Phrasal compounds are quotational compounds

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1 Introduction

Phrasal compounds are compounds in which one of the constituents is not a word, but a phrase. Even though phrasal compounds occur in many languages, they are especially productive in German:

(1)   unser [$_{CP}$ Wir wünschen dir alles Gute zum Geburtstag, Katharina]-Aufsatz
        'our [$_{CP}$ We wish you a happy birthday, Katharina] article'

The theoretical characterization of phrasal compounds has proven to be extremely difficult, since phrasal compounds seem to contradict traditional core assumptions about the architecture of grammar. In this paper, we will build on the *quotation hypothesis* which has already been proposed by Wiese (1996), by adding a more elaborated notion of the concept of quotation that has been developed in the semantics/pragmatics and philosophy of language literature. This will enable us to refute all the objections that have been put forward against Wiese's core ideas. However, we hope to show that the quotation hypothesis – equipped with an appropriate concept of quotation – is not only able to explain phrasal compounds and their special properties, but that it also predicts and explains further peculiarities of phrasal compounds, for which alternative explanations that do not involve quotation cannot offer an explanation.

In the next section, we will present Wiese's analysis of phrasal compounds as involving quotation and recapitulate the main criticism against the quotation hypothesis, before expanding on the notion of quotation itself and present the theory of quotation developed by Recanati (2001). It is Recanati's understanding of quotation that we will then employ in Section 4 for the analysis of phrasal compounds as compounds that involve a quotation as a constituent. It is not, we argue, the fact that a part of the compound is phrasal that is special about "phrasal compounds", but the fact that they contain a *quotation*, which of

course may turn out to be phrasal. For this reason, we think it is better to speak of **quotational compounds** for the phenomena discussed. If our analysis is correct, then every "phrasal compound" is a quotational compound, but not every quotational compound is a phrasal compound; which is why the term quotational compound is the more basic one.

2 Quotation analysis

In his short paper, Wiese (1996) argued that the special properties of phrasal compounds stem from the fact that they involve a quotation (as the phrasal part). In this section, we will first briefly present Wiese's hypothesis before moving on to the criticism which – as we will show in the course of this article – is based on (falsely) ascribing a too naïve conception of quotation to Wiese's hypothesis.

2.1 Phrasal compounds contain quotations

Wiese (1996) argues that the phrases in phrasal compounds are quotations. Furthermore, he assumes that quotations involve a special, non-morphological insertion process that makes the structure of the phrase invisible: the internal structure of the quotation is not transparent to the arbitrary context in which it occurs.

Wiese's quotation theory contains two hypotheses: i) The phrasal part is a quotation and ii) the quotation functions as a word within the phrasal compound. That is, any linguistic expression that is quoted can be used as a morphological head and thus be inserted into a morphological structure. What kind of phrase the quoted expression originally was is not visible to morphology; it is only visible that it is another head. While quoted material can generally have an internal structure – in the case of quoted phrases that would be a syntactic structure – this structure is irrelevant for the morphological insertion process. While Wiese does not make it explicit, it is clear from his paper that he considers quotations to be "extra-linguistic"; an aspect that we will elaborate on below.

If one follows Wiese (1996) in his assumption that the phrasal component of phrasal compounds is a matter of quotations, then, so he argues, the problem of phrasal compounds – i.e. that a morphological expression contains syntactic structures – is only a superficial problem since the syntactic structure is not actually part of the morphological structure. In fact, with quotation, many aspects can become part of a morphological expression, like expressions from a different language (2-a) or even non-linguistic material like symbols or images (2-b), or, in spoken language, sounds (2-c).[1]

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[1] We use the brackets "⌜...⌟" to indicate that a gesture or sound is being produced.

(2)   a.   Zur **'laissez faire' Haltung** in der Erziehung passt dann konse-
quenter Weise auch die **'C'est la vie' Haltung**
'Consequently, the **'C'est la vie' attitude** also goes well with the
'laissez faire' attitude in education.'
`http://www.raumzeitwellen.de/spacewave-it/kapitel08.htm`

     b.   Die ♥-Gruppe spielt gegen die ♥-Gruppe.
'The ♥-group plays against the ♥-group.'

     c.   Das ⌈krrrrrrp⌋-Geräusch hat mich wachgehalten.
'The ⌈krrrrrrp⌋ sound kept me awake.'

