

**Embedded V2 and embedded speech acts?**

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**1 Introduction**

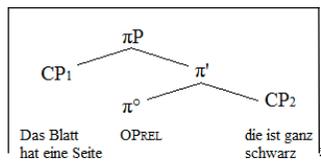
As far as adnominal clauses are concerned, the content of relative clauses is asserted, indicating their non-subordinated status, but at the same time they allow for a restrictive interpretation, illustrated in (1), indicating their subordinated status, since the restrictive reading under standard assumptions requires that the relative clause is interpreted within the DP heading it. As far as adverbial clauses are concerned, Haegeman (2002, 2009, 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 anteceded 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.

- (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
- (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) 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
- (4) Resi, i-hoi-di heit mim Traktor o, wei lustig bin-i hoit a (Die Original Zillertaler)  
 Therese, ich hol' 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

**2 V2 in adnominal clauses**

V2 has been argued to be a root phenomenon and clauses containing V2 should thus 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) [<sub>πP</sub> [<sub>CP1</sub> Das Blatt hat eine Seite [<sub>π°REL</sub> [<sub>CP2</sub> die ist ganz schwarz]]]]  
 'The sheet has one side that is all black.' (Gärtner 2002: 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).

**3 Properties of V2Rs**

- A) V2Rs must be extraposed
- (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)
- B) the head noun cannot be in the scope of a negative, interrogative or conditional operator
- (6) a. Kein Professor mag eine Studentin, die {\*zitiert} ihn nicht {zitiert}.  
 no professor likes a student.FEM who cites him.NEG cites  
 'No professor likes a student who doesn't cite him.' (Gärtner 2002: 107)
- 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?'
- C) determiner restriction: the head noun must be an indefinite or weak DP (data 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. 9<sup>th</sup>, 2010)
- b. Es gibt (viele) Leute, die haben tolle Ideen – nur es passiert relativ wenig.  
 EXIST many people who.NOM have great ideas only EXPL happens quite little  
 'There are (many) people who have great ideas - however, very little is going on.' (tlz, Jul. 6<sup>th</sup>, 2014)
- (8) a. Ich kenne einen, dem hat ein Zugunglück das Leben gerettet.  
 I know one that.DAT has a train-accident the 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 aus der Geschichte schubsen.  
 EXIST also some that.ACC would IND.PRON.3.P gladly out the story nudge  
 'There are some [passages] that one would just love to strike out.' (amazon.de, online user's comment, Jun. 30<sup>th</sup>, 2012)
- D) the relative pronoun must be a d-pronoun
- (9) a. Es gibt Probleme, die/ (\*welche) sind nicht lösbar.  
 EXIST problems that.NOM that.NOM are not solvable

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

#### 4 V2 in adverbial clauses

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 conditional operator, as is illustrated in (10) - (12).

- (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)?

- Gärtner (2001) proposes that these are the contexts that fail to set up a discourse referent for the interpretation of the weak demonstrative element introducing V2-relatives.

Problems:

- A) Note that this explanation does not carry over to V2-adverbials.  
 B) Conditional clauses allow the set up of a discourse referent (cf. (13))

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

C) at some point in the derivation the d-pronoun is converted into a relative operator in Gärtner's account, otherwise (14a) should have the same interpretation as (14b): it is not 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

- 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?)

- 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 embedded adnominal and adverbial clauses (CACs in the terminology of Frey 2016).

- (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
- (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)

Frey (2016) proposes that a question tag like *nicht wahr?* or *oder?* indicates the presence of an independent assertion, cf. (16') for these matters:

- (16') Er hat kein schlechtes Gewissen, weil er halt mal gelogen hat, nicht wahr?, sondern weil er Maria damit wohl bloßgestellt hat, oder?
- (16'') Ich musste heute (deshalb) gar nichts kochen, weil ich hab ja noch etwas gehabt vom Braten am Sonntag, nicht wahr?

Probleme:

- a) man muss erklären, wie es möglich ist dass in (3) eine kausale Relation zwischen Propositionen vorliegt
- b) wie ist der Unterschied zwischen (16) und (11b) zu erklären, wenn es sich in beiden Fällen um separate Sprechakte handelt?

