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Subjunctives and Subject Obviation (Part 1)

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Subjunctives and Subject Obviation

(Part I)

Shin Oshima

1. Introduction

The issue of subjunctives in English is by no means among the most intensively studied in generative grammar with a good reason. English has an impoverished morphological system of subjunctives, having lost most of subjunctive inflection in the course of historical development since Old English. Its use of subjunctives is also sharply restricted as compared to that of early English.

Other languages with less impoverished morphological systems of subjunctives and less restricted use of them then may shed a new light on the English system. Romance languages are such languages. Balkan languages, which are more or less impoverished in subjunctive morphology, are nevertheless syntactically interesting in that they possess particles which are unique to subjunctive clauses. These particles motivate postulation of a distinct projection of its own (irrealis Mood) for Balkan languages and universally (by the Uniformity Principle of Chomsky 2001a), despite Tsoulas (1996), who explicitly denies French such a projection.

More interestingly, Russian and Polish possess transparent complex forms composed of a complementizer and a subjunctive particle, which implies the overt raising of the subjunctive marker to the complementizer (C). Japanese subjunctive clauses are introduced by even more complex forms that contain a complementizer, a subjunctive particle and tense, which suggests that not only the subjunctive marker but also tense (plus a verb) may overtly raise to C.

Thus, a comparative study of subjunctive constructions is a fruitful one in its own right and has some interesting implications for an analysis of the English system. I will consider the clause structure of subjunctives in these languages from a comparative perspective with head

movement in mind. The main focus in the present study will be on clausal complements to predicates of volition, i.e., volitional subjunctive clauses. Head movement of the subjunctive tense gives rise to "subject obviation," I argue, in languages like Romance and Russian. In contrast, volitional subjunctives in English (and Japanese and Balkan languages) fail to trigger subject obviation, due to a parameter associated with head raising.

Our account of subject obviation presupposes Binding Theory, Condition B in particular. I argue that the notion of "(strong) phase" of Chomsky (2000, 2001a, 2001b) can be exploited to define the local domain for Condition B. The subjunctive clause is known to be transparent to binding from outside in many cases unlike the finite indicative clause. To account for this fact, I invoke the mechanism of "phase collapse" (Oshima 2001, 2002), triggered by raising of the subjunctive tense to a higher indicative tense.

2. The Architecture of Subjunctive Clauses

While Germanic, Romance and Slavic languages lack subjunctive (SUB(J)) particles, Balkan languages, albeit impoverished in subjunctive morphology to varying degrees, possess particles unique to the subjunctive clause and, in some cases, overt complementizers to boot. The subjunctive particle in Balkan always precedes the verb cluster, as observed by Terzi (1992, §2. 1. 1). The Uniformity Principle dictates the postulation of a subjunctive particle in subjunctives in addition to a complementizer in all languages, in the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary.

Consider the following sentences in diverse languages.[1]

(1) a. I insist <u>that</u> he be there on time.

b. His suggestion, <u>that</u> she take the bus, was a good one. (Boytinck 1994: 50)

c. It is urgent <u>that</u> she read this memo. (ibid.: 50)

(2) a. Ich verlange, <u>dass</u> du den Brief schreibest. (Ger) (ibid.: 51)

I demand that you the letter write-Pres. SUB. I. 2. sg

'I demand that you write the letter.' [my glosses[2]]

b. Es ist dringend, <u>dass</u> man mit ihm rede. (Ger) (ibid.: 51)

it is urgent that one with him speak-Pres. SUB. I. 3. sg

'It is urgent that someone talk to him.' [ditto]

(3) Je veux <u>que</u> il parte. (Fr) (Krapova 2001: 105)

I want that he leave. SUB. Pres [my glosses]

(4) El general nos ordenó que destruyamos la ciudad. (Sp)
'The general ordered us that (we) destroy (PRES) the city.'
(Kempchinsky 1986: 72)

(5) En Joan$_i$ esperava que en Jordi$_j$ l$_i$'invités a la reunió. (Cat)
John$_i$ hoped-IND that George$_j$ invite-SUB him$_i$ to the meeting.
(Picallo 1985: §3 (91a/b))

(6) Maria$_i$ spera che vinca lei$_i$. (It)
Maria hopes that wins-SUBJ she (Progovac 1993: 48)

(7) Volodja xočet čtoby Nadja pocelovala Feliksa. (Rus)
Volodya wants that-Subj Nadya kissed Felix
'Volodya wants Nadya to kiss Felix.'
(Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997: 230)

(8) Co chcesz żebym ci kupiła t? (Pol) (Dornisch 1998: 177)
what want-2sg. that you-cl. buy-part.
'What do you want me to buy (for) you?'

(9) Vrea ca Ion să vină (Rom) (Barbosa 1995: 43f.)
[He] wants that John să come

(10) Jani do që Maria të hajë. (Al) (Terzi 1992: 15)
John wants COMP Mary PRT eats 'John wants Mary to eat.'

(11) I Maria theli na fai o Yiannis (MG) (Terzi 1992: 72)
Mary wants PRT eats John 'Mary wants John to eat.'

(12) Ivan$_i$ iska [ec$_{i/j}$ da sledva] (Bg) (Krapova 2001: 110)
Ivan want-3SG da study-3SG

(13) Lu Karlu ole [ku bbene krai] (Sa) (Barbosa 1995)
the Karlu want-3s that come.3s. tomorrow
'Karlu wants to come tomorrow.'