The same way that quotation can make non-linguistic or foreign material avail-
able for word formation, quotation can also make phrasal material available for
word formation. That is, the phrasal constituent of a phrasal compound is not
part of the morphological structure – just like the signs, gestures, and sounds in
(2) are not part of German morphology. In this way, the quoted material can
be made available for word formation as a lexical category – with an invisible
inner structure.

This summarizes the basic assumptions of Wiese's quotation hypothesis
and outlines how his approach can explain phrasal compounds without having
to redesign the grammatical architecture. As mentioned above, the quotation
theory consists of two theses. The phrasal part is a quotation and the quotation
functions as a word within the phrasal compound. Against both hypotheses,
counter-arguments have been put forward in the literature. We will now present
these objections before then refuting them in the remainder of this paper.

2.2 Quotation status of the first constituent

One argument that is often issued against Wiese's quotation put forward in the
literature is that not every phrase in a phrasal compound was actually uttered
before and that it is therefore implausible that the phrasal material is a quotation.
This is because even though the first constituent often contains fixed phrases or
something that was actually said, it often involves without a doubt a completely
new phrase (Meibauer 2007: 240).

We can agree with this criticism against the quotational approach insofar as
we agree with the data: the phrasal elements in phrasal compounds are in the
vast majority of cases neither quotations from previous utterances nor fixed
phrases anchored in the lexicon. However, where we strongly disagree with
the conclusion that the quotation analysis fails because of this; at least if one
uses a more sophisticated concept of quotation which goes beyond the mere
reproduction of what has already been said. We will propose such a concept of
quotation in § 3.

2.3 Word status of the first constituent

Another argument against the quotational approach targets the hypothesis that the phrasal component has the status of a word within the compound. In German, compounds typically involve a linking element (LE), i.e. some phoneme (that often looks like a plural or possessive marker but isn't one) that links the parts of the compound. According to Toman (1985: 430), however, linking elements supposedly do not occur in phrasal compounds, as the examples from Lawrenz (2006: 10) show.

(3) a. das Krieg**s**spektakel
         'the war spectacle'
     b. das   Kalte-Krieg-
         Spektakel
         'the cold war spectacle'

(4) a. der Hemd**s**ärmel
         'the shirt sleeve'
     b. die Letzte-Hemd-Anleihe
         'the last shirt bond'

Whether this argument that LE sometimes do not occur in phrasal compounds is actually a good counterargument, the data is not as clear-cut as sometimes suggested. For instance, the examples in (5) from Lawrenz (2006: 6) contain linking elements. We come back to linking elements later in § 4.2.

(5) a. Gehobene-Stimmung**s**-
         Effekt
         'elevated mood effect'
     b. Furcht-vor-Erfolg**s**-Inhalte
         'Fear of success content'

Another argument against the word status of the phrasal part is that the components of a compound are usually so-called anaphoric islands (Meibauer 2003, 2007). Using pronouns in order to anaphorically refer back to parts of a word should not be possible, as the examples in (6) illustrates.

(6) *Jedes **Mutter**$_i$söhnchen möchte am liebsten für immer bei **ihr**$_i$ wohnen bleiben.
     Intended: 'Every **mama**$_i$'s boy would like to stay with **her**$_i$ forever.'

Phrasal compounds, on the other hand, sometimes allow anaphoric reference to their components. In (7) it is possible to pronominally refer back to *Mama* 'mum', which is part of the phrasal first constituent of the compounds.

(7) Jeder Meine-**Mama**$_i$-ist-die-Beste-Sohn möchte am liebsten für immer bei **ihr**$_i$ wohnen bleiben.
     'Every my **mom** is the best son would like to be with **her**$_i$ forever.'

In this way, phrasal compounds seem indeed to behave differently from ordinary compounds. However, as we will show below in § 4.2.2, the quotational approach to phrasal compounds can explain this difference while retaining the assumption that the phrasal part functions as a word inside the compound.

