

**The Indicative and Subjunctive *da*-complements in Serbian  
A Syntactic-Semantic Approach**

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THESIS

Submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic Languages and Literatures  
in the Graduate College of the  
University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, 2012

Chicago, Illinois

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To my family, father Novica, mother Nada, sister Vedrana, and to Max and Lucky who proved to me that the one who does not know how to hate can indeed love unconditionally!

*“The same causes which tend to promote the belittling of men, also force the stronger and rarer individuals upward to greatness.”*

Nietzsche

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank Professor Biljana Šljivić-Šimišić for all the support she provided during my graduate years at the University of Illinois at Chicago. By allowing me to explore different areas of research freely and trusting me as her teaching assistant, Professor Šljivić-Šimišić helped me follow my instincts and find an interesting and at the same time enticing enough topic for my dissertation. Without Professor Šljivić-Šimišić's help, a Ph.D. would have been only an illusion for me. I am also very grateful to Anastasia Giannakidou whose instructions and discussions have spawned the idea that became a dissertation. She helped me navigate easier through the fields that I had never explored before meeting her. Without her support, understanding, and guidance during my graduate studies, completion of this project would be impossible. Next, I would like to thank Lilia Schürcks. Her continuous support, praise, and value of my work ensured me that I am on the right track. Finally, I thank Colleen McQuillen for serving as Chair on the Committee and for taking the administrative matters of my dissertation defense in her hands. Without Colleen, I would not be writing this acknowledgment as there would be no committee and no defense. I also thank Ljiljana Progovac for all the answers she was able to provide to my numerous questions, and Julie Kurtz who helped me improve the language of this manuscript. Lastly but not least, I am grateful for my family, my father Novica, mother Nada, and sister Vedrana. Without them I would not be who I am today as each of them in his and her way has instigated and supported my continuous desire to learn, to succeed, and to bring this project to a completion. I would also like to remember my late grandmother Divna, my first teacher. The beauty of her storytelling infused with rich

descriptions and imagination developed in me a particular language appreciation and initiated linguistics insights on which I heavily relied and implicitly trusted while writing this manuscript.

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## **PREFACE**

To the peoples of the Balkans:

Only the past is certain: not how we interpreted it, but how it unfolded over time leaving traces on an axis of moving time interval. Nothing can be done to erase these traces. A reflection on the past is already a disposition as well as a reflection on the upcoming uncertainty, the future. The uncertainty of the future can be resolved only if we commit to the truth of the disposition toward that future. It is only by the commitment to the truth of the disposition toward the future that the uncertainty of the future is resolved.

The speed of the moving time interval is measured by the number of the events. The more events, the slower the movement of the moving time interval. The fewer the events, the faster the movement of the moving time interval. Therefore, to exist longer in time, an entity needs to encounter as many events as possible in one interval of time, and to eliminate all impeding uncertainties, an entity must commit to the truth of the disposition toward the future.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

acc	Accusative
AGR <sub>O</sub> P	Agreement Object Phrase
ASP <sub>O</sub> P	Aspect Object Phrase
AGR <sub>S</sub> P	Agreement Subject Phrase
ASP <sub>S</sub> P	Aspect Subject Phrase
aux	Auxiliary
comp	Complementizer
CP	Complement Phrase
dat	Dative
DefT <sub>M</sub> P	Deficient Tense Mood Projection
DP	Determiner Phrase
fem	Feminine
gen	Genitive
imperf	Imperfective
INF (inf)	Infinitive
INP	Imperfective Nonpast
I-NPI	I-Negative Polarity Items
l-part	L-participle
masc	Masculine
MP	Mood Phrase
NC	Negative Concord
NEGP	Negative Phrase

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (continued)**

neut	Neuter
NI-NPI	NI-Negative Polarity Items
NP	Noun Phrase
perf	Perfective
pl	Plural
PNP	Perfective Nonpast
POL <sub>O</sub> P	Polarity Object Phrase
POL <sub>S</sub> P	Polarity Subject Phrase
sg	Singular
SPEC	Specifier
subj	Subjunctive
TP	Tense Phrase

## SUMMARY

A syntactic-semantic investigation of subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements in Serbian is conducted in this project. After a careful comparison of Serbian sentence constructions with *da*-complements to the equivalent sentence structures in languages of the Balkans as well as other Slavic languages, it is clearly established that Serbian examples demonstrated a need to differentiate between indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements.

In this thesis, a careful review of the basic verbal and sentential categories is presented following an overview of the literature which summarizes previous approaches to analysis of *da*-complements and introduces the main theoretical approaches within which the research is conducted in this thesis. Specifically, categories of verbal aspect, mood and tense are introduced as they are primary concepts which contribute to analysis of *da*-complements provided in this project. In addition, an overview of dependent as well as independent *da*-constructions is provided although the investigation is centered on dependent *da*-constructions.

Semantic analysis of *da*-complements clearly suggests that aspect and tense are crucial categories that establish division between subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements in Serbian. In addition, clitic placement, negation interpretation, and licensing of negative polarity items further prove that subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements are introduced with homophonous *da*. In syntactic analysis, by postulating different functional projections for two *da(s)*, one which introduces indicative complements and another which introduces subjunctive complements, it is proposed that aspect and tense projections, clitic placement, negation interpretation, and licensing of negative polarity items in indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements could only be understood properly if the notion of two *da(s)*, the indicative and subjunctive, is adopted.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Language of Research and Methodology

I am a native speaker of what used to be called the Serbo-Croatian language. I consider my native language the *ijekavijan* form of the Serbian standard language spoken by the Serbian population living in Central and Central-Eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, and some parts of Eastern Serbia. The examples I provide in this manuscript are all *ekavian* forms. *Ijekavijan* and *ekavian* forms do not play any important role in the research topic explored in this project. Therefore, to be consistent, I provide all Serbian examples in *ekavian* form. Moreover, no dialectal examples are included in the analysis of data crucial for the understanding of the phenomenon under discussion, and all examples are standard forms of the Serbian language which is the official language accepted in Serbia and Bosnia.

The data provided in this manuscript are based on a native speaker's intuition as it is often a standard approach to data collection in linguistics. Although most examples provided are based on my judgment, I did not base such judgments solely on my intuition as I have on numerous occasions consulted with other informants, native speakers, linguists, and non-linguists, who provided their own intuition about the data in question. All the informants are clearly aware of the dialectal and non-dialectal/standard restrictions; therefore, the acceptability and unacceptability of the data would correspond to their intuition of what is standard and proper, not what is dialectal. A great number of examples is also incorporated from the sources listed in reference section of this manuscript, and proper citations are provided for each example incorporated from other sources. The question of native speaker's intuition is a vaguely understood concept, and it could be argued that the intuition is not a valid approach to the

collection and analysis of data. After all, what is defined as standard and what is defined as dialectal is still based on someone's (a native speaker's) intuition and innate preference. Since language is an open system, constantly changing and evolving, the native speaker's intuition is thus a true representation of the language's current state.

Given that the concepts of standard and dialectal are open-ending, I have chosen to focus this investigation along strictly linguistic lines of inquiry, and that implies that the investigation focuses on of a specific grammatical phenomenon and is aimed at establishing a coherent definition within a linguistic framework. With this in mind, any other approach, such as a sociolinguist approach, is irrelevant in terms of the hypothesis I am investigating in this manuscript. The purpose of this project is not to demonstrate how frequently, where, and who uses *da*-complements, but rather what semantic and syntactic contributions *da*-complements have in particular sentential environments.

In addition, in this manuscript I refer to many sources and various research studies conducted during the years when the Serbo-Croatian language was the official language of Yugoslavia. The topic of this dissertation closely examines the finite (*da*-) complementation in Serbian and, in some instances, I refer to its non-finite counterpart, the infinitive. Although a thorough analysis for the finite *da*-complements is provided, no such analysis is attempted in this dissertation for the infinitive. Since finite and non-finite complementations were topics very much researched and discussed during Yugoslavian years, there are many sources analyzing the issue from a Serbo-Croatian perspective. However, even during the Serbo-Croatian era, finite and non-finite complementations were one of the main characteristics which distinguished the Croatian from Serbian standard dialects, where finite complementation has often been addressed in research studies as the Eastern (now Serbian) while non-finite complementation has often

been addressed as the Western (now Croatian) variant of complementation. When referring to the sources published before the disintegration of Serbo-Croatian, I follow scholarly observations and make the appropriate references to the sources cited. In other words, if a scholar distinguished a difference between the Serbian and Croatian standard dialects, I so indicate it in my reference, but, if not, I maintain an observation as noted by the scholar in his or her research. Furthermore, it is not my intention in this project to make a clear distinction between complementation forms that are predominantly Serbian or predominantly Croatian but instead to elaborate on the semantic-syntactic structure of the finite *da*-constructions in the examples of the standard Serbian language spoken by the Serbian ethnic population living in Serbia and Eastern/Central Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

In various languages, mood can be expressed in more than one way. Most traditional grammars often state that Serbian recognizes imperative and conditional/potential moods while some also recognize the indicative, subjunctive, and optative (Belić 1962, Stevanović 1974, Barić 1979). Some of these moods exhibit a distinctive morphology, some are unmarked, while others, for example, the subjunctive, are only interpretable in specific syntactic contexts.

There are languages that express subjunctive mood by using a morphological marker of the verb, such as Romance, while there are languages that do not exhibit any morphological inflection but instead select particles that appear external to the verb (Giannakidou 2009), for example, Greek or Serbian. Serbian is a language that does not employ morphological markers for the subjunctive mood. Although the morphological verbal category of the subjunctive does not exist in Serbian, it does not mean that there are no syntactic elements that suggest the

interpretation of the subjunctive. In other words, the lack of subjunctive morphology does not imply that the subjunctive interpretation does not exist in Serbian, as observed by Belić, A. (1962). On the contrary, the interpretation of the subjunctive in contemporary Serbian does exist, and as I claim later on in this thesis, it is at the interface of syntax and semantics.

Serbian exhibits a productive use of the particle *da* that appears externally to the verb. As I present in Chapter Three, *da* is found in numerous independent, as well as dependent, environments; therefore, to say that *da* is greatly versatile in Serbian would not be an unsubstantiated statement. When a language element, such as *da* in Serbian, acquires wide currency in many different environments and exhibits great versatility and interpretation of those environments where *da* is found does not pose a problem, then it must be that the contexts in which *da* is found, whether semantic or syntactic, in some way restrict its interpretation. If *da* appears in a variety of environments, whether independent or dependent, introducing main clauses as well as embedded, whether participating in tense formation or interpretation of aspect, then it becomes absolutely unnecessary to suggest that there must be more than one *da*. In other words, *da* may as well be considered homophonous.

### **1.2.1 Sprachbund and Languages of the Balkans**

The particle *da* is very productive with verbs in the present tense in Serbian and *da+present* is often used in many dependent environments including, but not limited to, those environments that are strictly reserved for the subjunctive in some other languages. One of the very common characteristics of *da +present* is that it often, but not always, replaces the infinitive in dependent contexts (see Belić 2005). Although the infinitive is still productive in standard



Serbian, it is less preferred, while in some dialects, such as Torlak<sup>1</sup>, it is almost entirely absent (Joseph 1983). The loss of the infinitive is one of the characteristics which many other languages of the Balkan share, and it frequently occurs that the infinitive in languages of the Balkans is replaced by a finite/subjunctive form in the embedded structure. The loss of the infinitive at the expense of finite/subjunctive complementation is one of the characteristics that has been widely discussed in the literature of the Balkan Sprachbund. Language characteristics of the Balkan Sprachbund have been discussed by Kopitar (1829), Sandfeld (1926, 1930), Schaller (1975), Solta (1980), Gołąb (1984), Asenova (1989), Lindstedt (2000), and Mišeska-Tomić (2004) among some. Referring to Schaller's (1975) distinction between the language of the Balkans and the Balkan languages, Joseph (2001) points out that when one speaks and analyzes Balkan languages and Balkan linguistics, he should bear in mind Balkan Sprachbund, which represents the common characteristics shared by Balkan languages. On the other hand, Joseph (2001) further adds that Balkan Sprachbund does not have to be taken in consideration when one analyzes and studies languages and linguistics of the Balkans since, in that case, the focus is not on Sprachbund but on any language that exists within the geographic area of the Balkans. Although the phenomenon of finite complementation in Serbian is intended to be presented and studied in this manuscript as a linguistic, syntactic-semantic phenomenon in (Serbian) a language of the Balkans, its Sprachbund character mandates that it be acknowledged as a Balkan linguistic phenomenon as well.

Lindstedt (2000) provides a list of grammatical innovations shared by Balkan languages. In his view, there are twelve characteristics shared by many Balkan languages that mostly affect either argument-marking or the verb system. In his table a plus sign + means that the feature in question is dominant in most languages of the group, while a plus sign in parentheses (+)

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<sup>1</sup> Prizrensko-Timočki dialect.

indicates that a certain feature is present as a “tendency” or that it “occurs in some contexts”(Lindstedt 2000:232). The minus sign - indicates the absence of that particular feature in the specific group/language.

Lindstedt observes that Macedonian, Balkan Slavic language, is more Balkanized than other Balkan languages. The question to what degree Serbian is Balkanized could be difficult to answer. As observed from Lindstedt’s table, finite complementation (Aux (+Comp) + Finite verb) is one of twelve characteristics shared by Balkan languages. Serbian *da*-complements, which are thoroughly studied in this project, fall into that category, the category of (Aux (+comp)+Finite Verb. Since finite complementation is common in Serbian, and given that Serbian is a language spoken within the defined geographical area of the Balkans, it could be deduced that Serbian, just like Macedonian or Bulgarian, is another Balkan Slavic language. However, this deduction could be debatable since Serbian exhibits the fewest number of the characteristics listed in Lindstedt’s table. This last observation should strictly account for standard, non-dialectal Serbian which, for example, does not allow prepositions instead of case, object reduplication, or enclitic articles but allows finite complementation. A non-standard Serbian dialect, for example the Torlak dialect, exhibits many of the features listed in Lindstedt’s table. For instance, this dialect exhibits the use of prepositions instead of case, object reduplication and, just like standard Serbian, finite complementation. What is important to note here is that finite complementation is present in both, standard and non-standard Serbian and is not regarded as a purely dialectal or less common form. The prescriptive use of finite complementation, as well as its presence in dialects, characterizes this phenomenon as a very productive grammatical category in Serbian.

**TABLE I**  
**SHARED GRAMMATICAL INNOVATIONS IN THE BALKANS**

	Greek	Albanian	Balkan Slavic	Balkan Romance	Balkan Romani
<b><i>Argument Marking</i></b>					
Enclitic Articles	(+)	+	+	+	(+)
Object Reduplication	+	+	+	+	+
Prepositions instead of case	(+)	(+)	+	(+)	(+)
Dative/Possessive Merger	+	+	+	+	-
Goal/Location Merger	+	+	+	+	(+)
Relativum Generale	+	+	+	+	+
<b><i>Verb System</i></b>					
Aux (+comp) + Finite Verb	+	(+)	+	(+)	+
<i>Volo</i> Future	+	(+)	+	+	+
Past Future as Conditional	+	+	+	(+)	(+)
<i>Habeo</i> Perfect	+	+	(+)	(+)	-
Evidentials	-	+	+	(+)	(+)
<b><i>Other</i></b>					
Analytic Comparison	(+)	+	+	+	+

Although I will refrain from explaining how and why finite complementation became widespread and what particular model of language influence is responsible for its development in Serbian, it is imperative to examine data from other Balkan and Slavic languages in order to understand better finite *da*-complements

### 1.2.2 The Balkan Situation

As the function of *da* in complement constructions is often generalized in Serbian, a comparison to other languages of the Balkans is necessary to highlight the problems posed by this generalization. For purpose of the analysis of *da*-complements conducted in this thesis, it is not of a great importance to determine which model of language influence is more responsible for the Serbian situation (see Joseph 1983 for adstratum, substratum or convergence models of language influence). However, a comparative approach towards and correlation of finite complement constructions in Serbian with those found in other languages of the Balkans are critical to better understand the current situation in Serbian.

In comparison to other languages of the Balkans such as, for example, Greek, Bulgarian, or Romanian, Serbian demonstrates a relatively poorer complementizer/particle system employed with the indicative or subjunctive complements. In contrast to some other languages of the Balkans that have several different particles/complementizers, in which some are strictly indicative (Greek *oti* and *pu*, Bulgarian *če*, Romanian *că*) or subjunctive (Greek *na*, and *as*, Bulgarian *da*, Romanian *să*), Serbian has only what appears to be one *da*.

Unlike Greek that has several particles and complementizers used in different embedded structures as in (1)-(5), Serbian has only *da* used after indicative- or subjunctive-selecting verbs. In Greek examples (1) and (2) complementizers *oti/pu* are used whereas in Serbian we find *da*

after assertive (say) and fiction (remember) verbs. These verbs commonly select for indicative complements in Greek introduced by *oti* or *pu*. On the other hand, Greek uses *na* in subjunctive complements, as in (4) and (5) after volitional (want), while in Serbian *da* used in the complements to the volitional *želeći* (want). A complex structure, as the one in example (5), in Greek employs the complementizer *oti*, the future particle *tha*, and the subjunctive particle *na* while in Serbian, predictable by now, we only find *da* that corresponds to *oti*, *tha*, and *na*, respectively. Although the sentence in (5) may not be stylistically<sup>2</sup> the most effective sentence, nonetheless, it is correct, licit, and likely possible.

- (1) *Serbian*: Pavle je rekao **da** je Roksana otišla.  
*Paul aux-3sg said-masc.perf.l-part. da aux-3sg Roxanne left fem.perf l-part.*  
 Paul said that Roxanne left.

*Greek*<sup>3</sup>: O Pavlos ipe **oti** i Roxani efije.  
*the Paul said-3sg that the Roxanne left-3sg*

- (2) *Serbian*: Sećam se **da** sam ga upoznala u Parizu.  
*remember-1sg. se da aux-1sg him met fem.perf. l-part. in Paris.*  
 I remember that I met him in *Paris*.

<sup>2</sup> Some *da*-complements could be replaced by an infinitive but this is not required. The Serbian sentence in (5) is licit either way.

<sup>3</sup> Greek examples (1) and (2) are from Giannakidou (2009). Example (5) is provided by Giannakidou in a personal conversation.

Greek: Thimame {*pu/oti*} ton sinandisa sto Parisi.

*remember-1sg that him met-1sg in-the Paris*

- (3) Serbian: Kosta želi **da** vozi.

*Kosta want-3sg. da drive INP.-3sg.*

Kosta wants to drive.

Greek: O Kostas theli **na** odhiji.

Roussou (2009)

*the Kostas want-3sg. na drive-3sg*

- (4) Serbian: Želim **da** dođem.

*want-1sg da come PNP-1sg.*

I want to come.

Greek: Thelo **na** ertho.

Krapova (2001)

*want-1sg na come-1sg*

- (5) Serbian: Marija misli **da** sam rekla **da** ću **da** napišem

*Mary think-3sg da aux-1sg said-fem.perf.l-part da aux-1sg da write PNP-1sg.*

knjigu **da** postanem slavna.

*book-acc da became PNP-1sg famous-fem.*

Mary thinks that I said that I will write a book in order to become famous.

*Greek:* I Maria pistevi **oti** ipa **oti** **tha** grapso ena vivlio ja **na** jino dniasimi.

*The Mari thinks that said that fut write-perf. one book for **na** become famous.*

On the other hand, Bulgarian is simpler than Greek, in that it does not have as many particles/complementizers used with the indicative and subjunctive complements. Gołąb (1964:18) mentions that Serbian subordinating constructions, the declarative conjunction *da* is similar to Bulgarian *če* or Macedonian *deka*, while a modal particle *da* “generating subjunctive mood” in Serbian is similar to the Bulgarian or Macedonian *da*. He further explains that, in comparison to Bulgarian and Macedonian where modal *da* can be “separated only by other modal or pronominal clitics”, the Serbo-Croatian modal particle *da* can be separate by other material perhaps as a result of the influence from the conjunction *da* that is “functionally different from the modal *da*.” The observations made by Gołąb (1964) are clearly supported by the Bulgarian examples in (6), (7), and (8). In Bulgarian example in (6), indicative *če* is used after factive *znam* (know), while in Serbian we have *da*. The difference between the Bulgarian examples in (6) and (7) is the selection of particle/complementizer. In the Bulgarian example in (7), we find *da* used after modal *može* (can). In the Serbian example in (7), as expected we have again *da*. While indicative *če* or subjunctive *da* can be used in Bulgarian after a volitional verb *nadjavam se* (hope) as in (8), in Serbian we find again only *da*. However, in the Serbian example in (8), *nadam se* (hope) allows only for the imperfective present or future tense, while Bulgaria, which takes both *če* or *da*-complements, allows for the perfective present as well as the future tense in its *da*-complement. On the other hand, Serbian *da*-complements, which correspond to Bulgarian subjunctive *da*-complements that follow the modal verb as in (7), allow for *da+perfective present*. Moreover, Bulgarian indicative *če*-complements, as in (6) and (8), are

used in those instances where in Serbian we find *da+imperfective present* or *da+će+imperfective present/perfective present*. While distribution of *da*-complements in Serbian may suggest that there is no difference between subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements, distribution of aspect suggests otherwise. For example, *da+perfective present* (unless with the clitic *će* for the future interpretation) is not allowed in Serbian in the *da*-complements that correspond to the Bulgarian indicative *če*-complements, but it is allowed in *da*-complements of modals, the verbs which select for subjunctive *da*-complements in Bulgarian. Mišeska-Tomić (2003:531) claims that “while in Bulgarian and Macedonian *da* functions as a subjunctive mood complementizer exclusively, in Serbo-Croatian *da* is used as a subjunctive mood complementizer, as well as indicative complementizer.” While I depart from the notion of the subjunctive complementizer suggested by Mišeska-Tomić (2003), I accept the notion that there are two different *da(s)* in Serbian: the subjunctive and indicative *da*.

(6) *Serbian:* Znam **da** ću **da** čitam.

*know-1sg da aux-1sg da read INP-1sg*

I know that I will read.

*Bulgarian:* Znam **če** az šte četa.

Rivero (1994)

*know-1sg that I aux-1sg read-1sg.*

(7) *Serbian:* Ivan može **da** ode.

*Ivan can-1sg. da leave PNP-1sg.*

Ivan can leave.



*Bulgarian:* Ivan može **da** zamnie.

Krapova (2001)

*Ivan can-3sg da leave-3sg.*

(8) *Serbian:* Nadam se **da** ćeš **da** dođeš.

*hope-1sg se da aux-2sg da come PNP-2sg*

*Bulgarian:* Nadjavam se **če** šte dođeš.

Krapova (2001)

*hope-1sg se that will come-2sg.*

*Bulgarian:* Nadjavam se **da** dođeš.

Krapova (2001)

*hope-1sg se da come-2sg.*

I hope that you will come.

Besides Greek and Bulgarian, Romanian too shows a somewhat richer complementizer/particle system than Serbian does. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) notes that *să* in Romanian functions both as “a marker of the subjunctive mood (some kind of inflectional prefix) and as a subordinating conjunction. On the other hand, Dobrovie-Sorin (2001) notes that *că* is “lexically distinct” from *să* and functions as an indicative complementizer. Therefore, what may seem to be a simple distinction in Romanian, is not after all since there are two *să(s)* in addition to *că* of which all can be used in different complements.<sup>4</sup> In the examples in (9), the Serbian matrix verb selects for *da*+*perfective present* where we find subjunctive *să*-complementation in Romanian. On the other hand, as observed in (10) the Romanian *că*-complement is used where

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<sup>4</sup> For more on categorical status of the infinitival particle *a*, the differences between *că* and *ca*, as well as the different distribution of *să* see Dobrovie-Sorin (1994, 2001).



*Romanian:* Știu      *că* vine      Ion mâine.      Dobrovie-Sorin (2001)

*know-1sg. că comes-3sg. John tomorrow*

The examples (1) – (10) highlight the versatility of *da*-complements in Serbian while simultaneously posing many questions: Is there only one *da* in Serbian? If not, then how many *da(s)* are there and according to what basis can they be classified? To find plausible answers to these questions, a comparison of Serbian data with data drawn from other Slavic languages is equally as important as a comparison of Serbian data with data from the other languages of the Balkans.

### 1.2.3 The Slavic Situation

Both, Polish and Russian employ different complementizers in subjunctive and indicative complement structures similarly to languages of the Balkans. Polish distinguishes between two complementizers: *że* and *żeby* used in indicative and subjunctive clauses, respectively (Tomaszewicz 2008). As noted by Antonenko (2008:19), unlike the indicative complementizer *że*, the subjunctive complementizer *żeby* is an agreeing complementizer, and it “acquires overt agreement morphology by agreeing with the subject of the embedded clause”. For example, the complementizer *żebyś* in the Polish example in (11) is morphologically marked for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and agrees with *ty*, the embedded subject. No such morphology is manifested in the Serbian *da* in subjunctive clauses as it can be observed in (11).

(11) *Serbian:* Hoću      *da* ti      to uradiš.

*want-1sg da you it do PNP-2sg.*

*Polish:* Chcę **żebyś** (ty) to zrobił. Tomaszewicz (2008)

*want that-subj.2sg you it do*

I want you to do it.

Polish is a *pro* drop language (Anotnenko 2008), like Serbian and unlike Russian.

However, subjunctive clauses in Polish are on a par with subjunctive clauses in Russian in that they manifest obviation, unlike subjunctive clauses in Serbian which can but do not mandate obviation. On the other hand, Serbian indicative clauses are similar to Polish indicative clauses, in that they do not manifest obviation, as illustrated in (13).

(12) *Serbian:* Jovan<sub>i</sub> hoće **da** *pro*<sub>i/j</sub> dođe.

*Jovan wants da pro arrive PNP-3sg*

Jovan wants (him/her) to arrive.

*Polish:* Jan<sub>i</sub> chce **żeby** *pro*<sub>\*i/j</sub> przyjechał. Tomaszewicz (2008)

*Jan wants that-subj.3sg pro arrive*

Jan wants him to arrive.

(13) *Serbian:* Jovan kaže **da** je došao.

*Jovan said da aux-3sg. arrive masc. l-part.*

Jovan<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i/j</sub> arrived.

*Polish:* Jan<sub>i</sub> mowi że *pro*<sub>i/j</sub> przyjechał

Tomaszewicz (2008)

*Jan said that arrived*

Jan<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i/j</sub> arrived.

Polish *żeby* is not only different from the Serbian *da* in that the former but not the latter manifest overt morphology. Another difference between *żeby* and *da* is that, unlike the Serbian *da*, the Polish *żeby* can also be used with infinitives. In Serbian, *da* can never be used with infinitives and is strictly confined to introducing a finite complements/clause.

(14) *Serbian:* Jovan je uspeo (\**da*) zapevati.

*Jovan aux-3sg. manage-l part.masc. (\*da) sing -INF*

Jovan managed to start/initiate singing.

*Polish:* Jan zdołał (\**żeby*) śpiewać.

Citko (FASL 2012)

*Jan managed Comp. sing-INF*

Jan managed to sing.

(15) *Serbian:* Jovan je sanjao \*(\**da*) poći do kina.

*Jovan Aux-3sg. dreamed-l part.masc. \*(\*da) go-INF to cinema.*

Jovan dreamed to go to the movies.

*Polish:* Jan marzył \*(\**żeby*) pójść do kina.

Citko (FASL 2012)

*Jan dreamed Comp. go-INF to cinema*

(16) *Serbian*: Jovan je više voleo (\**da*) pevati.

*Jovan aux-3sg. more love l-part.masc. (\*da) sing-INF.*

Jovan preferred to sing.

*Polish*: Jan wolał (*żeby*) śpiewać.

Citko (FASL 2012)

*Jan preferred comp. sing-INF.*

Jan preferred (others) to sing.

