

Parenthesis and Comparative Operator Deletion

0. Introduction

parenthetical constructions in Hungarian introduced by *mint* ‘than/as’:

- (1) A teknősök, **mint** tudjuk, szeretik a rákot.
the turtles as know-1.Pl. like-3.Pl. the shrimp-Acc.
‘Turtles, as we know, like shrimp.’

mint introduces ordinary comparative subclauses too:

- comparatives expressing equality:

- (2) Peti olyan magas, **mint** az apja.
Peter so tall as the father-Poss.3.Sg.
‘Peter is as tall as his father.’

- comparatives expressing inequality:

- (3) Peti magasabb, **mint** az apja.
Peter taller than the father-Poss.3.Sg.
‘Peter is taller than his father.’

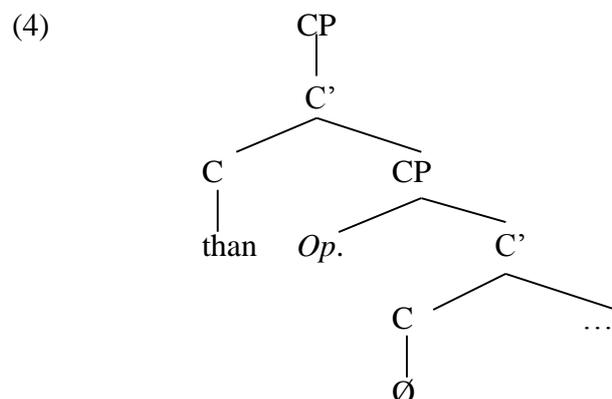
comparative operator – e.g. *amilyen* ‘how’ in the subclause

- optionally present in ordinary comparative subclauses (following *mint*)
- cannot co-occur with *mint* in parenthetical clauses

→ proposal: *mint* + comparative operator ruled out in parentheticals due to the presence of a null operator (standing for the missing object)

1. Operators in comparative subclauses

left periphery (cf. Rizzi 1997, 1999, 2004):



operator movement (cf. Chomsky 1977, Kennedy and Merchant 2000)

targets the lower [Spec; CP] position

comparative operator: relative operator

reasons for movement: comparatives obey islands

- *wh*-island:

- (5) a. *Frank killed more dragons than OP_x Margaret wondered [whether to kiss t_x].
 b. Frank killed more dragons than OP_x Margaret wanted to kiss t_x .

- complex NP islands:

- (6) a. *Frank killed more dragons than OP_x he had outlined [a plan to kill t_x].
 b. Frank killed more dragons than OP_x he planned to kill t_x .

overt operators also realised in the lower [Spec; CP] position

overt operators in English:

- (7) % John is taller **than what** Mary is. (Chomsky 1977, 87, ex. 51a)

2. Comparative subclauses in Hungarian

comparative complementiser: *mint* ‘as/than’

- optional overt operators:

- (8) a. Peti olyan magas, **mint (amilyen)** az apja.
 Peter so tall as how the father-Poss.3.Sg.
 ‘Peter is as tall as his father.’
 b. Peti magasabb, **mint (amilyen)** az apja.
 Peter taller than how the father-Poss.3.Sg.
 ‘Peter is taller than his father.’

- *amilyen* ‘how’ may be combined with a lexical AP (\leftrightarrow *what* in English):

- (9) a. Peti olyan magas, **mint amilyen (magas)** az apja.
 Peter so tall as how tall the father-Poss.3.Sg.
 ‘Peter is as tall as his father.’
 b. Peti magasabb, **mint amilyen (magas)** az apja.
 Peter taller than how tall the father-Poss.3.Sg.
 ‘Peter is taller than his father.’

- if the AP in the subclause is not e-GIVEN (cf. Merchant 2001), then it cannot be eliminated:

(10) a. A kutya olyan kövér, **mint amilyen széles** a kutyaház.
 the dog as fat as how wide the doghouse
 ‘The dog is as fat as the doghouse is wide.’

b. A kutya kövérebb, **mint amilyen széles** a kutyaház.
 the dog fatter than how wide the doghouse
 ‘The dog is fatter than the doghouse is wide.’

