On the discourse impact of subordinate clauses

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Abstract

The present article investigates the discourse status of subordinate sentences, i.e., it considers the context change potential of dependent clauses. It is argued that (subordinate) clauses are associated with certain grammatical phenomena that mark them as anaphoric (i.e., familiar) or as focal, introducing new information into the discourse. As with noun phrases, these phenomena are: (i) morphological marking on the head (choice of verbal mood), (ii) phonological stress pattern, and most importantly syntactic position (iii), in the sense that discourse-old and discourse-new clauses are associated with different positions, an idea that comes close to a Mapping Hypothesis, as originally proposed for noun phrases by Diesing (1992). The claim is that dependent indicative verb second clauses in German undergo extraposition which is not semantically vacuous. This movement step places them into a quasi-paratactic position from which the relevant clauses act as assertions. Thus in contrast to complementizer-containing verb-final, i.e., canonical, subordinate clauses, these dependent verb second clauses have illocutionary force and mark new information. It is furthermore argued that related phenomena can be observed in other languages: for example, the Romance languages signalize the new information–givenness distinction and the presence vs. absence of illocutionary force (partly) by the use of verbal mood – a factor which plays an important role in German(ic) as well.

0. Introduction

The present contribution is structured as follows. The first section introduces the more or less well-known phenomenon of embedded verb second (henceforth V2). It presents the predicates and constructions that allow for a dependent clause to be realized in main clause shape. It considers apparent counterexamples and draws a parallel to other embedded root clause

constructions in English. The second part is devoted to a related phenomenon in the Romance languages, the verbal mood subjunctive, and it proposes a 'correspondence alignment' which argues for a unified account of the considered phenomena. The third section solves a mismatch that the correspondence alignment from the preceding section has left open. The important contribution of the third section is the proposal to declare volitional predicates antifactivity triggers, which explains the grammatical behaviour they share with canonical factive predicates (certain semifactives and implicative predicates included). The fourth section reviews certain proposals in the literature concerning the behaviour of embedded constituents that for some reason scope out of their base position and gain speaker-oriented width. In the fifth part a formal treatment is proposed: in case a subordinate clause is used by the speaker to trigger a discourse-new reading, conveying information the speaker intends to assert, the sentence is raised to a position such that the initially hypotactic structure is transformed into a quasi-paratactic construction. This move, which can be conceived of as an instance of quantifier raising for CPs, puts subordinate sentences into a position directly in the scope of a speech act operator, which results in the desired discourse-new and hence assertive interpretation, here called the 'double access reading'.

1.   Verb second in German subordinate clauses
1.1. The predicates and constructions

It has beeen known for quite some time that under the right conditions a subordinate clause may appear in the shape of a matrix V2 sentence.

(1)   *Ich glaube, er hat recht.*   German, Reis (1997)
      I   believe, he has right
      'I think he's right.'
(2)   *Es ist besser, du kündigst ihm.*
      it is better you fire   him
      'It would be better for you to fire him.'

There is a big debate on whether the relevant sentences are indeed embedded (especially Reis 1997). The facts, however, seem to speak in favour of hypotaxis instead of parataxis and come from all grammatical components. A survey and discussion can be found in Meinunger (2004).

In this article I will offer an approach that can be reconciled with both views: the hypotaxis AND the parataxis approach.

Be that as it may, although V2 is possible in adjunct sentences (relative clauses, '*weil*-Sätze'), it is natural and sometimes even the unmarked case in subordinate complement sentences. Many linguists have tried to group verbs according to their capacity to license embedded V2 or not (Reis 1977, 1997; Helbig and Kempter 1974; Vikner 1994; Butulussi 1991; Romberg 1999; to a lesser degree Dunbar 1979 and Oppenrieder 1987). By and large the results are comparable and are critically summarized in Meinunger (2004). Verbs that do allow for the V2 shape of their complements come in three to five classes. The clearest cases are (i) verbs of communication (verba dicendi) and (ii) certain perception verbs that are related to evidential predicates; one also finds V2 relatively frequently with (iii) verbs of thinking (doxastic predicates).

Class (i)   verbs of saying: *sagen, antworten, behaupten, bemerken, berichten,...*
              (say, reply/respond, assert/claim, remark, report,...)
Class (ii)   evidential verbs: *hören, merken, spüren, bemerken, sehen, auffallen,...*
              (hear, notice, feel, realize, see, strike,…)
Class (iii)   verbs of thinking: *annehmen, denken, einsehen, fürchten, glauben, meinen,...*
              (assume, think, see, be afraid, believe, mean,...)

Although there is no statistic analysis yet, a first impression is that in spoken German and maybe even in most written varieties, V2 after the predicates of class (i) to (iii) is the unmarked case. This picture is even stronger with the first person singular (i.e., *ich*) in the matrix (cf. Romberg 1999: 104, Dunbar 1979: 32). Under such circumstances the V2 option is used much more frequently than the subordination variant.

1.2. Problematic cases and the role of subjunctive

The verbs in class (iv) constitute a more delicate case. Semi-factive verbs (iv) as a separate class are not found anywhere in the literature but here. The relevant verbs are listed in the literature, but they are spread over the other classes and are not taken to form a natural class of their own. Reis

(1977) remarks that they do not allow for subjunctive, which is partly true, and this fact sets them apart from the other verbs. Additionally, these verbs preferably construe their argumental CPs in the canonical subordination pattern. However, they are potentially fine with V2 complements.