Polish examples in (14) and (15) require obligatory control. The Serbian example in (14) also requires obligatory control; however, in Serbian the complement can either be an infinitive or *da+present*, but not *da+ infinitive*. As noted by Citko (2012:3) for Polish, “obligatory control with *żeby* is possible when the subject of the complements is not solely responsible for the situation.” In contrast to Polish, the Serbian example in (15) does not require obligatory control. Furthermore, in the case of (15), the only possible complementation in Serbian is *da+present*, and the infinitive with or without *da* is absolutely illicit after the verb *sanjati* (dream). As it can be observed from the data, Polish differs from Serbian not only with the respect to control but with the respect to the presence of complementizer. While in the Polish example in (14) *żeby* is illicit with the infinitival complement, it is required in (15) for the licit interpretation. Finally, the Serbian example in (16) is acceptable with an infinitive (as established by now without *da*), allowing for control. However, if instead of the infinitive, the finite *da+present* is used, the non-obligatory control interpretation is possible in Serbian. In Polish example in (16) *żeby* can, but does not have to, be present for the proposition to render a licit interpretation. Precisely, the presence or absence of *żeby* from the proposition, as the one in (16), determines whether the

proposition will receive control or non-control interpretation. Without the presence of *žeby*, (16) is interpreted as a control construction while with its presence (16) receives a non-control interpretation.

Similarly to Polish, Russian<sup>6</sup> has two different complementizers: *čtoby* and *čto* used in subjunctive and indicative clauses, respectively (Antonenko 2008). However, in all the Serbian corresponding examples, for propositions with subjunctive, as well as with indicative, embedded clauses, only *da* is used to introduce subjunctive and the indicative complements.

- (17) *Serbian*: \*Ivan želi **da** je Maša pročitala/čitala “Rat i Mir”.  
*Ivan wants da Aux-3sg. Maša read perf./imperf.-l-part.fem. War and Peace.*

*Russian*: Ivan xočet **čtoby** Maša pročitala/čitala “Vojnu i Mir”.  
*Ivan wants that-subj. Maša read-past perf./past imperf. “War and Peace”.*  
 Ivan wants for Maša to read *War and Peace*.

One difference between Russian and Serbian subjunctive clauses observed in (17) and (18) is that Russian subjunctive clauses require the verb in the embedded clause to be in the past tense while Serbian subjunctive clauses strictly select for the present tense only. Serbian subjunctive *da*-clauses with the verb in the past are illicit while, conversely, Russian subjunctive clauses with the verb in the present are illicit. Antonenko (2008:2) notes that “despite the fact that the verb in the embedded subjunctive clause is morphologically in the past form, the event denoted by embedded clause is not situated in the past, either with respect to the event in the matrix clause, or with respect to the speech act. On the contrary, the event described in the

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<sup>6</sup> All Russian examples in (17), (18), (19) and (20) are from Antonenko (2008).

embedded clause (*a reading of “War and Peace”* in [16]) is *irrealis* and might happen in the future with respect to the time of the event described in the matrix clause (*the volition act* in [16]).” As Antonenko (2008:20) further proposes, the fact that “the subjunctive form of the verb is identical to the past tense form in Russian is just an idiosyncrasy”. A similar interpretation could be adopted for the Serbian present tense in the embedded subjunctive clause: the event in the subjunctive clause in Serbian is not situated in the present and is described as *irrealis*. See further Chapters Four and Five of this manuscript for more detailed discussion on tense in subjunctive clauses in Serbian.

(18) *Serbian:* Ivan želi                    **da** Maša pročitā/čita                    “Rat i Mir”.

*Ivan wants-3sg. da Maša read PNP/ INP-3sg. War and Peace.*

*Ivan wants Maša to read War and Peace.*

*Russian:* \*Ivan xočet **čtoby**    Maša čitaet/ pročitaet/budet čitat’                    “Vojnu i Mir”.

*Ivan wants that-subj. Maša read-pres/ fut. perf./fut. imperf. “War and Peace”.*

More differences and similarities between Russian and Serbian embedded structures can be observed with indicative embedded clauses. While both Russian and Serbian indicative clauses allow the past tense form of the embedded verb of both, the imperfective and perfective aspect, as in (19), only Serbian allows the imperfective present, unlike Russian, which allows the perfective as well as imperfective present, as in (20). However, as noted in (20), in the translation provided by Antonenko (2008), the perfective present in Russian is interpreted as an event that *will* occur in the future not as an event that takes place *now*.



(19) *Serbian:* Ivan kaže **da** je Maša pročitala/čitala “Rat i Mir”.

*Ivan said-3sg. da Maša read-perf./l-part/imperf. l-part. fem. War and Peace.*

Ivan says that Maša has read/was reading *War and Peace*.

*Russian:* Ivan skazal **čto** Maša pročitala/čitala “Vojnu i Mir.”

*Ivan said that Maša read-past perf./past imperf. “War and Peace”.*

(20) *Serbian:* Ivan kaže **da** Maša \*pročita/čita “Rat i Mir”.

*Ivan said-3sg. da Maša read PNP/INP-3sg. War and Peace.*

Ivan says that Maša is reading *War and Peace*.

*Russian:* Ivan skazal **čto** Maša pročitaet/čitaet/budet čitat’ “Vojnu i Mir.”

*Ivan wants that Maša read-pres/fut.perf./fut.imperf. War and Peace.*

Ivan says that Maša is reading/will have been reading/will be reading *War and Peace*.

As already noted, a crucial difference between Russian and Serbian is that Russian is not a *pro* drop language (Antonenko 2008) and that it exhibits the obviation effect in the subjunctive complements just like Polish, in other words, the subject of the embedded clause cannot be co-referenced with the subject of the matrix clause. On the other hand, Serbian is a *pro* drop language and allows but does not mandate the subject coreference: in subjunctive complements in Serbian the embedded subject can but does not have to be co-referenced with the matrix subject.

### 1.3 Diachrony of Verbal Complementation

Although an analysis and discussion of *da* in this project does not focus specifically on the diachrony of *da*, an overview of diachrony is important and can shed further light on why *da* seems to be homophonous and ambiguous in Serbian. As noted by Joseph (2001) the present state of a contemporary language is the result of changes of which some could have occurred centuries ago, especially in languages of the Balkans.

Paying special attention to the use of *da*-complements in old Serbian and Old Church Slavonic, Grickat (1975) questions to what degree the literary Old Slavonic language has been Hellenized, and precisely how much of Old Slavonic syntax has been influenced by Greek. She further adds that, although it is difficult to understand the precise degree of influence which the Greek language exerted on Old Slavonic, it is evident that the syntax in the latter translations [of the Bible] in Slavic documents shows many similarities to the Greek syntax. She further adds that Slavic migrants arriving in the Balkans early in the first half of the first millennium came in contact with some of the Romance languages extant of the time and that this contact with those languages played an important role as well for the development of South Slavic syntax.

Grickat's hypothesis that syntax, specifically, the development of finite and non-finite complementation in Old Church Slavonic and Old Serbian, might well have been influenced by Greek or Romanian, is not invalid. As observed in 1.2.2, the use of nonfinite complementation (*da*-complements) resembles the current situation found in Romanian and Greek in some ways, much more than the current situation in Polish and Russian, which are genetically related languages to Serbian.

Grickat (1975) observes that the infinitive was not always replaced by *da*+present in the volitional and intentional contexts and that there are examples in contemporary Serbian with

*da*+present that were impossible with the infinitive in non-contemporary Serbian [Old Serbian]. She further adds that there must have been *da*-constructions in non-contemporary Serbian [Old Serbian] which did not occur merely as an alternative or replacement for the infinitive but had their own distinct distribution and interpretation.

In addition, Gołąb (1964) distinguishes two different *da(s)* in Serbo-Croatian and goes on to say that these two *da(s)* must be distinguished not only in Serbo-Croatian, but in Old Church Slavonic as well. Gołąb explains that the first *da*, the modal optative-subjunctive *da*, is an abbreviation of the Proto-Slavic 2 and 3 singular imperative *\*dadjь* (OChS *daždь*) of the verb *dati* (to give) that was used only in the 1 and 3 singular and plural forms and by analogy in the 2 singular and plural forms. For the second *da*, Gołąb (1964:29) explains that it is a continuation of an “adverbialized old instrumental singular of Indoeuropean demonstrative pronoun *\*do-//\*di-* and is found in the *da+conditional* in optative and purposive clauses of Old Church Slavonic.”

As noted by Yanovich (2012) in early Middle Polish, in a 9-page-long entry for *powinien* in *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, there are many examples in the dictionary, such as the one in (21), which can be interpreted as an expression of deontic weak or strong necessity. The question of weak or strong necessity is not a matter on which I would focus on here. Rather, the use of *dąć* (give) should be of particular concern here as it is used in a construction expressing modality in a similar context where the Serbian *da* is found.

(21) Z których czynszu płacić nie yest **dąć** powinien. Yanovich (FASL 2012 Workshop)

From which (I/you/he) is not obliged to provide rent.

The correlation of early Middle Polish *dąć* (give) and Serbian *da* (which according to Gołąb (1964) is an abbreviation of the Proto-Slavic 2 and 3 singular imperative *\*dadjь* of the verb

*dati* [give]) is the topic that remains to be researched. The example in (21) suggests that further research in historical comparative Slavic linguistics needs to be conducted in order to gain a deeper understanding of the contribution the verb *dati* (give) has to the interpretation of modality in Slavic.

While discussing the future tense in Balkan Slavic, Mišeska Tomić (2003) claims that the infinitive replacement by subjunctive constructions (*da*<sub>2</sub>-complements in her proposals) is recorded in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Slavic manuscripts. She further notes that, in terms of the future tense development in South Slavic where we find both, the infinitive and *da*-complementation, the loss of the infinitive and the use of finite complementation is a process that has undergone three different stages: in the first stage, both, the infinitive and *da*-complementations are possible, in the second stage, “a non-finite modal clitic is followed by a subjunctive constructions”, and in the third stage, “the non-finite modal clitic is followed by finite verbs.” Mišeska Tomić (2003) notes, that unlike Bulgarian and Macedonian, Serbian has not passed through all stages; moreover, since both the infinitive and *da*-complementations are possible in the Serbian future tense, then this tense is still undergoing the first stage of Mišeska-Tomić’s classification. Given that the Serbian future tense is still in the first developmental stage of complementation unlike Macedonian or Bulgarian, it must be that *da* still offers a grammatical contribution to Serbian, unlike *da* in Macedonian and Bulgarian, whose grammatical contribution has weakened. If *da* in Serbian makes a grammatical contribution, then it proceeds that *da* must have its own projection(s), since the projections in Serbian are associated with grammatical categories (Progovac 2005).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See Section 1.6 on discussion of functional projections in Serbian.

#### 1.4 Synchrony of Verbal Complementation

The complex diachrony of Serbian verbal categories, nonetheless, has left traces in the synchrony of the aspect, mood, and tense, independent and dependent, finite and non-finite constructions in Serbian. Two important verbal complements in contemporary Serbian are infinitives and *da*-complements. Belić, B. (2005) notes that both finite (*da*-complements) and non-finite (infinitives) complement forms are accepted among speakers of the standard Serbian language. However, he notes that in certain environments speakers prefer the infinitival complement to the finite, and vice versa. For examples, the speakers whom he interviewed in his research prefer a *da+present* complement when an argument of matrix and binder of the complement is specified, in this instance, for case, while the same speakers prefer an infinitive when an argument of the matrix clause is not specified for case. The question that often arises in the literature involves which complementation of the two is more common in Serbian, and whether the loss of the infinitive is a distinguishing feature of Serbian. The research of Belić, B. (2005) indicates that infinitival complementation is not as unusual in Serbian as is often suggested in the literature, since the speakers whom he interviewed use indistinguishably finite as well as non-finite complementation.

On the other hand, Joseph (1983) mentions that it is important to determine what the infinitive is and what distinguishes finite from non-finite verbal forms before one can even decide to talk about the loss of the infinitive, as in this case. He goes on to say that it is not enough to simply take a person/number marking as a determiner of finiteness/non-finiteness. One of the examples in support of his claim is the Greek plural imperative marker *-te*, which is identical to the second person plural indicative ending: plural imperative *dos-te* (give) vs. 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural indicative aorist *dos-a-te* (gave). Joseph (1983) adds that the marker *-te* in Greek

should not be taken as a marker for second person, but instead as a marker of plural number. In Serbian as well *-te* is the marker of the second person plural imperative form, in addition to the second person plural (indicative) forms (present, aorist, imperfect tenses). Therefore, adopting Joseph's (1983) approach to finite/non-finite markedness, *-te* in Serbian could be understood not as a second person marker, but instead as a marker of plurality.

To define finiteness properly, Joseph (1983:16) explains that "one must find language-particular grammatical generalizations, e.g. of a phonological or syntactic nature, that correlate with some morphological distinction such as markings for tense, and use these as tests for finiteness/non-finiteness." Joseph's observations seem to pose important questions: What is non-finite about the infinitive or what is finite, for example, about the present tense, given that both are readily used as complements in Serbian? If there is no morphology marking the infinitive, mood (imperative), or even tense, then how are these to be interpreted? In order not to digress from the topic under discussion here (the finite/non-finite complementation), I provide the answers to these questions later in Chapters Four and Chapter Five of this manuscript.

In short, to be able to speak of finite (*da*-complementation) and non-finite (infinitival complementation) in Serbian, one needs to determine how to interpret finite or non-finite elements that have no specific morphology in Joseph's sense.

## 1.5 The Question(s) of Investigation

When speaking of *da* in Serbian, some clarification needs to be made about different *da(s)*. In Serbian, there is the affirmative *da*, a third person singular form *da* of verb *dati* (give), the subordinator/complementizer *da*, and a particle *da*<sup>8</sup>. The last two, complementizer and

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<sup>8</sup> In a traditional sense: *da* as a subordinator or particle. At this moment, I will refrain from adopting any specific terminology or classification of *da* in complement structures until later in this project.

particle are very productive in root as well as embedded sentential contexts. A further discussion pertains only to *da(s)* classified either as a complementizer or a particle and used in complements.

Many scholars have agreed that *da* cannot be always interpreted the same in all the root and/or embedded contexts. However, although many scholars point out that *da* is homophonous and that there are at least two *da(s)*, many of them claim that these semantically different *da(s)* are both complementizers (Browne 1986, Vrzić 1996, Progovac 2005, Mišeska-Tomić 2003). From the empirical data provided in this manuscript in Chapter Four and the analysis provided in Chapter Five, it is observed that *da* poses many syntactic anomalies if simply taken to be a complementizer. When there are too many anomalies, an element demonstrates, then the need to redefine that element arises.

During my initial investigations and research, while pondering over the questions whether *da* is indeed a complementizer (traditionally subordinator) or just a particle, I found overwhelming data with *da* occurrences in independent as well as dependent contexts. I have realized that investigation of all such occurrences of *da* in Serbian would be a very complicated issue, and that I would be stepping into a quagmire of data without a clear-cut path. Restricting the investigation of *da* to dependent contexts would still prove a very demanding enterprise that could lead to erroneous or misguided conclusions; therefore, I found it necessary to restrict even more the dependent contexts in which to investigate *da*. As a result, in order to formulate a proposal that would yield results that could be corroborated, I am limiting the investigation of *da*-complements to control contexts, the contexts in which the matrix subject is coreferential with the embedded subject.

Before proceeding with a further analysis of *da*-complements, crucial step is to clarify how I would account for the explanation of the traditional *da+present*. Usually, when *da*-constructions are mentioned in Serbian, that name implies a very popular, and often discussed phenomenon that is traditionally known as *da+present*. Conventional grammars and descriptive approaches often treat *da+present* as an infinitival equivalent; however, my analysis of *da*-complements shows that treating *da+present* as an infinitival equivalent fails to adequately explain this construction. Therefore, in addition to restricting my research to specific contexts (subjunctive and indicative control complements), another crucial step at this stage is to dissolve and reinterpret the traditionally well-known *da+present*. First, we cannot understand *da+present* (dependent construction) as an autonomous syntactic unit and treat it as such while ignoring the context in which it appears, and more importantly, we cannot simply generalize the notion that is found in many traditional grammars of Serbian that *da+present* merely alternates with the infinitive, since this generalization does not apply in every context.

Second, by dissolving *da+present*, I imply that it is necessary to arrive at a correct understanding of the function of *da* in this unit and, more importantly, to draw a sharp distinction between the use of this construction in the imperfective and perfective present tense. The notion of aspect is obviously ignored in *da+present*. To ignore aspect by grouping together perfective and imperfective in any Slavic languages would be to commit an unacceptable error. Adopting Giannakidou (2009) terminology, in my analysis, I dissolve *da+present* into: *da+imperfective nonpast* (*da+INP*) and *da+perfective nonpast* (*da+PNP*).<sup>9</sup> As I present in the subsequent

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<sup>9</sup> In citations of different sources and early scholarly works, I will retain the name which scholars use in their observations. In other words, if a scholar uses the term *da+present* in his publication, I will retain his choice of terminology (that is *da+present*) when referring to that particular publication in order to be consistent with the language and of the publication. However, in my analysis, as already stated, the reference will be made only to *da+INP* and *da+PNP*.



chapters of this dissertation, the notion of aspect in *da*-complements plays an important role in the interpretation of mood, as well as in the distinction between indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements in Serbian.

Although I would leave aside dialectology in this project, nevertheless, it is important to mention that certain Serbian dialects exhibit a highly productive use of *da*-complementation. Torlak (*Prizrensko-Timočki*) dialect exhibits the loss of morphological case markers that have been replaced by a productive use of prepositions. This dialect also exhibits the loss of the infinitive on the account of the productive use of *da*-complements.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, in addition to dependent context, particle *da* is used in various independent contexts in this dialect of which most have either modal or future orientation. Therefore, it will be more accurate to say that, at least in this dialect, the use of *da* is not simplified. On the contrary, *da* in Torlak is not losing any properties but developing new as it is found in many new contexts, even in those that standard Serbian does not allow.

The loss and simplification of more than one morphological category (such as the loss of case markings in Torlak, for example) suggests that a particular dialect may be undergoing a process of morphological simplification. Overall morphological simplification is basically a progressive, and not a regressive, change.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, many progressive changes often become productive and, as such, should be more clearly defined at some point. However, the simplification in one linguistic category can trigger new developments in other categories, and in the case of the Torlak dialect simplification of morphology creates more complex syntactic structures. Although Torlak is not part of the standard system of Serbian dialects, it manifests the same current situation in the development of Serbian syntax, at least in relation to *da*-

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<sup>10</sup> Prizrensko-timočki dialects or better known in English literature as Torlak dialects.

<sup>11</sup> Inspired by the lectures of Nedeljko Bogdanović, University of Niš, 1996.

complementation. Finally, if the spread of *da* is seen as an innovation in Serbian syntax, it can be difficult to define it, since any new feature that is just entering the syntactical system (or any other linguistic category) in one language has yet to be clearly established. Homophonous *da* and its versatility suggest its development in Serbian is still an ongoing process.

## 1.6 The Analysis and Dissertation Preview

In this manuscript, I investigate semantic and syntactic properties of *da*-complements that serve as complements to subjunctive and indicative verbs. My semantic proposal for *da* is derived from Giannakidou's (1998, 2009) theory of (non)veridicality, while proposals for the syntactic projections of *da* are considered within the clausal structure proposed for Serbian by Progovac (2005). In the further analysis, I first focus on the *da*-constructions that serve as complements to indicative as well as subjunctive verbs by adopting Giannakidou's (1998, 2009) semantic classification of verbs.

### A. Indicative Verbs:

Assertive: *reći* (say), *tvrditi* (claim)

Fiction verbs: *sanjati* (dream), *zamišljati* (imagine)

Epistemic: *verovati* (believe), *misliti* (think)

Factives: *znati* (know), *biti drago* (be glad), *žaliti* (regret)

Semifactives: *otkriti* (discover), *setiti* (remember)

### B. Subjunctive Verbs:

*Group I*

Volitionals: *želeći* (desire), *hteti* (want), *nadati se* (hope), *planirati* (plan)

Directives: *narediti* (to order), *savetovati* (advise), *predložiti* (suggest)

Modals: *morati* (must), *moгуće je da* (it is possible that)

Permissives: *dozvoliti* (allow)

Negative: *izbegavati* (avoid), *odbiti* (refuse), *zabraniti* (forbid)

Verbs of fear: *plašiti se* (to be afraid)

## Group II

Aspectual: *početi* (start), *nastaviti* (continue)

Perception: *videti* (see), *čuti* (hear)

Commissive: *prisiliti* (force), *obećati* (promise)

Implicative verbs: *uspeti* (manage)

Giannakidou (1998, 2009) classifies assertive, fiction, epistemic, fictive, and semifictive verbs as veridical verbs that select the indicative complementizers *oti* and *pu* in Greek, while volitional, directive, modal, permissive, negative and verbs of fear are nonveridical verbs select *na* complements in Greek. I claim that the notion of veridicality plays an important role in properly defining *da* in Serbian as well. I further claim that indicative and veridical verbs select for the indicative *da*, while subjunctive and nonveridical verbs select for the subjunctive *da*.

Analyzing *da*-complements of indicative- and subjunctive-selecting verbs, I propose that *da* is an operator that does and does not entail the truth of the proposition which it embeds. Since one single *da* can and cannot entail the truth simultaneously, it is obvious to postulate that there are at least two different *da(s)*. Furthermore, since these two *da(s)* can and cannot entail the

truth, then they both should be associated with polarity. Although I do accept the notion that there are two *da(s)*, I reject the simple division of these two *da(s)* into the indicative complementizer *da* and the subjunctive complementizer *da*, which respectively embed under the indicative and subjunctive verbs.

Adopting Progovac's (2005) clausal structure that eliminates CP projection not associated with the grammatical categories of Aspect, Tense, Agreement and Polarity, I propose that *da*, which is involved with polarity (a grammatical concept) and associated with modality, does not have to be analyzed as a complementizer. Giannakidou (2009:10) proposes that "it is not necessary that modal head be a complementizer" based on the analogy with modal verbs that also have poor inflectional system but are not rated as C elements. Instead, I propose that *da* in indicative and subjunctive complements is associated with the truth of the clause. More specifically, I propose that *da* which introduces indicative complements is marked for a [+veridical] feature while *da* which introduces subjunctive complements is marked for [-veridical] feature. I further claim that [+veridical] and [-veridical] features can only be checked in PolPs.

As proposed by Progovac (2005) there are at least two PolP projections (object and subject layers) associated with polarity items in Serbian: the higher Pol<sub>S</sub>P and the lower Pol<sub>O</sub>P. In accordance with Progovac's claim, I propose that *da* [+veridical] checks its [+veridical] feature in Pol<sub>S</sub>P while *da* [-veridical] check its [-veridical] feature in Pol<sub>O</sub>P. In addition, I propose that the lower Pol<sub>O</sub>P has a deficient tense. Selection of *da* [-veridical] repairs the tense deficiency (Bulatović 2008) and allows for the mood interpretation of either INP or PNP,<sup>12</sup> which are deficient tenses (DefT<sub>M</sub>P) in the subjunctive *da*-complements. PNP is always

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<sup>12</sup>What I currently cannot resolve is what feature verbs check in DefT<sub>M</sub>P. This is where the aspect and tense interpretations depart from syntax and where semantics interferes.

projected in DefT<sub>M</sub>P while INP is projected in DefT<sub>M</sub>P only when anchored by *da* [-veridical]; therefore, PNP is always a deficient tense while INP, whose tense interpretation is dependent on anchoring elements, is not. On the contrary, the higher Pol<sub>S</sub>P domain does not lack T<sub>S</sub>P which is responsible for checking past and future tense features associate with auxiliary clitics and the nonpast feature of non-deficient INP.<sup>13</sup> Diagram 1 represent the clausal structure I propose for *da*-complements.

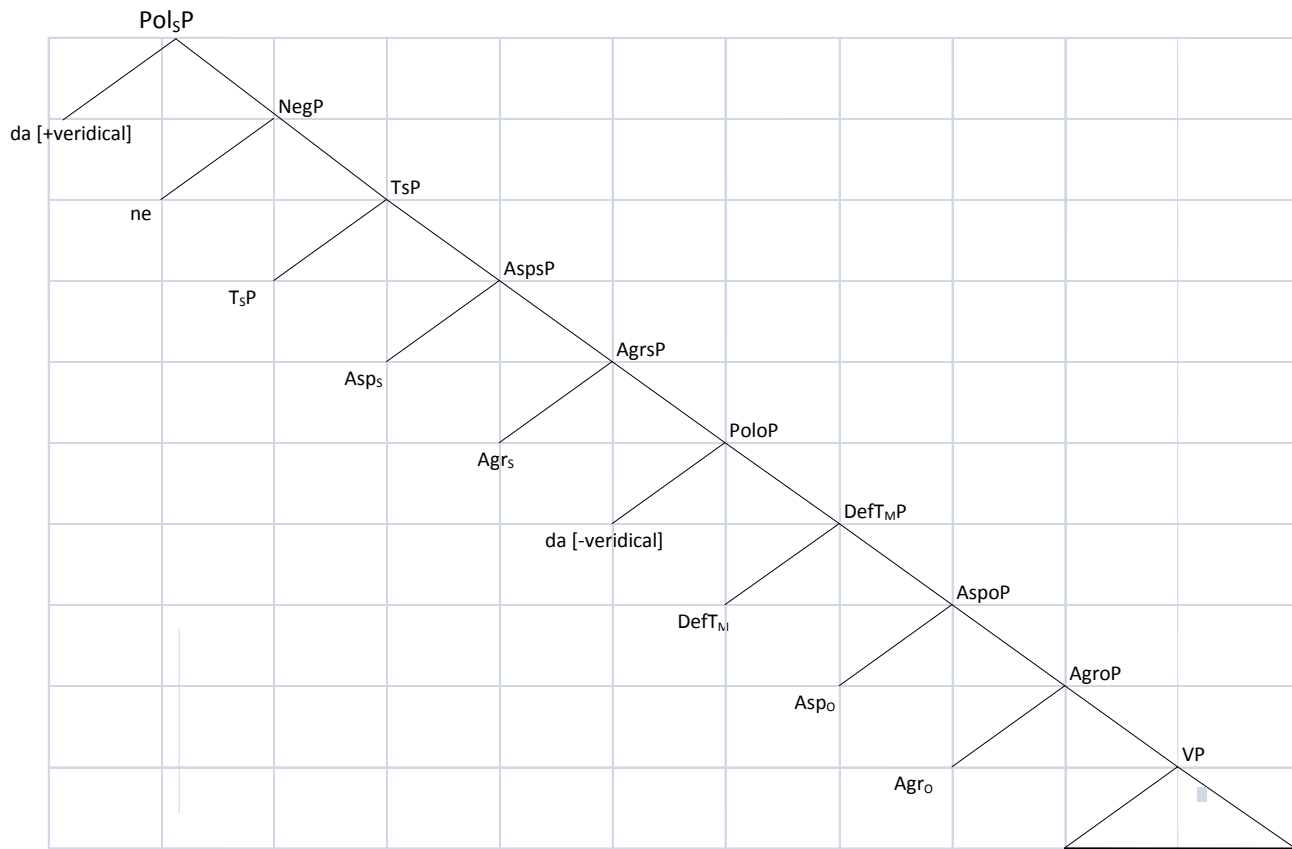


Diagram 1. Functional projections of *da* [+veridical] and *da* [-veridical]

<sup>13</sup> INP can be anchored by *da* [+veridical] and *da* [+nonveridical]. See Bulatović (2008) for INP anchoring.

I propose that *da* [+veridical] can select for any tense (excluding deficient PNP), it requires clitics to follow it, it allows negation to separate it from the complement verb, and it creates a licensing domain for NI-NPIs and anti-licensing domain for I-NPIs. On the other hand, *da* [-veridical] restricts the selection of its complement to just PNP and INP (DefT<sub>M</sub>) excluding any other tense, it allows clitics to precede it, it does not allow negation to separate it from the verb, and it creates a licensing domain for the nonveridical items such as I-NPIs. I further propose that negation is generated in NegP which is projected higher than Pol<sub>O</sub>P, the auxiliary clitics in Agr<sub>S</sub>P, the pronominal clitics in Agr<sub>O</sub>P, and that NPIs are generated in the object position of the VP.

