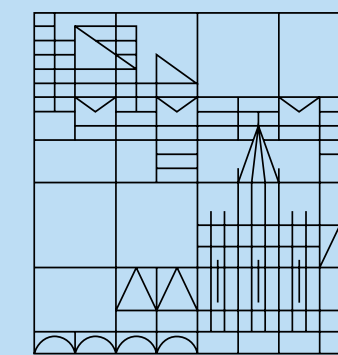




DP-INTERNAL DISCOURSE PARTICLES, ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE, AND SPECIFICITY

Andreas Trotzke & Yvonne Viesel

andreas.trotzke@uni-konstanz.de; yvonne.viesel@uni-konstanz.de

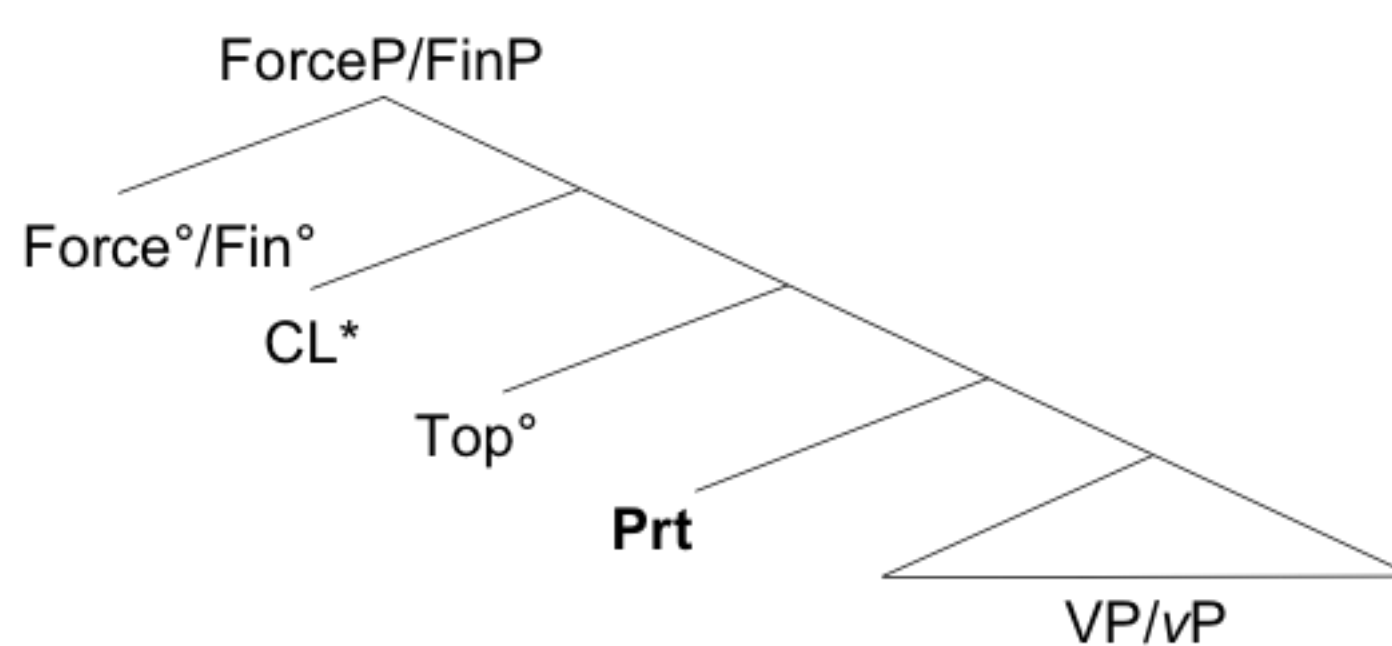
Summary

We propose an analysis for the occurrence of German discourse particles inside the nominal domain. We account for the interaction between the functional make-up of the DP, discourse particles, and specificity. Our approach sheds light on parallels between the sentential and nominal domain regarding their information structural and illocutionary properties.