3 Elaboration of the concept of quotation

It seems apparent that the first line of argument against Wiese's (1996) quotation hypothesis is based on a too naïve rendering of the notion of quotation. The criticism is based on the assumption that there must be an "original utterance" for something to be a quotation – be it in the form of a concrete utterance or in the form of general clichés or statements which are then quoted. Under this understanding, quotation would be limited to a type of reported speech (in the broader sense). However, Wiese (1996: 188) himself points out that he has a more abstract, more complex concept of quotation in mind to "allow a wider domain of application".

In order to spell out a more elaborate concept of quotation in more detail than Wiese did in his brief remarks, we employ an understanding that is quite common in recent works in philosophy of language and which has been developed by Recanati (2001) in his influential paper on *open quotation*. According to his analysis, quotations are *linguistic demonstrations*. Just as you can demonstrate dance steps, for example, you can also demonstrate something by producing verbal material. Following Recanati, we understand demonstration here in the sense of Clark and Gerrig (1990): Something is demonstrated in order to make certain aspects of what is demonstrated experienceable.

(8)   Paul guckte mich total planlos an. ⌈Sprecher*in schneidet eine Grimasse.⌉ Der checkt einfach gar nichts.
        'Paul looked at me totally aimlessly. ⌈Speaker makes a face.⌉ He just doesn't get anything.'

Just like how the non-linguistic demonstration in (8) is used to make certain aspects of Paul's baffled look experienceable, language itself can also be used to demonstrate something as in (9). Such cases of verbal demonstration are quotations.

(9)   Und dann hab ich ihm endlich meine Meinung gesagt. "Das ist doch Bullshit!" War der vielleicht geschockt!
        'And then I finally told him my opinion. "That's bullshit!" How shocked he was!'

For all demonstrations, it is not always obvious what the relevant aspects of the demonstration are. Is only the facial expression of the demonstrated grimace relevant or also how the speaker tilts his head? In case of (9), is it just what is said or also the specific pronunciation and intonation? Are the exact words relevant or just the approximate content of what they express? This is what Recanati calls the "target" of the demonstration and which must be inferred by the addressee, involing a lot of pragmatics (Gutzmann 2007, Gutzmann and

Stei 2011).

Recanati (2001) distinguishes in his paper between *open* and *closed quotations*. Open quotations are those in which the material being demonstrated appears "freely" and the demonstrated material has the same linguistic status as if it were not quoted at all. The quotation in (9) is therefore an open quotation, just like that in (10-a) below. In contrast, a quotation is closed if the quoted material is not only demonstrated, but the entire demonstration is "linguistically recruited" (Recanati 2001: 649) and fills a nominal slot in the overall sentence. The quotation in (10-b) is therefore a closed one, where the underline indicates the nominal slot that is filled by the quoted material.

(10)   a.   'O Lou! "No one likes me and everyone is mean to me!" Just stop
               with this nonsense!'
        b.   'Lou said: "No one likes me and everyone is mean to me!"'

Important for our purposes is the observation that the grammatical status of the quoted material is irrelevant in closed quotation. Regardless of what is quoted in closed quotations, the slot into which the material is linguistically recruited is always the same. That is, in closed quotations, the linguistic structure of the quoted material is invisible to the surrounding linguistic material into which it is recruited. In this sense, closed quotations are opaque or intransparent, whereas open quotations are transparent.

It is important to note – and this applies to all types of quotation and demonstration – that the quoted/demonstrated material itself is *not part of the utterance*. The quoted material is, in a sense, outside of the sentence, an idea also found in Davidson's (1979) quotation theory, although it differs in many important aspects from Recanati's approach. It is only through the "linguistic recruitment" that is involved in closed quotation that the demonstration can fill a slot inside the utterance and the resulting "singular term" then acquires a referential meaning. What is exactly the reference depends again on the target of the demonstration.
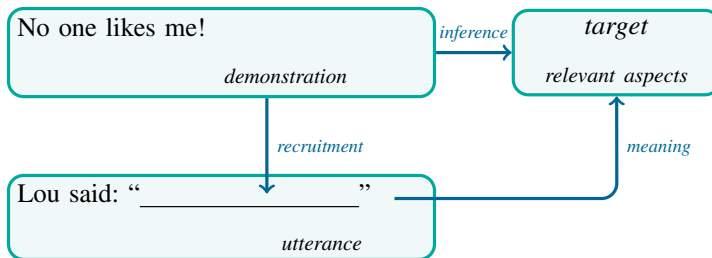