#### 5 V2 in adverbial clauses and V2 in complement clauses

Frey (2016) proposes a distinction between CAC, PAC and non-integrated AC; CACs are embedded in the matrix clause (in a relative deep position to allow for binding relations) and express relations between eventualities; PACs are embedded in the matrix clause (in a relative high position, disallowing binding relations) and express relations between propositions, while non-integrated AC are not embedded at all, are so-called orphans and are connected with the matrix clause at the discourse level and express a relation between speech acts;

causal V2-clauses are treated as non-integrated AC, since they cannot occupy [Spec,CP] of the matrix clause, which he takes as main indicator of the syntactic integration of a clause, as is illustrated in (17).

- (17) 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

**Proposal:**

- a) a V2-adverbial clause with event related reading is adjoined to FinP  
 b) a V2-adverbial clause with an epistemic reading is adjoined to EvidP  
 c) a V2-adverbial clauses with a SA-related reading is adjoined to ForceP  
 d) the first two constitute relations between propositions and do not constitute independent SAs

e) the last ones constitute relations between speech acts

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)

- (18) 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 Matrixverbs, including matrix predicates in the scope of negation or a interrogative operator are excluded, as is illustrated in (19ab). She also notes that V2-complement clauses cannot occur in [Spec,CP] of the matrix verb (19c).

- (19) 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 V2-complement clauses in North Germanic (Vikner 1995) and in Frisian (De Haan & Weerman 1986); V2-complement clauses in Danish and Frisian fall under the very same restrictions:

- they can be embedded under verbs of saying or thinking
- they cannot be embedded under factive or implicative predicates
- if a licit predicate is negated or questioned, a V2-complement clause is ungrammatical

furthermore, a V2-complement clause is ungrammatical in [Spec,CP] of the matrix clause

- (20) 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 V2-complement 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 complement clauses;

## 6 The proposal

Alternatively, I will argue that V2-relatives and V2-adverbials 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 EvidenceP, which is independently needed for the licensing of (some) modal particles, and occupies a position between ForceP and FinP in the system of Rizzi (1997).

V2-relatives and V2-adverbials therefore must be extraposed to EvidenceP 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 that is ambiguous between

being anchored to the Common Ground (shared by speaker and hearer) or to the speaker 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 (rather than presupposed).

**Question:** How can we explain the obligatory extraposition of all dep. V2-clauses at S-Structure?

- the finite verb anchors the proposition temporally and modally;
- subjunctive mood indicates that the reference event is operator bound - is a bound pronoun
- indicative mood indicates that the reference event is a free pronoun or a discourse anaphor
- discourse anaphors presuppose an antecedent
- this presupposition of the Tense head, as a functional category, pertains to a syntactic relation and is understood literally so: in the syntactic structure preceding the V2-clause such an event must have been established;
- an extraposed category can be freely ordered with respect to its host - since no dominance relations are established
- 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;

## The evidence

The present account requires that the epistemically anchored proposition is licensed by a true assertive operator excluding an interrogative or conditional context. At the same time, 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 requested by (embedded) V2 ( in (11b) the scope of negation is indicated by small caps).

## 7 An alternative analysis of V2Rs

An analysis of V2-relatives as regular subordinated clauses is proposed in which the determiner/quantifier due to the extraposition requirement of V2 is interpreted in the embedded clause. The determiner restriction of V2-relatives (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 and Subjunctive and V2

- (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 CL.PERS.PR.1.P.ACC take.SUB to centre  
 b. Ich nehme einen Bus, der mich ins Zentrum bringt.  
 I take a bus that PERS.PR.1.P.ACC to-the centre takes  
 c. \*Ich nehme einen Bus, der bringt mich ins Zentrum.  
 I take a bus that takes PERS.PR.1.P.ACC 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 PERS.PR.3.P.DAT NEG suits  
 c. \*Es ist schwierig, ein Kleid zu finden, das steht ihr nicht.  
 it is difficult a dress to find that suits PERS.PR.3.P.DAT 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 W.PERS.PR.1.P.DAT pleases.SUB really  
 b. Gibt es überhaupt ein Kleid, das dir gefällt?  
 EXIST MOD.PRT a dress that PERS.PR.2.P.DAT pleases  
 c. \*Gibt es überhaupt ein Kleid, das gefällt dir?  
 EXIST MOD.PRT a dress that pleases PERS.PR.2.P.DAT  
 'Is there a dress that you like anyway?'

## 7.2 Mood distinctions and IS in Italian Relatives

As is indicated in (24), (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 (29b) is crucially enforced by putting a focus accent on the verb in the relative clause in Italian.

