that exclamatives, *wh-* *som-* and *att-* varieties alike, can be preceded by swear words. This is illustrated below in (6.84)–(6.86).

- (6.84) Fan vilka stora fötter du har!  
*damn which big feet you have*  
 ‘Damn, what big feet you’ve got!’
- (6.85) Fan som det ser ut här inne!  
*damn SOM it looks PL here inside*  
 ‘It looks god damn awful in here!’
- (6.86) Fan att han aldrig lär sig!  
*damn that he never learns REFL*  
 ‘Damn it, why doesn’t he ever learn!’

Inspired by an analysis originally put forth by Magnusson (2007), Stroh-Wollin suggests that the swear words in sentences like the ones in (6.84)–(6.86) in fact constitute non-verbal matrices, under which the exclaimatives are embedded.<sup>72</sup> On her analysis, this matrix is always present in the structure, whether covert or overtly realised as an interjection. An exclaimative would thus have the structure represented in (6.87) (Stroh-Wollin, 2008:77).

- (6.87) a. [Fan [vilka stora fötter du har!]]  
*damn which big feet you have*  
 ≈ ‘Damn, you have got big feet!’
- b. [Ø [Vilka stora fötter du har!]]  
*which big feet you have*  
 ≈ ‘My, what big feet you have!’

I believe that Stroh-Wollin is on the right track, and here, I adopt the basic analysis that she proposes.

Teleman & al. (1999, volume 4:760–761), show that all three categories of exclaimatives may also be preceded by the word *tänk*, lit. ‘think’, and that *wh-* and *som-*exclaimatives, in addition, also may be preceded by the words *se*, lit. ‘see’ and *titta*, lit. ‘look’. This is illustrated in (6.88)–(6.90).

- (6.88) Titta vilka feta katter han har!  
*look which fat cats he has*  
 ‘Boy, what fat cats he’s got!’

<sup>72</sup> The idea that non-clausal structures can constitute matrices has been put forth in connection with at least one other kind of construction. Julien (2009a) proposes an analysis along these lines for certain instances of sentences containing a clause introduced by *plus(s) att(t)*, lit. ‘plus that’. Consider (i), which is an example from Julien (2009a):

- (i) Finns en del spelare som kan bli riktigt grymma i framtiden, **plus att** de har en bra tränare också.  
 ‘There are a few players that can become really wicked in the future, plus, they’ve got a good coach too.’

According to Julien’s analysis, the sentence in (i) consists of two main clauses, the second of which is introduced by *plus*. She argues that *plus* is a minimal matrix (cf. non-clausal matrix), which takes the subsequent *att*-clause as its complement.

(6.89) Se som han svettas!  
*see SOM he sweats*  
 ‘My, does he sweat!’

(6.90) Tänk att han aldrig lär sig!  
*Think that he never learns REFL*  
 ‘Jesus, why doesn’t he ever learn!’

The elements preceding the exclamatives are interesting from a word class perspective. Firstly, it should be noted that the words *tänk*, *se* and *titta* have forms that coincide with verbs in the imperative. However, as suggested by Teleman & al. (1999, volume 4:760–761), they are probably better regarded as imperatives that have drifted semantically to the point where they are no longer verbs; they have become interjections. In other words, they too are “non-verbal” elements. Thus, the imperative meaning is not present in the exclamative constructions. They convey expressive speech acts, not directive ones. The view that they are interjections rather than imperatives is further supported by the fact that they do not take PP complements. The corresponding imperative versions of *tänk*, *titta* and *se* respectively, may all take PP complements. This is decidedly odd in the exclamative constructions. Consider the imperative in (6.91), and compare it to the infelicitous exclamative in (6.92) which, in turn, should be compared to (6.88):<sup>73</sup>

(6.91) Tänk på döden!  
*think on death.DEF*  
 ‘Think about death!’

(6.92) ??/\* Tänk på vilka feta katter han har!  
*think on which fat cats he has*  
 Intended meaning: ‘Boy, what fat cats he’s got!’

Interestingly, parallel analyses have recently been put forth for Hungarian *képzeld* ‘imagine’ and Norwegian *tenk* ‘think’. According to Fretheim & Vaskó (2011) these expressions, which can be “mirative markers in spoken discourse”, are “derived from the 2<sup>nd</sup> p.sg. imperative *képzeld* of the Hungarian verb *el-kép-zel* (verbal particle-‘picture’-denominal suffix) and from the imperative form *tenk* of Norwegian verb *tenke* (‘think’), respectively (Fretheim & Vaskó, 2011). Although Fretheim & Vaskó do not use the term interjection, their main point appears to be identical to the proposal above: Norwegian

<sup>73</sup> It should be pointed out that the sentence in (6.92) is grammatical when used as an imperative. However, as an exclamative, it is not felicitous.

*tenk*, Hungarian *képzeld* and Swedish *tänk*, *titta* and *se* are lexically ambiguous and belong to different word classes depending on how they function in a specific context.

The various swear words that may serve as matrices for exclamatives seem to differ with respect to word class status. The most common of these words, *fan* lit. ‘the devil’, seems to be a factive adjective.<sup>74</sup> This can be concluded from the fact that it may serve as the predicate of a full, finite matrix clause, in a manner that is parallel to other, typical factive adjectives. Consider (6.93) and (6.94):

(6.93) Det är ju fan som här ser ut!  
*it is PL SWEAR SOM here looks PL*  
 ‘It’s just awful, the way it looks in here!’

(6.94) Det är ju sorgligt som här ser ut!  
*it is PL sad SOM here looks PL*  
 ‘It’s just sad, the way it looks in here!’