Figure 1: Levels of meaning in closed quotations

The graphic in Figure 1 illustrates this. First, there is the meaning of the linguistic material that is being demonstrated: The phrase *no one likes me!* has a linguistic

meaning. The demonstration "No one likes me!" itself also has meaning. This "target" has yet to be inferred, because it is not yet clear by the demonstration alone what the speaker is trying to get at. The third level is added through the linguistic recruitment of the demonstration into a linguistic utterance: the quotation refers to the target and thus acquires a referential meaning.

This concludes our brief outline of Recanati's (2001) theory of quotation.[2] Even if our presentation has left out many of the subtleties of his analysis, it should be clear that the resulting notion of quotation is much more elaborate and broader than a simple understanding of quotation as "referring to a previously made utterance". In fact, the concept of an "original utterance" does not play any role in this theory of quotation. In the following section we will therefore apply this new concept of quotation to phrasal compounds and show how it can reject the original arguments of Wiese's (1996) approach.

4 Quotational compounds

Equipped with Recanati's concept of quotations, we now employ it for elaborating Wiese's (1996) ideas. Our thesis, like Wiese's, is very simple: the phrasal components in phrasal compounds are quotations. And since, as we argue, what is actually special about these compounds is precisely the fact that they involve quotation – that they can also contain phrases is a by-product of the fact that, of course, phrases can also be quoted – we suggest that they should rather be called *quotational compounds*.

4.1 Quotational compounds and kinds of quotation

We can make our thesis even more precise: quotational compounds contain *closed quotations*. First, the phrasal material obviously fills a slot in the compound; the quotation is hence linguistically recruited. Secondly, as discussed above, the syntactic category of quoted material is irrelevant and does not play any role in the composition of compound; which also speaks for the quotation being closed. We can also be more precise in this regard as well, because grammatically speaking, closed quotations are nouns, as Pafel (2007, 2011) has convincingly shown (for pure quotations). The following examples illustrate that, for instance, closed quotations can occur with determiners (11-a) or with plural morphology (11-b).

(11)   In jedem seiner Sätze kommen mindestens zwei '**natürlich**' vor.
        'In each of his sentences there are at least two '**naturally**'.'

(Pafel 2007: 202)

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[2]For further discussions of Recanati's approach, see Gutzmann (2007), Recanati (2009).

(12)   His speech abounded in many **I think so**'s.

<div align="right">(Clark and Gerrig 1990: 771f.)</div>

Interestingly, the assumption that, qua being a closed quotation, the phrasal part in a quotational compound has nominal status corresponds to the assumption that Gallmann (1990) made for his analysis of phrasal compounds: The phrasal constituent is obtained by converting "any speech segment" to a noun. In this respect, our quotation analysis can directly be connected to Gallmann's conversion analysis: The "conversion of any linguistic expression" described by Gallmann corresponds in our approach to a closed quotation, which is a process that also results in a noun as its output.[3] However, the key difference between Gallmann's conversion analysis and our quotational analysis is that his conversion is a morphological process that transforms a non-morphological structure into the word. Our approach appears to be very similar, but is conceptually very different: quotation, i.e. linguistic demonstration, and "linguistic recruitment" is *not* a morphological process. Instead, like non-linguistic demonstrations, quotation is a *non-linguistic process* that can be employed by language (Harth 2002): Extra-linguistic material – which in the case of quotation just happens to be linguistic as well – is made linguistically accessible and integrated by the demonstration. Again: It is the quotational status of the phrasal material that is special, and not the fact that the quoted expression is phrasal.

4.2 Quotational compounds and the word status argument

The second thesis involved in Wiese's approach is that quoted material behaves as a word in quotational compounds. In the following, we will show that the objections to this thesis are not really valid when one takes the quotational analysis seriously.