→ quantified expression may remain overt irrespectively of whether it is e-GIVEN or not

e-GIVEN QP: logically identical QP in the matrix clause (cf. Bacskai-Atkari 2010)

but: if the AP is e-GIVEN, then the operator is also optional in Hungarian

AP requires the presence of the operator otherwise

3. Parenthetical clauses and operators

parenthetical clauses introduced by *mint* ‘as’

expectation: operator should be optional

no matrix clausal antecedent in the form of a QP

→ no lexical AP taken by the operator

element *ahogy* ‘how’ – normally a VP-modifying adverbial operator

(11) a. A teknősök, **mint (ahogy)** tudjuk, szeretik a rákot.
 the turtles as how know-1.Pl. like-3.Pl. the shrimp-Acc.
 ‘Turtles, as we know, like shrimp.’

b. Az igazgató, **mint (ahogy)** elmondta, maga is meglepődött a
 the headmaster as how PART-said-3.Sg. himself too surprised-3.Sg. the
 jó eredményeken.
 good results

‘The headmaster, as he said, was surprised by the good results himself.’

↔ *amilyen* ‘how’: cannot co-occur with *mint*:

(12) a. Peti, (***mint**) **amilyen** magas, be fogja verni a
 Peter as how tall PART Aux.Fut.3.Sg. hit the
 fejét.
 head-Poss.3.Sg.Acc.
 ‘Peter, tall as he is, will hit his head.’

b. Peti, (***mint**) **amilyen** magas ember, be fogja verni a
 Peter as how tall person PART Aux.Fut.3.Sg. hit the
 fejét.
 head-Poss.3.Sg.Acc.
 ‘Peter, tall as he is, will hit his head.’

lexical AP (and/or NP) in (12) cannot be deleted ↔ comparatives

→ operator has to remain overt if the AP moves to the [Spec, CP] position

question: why *mint* has to be eliminated

↔ comparatives

↔ parentheticals with *ahogy*

4. Null operators in parenthetical clauses

some properties of reduced parenthetical clauses

(cf. Schneider 2007, De Vries 2007, Ackema and Neeleman 2004, Hoffmann 1998)

- the verb lacks one of its arguments required by its valency
- no overt syntactic link to the host they are attached to
- host clause visible to parenthetical clause but not vice versa
- one valency requirement of the parenthetical verb satisfied by the host clause itself

empty operators in parentheticals (Schneider 2007; Heringa 2011)

as-parentheticals: null operator moving to [Spec; CP] ~ missing object (Potts 2002: 62)

(13) Cuckoos don’t build nests, as Op_1 everybody knows t_1 .

Hungarian parentheticals: verb in the objective paradigm

- (14) a. A teknősök, mint **tudjuk**, szeretik a rákot.
 the turtles as know-1.Pl.Objective like-3.Pl. the shrimp-Acc.
 ‘Turtles, as we know, like shrimp.’
- b. *A teknősök, mint **tudunk**, szeretik a rákot.
 the turtles as know-1.Pl.Subjective like-3.Pl. the shrimp-Acc.
 ‘Turtles, as we know, like shrimp.’

→ there must be an object that the verb agrees with

no overt object relative pronoun in Hungarian parentheticals:

- (15) a. *A teknősök, mint **amit** tudjuk, szeretik a rákot.
 the turtles as what-Acc. know-1.Pl.Objective like-3.Pl. the shrimp-Acc.
 ‘Turtles, as we know, like shrimp.’
- b. *A teknősök, mint **amit** tudunk, szeretik a rákot.
 the turtles as what-Acc. know-1.Pl.Subjective like-3.Pl. the shrimp-Acc.
 ‘Turtles, as we know, like shrimp.’

overt relative pronouns would trigger the subjective paradigm:

- (16) a. Ez az, amit **tudunk**.
 this that what-Acc. know-1.Pl.Subjective
 ‘This is what we know.’
- b. *Ez az, amit **tudjuk**.
 this that what-Acc. know-1.Pl.Objective
 ‘This is what we know.’

null operator licenses a resumptive pronoun:

- (17) A teknősök, mint **azt** tudjuk, szeretik a rákot.
 the turtles as that-Acc. know-1.Pl.Objective like-3.Pl. the shrimp-Acc.
 ‘Turtles, as we know, like shrimp.’