Among Balkan languages, Romanian, Albanian and Arbëresh possess both an overt complementizer and a subjunctive particle (9)-(10), while languages like Modern Greek and Bulgarian possess only a subjunctive particle (11)-(12).[3] The complementizer may or must be absent in Romanian and Albanian when no lexical material intervenes between complementizer and subjunctive particle, as Terzi (1992, § 2. 2. 2) observes, so it is reasonable to conclude that a null complementizer replaces an overt one in such context.

In view of the fact that the subjunctive particles in Balkan languages share core properties

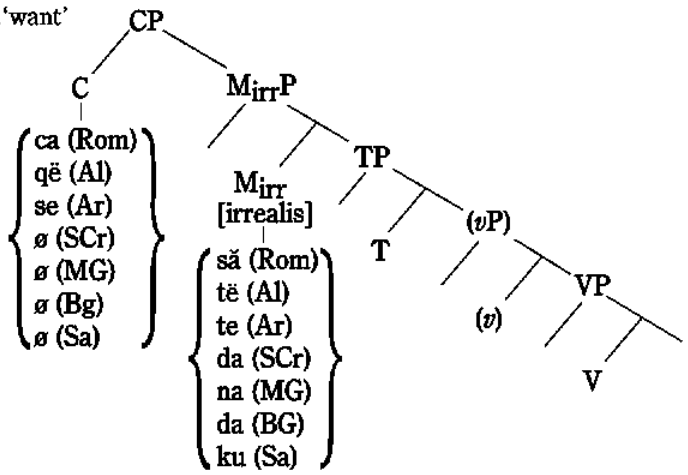
and behave much alike, we further conjecture that a null complementizer occurs in those Balkan languages which lack an overt one. In contrast, Germanic and typical Romance languages possess only overt complementizers, which I take to mean that a covert subjunctive particle occurs in these languages also, by the Uniformity Principle.

Terzi (1992), Krapova (2001), Rivero (1994), Tsimpli (1995), and Roussou (2001), among others, posit the projection of M(ood) below CP and above IP for subjunctives, where M accommodates the subjunctive particle, a realization of a feature [irrealis]. Let us adopt this analysis in its essentials for Balkan languages.

Han (1998) discuses imperatives and subjunctives, arguing persuasively that the former contain the projection of Mood with a pair of features [directive] and [irrealis], while the latter contain that of Mood with only the feature [irrealis]. He suggests that the feature [directive] is responsible for directive force of imperatives. Han's analysis nicely ties in with that of Balkan subjunctives by Terzi (1992), etc.

Thus, I propose the following structure in (14) for Balkan subjunctive clauses (where M_{irr} stands for irrealis Mood and C is the cover symbol for an X complex including Force and Finite among others; cf. Rizzi 1997).[4]

(14) ...'want'



Balkan subjunctives then contain $M_{irr}P$, which is the projection of the feature [irrealis]. Let us see some motivation for the clausal structure in (14).

Terzi (1992) shows that *ca* in Romanian, *që* in Albanian, and *se* in Arbëresh are complementizers in C and that *să* in Romanian, *të* in Albanian, and *te* in Arbëresh are subjunctive mood markers in M(ood). Terzi points out that Modern Greek lacks a lexical complementizer, possessing only a subjunctive marker *na*. See Rivero (1988), who also posits a null complementizer along

with the subjunctive marker *na* for subjunctives in Modern Greek.

Krapova (2001) notes that Bulgarian is similar to Modern Greek in this regard, possessing a subjunctive particle *da* alone. She argues for the same clause structure for subjunctives in Modern Greek and Bulgarian as in Romanian and Albanian. Serbo-Croatian patterns the same way, with *da* as a subjunctive particle, which functions as a complementizer as well. This suggests that *da* raises to C. In Romanian, *ca* occurs obligatorily in subjunctives, except where *ca* is adjacent to *să*, in which case *ca* must or may be absent, depending on dialects.

Barbosa (1995) holds that *să* in Romanian subjunctives is the overt manifestation of an intermediate head that is lower than CP and higher than IP, i. e., M_{irr} in our terms. She observes that *ku* in Salentino corresponds to *să* in Romanian. Both *să* and *ku* cliticize to the verb of the same clause.

I assume then that the complementizer which occupies the head position of CP (or ForceP) is null in Serbo-Croatian, Modern Greek, Bulgarian, and Salentino, while it is overt in Romanian, Albanian, and Arbëresh. I suggest that V raises to *v*, then to T, to M_{irr}, and finally to C, overtly or covertly, in Balkan subjunctives. The resulting complex head then raises to a higher indicative T covertly. The structure (14) is illustrated by (9)-(13) above. The head raising is motivated by the often noted need to interpret subjunctive tense. We will take up the issue in § 4. 1.

In contrast, Romance and Germanic languages possess only a complementizer, not a subjunctive particle, in subjunctive clauses.[5] I assume that these languages share basically the same subjunctive structure with Balkan languages and that a null subjunctive marker fills the irrealis Mood position in Romance and Germanic languages. See (3)-(6) for Romance, and (1) for English and (2) for German. (7) and (8) demonstrate that Slavic languages like Russian and Polish pattern with Romance and Germanic languages.