Derived from Progovac's (2005) discussion of NPIs, in which she proposes that I-NPIs are marked for [-neg -pos]<sup>14</sup> features while NI-NPIs are marked for [+neg] feature, I suggest that NI-NPIs raise to the Spec position of NegP to check their [+neg] feature while I-NPIs check their [-neg] feature in the Spec position of Pol<sub>S</sub>P. Unlike NI-NPIs, which are licensed by clausemate negation, I-NPIs are anti-licensed by clausemate negation (Progovac 2005, Giannakidou 1998). I further claim that, NI-NPIs are inserted in the syntax earlier than I-NPIs. Since NI-NPIs come from the lexicon with the [+neg] feature (Brown 1999), they trigger negation projection in NegP, against which they have to check their [+neg] feature. On the other hand, I-NPIs which I suggest come from the lexicon with and [-neg] feature are inserted later in the syntax, after negation is generated. Similarly as insertion of NI-NPIs in the syntax triggers negation projection, I claim that the insertion of I-NPIs triggers the null-complementizer (null-Pol<sub>S</sub> head) projection when Pol<sub>S</sub>P is not filled by an overt Pol<sub>S</sub> head.

I hypothesize that the notion of different *da* projections, one associated with the subject layer, and the other with the object layer, allows for a more uniform explanation of negation

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<sup>14</sup> For the purpose of the analysis provided in this manuscript I wconsider I-NPIs as specified only for [-neg] feature.

interpretation, clitic placement, tense restrictions, and licensing of NPIs. One of the most important claims in this analysis is that the subjunctive mood in Serbian is associated with the object layer while the indicative mood is associated with the subject layer. In subjunctive complements, *da* [-veridical] restricts interpretation of the aspect to that of mood by repairing DefT<sub>M</sub> –deficient tense. On the other hand, in indicative complements *da* [+veridical] strictly selects only for the veridical tenses, excluding the PNP.

Finally, I claim that the notion of (non)veridical interpretation (indicative vs. subjunctive) of *da* is co-dependent on the matrix verb and on the selection of the embedded complement. A perfect examples to support this hypothesis derives from the data with epistemic and factive verbs which can select for either the *da* [+veridical] or *da* [-veridical]. The interpretation of sentences consisting of a matrix verb and *da*-complement depends on the semantic properties of the matrix verb, *da* selection, and the aspect/tense of the embedded verb. Therefore, epistemic and factive (although indicative selecting verbs) will give rise to indicative or subjunctive interpretations, depending on the selection of *da*. As noted by Quer (2010: 168) “the verb meaning is not the only factor determining the choice of mood.” As he further adds, “[verb’s] interaction with other elements like operators, aspect, or presupposition can be decisive in determining the mood in the embedded clause.” It is exactly this observation that provides an answer for Serbian: the selection of *da*, as well as aspect and/or tense restrictions of the embedded verb, allows for either a subjunctive or indicative interpretation of the complement.

My proposal that there is more than one *da* resolves many peculiarities and could extend to many other independent<sup>15</sup> and dependent environments in which *da* occurs such as interrogatives, optatives, secondary imperatives, clauses of purpose, and resulative clauses. The

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<sup>15</sup> In the independent environments such as secondary imperatives, optatives, hortatives *da* seems to be different than *da* in the subjunctive and indicative complements. It appears higher in the structure, much higher than the subjunctive or the indicative *da*. See Chapter Three for the data.

notion of (non)veridical *da(s)* would better account for the versatile distribution of *da*, as I will latter show in Chapter Four and Five of this dissertation, and would better account for the lexical contribution of the matrix verbs to the indicative and subjunctive interpretations of their complements.

The dissertation is organized as follows: In Chapter Two, I provide an overview of the literature. I first introduce and explain some of the previous approaches to the analysis of *da*-complementation, and then I introduce the theoretical framework in which I develop my analysis. In Chapter Three, I introduce basic categories associated with verbs: aspect, mood and tense. In addition, Chapter Three provides an overview of the independent and dependent contexts in which *da* is commonly used. In Chapter Four, I study the semantic restrictions for *da*-complements and semantic properties of indicative and subjunctive selecting verbs. To capture the best the properties of *da* used in the embedded complements, in Chapter Four I examine *da* in relation to aspect, tense, negation, clitics, and licensing of negative polarity items (NPIs). In Chapter Five, I provide a syntactic proposal for *da* [+veridical], as well as for *da* [-veridical], derived from the clausal model proposed by Progovac (2005). Chapter Six reviews my findings and suggests the future implications of my research.



## 2. OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In section 2.1 I present an overview of the literature that discusses the issue of *da*-complementation in Serbian. In Section 2.2, I describe the syntactic and semantic approaches to the analysis of Greek particles/complementizers from which my analysis of *da* in Serbian stems. In addition, I also review the benefits of Progovac's (2005) syntactic clausal structure proposed for Serbian, which I have adopted for the syntactic analysis of *da*-complements, discussed in Chapter Five.

### 2.1 Different Approaches to the Analysis of *da*-complementations in Serbian

Scholars have analyzed *da* differently in complement constructions. Some have argued that *da* is strictly modal (in Croatian Grivičić 2004), while others (Gołąb 1964, Ivić 1970, 1972, 1973, Bibović 1971, Browne 1986, Progovac 1993, Vrzić 1996, Mišeska-Tomić 2003, Radišić 2006) supported the idea that there are two different *da(s)*. Some claim that, although there are two different *da(s)*, they both should be considered as complementizers (Browne 1986, Progovac 1993, Vrzić 1996); yet, others claim that one *da* is a subordinator/complementizer while the second *da* is a particle (Gołąb 1964, Jakab 1999).

Of all the approaches to the analysis of *da*, the one that perhaps provides the most exhaustive overview is found in Gołąb (1964). Starting with *da+present*, Gołąb (1964:6) mentions that not all *da+present* constructions in Serbo-Croatian should be treated “as dependent (subordinate) clauses comprising the conjunction *da* and indicative”. He points out that there are two different *da-clauses* in Serbo-Croatian: one subordinate clause “comprising conjunction *da* and indicative” and the other “representing periphrastic verbal mood formed by the modal particle *da + present tense*” which he defines as “optative-subjunctive.” Gołąb (1964:7) goes on

to say that, in order to properly classify *da*-clauses, “the only sure linguistic principle is the syntactic-formal relationship [of *da*-clauses] with the predicate of the principal (governing) clause.” In order to do so, he mentions that it is important to distinguish first between two different categories of the governing predicate:

- a) the predicate of the governing clause is a transitive verb that requires a nominal object in a determined oblique case (accusative or genitive)
- b) the predicate of the governing clause is an intransitive verb without the possibility of governing a direct object

In the case of a), Gołąb (1964:7) emphasizes that the relationship between the transitive governing predicate and *da*-clause should be treated as objective, while in the second case, the relationship between the intransitive governing predicate and *da*-clause is “loose and in principle a semantic one,” so these clauses should be treated as “circumstantial clauses”. In the case of b), Gołąb (1964:7) goes on to say that clauses of purpose play a crucial role since the attachment of *da*-clauses to the governing clause is accomplished on a semantic basis because “they do not depend on any special kind of verbs appearing in the principle (governing) clause” as in the example provided in (1).

- (1)    Zahtevao                      sam    od    njih *da*<sub>1</sub> mi    dadu                      hiljadu    dinara  
          *requested l-part.masc. aux-1sg from them [da me give PNP-3pl. thousand dinars*  
          *da*<sub>2</sub> mogu // *da*    bih            mogao//                      putovati u Italiju.  
          *da can-1sg.// da aux-1sg. can l-part.masc-3sg. travel    in Italy.*

I requested from them to give me a thousand dollars so that I can travel to Italy.

Gołąb (1964:8) goes on to suggest that (1) consists of two different *da* clauses. The first *da*<sub>1</sub> clause that “grammatically depends” on the verb *zahtevao sam* is a subordinate objective clause, so *da* in this instance is a subordinating conjunction. On the other hand, in *da*<sub>2</sub> clause, Gołąb states that *da* should be treated as a modal adverbial particle since it does not grammatically depend on *zahtevao sam* but is semantically attached to the verb-predicate *da mi dadu* of the preceding objective-optative clause “by the means of sentence intonation”<sup>16</sup>, expressing “the purpose of the preceding postulated action.”

In addition to transitive/intransitive dependencies, Gołąb (1964) discusses the contribution of aspect in *da*-complements. Gołąb (1964:9) mentions that after the verbs *sentiendi*, *dicendi*, and *declarandi da+imperfective present* should be interpreted as “denoting a real simultaneous action” and that in these constructions *da* should be interpreted as “subordinating declarative conjunctions”. However, he also notes that there are possible identical subordinate clauses with *da+present indicative* (both perfective and imperfective) after the verbs *dicendi*, and that, in these instances (*da+present* after verbs *dicendi*), *da* should be interpreted as a modal particle, as shown in the following examples (2) and (3).

- (2) Nisam li ti lepo govorio, kad si pošo sanak boraviti **da** ne daješ umlje za bezumlje, **da**  
*didn't I nicely tell you when you went to sleep to not give wisdom for stupidity to*  
 ne streljas zmiju šestokrilu već **da** streljas sivog sokola.  
*not shoot the six-wing snake but to shoot the gray falcon*<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Gołąb adds that “*da* can [also] function as an independent optative particle,” but that an optative *da* and a dependent (subjunctive) *da* need to be differentiated as they are distinguished by the means of intonation which he suggests needs further inquiry. The observation and comparison of the optative *da* to the dependent subjunctive *da* is very important. This comparison highlights their modal characteristics.

<sup>17</sup> My translations of these examples are different from those provided by Gołąb. Gołąb’s translations are:  
 a) *Didn't I tell you.....that you should not give wisdom for stupidity, that you should not shoot the six wing snake, but that you should shoot the bright falcon?* I omitted the use of *should* from translation since *should* (Serbian: *treba*) is not used in the Serbian example.  
 b) *Then the king told me...that I should not invite the Serbians as wedding guests.*

- (3)<sup>18</sup> Onda mene kralju besjedio, kada stanem kupiti svatove, **da** ne zovem Srba u svatove  
*The king told me, when I start gathering wedding guests to not invite Serbs as the wedding guests*

Gołąb goes on to say that, since *da+imperfective* present constructions can have ambiguous interpretations between the indicative or subjunctive, in order to avoid this ambiguity and in order to restrict the interpretation of the sentence to the modal one, as in (4b), it is almost mandatory to use *da+potential/conditional* instead of *da+present*.

- (4) a. Ja sam mu govorio nekoliko puta **da** njegova deca igraju u našoj bašti.  
*I aux-1sg. him told l-part. several times da his children play INP-3sg in our garden.*

i. I told him several times that his children play in our garden

ii. I told him several times that his children should play in our garden

b. Ja sam mu govorio nekoliko puta **da** bi njegova deca igrala u našoj bašti.

I told him several times that his children would play in our garden.

As noted by Gołąb (1964:9) the sentence in (4a) has an ambiguous interpretation between the “present indicative, denoting a real process” as in (i), in which *da* should be interpreted as a declarative conjunction, and a “desired process, that is subordinate optative clause” as in (ii), in which *da* should be interpreted as a subjunctive particle. This observation provided by Gołąb is

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<sup>18</sup> The examples Gołąb provides seem to be instances in which *da* co-occurs with negation in the embedded clause after the verbs *govoriti* (tell/say/speak) and *besjediti* (say/speak). It could be that it is not the governing matrix predicate that plays a role in the selection of *da* in these contexts but negation. A similar phenomenon can be observed with negated imperative in Chapter Three where *da* is obligatory and it precedes negation.

significant since it reflects the ambiguous nature of the imperfective aspect, which is further restricted by the selection of *da*, a subordinator, as in (i), or particle, as in (ii). Finally, Gołąb (1964) notes that the example in (4a) is usually constructed with *da+potential-conditional*, according to the North Slavic pattern as demonstrated in (4b). This tells us that South Slavic, Serbo-Croatian in this case, has digressed from North Slavic pattern by simplifying *da+potential/conditional* to only *da+present* which in return allows for an ambiguous interpretation that seems to be resolved only if *da* is considered homophonous. That Serbo-Croatian is not the only South Slavic language that digressed from the North Slavic patterns is supported by an observation for yet another South Slavic language, Old Church Slavonic. Gołąb (1964:27) mentions that *da* in Old Church Slavonic is a “modal particle that conveys the function of a subjunctive mood when preceding the personal form of a verb in present indicative: it means that the addition of the modal (proclitic) particle *da* transforms the present indicative of a given verb into its subjunctive”, similarly to what it occurs in his observation of Serbo-Croatian examples. Akin to Old Church Slavonic, Gołąb (1964:10) states that in instances of Serbo-Croatian *da+ perfective present* after *verbum dicendi* and *sentiendi*, *da* should be interpreted as “a subjunctive particle which transforms the perfective present indicative into analytical subjunctive and the whole subordinate clause expresses the wish of the subject of the governing *verbum dicendi* (principal clause)” as in (5). In contrast to (4) where *da* selects for the imperfective aspect, no ambiguous readings are possible with the perfective aspect as in (5). In conclusion, one of the crucial observations Gołąb makes about (4) and (5) turns on the critical role played by aspect selection, which further gives rise to different interpretation after *verbum dicendi* and *sentiendi*.

(5) Meni moja stara majka govori **da** uranim svako jutro na vodu

*me-dat my old mother tells da get up early every morning for water*

My old mother tells me that I should get up early every morning to fetch water.

Gołąb (1964:10) claims that *da* in the analytical subjunctive of the type *da + present indicative* (expressing wish or purpose) and *da* in potentials/conditionals, “both situated in the same syntactic position of a subordinate optative or purposive clause” (and often alterable after volitionals), are semantically different. He claims that *da* in the analytical subjunctive of the subordinate optative and purposive clauses (*da+present indicative* expressing wish or purpose) is a particle, while in *da+potential-conditional* of the subordinate optative and purposive clause *da* is a subordinating declarative conjunction. For Gołąb, *da* used in the analytical subjunctive is different in terms of the degree of potentiality from the *da* used in *da + potential/conditional*, the latter expressing a lower degree of potentiality. Furthermore, he interprets *da* as a declarative conjunction in *da+ imperfective present* only after verbs *dicendi*, *sentiendi*, *declarandi* excluding verbs *voluntatis*, *curandi*, *timendi*. In addition, after *verba dicendi*, the construction *da + perfective present* is interpreted as a modal subjunctive. Gołąb (1964:12) also notes that *da+imperfective present* can be ambiguous in its interpretation, but “if it is put in a determined syntactic environment (context), the ambiguity disappears”. After *verba voluntatis*, *curandi et timendi* he notes that *da + imperfective* can only have a subjunctive meaning as well as in the clauses of purpose and after the modal verbs *htjeti* (to want), *moći* (can), *morati* (must), *trebati*, (need) where *da+imperfective present* can be replaced by an infinitive.

Among the many observations made by Gołąb (1964), an important one is that to define *da* properly, it is not only necessary to pay attention to the relationship between the governing

predicate and the *da*-complement, but it is also important to pay attention to the aspect selection in the *da*-complement. Gołąb's syntactic observations for *da* range from transitive and intransitive environments, clauses of purpose, optative, analytical subjunctive and potential conditional, to the semantic observation of the lexical properties of the matrix verbs and aspectual restrictions of the embedded verbs. While Gołąb's syntactic-semantic observations are crucial and show that syntax cannot exclude semantics in cases of *da*, a more restricted approach needs to be followed in order to properly account for the distribution of *da*, in other words, syntactic as well as semantic categories in which *da* appears need to require greater restriction. In my analysis, in Chapters Four and Five, I only focus on the control environments of the indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements. This restricted approach allows for a more specific and accurate analysis of *da*.

Somewhat similar to Gołąb (1964), Ivić (1970) claims that there are the two different *da* + *present* constructions. She focuses strictly on the *da* + *present* used in complement clauses and claims that there are two different presents: one she calls mobile (Serbian: *mobilan prezent*) and the other non-mobile (Serbian: *nemobilan prezent*). Ivić (1970) classifies the mobile present as the present that can be replaced by some other tense, such as future or past, and the non-mobile as the present that cannot be replaced by any other tense. On the other hand, she adds that the non-mobile *da*+*present* complements could be often replaced by an infinitive and potential. Furthermore, she also emphasizes that the behavior of the complement strictly depends on the semantics of the matrix verb that precedes the complement such that the matrix verb plays a key role in the tense selection of the complement clause. She looks at different groups of the matrix verbs and their relationships to the *da*-complement structures and analyzes the environments in which *da*+*present* constructions are used. She mainly focuses on the non-mobile present and

claims that non-mobility is the result of “the operation of a sentence adverbial, labeled by the symbol Exp, which occurs on the level of deep structure.” Ivić (1970) claims that the non-mobile present is most effective when used as a complement to a verb that functions as a predicate of some other sentence. In this case, she adds, the syntactic characteristic of (non) mobility is restricted by the semantics of the verb that the *da*-clause complements. The non-mobile present tense, she claims:

- a. is introduced by phase verbs, such as *početi-počinjati* (begin), *prestati-prestajati* (cease) *nastaviti-nastavljati* (continue) *produžiti-produživati* (elongate), but not *postaje-nastaje* (become) that cannot take a verbal complement
- b. is used in desiderative sentences as one of possible choices besides potential (in simple sentences) and infinitival complementation (in complex sentences)
- c. is used in the creation of imperative structures where the present cannot be replaced by an infinitive
- d. serves as a complement to directives (but only those that have a modal meaning, such as *narediti* (order) *zahtevati* (insist), *moliti* (beg), *savetovati* (advise), *nagovarati* (persuade)
- e. complements modal verbs, which include desideratives and volitionals
- f. complements the verbs expressing positive emotional feelings such as *voleti* (love)

Ivić (1970) observes an important characteristic of *da+present* complements.

Specifically, she realizes that there are *two* different *da+present* complements and that they do not exhibit the same restrictions. However, unlike Gołąb, she does not devote much attention to



the aspect of the *da+present* complement, which cannot be ignored if the function of tense is to be understood properly in the *da+present* complement. Although she does not provide a clear analysis of the mobile and non-mobile *da+present* complements, she suggests the importance of differentiating between the two as they occur in different contexts. More importantly, she recognizes the environments in which the non-mobile *da+present* is used and indicates the importance of the restrictions which the matrix verbs impose on the selection of the (non)mobile present. The importance of her study further suggests a need to differentiate between the two *da*-complements.

Questioning the clausal structure, Ivić (1973) raises another very important question as to whether *da*-complements of the volitional verbs should be analyzed as subordinate clauses or if they form a monolithic syntactic entity with the matrix, volitional verb. She claims that Serbo-Croatian syntactic evidence suggests the monolithic syntactic entity of the *da*-construction and the volitional matrix verb. The evidence she refers to is extraction and clitic movement. In terms of extractions, she pays special attention to the extraction of subject and objects from subordinate *da*-clauses. She adds that the extraction of subject and object out of the volitional *da*-complement would be impossible if the complex sentence formed of the volitional matrix verb and *da*-complement were not treated as a monolithic syntactic unit. In addition, she suggests that the complex sentence domain is extended because *da* does not create a boundary for the clitic movement either. Although Ivić (1973) notes a very important characteristic of the volitional *da*-complements, she does not provide an analysis which accounts for the proposal she makes.

Browne (1986:48) too claims that there are two different *da* complementizers, *da*<sub>1</sub>, which “usually marks nonfactive clauses, more rarely factive” and *da*<sub>2</sub>, which “never appears in factive.” He distinguishes *da*<sub>1</sub> from *da*<sub>2</sub> based on tests of aspect and tense. He notes that in *da*<sub>1</sub>

complements, which occur after verbs of communication and thought, in other words, clauses “conveying a statement”, all verb tenses of imperfective and perfective verbs are permitted, with the exception of *perfective present*, which is not permitted. On the other hand, he adds that in  $da_2$  complements, which occur after verbs of wishing, possibility, impossibility, necessity, prohibition, permission, phasal verbs and expressions of communication verbs to render an imperative in indirect speech, only the present tense is permitted of both imperfective and perfective verbs. He further adds that since the imperfective present could be used with both  $da_1$  and  $da_2$  ambiguity may arise between  $da_1$  and  $da_2$  as to which complementizer is used, as demonstrated in (6). The example in (6) respectively has two different interpretations as in (i) and (ii).

(6) a. On kaže **da** šutiš.

*he tells da quiet INP-2g*

i. He tells you to be quiet.

ii. He says that you are quiet.

Browne (1986) claims that all  $da_2$  subordinate clauses after volitionals have future interpretation since the action expressed in  $da_2$  clauses has not yet occurred at the time of utterance. In addition, he adds that  $da_2$  clauses can be replaced with the infinitive in cases where the subjects of the matrix and embedded clauses are identical, and that often there is no difference in interpretation between the two. However, he adds that the semantic difference between an infinitival or *da*-complementation is more obvious after modal verbs, as in (7) and with the negated future, as in (8).

- (7) a. On (ne)može íči.

*he (not)can go*

He is (not) permitted to go.

- a. On (ne) može **da** ide.

*he (not) can da go INP-3sg*

He has (not) the ability to go.

- (8) a. Neću íči.

*not want-1sg go*

I will not go.

- b. Neću **da** idem.

*not want-1sg da go INP-1sg*

i. I do not want to go.

ii. I will not go.

Browne (1986:57) explains that the difference between (a) and (b) in (7) is that “with an infinitive complement the modal verb qualifies the action as a whole” while with *da*<sub>2</sub>, two possibilities arise: the modal verb can qualify the whole action or refer to the subject of the action. On the other hand, the difference between (a) and (b) in (8) is that with an infinitive

sentence (a) expresses negated futurity while with a *da*<sub>2</sub> complement, sentence (b) expresses both, negated desire (i) as well as negated futurity (ii)<sup>19</sup>.

Next, Browne (1986) examines the infinitive/*da*<sub>2</sub> alternation in the subject position, in the future tense, in purpose clause, after modal verbs, and in the object-control environments. He further explains that all infinitive complements could be replaced by *da*<sub>2</sub> clauses but not all *da*<sub>2</sub> clauses could be replaced by an infinitive. First of all, for the replacement to be possible, the subjects of the main and embedded clauses must be identical. If the object of the main clause is identical with the subject of the embedded clause, the replacement with an infinitive is not possible and *da*<sub>2</sub> construction must be used instead. Second, the replacement is also not possible with clauses of purpose, as in (9) and (10). He concludes that the infinitive cannot be replaced with any other complementizer, not even with *da*<sub>1</sub>, but only with *da*<sub>2</sub>.

- (9) a. Zoolog je dao izraditi mrežu.

*Zoologist aux-3sg. gave l-part. masc. make-INF net*

- b. Zoolog je dao **da** se izradi mreža.

*Zoologist aux-3sg. gave l-part. masc. **da** se make PNP-3sg. net*

The zoologist had a net made.

- (10) a. Prodali su konja **da** kupe televizor.

*Sold aux-3pl horse **da** buy PNP-3pl. television*

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<sup>19</sup> Moskovljević (1936) and Stevanović (1935,1954) suggest that (8b) should be interpreted as negated modality. My reading too would go along Moskovljević and Stevanović's observations.

b. \*Prodali su konja kupiti televizor.

*Sold aux-3pl horse buy-INF television*

They sold a horse to buy television.

In sum, Browne (1986) makes a crucial differentiation between two different *da(s)* used in the complements of the subjunctive- and indicative- selecting verbs following a distinction which I make between the two. However, unlike Browne, I do not claim that all *da*<sub>2</sub> subordinate clauses after volitionals have a future interpretation. I claim that the realization of action expressed in the *da*<sub>2</sub>-clause is especially uncertain with the imperfective nonpast which I propose gives rise to a modal reading of *da*-constructions complementing volitional verbs.

Similarly to other scholars, Vrzić (1996) notes that, in Serbo-Croatian, a distinction needs to be made between a *modal da* and declarative *da*. Although she proposes that both, modal and declarative *da* are complementizers, she claims that modal *da* is the head of MP while the declarative *da* is the head of CP. Vrzić (1996:292) states that modal *da* is used in “optatives, secondary imperatives, and interrogatives (both matrix and embedded)”. It is also used in conditional, purpose and resultative clauses.” Just as Vrzić (1996), Mišeska-Tomić (2003) claims that Serbian has two *da(s)*: “complementizer *da*<sub>1</sub>, which introduces indicative complements, and the subjunctive mood complementizer *da*<sub>2</sub>, which introduces subjunctive complements of optionally restructuring lexical verbs and modal clitics.” She further claims that the constructions introduced by *da*<sub>2</sub> are actually MoodP projections and not CP projections. Vrzić (1996) and Mišeska-Tomić’s (2003) observations can be nicely extended with the elimination of CP postulation, a step which I undertake in my analysis. Unlike Vrzić, I abandon the

complementizer approach altogether for *both da(s)* following Progovac (2005) in that CP projections can be eliminated from the Serbian clausal structure.

In contrast to Vrzić (1996) and Mišeska-Tomić (2003), Jakab (1999) proposes that in Serbian *da* is not always a complementizer. She limits her investigation to the subjunctive-like *da*<sub>2</sub> occurrence with *treba da* (it is necessary to) constructions. She further claims that *treba da* constructions, but not volitional *želeći* (want), take subjunctive-like complements since they exhibit tense restriction and require clitics to appear higher than *da*, not separating *da* from its verb. On the other hand, *da*-constructions that serve as complements to *želeći* (want) are biclausal for Jakab, as they can be obviated in contrast to *treba da* constructions that do not allow obviation. As I will show in Chapter Four of my dissertation, *da*-complements that follow *želeći* (want) also exhibit tense restriction (regardless of the subject/object control or non-control) and allow clitic climbing out of the *da*-complement. If tense restrictions and clitic climbing are the two main characteristics of *da*<sub>2</sub>-subjunctive complements and a monoclausal approach for Jakab, then why isn't that *želeći* (want), which exhibits tense restrictions as well as clitic climbing, takes *da*<sub>2</sub>-complements and gives rise to a monoclausal structure just as *treba da* constructions? However, one of the very important observations which Jakab (1999) makes is that an overt subject can appear between *treba* and *da*. The subject placement between *treba* and *da*, on the other hand, works against a monoclausal approach, giving rise to a biclausal approach. Jakab (1999) further explains that when an overt subject is present between *treba* and *da*, the only possible reading that arises is an epistemic reading (non-subjunctive). This proposal suggested by Jakab (1999) links the notion of biclausal structure to an epistemic reading. The observation

that an epistemic reading is possible with biclausal structure works in support of the proposals I provide in Chapters Four and Five of this dissertation.<sup>20</sup>

In contrast to many others, Grivičić (2004:16) argues that there is only one *da*-complementizer in Croatian whose function is to “code the matrix clause for modal property-hypothetical mood.” She also believes that more evidence needs to be provided to support the idea that declarative (indicative) *da* indeed exists in Croatian. She also claims that no verb licenses *da*-complementizer (in Croatian) since no verb is restricted to the selection of only one kind of a complement. Perhaps, Grivičić (2004) may have overlooked the construction *treba da* which strictly licenses only *da*-complements. Therefore, the observation by Grivičić that no verbs license *da* seems to fail<sup>21</sup>. She further adds that it is not clear if an indicative reading arises with *da*-complements because of the nature of *da* or because the lexical and aspectual properties of the verb restrict the indicative reading. Similarly to Grivičić, I claim that one single category is not the only determiner for interpreting the indicative or subjunctive *da*-complements. Furthermore, I claim along the lines of Quer’s (2010) observations, that it is a combination of all these elements (lexical properties of the matrix verb, aspectual properties of the embedded verb, and the selection of *da*) that makes indicative/subjunctive readings possible for the *da*-complements.

One of Grivičić’s claims is that if there were two different *da*-complements, *da*<sub>1</sub>-indicative and *da*<sub>2</sub>-subjunctive, then their alternation after the same matrix verb would, for example, give rise to different readings, which, in her observation does not happen and that is

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<sup>20</sup> I claim that veridical epistemic verbs can only select for *da* generated in Pol<sub>S</sub>P equivalent to that of a complementizer in Jakab’s sense which further implies a biclausal structure for veridical epistemic sentences with *da*-complements. However, the same is not the case with the nonveridical epistemic and factive verbs that I claim take subjunctive-like *da*-complements where *da* is generated lower, in Pol<sub>O</sub>P.

