## Subjunctive in Serbian/Croatian (SC)

• <u>Primary focus</u>**:** Subjunctive complements selected by the matrix predicate

• The selection of the subjunctive complement is linked to the mood-related W(orld) feature, introduced in the CP projection associated with this type of clauses (Kempchinsky, 2009). This feature indicates that the proposition contained in the embedded complement is no longer to be evaluated in a single world- the actual world of the speaker- but in a set of possible worlds (Quer, 2001).

• The subjunctive W-feature is uninterpretable and needs to be checked before the syntactic structure is sent to the conceptual interface to be evaluated. The interpretable feature that accomplishes this checking function is found in the mood projection situated bellow CP.

(1)   [CP…C W(u) [MoodP…Mood W(i) [TP…]]]
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              Agree
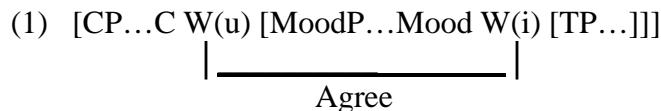
**Balkan Subjunctive**

• Unlike (non-Balkan) Romance languages, which have specialized verbal morphology for the subjunctive, Balkan languages identify subjunctives through a special mood particle.

(2) a. Nomizo      **oti**      efije      o Kostas.              (Greek)
        think(1.p.sg.) that-IND  left(3.p.sg.) the Kostas
            "I think that Kostas left"

    b. Thelo        **na**          fiji        o Kostas
       want(1.p.sg.) that-SUBJ  leave(3.p.sg.)  the Kostas"
            "I want Kostas to leave"

(3) a. Cred       **ca**      Ion      va      veni.          (Romanian)
       think(1.p.sg.) that-IND  John go(3.p.sg,)  come
        "I think that John is going to come"

    b. Vreau        Ion    **sa**      vina.
       want(1.p.sg.) John that-SUBJ. come(3.p.sg.)
            "I want John to come"

(4) a. Mišljam      **če**      e takova.                      (Bulgarian)
        think(1.p.sg.) that-IND is like that
            "I think she is like that"

b. Iskam **da** budem zaedno.
   want(1.p.sg.) that-SUBJ are(1.p.pl.) together
        "I want us to be together"

• Two perspectives regarding the syntax of subjunctive particles such as *na*:

  a) <u>High insertion</u>: *na*-element is inserted under CP (Agouraki, 1991; Tsoulas, 1993 etc.). Hence the W feature needs to be checked by the verb, which passes through the Mood projection and moves up to C.

  b) <u>Low insertion</u>: *na* is inserted under the Mood projection, from where it moves up to CP (Giannakidou, 1998; 2009; Roussou, 2009 etc.). Thus the W-feature is checked by the particle *na* itself.

## SC Subjunctive: Realization

<u>Subjunctive Particle:</u>

(5) a. Nomizo **oti** efije o Kostas.      (Greek)
    think(1.p.sg.) that-IND left(3.p.sg.) the Kostas
       "I think that Kostas left"

   b. Thelo **na** fiji o Kostas
    want(1.p.sg.) that-SUBJ leavePNP(3.p.sg.) the Kostas"
        "I want Kostas to leave"

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(6) a. Mislim **da** je Ivan otišao.      (SC)
    think(1.p.sg.) that aux.past(3.p.sg.) John left
       "I think that John left"

   b. Želim **da** Ivan ode.
    want(1.p.sg.) that John leavePNP(3.p.sg.)
       "I want John to leave"

   c. Naređujem **da** Ivan dođe.
    order(1.p.sg.) that John comePNP(3.p.sg.)
       "I order that John come"

• The contrast between Greek and SC in (5) and (6) is only apparent: SC also contains a specialized particle for the subjunctive. The only difference is that this particle is homonymous with the indicative complementizer in SC:

  → There is more than one element with the overt form *da* in SC:

(7) Kaže **da** će **da** dođe.
   says that-COMP aux.fut.(3.p.sg.) that-PART comePNP(3.p.sg)
      "He says he will come"

→ *Da* associated with indicatives can be replaced by other complementizers; *da* associated with subjunctives cannot:

(8) Tvrdi   **da/kako** je to   bolje  rješenje.
   claim(3.p.sg.) that   is this better solution
      "He claims this is a better solution"


(9) a. Želim   **da/\*kako**   dođe.
   want(1.p.sg.) that-SUBJ  comePNP(3.p.sg.)
         "I want him to come"

   b. Naređujem **da/\*kako**  dođe.
    order(1.p.sg.) that-SUBJ comePNP(3.p.sg.)
         "I order that he come"

→ The syntactic behavior of the particle *da* associated with subjunctives is the same as that of the Greek subjunctive particle *na*: they can both appear in matrix clauses, whereas complementizers are generally seen as unable to appear in matrix contexts (Philipakki-Warburton, 1994):

(10) a. **Da**   bar    dođe.
      SUBJ if-only comePNP(3.p.sg.)
         "If only he came"

   b. **Da**    nisi   ni   pomislio na  to!
     SUBJ not-be(2.p.sg.) think    on that
            "Don't even think about it!"