4.2.1 Quotations and linking elements

In § 2.3, we have already shown that this counter-argument is not a very strong one, because there are examples of quotational compounds that can contain linking elements (5). In addition, there are usually no linking elements in other quotational compounds in which the quoted material is not phrasal either. In (13), a single letter is quoted and the resulting quotational compound (clearly not a phrasal compound) cannot contain a linking element.

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[3]See also Pafel (2011: 260), who analyses pure quotations as being formed by *generalized conversion*.

(13)   a.   K-Taste 'K key'   b.   *K**n**-Taste '*K key'

Similarly, compounds involving material from a foreign language as in (14-a), arguably are also quotational compounds, even if they do not involve phrasal material. Example (15-b) shows that no linking element can be used in this case. In contrast, the comparable compound that does only involve a native expression and hence does not involve a quotation in (15-c) can contain a linking element.

(14)   a.   Movement-Regel 'movement rule'
       b.   *Movement**s**-Regel '*movement rule'
       c.   Bewegung**s**regel 'movement rule'

This shows that it is not the phrasal status of the first member that accounts for the absence of linking elements in many phrasal compounds, but the fact that it is quoted.

4.2.2 Quotations and anaphora

The second argument against the word status of the phrasal part we touched on above is that, in general, anaphors cannot refer to constituents of compounds but, as illustrated by (7), there are phrasal compounds that allow such anaphoric reference. The quotational analysis offers an explanation for this. Recall that according to the quotation hypothesis, the phrasal material is not part of the word itself; it is merely demonstrated. In fact, they refer to aspects of the demonstration. This is possible with demonstrations in general, as the following example illustrates.

(15)   A: Und dann kam ⌜Gesten und Bewegungen, die Lou$_i$ imitieren⌟.
           'And then came: ⌜gestures and movements imitating Lou$_i$⌟.'
       B: Oh, ich habe sie$_i$ heute auch schon gesehen.
           'Oh, I saw her$_i$ today, too.'

Cases in which there appears to be an anaphoric reference to the phrasal part of a quotation compound work the same: The reference is not to parts of the word (which are not even really part of the utterance), but to aspects of the linguistic demonstration.

(16)   Damals wurde die **Gott**$_i$-ist-tot-Thematik in allen Zeitungen diskutiert, aber wir glaubten nicht daran, dass **er**$_i$ tot ist.
       'At that time, the **Gott**$_i$ is dead topic was discussed in all the newspapers, but we didn't believe that **he**$_i$ was dead.'   (Meibauer 2007: 243)

In this example, it seems as if the pronoun *er* refers to *Gott* 'God', which is part of the phrasal component of the compound *Gott-ist-tot-Thematik* 'God-is-dead topic'. In fact, this pronoun refers to aspects of the linguistically demonstrated

expression *Gott ist tot*, which, as a demonstration, is an extra-linguistic object. Since the expression *Gott* is part of the linguistic (but nonetheless extra-linguistic) demonstration, the demonstration can still make the reference of the expression *Gott* available as a discourse referent if the content of the phrase *Gott ist tot* (and not just its syntactic form) is the target of the quotation. This means that the pronoun *er* in (16) refers to the discourse reference provided by the target of the demonstration and not to parts of the compound. Figure 2 illustrates this.
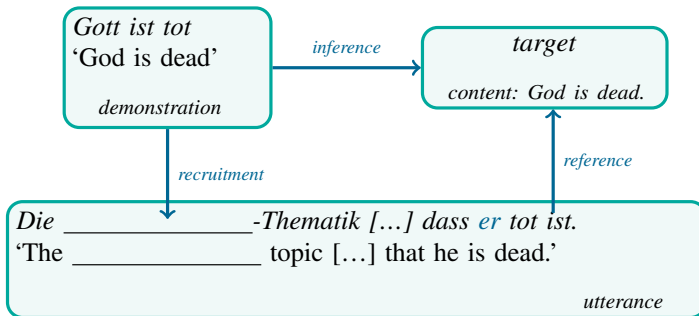

Figure 2: Meanings of demonstration & anaphors in example (16)

That the quoted material is not part of the structure itself can be illustrated by the observation that configurations that would usually result in principle C violations are possible when quotations are involved (see Pafel 2011: 263f.).

