On the 'graft' analysis of interpolations

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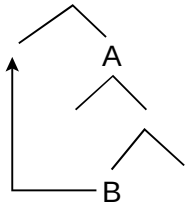
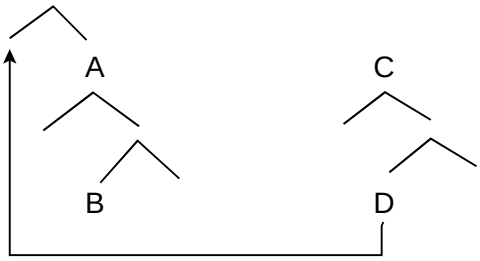
1. Grafting

(1) 'Grafting' as the logically missing case of Merge (Van Riemsdijk 2004).

since we have this *we should also have this (grafting)*

a. 

b. 

(2) a. *a* [far from *simple*] *matter*
b. *they served* [what was euphemistically referred to as *a steak*] (transparent free relative)
c. *Hij is naar* [ik meen dat 't *Budapest* was] *vertrokken*
he left for I believe it was Budapest

(3) 1. we don't have (1a) [no extraction]
2. we don't have (1b) [no interarboreal operations]

2. Simplest merge

(4) *What we need for a (bottom-up) derivation*
a. a numeration of elements to be merged (RESOURCE)
b. a process of merger (MERGE)
c. a WORK SPACE containing the output of MERGE (a subset of the RESOURCE)

(5) Bobaljik 1995: merger = establishment of a link between two members of the numeration

(6) *Proposed mechanism* (MERGE): assign one element from the RESOURCE to the WORK SPACE

(7) a. John loves Mary

b. 1. NUMERATION: *John, loves, TENSE, Mary,* {WORK SPACE: ∅ }
assign Mary *to the WORK SPACE*
2. NUMERATION: *John, loves, TENSE, Mary,* {WORK SPACE: *Mary* }
assign loves *to the WORK SPACE*
3. NUMERATION: *John, love, TENSE, Mary,* {WORK SPACE: *Mary*, *loves+Mary* }
assign TENSE *to the WORK SPACE*
4. NUMERATION: *John, love, TENSE, Mary,* {WORK SPACE: *Mary*, *loves+Mary, TENSE+loves+Mary* }
assign John *to the WORK SPACE*
5. NUMERATION: *John, love, TENSE, Mary,* {WORK SPACE: *Mary*, *loves+Mary, TENSE+loves+Mary*, *John+TENSE+loves+Mary* }

(8) a. Mary, John loves

b. 1-5 as in (9b)
assign Mary *to the* WORK SPACE
6. NUMERATION: *John, love, TENSE, Mary,* {WORK SPACE: *Mary*, *loves+Mary, TENSE+loves+Mary*, *John+TENSE+loves+Mary, Mary+John+tense+loves+Mary*}

(9) Movement (remerge) can only involve elements in the NUMERATION (incl. WORK SPACE)

(10) The NUMERATION may include phrases = output of previous AUXILIARY DERIVATION

(11) a. Pictures of John please Mary

b. 1. NUMERATION: [*pictures of John*]*, TENSE, please, Mary,* {WORK SPACE: ∅ }

5. NUMERATION: [*pictures of John*]*, TENSE, please, Mary,* {WORK SPACE: *Mary*, *please+Mary, TENSE+please+Mary*, *pictures=of=John+TENSE+please+Mary* }

c. *John, [pictures of —] please Mary

d. explanation: *John* is not in the NUMERATION, therefore cannot be (re)merged

(12) Predictions: - extraction from complement position always possible (modulo idioms)
- extraction from specifier/adjunct position never possible
= Condition on Extraction Domains (CED, Huang 1982, Toyoshima 1997)

(13) a. * It's the CAR that [the driver of —] caused a scandal (merged as specifier)
b. It's the CAR that [the driver of —] was arrested (merged as complement)
(Chomsky 2005)