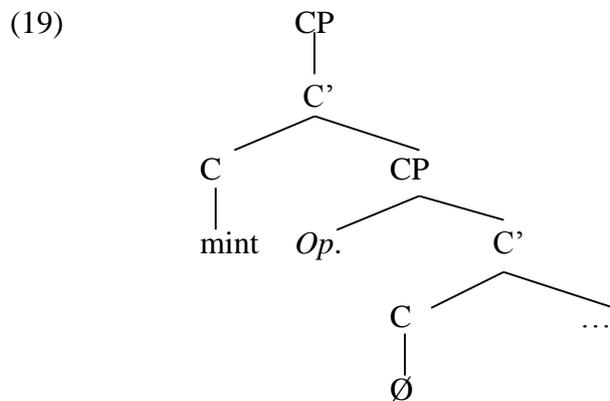
null operator targets the lower [Spec; CP] → cannot co-occur with elements that moving there

5. Multiple operators

recall: comparative operators may appear in parentheticals:

- (18) Peti, (***mint**) **amilyen** magas, be fogja verni a
 Peter as how tall PART Aux.Fut.3.Sg. hit the
 fejét.
 head-Poss.3.Sg.Acc.
 ‘Peter, tall as he is, will hit his head.’

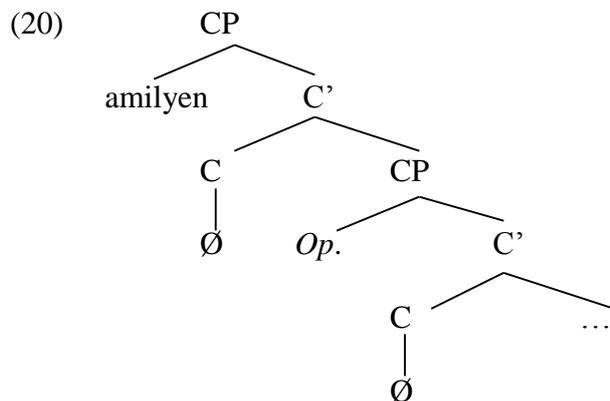
but: *mint* 'as' a higher C head and null operator in the lower [Spec; CP] – e.g. (14):



→ comparative operator *amilyen* 'how' and null operator competing for the same position?

- *amilyen* may co-occur with the null operator – (18)
- *mint* can co-occur with the null operator but not with the comparative operator – (18)
- there are two [Spec; CP] positions

→ multiple operators in (18):



- *mint* ruled out because of the Doubly Filled COMP Filter
- *amilyen* has to move up to a [Spec; CP] position – [EDGE] feature
- overttness requirement: there has to be an overt element marking [+compr] at the left edge

6. Multiple complementisers

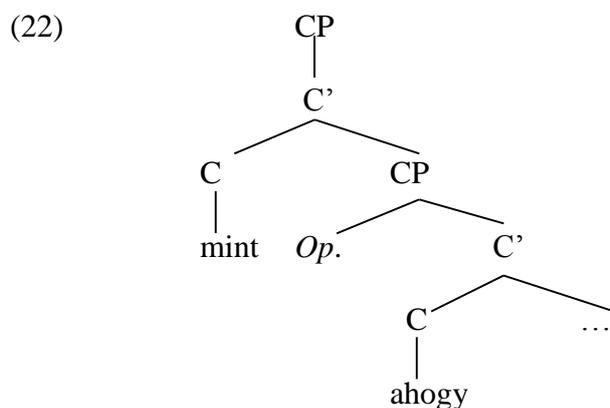
ahogy ‘how’ may co-occur with *mint* ‘as’:

- (21) A teknősök, **mint** (**ahogy**) tudjuk, szeretik a rákot.
 the turtles as how know-1.Pl. like-3.Pl. the shrimp-Acc.
 ‘Turtles, as we know, like shrimp.’

→ *ahogy* cannot be in the higher [Spec; CP] – it follows *mint*

→ *ahogy* cannot be in the lower [Spec; CP] – there is the null operator

proposal: *ahogy* is a grammaticalised (lower) C head:



- *ahogy* cannot combine with lexical APs (↔ *amilyen* ‘how’)
- the absence of *mint* results in degraded acceptability

- (23) ??? A teknősök, **ahogy** tudjuk, szeretik a rákot.
 the turtles how know-1.Pl. like-3.Pl. the shrimp-Acc.
 ‘Turtles, as we know, like shrimp.’

→ Force-marking higher C head filled only if lower C head moves up – markedness

overt marking of [+compr] – preferably in the higher CP node

ahogy normally not moving there ↔ *amilyen* as an operator

- possible because it does not have features a C head could not have – grammaticalisation

~ other complementisers in Old and Middle Hungarian (cf. Bacskai-Atkari 2012)

relative cycle (cf. van Gelderen 2004, 2009; Roberts and Roussou 2003)

Conclusion

comparative parenthetical clauses contain two operators

comparative operator and null operator

they can co-occur in two distinct [Spec; CP] positions

→ three possible configurations:

- two operators
- overt *mint* + null operator
- two overt C heads + null operator

all other configurations ruled out by economy principles

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