

we are looking forward to rarer successful and enlightening meetings and workshops to clarify the problems connected with verb second in more depth in order to understand the language faculty in this domain a little bit better.

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Roland Hinterhölzl

Assertive potential, speaker evidence and embedded V2

Abstract: In this paper, I argue that embedded V2 clauses are not coordinated independent speech acts, but are regular subordinated clauses that lack independent assertive force. I will show, however, that V2 in these clauses indicates that the embedded proposition is epistemically anchored to the speaker and argue that this assertive potential of embedded V2 clauses needs to be licensed by an assertive operator in the main clause accounting for their distributional properties.

1 Introduction

The phenomenon of V2 in adverbial and adnominal clauses has received a lot of attention in recent years. This is due to their peculiar syntactic and semantic properties. As far as V2 in adnominal clauses (V2Rs) is concerned, the content of these relative clauses is asserted, indicating – given certain theoretical assumptions further discussed below – their non-subordinated status. At the same time V2Rs allow for a restrictive interpretation, illustrated in (1), indicating their subordinated status, since the restrictive reading under standard assumptions requires that the relative clause is interpreted within the DP heading it.

- (1) Dieses Blatt hat eine Seite, die ist halt ganz schwarz (a sheet has two sides)
This sheet (of paper) has a side that is completely black

As far as adverbial clauses are concerned, Haegeman (2012) proposed a distinction between central and peripheral adverbial clauses, where the former represent relations between propositions and the latter relations between speech acts. But the fact is that in colloquial spoken German, both types allow for V2 order, a correlate in the matrix clause and the presence of modal particles, as has been shown by Catasso (2016). The adverbial clause in (2) is a peripheral adverbial clause representing an adhortative meaning, but is introduced by a correlate in the matrix clause, generally taken to be indicative of a subordinating relation (cf. Antomo & Steinbach 2010), while the adverbial clauses in (3) and (4)

represent a propositional reading, but license both V2 and a modal particle (MP), taken to be indicative of the presence of assertive force.

- (2) Das ganze kam eigentlich deshalb, weil (:) versuch mal, einem alten blinden Hund klar zu machen ...
 The whole (thing) came about for the reason because try MP to make clear to an old blind dog to ...!
- (3) a. Ich musste heute (deshalb) gar nichts kochen, weil ich hab ja noch etwas gehabt vom Braten am Sonntag
 I had today (for this reason) nothing to cook, because I have MP still something had from the roast from Sunday
- b. Resi, i-hoi-di heit mim Traktor o, wei lustig bin-i hoit a (Die Original Zillertaler)
 Therese, ich hole dich heute mit dem Traktor ab, weil lustig bin ich halt auch Theresa, I come and fetch you with my tractor today, because I am also funny

The paper is organized in the following way. Section 2 introduces the influential analysis of V2Rs by Gärtner (2001, 2002). In Section 3, the properties of V2Rs are discussed. Section 4 shows that adverbial clauses exhibiting V2 (V2-adverbials) are subject to the same distributional restrictions as V2Rs are. Section 5 compares the properties of V2-adverbials with those exhibited by complementizer-introduced complement clauses with V2 (V2C-clauses) and shows that they share core distributional properties with V2-adverbials, calling for a common analysis of V2Rs, V2-adverbials and V2C-clauses. Section 6 sketches a unified account of V2Rs, V2-adverbials and V2C-clauses. Section 7 discusses the important parallelism in interpretative properties between mood alternations in Italian and the positional alternations of the finite verb in German that underlie the unified account sketched in Section 6 and shows how the properties of V2Rs can be captured in the unified account. Section 8, finally summarizes the paper and discusses some consequences of the account presented.

2 V2 in adnominal clauses

V2 has been argued to be a root phenomenon. Hence clauses containing V2 should display root-like properties. One important property of root clauses is that they – contrary to regular embedded clauses – can represent different types of

speech acts: assertions, questions, commands and so on. Gärtner (2001, 2002), posits an analysis in which two (main) clauses are coordinated, explaining the presence of V2 in the relative clause and relating it to the proto-assertional force of the relative.

- (4) [_{CP1}] Das Blatt hat eine Seite [_{r^oREL}] [_{CP2} die ist ganz schwarz.]
 ‘The sheet has one side that is all black.’
 (Gärtner 2001: 105)

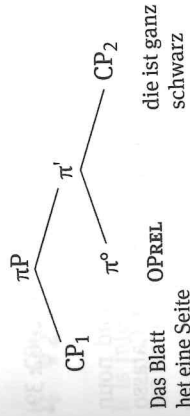


Figure 1: Syntactic representation of V2 relative (Gärtner 2001: 105).