Class (iv)   <u>semi-factive verbs:</u> *wissen, begreifen, beweisen, herausfinden, herausbekommen,...*
(know, realize, prove, find out (both),...)

A fifth class is assumed in each of the abovementioned works: volitional or volitive predicates, also preferential expressions, verbs of desire and command; see example (2). I will show below that this classification is wrong and fatally misleading. It has blocked the right generalization over a wide range of cross-linguistic phenomena. Verbs of this class are also the object of investigation in Frank (1998). Some of them are listed here.

Class (v)   <u>volitional predicates:</u> *wollen, wünschen, hoffen,*[1] *empfehlen, überreden, das beste/besser/lieber sein, lieber haben (hätte...), vorziehen, bitten, verlangen,...*
(want, wish, hope, recommend, convince, be better, prefer, ask, demand/require,…)

1.3. Restrictions on V2

Verbs that do not allow for the V2 option have also been classified, although with less interest. Reis (1997) and Romberg (1999) list '*Berück-sichtigungsprädikate*' (predicates of consideration = class (a)), semantically complex, inherently negative predicates (b) and emotive verbs (c).

Class (a)   *vernachlässigen, ignorieren, bedenken, beachten,...*[2]
(neglect, ignore, consider, bear in mind,...)
Class (b)   *verdrängen, vergessen, verheimlichen,...*
(repress/suppress, forget, hide/conceal,...)
Class (c)   *bedauern, bereuen, übelnehmen, beklagen,...*
(regret/feel remorse, take offense, deplore,...)

(3)   *Ich bereue, dass ich es nicht sofort   gekauft habe.*
I regret   that I   it not   immediately bought have

(4) *Ich bereue, ich habe es nicht sofort   gekauft.*
     I regret   I   have it not   immediately bought
     both: 'I regret that I did not buy it right away.'

The verb classes so far suggest that the factor of factivity seems to play a
key role. All the listed verbs can be considered factive predicates (Kipar-
sky and Kiparsky 1971; and the discussion in Karttunen 1971). A discov-
ery by Romberg (1999) is also relevant here, namely the identification of
another group of verbs that do not allow for V2. These are verbs of the so-
called causative class (or as will be argued later implicative verbs (Quer
1998, 2001; Karttunen 1971)) (d).

Class (d) *verursachen, bewerkstelligen, vermeiden, bewirken, unterlas-
           sen, erzwingen, schaffen, hinkriegen, gebacken kriegen, for-
           cieren, verhindern,...*
           (cause, get sth realized, prevent, give rise to, omit, neglect,
           force,...)

(5) *Hans hat verursacht, dass Peter nach Hause geht.*
     Hans has caused   that Peter to   home goes
(6) **Hans hat verursacht, Peter geht nach Hause.*
     Hans   has caused   Peter goes to   home
     both: 'Hans caused Peter to go home.'

It seems relevant at this point to mention a new article by Fabricius-Hansen
and Sæbø (2004). These authors discuss the phenomenon of 'Konjunktiv I'
as 'reportive' mood in German subordinate clauses and consider in detail
an older observation (cf. again Reis 1977, but mainly Jäger 1971, Thieroff
1992, Eisenberg 1994, also Zifonun et al. 1997) – namely that given the
right circumstances true factive verbs can be coerced into acting as verba
dicendi, i.e., verbs of saying. The general observation about dicendi-
readings of factives goes back (at least) to Urmson (1963).

(7) *Das Gericht   bedauerte,   es sei nicht ermächtigt,*
     the court   regretted   it is-SUBJ not entitled
     in dieser Frage   zu entscheiden.
     in this   question to decide
     'The court regretted not being entitled to decide the issue.'

Here the reading of the factive emotive verb '*bedauern*' (regret) is shifted to an interpretation where the court must have made a statement of regret. The sentence cannot just mean that the court had an unpleasant attitude toward the fact of not being entitled to take a decision. This shift is crucial. However, as these sentences are obligatorily in subjunctive (when in V2 shape!), I will put them aside here for the moment. At this point it suffices to regard the relevant predicates as special species of verba dicendi – bare of any presuppositional capacities.

1.4. Further restrictions

It must be noted that those predicates that do, in principle, allow for V2 in subordinate sentences do so only under specific conditions, namely almost exclusively in positive, simple assertions. An old observation – dating back to Blümel almost a hundred years ago (1914) – is that negation blocks V2.

(8)   *Ich glaube nicht, *er hat recht / ^{ok}dass er recht hat.*
      I   believe not,   *he has right /   that he right has
      'I don't believe he's right.'

Certainly, there is something to this observation, and the contrast in (8) is striking. However, there is no blind mechanism that stipulates that V2 is ruled out under negation. Butulussi (1991) conducted an excellent corpus study and came up with a considerable list of (apparent) counterexamples. However, Meinunger (2004) shows that all of her examples specific properties that cannot be left unmentioned. First, the subordinated clauses in all her sample sentences come exclusively in subjunctive mood ('Konjunktiv' 1/2). If this mood is replaced by indicative, the sentences become much worse. Most important, in all the examples, there is no single matrix clause that figures as a canonical declarative sentence: none of the V2 embedding matrix clauses can be considered an assertion. This also holds for similar constructions in every day language:

(9)   *Glaube   ja   nicht, du   kämst   ungeschoren davon!*
      believe PRT   not   you   come-SUBJ unshorn   way
      'Don't think that you'll get off lightly!'