In view of the fact that in languages like Romanian and Albanian, indicatives (IND) have distinct complementizers (i. e., *că* and *se*, respectively) as opposed to subjunctives (SUB) (i. e., *ca* and *që*, respectively, as in (9) and (10)), I take it that there are distinct complementizers in languages like Romance, Germanic, and Slavic languages as well: English $that_1$ (IND) and $that_2$ (SUB), French que_1 (IND) and que_2 (SUB), Russian $čto_1$ (IND) and $čto_2$ (SUB), etc. I suggest that the Russian subjunctive complementizer $čto_2$ overtly attracts the subjunctive marker *by* as in (7), unlike indicative $čto_1$, and so does the Polish subjunctive complementizer $że_2$ as in (8), unlike indicative $że_1$, etc. In English, French, Spanish, etc., the subjunctive complementizer also attracts a null subjunctive Mood marker. We will return to this below.

Let us assume then, in absence of evidence to the contrary, that Germanic and Romance languages and Russian share the structure in (14) with Balkan languages in subjunctive constructions.

For some evidence for the presence of M_{irr} in English subjunctives, observe the sentences in (15), in which the null mood can be taken to prevent the otherwise raisable *be/have* from raising across *not*, as often noted (with some exceptions in British English). See Roberts (1985:40), Lasnik (1995), and Potsdam (1998).

(15) a. I demand/insist/request that my name not *be* mentioned.
(Övergaard 1995:66)

b. They required that he not *have* to resign. (Radford 1988)

Potsdam points out that *be/have* may not raise across VP-peripheral sentential adverbs (e. g., *certainly, probably*), as in (16).

(16) The doctor proposed that the patient probably *be* examined a second time. (Potsdam 1998: 140).

He gives another diagnostic for raising based on VP ellipsis, which points to the same conclusion (Potsdam 1998:120-152).

Similarly, the embedded topic may not induce inversion in the subjunctive, presumably because of the presence of the null mood element. See (17b), as opposed to (17a) with inversion.

(17) a. I said that under no circumstances *should* he be arrested.

b. *I demand that under no circumstances *be* he arrested.
(Kayne 1997/1998)

In (17a) a modal verb *should* (raised onto M_{irr}) overtly raises to C, causing inversion, while in (17b) *be* cannot *overtly* raise at all, presumably because the null M_{irr} element above TP prevents *overt* raising. The raising of the null element itself to C still fails to save the structure, which can be linked to the failure of the residual V2 effect in the negative-initial construction in English. Assume V2 to belong in the Phonological Component.

3. Subject Obviation

It is well known that some subjunctive clauses display subject obviation in most Romance languages (a notable apparent exception being Romanian), which may be captured in terms of extension of the binding category for Condition B, as in Picallo (1985), Kempchinsky (1986), etc. I basically agree with this line of approach. The relevant type of subjunctive is called

"volitional", i. e., the finite irrealis subjunctive clause selected by volitional predicates such as "desire", "want", etc.

It is well established that the finite indicative (IND) clause defines the binding domain for pronominals. The subjunctive (SUB) complement to volitional predicates, however, is apparently transparent to binding by the subject in the immediately superordinate clause, as illustrated by the following examples:

(18) a. Ana$_i$ se$_i$ recomendó (a sí misma$_i$) que pro$_i$ debía empezar a trabajar
Ana recommended to herself that she should-IND begin to work
en seguida. (SP)
immediately (Kempchinsky 1986:51)

b. En Pere$_i$ fou convençut que pro$_i$ actuava en consequència. (Cat)
Peter was persuaded that pro was-behaving-IND consequently
(Picallo 1985:93)

(19) a. *Jean$_i$ veut qu'il$_i$ aille à Paris. (Fr)
Jean wants that he go-SUB to Paris
'Jean wants to go to Paris.' (Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997:232)

b. *Ana$_i$ se$_i$ recomendó (a sí misma$_i$) que pro$_i$ empezara a trabajar
Ana recommended to herself that she begin-SUB to work
en seguida. (Sp) Cf. (18a).
immediately (Kempchinsky 1986:51)

c. *En Pere$_i$ fou convençut que pro$_i$ actués en consequència. (Cat)
Peter was persuaded that pro behaved-SUB consequently.
(Picallo 1985:93) Cf. (18b).

d. *O Carlos$_i$ quer que pro$_i$ venha amanhã. (Port)
'(The) Carlos wants that he come (SUB) tomorrow.' (Barbosa 1995:152)

e. *Giovanni$_i$ vuole che pro$_i$ telefone. (It)
'Giovanni wants that (he) telephone (SUB).' (Progovac 1993:45)

In (19) the subject pro in the finite subjunctive complement to a volitional predicate must be taken to be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject. The coreferential reading is expressed by infinitival constructions in Romance (except Romanian).

(20) a. *Elle$_i$ veut qu'elle$_i$ parte. (Fr)
'She wants that-she leave (SUB).'

b. Elle$_i$ veut PRO$_i$ partir. (Fr)
'She wants PRO to-leave.'

b'. Elle$_i$ veut que je$_j$ parte. (Fr)

'She wants that I leave (SUB).'