(14) Movement is a second merge: there is no extraction

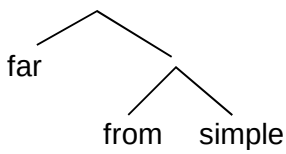
(15) Terms of the output of an auxiliary derivation (like *C* in (1b)) cannot be merged: there are no interarboreal operations

3. *a far from simple matter*

(16) auxiliary derivation yields (b) from numeration (a)

a. NUMERATION: *far, from, simple*

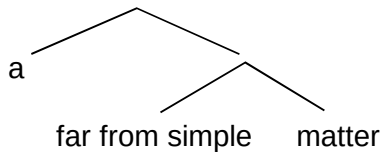
b.



(17) (16b) included in new numeration (a), yielding (b), merged at attribute to *matter*:

a. NUMERATION: *a, far-from-simple, matter*

b.



[ASIDE: *far from X* may be viewed as a 'construction', i.e. construed via Merge but used in a petrified way, perhaps involving reanalysis of *far from* as a degree modifier to *simple*]

4. *ik meen (dat 't) Budapest (was)*

(18) *auxiliary derivation yields constructions of the 'hedging' type*
a. ik meen Budapest = Budapest (I think)
b. ik meen dat 't Budapest was = Budapest (I think)

(19) embedded material carries the weight of the assertion

(20) A. Denk je dat ik dat niet wist? B. Nee! (≠ I don't think / = You didn't know)
do you think I did not know that No

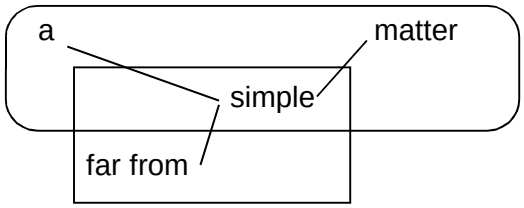
(21) [ik meen Budapest] can be merged functioning as [Budapest]

[ASIDE: *ik meen Budapest* and *ik meen dat 't Budapest was* differ in that the latter can only be used in upward monotonic environments]

4.1 further arguments

1. *spelling out graft structures*

(22)



Upon hitting a graft (i.e. a *callus*), proceed to spell out the grafted structure (the *scion*) first; then continue with the matrix structure (the *stock*).

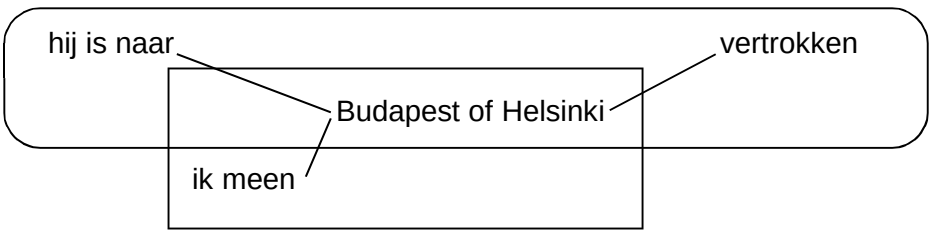
(23) Hij is naar ik meen Budapest vertrokken of Helsinki
he left for I think Budapest or Helsinki

(24) *Two interpretations*
a. He left for one of two cities, the identity of the first being *possibly* Budapest, and the identity of the second being (certainly) Helsinki: **narrow scope** of *ik meen*
b. He left for some city, *possibly* Budapest or Helsinki (but could be neither): **wide scope** of *ik meen*

(25) *In the wide scope reading:*
Stock: Hij is naar Budapest vertrokken of Helsinki
Callus: Budapest of Helsinki
Scion: Ik meen Budapest of Helsinki

(26) *Spell-out procedure yields*
Hij is naar ik meen Budapest of Helsinki vertrokken

(27)



(28) Hij heeft zelfs Kayne ontmoet en Chomsky (narrow/wide scope)
he even met Kayne and Chomsky

2. *Opacity*

(29) a. Hij is dol op (ik meen) bananen
he loves (I believe) bananas

b. Bananen is hij dol op (*ik meen) __
bananas he loves (I believe)

In the graft analysis, it is not clear why a callus could not be displaced.