(11) a. **Na**   etrexe.
      SUBJ ran(3.p.sg.)
    "If only he were running"

   b. **Na**  mi   fijis!
     SUBJ not leave(2.p.sg.)
        "Don't leave!"

→ SC *da* and Greek *na* should both be seen as *mood particles*: whether they appear with subjunctive complements or in matrix clauses, they always introduce a mood shift, moving the interpretation away from the actual world of the speaker


Subjunctive Tense:

• Tense in subjunctive complements is dependent and constrained by the matrix predicate; tense in indicative complements is independent → predicate appearing in subjunctive complements is related to a bound temporal interval; indicative predicate is related to a boundless temporal interval:

(12) a. Nomizo    oti    kerdise / kerdisei / tha kerdisi  o Janos
      think(1.p.sg.) that  win(past) win(present) win(future)   John
            "I think John won / is winning / will win"

b. Mislim     da  je Ivan pobijedio / pobjeđuje / će pobijediti.
think(1.p.sg.) that   John win(past)  win(present)  win(future)
            "I think John won / is winning / will win"


(13) a. Thelo        na        kerdisi/  * kerdise  o Janos
    want(1.p.sg) that-SUBJ  win(non-past) win(past) the John
                "I want John to win"

b. Želim          da       Ivan     pobijedi / * je pobijedio
    want(1.p.sg.) that-SUBJ John win(non-past) win(past)
                "I want John to win"

→ Subjunctive complements in both SC and Greek establish a relational tense, which is connected to the matrix tense through CP

• In Greek, the tense in subjunctive complements is likely related to the matrix tense through verb movement to CP, as indicated by the fact that the subject in such clauses cannot appear between the particle *na* and the verb:

(14) *Thelo <u>na **o Janos** kerdisi</u>.
        "I want John to win"

• In SC, the tense in subjunctive complements is not related to matrix tense via verb movement to CP, because the embedded subject normally appears between the particle *da* and the verb:

(15) Želim <u>da **Ivan** pobijedi</u>.
        "I want John to win"

→ The relational tense in SC subjunctives is established through particle movement to CP

• The subjunctive particle *da* functions both as a mood particle and as a temporal operator in SC:

(16) [CP...C W(u) [MoodP...Mood W(i) [TP... T *Da* [AspP...Asp [vP...v V]]]]]

• The verb in SC subjunctive complements moves to AspP, but not to TP (≠indicatives), which is why it is underspecified for tense but fully specified for aspect


**SC Subjunctive: Distribution**

• Subjunctive complements seem to have a very wide distribution in SC, as well as in other Balkan languages. This is due to the phenomenon of *Balkan sprachbund*, which is a term used to describe a linguistic change that occurred in the history of most Balkan

languages whereby they have lost the capacity to license infinitives and replaced them with subjunctive-like finite complements:

(17) a. Arxizo **na** grafo (Greek)
    begin(1.p.sg.) SUBJ writePNP(1.p.sg.)
       "I begin to write"
   b. O Janos bori **na** odhiji
    the John can SUBJ drivePNP(3.p.sg.)
       "John can drive"

(18) a. Inceps **sa** scriu. (Romanian)
    begin(1.p.sg.) SUBJ. write(1.p.sg.)
       "I begin to write"

   b. Ion poate **sa** conduce
    John can SUBJ drive(3.p.sg.)
       "John can drive"

(19) a. Počinjem **da** pišem (SC)
    begin(1.p.sg.) SUBJ writePNP(1.p.sg.)
       "I begin to write"

   b. Ivan može **da** vozi
    John can SUBJ drivePNP(3.p.sg.)
       "John can drive"

• The wide distribution of the subjunctive mood in SC is only apparent- finite equivalents of infinitives are not true subjunctives:

→ The diversity of semantic contexts associated with the selection of subjunctive-like finite equivalents of infinitives such as those in (20) is incompatible with the notion of subjunctive as a coherent mood category:

(20) a. Počeo je da trči.
    began aux.past.(3.p.sg.) PART run(3.p.sg.)
       "He began to run"

   b. Uspio je da dođe.
    managed aux.past(3.p.sg.) PART come(3.p.sg.)
       "He managed to come"

   c. Zna da računa
    know(3.p.sg.) PART calculate(3.p.sg.)
       "He knows how to calculate"

   d. Može da dođe sutra.
    can(3.p.sg.) PART come(3.p.sg.) tomorrow
       "He can come tomorrow"

   e. Namjeravam da dođem sljedeće sedmice.
    intend(1.p.sg.) PART come(1.p.sg.) next week
       "I intend to come next week"

f. Mora          da      dođe          sutra.
 must(3.p.sg.) PART come(3.p.sg.) tomorrow
            "He must come tomorrow"


→ No interpretative difference between infinitives and their subjunctive-like finite equivalents in SC:

(21) a. Počeo je da trči.    =      b. Počeo   je            trčati.
       "He began to run"              began past.aux.(3.p.sg.) run-INF.

(22) a. Može da dođe sutra. =       b. Može     doći          sutra.
       "He can come tomorrow"       can(3.p.sg.) come-INF tomorrow

→ <u>Serbian vs. Croatian</u>: Subjunctive-like complements such as those in (19) and (20) are frequent in Serbian but not in Croatian, which still uses infinitives in these contexts, because it was not as affected by the phenomenon of *Balkan sprachbund*. Given the close linguistic proximity of the two languages, it is implausible that they would exhibit such great differences in the distribution of their subjunctive mood.

=> Replacement of infinitives with subjunctive-like finite complements in SC was a superficial morpho-syntactic change with no bearing on deeper mood distinctions. It did not involve the introduction of the subjunctive W-feature with finite equivalents of infinitives. Hence the particle *da* does not move up to CP in complements of this type but stays in its place of insertion, as indicated by the fact that the subject in such cases cannot appear between the particle and the verb, since there is no place for it between TP, where the particle is inserted, and AspP, where the verb moves:

(23) a. (Ivan) počinje (Ivan) <u>da **(Ivan)** trči</u> (Ivan)
            "John is beginning to run"

    b. (Ivan) zna (Ivan) <u>da **(Ivan)** računa</u> (Ivan)
            "John knows how to calculate"

$$\neq$$

(24) Želim        <u>da   **Ivan** pobijedi</u>.
      want(1.p.sg.) that John winPNP(3.p.sg.)
            "I want John to win"


• The core group of subjunctive complements in SC is the same as in non-Balkan languages. These complements are defined as *intensional subjunctives* and they should be analyzed as **embedded imperatives** (Kempchinsky, 2009):

→ Both simple imperatives and intensional subjunctives denote events or states of affairs which do not obtain in the actual world at the moment of speaking.

→ Both imperatives and intensional subjunctives are associated with a directive meaning: the former direct a request from the speaker to the addressee, whereas the latter direct a request from the matrix to the embedded subject (Portner, 2005).

→ Evidence from child acquisition: the earliest usage of subjunctive constructions takes place in the same contexts where simple imperatives can appear: in indirect commands and in complements of desiderative verbs (Blake, 1983)

• Like simple imperatives, the core group of subjunctive complements are associated with an imperative operator. This operator determines the referential properties of both types of expressions (Kempchinsky, 2009). In the context of imperatives, which involve interaction from the speaker to the addressee, this operator ensures that the request contained in such expressions can never be interpreted as directed towards the speaker himself (hence no imperatives in 1.p.sg.); in the context of subjunctives, which involve interaction from the matrix to the embedded subject, the imperative operator makes sure that the request cannot be interpreted as directed towards the matrix subject- therefore, the matrix and the embedded subject in intensional subjunctives cannot be the same entity→ the effect of subject obviation.

• SC also contains a core group of subjunctive complements which are associated with the imperative operator and which therefore observe the effect of subject obviation:

(25) a. Naređujem  da   to napraviš/*napravim
        order(1.p.sg.) that it  do(2.p.sg.) do(1.p.sg.)
            "I order that you/*I do it"

    b. Inzistiram    da     dođeš  /  *dođem
     insist(1.p.sg.) that  come(2.p.sg.) come(1.p.sg.)
            "I insist that you/*I come"

    c. Molio     bih       da    odeš  /  *odem.
        ask   would(1.p.sg.) that leave(2.p.sg.) leave(1.p.sg.)
            "I would ask that you/*I leave"

• All of these complements appear in directive contexts associated with an irrealis interpretation, and therefore their analysis as subjunctives is unproblematic.


**Conclusion**

• Subjunctive mood exists in SC, and it is realized similarly as in other Balkan languages.

• Subjunctive distribution in SC is not more extensive than in non-Balkan languages.

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