This syntactic analysis renders the semantic interpretation of V2-relatives a rather complex issue, since the content of the relative clause must be integrated into the interpretation of the DP heading it during the computation of the matrix clause to derive the correct restrictive interpretation. This analysis has been extended to V2-adverbials by Antomo & Steinbach (2010). The following section illustrates the crucial distributional and interpretational properties of V2Rs discussed by Gärtner (2001, 2002).

3 Properties of V2Rs

The first property concerns the fact that V2Rs cannot occur in their presumed base-position and need to be extraposed obligatorily, as is illustrated in (5).

- (5) a. *Hans hat eine Frau, die (*hat) blaue Augen (hat), getroffen
 Hans has a woman, that (has) blue eyes (has), met
 b. Hans hat eine Frau getroffen, die (hat) blaue Augen (hat)

The second property concerns the fact that the head noun of the relative clause cannot be in the scope of a negative, interrogative or conditional operator in the matrix clause, as is illustrated in (6a) for a negative operator and in (6b) for a question operator.

- (6) a. Kein Professor mag eine Studentin, die [*zitiert] ihn nicht
 no professor likes a student.FEM who cites him NEG
 {zitiert}.
 cites
 'No professor likes a student who doesn't cite him.' (Gärtner 2002: 39)
- b. Mag Professor Müller eine Studentin, die [*zitiert] ihn nicht {zitiert}?
 likes professor Müller a student.FEM who cites him NEG
 'Does Professor Müller like a student who doesn't cite him?'
 Gärtner (2002: 39)

The third property concerns the determiner restriction. In V2Rs the head noun must be an indefinite or weak DP, as is illustrated in (7) (data taken from Catasso & Hinterhölzl 2016).

- (7) a. Das ist ein Buch, das hat keinen Punkt und kein Komma.
 this is a book that.NOM has no full-stop and no comma
 'This is a book that has no full stops and no commas.' (DLF, Sept. 9th, 2010)
- b. Es gibt (viele) Leute, die haben tolle Ideen – nur
 EXIST many people who.NOM have great ideas only
 es passiert relativ wenig.
 EXPL happens quite little
 'There are (many) people who have great ideas – however, very little is going on.'
 (tlz, Jul. 6th, 2014)

- (8) a. Ich kenne einen, dem hat ein Zugunglück das
 I know one that.DAT has a train-accident the
 Leben gerettet.
 life saved
 'I know a man whose life was saved by a train accident.'
 (character's direct speech from Eckhard Bahr 2007: 111)

- b. Es gibt auch einige, die würde man gerne
 EXIST also some that.ACC would IND.PRON.3.P gladly
 aus der Geschichte schubsen.
 out the story nudge
 'There are some [passages] that one would just love to strike out.'
 (amazon.de, online user's comment, Jun. 30th, 2012)

The fourth property concerns the fact that V2Rs can only be introduced by a d-pronoun, as illustrated by the contrast between (9a) and (9b).

- (9) a. Es gibt Probleme, die/ (*welche) sind nicht lösbar.
 EXIST problems that.NOM are not solvable
 b. Es gibt Probleme, die/ welche nicht lösbar sind.
 EXIST problems that.NOM are not solvable
 'There are problems that are not solvable.'
 (Wiener Zeitung, Mar. 28th, 2013)

4 V2 in adverbial clauses

It is interesting to note that both V2-relatives and V2-adverbials are subject to the same conditions. They are obligatorily extraposed and may not appear in the scope of negation, an interrogative or a conditional operator, as is illustrated in (10) – (12). In (11b), capital letters in the conjunction indicate that the adverbial clause is to be read as being in the scope of the matrix negation. If the adverbial clause is interpreted as taking scope outside of the negation, V2 order is possible.

- (10) * weil er (*war) krank (war), ist Hans zu Hause geblieben
 because he (was) sick (was) has John at home remained
- (11) a. *Hans traf keine Frau, die (*hat) blaue Augen (hat)
 Hans met no woman, that (has) blue eyes (has)
 b. Hans ist nicht gekommen, WEIL er (*ist) krank (ist)
 Hans has not come because he (is) sick (is)
- (12) a. Traf Hans eine Frau, die (*hat) blaue Augen (hat)?
 Did Hans a woman meet that (has) blue eyes (has)?
 b. Ist Hans gekommen, weil er (*ist) krank (ist)?
 Has Hans come because he (is) sick (is)?

