

On Verbal Mood and Dependent V2-Clauses in Icelandic

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The familiar contrast in (1) is part of the evidence that dependent V2-clauses in Germanic come with a narrower distribution [*n*DV2] in Swedish, (1a) (cf. Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund 2009:33), and German (1b) (cf. Truckenbrodt 2006:297), while its distribution is broader [*b*DV2] in Icelandic, (1c) (cf. Rögnvaldsson and Thráinsson 1990:23). Within Icelandic, however, there is evidence for an *n*DV2/*b*DV2 split, with speakers of Icelandic.*b* accepting and speakers of Icelandic.*n* rejecting (among others) (1c) (cf. Jónsson 1996:39).

We will argue that the coexistence of Icelandic.*b* and *–n* reflects an ongoing change from a system that "recruits" verbal mood for clausal dependency marking and autonomous verb positioning to its opposite (Fourquet 1938; Schrodt 1983:5.1), as sketched in very rough terms in Table 1. Icelandic.*b*, like Old Norse, is closer to the earlier stage III, while Icelandic.*n* is on its way toward to the later one, with Swedish and German arguably having reached stage IV. Autonomy of verbal mood is interpreted as semantic transparency, a drift toward which can be diagnosed for Icelandic. The tendency, for example, to replace the otherwise obligatory ("mirative", Nordström 2011:172,fn.3) modal formula *skuli vera* ("should be") by plain indicatives in the complement of emotive factives like *harma* ("regret"), (2) (Thráinsson 2007:399f.), can be seen as an instance of "commitment-flagging." Likewise, the rise of subjunctives in polar interrogative complements (Thráinsson et al. 2013:76) implements the flagging of non-commitment (or absence of commitment).

In this talk we will further explore the predictions Table 1 makes regarding correlations between verbal mood and DV2. This requires coming to grips with the mood system of "standard" Icelandic which has been characterized as "partially governed by certain grammaticalized rules that are not entirely transparent [...] from a semantic point of view" (Thráinsson 2007:404). Most interesting, perhaps, is the fact that Icelandic meets core criteria for the possession of a reportive subjunctive (cf. Sode 2014) – subjunctives occurring in free indirect discourse (cf. Thráinsson 1991:58) and sequence of mood effects (cf. Thráinsson 2007:398) – while at the same time violating the "anti-origo condition" (cf. Schlenker 2005:307), i.e., subjunctives occur in the complement of first person present tense belief predicates, as shown in (3). What's more, that the indicative counterpart of (3) is unacceptable in standard Icelandic challenges Mari (2016), whose layered assertion&presupposition ("Glauben-heißt-nicht-Wissen") approach predicts a typology of indicative only (e.g., French) and indicative-or-subjunctive languages (e.g., Italian) in such environments.

We will also discuss Icelandic in the light of the "Meinunger-Wüest-Conjecture," (4), which directly correlates DV2 and verbal mood. Starting from the observation that Icelandic, (5), contrasts with German, (6), in allowing DV2 in the complement of "want," we will address the influence of "colon" vs. integrated parentheticalization and the double nature of complementizer *að*. In (5), *að* can be taken to realize the colon, while in *dicendi*-shifted variants of (2), *að* heads an integrated exclamative complement, which could alternatively occur on its own, (7) (cf., e.g., Thráinsson 1986:188). The option of dropping complementizers, finally, is closely linked to integrated parentheticalization. A deeper understanding of the "configurational profile" of Icelandic requires noting that with an initial matrix, *að*-deletion is restricted to environments with pronominal subjects inside the complement (cf. Thráinsson 2007:409). Integrated parentheticalization, on the other hand, requires a subjunctive-to-indicative shift, as shown in (8). As a consequence, hybrid forms of the kind familiar from English and German are dispreferred.

Time permitting, we will fill in further detail concerning corresponding diachronic facts from Old Norse and the diverging development of Mainland Scandinavian, where subjunctives have become drastically restricted distributionally, if not lost.

- (1) a. **Johan tvivlar på* [_{CP} att [_{CP} i morgon skall [_{IP} María gá upp tidigt]]]
 b. **Johann bezweifelt* [_{CP} morgen stehe [_{IP} María früh auf]]
 c. *Jón efast um* [_{CP} að [_{CP} á morgun fari [_{IP} María snemma á fætur]]]
 "John doubts that Mary will get up early tomorrow"

	RECRUITED		AUTONOMOUS
III	mood indicative > independent subjunctive > dependent		verb placement prosodic (Wackernagel etc.) information structural
IV	verb placement V°-in-C° > independent V°-ex-C° > dependent		mood indicative > commitment subjunctive > report, non-com.

Table 1. *Clausal (In-)Dependency Marking*

- (2) *María harmar að Helga skuli vera /%er farin*
 Mary regrets that Helga shall.SUBJ be / is.IND gone
 "Mary regrets that Helga is gone."
 (3) *Ég held að María sé* [_{SUBJ}] *ófrísk* "I believe that Mary is pregnant."
 (4) Those predicates and grammatical phenomena that block V2 in German subordinate clauses trigger subjunctive mood in Romance (Meinunger 2004:323; Wüest 1980:231).
 (5) *Ég vil* [_{CP} að [_{CP} þessa bók lesir [_{IP} þú núna]]]
 I want that this book read.SUBJ you now
 "I want you to read this book right now."
 (6) **Ich will, du reist heute ab*
 (7) *Að Helga skuli vera farin!* "How strange/terrible that Helga has left!"
 (8) *María er/*sé ófrísk, held ég*

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