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

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)

In the present approach, we can account for this effect by assuming that the extraposition of the relative clause, forced by V2, prevents it from being pied-piped by quantifier raising of the head noun.

## 7.3 The matching analysis of restrictive relative clauses

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) [<sub>DP</sub> the [<sub>NP</sub> book] [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> book] [<sub>C</sub> that John read t ]]] (Hulsey & Sauerland 2002)

Cinque (2013) 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 determiner 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.

### Proposal:

<sup>1</sup> 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.

We can derive the correct interpretation of the relative DP in (28) and the relevance of the indicative/subjunctive distinction in general, if we assume that the reference of nominals is individualized with respect to events: Buch = Buch (x, e).

(28) Maria las das Buch das ihr Otto empfahl

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

In its use as the head of the external NP of a relative clause, the article denotes the unique individual in the situation denoted by the relative clause.

(29) The determiner *das* presupposes that the set X contains exactly one individual in s and denotes the unique individual that satisfies the nominal predicate in s

(30) in  $s_2$  Mary read the unique book x in  $s_1$  such that Otto recommended x to Mary in  $s_1$

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

This identification of the event arguments can come about in two ways. The first way consists in the application of a relative operator that binds the event arguments 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 (28), as in standard accounts. In our analysis, this operator is identified with a relative head in the C-domain that  $\lambda$ -abstracts over the event argument of the verb that has been anchored according 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 (31) above.

(31) Maria las das Buch [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> ~~Buch~~] das ] [<sub>C</sub> (wo) [<sub>IP</sub> ihr Otto empfahl  $t_1$  ]]]

- (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

This analysis immediately explains why 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  $w_0$ .

#### 7.4 The matching mechanism in V2Rs

In the present account, the situation in *last* (x,s) can be identified with the event of Peter claiming something or with the event of being written by Grass.

- (33) a. Hans las das letzte Buch, das Peter sagte, dass Grass geschrieben hat.  
b. John read the last book that Grass had written as Peter said.  
c. John read the last book of which Peter said that Grass had written it.

Matching is also satisfied if the event argument of the internal head is (accidentally) assigned the same value as the event argument of the external head has been.

(34) Apfeldorf hat viele Häuser, die stehen leer.

Syn: [<sub>CP</sub>Apfeldorf hat [<sub>DP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub>viele Häuser] [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub> viele Häuser] die] [<sub>C</sub> stehen [<sub>IP</sub>leer ]]]]]]

PF: [<sub>CP</sub>Apfeldorf hat [<sub>DP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub>viele Häuser] [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub> ~~viele Häuser~~] die] [<sub>C</sub> stehen [<sub>IP</sub>leer ]]]]]]

LF: [<sub>CP</sub>Apfeldorf hat [<sub>DP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub>viele Häuser]] [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub>[<sub>NP</sub> viele Häuser] die] [<sub>C</sub> stehen [<sub>IP</sub>leer ]]]]

The crucial point is now its representation at LF: after extraposition of the relative clause, the quantifier *viele* cannot be interpreted in the matrix clause, since this would leave us with unbound variables. Instead it is interpreted in the embedded clause indicated by crossing out of the quantifier in the higher position at LF.

#### Result:

The determiner restriction on the external head in V2Rs follows from the merge position of the relative clause and the assumption that these determiners are interpreted in the relative clause

#### interim conclusions:

- A) both V2Rs and V2-Adverbials are embedded clauses  
B) they have an assertive potential (indicated by V2) but lack independent assertive force  
C) this condition explains the context in which V2Rs and V2-Adverbials may occur  
D) licensing of the assertive potential requires extraposition to a high position in the main clause  
E) the determiner restriction follows from the latter condition in the matching analysis of Cinque (2013)

#### 7 Consequences

SA-related adverbial clauses require a different analysis in the present account; they are assumed to be adjoined to ForceP and hence V2 in this clauses cannot be licensed by the matrix speech act;

it is interesting to note that these adverbial clauses are also *licensed* by other speech acts (cf. (35) taken from Frey 2016); marginally such a V2 clause can also precede the main clause, indicating 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 that *weil* constitutes a discourse particle in these cases;

**final conclusion:**

a certain focus type (contrastive focus, scalar focus) contained in an embedded domain requires a separate (local) assertion; new information focus does not, but licenses a subclass of modal particles;

Why this should be so is subject to further research!

comments welcome!  
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