The strength of Gärtner's original analysis of V2Rs is that he convincingly argues that these are the contexts that fail to set up a discourse referent for the interpretation of the weak demonstrative element introducing V2-relatives, thereby connecting the first three properties to the type of the relative pronoun requested: V2Rs must be headed by a discourse-anaphoric d-pronoun that is only licensed, if after processing the main clause (hence the obligatory extraposition of the relative clause) a discourse referent has been established in the semantic representation, excluding definite head nouns in general and indefinite head nouns in the scope of a negative, interrogative or conditional operator.

I can see three major drawbacks with Gärtner's seminal analysis. The first important drawback is that this explanation does not carry over to V2-adverbials, which share the first two properties with V2Rs. The second drawback that I will not discuss in any detail here is the observation that conditional clauses normally do allow for the set up of a discourse referent, as is illustrated in (13).

- (13) If a man loves a woman, he sends her red roses

The third drawback concerns the fact that at some point in the derivation the d-pronoun must be converted into a relative operator in Gärtner's account, otherwise (14a) should have the same interpretation as (14b). It is not very clear how this is achieved. The d-pronoun in V2Rs must have the presupposition of a d-pronoun but the denotation of an operator. In Gärtner's account a d-pronoun is selected from the lexicon to which an operator feature is added in the course of the derivation.

- (14) a. Apfeldorf hat viele Häuser, die stehen leer.
 Apfeldorf has many houses that stand empty
 b. Apfeldorf hat viele Häuser. Diese stehen leer.
 Apfeldorf has many houses. These stand empty

Finally note that also the assumption of a coordinated independent speech act or of an embedded independent speech act cannot account for these restrictions: Why should a speech act in the embedded or conjoined clause be dependent on the nature of the speech act in the matrix clause or in the first conjunct? Note in particular that there are without any doubt embedded speech acts: Hinterhölzl & Krifka (2013) argue that focus licenses assertive force (and hence the presence of modal particles) in what must be analysed as central adnominal and adverbial clauses in the terminology of Haegeman (2012).

First note that although the relative clause in (15) has a restrictive interpretation, indicated by the special determiner *jene* / *diejenige*, a modal particle is licensed by the occurrence of the scalar focus *erst vor 3 Minuten*. Modal particles are normally only licensed in appositive relative clauses, which are assumed to have independent illocutionary force anyway. Note also that there is no determiner restriction observable on the head noun of the relative clause, since the relative clause is headed by a definite NP. Remember that definite head nouns are excluded with V2Rs. Furthermore note that the relative clause in (15) is not subject to extraposition, as V2Rs are. All these observations indicate that these restrictions should be identified with the V2 property of the relative clause and

not directly with its illocutionary force as has been argued for in the work by Gärtner (2001, 2002).

- (15) Peter hat die/jene Frau, die wohl erst vor 3 Minuten angekommen ist, angesprochen

Peter has that woman that *Part* only 3 minutes ago arrived is, addressed

Similar considerations apply to (16). The adverbial clause is in the scope of negation and thus unambiguously represents a central adverbial clause in the terminology of Haegeman (2012), nevertheless the occurrences of modal particles are licensed by the presence of contrastive focus on *gelogen* and *bloßgestellt*, arguing for the presence of assertive force in the adverbial clauses in (16).

- (16) Er hat kein schlechtes Gewissen, weil er halt mal gelogen hat, sondern weil er Maria damit wohl bloßgestellt hat
 He doesn't have a bad conscience because he has PAR PAR lied, but because he has Maria in this way PAR exposed (negatively)

This can be tested by a question tag. Frey (2016) proposes that a question tag like *nicht wahr?* or *oder?* indicates the presence of an independent assertion, as is illustrated in (17) and (18).

- (17) Er hat kein schlechtes Gewissen, weil er halt mal gelogen hat, nicht wahr?, sondern weil er Maria damit wohl bloßgestellt hat, oder?

In both (17) and (3) above (repeated for convenience in (18) below), the question tag can be interpreted as modifying the assertion in the embedded clause.

- (18) Ich musste heute (deshalb) gar nichts kochen, weil ich hab ja noch etwas gehabt vom Braten am Sonntag, nicht wahr?