A further important observation is that prominence in discourse renders V2 awkward, albeit under a licensing predicate. That means that if (the proposition of) a V2 utterance is to be repeated, the subordinated shape sounds much more appropriate; (10a) vs. (10b).[3]

(10)   A: *Bernd ist endlich gekommen!*   'Bernd has arrived – finally.'
      B: (a)   *Ja, ja – ich weiß/habe schon gehört, dass Bernd endlich gekommen ist.*
          (b)   *# Ja, ja – ich weiß/habe schon gehört, Bernd ist endlich gekommen.*
          'O yeah, I know/heard #(*dass*) Bernd has finally arrived.'

But this is not only the case if the sentence is repeated with the same lexical material – even if the propositional content can just be inferred (11), V2 sounds inappropriate.

(11)   A: *Bernd ist endlich gekommen!*   'Bernd has arrived – finally.'
      B: (a)   *Ja, ja – ich weiß/habe schon gehört, dass Bernd hier ist.*
          (b)   *# Ja, ja – ich weiß/habe schon gehört, Bernd ist hier.*
          'O yeah, I know/heard #(*dass*) Bernd is here.'

Thus the conclusion is that discourse-linked propositions (whether explicitly introduced into the discourse by a speaker's statement, or by mere accommodation) cannot be uttered in V2 shape. Note that this observation is very reminiscent of the condition on the licensing of definite anaphoric noun phrases.

    Before turning to another phenomenon let us summarize so far.

(12)

Verbs/constructions that allow for V2:	that do not:
a. verbs of saying	a. factive verbs (emotive, truly factive predicates)
b. evidential predicates	b. semantically complex, negative verbs
c. verbs of thinking	c. causative, implicative verbs
d. semi-factive verbs	d. under negation
e. ???volitional predicates	e. if the embedded proposition is discourse-old

1.5. Root transformations in English: Hooper and Thompson (1973)

A similar picture emerges in other Germanic V2 languages (cf. Wechsler 1991 and many others). English as a non-V2 language shows related phenomena as well. V2 is a so-called main or root clause phenomenon. Root clause phenomena in English have been studied by Emonds (1969) and – as a response to this – by Hooper and Thompson (1973). The latter try to show that Emonds is not quite correct in postulating the non-applicability of so-called root transformations in non-matrix contexts. Emonds claims that a collection of transformations (e.g., VP preposing, negative constituent raising, adverb dislocation, subject-aux-inversion, certain types of topicalization etc.) could be applied in matrix sentences only. Hooper and Thompson's merit consists in showing that things are more intricate, and that certain verb classes allow for embedding of transformations that Emonds claims to be root-only phenomena. Their classification of predicates that allow for root transformations and those that exclude them is pretty much analogous to (12). Especially the sorting out of semi-factives as a separate class is inspired by their discussion. Hooper and Thompson argue that the decisive factor is assertion, i.e., the potential of assertivity: root transformations are legitimate where the embedded sentence conveys an assertion (for an illustration and implementation of this idea, see below).

2. Subjunctive in Romance – One more observation

There is a grammatical phenomenon in the Romance languages whose relatedness to V2 has gone unnoticed so far (Meinunger 2004). It is the licensing of subjunctive, which has not been recognized in the literature before.[4] A look at any grammar of any Romance language will reveal that the predicates that are listed in the subjunctive section correspond very much to the predicates and constructions banning V2. This observation has led to the correspondence alignment in (13):

(13)   Correspondence alignment:
       Those predicates and grammatical phenomena that block V2 in German(ic) subordinate clauses trigger subjunctive mood in Romance.

A detailed comparison that considers the predicates and constructions from table (12) can be found in Meinunger (2004). In this contribution I would like to present one more observation that seems to strengthen the observed similarity of V2 and indicative (or non-subjunctive) mood. Since the whole topic would be getting too broad, it will be illustrated here only briefly to make the overall picture a bit rounder. V2 clauses as dependent, i.e., subordinate, CPs have been described as appearing in a non-canonical fashion (Gärtner et al. 2003). They are in some sense diametrically opposed to independent verb-final sentences, i.e., to sentences with the pattern complementizer + right peripheral tensed verb that appear in isolation. Sentences like (14), which have an exclamative emotive flavour, have been described and partly successfully explained by Reis (1985), Oppenrieder (1989), and most recently by Truckenbrodt (2003) and Schwabe (forthcoming and this volume).

(14) *Dass Hans (doch) kommt?!*
       that   Hans (PRT) comes
       'So, Hans is coming?!'

For very intricate and complex reasons, a comparison to related constructions in Romance would lead too far. However, the matrix vs. subordinate behaviour can also be observed with questions. Canonical root questions exhibit verb movement to some left peripheral C head in most Italian interrogative constructions; i.e., yes-no questions start with a finite verb form almost exclusively in indicative mood; wh-questions begin with a wh-constituent followed by the finite verb – no complementizer appears. Regular embedded questions show no extra verb movement; subordinated polarity questions (within matrix interrogatives) do exhibit a complementizer, and, additionally, in Romance the finite verb of the subordinate often surfaces in subjunctive (see also Adger and Quer 2001).

(15) *Credi   che Gianni sia   andato a casa?*   (Italian)
       believe-2sg that Gianni is-SUBJ gone   to home
       'Do you believe that Gianni went home?'

Interestingly, there are also non-canonical uses of embedded interrogatives as solitaires, i.e., clauses which show properties of subordinate CPs like complementizers, subjunctive mood, and typical embedded verb placement that can nevertheless be used in isolation. Truckenbrodt (2003) and Rocci

(2004) discuss constructions like (16) (German) and (17) (Italian), respectively.