Other swear words that may function as non-clausal matrices cannot be analysed as adjectives. Instead they must be regarded as interjections, on a par with *tänk*, *titta*, or *se*. Examples are *gud* (lit. ‘god’), and *fy* (‘oh’, ‘damn’ etc.). Unlike typical factive adjectives such as *sorgligt* (‘sad’), *gud* or *fy* cannot be the predicate of a full, finite matrix clause. This is illustrated in (6.95) and (6.96).

(6.95) a. Gud som här ser ut!  
*god SOM here looks PL*  
 ≈‘My god, it looks awful in here!’

b. \*Det är gud som här ser ut!  
*it is god SOM here looks PL*

<sup>74</sup> Although less common, it seems that NPs can function in a similar way. Consider (i), in which the matrix contains the NP *skit* (lit. ‘shit’ or ‘crap’):

(i) Det är ju skit som här ser ut!  
*it is PL crap SOM here looks PL*  
 ‘It’s just awful, the way it looks in here!’

- (6.96) a. Fy vad han klagar!  
 FY *what he complains*  
 ≈ ‘Man, does he complain!’
- b. \*Det är fy vad han klagar!  
*it is FY what he complains*

On the basis of the facts illustrated in (6.93)–(6.96), we can draw the rather curious conclusion that *fan* (lit. ‘the devil’) seems to be an adjective, whereas *gud* (lit. ‘god’) appears to be an interjection.

### 6.5.2 Swedish exclamatives are embedded under non-clausal matrices

It is clear that exclamatives are just as grammatical with clausal as with non-clausal matrices. However, when we analyse any given exclamative that lacks an overtly realised matrix, we must choose between the two possible structures.

The independent exclamative itself gives few leads as to whether the matrix is a clausal or non-clausal structure. However, if an adjective or interjection is present in front of the exclamative, this may narrow down the possibilities. As was shown in 6.5.1, (6.95b), an interjection, such as *gud*, lit. ‘god’ or *tänk*, lit. ‘think’ cannot serve as complements of a matrix verb. Consequently, we may conclude that all exclamatives that are preceded by interjections must be analysed in terms of a non-clausal matrix.

If the exclamative is preceded by an adjective on the other hand, the picture is a bit more complicated. A factive adjective, such as *fan*, lit. ‘the devil’ or *förskräckligt* ‘terrible’ may function as a constituent in a full, finite matrix, under which the exclamative is subordinated. However, the fact that this is possible does not necessarily mean that the presence of an adjective in front of the exclamative allows us to conclude that the structure involves a covert instance of a finite matrix. The reason for this is that we cannot rule out the possibility that the overtly realised adjective is situated in Force°, rather than in the complement of a *vP*. An exclamative preceded by a factive adjective may, in principle, have the structure represented in (6.97), just as well as that illustrated in (6.98).

- (6.97) [<sub>ForceP</sub> (Det)<sub>Force°</sub> (är)<sub>[<sub>vP</sub> fan]] att han aldrig kommer!  
*it is devil that he never comes*  
 ‘Damn it, why doesn’t he ever come!’</sub>

- (6-98) [<sub>Force</sub> Fan] att han aldrig kommer!  
*devil that he never comes*  
 ‘Damn it, why doesn’t he ever come!’

As indicated by the structural representations in (6.97) and (6.98), the presence of a factive adjective in front of the exclamative, does not give any decisive evidence as to whether we should assume a clausal or a non-clausal matrix in these cases. Nevertheless, I argue that the non-clausal analysis should be chosen over the clausal analysis, for three reasons. The first reason is that an overtly realised, non-clausal matrix, can be associated only with an exclamation reading, whereas a clausal matrix could also be used for making a statement (although the different interpretations would presumably be associated with separate prosodic patterns). Secondly, a non-verbal matrix, containing an interjection, also accounts for the direct deictic nature of exclamatives. Thirdly, assuming a non-clausal matrix rather than a clausal one, is more economical. When choosing between two analyses involving covert structure, the minimal assumption is to prefer.

Before closing this subsection it should be pointed out that, from the point of view of sentence type, sentences such as (6.93) and (6.94) are declarative main clauses, which typically are used to express exclamations, which is a speech act.

### 6.5.3 Licensing the presupposition

In section 6.4, I stated that certain types of presuppositions must be licensed by an element outside the presupposed proposition. In syntactic terms, this means that the clause denoting the presupposed proposition must be selected by a licensing element in a matrix structure. This requirement is clearly syntactic in nature, but, as we shall see, it can be accounted for in terms of basic pragmatic principles.

Since its introduction, Grice’s *Cooperative principle* has become associated primarily with the notion of implicature. However, it is clear that it is equally relevant in relation to the notion of presupposition, offering a straightforward explanation to the fact that a presupposed proposition must be externally licensed. As presented by Grice, the *Cooperative principle* is a superordinate principle which can be divided into the four more specific categories of quantity, quality, relation and manner. The first of these is explained in the following way:

“The category of Quantity relates to the quantity of information to be provided, and under it fall the following maxims:

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required” (Grice, 1989:26).

Recall the definition of presupposition put forth in section 6.4: “A proposition is presupposed if the speaker presents and treats it as given and uncontroversially true”. It is easily realised that a presupposition alone, as defined above, does not meet the requirements of Grice’s first maxim of quantity. An isolated proposition which is treated and presented as given and uncontroversially true simply cannot be informative. In fact, it is hard to even imagine an utterance which only conveys only presupposed information. In order for the presupposition to be meaningful, it has to be accompanied by a linguistic expression, which at the very least provides us with information as to how the speaker relates to the presupposition.<sup>75</sup>

The most typical and least complicated case is when the presupposed proposition is embedded in a declarative matrix structure, containing a licensing element, such as a factive predicate. The presupposition is then accompanied by an assertion and licensed by an element within the clause that carries this assertion. This is precisely the case that follows from an analysis according to which the exclamative is subordinated under a full, clausal matrix. Consider (6.99):

- (6.99) (Det är fantastiskt) vilka stora fötter han har!  
*it is fantastic which big feet he has*  
 ‘It is just fantastic, the size of his feet!’