<sup>21</sup> It does not seem to fail if the standard Croatian grammar rejects impersonal *treba da*-constructions in favor of the conjugated verb *trebati* + *infinitive*. In that case, her observation that no verb licenses a *da*-complement would be acceptable for Croatian only as Serbian standard language allows and prefers impersonal *treba da*.

why she claims there is only one *da*, modal *da*. However, as I will show in Chapter Four, the selection of *da*-complements after epistemic and factive verbs does indeed give rise to different readings. Moreover, the aspectual restrictions of the embedded verbs (*da*+INP or *da*+PNP) as well as the (im)possibility of an infinitival alternation with all *da*-complements show that we are indeed dealing with two different *da*-structures.

However, one of the important claims which Grivičić (2004:10) makes is that the *da* complementizer is not used in Croatian when the subjects of the embedded and matrix clauses are co-referential, as in (11), (12) and (13). In other words, their substitutes with infinitives are rather accepted. She further notes that although *da*-complements are less preferred to infinitival complements in (11), (12), and (13) they are still grammatical; moreover, Grivičić (2004:12) claims that the difference in meaning between *da*-complements and infinitival complements “arises because of the presence of an overt complementizer which renders the interpretation of the proposition as either factual and realizable or nonfactual and hypothetical.” She asserts that *da* must only be inserted when the matrix subject is not coreferential with the embedded subject. Examples (11), (12), and (13) are the instances I investigate in Serbian, and as noted, they are all well-formed constructions in standard Serbian and are not uncommon at all.

- (11) ?Želim *da* govorim s tobom. (Croatian) Grivičić (2004)

*Želim da govorim s tobom.* (Serbian)

I want to talk with you.

- (12) ?Možemo *da* idemo zajedno. (Croatian) Grivičić (2004)

*Možemo da idemo zajedno.* (Serbian)

We can go together.



- (13) ?Moram *da* idem zubaru. (Croatian) Grivičić (2004)

*Moram da idem zubaru.* (Serbian)

I have to go to the dentist.

Perhaps one of the most important observations which Grivičić (2004:13) makes is that some verbs in Croatian which can “code *de re* or a factual status of a proposition” can also occur with *da*-complements. She adds that *da*-complements in such cases give rise to an irrealis interpretation. However, in contrast to her observation that verbs in Croatian are not coded for realis and irrealis, I propose that they are (in my classification this would be equivalent to veridical and nonveridical). I will come back to this issue in Chapter Four, Section 4.1, where I discuss veridical and nonveridical factive and epistemic verbs and their complementation. Finally, against the proposal that *da* can be indicative, Grivičić considers the examples shown in (14) and (15). She claims that if *da* were an indicative complementizer then it would give rise to the same interpretation as the complementizer *što*, which is not what is observed in (14) and (15).

- (14) Sretan sam *da* te vidim. Grivičić (2004)

*I am happy to see you → I am happy that I see you*

- (15) Sretan sam *što* te vidim. Grivičić (2004)

*I am happy to see you → I am happy whenever I get an opportunity to see you.*

Although I disagree with Grivičić (2004) in that *da* cannot be indicative, I agree with her that *da* has modal properties and is responsible for the interpretation of mood. That is why I

claim that it is important to distinguish between *da* used in veridical and *da* used in nonveridical contexts in Serbian. The difference between Croatian and Serbian data could also be another plausible explanation for different approaches. However, the issues pertaining to differences between Croatian and Serbian grammars fall beyond the scope of this project; therefore, I will not explore that area any further.

## 2.2 Theoretical Approaches to Analysis of the Balkan Particles and Complementizers

In this section, I provide an overview of the sources investigating the issue of complementation, particles, complementizers, and their contribution to the understanding of mood and tense. Although most of these theories and analyses do not make any specific proposal for Serbian *da*-complementation, the basis for selection of the syntactic environments in which I analyze *da*-complements is derived from sources I overview in Section 2.2. In Chapter Four, I make similar proposals and follow similar tests for *da*-complements in Serbian as Philippaki-Warburton (1994), Roussou (2000, 2009) and Giannakidou (2009) provide in their analyses of complementizers, particles, negation, mood, tense and aspect in Greek; therefore, a detailed overview of the sources from which I derive the analysis and conclusions for Serbian is needed and is provided in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

### 2.2.1 Philippaki-Warburton (1994)

According to Philippaki-Warburton (1994), Greek verbs are morphologically marked for imperative and non-imperative moods but not for the subjunctive or indicative, to which she refers as a non-imperative group. However, she adds that a number of particles are used with Greek verbs to express tense, negation and mood. As she notes, not all particles in Greek can be

combined randomly, so, for example, particles for negation *den/de* and *min/mi* are restricted in their use and follow certain requirements. She explains that *den* is used with the future particle *tha* while negative *min* is used with *na* or *as*.

Philippaki-Warburton (1994:300) goes on to say that it is not “the verb form itself that restricts the choice of the negative morpheme” but mood, and that a formal difference between the two moods (the indicative and subjunctive) is in the choice of a negative morpheme where the indicative takes *den* while the subjunctive takes *min*. She further states that articles *na/as* are markers of the subjunctive mood. Furthermore, she proposes that mood is higher than negation and that, within this approach, *na* precedes Neg since the mood exponent is higher than Neg in the verb complex.

Just as Philippaki-Warburton (1994) closely examines the relationship between negation and indicative/subjunctive complementizers/particles, I examine in Chapter Four of my dissertation the position of negation in its relationship to the *da* used in the indicative and subjunctive complements in Serbian. This close examination of the relationship between *da* and negation further highlights the understanding of mood in Serbian and its syntactic nature.

Philippaki-Warburton (1994) further examines perfective nonpast forms in Greek and observes that perfective nonpast cannot occur alone and must be accompanied either by *na/as* or *tha*. She points that perfective nonpast is accompanied by *na* to express the subjunctive while it is accompanied by *tha* to express the future indicative. She further states that the subjunctive and future tense cannot be seen as the same although there are some semantic similarities between the two. She claims that the subjunctive and future point out to the action that is placed within a future time. However, she elaborates that with the future tense, the action will either be realized or not, in other words, it will be either true or false at some given point in time. On the other

hand, she notes, in the subjunctive constructions speaker expresses wishes, desires, or requests and, within these expressions, it is impossible to question the validity of these statements as true or false. It is this same approach that I adopt in Chapter Four when discussing tense where I extend Philippaki-Warburton's observation by associating the future tense with the indicative and veridical contexts and the subjunctive mood with the nonveridical contexts.

Next Philippaki-Warburton (1994) focuses on an analysis of *na* as a complementizer or subjunctive marker. She is in favor of the second approach. One of her first arguments in support of *na* as a subjunctive marker is that *na* can occur in independent as well as dependent (subordinate) clauses. She observes that other typical Greek complementizers such as *oti* and *pu* cannot be combined with either a question wh-phrase or with a relative wh-phrase, but *na* unlike these complementizers can be combined with either. Philippaki-Warburton (1994:316) notes that “*na* “can combine with wh-phrases, it can be chosen freely in main clauses and after verbs which are neutral with respect to modality.” On the other hand, she notes that complementizer *pu* used in relative clauses can be combined with *na* but not with *oti*. Philippaki-Warburton explains that the reason why *oti* and *pu* cannot co-occur is because they are both complementizers and will occupy the same position while this is not the case in the presence of *na*. Since there are examples in Greek where a sentence is introduced by *pu* and *na*, both occurring together, it would be, as Philippaki-Warburton states “exotic and excessive” to consider that a main clause in Greek can be introduced by two complementizers. Furthermore, unlike complementizers, she adds, *na* cliticizes onto the verb and forms a phonological unit with the verb.

Just as Philippaki-Warburton makes a distinction between the indicative complementizers *oti/pu* and the subjunctive particle *na*, I too differentiate between the indicative and subjunctive *da* in Serbian. I propose that *da* in indicative complements is equivalent to the

complementizer (I adopt Pol<sub>S</sub>-head approach instead CP) while *da* in the subjunctive complements is a particle (I adopt Pol<sub>O</sub>-head approach); this proposal then suggests that the indicative *da* in Serbian is similar to Greek *oti/pu* while the subjunctive *da* in Serbian is similar to Greek *na*.

Philippaki-Warbuton (1994) also observes that clitic forms of objects are likely to appear between *na* and the verb, but she adds that clitic insertion is not enough to postulate that *na* is a complementizer. Similarly in Serbian, the object clitic forms appear between the subjunctive *da* and the embedded verb as observed in Chapter Four. The object clitic placement between *da* and the embedded verbs alone does not support the complementizer approach for *da* in subjunctive complements; on the contrary, as I demonstrate in Chapter Four, it works in the support of Pol<sub>O</sub>-head approach (a non-complementizer approach).

### 2.2.2 Giannakidou (2009)

According to Giannakidou (2009) the property of (non)veridicality is the semantic factor regulating mood choice. Giannakidou (2009: 1884) further adds that perfective nonpast (PNP) in Greek is accompanied by *na* to express the subjunctive mood, which is a dependent form that can be viewed as a polarity item, and as a result “both *na* and PNP exhibit polarity-like behavior.”

Within Giannakidou’s approach to mood, I also claim that (non)veridicality regulates the choice of *da* in indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements in Serbian.

Giannakidou notes (2009:1887) that the notion of veridicality is based on the availability of the inference of truth, that is “whether at least one epistemic agent (the speaker or the subject of the main verb) is committed to the truth of the complement sentence. If in a propositional

attitude verb expresses such a commitment, it will be veridical and select the indicative; if not, it will be nonveridical and select the subjunctive.” Giannakidou classifies assertive, fiction, epistemic, fictive, and semifictive verbs as veridical verbs that select the indicative complementizers *oti* and *pu* in Greek. Volitional, directive, modal, permissive, negative and verbs of fear are nonveridical verbs that select *na* complements in Greek. She notes that polarity items are excluded from veridical sentences but are allowed in nonveridical ones.

**DEFINITION 1.** (Non) veridicality for propositional operators

- i. A propositional operator  $F$  is veridical iff  $Fp$  entails or presupposes that  $p$  is true in some individual’s epistemic model  $Me(x)$ ; otherwise  $F$  is nonveridical.
- ii. A nonveridical operator  $F$  is anti-veridical iff  $Fp$  entails that  $p$  in some individual’s epistemic model:  $Fp \rightarrow \neg p$  in some  $M_E(x)$ .

As she states, epistemic verbs and verbs such as think, imagine, and dream are veridical because the worlds of thinking, dreaming, and imagining replace the actual world and within these *worlds*, if “ $x$  dreams that  $p$ ”  $p$  must be true.

Giannakidou (2009) further explains that *na* has been classified as a complementizer, the head of CP (Roussou 2000) and as the head of inflectional category Mood (Philippaki-Warbuton, 1984, 1993, 1998, Giannakidou 1998). She states that *na* cannot be separated from the verb, and that the only material that can appear between *na* and the verb are pronominal clitics and negation. These empirical facts, she suggests, favor the second approach, a non-complementizer approach to analysis of *na*.

Giannakidou (2009) goes on to propose that Greek *na* can be both: a complementizer (C head) as well as modal marker (mood head). Similar to Philippaki-Warbuton (1994), Giannakidou (2009) proposes that *tha* and *na* are different particles, and that they do not realize the same modality as Roussou (2000) suggests. Within this approach, for Giannakidou (2009), *tha* is a separated Now-T head projected below Neg while Mood and *na* are above Neg; moreover, Giannakidou (2009:1893) claims that *na* “is linked to a null complementizer in C which gives directive illocutionary force in main clause—but not in a subordinate clause (which remains assertion)”. Similar to Giannakidou’s proposal for Greek *na*, I suggest that Serbian *da* can be associated with two distinct projections: Pol<sub>S</sub>P and Pol<sub>O</sub>P in my analysis.

The relationship between the subjunctive *na* and the verb is important in terms of aspect and tense. As Giannakidou (2009) claims, “aspect is a lower function that applies to the verb meaning first; then tense is applied.” She adds that perfective verb form in Greek is eventive while imperfective is used in generic and habitual statements. With interpretations of the perfective and imperfective nonpast, Giannakidou (2009:1896) notes that the imperfective is generic and thus atemporal or progressive; it “creates an interval during which an event is in progress” or it “expresses a purely temporal generalization.” Perfective nonpast (PNP) cannot occur alone in Greek as Giannakidou (2009:1898) notes but must be “preceded by subjunctive or other nonveridical particles in order to be grammatical.” She states that Greek PNP “cannot make reference to the utterance time” as it is usually assumed to happen with the present tense. Rather, as she suggests, PNP denotes a forward moving interval whose left boundary is a variable *t*” which cannot be interpreted as a free variable. Therefore, as Giannakidou (2009) observes, the PNP variable is a dependent variable which can also be seen as a polarity item since this dependency is one of the main notions that plays a crucial role in defying the polarity

feature. She further suggests that PNP cannot introduce the temporal variable *now* (*n*) into syntax and contains a dependent temporal variable that is inherently anaphoric. Giannakidou claims, that PNP, as a dependent variable, must be licensed or must “rely on another element” which in Greek could be the particles *na* and *tha* that fix the “deficiency” of the nonpast. In my semantic analysis of *da*-complements in Serbian, I observe the same for INP and PNP. Specifically, I show that PNP in Serbian *da*-complements relies in particular on the subjunctive *da* which in Giannakidou’s sense fixes PNP’s deficiency and allows for its interpretation.

Although, interpretation of the present differs from language to language, for Giannakidou the nonpast is different from the present in Greek, therefore, cannot make reference to *n*. This interpretation of the nonpast is “the basis for dependency of verbal subjunctives” since subjunctives “contain what was defined as nonpast” (Giannakidou 2009:1899). Giannakidou explains that, since PNP cannot introduce *n* which is done by *tha* at Now-T, and when Now-T is not projected, *n* will be introduced by the Mood head; therefore, *na* will introduce *n* ( provide the time for the modal) in the [independent] subjunctive clause and co-occur with illocutionary force.

Moreover, she notes that both particles *tha* and *na* function as present since Greek nonpast cannot introduce *n*. On the other hand, as Giannakidou (2009:1903) notes, in complement clauses, there are no illocutionary directive forces, and even in embedded subjunctive clauses, “the lambda bound *n* of *na* cannot refer to the utterance time, but to the relative *n* of the attitude.” She further explains that *na* is interpreted inside the scope of the attitude verb as a polarity item.

Overall, based on the semantic analysis of *na* and PNP, Giannakidou’s proposals suggest that modality is not associated with mood and that *na* and PNP are tenses. My proposal for



Serbian is similar to Giannakidou's proposal in that I claim that modality in Serbian is not associated with mood. I claim that modality in the subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements is associated with aspect and tense projection or deficiency of thereof. I further propose that in Serbian the indicative mood is associated with tense while the subjunctive is associated with aspect and deficiency of tense.

### 2.2.3 Roussou (2000, 2009)

Somewhat similar approach to Giannakidou (2009) but different from Philippaki-Warbuton (1994) is provided by Roussou (2000, 2009). Roussou's (2000) analysis of Greek data postulates that there are three basic C positions specified for different features. She proposes that there is the higher C as subordinator, the middle C with clause-typing properties, and the lower C modality. She considers *na* to be a mood particle as well as complementizer. She further suggests that *na* merges in M and later raises to an Operator (Op) associated with clause-typing properties. She captures that other complementizers such as *oti* and *pu* are in complimentary distribution with *na*.

Roussou (2009) explains that the absence of the infinitive in Modern Greek is compensated by the productive use of finite constructions. She further adds that control usually requires non-finite complementation, but in Modern Greek and other Balkan languages one can find a finite complementation. Focusing on instances of control, she explains that control cannot be seen independently of the predicate that selects *na*-complements, with the exception of the volitional *thelo* (*want*) that can select *na*-complements with a co-referential subject or a non-referential subject. In other words, volitional verbs in Greek exhibit control as well as anti-control (obviation) effects. Roussou (2009) further notes that root *na*-clauses have a subjunctive

distribution as they give a rise to several modal readings but can also serve as complements to a number of predicates. She further elaborates that modals, aspectuals, and volitionals can take *na*-complements while epistemics, perception verbs, verbs of saying, as well as verbs of knowing, in addition to *na*-complements, can also take clauses introduced by *oti*, *pu* or *an*. Along the lines of Roussou's observation for Greek verbs, especially epistemics, I claim that modals, aspectuals and volitionals in Serbian take the subjunctive *da*-complements while epistemics, verbs of saying and knowing can take both, the indicative and the subjunctive *da*-complements. Roussou (2009) observes that epistemic predicates in Greek take *na*-complements only if the matrix verb is in the present tense. In addition, she adds that the verb *nomizo* (think) requires negation or questions operators to be present in order to select a *na*-complement. In Chapter Four of my dissertation, the data demonstrates that Serbian epistemic *misлити* (think), unlike Greek epistemic *nomizo* (think), does not require negation or question operators to be present in order to select a subjunctive *da*-complement. Since I differentiate between veridical and nonveridical epistemic verbs, I later claim that nonveridical epistemics select for the subjunctive *da*-complement while the veridical epistemics select for the indicative *da*-complement.

Roussou (2009) adds that after verbs of saying, *na*-complements in Greek have a function of an embedded imperative while verbs of knowing have a modal (dynamic) reading if complemented by *na*-constructions. Roussou (2009:1814) notes that the selection of *na*-complements after epistemic verbs depends on "the lexical (epistemic) and inflectional properties of the matrix verb." She further adds that the matrix epistemic verb that takes *na*-complements in the past tense is interpreted as an epistemic modal. In Roussou's words (2009:1814) "epistemic modality derives through the lexical properties of the verb along with the *na*-complement" In addition, Roussou (2009:1815) states that "the triggered modality", in

instances when verbs of saying and verbs of knowing take *na*-complements, is also a “by-product of the lexical properties of the matrix predicate and the *na*-clause.” She further adds that only *na*-complements with epistemic predicates can be viewed as the ‘polarity’ subjunctive or the subjunctive that is licensed by “an operator that can also license polarity items such as negation and questions (Stowell, 1993; Quer, 1998; on slightly different formulations see Tsoulas, 1994; Brugger and D’Angelo, 1995; Manzini, 2000)” (2009:1815). Roussou (2009:1815) points out that the *na*-complement after verbs of saying and knowing “can be directly associated with the lexical properties of the selecting predicates, and in this respect it is closer to an infinitive.”

In regards to the constructions with modals, Roussou distinguishes between dynamic and epistemic readings: in cases where the embedded verb is [+perfective], it is possible to speak of the dynamic modality if both matrix and embedded verbs are in the present tense. On the other hand, an epistemic reading arises when the embedded verb is inflected for past [+perfective] tense while the matrix verb remains in the present tense. Furthermore, Roussou (2009:1815) claims that “epistemic verbs with *na* and epistemic modals have the same syntactic properties with the respect to their tense restrictions” With modals, Roussou (2009:1815) explains, which can only take a *na*-complement, “different readings that arise are morphosyntactically distinguished by the variety of inflectional combinations in the matrix and embedded clauses.”

While the past tense of the modal calls for the dynamic modality, the past tense of the embedded verb gives rise to epistemic modality. Roussou (2009) also adds that, although this situation is common in Greek, it does not have to be the case in other languages. Since verbs of knowing can take either *na* or *oti/pu*-complements, the dynamic modality (control) is only expressed in cases when a *na*-complement is used. Unlike verbs of knowing, the aspectuals in

Greek can only take *na*-complements and, as such, allow for the interpretation of the dynamic modality (control).

In Serbian, the complement selection by the verbs of knowing (factives) and aspectuals is just identical on the surface. As both, factives and aspectuals take *da*-complements, and as factives allow for two different interpretation with *da*-complementation, one similar to that of aspectuals and another similar to that of assertives, so it must be that, factives in Serbian just like factives in Greek, allow for at least two different *da*-complementations, which further suggests that there must be at least two *da(s)* in Serbian. Just as Roussou (2009) accounts for a different modality that is often clearly expressed through a combination of different tenses, aspect, and complements, I suggest that aspect, tense and *da* selection also gives rise to different modal interpretations in Serbian and that modals and epistemic nonveridical verbs that select for the subjunctive *da* in Serbian have the same syntactic properties with the respect to their tense restrictions.

To explain what allows for control with *na*-complements, Roussou (2009:1819) refers to Pesestky (1991) who claims that “[the] semantic property of implicatives can be syntactically expressed as a contentful *to* infinitival marker (*to\**)” that carries modal and tense properties. As noted by Roussou (2009:1819), Pesestky (1991) explains that *to* “ binds the event argument of the embedded predicate” while, in the same time, it “has the same distribution as *should*”. Roussou compares Greek *na* to the English infinitival marker *to* explaining that the infinitival *to* is like *na*, a nominal element, but unlike *na*, the infinitival *to* is associated with the M (lower C) domain. Along these lines (Pesestky’s and Roussou’s proposals), I differentiate between the indicative and subjunctive *da* claiming that the subjunctive *da* in Serbian binds the event argument of the embedded predicate while at the same time exhibits modal properties.

Observing the relationship between the predicates and *na*-complements, Roussou (2009:1819) proposes that control “may be directly linked to the lexical properties of the selecting predicates, (true modals, aspectuals), may be derived through the combination of the lexical properties and the selecting predicated along with *na* (verbs of knowing, some future-referring predicated), or finally may arise through the combination of the lexical and inflectional properties of the matrix predicated along with *na*.” Therefore, as Roussou (2009:1819) predicts control is not just “the result of lexical semantic properties but appears to be sensitive to syntactic conditions as well.” Adopting this observation provided by Roussou (2009), I also claim that, in order to understand *da*-complementation in Serbian, it is crucial to carefully consider the lexical properties of the matrix verb as well as the syntactic structure of the embedded complement.

Roussou (2009) concludes that in Greek there is only one *na* that takes different complements: nominal and clausal, and as a result, it is possible to interpret the sentence differently. By treating *na* as a nominal element, as Roussou (2009) claims, it is possible to compare it to the morphological subjunctive. For example, while in Classical Greek the realization of mood was part of the inflectional (I) system, in Modern Greek, according to Roussou, mood properties are transferred to the C-system due to the loss of the inflectional system and the use of nominal elements (*na* in this instance). By analogy to the development of mood in Greek, mood in Serbian can be linked to the I- and C-system, however, differently as the development of the subjunctive in Serbian does not mirror the development of the subjunctive in Greek. As the subjunctive did not exist in Old Serbian and there was no inflectional marking for the subjunctive, the loss of the subjunctive inflection system would be an impossible argument for transferring of mood properties from I to C in Serbian. In other

words, if there were no inflectional properties of mood associated with the I-system in Serbian, then it is unlikely that a transfer of properties from I to C could be proposed. Instead, I propose that some properties in Serbian associated with mood, particularly the subjunctive mood, are still in the early stage of development and remain associated with the I-system. By an early stage, I imply the initial stage of the mood development is associated with the I-system first and later on, as the morphology simplified at the expense of the syntax, with the C-system. Since the category of subjunctive developed later in Serbian, when Serbian had already begun the morphological simplification, the category of the subjunctive developed within the new system, morphologically simplified but syntactically more complex. Therefore, the employment of a particle/complementizer *da* instead of a morphological marker is consistent with the development of the language whose aim seems to be emergence of a more complex system of syntax at the expense of a simplified morphology.

### **2.3 Clausal Architecture of Serbian**

In this project I adopt Progovac's (2005) minimalist proposal for the structure of the Serbian clause. Her approach is derived from the basic minimalist idea that functional projections are restricted to only morphologically manifested projections. My investigation of the subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements supports her proposals. The discussion of data in Chapter Four, particularly clitic position(s) and aspect restrictions within *da*-complements, further supports the need for the subject and object layers of functional projections in Serbian. In Section 2.3.1 I provide an overview of the clausal structure I adopt as proposed by Progovac.

### 2.3.1 Progovac (2005)

Following Chomsky's (1995) minimalist theory and copy-and-delete movement, Progovac (2005) claims that the free word order in Serbian is possible because the non-ultimate copies of movement can be pronounced and any copy of movement can be deleted. Progovac proposes that Serbian is an SVO language with an unmarked SVO order, which is the result of "deletion of all but the highest copies of movement" that should be pronounced. On the other hand, she adds that "the pronounced copy of movement does not necessarily mark the end of movement." Most of the analysis in Chapter Five is derived from these basic proposals made by Progovac. The copy-and-delete movement theory will be particularly important for an explanation why *da*, if understood to be a non-complementizer, allows other syntactic material to intervene between it and its verb. By limiting the functional projections only to the projections associated with the grammatical categories such as Aspect, Tense, Agreement and Polarity, Progovac eliminates the projections not associated with grammatical categories such as CP (complementizer projections). Elimination of CP projection is one of the crucial approaches on which my analysis is based. As demonstrated in Diagram Two, Progovac proposes that basic clausal projections in Serbian come in two layers: a subject and object layer. Elimination of CP is replaced by a postulation of PolP- Polarity Projections which are associated with assertion, negation, and feature checking of polarity sensitive items. AspPs (Aspect Projections) check the features associated with aspectual prefixes and suffixes; AgrP (Agreement Projections) check case features of arguments and host/subject/verb agreement. TP (Tense Projections) host auxiliary verb and tense features. Diagram Two represents the clausal structure for Serbian as proposed by Progovac (2005). I modify Progovac's clausal structure by eliminating T<sub>OP</sub> and adopting instead DefT<sub>M</sub>P (Deficient Tense<sub>Modal</sub>Projection). Contrary to Progovac (2005) but

similarly to Giannakidou (2009), I further propose that aspect applies before tense to the verb. This approach results in different orderings of projections, where aspect is lower than tense.

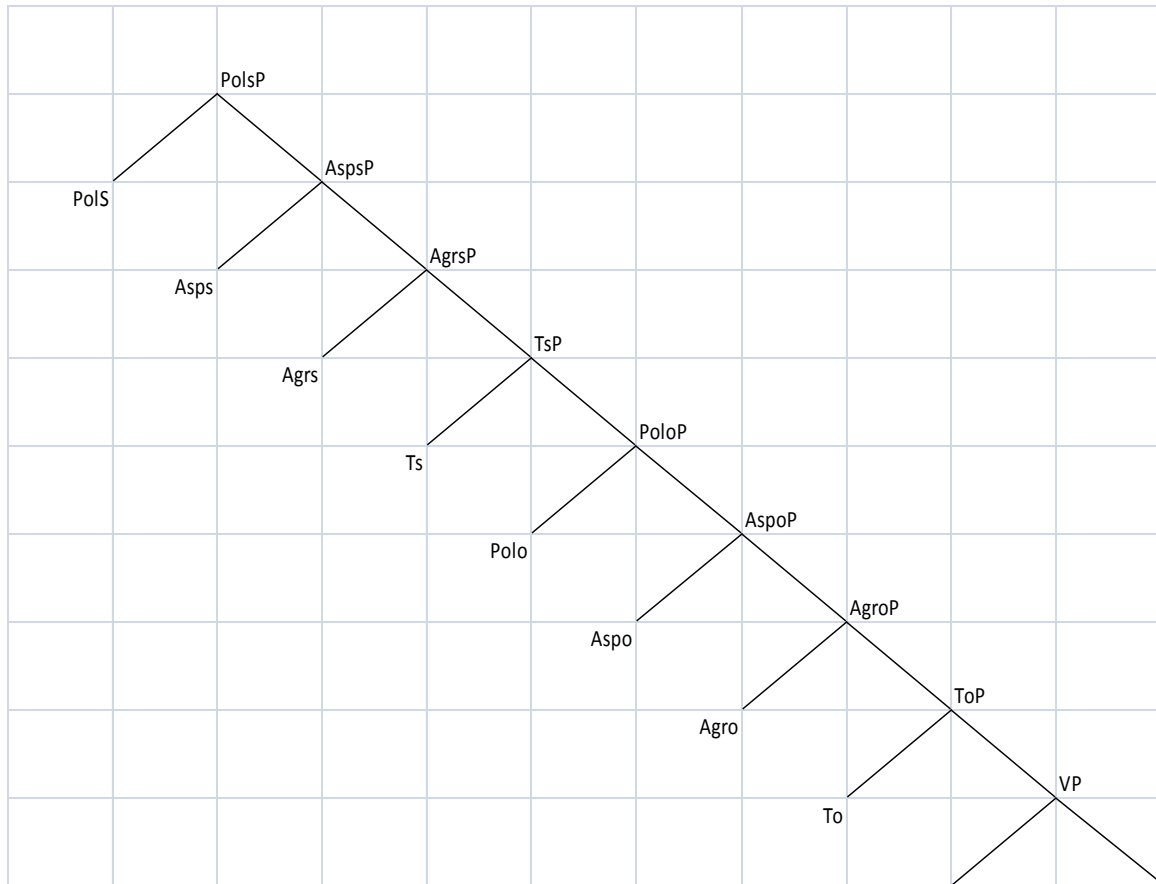


Diagram 2. Serbian clausal structure, Progovac (2005)

Following Giannakidou (2009) instead of the present, as already stated, I adopt the term nonpast. INP anchored by *da* [+veridical] as well as PNP (which can only be anchored by *da* [-veridical]) are both deficient nonpast tenses generated in DefT<sub>M</sub>P, and as such, they lack a tense feature. Furthermore, both INP and PNP anchored by *da* [-veridical] give raise to a modal, nonveridical interpretation. This nonveridical interpretation eliminates the possibility of present tense interpretations of either INP or PNP making it necessary to postulate a deficient tense projection.