(21) a. *Juan$_i$ quiere que pro$_i$ coma. (Sp)

'John wants that pro eats-SUB.'

b. Juan$_i$ quiere PRO$_i$ comer. (Sp)

'John wants PRO to-eat.' (Terzi 1992:91)

(22) a. *(Ell$_i$) desitja que (ell$_i$) em visiti. (Cat)

'He desires that he visit (SUB) me.' (Picallo 1985:1)

b. Jo$_i$/pro$_i$ vull PRO$_i$ anar a veure aquesta pel.lícula. (Cat)

'I want PRO to go to-see this movie.' (Picallo 1985:35)

However, Romanian, albeit a Romance language, apparently fails to exhibit subject obviation like other Balkan languages such as Modern Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian, etc.

(23) a. Ana$_i$ vrea (ca) pro$_i$ să vină cu noi. (Rom)

'Ana wants (that) pro să come with us.' (Kempchinsky 1986:81)

b. O Yiannis$_i$ theli EC$_{i/j}$ na diavasi. (MG)

John wants PRT reads

'John wants (him/her) to read.' (Terzi 1992:71)

c. Jani$_i$ do EC$_{i/j}$ të hajë (Al)

John wants PRT eats

'John wants (him/her) to eat.' (Terzi 1992:101)

d. Ivan$_i$ iska ec$_{i/j}$ da sledva. (Bg)

Ivan want-3sg da study-3sg (Krapova 2001:107)

Russian volitional subjunctives display subject obviation much like those in typical Romance languages, as shown by Avrutin and Babyonyshev (1997:230f.):

(24) a. Volodja$_i$ skazal čto on$_{i/j}$ poceloval Nadju. (IND)

Volodya said that he kissed Nadya

b. Volodja$_i$ xočet čtoby on$_{j/*i}$ poceloval Nadju. (SUB)

Volodya wants that-SUB he kissed Nadya

'Volodya wants him to kiss Nadya.'

Again, as in Romance languages, the infinitival control construction conveys the coreferential reading of (24b), just as expected.

(25) Volodja$_i$ xočet PRO$_i$ pocelovat' Nadju.

Volodya wants PRO kiss-inf Nadya

'Volodya wants to kiss Nadya.' (Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997:230)

Despite Terzi's observation that English volitional subjunctives show subject obviation in (26), it seems that in fact, no such obviation holds in English as in (27):

(26) Maria_i insists that $\text{she}_{j/*i}$ eat. (Terzi 1992:123)

(27) a. Bill_i suggested that $\text{he}_{i/j}$ (should) become President.

b. Mary_i requested that $\text{she}_{i/j}$ (should) read the document herself. (Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997:255f.)

An anonymous referee pointed out that the same holds of Japanese. We will return to this in § 5, where we reevaluate the tentative conclusion in next section § 4.

4. An Account of Subject Obviation in Subjunctives

It is important to note that the subjunctive clause in the examples in § 3 is temporally (i. e., with respect to tense (and event structure)) dependent on the superordinate indicative clause, as often observed, say by Anderson (1982), Everaert (1984) for Icelandic, Picallo (1985) for Spanish and Catalan, Progovac (1993) for various languages, Avrutin & Babyonyshev (1997) for Russian, etc.[6] See Nichols (1999) for this view, as applied to switch reference (SR) marking in SR languages.[7]

I endorse in principle the theory advanced in these studies that the tense dependency of the subjunctive clause triggers extension of the local domain for pronominals and anaphors. By proposing that a strong phase with a subject constitutes the binding domain, I will implement this insight in terms of head movement of T to C, and ultimately to the superordinate V/*v* and Tense, thus triggering "phase collapse" of Oshima (2001, 2002).

4. 1. The head movement in the subjunctive clause

There is a general consensus that in subjunctives, T containing Φ-features (and potentially V) raises to the C of its own clause in many languages. Avrutin and Babyonyshev (1997) claim that AGR raises out of the subjunctive and to the immediately superordinate C via successive-cyclic head movement. I basically agree with this view, although not in execution of the idea. I will return to this in 4. 2.

Let us see how Slavic languages provide evidence that the subjunctive mood marker (our M_{irr}) raises at least to the C of the same clause, assuming the clausal architecture in (14). Progovac (1993) notes that Russian subjunctives contain a modal *by* and attributes to Brecht

(1974) the argument that *by* is a modal cliticizing onto Comp.

In Russian, the subjunctive clause contains a mood marker *by* and the preterit tense, as in the complement clause of (7), (29) and in the antecedent and the consequent clause in (28a). The marker typically denotes counterfactual situations and occurs clause-medially. In the consequent clause of (28a) *by* follows the subject, while it always occurs cliticized to a complementizer *čto* 'that' when the subjunctive clause is a complement to volitional verbs, as in (7) and (29). Similarly, *by* occurs adjacent to *ésli* 'if', presumably a complementizer, in the antecedent clause in (28a), which also contains *by* and the preterit tense. This suggests that *by* here also moves and cliticizes to C (occupied by *ésli*).

(28) a. Ésli *by* on prishol ko mnje vcherá, my *by* obo vsjom dogovorílis.
if M_{irr} he come-Past to me yesterday, we M_{irr} about all settle-Past
'If he had come to me yesterday, we could have settled everything.'

b. Ja *by* oxótno pojéxal s vami.
I M_{irr} with-pleasure go-Past with you
'I would go with you with pleasure.'