The *wh*-clause in (6.99) is embedded under a full clausal matrix, containing a factive predicate. At a first glance, an analysis along these lines seems appealing, as it provides a straightforward account for how the presupposition is licensed. To argue that a factive predicate presupposes the truth of the proposition conveyed by its complement is quite uncontroversial. However, this kind of full matrix analysis has an important drawback to it. The main problem associated with it is the fact that the partly null matrix clause (and consequently the sentence as a whole) is identical to and inseparable from a regular

<sup>75</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that this is the intuition that underlies Delsing’s analysis, according to which an exclamative, at the same time, contains both an assertion and a presupposition. However, since his analysis of exclamatives only involves one CP, it fails to account for the licensing of the presupposition (it cannot be licensed externally). Moreover, his analysis violates the rule that presuppositions and assertions are mutually exclusive.

declarative clause, typically used to make a statement. In other words, the full matrix analysis fails to give a structural explanation to the unique properties of exclamatives. As we shall see, however, an analysis, where the matrix is assumed to be a non-clausal structure does not suffer from this problem. In fact, such an analysis can account for the presupposed status of the clause's propositional content and at the same time ascribe the matrices of exclamatives a syntactic structure which makes them different from other sentence types.

In order to understand how interjections license presuppositions, we must consider their communicative function. Typically, a speaker utters an interjection as an immediate response to a particular stimulus, be it a sensation, the perception of an object or a certain state of affairs or an idea that comes into the speaker's mind. On the basis of this, we may first of all conclude that interjections are informative and meaningful and, consequently, meet the minimal requirements of Grice's first maxim of quantity.

As a second step in understanding how interjections license presuppositions, we may assume that the stimulus to which the speaker reacts, exists, provided of course that the speaker adheres to Grice's *Cooperative principle* and its *Maxim of Quality* which, essentially, dictates that a speaker should tell the truth (see Grice, 1989:27). For instance, if a person exclaims shouts *aj* 'ouch', we must assume that he or she is reacting to a painful sensation. Consequently, it can be argued that the utterance of an interjection presupposes the existence of the state of affairs to which the speaker reacts. Similarly, the interjection in a non-clausal matrix presupposes the truth of the proposition in the following clause. Whether or not the state of affairs is actually true to the rest of the world is irrelevant. What is important is that it is true, or treated as true, in the world of discourse.

So far we have concluded that interjections do not require any additional linguistic structure to meet with the first maxim of quantity, and also that the utterance of an interjection presupposes the existence of the stimulus to which the speaker reacts. In light of these facts, we can reach a better understanding both of the "surprise effect", commonly associated with exclamatives, and of how the propositional content of an exclamation is related to the stimulus, which triggers the linguistic reaction.

An interjection in isolation typically functions as a linguistic signal of an immediate reaction to states of affairs, objects, courses of events etc. that the speaker has only just become aware of. The choice of interjection offers some information about the nature of the reaction and, to a lesser extent, the stimulus to which it forms a reaction. For instance, *aj* 'ouch' signals pain, *oj* 'oh'/'wow' etc. signals surprise and *usch* 'yuck' signals disliking or mild disgust. Crucially, however, the interjection itself does not carry any propositional content. The interjection *aj* 'ouch', for example, is not the proposition 'it hurts'. It is a direct linguistic reaction to a state of affairs that is present, either in the world of discourse



or in the mind of the speaker. It is reasonable to assume that the aspect of surprise, which is often associated with exclamatives, is directly related to the immediateness of the reaction.

But exclamatives do not always consist of isolated interjections. In fact, the non-clausal matrix that the interjection constitutes often completely lacks overt representation in the utterance. This raises the question of how the overt, subordinate part of the exclamative should be understood, particularly in relation to the matrix. My proposal is that this clause is the (optional) linguistic expression of the stimulus to which the speaker reacts; it is a “propositionalisation” of the stimulus that triggers the utterance. A consequence of this proposal is that isolated interjections must be considered to be minimal exclamatives. The three possibilities are represented in (6.100):

- (6.100) a [Oj]<sub>Interjection</sub> [vad pojken svettas]<sub>Propositionalization</sub>  
 b [Ø]<sub>Interjection</sub> [vad pojken svettas]<sub>Propositionalization</sub>  
 c [Oj]<sub>Interjection</sub>

As the examples in (6.100) show, I assume that the non-clausal ForceP is the obligatory part of an exclamative, irrespective of whether it is overtly realized or not.

#### 6.5.4 A formal account of the three basic Swedish exclamatives

In this section, I present the formal analyses that I propose for Swedish exclamatives. Common to all three basic kinds of exclamatives is that they are assumed to involve a non-clausal matrix under which the *att*-, *som*- or *wh*-clause is embedded. Since the internal structures of the subordinate clauses differ between the three varieties, *att*-, *som*-, and *wh*-exclamatives, are discussed in separate subsections.

##### 6.5.4.1 Wh-exclamatives

As pointed out in section 6.1.2.1, I assume that the *wh*-element, together with a nominal or adjectival head, forms a single constituent, which is located in Spec-ForceP. Force<sup>o</sup> contains a complementiser. In most cases this complementiser has no representation in the surface structure; in other words it is phonologically null. However, if the constituent in Spec-ForceP corresponds to the subject of the clause, the complementiser must obligatorily be realized in the surface structure, as illustrated in (6.101). (This is true for all instances of *som*-clauses.) The complementiser is optionally realized in cases where

Spec-ForceP is filled by a non-subject constituent, provided that this constituent is heavy enough. This is exemplified in (6.102).

