

## Subjunctive relative Clauses in Hindi-Urdu

The bulk of the work on relativization in Hindi-Urdu has focused on indicative relative clauses, be they headed relatives or correlatives. I will discuss subjunctive relative clauses such as:

- (1) *mujhe aisaa typist caahiye [jise ruusii aati ho]*  
I.DAT such typist is.needed REL.DAT Russian come.HAB **be.SBJV**  
'I want a typist who knows Russian.'

Such relative clauses are curious along a number of dimensions.

- The first concerns their distribution: they are only possible in environments where subjunctive mood would be independently possible.

- (2) \**Atif kal aise typist=se milegaa [jise ruusii aatii ho]*  
Atif tomorrow such typist=with meet.FUT REL.DAT Russian come.HAB **be.SBJV**  
Intended: 'Tomorrow Atif will meet a typist who knows Russian.'

- The second concerns their interpretation: how do they differ in meaning from their indicative counterparts? Unlike subjunctive marking in complement clauses, subjunctive in relative clauses is optional.

- (3) *Atif caahtaa hai ki [Mina Dilli jaa-e/\*jaa-egii]* (complement clause: indicative \*)  
Atif want PRS that Mina Delhi **go-SBJV/go-FUT**  
'Atif wants that Mina go/\*goes/\*will go to Delhi.'

- (4) *mujhe aisaa typist caahiye [jise ruusii aatii hai]* (indicative ok)  
I.DAT such typist need REL.DAT Russian come.HAB is  
'I want a typist who know-subjunctive Russian.'

- And the third concerns their relationship with "aisaa" [such]. Unlike indicative relative clauses, subjunctive relative clauses prefer, possibly even require modification of the relative clause head by *aisaa*.

- (5) *Mujhe aisii/#vo kitab caahiye [jo baccon=ke liye upyukt ho]*  
I.DAT such/that book is.needed REL kids=for suitable **be.SBJV**  
'I want a book that is suitable for children.'

I will explore these issues in the context of competing theories of relativization - in particular the idea that a relative clause doesn't have to combine first with the NP that it modifies.

My semantic proposal concerning subjunctive relatives will be that they are obligatorily interpreted relative to the worlds introduced by the subjunctive licenser and not the actual world.