(16)   *Kannst du dich an Hans erinnern? Ob er noch kubanische*
        can   you you to Hans remember? if he still   Cuban
        Zigarren mag?
        cigars   likes
        'Do you remember Hans? (I'd) like to know whether he still likes
        Cuban cigars….'
(17)   *La macchina di Pia non è nel parcheggio. Che sia   andato a casa?*
        the car   of Pia not is in parking. that is-SUBJ gone to home?
        'Pia's car isn't in the parking lot…(I) wonder if she went home…?'

Although their work has been done completely independently from each other, both give the same discourse conditions for this sort of interrogative construction. Roughly: these questions are appropriate when the speaker is not really expecting a real true answer. The interrogative constructions in (16) and (17) represent no real canonical speech acts in the sense that the hearer is obliged to respond in a certain way. They have at best a very restricted illocutionary force – if at all. If Schwabe (forthcoming) is right, these sentences even convey some sort of givenness in discourse. My conclusion from all this is then that the absence of illocution is signalled by canonical features of subordination: lack of verb movement (i.e., no V1 or V2 in German) and subjunctive mood in Romance.

   The table in (18) is strikingly similar to the summary for V2 licensing in German above; see (12).

(18)

No subjunctive, i.e., indicative:	Subjunctive with:
a. verbs of saying	a. volitional predicates
b. evidential predicates	b. semantically complex, negative verbs
c. verbs of thinking	c. causative, implicative verbs
d. semi-factives	d. factive verbs (emotive, truly factive predicates)
	e. adjectival expressions like *possible, necessarily*
	f. under negation (and other polarity triggers)

3. The apparently problematic case: Volitional predicates

A possible reason why the relatedness of subjunctive and V2 licensing has been missed seems to me to be the mysterious case of the class of volitional, volitive or optative predicates. These verbs are the canonical predicates requiring subjunctive. Given my correspondence alignment in (13) one would expect them to be among the predicates disallowing V2 in their subordinates. Nevertheless the leading experts (Helbig and Kempter 1974; Reis 1977, 1997) list them among the V2 licensors. Such a classification is misleading. This section shows that volitional and related predicates cannot be considered to be 'normal' V2 licensors.

   The first reason is that the prototypical verbs of wanting ('*wollen*' and '*mögen/möchten*') never allow for V2 complements, nor does '*bitten*'.

(19)   **Ich will/möchte,   du kommst mit mir.*
       I want/would-like, you come with me
       'I want you to come with me.'
(20)   **Meine Tante bittet, man bringt ihr eine Tasche   aus Indien mit.*
       my   aunt asks, one brings her a   bag   from India with
       'My aunt requests that someone bring her a leather bag from India.'

The *dass*-counterparts are fine.

(21)   *Ich will/möchte,   dass du mit   mir kommst.*
       I   want/would-like, that you with me come
(22)   *Meine Tante bittet, dass man ihr eine Tasche aus Indien mitbringt.*
       my   aunt asks,   that one her a   bag   from India with-brings

The examples from the literature with V2 are similar to (23) and (24).

(23)   *Ich wünschte, du   wärst   immer so aufmerksam.*
       I   wished,   you would-be always so considerate
       'I wish you were always this considerate.'
(24)   *Er wünscht sich,   du wärst   immer so bescheiden.*
       he wishes himself, you would-be always so modest
       'He wishes you were always so modest.'

This is one more case where these constructions are only good with conjunctive/subjunctive mood in the subordinate. Indicative would render

these examples ungrammatical (25), unless the sentences surface in the canonical verb-final subordinate pattern, which improves them considerably (26).

(25) *Er wünscht sich, du bist immer so bescheiden.*
he wishes himself, you be-indicative always so modest

(26) *Er wünscht sich, dass du immer so bescheiden bist.*
he wishes himself, that you always so modest be-indicative

Similar restrictions hold for Reis' preferential predicates; reconsider example (2) (also Frank 1998). Here even the matrix clause does not always function as a canonical assertion. For these constructions to be grammatical, the matrix itself must occur in 'Konjunktiv', i.e., subjunctive mood, or the adjectival predicate must not be in simple positive, but must appear in the comparative or superlative form. Furthermore, the corresponding verb-final variant of the embedded clause must be introduced by the complementizer '*wenn*', not by '*dass*'. For more discussion and examples see Meinunger (2004, 2005). This shows that these predicates and constructions are different from the other predicates that allow for V2. All this leads to the following claim:

(27) Volitional predicates in a broad sense are antifactive (or contrafactive). Similar to counterfactive constructions, their argument clauses refer to eventualities that are NOT given.
The claim thus is that true volitional predicates presuppose the NON-givenness of the proposition contained in their complement clause.

Thus these predicates presuppose that the proposition in the complement clause does not hold (in the actual world at the utterance or reference time). The relatedness of anti- or contrafactivity seems to be supported by the complementizer choice (*if*-like C°) and non-indicative verbal mood; see also Adger and Quer (2001).

An interesting predicate for further research seems to be the respective variants of the verb 'to hope' in different languages (more on this can be found in Meinunger 2005). The intriguing characteristics of this predicate with respect to mood have also been noted by Portner in his valuable contribution to the research on sentential mood and force (Portner 1997). The

German corresponding verb '*hoffen*' is – traditionally and unsurprisingly – listed as a V2 licensor among the volitional predicates. Having analysed these predicates as V2 blockers, I am urged to say something about this verb. As a matter of fact, '*hoffen*' is a good V2 embedder (28).