(29) Vanja$_i$ xočet, čto*by* vse$_j$ ljubili sebja$_{*i/j}$.
Vanja wants that-subj everybody loved self.
'Vanja wants everyone to love themselves.'
(Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997:237)

I suggest then that M_{irr} is realized as *by* and raises as a clitic to C. Interestingly enough, in infinitivals, which lack a complementizer, *by* occurs unattached, as expected. Progovac (1993: 45) also notes this.

(30) Ja xotjél *by* s vámi pogovorítj.
I want M_{irr} with you speak
'I would like to speak with you.'

A parallel raising of a modal clitic is found in Polish, as you might expect. Consider the example in (31), which illustrates a subjunctive construction with the mood marker,[8] and those in (32), which suggest a similar raising of the mood marker. Dornisch calls the marker "a conditional auxiliary."

(31) Piotr *by* kupił ten stól.
Piotr conditional aux. buy-participle that table
'Piotr would buy that table.' (Dornisch 1998:68)

(32) a. Co *by* [$_{TP}$ Anna komu poleciła] ?
what conditional aux. Anna whom recommend
'What would Anna recommend to whom ?'
(Dornisch 1998:221)

a'. (?) Co [$_{TP}$ Anna *by* komu poleciła] ? (Dornisch 1998:221)

b. Co chcesz *żebym* ci kupiła t ?
what want-2sg. that you-cl. buy-participle
'What do you want me to buy (for) you ?'
(Dornisch 1998:177)

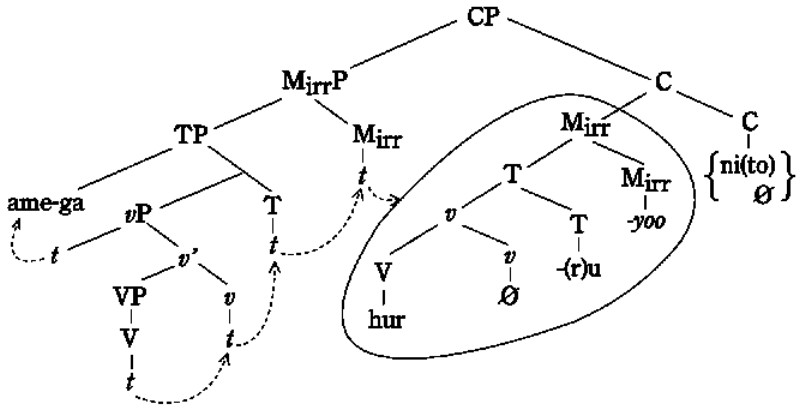
Dornisch (1998:221) observes that the subjunctive auxiliary as a clitic (optionally) overtly raises to C in *wh*-questions, multiple *wh*-questions included, as seen in (32a) and (32b). She goes on to say that "in the unmarked pattern of multiple *wh*-question formation, native speakers prefer to place the modal clitic in C, rather than T," as demonstrated in (32a) versus (32a') above. Crucially, the mood marker raises to the complementizer *że* in the subjunctive as well, as in (32b). Note that in (32b) the "subjunctive complementizer" contains *bym*, which is an *inflected* form of the "conditional" (i. e., subjunctive) auxiliary. This clearly indicates that T also has raised and cliticized onto M_{irr}, which in turn has raised to C. See endnote 8.

Parallel to raising of the subjunctive marker to the complementizer position in Russian and Polish is the formation of a "subjunctive complementizer" in Japanese (cf. Uchibori 2000). Uchibori claims that *-yoo(ni(to))* is a subjunctive complementizer, which introduces finite subjunctive complements to verbs of ordering, wanting, suggesting, wishing, requesting, praying, etc. Observe (33).

(33) hitobito-ga (kami-ni) [ame-ga huru -yoo(ni(-to))] inot-ta.
people-nom (God-dat) [rain-nom fall-nonpast-sbj comp] pray-past
'People prayed (to a god) that it would rain.'
(Uchibori 2000:81)

She analyzes *-yoo(ni(-to))* as a lexically formed complex C of the form "[$_c$ [$_c$ *-yoo*] [$_c$ [$_c$ *-ni*] [*to*]]]," where *to* is adjoined to [$_c$ *ni*]. Her main argument for this analysis is that while *-yoo*, *-yooni*, and *-yoonito* occur, *-yooto* may not. But this fact does not preclude the possibility of taking *-yoo* as a separate head, M_{irr} for example, and raising it in overt syntax to C to form *yoo(ni(to))*, assuming that C may be realized as either *ni(to)* or null, as in (34), the representation of the structure for the complement clause of (33):

(34)



The head movement in (34) mimics the one in Russian and Polish (cf. the overt manifestation of T-to-M_{irr} raising in Polish, noted in endnote 8, among others), and nicely accounts for the word ordering of *hur-u-yoo-ni(to)* as well as the lack of **(hur-u)-yoo-to*, assuming left-side adjunction throughout (ordering determined in phonology, of course). This analysis offers a straightforward account for the subjunctive (irrealis) force in the complement clause in (34), which resides in the M_{irr}-C complex.

It is plausible to say that *-yoo* is a subjunctive marker, because this form appears in the antecedent of a conditional much as in Russian:

(35) mosi kaku-sensoo-ga oko-ru *yoo* nara, zinrui-wa
if nuclear-war-NOM break. out-PRES SUBJ COND humankind-TOP
moo owari- da.
now finished be-PRES
'If a nuclear war should break out, humankind will be finished then.'