These observations raise the following issues. First, we need to explain how it is possible that in (18) we are dealing with a causal relation between propositions, while the question tag test clearly shows that these are assertions. Second, the question arises how the difference in the interpretation of the adverbial clauses as being within or obligatorily outside of the scope of negation in (16) and (11b) respectively can be explained, if the adverbial clause in both cases is analysed as representing a separate (independent) speech act. In the following section we will take a closer look at the properties of V2 adverbials in comparison to V2 in complement clauses.

5 V2 in adverbial clauses and V2 in complement clauses

Frey (2016) proposes a finer grained distinction between central adverbial clauses (CACs), peripheral adverbials clauses (PACs) and non-integrated adverbial clauses (NIACs). In this approach, CACs are embedded in the matrix clause in a relatively deep position to allow for binding relations and they are assumed to express relations between eventualities. PACs, on the other hand, are also assumed to be part of the host clause but in a relatively high position, disallowing binding relations and are interpreted as expressing relations between propositions, while NIACs are assumed to be not embedded at all, they are so-called orphans, and are connected with the matrix clause at the discourse level and express a relation between speech acts (SA related reading).

Causal V2-clauses are treated as NIACs in his account, since they cannot occupy [Spec,CP] of the matrix clause, which Frey (2016) takes as main indicator of the syntactic integration of a clause. As is illustrated in (19), both an adverbial clause with an event related reading – a CAC – and an adverbial clause expressing a propositional relation – a PAC – can occupy [Spec,CP] in German, while adverbial clauses expressing a speech act related reading as in (19c) are excluded in this position. As is illustrated in (19d), a V2-adverbial clause patterns with NIACs with respect to this test.

- (19) a. weil sie krank ist, ist Maria sehr bleich (event related reading)
b. weil sie bleich ist, ist Maria (wohl) krank (epistemic reading)
c. * weil du dich doch immer für sie interessierst, ist Maria krank (SA related reading)
d. * weil sie ist krank, ist Maria sehr bleich

For the sake of concreteness I will make the following proposal: A) a V2-adverbial clause with an event related reading is adjoined to FinP; B) a V2-adverbial clause with an epistemic reading is adjoined to EvidP and C) a V2-adverbial clause with a SA-related reading is adjoined to ForceP. D) Only the latter constitutes a separate independent speech act and expresses a relation between speech acts, while the former two express relations between propositions and do not constitute independent speech acts.

In this context, it is interesting to note that V2 in complement clauses in German and other Germanic languages is reported to be subject to the very same restrictions as V2-relative clauses and V2-adverbial clauses are (cf. Catasso

2016 and references cited there). Freywald (2008, 2009) shows that marginal occurrences of V2 complement clauses with a complementizer (V2C-clauses), illustrated in (20), should not be treated as performance errors but are subject to specific grammatical conditions.

- (20) a. ??Ich würde sagen, dass beide haben ihre Performanzvorteile
(Freywald 2008, 2009)
b. ??Wir werden aber sehen dass diese Eigenschaft ist ganz zentral

Freywald (2009) observes that the licensing predicate is semantically bleached and that the content of the embedded clause cannot be presupposed. Thus factive verbs and all non-assertive matrix verbs, including matrix predicates in the scope of negation or an interrogative operator are excluded, as is illustrated in (21ab). She also notes that V2C-clauses cannot occur in [Spec,CP] of the matrix verb, as is illustrated in (21c).

- (21) a. *Man kann nicht sagen, dass diese Eigenschaft ist ganz zentral
b. *Kann man sagen, dass diese Eigenschaft ist ganz zentral?
c. * Dass diese Eigenschaft ist ganz zentral, werden wir aber sehen

These observations are corroborated by complementizer introduced V2-complement clauses in North Germanic (Vikner 1995) and in Frisian (De Haan & Weerman 1986). V2C-clauses in Danish and Frisian fall under the very same restrictions: A) they can be embedded under verbs of saying or thinking; B) they cannot be embedded under factive or implicative predicates and C) if a licit predicate is negated or questioned, a V2C-clause is ungrammatical. Furthermore, a V2C-clause is ungrammatical in [Spec,CP] of the matrix clause, as is illustrated for Frisian in (22).

- (22) a. Hy sei dat hy hie it antwurd net witen
he said that he has the answer not known
b. *dat hy hie it antwurd net witen, sei hy
c. dat hy it antwurd net witen hie, sei hy

The latter fact cannot be explained with the assumption that V2C-clauses constitute separate independent speech acts, as Frey has proposed for the case of V2-adverbial clauses. This property must be related to the V2-property of adverbial, adnominal and complementizer-introduced complement clauses.