### 3. VERBAL AND CLAUSAL SYSTEM

#### 3.1 Verbal system

This section provides an overview of the verbal system in Serbian and highlights the importance of the categories of aspect, mood, and tense as they contribute to a better understanding of the subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements.

##### 3.1.1 Aspect

Serbian recognizes two different aspects: imperfective and perfective. Some verbs could be inherently perfective or imperfective, or the notion of perfective or imperfective can be captured by insertion of affixes. To define the notion of the imperfective or perfective aspect is rather a difficult question; therefore, the discussion on aspect is limited in this dissertation. Precisely, from a semantic and syntactic perspective, I will analyze the role aspect plays in *da*-complements, its contribution to the interpretation of tense, and the restrictions it imposes on the selection of *da*.

As noted by Progovac (2005:91), it is aspect that plays a “pivotal role in the functional architecture of the Serbian clause.” I must agree with Progovac’s observation, and further insist that, in addition to tense, the selection of aspect not only plays an important role in the functional architecture of the Serbian clause but in the interpretation of mood as well.

Separating all verbs into two major aspect groups (imperfective and perfective) is merely a basic point of departure. Within the perfective group, we can further delineate more types, while within the imperfective group, it is possible to distinguish between two different interpretations. Tabela II and III show classification of the perfective and imperfective as discussed in Progovac (2005).

**TABLE II**  
**PERFECTIVE ASPECT**

<b>Perfective Aspect</b>	<b>Verbs</b>
Momentary aspect (inherently perfective)	<i>dati</i> (to give)
Initiation aspect	<i>za-igrati</i> (to begin to dance)
Completion aspect	<i>na-pisati</i> (to complete writing)
Limitation aspect	<i>po-pričati</i> (to talk for some time)

**TABLE III**  
**IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT**

<b>Imperfective Aspect</b>	<b>Verbs</b>
Durative interpretation (inherently imperf.)	<i>pisati</i> (to write)
Iterative interpretation	<i>po-pis-iva-ti</i> (continuously list inventory)

In Table II, the prefixes *za-*, *na-* and *po-* are attached to the imperfective verbs *igrati* (play), *pisati* (write), and *pričati* (talk). The attachment of prefixes to an imperfective verb changes the aspect to perfective. On the other hand, the verb *dati* has no prefixes inserted and thus is inherently perfective. As demonstrated in Table III, *pisati* (write) is inherently imperfective. The suffix *-iva* is inserted between the prefix *po-* and the morpheme *pisati* of the perfective *po-pisati* (to list an inventory). The insertion of *-iva* can only occur after the prefix *po-* has been inserted. The verb *pisati* (write) is inherently imperfective, so the prefixation and the attachment of the prefix *po-* convert it into the perfective. An additional change occurs by

the insertion of *-iva* which now transforms the perfective *popisati* to the imperfective *popisivati*. As noted by Progovac (2005), the insertion of the iterative suffix *-iva* is only possible with perfective verbs and not with the imperfective. This observation seems the only plausible explanation for *-iva* since it would be redundant to insert an imperfective affix to an already imperfective verb in Serbian.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the insertion of *-iva* is only possible after insertion of *po-* in the example shown in Table III for verb *pisati* (write).

While closely analyzing different types of perfective and different interpretations of imperfective aspects, Progovac (2005) focuses exclusively on the contribution prefixes and suffixes make to the understanding of scope and feature interpretability. As she claims, perfective prefixes are associated with transitivity since they require an object in order to allow for the derivation to remain licit while imperfective suffixes are not associated with transitivity since they do not require an object in order for the derivation to remain licit. Progovac (2005) proposes that both, imperfective and perfective verbs (excluding inherently imperfective verbs) are specified for [+Universal Q] feature. However, the difference between the two is that imperfective suffixes scope over events and times and check their feature in  $Asp_sP$ , projected higher in the structure than  $Asp_oP$ . On the other hand,  $Asp_oP$  is responsible for checking the features of perfective prefixes which quantify universally over the direct object (with the exception of initiation prefixes which do not quantify over objects and are marked for [-Universal Q]). On the other hand, Progovac (2005:93) suggests that inherently perfective verbs which are not “necessarily transitive” are specified for the feature [+Delimit]. Perhaps inherently imperfective verbs pose the biggest peculiarity, as they are not specified for [+Universal Q] feature and do not trigger the Asp projections as suggested by Progovac (2005). In Chapter Five,

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<sup>22</sup> As pointed out to me by Colleen McQuillen in a personal conversation, the insertion of imperfective affix into an already imperfective verb is possible in Russian.

I provide an analysis of inherently imperfective verbs anchored by *da*, suggesting that the anchor selection determines the functional projections of inherently imperfective verbs. I further extend Progovac's (2005) proposal by suggesting that, although inherently imperfective verbs in Serbian do not trigger Asp projections and are not specified for [+Universal Q] feature, they could be specified for a tense features when anchored by a veridical or nonveridical operators.

### 3.1.2 Mood

The question of mood in the Serbian language can be viewed in different ways. Stevanović (1974) claims that the Serbian language recognizes only two categories of moods: imperative and potential. Barić (1979) claims that there are four categories of mood: indicative, imperative, conditional and optative. Furthermore, Barić (1979) classifies mood in two groups: the morphologically marked and morphologically unmarked mood. She states that the indicative mood is classified as morphologically unmarked while other moods are morphologically marked. Belić, A. (1962), on the other hand, notes that although Slavic languages do not recognize or have special verbal categories for the subjunctive, conjunctive, optative, or injunctive, they still can have all these modal categories in semantic sense.

While sometimes morphological evidence is present for marking of mood, in other instances the interpretation of mood is resolved on a syntactic and semantic level. Gołąb's (1964) observation in terms of the distinction he makes between the optative and subjunctive further supports the idea that mood is sometimes morphological but other times syntactic-semantic category. As noted in Chapter Two, he explains, for example, that the optative in subordinate clauses expresses the volition of the grammatical subject of the principal sentence. This "dependent syntactic function of the optative", Gołąb's (1964:1) notes, loses its real volitional

quality and the optative becomes subjunctive, “a syntactic mood denoting a dependent verbal process.”

Although it is clear that the question of marked and unmarked mood may be disputed as to what morphology, if any, is responsible for distinguishing between different moods in Serbian, what these approaches suggest is the presence of mood: in other words, the interpretation of different moods in Serbian exists whatever approaches are used in their analyses; it does not matter if the interpretation of mood is based on morphological, syntactic or semantic principles. My approach to mood and the analysis of modal complements aligns with a syntactic-semantic approach. In support of Belić, A.’s proposals (1962), the discussion of data in Chapter Four and the syntactic analysis of *da*-complements in Chapter Five indicate that different moods can still be interpreted in Serbian without special morphology. When there is no clear morphology associated with mood that receives a semantic interpretation, then the syntax becomes responsible for a proper encoding of the semantically interpretable category. Later in Chapter Five, after presenting convincing evidence for the interpretation of the indicative and subjunctive mood in Serbian, I elaborate on how these semantic interpretations affect functional projection of the Serbian sentence. The complexity of mood, its morphology, function, and interpretation in Serbian is discussed in great detail in the following sections of Chapter Three.

### **3.1.2.1 Imperative**

The imperative is used in the second person singular and plural forms. As in many other languages, the imperative in Serbian is used to express commands. The personal endings  $-\emptyset$  for 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and  $-te$  for 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural are added to the present or infinitive stem. For example, the present stem *čitaj-*, of *čitati* (read) is used in Table IV to illustrate imperative

derivation. Although the imperative is commonly used without any complementizers or particles, it can be found in combination with *da* or *neka*. Modal constructions with *da* are discussed below in 3.2.1

**TABLE IV**  
**IMPERATIVE MOOD**

1sg. _Ø_	1pl. _Ø_
2sg. <i>čitaj-Ø-Ø</i> (write)	2sg. <i>čitaj-Ø-te</i> (write)
3sg. _Ø_	3pl. _Ø_

One of the peculiarities of imperative is the question of person or mood markings. For example, as illustrated in Table IV, a 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular form has no distinctive marking for either the imperative mood or person. However, while the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural form has no distinctive marking for mood, it has the person marking *-te*. However, if another verb or another stem is used to illustrate the imperative mood, the situation with morphological endings is different. For example the stem *rek-* of verb *reći* (say) has the form *rec-i-Ø* for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and *rec-i-te* for the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural. In this case the suffix *-i-* can be taken as a marker of the imperative mood while *-Ø* and *-te* could still be considered person markings. It could be further proposed that *-i-* drops after stems that end in *-aj*, or stems that end in a vowel for phonological reasons.<sup>23</sup> Some grammars (Barić 1979) treat *-i-* as a person marking and conjoin it with *-Ø* or *-te* endings. In that case, the *-i /-ite*, *-Ø /- Ø te*, or *-j/-jte* are treated only as person markings that are added to a basic stem to form the imperative mood. If this formation of the

<sup>23</sup> Serbian usually does not allow double vowels. In addition, verbal stems that end in *-aj* also do not tolerate the attachment of a vowel only as a suffix.

imperative mood is accepted, then the question is what morphology is responsible for the marking and interpretation of the imperative.

### 3.1.2.2 Potential/Conditional

Potential/conditional is a compound mood that consists of an l-participle of either perfective or imperfective verbs and an aorist form of the verb *biti* (be). Potential/conditional is used to express possibility, potential, or condition required for a completion of an action, or wish. The feminine form of the l-participle *radila* for singular and *radile* for the plural of the verb *raditi* (work) is used in Tabel V to illustrate potential/conditional derivation.

**TABLE V**  
POTENTIAL/CONDITIONAL

1sg. <i>bih radila</i> (would work)	1pl. <i>bismo radile</i> (would work)
2sg. <i>bi radila</i> (would work)	2pl. <i>biste radile</i> (would work)
3sg. <i>bi radila</i> (would work)	3pl. <i>bi radile</i> (would work)

What is perhaps the most important point to mention in this discussion on conditionals is that they are used with *da*-constructions. Bulatović (2008) brings to attention instances in (1) and (2) and the interpretation of mood in relation to tense. Although I have not explored instances of *da*-complements such as those in (1) and (2) in this project, it is important to note that *da+present* in (1) and *da+past* in (2) are responsible for the different interpretations of moods in (1) and (2). Therefore, the examples in (1) and (2) further support the earlier claim that a category of tense plays a critical role in the interpretation of mood in Serbian.

(1) Ostala bi budna **da** popiješ kafu.

*stay-fem. l-part.imperf. aux-2sg. awake da drink-fem.perf. coffee*

You would stay awake if you drank coffee.

(2) Ostala bi budna **da** si popila kafu.

*stay-fem.imperf.l-part.- aux-2sg. awake da aux-2.sg. drink-fem.perf.l-part coffee*

You would have stayed awake if you had drunk coffee.

### 3.1.2.3 Optative

The optative is used to express a wish of the speaker associated with the moment of utterance. The optative is commonly used in the second and third person singular and in plural forms. The l-participle of imperfective verbs is used to express the optative as indicated in the example of *živeti* (live) in Table VI where the l-participle forms *živela-živele* for the feminine singular-plural and *živeo-živeli* for the masculine singular-plural are used. In addition, complex forms with *da* and *neka* are also used to express the optative. The use of *da* or *neka* does not limit the l-participle only to imperfective since perfective verbs are readily used with *da* or *neka*. The optative forms with *da* are discussed in 3.2.1 of this manuscript.

**TABLE VI**  
**OPTATIVE**

1sg. ____Ø____	1pl. ____Ø____
2sg. <i>živeo-živela</i> (live)	2pl. <i>živeli-živele</i> (live)
3sg. <i>živeo-živela</i> (live)	3pl. <i>živeli-živele</i> (live)



### 3.1.2.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, I introduce and discuss in this section commonly recognized moods in Serbian. Often, the imperative and potential/conditional are the only categories of mood recognized in Serbian grammars (optative less commonly), as they are noted in the literature as the categories that exhibit a distinctive morphology. The question that arises here is: What is the distinctive morphology for imperative, conditional, and optative? The optative is expressed by the use of the l-participle which is also used to construct the past tense; The potential/conditional is a compound mood consisting of the l-participle and an auxiliary; The imperative mood in some grammars is considered to have zero morphology and exhibits only 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and plural markings. So clearly, none of these moods seem to have distinctive morphology yet they receive semantic interpretations and are associated with particular functional projections. Therefore, the validity of claims that mood in Serbian is only a morphological category seems to be called into question.

As I propose, mood interpretation in Serbian is a syntactic-semantic phenomenon in which the selection of aspect and tense [as well the selection of *da* in *da*-constructions] are all equally important. Furthermore, the lack of a distinctive morphology for a particular grammatical category can also induce development of a new element or employment of an existing syntactic element that would compensate for the lack of morphology (the use of *da* in indicative and subjunctive complements).

### 3.1.3 Tense

In most grammars of Serbian, it is mentioned that the Serbian language recognizes the following tenses: present, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, aorist, and future (I and II). The present

tense, imperfect, and aorist are simple tenses while perfect, pluperfect and future (I and II) are compound tenses.

The simple tenses are derived from a basic stem and personal endings. The basic stem used for derivation of the simple tenses is either an infinitive or the present tense stem (see Belić 1962, Stevanović 1974, Barić 1979 among others). The infinitival stem is the base left after truncation of infinitival *-ti* or *-ći* while the present tense stem is the base left after truncation of the third person plural endings (which is  $-\emptyset$ ). Either one of the two stems is used to derive other simple forms, either simple forms of tense or simple forms of mood. The present tense, aorist, or imperfect are derived by addition of endings to the basic stem. There are two sets of endings which are added to the stem: vowel endings and person endings. Based on the vowel endings, there are three types of present tense: *e/u*-type, *i/u*-type, and *a/(j)u*-type. The only vowel ending used for the aorist is *-o-* while for the imperfect the vowel *-a-* is used. For the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person of the aorist only basic stems are used without vowel or person endings. Tables VII, VIII, and IX represent derivations of the present, aorist, and imperfect tense.

**TABLE VII**  
**PRESENT TENSE**

<b>Present endings</b>		<b>Present: <u>Conjugation of <i>pisati</i> (write)</u></b>
1sg. <i>-(e/i/a)-m</i>	1pl. <i>-(e/i/a)-mo</i>	1sg. <i>piš-e-m</i> 1pl. <i>piš-e-mo</i>
2sg. <i>-(e/i/a)-š</i>	2pl. <i>-(e/i/a)-te</i>	2sg. <i>piš-e-š</i> 2pl. <i>piš-e-te</i>
3sg. <i>-(e/i/a)-<math>\emptyset</math></i>	3pl. <i>-(u/e/aju)-<math>\emptyset</math></i>	3sg. <i>piš-e-<math>\emptyset</math></i> 3pl. <i>piš-u-<math>\emptyset</math></i>

**TABLE VIII**  
**AORIST**

<b>Aorist endings</b>		<b>Aorist: <u>Conjugation of reći (say)</u></b>	
1sg. <i>-(o)-h</i>	1pl. <i>-(o)-smo</i>	1sg. <i>rek-oh</i>	1pl. <i>rek-osmo</i>
2sg. <i>-(e/i/a)-ø</i>	2pl. <i>-(o)-ste</i>	2sg. <i>reče-ø</i>	2pl. <i>rek-oste</i>
3sg. <i>-(e/i/a)-ø</i>	3pl. <i>-(o)-še</i>	3sg. <i>reče-ø</i>	3pl. <i>rek-oše</i>

**TABLE IX**  
**IMPERFECT**

<b>Imperfect endings</b>		<b>Imperfect: <u>Conjugation of pisati (write)</u></b>	
1sg. <i>-(a)h</i>	1pl. <i>-(a)smo</i>	1sg. <i>pis-ah</i>	1pl. <i>pis-asmo</i>
2sg. <i>-(a)še</i>	2pl. <i>-(a)ste</i>	2sg. <i>pis-aše</i>	2pl. <i>pis-aste</i>
3sg. <i>-(a)še</i>	3pl. <i>-(a)hu</i>	3sg. <i>pis-aše</i>	3pl. <i>pis-ahu</i>

Although it is often suggested that the aorist and imperfect are uncommon and rarely used, they still, nonetheless, continue to be productive tenses in Serbian. The imperfect is usually constructed of the imperfective verbs while the aorist is constructed of both, imperfective and perfective verbs. The limited usage of the aorist and imperfect in Serbian is possible since the perfect (past tense) is commonly used in all the instances where the aorist or imperfect could also be found. The perfect as well as the plusperfect, unlike the aorist and imperfect, are compound tenses constructed from the auxiliary form(s) of the verb *biti* (be) and the I-participle. The perfect is constructed from the present clitic forms of the verb *biti* (be) while plusperfect is constructed from the the present clitic forms of the verb *biti* (be), the I-participle of *biti* (be) and another I-

participle of the main verb. Tables X and XI summarize derivations of the past/perfect and pluperfect tense.

**TABLE X**  
PAST TENSE/PERFECT

<b>The auxiliary form of <i>biti</i> + l-participle of the main verb</b>	
1sg. <i>sam pisala (fem.)</i> wrote	1pl. <i>smo pisale (fem.)</i> wrote
2sg. <i>si pisala (fem.)</i> wrote	2pl. <i>ste pisale (fem.)</i> wrote
3sg. <i>je pisala (fem.)</i> wrote	3pl. <i>su pisale (fem.)</i> wrote

**TABLE XI**  
PLUSPERFECT

<b>The auxiliary form of <i>biti</i> + l-participle of <i>biti</i> + l-participle of the main verb</b>	
1sg. <i>sam bila pisala (fem.)</i> had written	1pl. <i>smo bile pisale (fem.)</i> had written
2sg. <i>si bila pisala (fem.)</i> had written	2pl. <i>ste bile pisale (fem.)</i> had written
3sg. <i>je bila pisala (fem.)</i> had written	3pl. <i>su bile pisale (fem.)</i> had written

In the remaining part of this section, I focus on the nonpast (traditional present tense), the future I, and the future II as they are all associated with *da*-complementation. While it is important to describe different tenses in Serbian, the discussion in this section is centered mainly on the nonpast since it is the notion of the nonpast that is particularly pertinent to the

understanding of the syntactic and semantic nature of the indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements.

### **3.1.3.1 The Present (Nonpast) Tense**

Stevanović (1974) explains that the present tense in Serbian is used to refer to actions that take place in the past, in the future and even to the actions that are unspecified for tense. He explains that the present tense in Serbian is equivalent to the moment of utterance only when it is used in its indicative form. He further mentions that this is just one of many uses of the present tense, so defining the present tense solely as a tense that pertains to the moment of utterance would be incomplete. When discussing different uses of the present tense, Stevanović (1974) differentiates between the *indicative present*, the *relative present* and the *modal present*. He adds that only the present tense of imperfective verbs can be used to express the *indicative present*. On the other hand, the *relative present* is used to describe the actions that are defined or restricted by some other time or moment, not by the time or moment of utterance. He further points out that in addition to the imperfective, perfective verbs are often used in the relative present since the relative present can be used to describe one moment in past, and perfective verbs capture best action that was completed at a specific moment in the past. It is for this reason, he claims, that perfective verbs cannot be used in the *indicative present* since the *indicative present* captures actions that are continuous and are taking place at the moment of utterance which is, instead, captured by the use of imperfective verbs. Stevanović (1974) further adds that the present tense form could be used to refer to future actions, actions that still did not take the place in time. Often various modifiers or adverbs can be used to indicate that actions will take place in the future. However, when sentences or constructions with the present tense

lack these modifiers or adverbs, the present tense can acquire a different reading, a *modal* reading, as Stevanović mentions, which should not be confused with the indicative reading of the present tense when it refers to the moment of utterance. He explains that, although the *modal present* is used in independent as well as dependent contexts, it is more common in dependent contexts serving as a complement to the modals verbs<sup>24</sup>. He further explains that the *modal present* is used as a part of a complex predicate, and that the interpretation of tense in these instances is associated with mood.

Stevanović's explanations for Serbian, an aspect prominent language, alludes to an important trait of the present that can produce ambiguous interpretations (modal, indicative, and relative), which become somewhat resolved and restricted by aspect. While Stevanović (1974) notes that the present tense is open to different interpretations, some of which are not even associated with the present, Bošković (2011) goes so far to suggest that TP projections (for any tense) could be eliminated in languages that lack articles. Analyzing the correlation between DP (Determiner Phrases) and TP projections, Bošković (2011) proposes that languages which lack DP, such as Serbo-Croatian, also lack TP projections.

In addition, Bulatović (2008:98) observes that in examples like those in (3) “the role played by bare plurals in facilitating a generic reading” of imperfective present is very crucial. She further mentions that ambiguous interpretations in examples like those in (3) arise since Serbian lacks articles<sup>25</sup>. The bare plural *studenti* (students) is ambiguous between *the students* or only *students*. In addition, the imperfective present tense of *uče* (study) is ambiguous, yielding

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<sup>24</sup>Stevanović's reference to modal verbs is different than the one I am adopting here. When he uses the term ‘modal’ in Serbian, he refers to all those verbs that allow for any modal complement. His notion of ‘modal’ verbs encompasses many verbs which I separate into subjunctive selecting and indicative selecting verbs.

<sup>25</sup> The lack of articles should be divorced from the term ‘lack of DP’. The lack of articles in some theories is not enough to postulate that a language lacks DP. The question of DP or NP in Slavic is irrelevant here. What is relevant is how the lack of articles contributes to the interpretation of tense, particularly present tense.

two possible interpretations: *study* and *are studying*. The presence of two ambiguous elements in a sentence (bare plurals and the imperfective present in the case of [3]) give rise to two possible interpretations.

(3) Studenti koji uče će **da** piju kafu.

*students who study aux-3sg. da drink INP-1sg. coffee*

i. Students who study will drink coffee. OR

ii. The students who are studying will drink coffee.

Although Bulatović (2008) does not claim that Serbian lacks TP projections, her observations are similar to Bošković's (2011) proposal in that they both notice that lack of articles allows different interpretations of the present tense in Serbian. However, Bošković's (2011) goes further in his claim of no-TP projections in languages that lack DP by suggesting that the tense markers in DP-less languages should be interpreted as the markers of mood and aspect, not tense.

A no-tense approach as suggested by Bošković (2011) poses problems for the interpretation of some but not all tenses. The past and future tenses use auxiliary verbs which clearly need to check their tense features in TP. However, while past and future tenses in Serbian could be said to be specified for tense features, it is not entirely clear for what feature, if any, the present tense is specified.

The ambiguity of tense interpretability and feature specifications is observed with imperfective present. Interpretation of the imperfective present in Serbian is ambiguous between the habitual and the progressive. This ambiguity, for instance, is easier resolved in English which

uses the simple present for the first and the present progressive for the latter. In Serbian, this ambiguity exists since Serbian has only one category of the present (nonpast) tense. Of course, this ambiguity in Serbian complex sentences and clauses could be minimized (although not eliminated) with the use of different syntactic material, but the ambiguity in simple sentences is, nonetheless, obvious as seen in (4). Both actions in (4) are ambiguous, and it is not clear from these statements whether the actions are taking place at the moment of utterance or whether they express habitual actions that are not taking place at the moment of utterance.

- (4)           a. Pišem.  
                   *write INP-1sg.*  
                   i. I am writing.  
                   ii. I write
- b. Učim.  
                   *study INP-1sg.*  
                   i. I am studying.  
                   ii. I study.

Discussing the referential theory of tense proposed by Partee (1973) and Enç (1986), (1987), Bulatović (2008:28) mentions that the basic principle of referential theory explains that “in the absence of surrounding context, the reference time is identified with the utterance time.” If the reference time in Serbian becomes identified with the utterance time in simple sentences in the absence of a surrounding context, then (4) should be interpreted as equivalent to the present



progressive in English, as in (i), but that does not necessarily have to be the case. In other words, the reference time does not have to be equivalent to the utterance time in the case of (4) as it can be interpreted as habitual.

Bulatović (2008) provides a better semantic approach to the present tense which I adopt and develop in my analysis of the subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements. Following Giannakidou (2009), Bulatović (2008) analyzes the present tense (the nonpast) as a “supplying forward moving time interval with a dependent left boundary that requires an anchor.” This approach accounts for both, INP (imperfective nonpast), which has different anchoring possibilities, and PNP (perfective nonpast), which is illicit without an anchor. Bulatović’s (2008) proposal for the nonpast derived from Giannakidou’s (2009) proposal for the Greek nonpast resolves the ambiguous interpretation of the nonpast in Serbian. Although the name “nonpast” in both Bulatović (2008) and Giannakidou’s views (2009) eliminates present, it does not eliminate the tense. The nonpast is still a tense which “supplies a forward moving interval” and which requires an anchor. As I propose in Chapter One of this manuscript, PNP (perfective nonpast) is a deficient tense and, as such, is always generated in DefT<sub>M</sub>P while INP (imperfective nonpast) deficiency is determined by an anchor; when INP is anchored by *da* [-veridical], it is deficient and generated in DefT<sub>M</sub>P, but when anchored by *da* [+veridical], INP is not deficient as it checks its tense feature in T<sub>S</sub>P.

In the subsequent chapters, I claim that because INP has different anchoring possibilities, and in a sense is less restricted in a sense than PNP, it will be allowed in Pol<sub>S</sub>P, as well as in Pol<sub>O</sub>P domains. Since INP can be anchored by *da* [+veridical] and *da* [-veridical], this further suggests that INP could be interpreted and found in veridical as well as nonveridical contexts. On the other hand, along the lines of Bulatović’s proposals for PNP, and consistent with my claim

that PNP can only be anchored by *da* [-veridical], I propose that PNP's projection is limited to the domain of Pol<sub>0</sub>P, a nonveridical domain.

### 3.1.3.2 Future I

Besides the nonpast, future (I) is another tense often used with *da*-complements.

Mišeska-Tomić (2003:531) claims that the Serbo-Croatian future tense [I] is “a mono-clausal configuration with two finite verbs: one auxiliary and one lexical one.” As illustrated in Table XII, future I is a compound tense constructed of a clitic form of the auxiliary verb *hteti* (to want) and infinitive or *da+nonpast* constructions. Since the infinitive, a non-finite form, can be used to construct future I, then it is incorrect to claim that future I is a configuration with two finite forms.

**TABLE XII**  
FUTURE I AUXILIARY FORMS

<b>Auxiliary clitic forms of the verb <i>hteti</i> (want) used for the formation of Future I:</b>	
1sg. <i>ću</i>	1pl. <i>ćemo</i>
2sg. <i>ćeš</i>	2pl. <i>ćete</i>
3sg. <i>će</i>	3pl. <i>će</i>

There are three acceptable models of the future (I) in Serbian. The auxiliary clitics can either precede the finite verb cluster, *da*+PNP/INP (Pattern I), precede the infinitive (Pattern II), or follow the infinitive (Pattern III). Table XIII shows all possible patterns.

