
Embedded NRRCs and discourse structure

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Contrary to standard assumptions (McCawley 1982, Potts 2005), Schlenker (2013) argues that non-restrictive relative clauses (NRRCs) in English can be embedded semantically under operators of their matrix clause. In a wide scope reading of the NRRC in (1), Gerd is saved as soon as he reaches Dr. Meier. In an embedded reading scenario, however, Gerd is saved only if he reaches Dr. Meier and Dr. Meier happens to give him the right anti-dot.

- (1) Wenn Gerd rechtzeitig Dr. Meier erreicht, der ihm das passende Gegengift verabreicht, kann er gerettet werden.
If Gerd reaches Dr. Meier in time, who gives him the right anti-dote, can he be saved

In two experiments, we tested the availability of these embedded readings in German depending on the **CLAUSE-TYPE** of the embedded construction (NRRCs, *and*-conjunctions, V2-parenthesis, postponed matrix clauses) and the **PREDICATE TYPE** (event vs. state). The results of both experiments indicate that NRRCs, unlike the corresponding V2-constructions, indeed can be interpreted as embedded in German. This embeddability, however, is dependent on the predicate type. Only NRRCs with event predicate rated significantly higher than the V2-constructions. We will discuss several explanations why the predicate-type of an NRRC might affect its embeddability. One option: Event predicates allow the NRRC to stand in a coordinating discourse relation (Asher & Lascarides 2003) to the proposition expressed by its host-clause (Holler 2005) and are thus more easily conjoinable to the host's proposition than NRRCs with subordinating discourse relations.

References: • Asher, N. & Lascarides, A. (2003): *Logics of Conversation*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Holler, A. (2005): *Weiterführende Relativsätze*. Akademie Verlag, Berlin. • McCawley, J.D. (1982): Parentheticals and discontinuous Constituent Structure. In: *Linguistic Inquiry*, 13(1), 91–106. • Poschmann, Claudia (2013): Attaching NRRCs to plural quantificational Heads. In: *Proceedings of Amsterdam Colloquium*, 171–183. • Potts, Chris (2005): *The Logic of Conventional Implicatures*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. • Schlenker, Philippe (2013): Supplements without Bidimensionality [expanded version]. Manuscript, www.semanticsarchive.net.

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