- (6.101) Vilken trevlig tant \*(som) köpte huset!  
*Which nice (old).lady SOM bought house.DEF*  
 ‘What a nice old lady who bought the house!’
- (6.102) Vilken stor trädgård (som) du har anlagt!  
*which big garden SOM you have layed.out*  
 ‘What a nice garden that you have layed out!’

In my view, the possibility (or, as in (6.101), even necessity) of realising a complementiser in C, constitutes a strong argument for assuming that the structure of a *wh*-exclamative always involves a complementiser in C, irrespective of whether it is overt or covert.

The structure proposed for Swedish *wh*-exclamatives, exemplified with (6.103a), is shown in (6.103b).

- (6.103) a. Fan vilka mockasiner (som) du har köpt!  
*damn which moccasins (SOM) you have bought*  
 ‘(Damn), those are quite some moccasins that you have bought!’
- b. [<sub>ForceP</sub> Fan [<sub>Spec-ForceP</sub> vilka mockasiner <sub>Force°</sub> (som) [<sub>TP</sub> du har [<sub>vP</sub> köpt ]]]]

The internal structure of the subordinate clause in (6.103) is parallel to that of an indirect *wh*-question. This is illustrated in (6.104).

- (6.104) Jag undrar vilka mockasiner (som) du har köpt.  
*I wonder which moccasins (SOM) you have bought*  
 ‘I wonder which moccasins that you have bought.’
- Jag undrar [<sub>Spec-ForceP</sub> vilka mockasiner <sub>Force°</sub> (som) [<sub>TP</sub> du har [<sub>vP</sub> köpt]

However, the indirect question in (6.104) obviously does not convey the same meaning as the exclamative in (6.103). As suggested in section 6.1.2, this difference is presumably related to differences regarding the nature of the *wh*-elements introducing the two kinds of clauses. In the following, I will attempt to account for the semantic differences between those *wh*-elements that introduce questions on the one hand, and those that introduce exclamatives on the other.

Let us begin by looking at *wh*-elements in questions. Technically, a *wh*-word can be assumed to carry the two following features:

- A) Rogativity: A semantic feature, Q, related to sentence mood (OPEN)
- B) Focus feature: A syntactic feature, F, related to set creation ( $\lambda x$ )

In the case of a regular *wh*-question, the features above interact. The interrogativity feature Q of the *wh*-word ensures that the sentence mood operator of the clause has the specification OPEN and that the *wh*-word requests the value of a variable  $x$  in the clause. Further, the focus feature F determines a set of alternatives (Jackendoff (1972), Rooth (1985)). Consequently, F contributes by creating a set of possible, alternative propositions. The set of alternative propositions, the so-called “presuppositional set” is defined originally by Jackendoff (1972) as the set of the set of values which, when substituted for  $x$  in  $\text{Presupp}(x)$ , yield the true proposition and is symbolised with the expression  $\lambda x \text{Presupp}(x)$ .

In the answer to the a *wh*-question, the focus is obligatorily a member of the presuppositional set:

$$\text{Focus} \in \lambda x \text{Presupp}(x)$$

This means that the answer to a *wh*-question contains the focus constituent which corresponds to the variable of the question: Consider (6.105):

(6.105) A: — Vad åt Kalle?  
*what ate Kalle*  
 ‘What did Kalle eat?’

B: — Gröt.  
 ‘Porridge.’

At the time point when the question ‘what did Kalle eat’ is asked, a presuppositional set (an open proposition) is created, since  $x$  may assume a number of possible lexical values (‘bananas’, ‘meatballs’, ‘a lingonberry’ etc.). As *B* answers the question, a certain value is ascribed to  $x$  and all other possible values are excluded. This gives us the focus of the clause. Although all other possible values are excluded, they are of course, in a sense, present as a basis of comparison.

In the case of a *wh*-exclamative, the *wh*-element only carries the F-feature and contributes to set creation. Crucially, it is not endowed with the interrogativity feature and,

consequently, cannot be regarded as an open proposition. As opposed to *wh*-questions, *x* has a fixed value in a *wh*-exclamative. The selection of a high value on the scale, formalised as *x* created by F and the exclusion of all other possible values is obligatory. The other degrees on the scale are however still relevant as a basis of comparison.

To conclude, the *wh*-element of a *wh*-question has a different set of features as compared to that of a *wh*-exclamative. In a *wh*-question, the *wh*-element carries both a interrogativity and a focus feature. The combination of these features ensures that an open set is created. In contrast, the *wh*-element of an exclamative has only a focus feature, which creates a set. The absence of the interrogativity feature also accounts for the fact that the subordinate clause of a Swedish *wh*-exclamative may be introduced by lexical items such as *så* 'so' or *sicken* 'such'/'so', elements that cannot introduce questions (see also Rosengren, 1994:47). *Så* and *sicken* are not interrogative but do select a high value from a set of possible values on an implicit scale.

#### 6.5.4.2 *Som*-exclamatives

The syntactic structure that I assume for *som*-exclamatives bears some resemblance to *wh*-exclamatives. The Spec-ForceP slot is occupied by an operator which binds, and is coindexed with, an empty position further down in the structure, presumably in the vP/VP. C is obligatorily filled by an overt complementiser, (*som*). The operator may be thought of as a covert counterpart to the *wh*-element situated in the Spec-ForceP of *wh*-exclamatives. The structure that I assume for *som*-exclamatives is given in (6.106).

- (6.106) Fan som han ljuger!  
*damn SOM he lies*  
 'Damn it, he does nothing but lie!'