**TABLE XIII**  
**FUTURE I**

<u>Pattern I</u> (I will cook)	<u>Pattern II</u> ( I will cook)	<u>Pattern III</u> (I will cook)
<i>Aux+da+PNP/INP</i>	<i>Aux+Infinitive</i>	<i>Infinitive + Aux</i>
<i>ću da (s)kuvam</i>	<i>ću kuvati</i>	<i>Kuvaću or kuvati ću</i>
<i>ću da idem</i>	<i>ću ići</i>	<i>ići ću</i>

With Pattern I, the auxiliary clitic cannot separate *da* from the verb, and it must precede the whole cluster *da+INP/PNP*. With Pattern II, the auxiliary clitic precedes the infinitive. On the other hand, with the Pattern III, the auxiliary clitic follows the infinitive. If the auxiliary clitic follows the infinitive that ends in *-ti*, then the infinitive is truncated: the ending *-ti* drops before the auxiliary clitic *ću*, and together the truncated infinitive and clitic form one constituent. If the infinitive ends in *-ći*, the auxiliary clitic must be separated from the infinitive given that truncation of *-ći* does not occur with Pattern III.

(5) a. Ja **ću** **da** kuvam večeru. → Pattern I: *da+INP*

*I aux-1sg da cook INP-1sg. dinner*

b. Ja **ću** **da** skuvam večeru. → Pattern I: *da+PNP*

*I aux-1sg da cook PNP-1sg. dinner*

c. Ja **ću** (s)kuvati večeru. → *Pattern II: Aux+Infinitive*

*I aux-1sg (perf.)-cook-imperf. INF dinner*

d. Kuvaću večeru. → *Pattern III: Infinitive+Aux*

*cook INP+aux-1sg dinner*

I will cook the dinner.

### 3.1.3.3. Future II

In addition to future I, future II is yet another tense used with *da*-constructions. Future II is also a compound tense constructed of PNPOf *biti* (be) and the I-participle of either imperefective or perfective verbs. What is perhaps the most important to note is that Future II cannot be used in independent contexts. It is restricted in particular to embedded, dependent clauses.

**TABLE XIV**  
**FUTURE II**

<b>Future II constructions of verb <i>pisati</i> (write)</b>	
1sg. <i>budem pisala</i> (will write)	1pl. <i>budemo pisale</i> (will write)
2sg. <i>budeš pisala</i> (will write)	2pl. <i>budete pisale</i> (will write)
3sg. <i>bude pisala</i> (will write)	3pl. <i>буду pisale</i> (will write)

Bulatović (2008:13) notes that future II has limited distribution as it is used only in “conditional, relative and temporal restrictors of futurate modal structures.” The examples in (6),

adopted from Bulatović (2008), demonstrate conditional, temporal, and relative restrictors.

Furthermore, as noted in (6), *će*-future is commonly used in the matrix clauses which select for future II in the embedded clause.

- (6) a. Marko *će* **da** položi ispit ako bude pročitao knjigu. → **conditional restrictor**

*Marko aux-3sg da pass PNP-3sg. exam if aux-3sg read l-part.masc. book*

Mark will pass the exam if he reads the book.

- b. Marko *će* **da** odmara kada bude učio. → **temporal restrictor**

*Marko aux-3sg. da relax INP-3sg. when aux-3sg. study l-part.masc.*

Mark will relax when he studies (in the future)

- c. Studenti koji budu dolazili na čas *će* **da** polože ispit. → **relative restrictor**

*students who aux-3pl.come l-part.masc. to class aux-3pl. da pass PNP-3pl. exam*

The students who come to class will pass the exam.

Bulatović (2008:18) further claims that the future should be understood as a modal operator, not a tense. In addition, she (2008:112) observes that in Serbian “there is no future tense [and that] future temporal orientation arises because PNP/F2 denotes a forward moving interval. When the dependent left boundary of this interval is identified under an appropriate nonveridical operator, the dependents are rendered grammatical and futurate.”

### 3.1.3.4. Conclusion

What can be concluded from the discussion on tenses is that the nonpast and future tenses should not be viewed as simply tenses. As they contribute to the interpretation of mood, they could be also viewed as moods. Stevanović (1974) suggests, that in addition to the present tense, the aorist too in Serbian can be used in modal sense. If the nonpast, future tenses, and aorist exhibit characteristics of modality and could be interpreted as moods not tenses, the the question arises whether other tenses could exhibit similar characteristics. After all, the l-participle used to interpret the optative mood is also used to construct compound tenses, such as the past tense and the plusperfect. If the same element is used in the constructions of various tenses and moods, then the question that we must ask is how that same element in some instances gives rise to modal interpretations while in other instances it gives rise to tense interpretation. This is the main question I address in this dissertation while analyzing *da*-complements. Specifically, I try to explain how syntactic-semantic interference allows, in one case, for an indicative interpretation while in other case, for a subjunctive interpretation of *da*-complements.

## 3.2 Clausal System

In this section, I provide a descriptive overview of independent and dependent contexts in which *da* is commonly found. First, in Section 3.2.1 I present a descriptive overview of the matrix contexts in which *da* is used; then I call attention to some of the dependent contexts in which *da* is found in Serbian.

The optative, hortative, and secondary imperatives, some of which are mentioned in section 3.1.2, intersect with the subjunctive and indicative in that they are all part of the mood system in Serbian and could be constructed with *da*. Although my proposals and analysis

discussed in Chapters Four and Five are strictly limited to indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements in dependent contexts, the analysis I provide for *da* used in dependent contexts can call attention to and encourage further analysis of *da* used in the root clauses<sup>26</sup>. There will be more reference to independent contexts in the concluding remarks of Chapter Six where the implications of my analysis and suggestions for the future research are discussed.

In section 3.2.2, I provide a descriptive overview of the dependent contexts in which *da* is commonly found. In Chapter Four and Five I extend the discussion of *da*-complements following a non-descriptive approach to their classification and provide an analysis. Although in section 3.2.2 I use the term clause for all the different instances of the *da*-complements I introduce, in Chapters Four and Five, I refrain from the term clause and instead use only a term *da*-complement.

### **3.2.1 Independent (Root) Contexts with *da*-constructions**

While analyzing and comparing Serbian *da* to Macedonian and Bulgarian *da*, Kramer (1986) points out several different uses of *da* in Serbian. Among some of the independent contexts in which *da* is used in Serbian, she mentions optative, hortative, second-person command (secondary imperative), surprise, and interrogative constructions. Although I will not provide an extensive analysis of *da* used in these independent contexts, an overview of those contexts is helpful and necessary in order to better understand the versatility of *da*, the complexity of the structures in which *da* is used, and the contribution of tense and aspect to the interpretation of mood.

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<sup>26</sup> As pointed out to me by Anastasia Giannakidou in a personal conversation *da* used in root contexts could be associated with illocutionary force and is perhaps generated higher than the *da* used in the indicative and subjunctive complements. A further research is necessary to attest the plausibility of this claim.

*Optative (wish):*

- (7) **Da** si živ i zdrav!

Kramer (1986)

**da** aux-2sg. alive and healthy

May you be alive and healthy!

*Hortative:*

- (8) **Da** pospremimo sobu!

**da** make PNP-2pl. room!

We should clean the room!

*Interrogative:*

- (9) a. **Da** li je Marko napisao zadaću?

**da** li aux-3sg. Marko write perf. l-part.masc. homework

Did Marko write the homework?

- b. **Da** nisi nešto bolestan?

Kramer (1986)

**da** not-aux-2sg. something sick

You are not sick, are you?

*Surprise:*

- (10) **Da** on ne dođe!

Kramer (1986)

**da** he not came-3sg.

He didn't come, did he?



*Imperative:*

(11) a. *Da* se nisi pomakla!

*da se-reflx. not-aux2sg. moved-fem.*

Don't you dare move!

b. *Da* napišeš zadaću!

*da write PNP-2sg homework*

May you write the homework!

All these independent contexts with *da* raise abundant questions. Among these questions perhaps the most pressing ones are questions of the contribution of aspect and tense to the interpretation of mood. Hortatives and secondary imperatives seem to be both possible with *da+nonpast*. What is more, PNP seems to be allowed with both, hortative and secondary imperatives when introduced by *da*. Moreover, the use of PNP is necessary to render the mood of secondary imperative, but if INP is used instead, then the the only possible interpretation is that of the optative. In addition, when negative imperatives as in (11a) are used with *da*, the past tense must be used even though the interpretation of the action/command does not fall within the scope of the past. In the surprise expressions such as those in (10), the aorist is used to express the surprise about the actions that could have taken place in the past. Besides restrictions of aspect and tense in (7)-(11), another important phenomenon that cannot leave unnoticed is the contribution of negation. If negation is taken to carry modal implicature, and if *da* is also required for the interpretability of mood as in (11a), then it cannot be proposed that both *da* and negation are generated in the same syntactic position. Obviously, in the case of (11a), *da* needs

to be projected much higher than negation for the proposition to remain licit. On the other hand, interrogative sentences such as those in (9a) are different than examples in (7), (8), (10), and (11) since interrogatives require the clitic *li* for the correct interpretation. Furthermore, negative interrogatives as those in (9b) do not require the clitic *li* for the proposition to remain licit; on the contrary, if the clitic *li* were inserted in (9b), the structure would be illicit. Since interrogatives as those in (9a) do not pose aspect or tense restrictions, it could be proposed that *da* used in these types of constructions is of a different syntactic projection than *da* used in the other modal root contexts presented in this section. Vrzić (1996) treats *da+li* as one type of complementizer, clearly distinguishing it from the “modal” *da*. If *da* in interrogatives is different than *da* in other independent modal contexts, then it is necessary to determine on what basis the interrogative *da* is different from the modal *da*.

Although it would seem much more plausible to suggest that *da* in subjunctive complements should be the same as *da* used in the independent modal contexts, it would not be an entirely correct observation. First of all, data in Chapter Four will contrast the observation with the data in this section. Some points of contrast between *da* used in independent modal contexts from *da* used in dependent subjunctive contexts would be negation position, clitic placement, and tense restrictions. As I discuss later in Chapters Four and Five, these are some of the common categories that account for the difference between the indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements. Negation and clitic placement, as well as tense restrictions, unexpectedly seem to emerge as the main differences between subjunctive (embedded) and other modal (root) *da*-constructions discussed here. In other words, *da* in independent/root contexts as in (7), (8), (9), (10), and (11) seems to be on par with *da* used in indicative dependent *da*-complements rather than with *da* used in subjunctive *da*-complements. A thorough investigation of *da* in

independent contexts falls outside the scope of this project for now, and thus a more detailed analysis would be required to validate the proposals suggested here.

### 3.2.2 Dependent (Embedded) Contexts with *da*-costructions

In Serbian, *da* is also used to introduce a complement or dependent clause. Commonly, *da* is used in indirect speech, in addition to declarative-indicative, declarative-volitional, resultative, purpose, and conditional clauses (Stevanović 1974). Although many other complementizers can be used in dependent clauses presented in this section, I focus exclusively on examples and possibilities with *da*.

In indirect speech, as in (12a), *da* is equivalent to the English complementizer *that*. The verb *reći* can be translated to English as *tell* or *say*. In order to render indirect speech as in (12a), *reći* must be interpreted as *say*.

*Indirect speech:*

(12) a. Rekla                      sam        ***da*** sam umorna.

*told l-part.fem. aux-1sg. da aux-1sg. tired*

I said that I am tired.

*Wish or Command:*

b. Rekla                      sam        Marku        ***da*** napiše                      pismo.

*told l-part.fem. aux-1sg. Marku-dat. da write PNP-3sg. letter*

I told Marko to write a letter.

To be interpreted as *tell*, *reći* requires an object as in (12b). In constructions where *reći* selects for an object complemented by a *da*-construction, there are two possible options. In case where the object of the matrix clause is co-referenced with the subject of the *da*-complement as in (12b), the only possible tense in the *da*-complement is the nonpast. If the object of *reći* (*tell*) is not co-referenced with the subject of the embedded *da*-constructions, the tense restriction to the nonpast only is not required, because other tenses are acceptable. Specifically, in cases of the object control with *da*-complements of *reći*, as in (12b), the proposition is interpreted as a matrix subject order or command which should be fulfilled by the object of the matrix clause/the embedded subject of the *da*-construction, and the proposition in that case can only be interpreted as nonveridical. In cases of non-obligatory object control where the embedded subject of *da*-construction is co-referenced with the matrix subject, the proposition is interpreted as veridical. This alternation between veridical and nonveridical interpretations (non-control and object control) of propositions constructed with verbs of speech and communication is also observed in Romance. Quer (2010: 166) notes that “under a reading conveying a report of an assertion, [verbs of speech and communication] unproblematically take the indicative, but when they combine with the subjunctive they report the issuing of an order or a wish”. Quer (2010:166) further notes that the subjunctive complements of verbs of speech and communication “display the properties of the intensional one,” and adds that this pattern is common in the languages that exhibit “indicative/subjunctive” contrast. From the data presented in (12), it is observed that Serbian verbs of speech and communication are akin to Romance, and, as such they allow for the indicative as well as subjunctive, complementation. Therefore, *da*-complements, such as those in (12a), should be distinguished from *da*-complements as those in (12b).

Next, declarative-indicative clauses as in (13) express the perception of real action while declarative-volitional clauses as in (14) express the mood of unreal action. The verbs of saying, seeing, thinking or feeling are usually complemented by declarative-indicative clauses while the verbs of wanting, planning, preparing, or needing are usually completed by declarative-volitional clauses.

*Declarative-indicative:*

- (13) Vidim **da** su svi došli na vreme.

*see-1sg. da aux-3pl. all came l-part.masc. on time.*

I see that everybody came on time.

*Declarative-volitional:*

- (14) Ona nije htela **da** se zaljubi.

*she not-aux-3sg. wanted l-part.fem. da se fall in love PNP-3sg.*

She did not want to fall in love.

As Stevanović (1974) notes, the resultative clauses as in (15), which are most commonly introduced by *da*, can be of an indicative or modal character, in which the embedded verb is not restricted to the present, since other tenses are also acceptable. In purpose clauses as in (16), the complement verb is usually restricted only to the nonpast or the potential. Either way, *da* is used to introduce the nonpast or the potential in purpose clauses. Conditional clauses as in (17) are used to express the actions that are either real and possible or unreal. However, when *da* is used to introduce conditional clauses, the only possible interpretation given to conditional sentence is

a modal interpretation. The fact that the modal interpretation is restricted, and only possible, in conditional sentences, when *da* introduces the embedded clause, suggests that *da* constitutes a significant syntactic and semantic element further affecting the interpretation of the proposition.

*Resultative:*

- (15) Vjera je u njima slaba **da** se ruši kao trula ograda. Stevanović (1974)

*faith aux-3sg. in them weak da se tear down INP-3sg. like decaying fence.*

Their faith in them is weak so that it tears down like a decaying fence.

*Purpose:*

- (16) Otišla je na žurku **da** upozna momke.

*left l-part.fem. aux-3sg on party da meet PNP-3sg. boys.*

She went to the party to meet boys.

*Conditional:*

- (17) Ne bi nikada došla **da** ti nisam poslala poruku.

*not aux-3sg. never came l-part.fem. da you not-aux-3sg. sent l-part.fem. message*

You would not have never arrived if I hadn't sent you a message.

In Chapter Four, I restrict the observation and investigation of *da*-constructions that serve as complements to indicative- and subjunctive-selecting verbs. This investigation includes, among others, complement constructions discussed, but not limited to, declarative-indicative, declarative-volitional, and the complements of verbs of speech and communication. Since my

approach to the classification of dependent *da*-constructions is restricted by the selection of the main verb, I use in my classification the terms “subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements” to account for a wide range of dependent environments, including those mentioned and not mentioned in this section of Chapter Three.

#### 4. SEMANTIC RESTRICTIONS IN THE INDICATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE

##### *DA-COMPLEMENTS*

This chapter closely examines the research data, particularly, *da*-constructions in control environments of verbs that commonly select for indicative and subjunctive complements. Many verbs in Serbian that allow for the infinitive allow for *da*-complementation as well, and the choice of the complement is frequently alterable. However, alternation between an infinitival or *da*-complementation is not always possible, as an infinitive in many cases cannot replace a *da*-complement (such as *da*-complements of veridical indicative-selecting verbs). Furthermore, the syntactic and semantic proposals for infinitival complementation are not automatically applicable and acceptable as the right syntactic and semantic solutions for all *da*-complements just because both types of complementation are possible in a number of identical environments. In other words, just because an  $\alpha$  can replace a  $\beta$ , it does not imply that  $f(\alpha)$  equals  $f(\beta)$ . The focus of my investigation in this chapter are solely *da*-complements and not the infinitival complements, although the reference to infinitival complementation is made in specific instances to highlight my proposal for the existence of two different types of *da(s)*.

The following tests of aspect, tense restrictions, negation, licensing of negative polarity items and clitic placement account for the difference between *da*-constructions that serve as complements to two major groups of verbs, indicative- and subjunctive-selecting verbs. Each test further highlights syntactic and semantic difference between the subjunctive and indicative *da*. As many of my proposals are based on theories of tense, aspect, mood, particles, complementizers, and verb classifications derived from Greek data, there will be some references to Greek. However, my underlying point in this chapter is not to draw a comparison/contrast between Greek (or another language) and Serbian; rather, the investigation shows that theories



developed based on Greek data could be easily applied to understand similar phenomena in the Serbian language.

As a starting point, I adopt Giannakidou's (1998, 2009) classification of indicative- and subjunctive- selecting verbs for Greek and adapt it to Serbian. I observe the behavior of *da*-complements after indicative and subjunctive selecting verbs. After a careful review and based on the results of the data, I conclude that *da* in indicative complements is different from *da* in subjunctive *da*-complements. Those differences are to be carefully examined in this chapter. The following is the classification of verbs as adopted from Giannakidou (1998, 2009) and adapted to Serbian:

### **Indicative:**

Assertive: *reći* (say), *kazati* (tell), *tvrditi* (claim)

Fiction verbs: *sanjati* (dream), *zamišljati* (imagine)

Epistemic: *verovati* (believe), *misлити* (think)

Factives: *znati* (know), *biti drago* (be glad), *žaliti* (regret)

Semi-factives: *otkriti* (discover), *sećati se* (remember)

### **Subjunctive:**

#### **Group I:**

Volitionals: *želeći* (desire), *hteti* (want), *nadati se* (hope), *planirati* (plan)

Directives: *narediti* (to order), *savetovati* (advise), *predložiti* (suggest)

Modals: *morati* (must), *moгуće je da* (it is possible) *treba da* (it is necessary)

Permissives: *dozvoliti* (allow)

Negative: *izbegavati* (avoid), *odbiti* (refuse), *zabraniti* (forbid)

Verbs of fear: *plašiti se* (to be afraid)

## Group II

Aspectual: *početi* (start), *nastaviti* (continue)

Perception: *videti* (see), *čuti* (hear)

Commissive: *prisiliti* (force), *terati* (to force by inducing), *obećati* (promise)

Implicative verbs: *uspeti* (manage)

### 4.1 Aspect

Aspect is perhaps the single most important category in determining the nature of *da*. Since the constructions I am analyzing involve matrix as well as complement verbs, it is important to mention at the beginning of this section ways in which I plan to investigate the occurrence of aspect. Many of indicative- and subjunctive- selecting verbs listed in the introductory paragraph of Chapter Four can have both, an imperfective and a perfective aspect. The selection of aspect for the matrix verb can render a different interpretation as well as different proposals for analysis of *da*; therefore, I will restrict aspect in the matrix verb to only the imperfective nonpast (INP).

The matrix verbs in all of the examples in this section (and other sections of Chapter Five) are limited (wherever possible) to only the imperfective nonpast. On the other hand, the complement verbs are examined with both, the perfective and imperfective nonpast as well as other tenses. In other words, the relationship between an imperfective matrix verb in the nonpast and its perfective and imperfective complement are examined only in control constructions. If I

were to consider the perfective aspect in the matrix verb, then many of the proposal I make for data with imperfective matrix verbs will fail for data with perfective matrix verbs. For example, the only reason why (1a) is licit and why (1b) is illicit turns on the choice of the aspect for the matrix verb. Specifically, the imperfective nonpast *sećati* (remember) does not allow for the *da*+PNP, and, for that reason, (1b) is illicit. On the other hand, the perfective *setiti* (remember) allows for the *da*+PNP, and, for that reason, (1a) is licit.

- (1) a. Setim se                **da**    pogasim                svetla svaki put kada    izađem    iz kuće.  
           *remember PNP-1sg. da turn off PNP-1sg. lights every time when leave-1sg from house*  
           I remember to turn off the lights each time when I leave the house.
- b. \*Sećam                se                **da**    pogasim                svetla svaki put kada    izađem    iz kuće.  
           *remember INP-1sg. se da turn off PNP-1sg. lights every time when leave-1sg from house*  
           I remember to turn off the lights each time when I leave the house.

One solution to the problem in (1) can be provided with the notion of (non)veridicality. If every instance of PNP is considered nonveridical, then that implies that all nonveridical matrix PNP verbs select for *da* [-veridical]. Furthermore, as observed in Chapter Three, perfective prefixes quantify universally over the direct object and when there is no nominal object, a verbal complement must be present after a PNP to render a licit reading.<sup>27</sup> Although the matrix aspect selection plays a role in the complement selection and poses certain syntactic restrictions, I do not wish to inquire any further into the difference between a matrix PNP and matrix INP since

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<sup>27</sup> Another important observation about the matrix PNP is that it requires obligatory control in most cases. However, to prove a validity of this observation, further research is necessary.

shifting the focus from *da*-complementation to aspect would represent a diversion from the primary topic of this investigation. At this point, I intend to return to the investigation of *da*-complements of the imperfective indicative- and subjunctive-selecting verbs.

In Sections 4.1.1, 4.1.2, 4.2.1, and 4.2.2 I show that what determines the selection of a *da*-complement is not restricted solely by the semantics of the matrix verb. I show that the limitations of aspect and tense in the complement are also important for interpretation of the subjunctive or the indicative. The data shows that the aspect of the embedded verb, together with *da* (*da*+PNP or *da*+INP), gives rise to either subjunctive or indicative readings. The aspect of the embedded verb together with the selection of either *da* [+veridical] or *da* [-veridical] further restricts in some instances the semantic interpretation of the matrix verb.

#### **4.1.1 Aspect in the Indicative *da*-complements**

In (2a), the indicative verb *zamišljati* (imagine) allows for *da* + imperfective nonpast (INP) as a complement, but in (2b) it does not allow *da*+perfective nonpast (PNP). The aspect restriction in indicative complements is semantic rather than syntactic. Following Ginnakidou (2009), “a propositional operator *F* is veridical iff *Fp* entails or presupposes that *p* is true in some individual’s epistemic model *Me*(*x*); otherwise *F* is nonveridical.” Since epistemic verbs and verbs such as *think*, *imagine*, and *dream* could be taken to be veridical because the worlds of thinking, dreaming, and imagining replace the actual world and within these worlds, for example, if “*x dreams that p*” *p* must be true. The veridical verb *zamišljati* (imagine) in sentences (2a-b) is true in the moment of utterance because *x*, (*I*) *imagines to p*, (*fly*) and, as such, the flying action is real in an imaginary world; therefore, *da* + PNP cannot be used as its

complement to express the truth of the action taking place at the moment of utterance, since something that is perfective cannot be interpreted as true *now*.

(2) a. Zamišljam *da* letim.

*imagine-1sg da fly INP-1sg.*

I imagine that I am flying

b. \*Zamišljam *da* poletim.

*imagine-1sg da fly PNP-1sg.*

What is also very important to observe here is that, although examples in (2a-b) are instances of control, *da*-complements cannot be replaced by infinitives. The veridical, indicative-selecting verb does not allow for alternations of *da*-complements with infinitives. This example supports the notion observed in Chapter One that *da+present* is not always alterable with an infinitive, even with restrictions to the same syntactic environment in which the two can occur, in this instance control. In conclusion, indicative *da*-complements cannot be replaced by an infinitive.

Quer (2010:168) observes that “the verb meaning is not the only choice of determining the mood” and that the complement itself contributes to the interpretation of indicative vs. subjunctive. Similarly, Roussou (2009:1815) observes for Greek that in the cases of epistemic predicates “the triggered modality is a by product of the lexical properties of the matrix predicate and the *na*-clause [complement clause].” The data in (3), (4), and (5) further suggest that the observation noted by Quer (2010) and Roussou (2009) can extend to Serbian as well. First, based

on the data in (3), (4), and (5), it is possible to conclude that the aspect restriction of the embedded verb is not uniform across all indicative-selecting verbs. Therefore, epistemic *misliti* (think) or factive *znati* (know) allow for both *da* + INP and *da* + PNP. Second, the choice of the complement determines the semantic interpretation of the matrix verbs (*misliti* or *znati*). The examples in (3), (4), and (5) provide evidence that not only do the semantic properties of the matrix verb contribute to the interpretation of the indicative and subjunctive, but *da*-complements do as well. Dual interpretations for the examples in (3), (4), and (5), on the other hand, are only possible if we consider that there are two different *da*-complements.

- (3) a. Mislim            ***da*** napišem            pismo.

*think(plan)-1.sg da write PNP-1sg. letter*

I think (plan) to write a letter.

- b. Mislim    ***da*** pišem            pismo.

*think-1.sg da write INP-1sg. letter*

i. I think that I am writing the letter.

ii. I think (plan) to write a letter.

- (4) Mislim            ***da*** (na)pišem            pismo sutra.

*think(plan)-1sg da (PNP) write INP-1sg. letter tomorrow*

I think (plan) to write a letter tomorrow.

When *misliti* (think) is followed by *da*+PNP, as in (3a), the sentence receives a subjunctive interpretation since *misliti* is interpreted as *plan*. In that case, the matrix verb is to be understood as nonveridical. In addition, with *misliti*, *da*+PNP or *da*+INP can have a future orientation when an adverb of time is present as in (4). In the case of (4), for the proposition to receive a future interpretation, *misliti* is interpreted as *plan*. When *misliti* is followed by *da*+INP, as in (3b), the sentence receives an indicative interpretation as in (i), as well as a subjunctive interpretation, as in (ii), because *misliti* will be understood as the veridical, indicative verb *think* in (i) and as the nonveridical verb *plan* as in (ii). Interestingly, both instances of *da*-complements in (3a) and (3b) allow for alternation with an infinitive. However, the indicative reading in (3b) is no longer available if replaced by an infinitive. The only possible reading for (3b) with an infinitive would be the subjunctive reading, equivalent to what we see in (3a). In other words, the indicative *da*-complement after verb *misliti* cannot be replaced by an infinitive only the subjunctive can. The notion of aspect in the infinitive complement no longer allows for differentiation between the indicative and subjunctive reading, as the subjunctive reading is the only one possible with both perfective and imperfective infinitives. This (im)possibility of the alternation between indicative *da*-complement and an infinitive and the possibility of the alternation between subjunctive *da*-complement and an infinitive suggests that indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements are not to be understood as identical.

Stevanović (1954), after carefully observing the infinitive/*da*-complement alternation in Serbian, explains that, although the infinitive and *da* + present are used in a parallel way, they should not always be seen as equivalent, because the selection of the infinitive or *da* + present complement depends on the semantic/syntactic characteristics of the matrix verb. He further adds that *da* + present complement constructions cannot be replaced with an infinitive in instances

where the matrix and embedded subjects are disassociated (not identical). I will extend his observation by adding that the replacement of *da+nonpast* by an infinitive is impossible in indicative non-control environments. In addition, Ivić (1970) claims that *misliti* (think) takes what she classifies to be both, mobile and non-mobile present tense. To interpret Ivić (1970) in another way, this statement means that *misliti* allows for two different types of *da+nonpast* complementation. The mobile present is the present that can be replaced by another tense: in this case, the mobile present would correspond to INP. The non-mobile present is the present that cannot be replaced by another tense: in this case, the non-mobile present would correspond to PNP.

I claim that the selection of a complement, *da+PNP* or *da+INP*, determines the interpretation of *misliti*, not the other way around. It is the aspect selection of the complement (*da+INP* or *da+PNP*) that determines the semantic interpretation of the matrix verb. The matrix verb *misliti* could be ambiguous in its semantic interpretation. Without a *da*-complement, this verb is interpreted as veridical, as *misliti* without a complement can only be interpreted as *think*. It is the choice of the complement that allows for a different interpretation of *misliti*.