(17) a. Sie hat, wenn der Satz "Katharina Hartmann ist Institutsleiterin und Dekanin" wahr ist, beide Ämter inne.
          'She has both positions if the sentence *Katharina Hartmann is institutue director and dean* is true.'
      b. *Sie$_i$ hat, wenn Katharina Hartmann$_i$ Institutsleiterin und Dekanin ist, beide Ämter inne.
          'She has both positions if K. H. is institute director and dean.'

What is interesting for our purposes is that a similar contrast can be observed for phrasal compounds that contain proper names.

(18) a. *Katharina$_i$ hat etwas gegen die Rufe nach Katharinas$_i$ Ernennung zur Dekanin.
          'Katharina has something against the calls for Katharina's appointment as dean'

      b.   Katharina hat etwas gegen die Katharina-soll-Dekanin-werden-Rufe.
            'Katharina has something against the Katharina-should-become-dean calls.'

These structural considerations all show that the quotation is not really part of the morphological or syntactic structure in which it occurs, even if it can make discourse referents available for anaphora. That is, the fact that reference to parts of the compound is possible is actually an argument in favor of the quotation theory as such reference is expected to be possible under this analysis.

4.3 Quotations and indexicals

Having refuted the previously mentioned criticisms of Wiese's (1996) quotation hypothesis, we will now provide an additional positive arguments for it, which is not really discussed in the literature: It can be observed that indexicals within phrasal compounds do not refer to aspects of the current context, as usual, but refer instead to a shifted context.[4]

(19)   Dieser Meine-Mama-ist-die-Beste-Kerl ist total unselbstständig.
         'This my-mom-is-the-best guy is totally dependent.'

In this utterance, the indexical first-person possessive pronoun *meine* 'my' refers to the mother of the referent of the head noun *Kerl* "guy" and *not* to the speaker's mother, which would be the expected referent. There is obviously a so-called context shift at work in (19), since the interpretation of the indexical is not fixed by the utterance context, but by a derived context in which the referent of *Kerl* "guy" is the speaker and expresses something like *Meine Mama ist die Beste* 'My mon is the best'. Such context shifts are actually assumed to not occur outside of *quotations* (cf. Kaplan 1989), which can induce context shifts in general and not just in phrasal compounds:

(20)   a.   Der unselbstständige Kerl sagte: "Meine Mama ist die Beste!"
            'The dependent guy said: "My mom is the best!"'
      b.   Lou sagte: "Jetzt bin ich hier!"
            'Lou said: "I'm here now!"'

A context-shifted interpretation of indexicals in quotational compounds is not restricted to first person pronouns but can similarly be attested, for example,

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[4]Meibauer (2007: 244) used a few examples with indexical expressions in the context of the discussion of anaphoric binding, but does not address the deferred reference of indexicals, which is precisely the argument for a quotation analysis.

for 2nd person possessive pronouns or for temporal and local indexicals such as *now* and *here*.

(21)   Immer wenn Lou reinkommt, setzt sie ihren **Jetzt**-bin-ich-**hier**-Blick auf.
        'Whenever Lou enters the room, she puts on her **now** I am **here** look.'

The quotational analysis can, obviously, explain this data directly; it even predicts that quotational compounds allow such context shifts, whereas the shifted interpretation of indexicals poses a problem for explanations that do not involve quotations.

5 Summary

In this paper, we tried to reestablish Wiese's (1996) quoation analysis of phrasal compounds by linking it to Recanati's (2001) theory of quotation. According to the view we advocated for, the phrasal components in phrasal compounds are closed quotation. This means that the linguistic material that is quoted is not part of the linguistic expression; it is a demonstration which is linguistically recruited such that it fills a nominal slot within the compound. That is, what is special about phrasal compounds is that they contain a quotation (which just happens to be a phrasal expression). That is why we propose to speak of them as *quotational compounds* as a more general term which encompasses phrasal compounds. As we showed, our approach overcomes the objections to Wiese's orginal approach and can explain atypical properties of phrasal compounds, such as the frequent lack of linking elements or the possibility of anaphoric reference. It can also explain the occurrence of the shifted interpretation of indexicals; something that alternative approaches cannot explain without further assumptions (that most likely have to involve quotations as well). Hence, the "That's all quotations" thesis is correct after all!

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