[<sub>ForceP</sub> Fan [<sub>Spec-ForceP</sub> OP<sub>i</sub> Force<sup>o</sup> som [<sub>TP</sub> han [<sub>vP</sub> ljuger Ø<sub>i</sub>]]]]

A remark should be made on the relation between the operator in Spec-ForceP and the variable that it binds. The exact identity of the variable bound by the operator is determined on the basis of contextual factors. As pointed out in section 6.1.2.2??, *som*-exclamatives are restricted to modifying verb phrases. Since the matrix is a non-clausal structure, which consists of an interjection or, possibly, an adjective, the variable that the operator binds within a *som*-exclamative cannot be coreferential with a constituent in the matrix. This distinguishes *som*-exclamatives from relative *som*-clauses. In the case of a relative *som*-clause, the possible values of the bound variable are limited, since the operator is typically coreferential with an antecedent within the matrix.

6.5.4.3 *Att-exclamatives*

The internal structure of an *att*-exclamative is identical to that of regular *att*-clauses. The proposed analysis is given in (6.107).

- (6.107) Fan    att    Kalle    var    hemma!  
           *damn that Kalle was home*  
           ‘Damn it, I didn’t think Kalle would be home!’

[<sub>ForceP</sub> Fan [<sub>ForceP</sub> att [<sub>TP</sub> Kalle [<sub>vP</sub> var hemma]]]]

As we can see in (6.107), what separates *att*-exclamatives from “regular” *att*-clauses is not the internal structure of the subordinate clause, but rather the nature of their respective matrices. “Regular” *att*-clauses, on the one hand, are subordinated under canonical clausal matrices, whereas *att*-exclamatives, on the other hand, are embedded under smaller, non-clausal matrices.

## 6.6 Swedish exclamatives and *The Highest Force Hypothesis*

In this section, I relate the analysis proposed in section 6.5 to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, presented in chapter 3. I show that the syntactic and semantic properties of Swedish exclamatives are in full accordance with the principles of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*.

In this chapter, I have analysed the three basic types of Swedish exclamatives: *wh*-, *som*- and *att*-exclamatives. I have argued that the clausal structures involved in these constructions are regular subordinate clauses that are embedded under non-clausal matrices, typically consisting of interjections or adjectives. Both the subordinate clause and the matrix can be overtly realised, but typically, the matrix lacks a phonological representation. However, a crucial point of the analysis proposed in this chapter is that the non-clausal matrix constitutes the obligatory part of an exclamative, whereas the subordinate clause is an optional “propositionalisation” of the state of affairs that triggers the exclamation. In other words, a Swedish exclamative is not a clause, but a non-clausal ForceP-structure, which may take a clausal complement. As we shall see, this analysis of Swedish exclamatives is consistent with the principles of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*.

According to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, presented in chapter 3, illocutionary force is a semantic property, which is coded in the highest ForceP of a syntactic structure. A core principle of the hypothesis is that an independent syntactic structure can carry no more than one illocutionary force. As argued in chapter 3, main clauses and subordinate clauses

differ with respect to whether or not they have illocutionary force, and this difference is intrinsically linked to the configuration of the C-domain. A main clause is a clause that has illocutionary force, and in Swedish, this is encoded by V-to-Force-movement. The verb of a subordinate clause does not move, but stays in the VP, meaning that such a clause lacks illocutionary force. The C-domain of a subordinate clause contains a complementiser, which has moved to Force<sup>°</sup>, after being merged in Fin<sup>°</sup>. The role of the complementiser, which may or may not have phonological representation, is to anchor the proposition expressed in the subordinate clause in the origo and illocutionary force of a higher ForceP-structure.

According to the requirements of *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, the *wh*-, *som*- and *att*-clauses that appear in Swedish exclamatives are unambiguously subordinate. It is clear that verb movement does not take place in any of these clauses. Consequently, they should lack illocutionary force. This prediction is borne out, as the propositions expressed in the clausal parts of Swedish exclamatives are presupposed. This follows from the fact that a presupposed proposition must be externally licenced in syntax. As argued in this chapter, the *wh*-, *som*- and *att*-clauses of Swedish exclamative constructions all contain complementisers in Force<sup>°</sup>. These complementisers anchor the propositions expressed in the subordinate clauses in a higher ForceP-structure.

As pointed out in chapter 2, a linguistic structure can be used to convey a speech act, without expressing a proposition. In *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, such structures are accounted for in terms of non-clausal ForcePs. A typical example of a minimal non-clausal ForceP is a single interjection, used to make an exclamation. Such a structure involves only a FinP and a ForceP. The interjection is first merged in Fin<sup>°</sup>, before moving to Force<sup>°</sup>. Lacking both a VP- and TP-domain, a non-clausal ForceP does not convey a proposition and cannot be embedded (see chapter 2). Crucially, however, nothing prevents that a non-clausal ForceP, itself, takes a clausal complement. The deictic information, such as tense and person, is then interpreted in relation to the origo in the non-clausal ForceP.

According to the analysis proposed in this chapter, a Swedish exclamative obligatorily involves a non-clausal ForceP-structure, which normally consists of an interjection or an adjective. Typically, it constitutes the matrix of a *wh*-, *som*- or *att*-clause, licensing their presuppositions.

Interestingly, the analysis proposed in this chapter has bearing on the question of whether or not exclamatives should be regarded as a separate sentence type, on a par with declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives. This issue has long been a matter of debate. Some scholars assume that exclamatives do constitute a sentence type in their own right (see, for instance, Delsing 2010, and Zanuttini & Portner 2003), others that they do not

(see, for instance, Rosengren 1994 and d'Avis 2001). However, as argued in this chapter, Swedish exclamatives are not clauses, but non-clausal ForceP-structures. Consequently, it is not relevant to discuss (Swedish) exclamatives in terms of sentence types. However, it is also clear that exclamatives constitute a distinct group of constructions that are used to convey specific speech acts, and, from this point of view, it may be motivated to treat them as a sentence type.