Similar to epistemic *misliti* (think), factive *znati* (know) can also be followed by *da+INP* or *da+PNP* as in (5a-b). Therefore, like epistemic *misliti* (think), factive *znati* (know) could be also interpreted as veridical and nonveridical, and the same observations made for complements of *misliti* (think) are valid for complements of *znati* (know). However, the situation with *znati* is more complicated because there are two possible interpretations in both instances of (5a) and (5b): two different interpretations with *da+INP* complements and two different interpretations with *da+PNP* complements. As observed earlier when discussing tense in Section 2.1.3, the lack of articles in Serbian allows for an ambiguous interpretation of INP. This notion is clearly



observed in (5a). While (5a) can only yield an indicative interpretation with both readings (i) and (ii), (5b) gives rise just to a subjunctive readings.

(5) a. Znam **da** pravim tortu.

*know-1sg da make INP-1sg. cake*

i. I know that I am making the cake.

ii. I know how to make a cake.

b. Znam **da** napravim tortu.

*know-1sg da make PNP-1sg. cake*

i. I know how to make a cake.

ii. It happens that I (on occasion) make a cake.

c. Znam **da** napravim tortu \*sutra.

*know-1sg da make PNP-1sg. cake tomorrow.*

What is also important to rule out is that the *da*+PNP complements of *znati* cannot have a future interpretation, unlike *da*+PNP with *misliti*, and as a result (5c) is illicit with an adverb of time. The example in (5c) shows that PNP in Slavic (at least in Serbian) cannot be understood to always refer to a future interpretation.

The possible dual interpretations that occur with indicative verbs are not limited only to factive and epistemic verbs in Serbian. Some assertive verbs such as *kazati* (tell), for example, in addition to *da*+INP, also allow for *da*+PNP. Although less commonly used in control

constructions with *kazati*, *da*+PNP is readily available in non-control contexts since it is often interpreted as *order-tell*, as observed in (6). In the case of (6), *kazati* can only be interpreted as nonveridical verb expressing a desire, wish, or a command of the matrix subject. It is not frequent that one would order himself to do something, and, for that reason, when the matrix and embedded subjects are co-referenced with *kazati* or other verbs of speech and communication, the proposition tends to be less acceptable.

- (6) a. ?Kažem *da* napišem zadaću.  
*say-1sg. da write PNP-1sg. homework*  
 I say that I should write the homework.

- b. Kažem *da* napišeš zadaću.  
*say-1sg. da write PNP-1sg. homework*  
 I say that you should write the homework.

However, the indicative verb that does not allow for *da*+PNP, but only for *da*+INP, is the assertive, strictly veridical verb *tvrditi* (claim). As observed in (7), *tvrditi* (claim) can only be interpreted as veridical, and, for that reason, only allows for *da*+INP.

- (7) a. Tvrdim *da* pišem pismo.  
*claim-1sg. da write INP-1sg. letter*  
 I claim to write the letter.

b. \*Tvrđim **da** napišem pismo.

*claim-1sg. da write PNP-1sg. letter*

I claim to write the letter.

Finally, the investigation of the complement selection with indicative verbs points out that many indicative verbs (with the exception of *tvrditi*) can take both *da*+INP and *da*+PNP as complements. This further suggests that not all indicative verbs are to be considered as veridical since many allow PNP in their complements, commonly selected by nonveridical verbs. In addition, dual interpretations of indicative verbs (veridical vs. nonveridical interpretations), which arise with *da*-complements, tell us that not only do the semantic properties of the matrix (indicative) verb determine what aspect is allowed in *da*-complements, but the aspect of the complement can restrict the interpretation of the matrix verb. In other words, some indicative verbs are ambiguous in their interpretation. Their semantic ambiguity becomes restricted when they are complemented by *da*+INP or *da*+PNP.

#### 4.1.2 Aspect in the Subjunctive *da*-complements

A volitional verb, *hteti* (want), selects either *da*+ INP or *da* + PNP as in (8a-b). Subjunctive-selecting verbs are nonveridical, and unlike indicative-selecting verbs, they cannot receive a veridical interpretation. Therefore, they are not true at the moment of utterance expressed *now* (with or without *da*-complements). As Giannakidou (2009) proposes “a propositional operator *F* is veridical iff *Fp* entails or presupposes that *p* is true in some individual’s epistemic model *Me*(x); otherwise *F* is nonveridical.” Since the verb *želeti* (want) does not entail the truth, then its complement cannot fail to be true in an epistemic model. As a

result, volitionals readily allow *da*+PNP, since PNP manifests action that cannot be completed *now* at the moment of utterance, action that is not true in an epistemic model. Moreover, constructions with INP are also possible as volitional complements. However, in Chapter Five, I claim that *da*+INP complements of volitionals, and generally other nonveridical verbs such as epistemic and factive nonveridical verbs, are distinct from the *da*+INP complements of veridical verbs. These differences between the indicative (veridical) *da*+INP and the subjunctive (nonveridical) *da*+INP are not solely established based on the semantic properties of the matrix verb. The selection of *da* also determines whether INP is interpreted as veridical or nonveridical.

Subjunctive-selective verbs, unlike indicative-selective verbs (with the exception of epistemic *misliti* (think/plan) and factive *znati* [know]), allow for a future interpretation with both, *da*+INP and *da*+PNP, as in (9a).

(8) a. Hoću ***da*** pišem pismo.

*want-1sg. da write INP-1sg. letter*

I want to write a letter.

b. Hoću ***da*** napišem pismo

*want-1sg da write PNP-1sg. letter*

(9) a. Hoću ***da*** (na)pišem pismo sutra.

*want-1sg. da (PNP)write INP-1sg. letter tomorrow*

Like volitional verbs, modal verbs in Serbian also allow either for *da*+INP or *da*+PNP. In addition, a future interpretation is also possible with *da*+PNP or *da*+INP complements of modal verbs. In (10a-b) the modal verb *morati* (must) selects either *da*+PNP or *da*+INP. Most subjunctive-selecting verbs exhibit a similar behavior, allowing both *da*+INP or *da*+PNP complements and giving rise to a future interpretation.

(10) a. Moram *da* pišem pismo.

*must-1sg. da write INP-1sg. letter*

I must write a letter.

b. Moram *da* napišem pismo (sutra).

*must-1sg. da write PNP-1sg. letter (tomorrow)*

I have to write the letter (tomorrow).

All instances of *da*+PNP or *da*+INP could be replaced by an infinitive after volitionals and modals. As it was observed in 4.1.1, replacement of a *da*-complement by an infinitive is dependent on (non)veridicality since some indicative, but nonveridical verbs such as *misliti* (think/plan) and *znati* (know) allow an infinitival complement unlike indicative veridical verbs, such as *tvrditi* (claim), which do not allow an infinitival complement. As noted in 4.1.1, only control constructions selected by nonveridical verbs can be replaced by an infinitive. However, there are limitations within control complements as to which can and which cannot be replaced by an infinitive. Subject control complements of nonveridical verbs can be replaced by infinitives. On the other hand, object control *da*-complements of nonveridical verbs cannot be

replaced by infinitives. Interestingly, *da*+INP and *da*+PNP and their alternations with infinitives cannot apply for both groups of subjunctive verbs. Some verbs classified as Group II subjunctive-selecting verbs exhibit properties in terms of complement selection different from verbs classified as Group I subjunctive-selecting verbs. Group II of subjunctive-selecting verbs is somewhat complicated in Serbian and what applies to aspectuals, for example, may not apply to verbs of perception, commissives, and implicatives or vice-versa.

Giannakidou (1998:103) notes that “subjunctive verbs and their complements do not form homogenous class in term of their semantic and syntactic properties” and that *na* in Greek is “ambiguous.” As observed by Giannakidou (1998) the second group of the subjunctive-selecting verbs include aspectuals, commissives, implicatives and verbs of perception. In Greek, these verbs give rise to control constructions, pose aspectual restrictions on their *na*-complements, and some require the VP to bear an imperfective aspect. Giannakidou (1998) explains that Greek *na* should be interpreted as a subjunctive particle in complements of subjunctive Group I verbs, but in the complements of aspectuals, perception, commissives, and implicatives, *na* should be interpreted as *deictic*.

Giannakidou (2009:1528) claims that some veridical verbs, such as aspectuals and verbs of perception, select for *na*-clauses, which should be distinguished from regular subjunctive complements, as a consequence “of the necessarily finite complementation in Greek.” Serbian unlike Greek does not always require finite complementation and uses the infinitive as a complement. In one way, Serbian aspectuals seem to be similar to Greek aspectuals since Serbian aspectuals like Greek aspectuals pose aspect restriction (INP) and require obligatory control. However, although aspectuals in Serbian seem to exhibit more restrictions than

volitionals and modals, that does not create an obstacle for a unified proposal and analysis of the subjunctive *da* I provide in Chapter Five for both groups of subjunctive verbs.

According to Browne (1986), Serbo-Croatian *da*-constructions that serve as complements to aspectuals are introduced by the same *da* (according to his classification *da*<sub>2</sub>) given that they are complements to the volitional or modal verbs as in (8) and (10). For constructions in (12a-d), Browne (1986) states that the action of the complement verb overlaps at least in one point with that of the main clause, or that it lasts/continues until or after the action of the matrix clause is complete, so the aspect of the complement verb must be imperfective and for this reason, (12c) and (12d) are illicit. To differentiate *da*<sub>2</sub> used after aspectuals and volitionals from *da*<sub>1</sub> used in other instances of, in his classification non-factives, and to show that aspectuals take the same *da*-complements as volitionals, Browne (1986) uses a test with the perfective past form of *biti* (be) *bude*. He observes that, like volitionals, aspectuals allow the constructions with *bude* as in (11). Based on the test with *bude* and the tense restriction (to be discussed in 4.2)<sup>28</sup>, he concludes that the complementizer *da* used after aspectuals is the same as the one used after volitionals. In other words, they are both *da*<sub>2</sub> type.

- (11) a. Marija želi        *da* Petar bude        professor.

*Marija want-3sg. da Petar be-3sg. professor*

Marija wants Petar to be(come) a professor.

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<sup>28</sup> Browne (1986) claims that both, aspectuals and volitionals, take the same *da*, *da*<sub>2</sub> since they pose a tense restriction on their *da*-complement; in his view, they only allow for *da*+*present*.

b. Prestao je **da** bude arogantan.

*stopped l-part.masc. aux-3sg. da be-3sg. arrogant*

He stopped being arrogant.

I claim that the notion of veridicality accounts for the different complement restrictions of volitionals/modals and aspectuals in Serbian. Since *počinjati* (begin) and *prestajati* (cease) are partially veridical and partially nonveridical verbs, they do not allow for *da*+PNP for the same reason veridical indicative verbs do not allow *da*+PNP; in addition, they do not allow any other tense but the nonpast (to be discussed in 4.2.2) for the same reason volitionals and modals do not allow any other tense but the nonpast (cannot entail the complete truth of the epistemic model); in many instances they prohibit alternation of *da*+INP with an infinitive like indicative verbs; they allow only for control constructions unlike volitionals, modals and unlike indicative veridical verbs. Although it seems that aspectuals in Serbian form a group of their own, their semantic restrictions do not pose a problem for the syntactic analysis of *da*. Similarly to Browne (1986), I claim that the *da* used after volitionals has the same syntactic projection as *da* used after aspectuals.

(12) a. Marko počinje **da** piše.

*Marko start-3sg. da write INP-3sg.*

Marko is starting to write.

b. Marko prestaje **da** piše.

*Marko stop-3sg. da write INP-3sg.*

Marko stops working.



c. \*Marko počinje **da** napiše.

*Marko start-3sg. da write PNP-3sg.*

Marko is starting to write.

d. \*Marko prestaje **da** napiše.

*Marko stop-3sg. da write PNP-3sg.*

Marko stops to write.

Like aspectuals, verbs of perception such as *čuti* (hear) and *videti* (see) in Serbian are considered to be veridical, and, for that reason, just like aspectuals and veridical indicative verbs, they will not allow *da*+PNP, so (14a) and (14b) are illicit. However, contrary to aspectuals (and verbs of perception in Greek), verbs of perception in Serbian are rather uncommon in control (although not impossible) and are often used in non-control constructions. In Serbian, verbs of perception are not commonly used in control constructions when a grammatical subject is identical with the speaker expressing a perception about a certain predicate. In other words, if the subject is the 1<sup>st</sup> person identified with the speaker, then control constructions are unlikely in Serbian, such as those in (13b). Perception is usually limited to the world that often does not include the speaker, who is at the same time, a perceiver.

(13) a. Vidim **da** pišeš                      zadaću.

*see-1sg da write INP-2sg. homework*

I see that you are writing the homework.

b. ??Vidim **da** pišem zadaću.

*see-1sg da write INP-1sg. homework*

(14) a. \*Vidim **da** napišem zadaću

*see-1sg da write PNP-1sg. homework*

b. \*Vidim da napišeš zadaću.

*see-2sg da write PNP-2sg. homework*

Implicative *uspeti*<sup>29</sup> (manage) allows for both *da*+PNP as well as *da*+INP, although it is less likely used in the nonpast. The matrix verb *uspeti* is more frequently used in the past or future tense when complemented by *da*-constructions. Furthermore, like aspectuals, implicative *uspeti* (manage) is also restricted to control only. Commissives *prisiliti* (to force) and *terati* (to force by inducing) are restricted to the object control constructions and allow both *da*+INP and *da*+PNP. On the other hand, the nonpast *obećati* (promise), an inherently perfective verb, does not even allow for *da*+INP or *da*+PNP complements because it strictly requires the future tense with *da*-complements. Moreover, even when *obećati* (promise) is used in the past tense, it does not allow *da*+INP, but only *da*+PNP, unlike volitionals or modals. Its imperfective pair in the nonpast, *obećavati* (promise), a derived imperfective, unexpectedly also disallows *da*+INP or *da*+PNP and selects only for the future tense<sup>30</sup> in its *da*-complement.

<sup>29</sup> *Uspeti* usually means ‘to succeed’ in Serbian if not followed by a *da*-complement. However, when followed by a *da*-complement, *uspeti* is interpreted as to be able to do something/manage. This specific example further support my observation that *da*-complements play a vital role for the semantic interpretation of the matrix verb.

<sup>30</sup> The case with *obećati* provides further evidence that PNP cannot always be equated simply with a future interpretation in Serbian. Since PNP *obećati* strictly requires its complement to be in the future tense, but does not allow PNP instead, it must be concluded that *da*+future and *da*+PNP are not the same structures because they are not alterable.

### 4.1.3 Conclusion

A discussion of aspect restriction with indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements further supports the proposal that modality in Serbian is co-dependent on the predicate and its complement. Moreover, indicative and subjunctive interpretations of *da*-complements are possible as a result of the lexical properties of the matrix verb, *da* selection, and aspect restriction of the embedded verb. Therefore, similarly to Giannakidou's proposal (1998) for Greek *na*, I propose for Serbian that the subjunctive *da*, like Greek *na*, is licensed by nonveridical verbs while the indicative *da* is licensed by veridical verbs. These licensing properties will also account for different functional projections associated with *da(s)*.

## 4.2 Tense

In this section I examine the tense relationship between the matrix verb and its *da*-complement. Since other tenses used in *da*-complements are examined, it is not possible to speak only of *da*+INP or *da*+PNP. In sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, it is observed that not all verbs which strictly select for either *da*+PNP or *da*+INP impose aspect restrictions on the future or past tense forms of the verbs in *da*-complements. In other words, the role of aspect is weakened with the presence of tense in *da*-complements.

Tense variations and restrictions with *da*-complements are observed by Browne (1986) and Ivić (1970). Browne (1986:50) states that “the most widespread complementizer, *da*, has two groups of uses distinguished by the choice of verbal tenses permitted within the clause.” He puts those constructions that allow any tense of the complement verb in the first group (*da*<sub>1</sub>), and those instances where only the present tense of the complement verb is possible in the second group (*da*<sub>2</sub>). He goes on to add that “the first group includes complement clauses to many verbs

of communication and thought” (the group which I classify as indicative-selecting verbs) while “the complementizer *da*<sub>2</sub> with the present tense of either aspect appears as a complement to verbs and other expressions belonging to such semantic categories as wish (positive or negative), possibility or impossibility, necessity or lack of necessity, prohibition or permission” (the group I classify as subjunctive selecting verbs). Ivić (1970) also classifies *da*-complements based on the tense possibilities which these complements allow. As stated in Chapter One, Ivić (1970) considers *non-mobile da+present* complements those which cannot be replaced by any other tense, and *mobile da+present* complements those which can be replaced by other tenses.

As noted, tense restrictions in *da*-complements are some of the crucial parameters for distinguishing between different *da(s)*. I discuss in great detail how these tense restrictions contribute to the interpretation and to the distribution of the subjunctive and indicative *da*. Since most difference between the subjunctive and indicative *da* has been established on the notion of (non)veridicality, from now on I will refer to the indicative *da* as *da* [+veridical] and to the subjunctive *da* as *da* [-veridical].

#### **4.2.1 Tense in the Indicative *da*-complements**

Indicative verbs select *da*-complements as those which can host their own tense which can be, but does not have to be (as observed in 4.1 with the nonpast), disassociated from the matrix tense. The matrix fiction verb in (15) is in the nonpast and can select *da*-complements that are either in future or past tense. Indicative veridical verbs do not pose tense restrictions on their *da*-complements; therefore, both the future and past tenses of either aspect are possible in complement constructions of indicative matrix nonpast verbs.

(15) a. Zamišljam **da** ću **da** (po)letim.

*imagine-1sg da aux-1sg da (PNP) fly INP-1sg.*

(i) I imagine that I will fly. (with INP)

(ii) I imagine that I will take off. (with PNP)

b. Zamišljam **da** sam (po)letela.

*imagine-1sg da aux-1sg (perf.) fly imperf. l-part.fem.*

(i) I imagine that I flew. (with imperfective)

(ii) I imagine that I took off. (with perfective)

Unlike with the selection of INP and PNP, epistemic *misliti* (think) and factive *znati* (know) do not differ much from other indicative verbs in terms of tense selection. While the difference between epistemic/factive and other indicative verbs in terms of INP or PNP selection was drastic, as observed in 4.1.1, tense selection seems to be the same for all indicative verbs. In other words, all indicative verbs, including epistemics and factives will allow their complements to host its own tense. As observed in (16), epistemic and factive verbs, just like fiction verbs, allow for the future or past tense in their complement constructions.

(16) a. Mislim **da** ću **da** (na)pišem pismo.

*think-1.sg da aux-1sg. da (PNP) write INP-1sg. letter*

I think that I will write a letter.

b. Mislim **da** sam (na)pisala pismo.

*think-1.sg da aux-1sg. (perf)write imperf. l-part.fem. letter*

I think that I wrote a letter.

(17) a. Znam **da** ću **da** (na)pišem pismo.

*know-1.sg da aux-1sg. da (PNP)write INP-1sg. letter*

I know that I will write a letter.

b. Znam **da** sam (na)pisala pismo.

*know-1.sg da aux-1sg. (perf)write imperf. l-part.fem. letter*

I know that I wrote a letter.

The presence of tense in *da*-complements of fiction *zamišljati* (imagine), epistemic *misliti* (think), and factive *znati* (know) weakens the aspect function in the complement. In the case of examples with the past tense in (15b), (16b) and (17b), the only possible semantic interpretation of either fiction, epistemic, or factive verbs is restricted to a veridical interpretation; therefore, the ambiguity otherwise created by PNP or INP (between indicative and subjunctive readings with epistemic and factive verbs) is eliminated. As observed by Giannakidou (2009:1530), “past assertions contain a (possible covert) perfective past tense which is veridical.” If the past tense is taken to be veridical, then this would imply that the only possible interpretation for (15b), (16b) and (17b) is veridical.

I propose that *da* which selects for an embedded verb in the past or future tense is *da* [+veridical]. Therefore, *da* in (15b), (16b) and (17b) is *da* [+veridical]. If the future tense is to be

considered nonveridical in Giannikidou's sense, unlike the past which is veridical, how can I propose then that *da* which introduces (is in the domain of) the future tense is [+veridical]? Bulatović (2008:136) explains that *će*-future "predicts the absolute futurity". Furthermore, she adds that *će* supplies an *n*-now supplying particle. The absolute futurity would then imply that although an action is not veridical *now* at the moment of utterance, the action *will be* veridical at some point after the moment of utterance. This further implies veridicality, since an absolute future means that an action will be true at some point in time after the utterance time. Therefore, in the case of (15a), (16a) and (17a), it is presupposed that an action will be true in an epistemic model, in other words, the action will be veridical, and this is the reason (15a), (16a), and (17a) select *da* [+veridical]. The claim that auxiliary clitics used in the future tense are associated with veridicality is further supported by Philippaki-Warbuton's (1998) observation for Greek particles *tha*, which she claims is "the exponent of the future tense [which] operates within the indicative." I adopt the same explanation for *će* in Serbian by claiming that it operates within the indicative. It is for this reason that the *će*-clitic and *da* [+veridical] can co-exist together: both are associated with veridicality. In other words, *da* [+veridical] can support *će* because they are both veridical.

Moreover, *da* [+veridical] as the complement to epistemic *misliti* (to think) and factive *znati* (know) in (16) and (17) restricts the semantic interpretation of the matrix verbs only to indicative interpretations. Based on the data in (15), (16) and (17), only one claim can possibly be made: in all these instances the only *da* that would be licit is *da* [+veridical] since the embedded past or future tenses are veridical tenses.

Furthermore, observations for fiction, epistemic, and factive verbs carries over to assertive and semi-factives. The same observations proposed for (15), (16), and (17) are valid for

assertive and semi-factives in Serbian; therefore, all indicative verbs select for a *da* [+veridical] when *da* introduces the future or past tense of the embedded verb.

Another very important observation for data in (15a), (16a), and (17a) must be made: there are two different occurrences of *da*. All observations made in this section (4.2.1) about *da* [+veridical] apply to *da* which directly precedes the auxiliary clitic *ću*, to which I will refer as the upper *da*. The lower *da*, the one that directly precedes the embedded verb in (16) and (17), as in *da (na)pišem*, is specified for the feature [-veridical].<sup>31</sup> Further evidence that the lower *da* is *da* [-veridical] comes from its incompetability with the veridical auxiliary *će*. In other words, *će* cannot be supported by the lower *da*, but only by the upper *da* as in (18).

(18) \*Znam **da** ću (na)pišem pismo.

*know-1.sg da aux-1sg. (PNP) write INP-1sg. letter*

First, if the *da* in (18) is considered to be a complementizer, and if Serbian requires that clitics be placed in a clausal second-position, then why is (18) illicit? The answer seems contradictory if the lower *da* is taken to be a complementizer. Therefore, the data in (18) show that *da* cannot be simply taken as a complementizer. On the other hand, the data in (18) contradict the data in (17), where it is observed that *da* can support the auxiliary clitic. Claiming that *da* sometimes can and sometimes cannot support clitics would be an invalid proposal. Postulating the proposal that there are two different *da(s)* would, on the other hand, account better for the difference between (17b) and (18). Secondly, if *da* is taken to be a complementizer in all instances of subjunctive and indicative complementation, then, based on (15a), (16a), and

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<sup>31</sup> I avoid drawing a distinction here using the numbering system: *da*<sub>1</sub> and *da*<sub>2</sub>. I will rather call them upper and lower *da* since this notion corresponds better with the syntactic claims to be proposed in Chapter 5.



(17a), the question emerges as to how a complementizer can be embedded under another complementizer. In other words, if a complementizer approach is adopted for *da*, then (15a), (16a), and (17a) all should be illicit, but they are not. This again suggests that a complementizer approach to *da*, as the only approach, seems invalid. As it is clearly established based on the data in (15), (16), (17), and (18) that there must be two different functional projections with which two *da(s)* are associated.

Furthermore, for all the data provided in (15), (16), and (17), the matrix verb is in the nonpast. However, the matrix verb does not have to be in the nonpast to select the past or future tense as its complement. As already noted, the matrix tense of the indicative-selecting verbs can be disassociated from the tense of its *da*-complements, as in (19). In (19), the matrix indicative verb is in the past tense, but it allows its complement to select, for example, the future tense.

(19) Zamišljala                    sam    *da* ću        *da* (po)letim.

*imagine l-part.fem aux-1sg da aux-1sg da (PNP) fly INP-1sg.*

(i) I imagined that I will fly. (with INP)

(ii) I imagined that I will take off (with PNP)

In short, when the matrix verb is an indicative selecting verb, then any combination of tenses is possible. In other words, indicative selecting verbs do not pose tense restrictions on their *da*-complements. However, this observation does not apply to subjunctive-selecting verbs, which pose tense restrictions on their embedded verbs.

#### 4.2.2 Tense in the Subjunctive *da*-complements

The observation that the semantic properties of the matrix verb *an* in Serbplay an important role in the tense selection of its complement was observed by Ivić (1970). In her view, all instances of *da+present* complements that are irreplaceable by any other tense are classified as *non-mobile*. This restriction to only INP or PNP in *da*-complements is observed with subjunctive-selecting verbs.

Subjunctive *da*-complements in (20a-b) show an inability to host their independent tense, which is a common characteristic of subjunctive constructions, as observed by Progovac (1993). While selection of aspect is optional in subjunctive complements where *da* + PNP or *da* + INP are accepted, tense is not, because it is restricted only to the nonpast; therefore, both (20) and (21) are illicit.

(20) a. \*Želim ***da*** ću ići.

*want-1sg da aux-1sg. go-inf.*

b. \*Želim ***da*** sam otišao.

*want-1sg. da aux-1sg. left l-part.masc.*

The impersonal form *treba* (*it is necessary*) behaves in the same way as volitionals since it does not allow its *da*-complement to bear either the future or past tense.

(21) a. \*Treba ***da*** ću ***da*** idem.

*need-3sg da aux-1sg. to go-1sg.*

b. \*Treba **da** sam otišao.

*treba-3sg. da aux-1sg. left l-part.masc.*

Aspectuals also disallow tenses other than the nonpast in their complements; moreover, as noted in 4.1.2, nonpast aspectuals in Serbian only allow for *da*+INP. If the proposal from 4.2.1 that aspectuals are veridical remains valid, then the issue of the tense limitation arises. Since all indicative veridical verbs allow for the future or past tense in *da*-complements, and if aspectuals are taken as veridical verbs, then it remains unclear why they would not allow past or future in their complement just like indicative veridical verbs. Imperfective aspectuals in Serbian imply that completion of an action has started; they do not imply that the action is completed or that the action will be completed. As Browne (1986) mentions, the action of the matrix aspectual verb will overlap at least at some specific moment of time with the action of the complement. When the matrix verb is in the nonpast, and if it overlaps (at least at some point) with the action of the complement verb, then it is impossible for the complement verb to be in any tense other than the nonpast; therefore, (22a) and (22b) are both licit because the complement is in the future (22a) and in the past (22b). On the other hand, if the matrix aspectual verb is in the past or future tense, it is just like other subjunctive-selecting verbs which select for the nonpast *da*-complements and does not allow for the past or future tense of the embedded verb. If Browne's (1986) observation is adopted, then it is unclear why, for example, the matrix past or future cannot select for the embedded past or future. If the matrix tense is the same as the embedded tense as in (22c) and (22d) then it should proceed that the matrix action could overlap at some point with the embedded action, rendering the sentence licit. However, that is not the case in (22c) and (22d), where the matrix tense is the same as the embedded tense, as they are illicit.

Based on the data in (22), it is impossible to propose that the action of the matrix aspectual verb must overlap at least at some point with the action of the complement in all instances.

Browne's proposed claim about overlapping action is further supported by (22e) where the matrix verb is in the past while the embedded verb is in the nonpast. Clearly, a past completed action should never overlap with a present action. However, (22e) indicates that that is possible. In Chapter Three, it was noted that tenses are not always interpreted as such, and the validity of (22e) further suggests that the embedded nonpast cannot be interpreted as a tense, especially not as a present tense. If the nonpast is interpreted as a tense whose interpretation is restricted to *now*, then (22e) should be illicit, but it is not. Therefore, a no-tense or deficient tense approach seems the only plausible approach to be used with embedded verbs in instances such as those in (22e).