In the auxiliary derivation analysis, merger is restricted to members of the numeration (excluding terms of auxiliary derivations).

[ASIDE: There is a parallel here with other hedges, suggesting that hesitation particles are likewise part of auxiliary derivations and form a constituent with the hedged material:

(30) a. Hij is naar [eh, Budapest] vertrokken
he left for er, Budapest

b. *Waar is hij naar [eh, __] vertrokken ?
what place did he leave for er

Cf. DeSmedt & Kempen 1987.]

3. Limited types

(31) a. Hij is naar { ik meen / ?jij zei / *ik noem / *ik ken } Budapest vertrokken
he left for { I believe / you said / I mention / I know } Budapest

b. Hij is naar { ik meen dat 't Budapest was /
?ik meen dat hij Budapest zei dat 't was /
*ik meen dat hij in Budapest woont } vertrokken
he left for { I believe it was Budapest / I believe he said it was Budapest / I believe he lives in Budapest }

c. *Hij is naar Budapest is de hoofdstad van Hongarije vertrokken
he left for Budapest is the capital of Hungary

Restriction: the callus can be substituted by the stock 'salva veritate', i.e. the remainder of the stock merely adds information of an evidential kind.

(32) Explanation within graft analysis: pragmatics ?

(33) Explanation within auxiliary derivation analysis: selection restriction (*ik meen Budapest* stands for *Budapest* [cf. (18)] and can be meaningfully combined with *naar*).

4. Interpretation

(34) Hij is naar hij zei dat 't Budapest of Helsinki was vertrokken
he left for he said that it Budapest or Helsinki was
a. 'He left for some place, possibly B or H, based on what he said.'
b. 'He left for some place which he said was either B or H.' (improbable reading)

(35) Hij zei dat 't Budapest of Helsinki was
he said it was Budapest or Helsinki
a. He said it was either B or H
b. He said it was some city, possibly B or H (improbable reading)

Explanation: in (34) we are not conveying that 'he said something' but merely adding evidentiality information.

5. Transparent free relatives

(36) *These are invariably evidential too* (exx. from Van Riemsdijk 2001)
a. The man entered the cockpit carrying a gun, a razor, and a can of **what the crew took to be** gasoline
b. **What seem to be** several meteorites were lying on the lawn
c. She invited **what I took to be** a policeman
d. The verb is **what Stowell calls** adjacent to the noun phrase
e. Nick lost **what seems to be called** his marbles
f. They live in **what is often referred to as** each other's backyard
g. The auk is **what biologists term** a pterorhine
h. In this example, the variable is **what most linguists would characterize as** improperly bound
i. Bill owns three **what some people would consider to be** extravagant cars
etc.

(37) what I took to be a policeman = a policeman (according to me at the time)

(38) *She invited (what) Bill served as a naval officer

(39) She invited what I took to be a policeman

a. Derivation 1: NUMERATION: *what, I, took, to, be, a, policeman*
OUTPUT: [what I took to be a policeman] (= a policeman, cf. (37))

b. Derivation 2: NUMERATION: *she, invited, [what I took to be a policeman]*
OUTPUT: [she invited what-I-took-to-be-a-policeman]

6. Conclusion

(40) 1. Simplest merge allows no extraction or interarboreal operations.
2. A numeration may include outputs of auxiliary derivations, the terms of which may not be merged separately (= opacity)
3. Phenomena giving rise to a grafting analysis invariably involve hedging (cf. McCawley 1988:732) or, more specifically, evidentiality marking
4. This entails that what seems to be embedded under the hedging/evidential material is actually the core information, so that the graft may be merged wherever the callus might.

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