6 The proposal

Alternatively, I will argue that V2-relatives, V2-adverbials and V2C-clauses are subordinated clauses and do not have independent assertive force. V2 indicates that the embedded proposition is epistemically anchored to the speaker and thus constitutes a precondition for an assertive speech act, given that the speaker can only then sincerely assert *p*, if he has (sufficient) evidence for the truth of *p*. I argue that V2 in embedded clauses targets Evidence_P, which is independently needed for the licensing of (some) modal particles, and occupies a position between Force_P and Fin_P in the system of Rizzi (1997).

V2-relatives, V2-adverbials and V2C-clauses therefore must be extraposed to Evidence_P in the matrix clause to enter into a local Agree-relation with an assertive operator that licenses their assertive potential. In other words, V2 serves to indicate that an embedded clause is anchored to the speaker and that the material in the embedded clause is part of the assertion licensed by an assertive operator in the matrix clause.

At this point the following question arises. If the embedded V2 clause must enter into a local relation with the matrix Force-head for interpretative reasons, why is it the case that all dependent V2 clauses are subject to obligatory extraposition in syntax? Why is it not sufficient to extrapose the V2 clause at LF? In the following, I will argue that this has to do with the presupposition triggered by V2.

To address the above question it is essential to outline basic assumptions about the anchoring of embedded clauses. A matrix clause – in virtue of the features of the finite verb – is temporally and epistemically anchored with respect to the utterance situation and with respect to the speaker. A complement clause is temporally and epistemically anchored with respect to the matrix event and its subject. In this anchoring process, subjunctive mood indicates that the reference event of the embedded Tense projection is bound by the matrix event. In other words, subjunctive mood indicates that the temporal argument of the finite verb is a bound pronoun. Indicative mood, on the other hand, indicates that the temporal argument of the finite verb is a free pronoun and behaves like a discourse anaphor. In German due to the widespread loss of subjunctive mood, the indicative mood has become compatible with both interpretations of the temporal argument and V2 serves to disambiguate these readings. In the following section, the relation between the morphological distinction subjunctive-indicative in Italian and the syntactic distinction between V2- and V-final order that underlies these assumptions will be discussed and illustrated in detail.

Returning to the temporal argument of an embedded verb, if this argument behaves like a discourse anaphor it is in need of or presupposes a discourse

antecedent. Presuppositions of lexical elements are well established in the literature and pertain to elements of the common ground. In the case at hand we deal with the presupposition of a functional element, the temporal argument of the Tense head in the embedded clause. Since functional elements denote syntactic relations, I would like to propose that the presupposition of the embedded Tense head, as a functional category, pertains to a syntactic relation as well. In other words, V2 indicates a presupposition about the syntactic structure, namely that the required discourse antecedent has been established in the syntactic structure preceding the V2-clause. Adjunction of the embedded clause to a high position in the matrix clause thus serves two purposes: a) it brings the embedded clause into a local relation with the matrix force head and b) it brings the embedded clause into the correct precedence relation with respect to the matrix clause that hosts the discourse antecedent of its tense head. In particular, I would like to propose that an extraposed category can be freely ordered with respect to its host clause – since no dominance relation is established in an adjunction configuration. In addition, I assume that the processing of syntactic structure goes from left to right, so that the syntactic presupposition of a V2 clause can only be fulfilled if the adjoined clause is linearized after the matrix host clause, giving rise to extraposition.

In conclusion, the requirement of obligatory extraposition is directly connected to the V2 property of embedded clauses and can thus be extended naturally from V2Rs to V2-adverbials and to V2C-clauses. V2C-clauses cannot be topicalized since they need to be extraposed like V2Rs and V2-adverbials to fulfill the presupposition of embedded V2.

Additional evidence for the proposal that cases of embedded V2 do not involve embedded speech acts is provided by the other distributional properties of these clauses. The present account requires that the epistemically anchored (embedded) proposition is licensed by a true assertive operator. This immediately excludes an interrogative or conditional context. Furthermore, we have noted that embedded V2 clauses cannot occur in the scope of negation. This follows from the fact that information that is contrastively negated must be taken to have been already under discussion and be part of the CG, excluding the possibility that this information is part of only the speaker's evidence, as is requested by embedded V2 and has been illustrated in (11b) above. According to our assumptions V2 indicates that the relevant proposition is part of the speaker's evidence only implying that this proposition is not part of the CG, hence the incompatibility of embedded V2 with a contrastively focusing negation, a condition that does not apply to embedded verb final clauses that represent independent speech acts, as illustrated in (16b) above.