Notice that *yoo* in the antecedent in (35) renders the clause hypothetical; without *yoo* a contingency expressed would come to have a higher degree of possibility of realization. This use of *yoo* may be best characterized as hypothetical or unreal (irrealis). Presumably it is a subjunctive mood marker. Uchibori's analysis does not capture this semantic contribution of *yoo* to the complex *yoo(ni(to))* nor relate it to the same form found in conditionals. Furthermore, her analysis of *yoo(ni(to))* as a double headed complementizer is rather implausible, since such double-headed complementizers are unattested in Japanese elsewhere or in other languages to my knowledge. Also it is theoretically undesirable since it premises that double-headed projections are available in UG, contrary to standard assumptions, Minimalist or otherwise.[9]

If our approach is on the right track, we have another instance of overt head raising involv-

ing M_{irr}-to-C movement. This case of Japanese subjunctive is more interesting in view of the fact that not only a subjunctive marker (*yoo*) and the tense morpheme but also the verb all raise overtly to form a complex head, demonstrating that these head elements do raise in syntax overtly in some languages.

As further evidence for head movement to C in subjunctive constructions, we might note that Germanic languages including English manifest V1 constructions in counterfactual subjunctives (not in volitional subjunctives though, which does not show overt V-to-I movement; see Potsdam 1998). English allows V1 only in counterfactual subjunctives, not in indicatives.

(36) *Had* John eaten the calamari, he *might* be better now.

(=*If* John *had* eaten the calamari, he *might* be better now.)

(37) **Has* John eaten the calamari, there *will* be no food left for us.

Cf. If John *has* eaten the calamari, there *will* be no food left for us.

(Iatridou & Embick 1994: 190f.)

In contrast, other Germanic languages such as German allow inversion in non-counterfactual antecedent clauses as well as in counterfactuals:

(38) a. *Wäre* Hans gekommen, dann *wäre* Susanne abgefahren. (Ger)

Had-SUB Hans come then would-have Susanne left

'Had Hans come, then Susanne would have left.'

b. *Kommt* Hans, dann geht Susanne. (Ger)

comes-IND Hans then goes Susanne

'If Hans comes, then Susanne goes.' (Iatridou & Embick 1994:190)

Some languages like Icelandic exhibit different agreement morphology on inverted verbs. The verb that moves to C in non-counterfactual antecedents must change to a subjunctive present form from an indicative present form.

(39) a. Ef hann *hefur*/**hafi* faridh, eg kom.

if he has-PRES-IND/SUB gone I come 'If he has gone, I will come.'

b. *Hafi*/**Hefur* hann faridh, eg kom.

has-PRES-SUB/IND he gone, I come (Iatridou & Embick 1994:192)

Italian, European Portuguese, Russian, Romanian and Bulgarian also show counterfactual inversion in subjunctives. Cf. Iatridou & Embick (1994). Consider the following Italian example:

(40) *Avesse* lui capito al volo, tutto sarebbe andato bene.

had-SUB-3Sg he understood immediately, everything would have gone well

'If he had understood immediately, everything would have gone smoothly.' (Rizzi 1982: 84)

In French the subjunctive mood triggers stylistic inversion, which places the finite verb in front of the subject. This is another case of movement of V-I to C (or to some intermediate head between C and T):

(41) Cette campagne a été entreprise pour [$_{CP}$ [$_{C}$ que renaisse] [$_{TP}$ cette esprit de solidarité
the campaign was started in.order that might-be-reborn (SUB) the spirit of solidarity
nationale qui régnait pendant la guerre]]
national which reigned during the war 'The campaign was initiated in order that the spirit of national solidarity might be reborn which prevailed during the war.'
(Jones 1996:468f.) [The glosses are mine.]

In (41) the subjunctive verb *renaisse* 'right-adjoins' to *que*, presumably a complementizer (or raises to a head below C). Also, see endnote 5, which points out some suggestive facts about the subjunctive particle (M_{irr}) raising to C in Romanian, Albanian, and Greek. Thus, we have good reason to conclude that the subjunctive form of the verb crosslinguistically moves at least to C, overtly or covertly, as Avrutin and Babyonyshev (1997) and Nichols (1999) have argued.

Next, I propose that the raised complex covertly raises out of the clause into the immediately superordinate clause, moving onto T via v/V for tense/event interpretation of the subjunctive, which is dependent on the tense/event structure of the higher clause.[10] I take the event argument of a proposition to be associated with T in the case of a clause (CP)[11] and with D in the case of a derived nominal (DP) (e. g., *the demand that...*).

The subjunctive tense is crosslinguistically restricted to present or preterit, which is interpreted to be future-oriented relative to a higher indicative tense, being unable to have temporal reference on its own, unlike the indicative tense. It must be related to the indicative tense in a higher clause for its interpretation. In the framework of *DbP* theory the subjunctive tense of the lower clause must be raised into a higher indicative clause so that they may not be separated by two phase boundaries. We will see how this is indeed the case in § 4. 2.