(28) *Ich   hoffe,   du   schaffst es.*
      I   hope   you   get   it
      'I hope you'll manage to do it.'

With this verb, the speaker (and hearer) is and remains completely agnostic about the validity of the complement proposition. For this reason '*hoffen*' is not future-oriented as canonical volitional predicates are claimed to be, and hence, in contrast to volitionals, hoping can be directed toward the past.

(29) *Ich   hoffe,   du hast es geschafft / du   warst   pünktlich.*
      I   hope   you have it gotten /   you   were   punctual
      'I hope you did it / were on time.'

French '*espérer*' behaves similarly. It selects for indicative.[5] This is predicted by the assumptions made in this article.

(30) *J'espère que tu   l'as   / *l'ais   fait.*
      I hope   that you have-IND / *have-SUBJ done
      'I hope you did it.'

In so far 'hope' with its language specific lexical entries is not a canonical volitional verb. However, most Romance languages not only allow for, but strongly favour subjunctive under their respective verb. I can only state here that indicative is possible under certain conditions, which is not the case with other volitionals. Furthermore my speculation is that there are subtle differences in the meaning of the respective language specific verb for 'hope'. Spanish '*esperar*' (to hope) is identical to the item for 'to wait', which is clearly future-oriented under the right perspective. A quite comparable case seems to me to be the difference between English 'to know' and German '*wissen*' ('ignorance reading'; see Reis 1977: 142). These lexical entries differ slightly in their semantics, which has an important impact on their factivity implication.

4. The status of the subordinate clause: The illocutionary role of the embedded sentence

The two related questions that have to be answered are (i) what makes it possible that a CP that acts as a dependent clause may exhibit matrix properties, and (ii) under which circumstances is it obligatory that a dependent clause show clear signs of embeddedness? The main idea for a tentative answer to both questions is to be found in the work of Hooper and Thompson (1973). Their claim, which will be adopted and partly formalized, is that the decisive factor is the potential assertive character of the embedded proposition. Usually subordinate sentences have no assertional force (see below, (36)). However, for the sentences under discussion this axiom seems debatable. Hooper and Thompson argue that a sentence like (31) can be interpreted as the two assertions (direct and indirect, i.e., (32a) *and* (32b)).

(31) *He said it's just started to rain.*
(32) a. *He said X.*
      b. *It's just started to rain.*

Hooper and Thompson explicitly state that, under one reading, the main assertion is (32b), which is the "assertion under consideration,... whose truth is at stake in the discourse" (Hooper and Thompson 1973: 475).

This claim is very strong and controversial. However, many arguments speak in favour of its validity. To these belong the refutability by negation in discourse, the scope of question tags (see Hooper and Thompson 1973), and the interpretation of elliptical and sluicing constructions (cf. Schwabe 2003). All these means prove at some higher, supra-sentential level (i.e., the level of discourse) that the (quasi-) embedded sentences act as (if they were) claims made by the speaker. To what extent the embedded sentences can be considered speaker assertions is a matter of ongoing debate. The account developed here will treat some embedded CPs as if they were matrix sentences, completely in accordance with Hooper and Thompson (see below). This implies that the true main clauses in the relevant constructions sometimes almost degenerate to modifier-like parentheticals – a view that comes close to Stechow's different treatment (von Stechow 2002, 2004). Gärtner (2001a, 2002) is more remote and speaks only about 'assertional proto-force'. He assumes something like percolation of assertivity (p.c.). Reis (1997) is also more hesitant with her notion of '*vermittelte*

Assertion'. (See Meinunger (2005) for yet another proposal.) Some linguists would just deny any assertive flavour of the relevant sentences. I think this is wrong. There is definitely something assertion-like under the relevant predicates discussed above – an option of interpretation which is completely impossible with factive, implicative and volitional predicates, as well as under negation and non-assertive mood. Factives (emotives, negatives, implicatives, and volitionals in the sense of section 3) are defined as presuppositional. They presuppose the proposition contained within their complement, hence the propositional content cannot be asserted (and presupposed simultaneously).[6] Similar things apply with negation and discourse-old sentences.[7] These belong to the background and are hence infelicitous candidates to make an assertion with.

The proposal to handle the observed facts is based on two theories that have been developed for more or less different phenomena. The first pool of ideas is taken from Stowell's syntax of tense (1993, 1995). The other source is the work by Farkas (1992, 1997) and also by von Heusinger (1999) on anchoring linguistic expressions. The final proposal is based on an idea by Gärtner (2001a), who bases himself on Jacobs (1984), an idea in which the discourse status of the embedded proposition plays the crucial role.

4.1. The syntax of tense (Stowell 1993, 1995)

A detailed presentation of Stowell's ideas that are relevant here can be found in Meinunger (2004). What is essential is that Stowell resolves the temporal independence of relative clauses by attaching them so high in the structure of the matrix clause that they end up in a quasi-paratactic position. I have proposed to partly carry over this idea to complement clauses with the so-called double access reading.

4.2. Anchoring linguistic expressions

At this point, let us turn to the work on how certain expressions may or may not be anchored or linked to other expressions within a sentence. First consider the work of Farkas. Among the majority of linguists, it is assumed that an independent matrix clause can be split into a radical, i.e., the propositional content, on the one hand, and an illocution on the other. Farkas

(1992) argues that propositions are anchored to worlds and these in turn are anchored to individuals. This idea, which works with (world) indices, is revived in her work on indefinites (Farkas 1997).