7 An alternative analysis of V2Rs

In this section I will first discuss the relation between mood alternations in Italian and the positioning of the finite verb in German. Then I will propose an analysis of V2-relatives as regular subordinated clauses in which the determiner/quantifier due to the extraposition requirement of V2 is interpreted in the embedded clause. The determiner restriction of V2-relatives – remember that only indefinite determiners and weak quantifiers are allowed – is argued to follow from a matching analysis and the site of the merge position of restrictive relative clauses in the account of Cinque (2013).

7.1 Indicative versus Subjunctive and V2

Gärtner (2001, 2002) also noted that relative clauses with an indefinite head noun and the verb in final position allow for the so-called *de dicto* and *de re* interpretation, while a V2R allows only for the *de re* interpretation, as is illustrated in (17).

- (17) a. Hans sucht eine Frau, die blaue Augen hat. (de re, de dicto)
Hans looks-for a woman who blue eyes has
- b. Hans sucht eine Frau, die hat blaue Augen. (de re, *de dicto)
Hans looks-for a woman who has blue eyes
'John is looking for a woman who has blue eyes.'

As is illustrated in (18), a similar contrast is observable in indicative and subjunctive relative clauses in Italian: while the relative clause marked with subjunctive mood only allows for a *de dicto* interpretation, the relative clause marked with indicative mood, like V2Rs in German, only permits the *de re* reading.

- (18) a. Gianni cerca una donna che abbia gli occhi blu. (de dicto)
John looks-for a woman who has.SUB the eyes blue
- b. Gianni cerca una donna che ha gli occhi blu. (de re)
John looks-for a woman who has.IND the eyes blue
'John is looking for a woman who has blue eyes.'

The parallelism in interpretation between V2Rs and VFRs in German on the one hand and Ind/Subj-relatives in Italian on the other hand is also corroborated by the fact that the contexts that require Subjunctive in Italian do not admit

V2 in German (also cf. Meinunger 2004: 23). These include relative clauses with a final or a consecutive interpretation, as is illustrated in (19) and (20), respectively.

- (19) a. Prendo un autobus che mi porti in centro.
[I] take a bus that me take.SUB to centre
- b. Ich nehme einen Bus, der mich ins Zentrum bringt.
I take a bus that me to-the centre takes
- c. *Ich nehme einen Bus, der bringt mich ins Zentrum.
I take a bus that takes me to-the centre
'I take a bus that takes me downtown.'
- (20) a. È difficile trovare un vestito che lei non possa indossare.
is difficult find a dress that she NEG can.SUB wear
- b. Es ist schwierig, ein Kleid zu finden, das ihr nicht steht.
it is difficult a dress to find that her NEG suits
- c. *Es ist schwierig, ein Kleid zu finden, das steht ihr nicht.
it is difficult a dress to find that suits her NEG
'It is difficult to find a dress that doesn't suit her.'

Furthermore, we note that the matrix contexts that exclude V2Rs in German, namely clauses containing a negative or interrogative operator require subjunctive mood in the relative clause in Italian, as is illustrated in (21) and (22).

- (21) a. Non c'è nessuno che sia meglio di te.
NEG EXIST nobody who is.SUB better than you
- b. Es gibt niemanden, der besser ist als du.
EXIST nobody who better is than you
- c. *Es gibt niemanden, der ist besser als du.
EXIST nobody who is better than you
'There is nobody who is better than you.'
- (22) a. Esiste un vestito che ti piaccia veramente?
EXIST a dress that you pleases.SUB really
- b. Gibt es überhaupt ein Kleid, das dir gefällt?
EXIST MOD.PRT a dress that you pleases

- c. *Gibt es überhaupt ein Kleid, das gefällt dir?
 EXIST MOD.PRT a dress that pleases you
 'Is there a dress that you like anyway?'

The data in (19–22) thus show that there is a strong correlation between mood alternations in Italian relative clauses and the positioning of the finite verb in German relative clauses. Mood distinctions in Italian relatives are also connected with information structure (IS), as is briefly discussed in the following section.

7.2 Mood distinctions and IS in Italian relatives

As is indicated by the readings specified in (24), the relative clauses marked with subjunctive and indicative mood in (23ab) differ crucially in which material is mapped into the restriction of the quantifier *few* and which material is mapped into its nuclear scope. The inverted scope reading in (23b) is crucially enforced by putting a focus accent on the adjective in the relative clause in Italian, as is indicated by capital letters in (23b).