This movement with a concomitant phase collapse is required within the framework of derivation by phase under a certain assumption. That is, under the null hypothesis that semantic interpretation is subject to principles like the PIC, the MLC, etc. just as Narrow Syntax is, as I assume, semantic interpretation cannot involve more than two (strong) phases. It will then fail to apply to a pair of the matrix subject and the embedded subject separated by two phase boundaries, *v*P and CP. Under phase collapse, multiple phases collapse into a single phase, thus ren-

dering both the matrix subject and the embedded one subject to Condition B and yielding subject obviation, given that a phase with a subject defines the binding domain for Condition B. We will return to this later. For the sake of space, we cannot go into justification of this notion of the binding domain. But as far as I can see, this notion enables us to account for all the standard cases covered by the Binding Conditions. For this notion of the binding domain, see Oshima (2003).

An obvious problem with this raising analysis is that apparently there is no case of overt raising of the subjunctive marker into the higher clause attested. Contrary to common belief however, there is head raising out of the tensed clause. Koopman (1984) discusses "the predicate cleft construction" found in African languages (Vata, Gbadi, etc., for example), and also in the Caribbean creoles (Haitian, Sranan, Papiamentu, etc.). See also Piou (1982).

Koopman shows that some of these languages (e. g., Vata) have long *wh*-movement and crucially, long predicate clefting (i.e., long V-movement), both in accord with subjacency. They also have short *wh*-movement and predicate clefting. Consider V-raising in Vata.

(42) a. ngŌnŌ ǹ ngÒnȮ-Ō ?
sleep you sleep-Q (short predicate clefting)
'Are you SLEEPING ?' (Koopman 1984:154)

b. yĒ ǹ gūgū [nā àbà pā wĪ [nā ǹ yĒ ngŪa yé é
see you think NA Aba throw voice NA you saw then PART Q
'Do you think that Aba announced that you SAW them ?'
(Koopman 1984:159)

In (42a) the verb 'sleep' raises to the initial position of its own clause, leaving an overt copy behind as a trace (short predicate clefting), whereas in (42b) the verb 'see' successive-cyclically raises into the matrix clause via the verb position (v^*) and the C position of each of the relevant clauses, again leaving a full copy in place (long predicate clefting), I argue, in accord with the PIC of Chomsky (2001a, b). This long movement depends on the presence of a bridge verb in the higher clause(s), much as in long *wh*-movement. The fact that this predicate clefting is constrained by subjacency indicates that it in fact involves movement.

Similarly, in a language like Haitian, a Caribbean creole, a focused verb not only occurs in sentence-initial position, leaving a full copy in the original position of the same clause, but also raises to a higher clause, subject to the same movement constraints (i. e., island constraints, the existence of a bridge verb, etc.). Consider (43), where I add English glosses and translation to the French ones, as the original text is in French.

(43) a. [se *tãde* [m *tãde* žã vini]]
c'est entendre je entendre Jean venir
it's hear I hear Jean come
'J'ai *entendu* venir Jean.' 'I *heard* John come.'

b. [se *ašte* [mari vle [pu [māmā 1 *ašte* flè]]]]
c'est acheter Marie vouloir pour mère POSS acheter fleurs
it's buy Marie want for mother POSS buy flowers
'Marie veut que sa mère *achete* des fleurs.'
'Marie wants that her mother *buy* the flowers.' (Piou 1982:122, 126)

Note that *vle* 'want' is a bridge verb in Haitian, and more importantly, it is a type of predicate that requires a subjunctive complement in many languages as amply demonstrated above. Thus, it seems that in Haitian not only apparently indicative embedded verbs like *tãde* in (43a) but also presumably subjunctive ones like *ašte* in (43b) raise into a higher clause. Based on Piou's (1982) discussion, I conclude that the predicate clefting in Haitian involves raising of a verb (or an adjective) to C (or Foc(us)), realized as *se*.[12]

On the current assumptions I conjecture that the focused verb raises to the matrix C (more accurately, Foc(us); cf. Oshima 2001, 2002). At any rate, this overt raising of the verb across clause boundaries shows that long head movement is in principle available in UG. Assuming the Uniformity Principle, we may conclude that covert head movement is possible across clauses. Thus, I propose that the M_{irr}-T complex containing other heads must covertly raise to the higher T (or D with a derived nominal in DP constructions which selects a subjunctive clause) for proper interpretation of its tense/event structure, which is dependent on that of the higher indicative T (or D).

Notes

1. We use abbreviations like Ger(man), Ice(landic), Fr(ench), Sp(anish), Cat(alan), It(alian), Rus(sian), Pol(ish), Rom(anian), Al(banian), Ar(bëresh), M(odern)G(reek), B(ul)g(arian), S(erbo)Cr(oatian), and Sa(lentino).
2. What is meant by "my glosses" here is that word-by-word glosses as well as translation are mine, not provided in the sources.
3. Philippaki-Warburton and Veloudis (1984) suggest that *na* in Modern Greek (cf. (11)) is the subjunctive mood marker. Terzi (1992) follows suit on this.

4. Salentino in Brindisi, an Italian dialect, is not a Balkan language but behaves like one (see Terzi 1992, § 4. 2. 2, Calabrese 1991, and Barbosa 1995).
5. McCloskey (u. d.) notes in footnote 17 that in Irish the optative markers *go* and *nár* select an affirmative and a negative *matrix* subjunctive clause respectively, much like French subjunctive *que*, German subjunctive *dass*, etc., which may also select a *matrix* subjunctive clause. This suggests that these markers in Irish occupy the matrix C position in a structure like CP in (14) with a null element in Mood. See (i) and (ii).