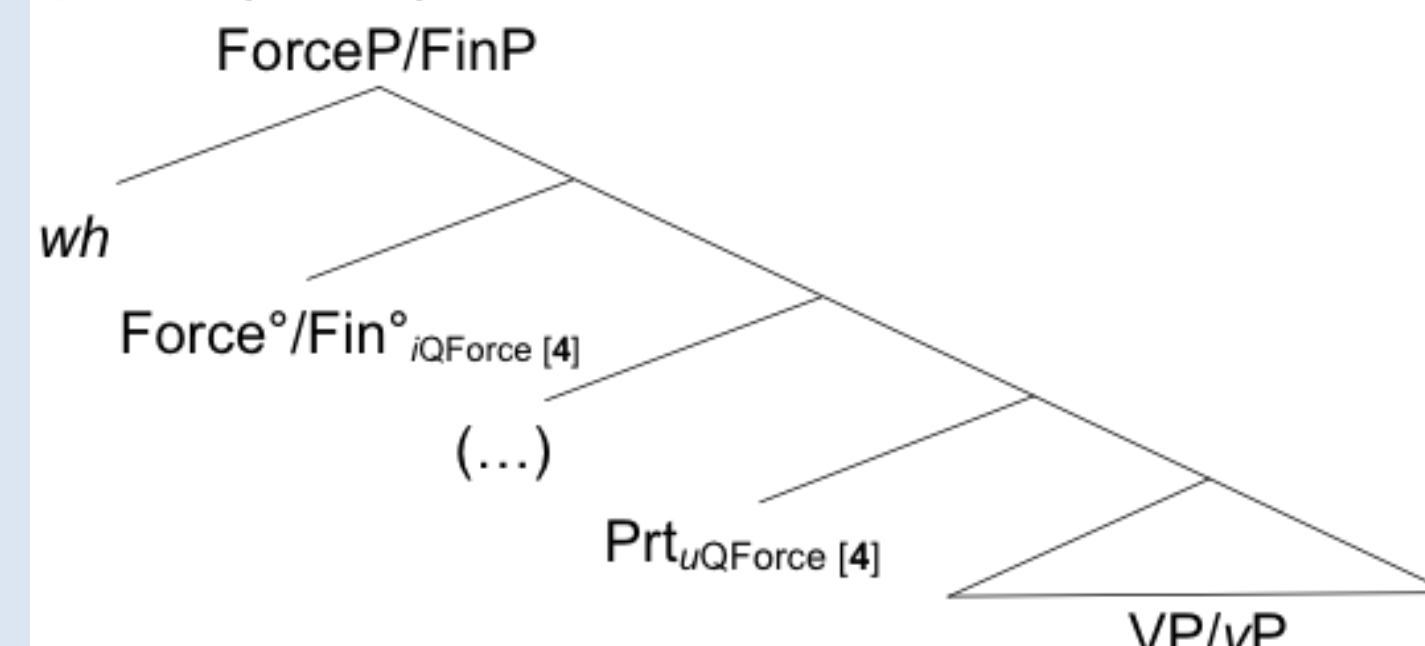
Particles at the clausal level

- (1) a. **Warum hat dieser schwerkranke Mann ja keine Jacke an?*
why has this seriously.sick man JA no jacket on
'Why does this seriously sick man not wear a jacket?'
- b. **Dieser Mann ist denn schwerkrank.*
this man is DENN seriously.sick
'This man is seriously sick.'
- (2) a. *Warum hat dieser schwerkranke Mann denn keine Jacke an?*
b. *Dieser Mann ist ja schwerkrank.* ... are Force-sensitive.

... are invariably stuck in a pre-VP/vP position.



... co-determine the illocutionary force of an utterance at an arbitrary distance from Force° via probe-goal agreement (cf. Bayer and Obenauer 2011).



Particles in the DP

... are independent of clause types.

- (1) *Warum hat dieser ja / wohl schwerkranke Mann (denn) keine Jacke an?*

- (2) *_[DP] *diese ja angebliche Krankheit*
this JA alleged sickness

... appear only with adjectives that, according to standard assumptions, originate in reduced relative clauses (cf. Kayne 1994).

- (3) _[DP] *dieser* _[CP] _[AP] *schwerkranke* _[C°] _[IP] _[DP] *Mann* ... _{t_i}]]

A recent **corpus search** in DWDS corpora ('Digital Dictionary of the German Language') for DP-internal discourse particles suggests that **specificity** may be a major licensing criterion. Of the relevant findings, **only 5.8%** were DPs **without a definite article**, most of which are **preceded in the discourse by a unique entity**, or are at least **contextually specified** by such means as a **stage-setting adverbial**:

- (4) *eine ja nicht immer einfache Musik* → contextually referring to Jazz
a JA not always easy music
'a music which is not always easy'
(*Die Zeit*, 01/27/2006; <http://www.zeit.de/online/2006/20/alpenjazz>, 12/13/2013)

- (5) *Auf seinem Schreibtisch liegt ein wohl 30 Zentimeter hoher Aktenstapel.*
on his desk lies a WOHL 30 cm high pile-of-files
'On his desk, there is 30 cm high pile of files.'
(Scherzer, Landolf. 2001 [1988]. *Der Erste*. Berlin: Aufbau-Taschenbuch-Verlag: 23.)

