

**On the proper analysis of V2 relatives in German:
Evidence from the distinction Subjunctive-Indicative in Italian.**

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The last years have seen a vivid discussion on the role and interpretation of V2 in embedded clauses in German (cf. Freywald 2009, 2010; Antomo & Steinbach 2010; Reis 2013). For relative clauses, Gärtner (2002) established that V2-relatives are prosodically intergrated and do not represent separate assertions, as appositive relatives arguably do. More specifically, he argued that V2-relatives as (1a) should not be analysed as (1b) since they crucially have a restrictive interpretation (cf. (2ab)). To account for the presence of V2, Gärtner proposed a coordinative analysis assigning a proto-assertional role to the relative clause (to distinguish it from appositive relatives), raising the question of what exactly the impact of V2 in relative clauses is, since the same kind of readings are (already) available in Vfinal relatives, as is illustrated in (2).

- (1) a. Das Blatt hat eine Seite, die ist ganz schwarz
- b. Das Blatt hat eine Seite. Diese ist ganz schwarz
- (2) a. Apfeldorf hat viele Häuser, die stehen leer (= many of which are empty)
- b. Apfeldorf hat viele Häuser, die leer stehen (= 2a)

A context in which V2- and Vfinal relatives differ in a clear manner are relatives with indefinites as head nouns, as is illustrated in (3). While the Vfinal relative allows for a de re and a de dicto interpretation of the indefinite (3a), the V2 relative is restricted to the de re interpretation (3b). The same kind of contrast is evidenced by the distinction between indicative and subjunctive mood in relatives in Italian, as is illustrated in (4).

- (3) a. Hans sucht eine Frau, die blaue Augen hat (de re, de dicto)
- b. Hans sucht eine Frau, die hat blaue Augen (de re, *de dicto)
- (4) a. Gianni cerca una donna che ha gli occhi blu (de re)
- John looks-for a woman that has.IND blue eyes
- b. Gianni cerca una donna che abbia gli occhi blu (de dicto)
- John looks-for a woman that has.SUB blue eyes

This parallelism between V2- and Vfinal-relatives in German and relatives with indicative and subjunctive Mood is corroborated by the observation that those contexts that require the subjunctive mood do not admit V2-relatives in German. As is illustrated in (5-7), relative clauses with a final (5) or consecutive interpretation (6) or relative clauses with a negated head noun (7) require subjunctive mood in Italian and do not admit V2-relatives in German.

- (5) a. Prendo un bus che mi porti a casa
- [I] take a bus that CL.IP takes.SUB to home
- b. Ich nehme einen Bus, der mich nach Hause bringt
- c. *Ich nehme einen Bus, der bringt mich nach Hause
- (6) a. E' difficile trovare un vestito che lei non possa indossare
- [it] is difficult to-find a dress that she NEG can.SUB wear
- b. Gibt es ein Kleid, das ihr nicht steht?
- c. *Gibt es ein Kleid, das steht ihr nicht?
- (7) a. Non c'è nessuno che sia meglio di te
- NEG there-is nobody that be.SUB better than you
- b. Ich kenne niemanden, der besser ist als du
- c. *Ich kenne niemanden, der ist besser als du

The contrast between V2- and Vfinal-relatives is even more evident in the proverbial example in (8) in which (8b) has a contradictory flavour, while (8a) can be paraphrased in the following way: *there are (imaginable) things in other worlds that do not exist in the actual world*. This suggests that the role of V2 in (8a) is to fix the world interpretation of the embedded domain to the actual world (a referential/deictic interpretation), while Vfinal is compatible with a bound interpretation of the world variable in the embedded domain and thus leads to a contradiction.

- (8) a. Es gibt Dinge, die gibt's gar nicht!
 b. Es gibt Dinge, die es gar nicht gibt!

This interpretation of the data in (8) also makes plausible why subjunctive mood in the relative clause in Italian goes hand in hand with a non-specific, quantificational interpretation of the indefinite head noun, while indicative mood - referring to the actual world - goes hand in hand with a specific interpretation of the indefinite requiring that a respective discourse referent is (pre-) established in the actual world.

On the basis of the observations summarized in (9), we argue for a hypotactic analysis of V2- relatives in which verb movement in the relative clause serves to set the reference of the embedded event to the actual world. It is in this sense that the embedded clause receives a so-called root interpretation but does not constitute a separate assertion.

- (9) a. main clause and relative clause do not represent separate assertions
 b. V2 and Vfinal relatives have the same prosodic contour (Gärtner 2001)
 c. it is not always possible to paraphrase the utterance with a coordinating conjunction (*contra* Abraham 2013)
 d. C-deletion is only possible if the dependent clause is governed by the higher verb (cf. 10)
 e. V2-relatives appeared with *welch*-Relatives in ENHG (cf. Luther Bible)

Certain varieties of spoken British English allow for the deletion of the pronoun if the head noun is indefinite and the relative clause has a restrictive interpretation (Tagliamonte 2013: 394), as is illustrated in (10).

- (10) a. I had an aunt Ø lived down the street.
 b. There's another trolley Ø went to Port Credit. Um, there was a huge trestle Ø went across the Etobikoke Creek to carry the trolley.
 c. There was a lady Ø played the piano.

Since verb movement in the matrix clause (cf. (8a)) does not have the same semantic effect as verb movement in the relative clause, we propose that the two operations target different positions in the C-domain. In an analysis in which the original C head is split up into Force, Mood and Finiteness, we propose that embedded V2 targets MoodP/FinP, while V2 in matrix clauses directly targets ForceP.

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