- (23) a. In quel periodo ho incontrato poche persone che fossero
 in that period [I] have met few persons who were.SUB
 ricche.
 rich
- b. In quel periodo ho incontrato poche persone che erano
 in that period [I] have met every man who were.IND
 RICCHE.
 rich
 'At that time, I met few people that were rich.'
- (24) a. for few people that were rich, it holds that I have met them (reading of (23a))
 b. for few people that I encountered, it holds that they were rich (reading of (23b))

In other words, we are dealing with an effect of quantificational variability induced by focus (cf. among many others Herburger 2000) where material that is focussed is mapped onto the nuclear scope, as is illustrated in (25).

- (25) a. I know many Swedish Nobel prize winners.
 (= for many Swedish Nobel prize winners, it holds that I know them)

- b. I know many SWEDISH Nobel prize winners.
 (= for many Nobel prize winners that I know, it holds that they are Swedes)

Also this interpretational effect goes into the right direction given that material contained in V2Rs is asserted, rather than presupposed. In the present approach, we can account for this parallel effect by assuming that the extraposition of the relative clause, forced by V2 in German, prevents it from being pied-piped by quantifier raising of the head noun. For Italian, we can assume that a relative clause marked with indicative mood that contains a focused constituent is obligatorily extraposed at LF and thus preventing its material to furnish the restriction of the operator, while subjunctive mood in a relative clause is used to indicate that the relative clause is obligatorily pied-piped by quantifier raising of the head noun.

7.3 The matching analysis of restrictive relative clauses

A crucial ingredient of the present account of V2Rs is the matching analysis of relative clauses that has been put forward by various authors, including Hulsey and Sauerland 2002 and Cinque 2013. Given that idioms and bound pronouns point to the interpretability of the heading NP in the relative clause, as illustrated in (26), restrictive relative clauses seem to call for a raising or matching analysis. We adopt the matching analysis, illustrated in (27), since it can account without any problems for the necessary extraposition of V2Rs and, most importantly, it derives us for free the determiner restrictions on the head noun in V2Rs, as we will see below.

- (26) a. John was satisfied by the headway that Mary made.
 b. Mary liked the pictures of himself that John sent.
- (27) [_{DP} the [_{NP} book] [_{CP} [_{NP} book] [_C that John read t]]] (Hulsey & Sauerland 2002)

The matching analysis combines aspects of the traditional head external analysis employing a relative operator in the relative clause with a raising analysis. As is illustrated in (27), the matching analysis assumes that the NP part of the head noun is base-generated in the relative clause and is then raised to [_{Spec,CP}] to enter into a matching relation with the head noun.

Evidence for this analysis comes from extensive comparative work by Cinque (2013) who argues that finite restrictive relative clauses (and amount relatives) are merged above weak determiners, in Milsark's (1974) sense, that is, above multal

and paucal quantifiers, cardinals, the indefinite determiners and adjectives, and below strong determiners (definite articles, demonstratives, universal quantifiers, etc.) in a single double-headed structure underlying the different types of relative clauses attested cross-linguistically.¹ For Hulsey & Sauerland (2002), matching is a mechanism of ellipsis, that is, a process of phonological deletion under identity. In English and German, it is the occurrence of the NP in the relative clause that is deleted.

Now I would like to make the following proposal. We can derive the correct interpretation of the relative DP in (29a) specified in (29b) and the relevance of the indicative/subjunctive distinction in general, if we assume that the reference of nominals is individualized with respect to situations. Following Kratzer (2007), I assume that situations are parts of worlds that extend over a given time span. That is to say that nominals are analysed as properties, as defined in (28).

(28) An NP that is assigned a value for its situation argument denotes the set of individuals X such that $X = \{x \mid x \text{ is an N in } s\}$

- (29) a. Maria las das Buch das ihr Otto empfahl
 b. in s_2 Mary read the unique book x in s_1 such that Otto recommended x to Mary in s_1

In its use as the head of the external NP of a relative clause, the definite determiner denotes the unique individual of type N in the situation denoted by the relative clause as defined in (30).

- (30) The definite determiner presupposes that the set X contains exactly one individual in s and denotes the unique individual that satisfies the nominal predicate in s

The matching mechanism, via identification of the situation arguments of the two occurrences of *book* (x,s), thus guarantees that both NPs denote the same set of objects, licensing the phonological deletion of the lower NP under semantic identity.