## 6.7 Summary and conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with Swedish exclamatives from the perspective of the hierarchical status of clauses. The overarching question has been whether they are main clauses or subordinate clauses and how they relate to *The Highest Force Hypothesis*.

Three basic kinds of Swedish exclamatives were distinguished: *wh*-exclamatives, *som*-exclamatives and *att*-exclamatives. All three types are characterized by the fact that they display a canonical subordinate clause word order. At the same time, they appear to be independent in the sense that they are grammatical without an overt matrix.

I have also shown that Swedish exclamatives cannot be modalized by sentence adverbials and that they cannot be used as answers to questions. Further, it was pointed out that they can be embedded under matrices containing factive predicates. These facts, I have argued, are all in accordance with the analysis that the propositional content of an exclamative is presupposed by a factive element in an overt or covert matrix.

In addition to the possibility of embedding exclamatives under clausal matrices, I have demonstrated that they may also be preceded by non-clausal matrices, consisting of interjections. On the basis of these facts, I have proposed an analysis according to which all three categories of exclamatives in Swedish are subordinate to matrices. These matrices may be either covert or overt but are nonetheless always present in the structure. I have shown that this analysis can account both for the canonical subordinate clause structure (i.e. complementiser and V-in-situ) and for the fact that the propositional content of an exclamative is presupposed.

Following the analysis that exclamatives are in fact subordinate clauses, I concluded that they are entirely compatible with *The Highest Force Hypothesis* as presented in chapter 3. The narrow part of exclamatives, the subordinate clauses, are thus not encoded for illocutionary force, which is in accordance with the fact that their propositional content is presupposed. The lack of illocutionary force is mirrored in the internal syntactic structure of exclamatives. In the *wh*-, *som*- and *att*-clauses in question, Force<sup>o</sup> is occupied by a

complementiser, which relates the clause to a higher Force projection, in this case a non-clausal matrix. This refutes the traditional view that the overtly realised clause constitutes the entire structure of an exclamative. As shown in this chapter, the clausal part of an exclamative is, in fact, an optional constituent. It can be merged in a complement of a superordinate ForceP that constitutes the obligatory part of the exclamative, whether phonologically realised or not. The optional, clausal part of an exclamative expresses a propositionalisation of the state of affairs that triggers the exclamation. Crucially, this means that the *wh*-, *som*- and *att*-clauses of the corresponding kinds of exclamatives are canonical subordinate clauses, no different to other subordinate clauses in Swedish. Consequently, the difference between exclamatives and basic Swedish sentence types is not in the internal structure of the subordinate clause but in the nature of the matrix. A consequence of the proposed analysis is also that exclamatives, such as those presented in (6.1)–(6.3) in the beginning of the chapter, are not clauses, but consist of non-clausal structures comprising a non-verbal element merged in Force<sup>o</sup> (typically an interjection or an adjective). Non-clausal structures do not contain TPs. Thus, exclamatives do not, and indeed cannot, be specified for tense relations. This explains why exclamatives cannot refer to the past or the future.

To conclude, an exclamative is a non-clausal ForceP used to convey a linguistic reaction to a stimulus, be it an object, an event, or a state of affairs. The subordinate clause (i.e. the clause which we often regard as the whole exclamative) is an optional “propositionalisation” of the stimulus to which the exclamation (i.e. the matrix) is a reaction.





## 7 Summary and conclusion

Semantic and syntactic relations between clauses have been an important field of research within linguistic theory. Many relevant criteria of subordination have been discussed and applied in analyses of different linguistic structures in order to distinguish subordinated from non-subordinated structures. However, the traditional dichotomy between main and subordinate clauses cannot capture the facts regarding all clausal types. As has been shown, there exist a number of structures that cannot be subsumed easily into one or the other category, since in many cases the semantic and syntactic criteria have given rise to different categorisations. In this dissertation, I have proposed a unified account of subordination by suggesting a solution to problems associated with three notoriously problematic clausal structures: “embedded V2”-clauses, direct speech constructions, and exclamatives. The proposed analysis is based on Swedish data, but it has potential to be extended to other languages as well. Further, I anticipate that the results of my study will have an impact on theoretical discussion in the field.

The three syntactic structures that have I focused on in this dissertation are illustrated in (7.1) and (7.2), which are repetitions of (1.1a–c) from chapter 1.

(7.1) a Han sa att jag gillar inte sill. ”Embedded V2”  
*he said that I like not herring*  
‘He said that I do not like herring.’

b Han sa: Jag gillar inte sill. Reported speech  
*he said I like not herring*  
‘He said: I don’t like herring.’

(7.2) Att du inte gillar sill! Exclamative  
that you not like herring  
≈ ‘I can’t believe you don’t like herring!’

The examples in (7.1) and (7.2) are problematic for traditional analyses of subordination in different ways. The problem with (7.1a) and (7.1b) is that the segments *att jag gillar inte sill* and *Jag gillar inte sill* have main clause word order, but at the same time appear to be embedded in matrices, on a par with canonical subordinate clauses. Furthermore, *att jag gillar inte sill* in (7.1a) appears to be introduced by a complementiser, *att*. The criteria for main and subordinate clauses collide also in (7.2), but in the opposite way: The embedded word order appears in a seemingly independent clause. I have shown that the

two types of problems can be resolved by a new analysis, proposed here that takes both a broader range of data into consideration and searches for solutions above the clausal level.

The analysis is broadly carried out within the framework of Minimalism (Chomsky 1995). It is based primarily on the so-called Highest Force Hypothesis, formulated as (3.1) and repeated below as (7.3):

(7.3) **The Highest Force Hypothesis:**

- a. A well-formed independent syntactic tree has precisely one origo and one specification with the value [+illocutionary force]. Both are encoded in the highest projections of the structure, that is, in the highest FinP and ForceP, respectively.
- b. In Swedish, the finite verb of a clause moves to the head of the highest ForceP, unless such movement is blocked by a complementiser. In embedded ForceP-structures, the head of ForceP contains a complementiser (overt or phonologically null).