(33) [John believes [that [a friend of mine]$_{wJ}$ is a crook]$_{wJ}$]$_{w0}$

(narrow scope)

(34) [John believes [that [a friend of mine]$_{w0}$ is a crook]$_{wJ}$]$_{w0}$

(wide scope)

In (33) the indefinite is trapped in its base position. It is to be interpreted within the belief world of John, represented by the indexed binding w_J. This gives the narrow scope reading. In (34), in contrast, the indefinite is bound from outside. It is linked to the actual world w_0, hence to the speaker. The same can be done with propositions (35).

(35) [John believes [that Mary is sick]$_{wJ}$]$_{w0}$

Under this indexing, Mary's sickness is just a part of John's belief-world. Analogously, one could choose to put the w_0 index to link the proposition to the actual world and to the speaker, which would result in double assertion (see below). Another, similar theory is laid down in von Heusinger (1999) and presented in Meinunger (2004).

5. The double access approach and 'quantifier raising' for CPs

5.1. The double access idea

The proposal presented here is the following. Certain clauses with clear signs of matrix phenomena (root transformations, (obligatory) indicative mood, speaker-oriented adverbs, discourse adverbials, speech act particles and so on) are (used to act as) true assertions. I will assume that speech acts cannot be embedded. This is a standard assumption (contra Krifka 2001a), which I will quote here in the form of Green's ban on embedded illocution (Green 2000: 440):

(36) Green: Embedded Force Exclusion:
      If φ is either a part of speech or a sentence, and φ contains some in-
      dicator *f* of illocutionary force, then φ does not embed.

Additionally I want to assume Jacobs' idea that illocutionary operators like ASSERT are focus-sensitive operators that select for structured propositions (Jacobs 1984). That means that I assume illocutionary operators that are present in the (syntactic and semantic) representation of a sentence which must bind an informational focus. Also, any clausal piece of new information has to be licensed by an illocutionary operator – in the default case by ASSERT. This leads to a line of reasoning that is inspired by and close to the proposal in Gärtner (2001a, 2001b) developed for V2 relative clauses. The claim then is that in German, the ASSERT operator takes an ordinary indicative V2 clause in its immediate c-command domain. For complex sentences with an embedded V2 clause, this means that the embedded clause undergoes movement from its base position to one in which it finds itself in the immediate scope of the illocutionary operator ASSERT. In this way, a sentence like (37) can be analysed as in (38).

(37) *Dirk meint,   Lara ist schwanger.*
      Dirk claims/believes, Lara   is pregnant
      'Dirk claims/believes that Lara is pregnant.'

(38) SpeechActP (SAP)
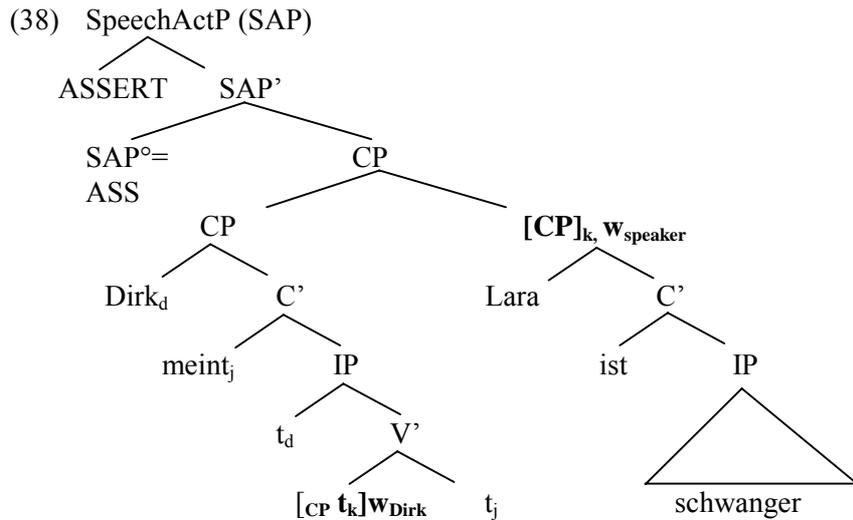
The tree expresses a double access reading with respect to the worlds to which the proposition '*Lara ist schwanger*' (Lara is pregnant) is evaluated.[8] Accordingly, the proposition holds (i) with respect to Dirk's belief-world, and (ii) as a speaker assertion. (38) is thus a formal implementation

of Hooper and Thompson's claim about double assertion (see above, ex. (31)). The two assertions are, respectively, the one that is associated with the main clause '*Dirk meint _*', which we might take to be degraded to an evidential parenthetical, and '*Lara ist schwanger*', which is turned into the basic statement that the speaker makes. (38) is thus comparable to Farkas' or von Heusinger's indexing of specific indefinites, where the speaker acts as a guarantor of the embedded proposition. That pure indexing is re-phrased here in a movement approach is more than accidental. Such an approach has several advantages. First, it is closer to Stowell's idea of (relative) clause attachment (see above), and in some sense parallel to the application to complement clauses. The originally embedded sentence really moves to a position that renders the whole construction quasi-paratactic. This step can be reconciled to some degree with all the parataxis approaches. Furthermore it captures the similarities with the mapping hy-potheses developed for NPs. A tree like in (38) postulates positional differ-ences between raised and base-generated CPs. It is thus a mapping hy-pothesis for clauses or sentences. There seems to be a point, however, where the parallelism between the mapping hypothesis for argumental DPs and the extraposition analysis for V2 clauses proposed here breaks down. Whereas in a mapping account like Diesing's (1992) or Meinunger's (2000), discourse-old material has to raise and discourse-new constituents have to remain in-situ, things seem to be the opposite for clauses. The rea-son for this lies in the crucial difference that DPs are of a different seman-tic type (see de Hoop 1992) than CPs. In this article, the parallelism is rather between clause positioning and Farkas' binding options (1997). The fact that illocutions must not be embedded (as assumed here) requires the raising of discourse-new information. This move concerns the raising of an entire proposition and affects the organization of texts. The DP-raising just helps to structure propositions internally.

