Clausal Asymmetries w.r.t. cataphoric propositional pronoun insertion
– A comparison of Hungarian, German, and Swedish

Problem Cataphoric propositional pronoun insertion (CPPI) in complex sentences underlies language-specific restrictions. In Hungarian, the insertion of the cataphoric propositional pronoun *'azt'* is possible in complex sentences with assertive matrix verbs ('say'), but not with factives ('regret'):

(1) a. Péter *(azt)* mondta, hogy gyakran összejönnek munka után.
    Peter it-Acc said   that often   gather.3PL   work   after
    'Peter said that they often meet up after work.'

   b. Péter (**azt*) bánja, hogy elfogadta   a   meghívást.
    Peter   it- Acc regrets that   accepted.3SG the invitation- Acc
    'Peter regrets that he has accepted the invitation.'

German displays a mirror pattern – CPPI is only licensed in complex sentences with factive verbs:

(2) a. Peter sagte *(*es)*, dass sie sich   nach der Arbeit oft treffen.
    Peter said   it-Acc that they REFL after the work   often gather.3PL
    'Peter said that they often meet up after work.'

   b. Peter bedauert (*es*),   dass er die Einladung   angenommen hat.
    Peter regrets   it- Acc that he the invitation- Acc accepted   has.3SG
    'Peter regrets that he has accepted the invitation.'

In Swedish, both assertives and factives allow for CPPI:

(3) a. Peter sa (*det*) att de ofta samlas efter jobbet.
    Peter said it-Acc that they often gather after work.the
    'Peter said that they often gather after work.'

   b. Peter ångrade (*det*) att han tackat ja till festen.
    Peter regrets   it- Acc that he   thanked yes to   the party.the
    'Peter regrets that he accepted the invitation'

We demonstrate, however, that information structure can influence CPPI: focusing or backgrounding of the embedded clause has consequences for CPPI in the investigated three languages.

Analysis In our minimal and stricty modular theoretical framework we argue that CPPI is dependent on the syntactic type and the realization of Spec-CP in the embedded clause. In

accordance with Chomsky (2008), we assume that the derivation of Spec-CP results from the instantiation of the edge-feature (EF) in C. We argue that syntax universally provides for two clause types: those with EF in C, and those lacking EF in C. Narrow Syntax is, however, only responsible for the actual derivation of Spec-CP, not for the interpretational effects of this position. The discourse-semantic content of this position can vary in different languages.

In Hungarian EF is associated with the predicational status of the embedded clause (cf. Brandtler & Molnár forthc.: *The Predicationality Hypothesis*). *Predicationality* is closely related to the semantic concepts of assertion and presupposition but also requires the inclusion of the pragmatic dimension: illocutionary FORCE and FOCUS.

In German and Swedish both predicational and certain types of non-predicational embedded clauses have Spec-CP; the discourse-semantic correlate of the Edge Feature in these V2-languages is *Evaluability* (cf. Brandtler 2012: *The Evaluability Hypothesis*). *Evaluability* is a discourse-semantic concept "that refers to the possibility of accepting or rejecting a sentence as true in a communicative exchange". Although *evaluability* resembles semantic notions like *truth* and *veridicality* (cf. Giannakidou 1998), it is distinct in that what is at issue in a conversational exchange is not so much the logical or actual truth of a given utterance; rather it is whether or not the participants accept an utterance as true.

In German and Swedish, predicational or certain types of non-predicational clauses with EF are evaluable. However, cataphoric pronoun insertion is only possible in complex sentences if the evaluable embedded clause is non-predicational (in the sense that it lacks FORCE). However, German and Swedish differ w.r.t. CPPI, since in German non-predicational clauses (lacking FORCE) must be presupposed.

Our analysis of cataphoric propositional pronoun insertion deviates from earlier analysis since it is not related to syntactic complexity (cf. de Cuba & Ürögdi), it does not rely on a single universal semantic property of the selecting predicate (cf. Vikner 1995), and it does not rely on a single universal discourse-semantic feature associated with the embedded clause (Hooper & Thompson 1973). Rather, it relies on the language-specific interplay between syntax and discourse-semantics. We believe that this modular approach has greater potential in capturing the cross-linguistic variation with regards to cataphoric propositional pronoun insertion insertion than any theory building on the distinctions between factive/non-factive or assertive/non-assertive clauses.