

In my presentation, I propose to address the issues related to the realization and distribution of the subjunctive in Serbo-Croatian (SC). This subject has received relatively little attention in the literature dealing with this language, given that SC, unlike Romance languages, contains no dedicated verbal morphology for the subjunctive. As a result, traditional SC grammars do not consider subjunctive as an independent mood category present in this language. I propose to argue for the opposite point of view: subjunctive exists in SC and it is realized similarly as in other Balkan languages.

The first part of my presentation focuses on subjunctive realization in SC. It primarily consists of a comparative analysis of SC and Greek, revealing that the relevant syntactic and semantic properties observed in Greek subjunctives are shared by their SC counterparts as well. In particular, it is shown that both Greek and SC, while lacking specialized verbal morphology for the subjunctive, contain a special type of particle that appears in subjunctive contexts. Moreover, it is demonstrated that subjunctive-type complements in both languages are associated with dependent tense, constrained by the matrix predicate, which is what distinguishes them from indicative complements, characterized by independent tense. The predicate in indicative complements can express all types of temporal relationships with respect to the selecting matrix predicate, whereas subjunctive predicates have a future-referring meaning and cannot denote an event that precedes the one denoted by the matrix predicate:

(1) Ithela        na    kerdisi/    \*kerdise    o Janis  
    want(1.p.sg) that win(non-past) win(past) the John  
                          “I want John to win”

(2) Hocu        da    pobijedi / \*da je pobijedio Ivan  
    want(1.p.sg.) that win(non-past) win(past) John

All of these shared properties of Greek and SC subjunctives lead me to the conclusion that complements of this type are realized very similarly in the two languages.

The second part of my presentation deals with the issue of subjunctive distribution in SC, which appears to be far wider than, for instance, in Romance languages. This is because languages of the Balkans, including SC, have largely lost their infinitive and replaced it with finite complements that have the same surface form as subjunctives. I argue that such complements do not form part of the subjunctive mood in SC. Unlike true subjunctives, they are not associated with the lexical mood feature involved in the selection of subjunctive complements.

True subjunctives in SC are analyzed as embedded imperatives, along the lines of Kempchinsky (2009). They are selected essentially by directive verbs and are associated with an imperative operator, whose syntactic effect is to ban the co-indexation between the subjects of the main and embedded clauses. As a result, such complements can be distinguished from subjunctive-like finite equivalents of infinitives because they observe the effect of subject obviation, whereas the latter require conjoined reference between subjects. Unlike the finite equivalents of infinitives, which constitute a large and heterogeneous group in SC, true subjunctives form a smaller, more compact group. Therefore, the wide distribution of the subjunctive mood in SC (and, possibly, other Balkan languages as well) is only apparent.

## References

Kempchinsky, P. “What can the subjunctive disjoint reference effect tell us about the subjunctive.” *Lingua*, 119. 2009. 1788-1810.