¹ As evidence, he points out that consistent head-final and consistent head-initial languages show the merge position of such relatives on their sleeves: the order Dem RC Num A N is found in several Caucasian, Cushitic, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, Turkic, Uralic (and other OV) languages, while the order N A Num RC Dem is found in several Mon-Khmer, Tai-Kadai, Niger-Congo, Austronesian (and other VO) languages.

This identification of the situation arguments can come about in two ways. The first way consists in the application of a relative operator that binds the situation argument of the verb and of the internal head in the relative clause. However, we do not identify this relative operator with the relative pronoun in (29), as is done in standard accounts.

In our analysis, the relative pronoun is just the spell-out of morphological features of the internal head that are not recoverable after phonological deletion. We assume that the d-morpheme in the so-called relative pronoun in German just serves as host of unrecoverable φ -features but is semantically vacuous (as the definite determiner is in cases of unique and abstract terms like *die Sonne* 'the sun' or *die Liebe* 'the love'). Note that the relative pronoun can be deleted in non-standard varieties, as in Bavarian, under various conditions, illustrated in (32) below. The relative operator, on the other hand, is identified in our analysis with a relative head in the C-domain that λ -abstracts over the situation argument of the verb that has been anchored according to its temporal and modal specifications. This head must thus occupy a high position in the C-domain and blocks V2. We assume that it is spelled-out as *wo* in many Bavarian, Alemannic and Hessian dialects, but remains unrealized in standard German. Following Bayer (1984), we propose the following structure for the relative clause in (29) above.

- (31) Maria las das Buch [_{CP} [_{DP} [_{NP} Bæteh] das] [_C (wo) [_{IP} ihr Otto empfahl t_i]]
- (32) a. I sog's dem Mo (der) wo im Gartn arwat
 I say-it to the man-DAT who-NOM wo in the garden works
 b. Der Mantel *(den) wo i kaffd hob wor z'rissn
 The coat-NOM who-AKK wo I bought have was torn
 c. Die Lampn (die) wo i geseng hob wor greißlich
 The lamp-NOM who-AKK wo I seen have was ugly

In other words, the relative clause denotes a set of situations that have been anchored temporally and modally according to the specifications of the embedded verb. Since the subjunctive indicates that the verb is anchored with respect to a situation that is distant from the situation of utterance, that is different from the actual world, and since the indicative indicates that the verb is anchored with respect to a situation that overlaps with the utterance situation, that is, is part of the actual world, an indefinite DP heading a subjunctive relative clause receives a *de dicto* interpretation – since it is interpreted with respect to a situation in w_1 that is remote from the actual world (w_0) – while an indefinite DP heading an indicative relative clause receives a *de re* interpretation – since it is interpreted with respect to a situation in w_0 .

right track, speech act-related adverbial clauses, as discussed in detail by Frey (2016) require a different analysis in the present account. They must be assumed to be adjoined to ForceP since they express relations between speech acts. V2 in these clauses can then not be assumed to be licensed by the matrix speech act for there lack of c-command (the adjoined clause is too high in a position).

Is there any evidence for this analysis? At this point, it is interesting to note that these adverbial clauses are also *licensed* by – can be combined with – other speech acts, as is illustrated in (35ab) taken from Frey (2016). Furthermore, note that this type of V2 clauses can also (marginally) precede the main clause and are not subject to the extraposition requirement, illustrated in (35cde), indicating that they present a completely separate and independent speech act.

- (35) a. Hast du den Artikel von Hans gelesen? weil ich finde den sehr gut
 b. Lies mal den Artikel von Hans! weil ich finde den sehr gut
 c. Kommt Maria zur Party? weil du organisierst doch die ganze Sache
 d. weil du organisierst doch die ganze Sache, kommt Maria eigentlich zur Party?
 e. weil du organisierst doch die ganze Sache, wann findet die Party statt?

For cases like (35) it must be assumed that the relevant V2 clause has the structure of a main clause and *weil* constitutes a discourse particle. I will leave this issue for future research. To conclude, we have seen in this paper that a certain type of focus (contrastive focus, scalar focus) contained in an embedded domain (cf. the examples in (15) and (16) above) requires a separate local assertion, while new information focus does not, but licenses a subclass of modal particles in an embedded domain. V2 serves to indicate that the embedded clause has assertive potential which is licensed by adjunction to the C-domain of the main clause explaining the distributional properties of cases of embedded V2 (in the case of V2-adverbials restricted to cases representing propositional relations).

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