As generally claimed, origo and illocutionary force are related to the context in which every syntactic structure is embedded. Origo is the anchoring point of an utterance: the HERE, NOW, and I of the speaker. In a minimalist framework, it can be considered closely related to the finiteness feature, which is located in the highest FinP of a syntactic structure. The other relevant aspect of contextual anchoring is illocutionary force, which specifies the communicative intent of the speaker in a given communicative situation. Illocutionary force is hosted in the highest ForceP of the syntactic structure.

Crucially, my claim here is that a syntactically independent utterance can contain only one origo and one instance of illocutionary force. In my dissertation, I have argued that in Swedish, a V2-language, the movement of a finite verb into the Force<sup>o</sup> position renders a [+] value for illocutionary force. Importantly also interjections, located in the ForceP, have the same effect. However, complementisers, having the function to mark the hierarchical “degrading” of a structure, cannot be associated with illocutionary force. Consequently, when a complementiser is situated in the Force<sup>o</sup>, it crucially marks the absence of illocutionary force.

As argued in *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, an independent syntactic structure, irrespective of its size or complexity, has precisely one origo and one illocutionary force, both of which are located in its highest projection, namely its ForceP. I further hypothesised that, in Swedish, and possibly also in the Germanic V2-languages more generally, the finite verb of a clausal structure will move to the head of ForceP if and only if it is first merged in the

VP closest to ForceP. Thus, I claim that the characteristic V-to-Force movement found in Swedish is an overt and obligatory encoding of a clause's hierarchical status and thus an indication of illocutionary force.

The proposed analysis has consequences for all three above-mentioned clause types. Let us start with (7.1a). As we can see, this example contains what traditionally is regarded as a complementiser, *att*, but nevertheless it has V2 word order, which is indicated by movement of the verb across the negative adverb *inte*. This looks like a contradiction. The solution that I have proposed here is based on a new analysis of *att* in what is usually referred to as “embedded V2”. In this use, *att* is a pronominal element with special properties. My claim is that it is a linguistic pointer, a kind of demonstrative pronoun, which points forward in the linguistic discourse. As I have argued here, there is independent evidence for the claim that this version of *att* belongs to the matrix, and not to the V2-clause that follows. The analysis has the consequence that the V2-clause is a main clause, and that the relation between “the matrix” and the “embedded V2” clause is not syntactic but textual in nature.

My approach opens a new perspective on reported speech. What I have argued here is that (7.1a) and (7.1b) have basically the same structure. The only relevant difference is that (7.1b) contains a null version of the demonstrative *att*. The deictic function present in *att* in (7.1a) is, however, indicated by other means in (7.1b). In written language this is rendered by a colon, and in spoken language it is expressed by prosody. My claim is that the reporting and the reported segments in (7.1b) are not related syntactically, only textually, just as for (7.1a).

The exclamative structure, illustrated in example (7.2), is a challenge for traditional analyses in a completely different way. The word order is identical to that of a canonical subordinate clause, but the structure contains no matrix. However, appearances are deceptive. I have argued here that every subordinate exclamative structure is, in fact, embedded under an overt or covert non-clausal matrix, and related to the ForceP of this matrix, where both the origo and the illocutionary force of the exclamative are encoded. The absence of tense in the matrix accounts for why exclamatives can only be immediate responses to different kinds of stimuli, external or internal ones. The main advantage of this analysis is that it can capture not only the relation between interjections and exclamatives, but also the syntax and discourse semantics of interjections uttered in isolation.

As far as I can see, the main virtue of my analysis is that it provides a unified account of subordination and includes a solution for the problems posed by the three above-mentioned structures. *The Highest Force Hypothesis* makes clear predictions that can be tested cross-linguistically and in a broader sense, its value depends on how well it can give

a satisfactory account for similar phenomena in other languages – an important task for future research.

## 8 Sammanfattning på svenska

Syftet med denna avhandling har varit att undersöka och försöka definiera begreppen över- och underordning. Arbetet har kretsat kring tre svenska konstruktionstyper som visat sig synnerligen svåra att passa in i den traditionella grammatikens uppdelning i de grundläggande kategorierna huvud- och bisats. De strukturer som undersökts är så kallade ”inbäddade V2”-sats, direkta anföringskonstruktioner och exklamativa. Se exemplen i (8.1), där relevanta delar är understrukna.

- (8.1) a Han sa att jag gillar inte sill.      “inbäddad V2”  
b Han sa: Jag gillar inte sill.      direkt anföring  
c Att du inte gillar sill!      exklamativ

Problemet med konstruktionerna i (8.1a) och (8.1b) är att de innehåller sats som uppvisar en blandning av huvudsats- och bisatsegenskaper: *att jag gillar inte sill* i (8.1a) har huvudsatsordföljd, men ser ut att fungera som komplement till *sa*, som naturligt tolkas som matrisverb. Det verkar också intuitivt riktigt att se *att* som identiskt med det *att* som inleder kanoniska bisatser som, till exempel, *att jag inte gillar sill*. Samma resonemang gäller för (8.1b) men med den skillnaden att det antagna verbkomplementet saknar *att*. Exemplet i (8.1c) är problematiskt såtillvida att det tycks bestå av en självständig bisats, vilket, närmast per definition, vore en motsägelse. Å ena sidan saknar satsen i fråga en matrissats, å andra sidan uppvisar den en otvetydig bisatsordföljd, vilket framgår av att det finita verbet står efter negationen.