Strong empirical support for the extraposition/raising approach advo-cated here comes from the following observation. Generally, CPs tend to extrapose in German (Truckenbrodt 1995 and the references quoted therein). However, finite clauses in the middle field are not ungrammatical per se (39), (40).

(39)   *Ich habe, **dass** Hans ein guter Arzt **ist**,   schon immer gewusst.*
       I have,   that Hans a good   doctor is-IND, already always known
       'I have always known that Hans is a good doctor.'

(40) *Ich möchte, Hans **sei/wäre** ein guter Arzt, nicht wirklich bestreiten, aber...*
 I want,   Hans be-SUBJ (*'Konjunktiv 1/2'*) a good doctor, not really deny, but …
 'Really, I don't want to deny/challenge that Hans is a good doctor, but...'

Indicative V2 clauses in the middle field are much worse (41), (42).

(41) **Ich habe, Hans **ist** ein guter Arzt, schon immer gewusst.*
 (= (39) in root shape, i.e., in the V2 variant)
(42) **Ich möchte, Hans **ist** ein guter Arzt, nicht wirklich bestreiten, aber...* (= (40) with indicative mood)

It seems that such CPs have to move to a peripheral position (on the right), presumably to get in the immediate scope of the illocutionary operator. Sentences that show a clear sign of embeddedness (complementizers (39) or subjunctive mood (40)) are much better than indicative V2 sentences if they remain in their base position. The given contrast strongly suggests an extraposition analysis, which comes for free in the analysis advocated here.

5.2. Remarks on the applicability of the double access reading as a consequence of extraposition

The raising operation, which results in a double access reading, has been shown to be impossible with volitional and truely factive predicates. Factives presuppose the content of their embedded clauses and hence it is impossible to make an assertion with something that is taken for granted. The same holds when the propositional content of the embedded predicate is under discussion or negated. If the content of the subordinate clause is present in the discourse, either by inference or by an explicit statement in the preceding discourse (cf. (10) and (11) above), the embedded proposition cannot be used to make a felicitous assertion. Also, since negation triggers a presuppositional reading, the content of the negated constituent (= the embedded CPs in the relevant case) cannot come out of the blue (Givón 1979), denied propositions cannot serve for making assertions. The assertion approach as illustrated in (38) excludes any (LF-) raising of discourse-old/presupposed material.

5.3. Quantifier raising as facultative operation

Sentences like (37), however, are still ambiguous. They do not obligatorily give rise to the double assertion reading, since one can also interpret them as (43) (cf. Fabricius-Hansen and Sæbø 2004 and sources quoted therein). Thus, I do not claim that (37) is always an assertion of Lara's pregnancy.

(43)　*Dirk meint,　　　Lara sei　　/ wäre schwanger.*
　　　Dirk claims/believes, Lara is-SUBJ/CONJ pregnant
　　　(?)'Dirk claims/believes that Lara is pregnant.'

Here the use of conjunctive/subjunctive triggers a reading where the speaker wants to give to the embedded proposition a flavour of unlikelihood. At any rate, the speaker makes explicit that he does not take any responsibility for the validity of the embedded proposition. In this interpretation, complement clause raising in the sense of (38) is prohibited. The claim then is that sentences like (37) are ambiguous because of what appears to be a 'subjunctive in disguise'. In cases where a transformation, i.e., rephrasing, like the one from (37) into (43) is possible, double assertion and hence CP raising is not obligatory.

　　There are cases, however, where the assertion of the embedded proposition does appear to be obligatory. This is the case with matrix verbs of the semi-factive type. These verbs do not (easily) allow for subjunctive/conjunctive in their complements; (45) shows that a non-indicative form leads to ungrammaticality. The same is true with performative verbs of saying: in a sentence with a verb in 1st person singular, present tense, a non-indicative form is impossible.[9] Here it is very obvious that the speaker is asserting the subordinate clause. In these cases then, complement clause raising in the sense of (38) is obligatory. The embedded sentences are (also) speaker assertions (46). (48) shows that past tense does not imply assertivity.

(44)　*Du weißt doch, die Gruberova hat die Mozart-Opern aufgegeben.*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　<# semi-factive verb> !
　　　you know PRT, the Gruberova has-IND the Mozart operas given-up
　　　'You know (pretty well) that Gruberova gave up singing in Mozart operas.'

(45) *Du weißt doch, die Gruberova habe/hätte die Mozart-Opern*
     you know PRT, the Gruberova has-SUBJ/CONJ the Mozart operas
     aufgegeben.
     given-up

(46) *Ich behaupte/denke, du bist zu schüchtern.* <# 1. Ps. Sg. Present> !
     I claim/think, you are-IND too shy
     'I am claiming/think you are too shy.'