... appear to require (contextually given) specific reference.

Particles in relative clauses

Particles occur in appositive, but not in restrictive relative clauses (cf. Coniglio 2011).

- (1) a. *Eine Kollegin, die (*ja) in Syracuse wohnt, wird kommen.* (Kratzer 1999: 5)
a colleague who JA in Syracuse lives will come
'A colleague who lives in Syracuse will come.'
- b. **Die Firma sucht einen Angestellten, der ja immer pünktlich ist.* (Zimmermann 2004: 32)
the firm looks-for an employee who JA always punctual is
'The firm is looking for an employee who is always punctual.'

However: **ja** reactivates common ground information (Hinterhölzl and Krifka 2013),
wohl just expresses the speaker's uncertainty.

- (1') a. *Eine Kollegin, die wohl in Syracuse wohnt, wird kommen.*

... are felicitous in non-appositive relative clauses if semantically appropriate

- b. *Mit Herrn K. bekommt die Firma einen Angestellten, der ja immer pünktlich ist.*
with Mr. K. gets the firm an employee who JA always punctual is
'With Mr. K., the firm gets an employee who is always punctual.'

... and/or if the respective DP has a specific referent in the discourse.

Particles and DP-internal Force

_[DP] _{D°} _{[REF[4]]} ... _{[AP ... Prt_{[UREF[4]]} ...]]}

→ The referential mode of D is independent of the reference-sensitive particle. By agreement dissociated from interpretability, D° can probe an uninterpretable feature on Prt (cf. Authier 2013; Bayer and Obenauer 2011).

Particles and the functional make-up of APs

Particles allowed in DPs, e.g. *ja*, *wohl*, *halt*, *doch*, scope over a DP-internal propositional content that must be declarative.

- (1) a. *Hat dieser ja schwerkranke Mann jetzt eine Jacke an?* → The speaker makes salient the uncontroversial fact that the man is seriously sick. → No LF-movement of the particle to ForceP (cf. also Complex NP Constraint)!
- b. *Hans findet _[SC] die Krankheit ja nicht sehrerfreulich.* → In constructions like small clauses (with a truncated functional structure), and in contrast to AP constructions, particles take scope over the propositional content expressed by the whole CP (i.e. the speaker makes salient the uncontroversial fact that Hans does not find the sickness very pleasant).
Hans finds the sickness JA not very pleasant
'Hans does not find the sickness very pleasant.'
- It is not uncontroversial whether the man is wearing a jacket!

- (2) a. *dieser ja im letzten Jahr schwerkranke Mann*
this JA in.the last year seriously.sick man
'this man who was seriously sick last year'
- b. *dieser im letzten Jahr ja schwerkranke Mann*
- (3) Wie erging es eigentlich im letzten Jahr dem armen Herrn Meier?
'What happened to poor Mr. Meier last year?'
- a. *Dieser im letzten Jahr ja schwerkranke Mann musste ins Krankenhaus gehen.*
this in.the last year JA seriously.sick man had.to in.the hospital go
- b. ?*Dieser ja im letzten Jahr schwerkranke Mann musste ins Krankenhaus gehen.*

- (4) _[TopP] *im letzten Jahr* _[Prt] *ja* ... _[TP] _[lexical layer] _{t_i} _[A] *schwerkrank* _[(Mann)]] _[T°]] → The head noun is base-generated in AP, receiving its Θ-role from A. T° remains empty as a position for present and past participle suffixes in participial modifiers (cf. Struckmeier 2010).

Connecting DP-internal Force to CP Force

- DP-internal discourse particles do not depend on a particular sentence type at the level of CP, but their interpretive impact connects to the speaker of the utterance.
- Therefore, we suggest that DP-internal discourse particles in German provide evidence for SPLITTING FORCE into a 'CLAUSE-TYPING' domain and a 'SPEAKER ATTITUDE' projection that encodes the speaker's relation to propositional contents of the utterance (Haegeman 2010).

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