Diskussionen om syntaktisk över- och underordning centreras i avhandlingen kring en hypotes, *The Highest Force Hypothesis*, som har som syfte dels att bringa klarhet i problemet med huvud- eller bisatsstatus hos exempel som de i (8.1), dels att erbjuda en enhetlig förklaringsmodell för syntaktisk över- och underordning på ett mer generellt plan. Enligt *The Highest Force Hypothesis* ger det finita verbets position en entydig signal om huruvida en viss sats är en huvudsats eller en bisats.

I den högsta funktionella delen av satsen, C-domänen, antas två projektioner, ForceP, som kodar för talaktvärde, och FinP, som ger satsen en origo, det vill säga en deiktisk utgångspunkt. Verbflytt till C-domänen ger satsen talaktvärde, d.v.s. skapar ett potentiellt kommunikativt yttrande, samt ger satsen en deiktisk utgångspunkt, talarens JAG, HÄR och NU. Huvudsatser förankras på detta sätt direkt i diskursen. I bisatser står i stället en subjunktion på samma plats, vilket blockerar verbflytt till C-domänen, och gör att

talaktsvärde och origo knyts till matrisen. Den föreslagna teorin är förankrad i den Bestens inflytelserika studie från (1983), och bygger på det grundläggande antagandet att verbflytt i svenska alltid sker till den högsta delen av C-domänen. Med utgångspunkt i denna princip kan frågan om huvud- eller bisatsstatus hos satser avgöras entydigt. Eftersom subjunktioner och verb står i komplementär distribution i C-domänen är huvudsatser och bisatser strikt komplementära; antingen är en sats en huvudsats, och då står det finita verbet i C-domänen, eller också är den en bisats, och då står det en subjunktion på denna plats.

En konsekvens av den föreslagna analysen är att den ”inbäddade V2”-satsen i (8.1a) och den direkta anföringen i (8.1b) båda är huvudsatser. Som förväntat har båda dessa satser ett eget talaktsvärde och en egen origo, oberoende av ”matrisen”. Ett tydligt tecken på detta är det faktum att *Han* och *jag* kan vara koreferenta i (8.1a) och (8.1b), något som inte är möjligt i motsvarande konstruktioner med kanoniska bisatser.

Enligt *The Highest Force Hypothesis* är (8.1c) en bisats – av positionen till höger om det finita verbet kan vi utläsa att verbflytt till C-domänen inte har ägt rum. Jag visar att det är rimligt att anta att exklamativsatser, som exemplet in (8.1c), i själva verket är bisatser som fungerar som komplement till en optionellt realiserbar interjektion, till exempel *tänk*, som i (*Tänk att du inte gillar sill!* (*Tänk* antas här alltså inte längre ordklassmässigt vara ett verb utan en interjektion.) Interjektionen antas ha basgenererats i en egen C-domän, där den deiktiska utgångspunkten, talarens JAG, HÄR och NU, är kodat. Denna origo är sedan utgångspunkt för tolkningen av deiktiska element, t.ex. tempus, i komplementsbisatsen. Vad som ger exklamativ drag av direkthet eller omedelbarhet – de är omedelbara reaktioner på en stimuli, som kan ha sitt ursprung i en perception eller en tanke – är frånvaron av en tempusfras, en TP, i den icke-verbala matrisen. Talaktsvärdet, som gör yttrandet till ett potentiellt kommunikativt yttrande, finns i den översta C-domänen, där interjektionen i grund och botten fyller samma funktion som finita verb i motsvarande satser. *The Highest Force Hypothesis* har följaktligen som syfte att inte bara beskriva skillnaden mellan bisatser och huvudsatser, utan över- och underordning mer generellt, d.v.s. även i fall då matrisen är icke-verbal.

Den föreslagna analysen ger upphov till ett antal frågor. Den viktigaste handlar om statusen hos den förmenta subjunktionen *att* i ”inbäddad V2”. Jag ger argument för att det är rimligt att anta att *att* i denna konstruktionstyp inte är en subjunktion, utan ett pronominellt element, närmare bestämt ett demonstrativt pronomen som hör till satsen före och fungerar som det äkta komplementet – objektet – till ”matris verbet”, alltså till *sa* i (8.1a). (Av analysen följer därför att *sa* inte är ett matrisverb i egentlig bemärkelse i (8.1a).) Det demonstrativa pronomenet *att* pekar framåt i den språkliga diskursen, på den omedelbart efterföljande talakten, som ”återuppspelas” med en ny origo och ett eget talaktsvärde. Tanken på att det finns ett pronominellt *att* som är homonymt med

subjunktionen *att* är rimlig inte minst utifrån språkhistoriska data, som tydligt pekar på ett pronominellt ursprung för subjunktionen *att*, nämligen det demonstrativa pronomenet *det*. Likheten mellan det demonstrativa pronomenet *that* i engelska och subjunktionen *that*, samt motsvarande förhållande för *das/daß* i tyska, antyder att det skulle vara fruktbart att pröva samma analys för dessa språk, något som dock inte utvecklas närmare i denna avhandling.

”Matrisen” i exempel som (8.1b) antas innehålla ett fonologiskt tomt pronomen,  $\emptyset$ , i alla avseenden parallellt med det demonstrativa pronomenet *att* i (8.1a). På detta sätt ger analysen en enhetlig tolkning av ”inbäddad V2” och direkt anföring.

Konsekvensen av den föreslagna analysen är att exemplen in (8.1a) och (8.1b) innehåller två huvudsatser, i (8.1a) *han sa att* och *jag gillar inte sill* och i (8.1b) *Han sa  $\emptyset$*  och *Jag gillar inte sill*. Förhållandet mellan de två satserna är inte syntaktiskt/hierarkiskt, utan textuellt, och kan beskrivas i termer av pronominell syftning.





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