(47) *Ich behaupte/denke, du seist/wärst zu schüchtern.*
     I claim/think, you are-SUBJ/CONJ too shy

(48) *Ich habe behauptet/dachte, du seist/wärst zu schüchtern.*
     I have claimed/thought, you are too shy
     'I claimed/thought you are/would be too shy.'

The question remains as to what the pure impact of V2 is. Everything said
so far is that V2 with obligatory indicative gives rise to assertion. As many
examples show – especially those with subjunctive – not all dependent V2
clauses are assertive. Recent studies on German verbal mood and its se-
mantics, mainly Fabricius-Hansen and Sæbø (2004), show that 'Konjunktiv
1' acts as a sign of 'reportive', i.e., evidential mood. A look at their argu-
ments and mostly authentic examples suggests that V2 subjunctive clauses
are not speaker assertions, but they contain new information.[10] See (49).

(49) A: *Was ist mit Hans los?   Er sieht so zufrieden aus...*
        what is with Hans PRT?   he looks so content PRT
        'What has happened to Hans? He looks so satisfied…'
     B: *Maria meint, er habe   / hätte   im Lotto gewonnen.*
        Maria says, he have-Konjuntiv1/Konjuntiv2 in-the Lotto won
        'Maria said he won the lottery.'

Although B is not a congruent answer in the strictest sense, see the discus-
sion in Krifka (2001b), it is a fairly perfect reaction to A's query. Here, the
subordinated V2 subjunctive clause in B's statement undeniably comes as
new information.

   On the other hand, if we follow Schwabe (2003, p.c.), *dass*-clauses refer
to discourse-linked entities. Considering this, the speculative claim with
which I want to end this article is given in (50).

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(50) V2 is a sign of new information for the proposition inside the CP
     that exhibits it.

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6. Summary

German subordinate, (obligatorily) indicative V2 clauses are assertions introducing new information. These clauses are interpreted twice: (i) in their base position (to receive theta-roles, permit the licensing of binding relations etc.), and (ii) in a derived position in the immediate scope of the matrix ASSERT operator, where they get assertive illocutionary force. In some sense they behave like direct object specific indefinites that scramble obligatorily in languages like German or that are identified as such by the presence of an accusative morpheme in languages like Turkish.

Embedded sentences that show signs of embeddedness, like the presence of a complementizer and verb-final word order, or subjunctive mood on the finite verb, can never act assertively. This is the case with volitional predicates or when the given clauses refer to discourse-old information. This makes them similar to narrow scope, i.e., unspecific, purely existential indefinite object DPs, which do not scramble in German or which show partitive case in languages like Finnish or Russian.

Many sentences, however, remain ambiguous. To achieve either the one or the other reading, one has to resort to syntactic representations or similar devices that indicate the relevant reading. This is not different from sentences containing an ambiguous indefinite expression. If the wide scope reading is intended, quantifier raising applies. If not, the indefinite remains in situ and has narrowest scope. Analogously: if the relevant embedded sentence is supposed to act as a speaker's assertion, CP raising in the sense of (38) is triggered. If not, the clause remains in its base position.

Notes

1. The verb '*hoffen*' is a complicated predicate. For a discussion, see section 3.
2. However, most of these verbs allow for V2 if used in imperative sentences:
   (i) *Bedenke (/), du bist nicht alleine (\).*
   think-well, you are not alone
   'Consider that you are not alone.' or 'Be aware: you're not alone.'
3. A reviewer correctly remarks that a presumably discourse-old V2 clause is possible in a construction like:
   (i) *GeSAGT (/), er sei   krank, hat er SCHON (\).*
   said,   he be-SUBJ sick,   has he PRT
   'Certainly he said he was sick.'

Indeed, (i) is not bad. Perhaps the claim that V2 sentences must contain an informational focus has to be restricted to extraposed and peripheral clauses – an idea that is taken to hold anyway; see below.

4. A reviewer remarks that a similar connection is made in Iatridou and Kroch (1992). Now, being aware of this work I admit that their article relates Germanic and Romance in a relevant respect. However, no claim is made there about the relatedness of Germanic V2 and Romance subjunctive.

5. The specific behaviour of '*espérer*' in connection with mood selection is also discussed in Schlenker (2004) and Portner (1997). The two partly similar approaches, although both considering presupposition issues, are different nevertheless.

6. This line of reasoning is the same as in Wechsler (1991), who is concerned with V2 in Swedish. He argues for a very similar claim about the role of illocutionary force as the decisive factor for V2.

7. For negation, see the discussion in Butulussi (1991) referring to Givón (1979). For the factor of old and new information, and the felicity conditions in discourse, see Romberg (1999).

8. Double access is indeed meant in the sense of Enç (1987). Enç uses this notion for temporal evaluation; see Stowell (1993, 1995). Double access here means more: the proposition is evaluated twice. This, however, also includes the temporal interpretation. See also Abusch (1997) and her treatment of embedded sentences with a de-re (independent) and de-dicto (independent) reading.

9. (47) vs. (48) shows that the ban on subjunctive holds only for present tense. If the matrix verb is in the past tense, the speaker may well diverge from his former beliefs, claims, and opinions, and hence express his non-accordance with the relevant proposition by choosing irrealis, i.e., non-indicative mood.

10. Fabricius-Hansen and Sæbø almost only quote 'Konjunktiv 1' clauses in the canonical subordinate shape, i.e., with '*dass*' and verb-final order. They are not concerned with the V2 phenomenon at all, but their approach offers a good framework for the tentative claim made at this point.

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