(i) *Go* gcúití Dia thú
that requite[SUBJ] God you 'May God reward you!'

(ii) *Nár* fhille sí choíchel
NEG-[SUBJ] return[SUBJ] she ever
'May she never return!' (McCloskey, u.d., footnote 17)

Consider also the following optative (i. e., subjunctive, here) constructions, sometimes with imperative force, which should not be confused with imperatives, however. These subjunctive constructions may originate as complements to the matrix verb of a higher clause, which may be deleted. In contrast, imperatives occur only as matrix clauses.

(iii) *Que* les masques tombent! (Fr)
that the masks fall-SUBJ 'Let the masks fall!' (Barbosa 1995:147)

(iv) *Que* caiam as máscaras! (Portuguese)
that fall-SUBJ the masks 'Let the masks fall!' (Barbosa 1995:147)

(v) O *dass* es nicht regnen würde! (Ger)
that it not rain would
'Oh that it would not rain!' (Boytinck 1994:68)

Barbosa (1995:146) observes that Balkan languages all have a subjunctive particle (our M_{irr}) and some of them have complementizers as well, but they all converge in root subjunctive constructions: root subjunctives are invariably introduced by the subjunctive particle.

(vi) *Ku* te e^^a nu korpu! (Sa)
that to.you come.subj.3s a stroke 'May you have a stroke!'

(vii) Să traiasca Romania! (Rom)
să live Romania 'Long live Romania!'

(viii) Të rrɔjë Shqiperia! (Al)
PRT lives Albania 'Long live Albania!'

(ix) Na zisi i Elada! (MG)
PRT lives Greece 'Long live Greece!'

In view of the fact that Germanic and Romance languages, which lack overt subjunctive markers, in-

troduce root subjunctives by complementizers, the data in (vi) to (ix) may suggest that subjunctive particles in Balkan languages overtly raise to null C.

6. Some of these studies restrict the dependency to that in tense, which is disputed by Avrutin & Babyonyshev (1997). They argue that because obviation obtains in the subjunctive clause selected by certain derived nominals, which lack tense, "tense dependency" (the dependency of subjunctive tense on indicative tense) should be replaced by a broader notion of the dependency of tense and event structure. This argument, however, is not compelling, since certain languages like Somali (Lecarme 1997), languages of the Salishan group (Demirdache 1997), Pitta-pitta (Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, text and note 17) do possess an overt tense morpheme on these nominals. Thus, languages like Romance, Russian, etc., also may have a null tense marker on these nouns. So I am non-committal about this here.
7. I depart from Nichols (1999), who subsumes subject obviation in Romance, Russian, etc. under switch reference(SR)-type obviation in SR languages like Zuni, Hopi, Misumalpan, etc. Her argumentation is not convincing, since the former type of obviation involves only complementation while the latter may involve adjunct clause constructions as well.

   Besides, as Bruening (2001:38, 212) shows, in some SR languages like Passamaquoddy obviation can change within a sentence unlike in the non-SR languages under discussion in this article. It must be set only within a clause, between co-arguments, but it is not necessarily maintained across clause boundaries, whereas in non-SR languages like Romance it must be maintained across such boundaries, necessarily involving both the matrix and the embedded subject. Thus, in Passamaquoddy a noun phrase in a lower clause may be marked as obviative only with respect to its co-arguments within the clause, not across the clause boundary (e. g. in relative clause constructions). The obviation system in SR languages then is distinct from that in non-SR languages.
8. Dornisch (1998:68) gives the inflectional paradigms for the past tense auxiliary and for the "conditional" (i.e. subjunctive) auxiliary, as follows:

(i) past tense:

	singular	plural
1 st pers.	-m	-śmy
2nd pers.	-ś	-ście
3rd pers.	-Ø	-Ø

(ii) subjunctive:

	singular	plural
1st pers.	by<u>m</u>	by<u>śmy</u>
2nd pers.	by<u>ś</u>	by<u>ście</u>
3rd pers.	by(=by<u>Ø</u>)	by(=by<u>Ø</u>)

   The subjunctive mood marker in Polish is *by*, just like in Russian. But unlike in Russian a past tense suffix always attaches to *by*, forming a clitic, as is clearly shown in (ii); I underscored the suffixes in (ii), which exactly match those in (i). This fact clearly points to the overt raising of T (containing AGR) to M_{irr} in Polish.
9. Uchibori (2000) observes, following Watanabe (1996a, b), that *koto* may also serve as a subjunctive complementizer, introducing complements to verbs of command, request, suggestion, wish, prayer, etc. I con-

cur with them on this point. Since *koto* does not occur in the antecedent in conditionals unlike *yoo*, I take it as a subjunctive complementizer with a null subjunctive marker (M_{irr}) raised to it, much like English subjunctive *that*, etc.

10. Avrutin & Babyonyshev (1997) make a similar proposal.
11. For this view, see Kratzer (1994) and Nichols (1999). The latter assumes something like Enç's (1987) "anchoring principles" for tense, which ensures that tense is anchored to the speech time.
12. In the split CP hypothesis of Rizzi (1997) and Oshima (2001, 2002), Foc(us)P sits between ForceP and TP.

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