- (22) a. \* Marko prestaje **da** će **da** puši.

*Marko stop-3. da aux-3sg. da smoke INP-3sg.*

- b. \*Marko prestaje **da** je pušio.

*Marko stop-3. da aux-3sg. smoke l-part.-masc.*

- c. \* Marko je prestao **da** je pušio.

*Marko aux-3sg. stop l-part.masc. da aux-3sg. smoke l-part.masc*

- d. \* Marko će prestati **da** će pušiti.

*Marko aux-3sg. stop-inf. da aux-3sg. smoke-inf.*

e. Marko je prestao **da** puši.

*Marko aux-3sg. stop l-part.masc. da smoke INP-3sg.*

As observed in section 4.2.1 for complements of indicative-selecting verbs, *da* [+veridical] can support, past or future auxiliary clitics, which are both associated with veridicality; therefore, I claim that all indicative-selecting verbs select *da* [+veridical] when the embedded verb is in the future or past tense. Subjunctive-selecting verbs do not allow any other tense but the INP and PNP, whose distributions are discussed in 4.1.2; therefore, it must be that *da* in subjunctive complements is a different *da*, as I claim *da* [-veridical]. As aspectual do not allow any tense other than the nonpast, it seems valid to propose that aspectuals, as other true subjunctive-selecting verbs, also select for *da* [-veridical].

Finally, even when the tense of the matrix subjunctive selecting verb is past or future, the only tense allowed in the embedded verb is still the nonpast. This tense dependency is further observed in the examples of subjunctive commissives in (23) and (24). In both cases the tense of the *da*-complement is dependent on the matrix tense. In (23), the *da*-complement depends on the past tense of the matrix verb, while in (24) the *da*-complement depends on the future tense of the matrix verb.

(23) Uspela sam **da** završim disertaciju.

*managed l-part.fem aux-1sg da finish PNP-1sg. dissertation*

I've managed to finish the dissertation.

(24) Prisiliću ga *da* pojede celu tortu.

*force+aux-1sg him da eat PNP-3sg. whole cake.*

I will force him to eat the whole cake.

Progovac (1993c) suggest that the domain extension is only possible when the [embedded] “tense is dependent on the matrix tense of verb”. Similarly, Giannakidou (2009) proposes for Greek that the tense of the verbal dependent is anaphoric and picks up the tense of the higher clause. Bulatović (2008) observes that *da* in the subjunctive *da*-complements is seen as a binder of a dependent tense and a tense of the matrix, subjunctive verb. Instead of tense dependency, I propose a tense deficiency approach and instead claim that *da* [-veridical] repairs that tense deficiency.

### 4.2.3 Conclusion

Tense distribution and tense (in)dependencies in indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements are not identical. As noted in section 4.2.1 and 4.2.1, tense (im)possibilities in *da*-complements are determined by the semantic properties of the matrix verb. On one hand, the semantic properties of the matrix verb impose tense selection on the embedded verb, while, on the other hand, the tense of the embedded verb dictates which *da*, [+veridical] or [-veridical] is selected. The tests for tense once again support earlier claims that interpretation of mood in dependent contexts is dependent of the semantic properties of the matrix verb, aspect, tense selection of the embedded verb, and the selection of *da*.

### 4.3 Clitics

The question of clitics in Serbian has proven to be a very popular topic investigated by many scholars. Progovac (2005) proposes that clitic placement is sensitive to syntactic/semantic considerations. Rivero (1994) states that Slavic clitics trigger Long Head Movement since pronoun or auxiliary clitics cannot be clause-initial; therefore, they require support provided by a verb that moves to a higher position preceding and supporting the clitic. Rivero and Terzi (1995) state that C is the only licensing head in W-languages. Ćavar and Wilder (1994) propose that “clitics in Croatian are syntactically enclitics, occupying a canonical position right-adjoined to C°, and not syntactically proclitics, left adjoining to some head in IP”. Ćavar and Wilder (1994) suggest that clitic clusters must be right adjacent to the overt complementizer and nothing can intervene between the clitic cluster and the complementizer. They further insist that cliticization is clause-bound and cannot cross a complementizer. Bošković (2004, 2008) states that clitics occur in the second position of their intonational phrase (I-phrase), which does not necessarily correspond to the C, and that clitic placement is phonological in nature. Bošković (2004, 2008) also observes that auxiliary and object clitics do not occupy the same position. Within pronominal clitics, there is also a difference, and even pronominal clitics do not cluster in the same position. Bošković (2004, 2008) adds that only elements that can undergo syntactic movement can precede and host clitics and that clitics can be projected low in the structure, which is much lower than CP.

Since my primary goal in this project is to define *da* in subjunctive and indicative complements, I will not focus on an in-depth analysis of clitics. However, since syntactic projections of *da* are determined in relation to other syntactic projections, such clitics, it will be important to investigate one in relation to other. Along the lines of Progovac and Bošković’s

proposal, I adopt the idea that the placement of clitics is sensitive to syntactic/semantic consideration, and that clitics can be projected lower than what is subsumed to be a CP. The data in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 also show that not all clitics must be clustered in the second position, and that auxiliary and pronominal clitics do not occupy the same position.

#### 4.3.1 Clitic Position in the Indicative *da*-complements

In indicative *da*-complements, clitics must be positioned within the *da*-complement, and they follow *da*. Clitics cannot climb out of the indicative-embedded construction, since (25c) is illicit.

- (25) a. Znam     **da**    ga<sub>i</sub>        voliš            t<sub>i</sub>.

*know-1sg da him-acc. love INP-2sg.*

I know that you love him.

- b. Znam     **da**    si        mu        ga        dala.

*know-1sg da aux-2sg him-dat. it-acc. give l-part.fem*

I know that you gave it to him.

- c. \*Znam        ga<sub>i</sub>        **da**    voliš            t<sub>i</sub>.

*know-1sg him-acc da love INP-2sg*



However, as observed in (26), the standard and basic assumption that all clitics occupy the second position in a clause proves to be invalid because the auxiliary clitic *cu* is hosted by the upper *da* while the pronominal clitic *ga* is hosted by the lower *da*.

- (26) a. Mislim    *da*    *cu*    *da*    *ga* vidim.  
           *think-1.sg da aux-1sg. da him see INP-1sg*  
           I think I will see him.

- b. \*Mislim    *da*    *cu*    *ga da*    vidim.  
           *think-1.sg da aux-1sg. him da see INP-1sg.*  
           I think I will see him.

In (26a), the pronominal *ga* clitic is projected lower than the auxiliary clitic *cu*, and what is more important, not within the same *da*-complement. If the pronominal clitic is moved higher from the lower *da*-complement to adjoin an auxiliary clitic, as in (26b), the construction becomes illicit. Since (26b) is illicit, it cannot be that all clitics must occupy the canonical second position in a clause, at least not when there are two *da*(s) within the same complement.

- (27) a. \*Mislim    *da da*    *cu*    *ga* vidim.  
           *think-1.sg da da aux-1sg him see INP-1sg*  
           I think I will see him.

b. \*Mislim *da* *éu* *ga* vidim.

*think-1.sg da aux-1sg him see INP-1sg*

Furthermore, if the auxiliary clitic is moved from the higher *da*-complement to the lower *da*-complement, the construction again becomes illicit: first the two occurrences of *da* become unacceptable, but if one *da* (upper *da*) is eliminated as in (27b), the clustering of both auxiliary and pronominal clitics is still unacceptable, when supported by the lower *da*.

The data in section 4.3.1 do not only suggest that auxiliary and pronominal clitics are not projected in the same position, but that two *da(s)* must also be projected in different positions, given that the higher *da* can support auxiliary clitics while the lower *da* supports only pronominal clitics and cannot support auxiliary clitics. Therefore, the clitic placement further supports the proposal for two different *da(s)*, *da* [+veridical] and *da* [-veridical].

#### 4.3.2 Clitic Position in the Subjunctive *da*-complements

In subjunctive constructions as in (28a) pronominal clitics are again supported by *da*. In the presence of the auxiliary clitics *je* or *éé*, the pronominal clitic *ga* still remains in a subjunctive construction supported by *da*, and it does not raise to the second position of the matrix clause, as observed in (29a) and (29b). However, in (28b), the clitic *ga* has climbed to the second place of the matrix clause. Unlike indicative verbs which do not allow clitic climbing out of their *da*-complements, as observed in (25c), subjunctive selecting verbs somewhat allow clitic climbing, as observed in (28b). What is important to note is that (28b) is an instance in which the matrix verb is in the nonpast. As observed from the data in (29), when the matrix verb is in the future or past, the pronominal clitic *ga* must remain in the embedded clause to render the structure licit.

Therefore, the structures in (29c) and (29d), in which the pronominal clitic climbed and clustered with the auxiliary clitics in the second position after the matrix subject *Tanja*, are illicit.

- (28) a. Tanja želi **da** ga<sub>i</sub> vidi t<sub>i</sub>.

*Tanja want-3sg da him-acc see INP-3sg.*

Tanja wants to see him.

- b. ?Tanja ga<sub>i</sub> želi **da** vidi t<sub>i</sub>.

*Tanja him-acc want-3sg da see-3sg.impf.*

- (29) a. Tanja je htela **da** ga vidi.

*Tanja aux-3sg. wanted l-part. fem da him-acc. see INP-3sg.*

Tanja wanted to see him.

- b. Tanja će hteti **da** ga vidi.

*Tanja aux-3sg. want-inf da him-acc. see INP-3sg.*

Tanja will want to see him.

- c. ?\*Tanja ga je htela **da** vidi.

*Tanja him-acc. aux-3sg. wanted l-part. fem. da see INP-3sg.*

- d. ?\* Tanja će ga hteti **da** vidi.

*Tanja aux-3sg. him-acc want-inf. da see INP-3sg.*



while the matrix verb in (30b) is the aspectual *početi* (start). Clitic placement, may not, after all be mechanical, as suggested by Marković, and it may follow a specific pattern: clitic climbing is only allowed after the subjunctive selecting verbs. Furthermore, the only clitics that can climb are pronominal clitics, which seem to be projected lower in the structure. Although second position clitic clustering is a common and acceptable phenomenon in Serbian, this behavior does not seem to be allowed with subjunctive *da*-complements, as observed in (29b). In other words, *da* [-veridical] cannot support the clustering of auxiliary and pronominal clitics; it can only support pronominal clitics.

#### 4.4 Negation

Serbian is a language that exhibits negative concord (NC) which means that, in addition to the negative particle that must be present for an interpretation of negation, negation is also expressed (but not interpreted), on multiple words in the clause/sentence. In Serbian the negative markers are light, appearing as heads, and, as such, are classified as strict NC varieties (Giannakidou 2000).

##### 4.4.1 Negation in the Indicative *da*-complements

Negation can precede the embedded verb in indicative *da*-constructions, as in (31a) but can also precede the matrix verb, as in (31b). Negation has a wider scope in (31b) than in (31a), where its scope is limited to the *da*-complement; therefore, (31a) does not have the same interpretation as (32b) as can be seen in the English translation.

- (31) a. Tvrdi **da** ne zna francuski.

*claim-3sg da not know INP-3sg French*

She claims that she does not know French.

- b. Ne tvrdi **da** zna francuski.

*claim-3sg da know INP-3sg French*

She does not claim that she knows the French.

I further claim that negation can be interpreted only on the verb that carries tense features and is not tense-deficient. Since both matrix and embedded verbs are not tense-deficient in indicative structures, negation can be interpreted on the matrix and on the embedded verb as in (31a) and (32b). Different possible interpretations of negation will account better for the licensing domains of NPIs.

#### 4.4.2 Negation in the Subjunctive *da*-complements

Verbs embedded under *da* that are complements to the subjunctive verbs such as volitionals in (33) and modals in (34), do not allow *ne* particle to precede them. In other words, *ne* cannot separate *da* from the embedded verb, as in (33b) and (34b), and can only precede the matrix verb.

- (33) a. Ne želim **da** napišem zadaću.

*not want-1sg da write PNP-1sg. homework-acc.*

I do not want to write the homework

b<sup>32</sup>. ?\*Želim **da** ne napišem zadaću.

*want-1sg da not write PNP-1sg. homework-acc.*

(34) a. Ne moram **da** napišem zadaću.

*neg must-1sg da write PNP-1sg. homework-acc.*

I do not have to write the homework.

b.\* Moram **da** ne napišem zadaću.

*must-1sg da neg write PNP-1sg. homework-acc.*

Examples in (33) and (34) indicate that negation cannot be interpreted on the embedded verb. I claim that the embedded verb in subjunctive *da*-complements, as in (33) and (34), is tense-deficient and, for that reason, does not allow negation to precede it. Based on the data provided in (33) and (34), negation is projected above *da* [-veridical].

As noted in the previous sections, the infinitive can replace *da* +*nonpast* which serves as a complement to nonveridical verbs. It is also established that replacement of *da* +*nonpast* complements with the infinitive in constructions where the embedded subject is not controlled by

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<sup>32</sup> In independent modal environments negation can follow *da*. It is another puzzle to think about in determining the position of negation in relation to *da*. What is important to note in (1) is that *ne* precedes the past tense which is not interpreted as the past tense here but as a command that should be obeyed after the moment of utterance. This further suggest that *da* in (1) is different then the subjunctive *da* although they are both associated with modality.

1. **Da** nisi progovorila!  
*Part Neg come-inf.3ps*  
 (You) should not speak.

the matrix subject is impossible. Moskovljević (1936) suggests that there is a difference between *da*-complements and infinitives which follow modal verbs, and that this difference is even more obvious when a modal verb is negated. Moskovljević states that if the *da*-complement in (35a) is replaced by an infinitive, the meaning changes and (35a) has a future reading, while with the *da*-complement, as in (35b), the modal reading of *not having desire or not wanting to come* is more emphasized. As Moskovljević observes, some speakers would not be able to clearly differentiate between (35a) and (35b) as future vs. modal reading, but the same speakers would agree that the difference between a future reading (with the infinitive) and a modal reading (with a *da*-complement) is more obvious with (35c) and (35d) in the presence of negation.

(35) a. On može doći.

*he can-3sg. come-inf.*

b. On može **da** dođe.

*he can-3sg da come PNP-3sg.*

He can come.

c. On ne može doći.

*he not can-3sg. come-inf.*

d. On ne može **da** dođe.

*he not can-3sg da come PNP-3sg.*

He cannot come.



Stevanović (1935) also suggests that in negative sentences, especially after negation of the verb *hteti* (want), the infinitive and not *da + present* should be used for expressing real future actions. He further notes that with the negative form of *hteti* (want) when used as a volitional in the present tense not as a helping verb in the future tense, *da + present* receives a modal reading. Similar observations have been made more recently by Belić (2005) for future tense constructions.

Belić (2005:51) notes in his survey that “6 out of 8 participants claimed that in the affirmative sentences in the future tense and their interrogative counterparts similarity between the sentences with infinitival complements and *da+present* complements is more tolerated. However, only 3 out of 8 participants recognized the same level of similarity when the auxiliary was negated. According to the results [of survey], 5 out of 8 participants claimed that the negative auxiliary with the *da+present* complement expressed one’s desire, or lack thereof, to perform the complete action, while the negative auxiliary with the infinitival complement was negation of a future action.”

This difference in the interpretation of a negated infinitive vs. negated *da*-complement further supports the notion that futurity (expressed with an infinitive) and modality (expressed with a *da*-complement) are not equivalent semantic categories because they receive different interpretation with negation. Furthermore, Belić (2005:51) observes the choice of complement in the future tense, an infinitive or *da+present*, is “purely a syntactic phenomenon” since “the auxiliary verb carries little or no semantic content whatsoever.” If the choice of the complement in future tense constructions is “purely a syntactic phenomenon”, then it proceeds that the choice of one (infinitival) or the other (*da*-complementation) syntactic structure should be responsible for different semantic interpretations.

#### 4.4.3 Conclusion

From sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 it can be concluded that the interpretation of negation is not uniform in the case of the subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements. I claim that negation is always generated and interpreted in clause specified for tense. In indicative propositions, the matrix and embedded verbs carry interpretable tense features, and, in those cases negation can precede either the matrix or embedded verb. In subjunctive statements, negation cannot precede the embedded verb, since the embedded verb is tense-deficient. In the case of subjunctive constructions, negation is interpreted on the matrix verb in clauses specified for tense.

#### 4.5 Negative Polarity Items

Giannakidou (2000) proposes that negative concord (NC) is the subcase of negative polarity. N-words in NC are dependent on some other property of the context for the correct interpretation, and it is this characteristic that classifies them as polarity sensitive. Similarly to the Greek emphatic words, Serbian n-words are negative polarity items (NPI) as they are licensed by negation and cannot be interpreted as negative without the presence of the negative particle.

Giannakidou (2000) proposes that emphatic words (NPIs) in Greek are universal quantifiers while non-emphatic words are existential quantifiers. I adopt a similar proposal for the Serbian n-words which, like emphatics in Greek, are universal quantifiers. I focus strictly on the behavior and licensing of NPIs in the subjunctive and indicative *da*-complement constructions, where the behavior of NPIs is not consistent in both types of complementation. This licensing inconsistency suggests that indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements are

syntactically different environments/projections, and, as such provide different conditions for licensing of NPIs.

As Giannakidou (2000) notes, unlike non-emphatic words that are licensed long-distance, emphatic words in Greek as NPIs cannot be licensed long distance; therefore, they are illicit in indicative complements of negated matrix predicates because indicative complements in Greek are introduced by complementizers (Philippaki-Warbuton 1994) and create a clause boundary for long-distance licensing. Similarly, because NC is a subcase of negative polarity, it is observed only in monoclausal domains and *na*-clauses in Greek (Giannakidou 2000). The same can be observed for some, but not, all Serbian NPIs. Serbian has two different groups of NPIs: NI-NPI and I-NPIs. Serbian NI-NPIs are comparable to Greek emphatic words in that they cannot be licensed long distance, while I-NPIs are comparable to Greek non-emphatics, which are licensed long-distance.

The proposal that n-words in Serbian can be interpreted as negative polarity items was also suggested by Progovac (1994). Progovac classifies Serbian NPIs into two groups: NI-NPIs, those which begin with the negative prefix *ni* such as *niko* (nobody) and *ništa* (nothing), and I-NPIs, those which begin with the prefix *i* such as *iko* (anybody) and *išta* (anything). Proposing a binding account, she notes that NPIs in Serbian must be licensed by clausemate negation, and, unlike English, even the subject NPIs can be licensed by a clausemate negation. Unlike NI-NPIs, Progovac (2005) suggests that I-NPIs cannot be licensed by clausemate negation and are licensed by a matrix (superordinate) negation. On the other hand, rejecting a binding account Bošković (2008, 2009) claims that NI-NPIs and I-NPIs are different lexical items whose distinct distribution is captured with the overt or covert movement to NegP. In other words, he proposes that NI-NPIs and I-NPIs are different with respect to whether or not they move to SpecNegP

overtly. His approach to this analysis has two implications: 1) NI-NPIs move overtly to SpecNegP while I-NPIs do not move to SpecNegP or undergo a covert movement; and 2) NI-NPIs and I-NPIs are different lexical items: NI-NPIs move to SpecNegP while I-NPIs do not move to SpecNegP. In the analysis in Chapter Five, I provide a solution that, to a certain extent, consolidates Giannakidou, Progovac, and Bošković's proposals.

#### 4.5.1 Licensing of NI-NPIs in the Indicative *da*-complements

Licensing of NI-NPIs is possible in indicative *da*-complements only if negation is present in the same complement as in (36a). Licensing of a NI-NPI by superordinate negation is impossible, as observed in (36b). It proceeds, then, that NI-NPIs must be licensed by clausemate negation in indicative *da*-complements.

- (36) a. Tvrdi      ***da*** ne vidi              nikoga.  
              *claim-3sg da not see INP-3sg nobody*  
              S/he claims that s/he does not see anybody.

- b. ?\*Ne      tvrdi      ***da*** vidi              nikoga.  
              *not claim-3sg da see INP-3sg. nobody*

The unacceptability of NI-NPI's licensing by superordinate negation in (36) further suggests that the indicative *da*-complement creates a boundary between the embedded and matrix clause, where the former, but not the latter is the licensing domain for NI-NPIs.

#### 4.5.2 Licensing of NI-NPIs in the Subjunctive *da*-complements

If NI-NPIs are strictly licensed by clausemate negation as already observed, then the question arises as to why the licensing of NI-NPI is possible by superordinate negation in (37a). The question turns on whether the semantic properties of the matrix verb pose requirements for the interpretation of negation or if there are other conditions which allow for that. Furthermore, an even more critical question involves the existence of a superordinate clause, as in (37a). Since the subjunctive *da*-complements are tense-deficient, and because *da* [-veridical] does not create a clausal boundary, subjunctive propositions could be viewed as monoclausal structures. In that case, NI-NPIs licensing would then be interpreted in accordance with the earlier observations: NI-NPIs must be licensed by clausemate negation.

- (37) a. Ne želim      *da* vidim      nikoga.

*not want-1sg da see INP-1sg nobody*

I do not want to see anybody

- b. ?\*Želim      *da* ne vidim      nikoga.

*want-1sg da not see-1sg nobody*

- c. Ne želim      *da* ?\*niko      vidi      Vedranu.

*not want-1sg da nobody sees INP-3sg. Vedrana*

d. ? \*Gordana ne želi        *da* Draško vidi        nikoga.

*Gordana not want-3sg. da Draško see INP-3sg nobody*

\*Gordana does not want that Draško sees nobody.

Another peculiarity or, better yet, asymmetry is observed between (37a) and (37c) and (37d). The data in (37a) and (37c) show that NI-NPIs exhibit different licensing properties if they are in a subject or object position, although they should not as noted by Progovac (1994), who also addresses this problem of asymmetry. If the object NI-NPIs are licensed by clausemate negation, then it is expected that the subject NI-NPIs be licensed by clausemate negation as well; however, that is not the case since (37c) is illicit with the subject NI-NPI *niko*, while (37a) is licit with the object NI-NPI *nikoga*. One important difference between (37a) and (37c) is that the latter but not former is an instance of control. A possible explanation for subject/object NI-NPI licensing asymmetry would be to consider that subjunctive control and non-control *da*-complements provide different syntactic environments; therefore, NI-NPIs licensing in the former, but not in the latter, is allowed. The example in (37d) is also an instance of non-control like (37c) and is also illicit since the object NI-NPI *nikoga* (nobody) in the embedded complement cannot be licensed by superordinate negation. The observation that the object NI-NPIs licensing is allowed in control, but not in non-control, further suggests that control and non-control *da*-complements seem to create different licensing domains for NI-NPIs. Although my investigation focuses exclusively on control constructions, and despite the fact that I am not going to delve further into the question whether control/non-control constructions provide different environments for the NPIs licensing, it is important to note that the licensing of NPIs could perhaps be sensitive to control and non-control properties of the *da*-complements. The

plausibility of the suggestion that control and non-control provide different syntactic environments for the NI-NPI licensing is further challenged by I-NPIs licensing, to be discussed in 4.5.4.

### 4.5.3 Licensing of I-NPIs in the Indicative *da*-complements

As with licensing of NI-NPIs, the licensing of I-NPIs is also nonuniform with indicative *da*-complements. Examples in (38) show that I-NPIs must be licensed by superordinate negation (38a), and these sentences are illicit if negation is present within the same clause as I-NPIs (38b), in addition to the absence of superordinate negation (38c).

(38) a. Ne tvrđi      **da** vidi      ikoga.  
           *not claim-3sg da see INP-3sg. anybody*  
           She/he does not claim to see anybody.

b. \*Tvrđi      **da** ne vidi      ikoga.  
           *claim-3sg da not see INP-3sg. anybody*

c. \*Tvrđi      **da** vidi      ikoga.  
           *claim-3sg da see INP-3sg. anybody*

There are no particular peculiarities, asymmetries, or exceptions that need to be explained or discussed here, since I-NPIs in indicative *da*-complements behave as expected: they are strictly licensed by superordinate negation and cannot be licensed by clausemate negation.





c. \*Želim **da** me iko vidi.

*want-1sg da me anybody-nom. see INP-3sg*

d. Ne želim **da** iko vidi Vedranu.

*not want-1sg da anybody-nom. see INP-3sg Vedrana*

I do not want anybody to see Vedrana.

Furthermore, if the proposal that control and non-control *da*-complements provide different syntactic environments within which NPIs are or are not allowed is accepted, then the validity of this proposal too is challenged by I-NPIs licensing seems insensitive to control/non-control with subjunctive *da*-complements. The example in (39d) is an instance of non-control, while the example in (39a) is an instance of control; however, in both instances, I-NPIs demonstrate the same licensing properties: they must be licensed by matrix negation. Since subject and object NI-NPIs demonstrate a licensing asymmetry with subjunctive *da*-complements as observed in (37a) and (37c), then it is possible to conclude that tNI-NPIs and I-NPIs demonstrate different licensing properties in the same, subjunctive, *da*-complements. In Chapter Five, I claim that NI-NPIs and I-NPIs are associated with different feature checking requirements and are inserted into syntax differently; however, even with this proposal, the unacceptability of subject NI-NPIs with subjunctive *da*-complements seems to be unresolved, which leads us back again to the control/non-control phenomenon. At this moment, I cannot provide a plausible explanation for the invalidity of NI-NPI subject licensing and validity of I-NPIs subject licensing by matrix negation with subjunctive *da*-complements.

## 4.6 Conclusion

Chapter Four reviews the data which indicates that the aspect selection, tense restrictions, clitic placements and licensing of NPIs are not uniform in both, indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements. While INP is allowed in both, indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements, PNP is restricted solely to subjunctive, modal epistemic and factive (nonveridical) complements. On the other hand, while indicative *da*-complements, those introduced by *da* [+veridical], allow any tense, subjunctive *da*-complements, those introduced by *da* [-veridical], strictly select for the nonpast. While the *da* [+veridical] can host both auxiliary and pronominal clitics, *da* [-veridical] can host only pronominal clitics. Furthermore, clitic climbing is strictly restricted to the climbing of the pronominal clitics which are hosted by *da* [-veridical] and is impossible when the clitic is hosted by *da* [+veridical]. The licensing of NPIs, NI-NPIs and I-NPIs with indicative *da*-complements is exhibited according to the predicted pattern: NI-NPIs are licensed by clausemate negation while I-NPIs are licensed by superordinate negation. On the other hand, licensing of NI-NPIs and I-NPIs in subjunctive *da*-complements is not exhibited according to the pattern: both NI-NPIs and I-NPIs are licensed by superordinate negation. Finally, the licensing domains of NPIs further suggest that either the licensing properties of NPIs need to be redefined or that subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements provide two different syntactic environments which are responsible for the observed licensing asymmetries. The analysis I provide in Chapter Five accounts for both phenomena.

## 5. ANALYSIS OF *DA*: A SYNTACTIC APPROACH

### 5.1 Aspect and *da*

As observed in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, restrictions on aspect in *da*-complements are dependent on the matrix verb. However, it is also noted that different *da*-complements (*da*+INP or *da*+PNP) scope over the matrix verbs and restrict the semantic interpretation of the matrix verb. It has been determined that, in addition to the meaning of the verb, the *da*-complement itself contributes to the interpretation of indicative vs. subjunctive; in particular, the selection of *da*+INP and *da*+PNP contributes to different interpretations. Therefore, it is concluded that modality is a by-product of the semantic properties of the matrix predicate and a *da*-complement. I further claim that *da*-complements can be constructed by either *da* [+veridical] or *da* [-veridical], both of which are associated with different functional projections. In this section, I offer syntactic proposals for *da*+INP and *da*+PNP and illustrate with what functional projections *da* [+veridical] and *da* [-veridical] are associated.

The examples shown in (1) were already discussed in Chapter Four but are repeated here for the sake of clarity of my analysis. Unlike PNP, INP can occur with both *da* [+veridical] and *da* [-veridical]: *da* [+veridical] occurs with INP after veridical indicative-selecting verbs while *da* [-veridical] occurs with INP after subjunctive, and nonveridical epistemic and factives verbs. On the other hand, since PNP cannot refer to *now*, and because it can only be interpreted within the nonveridical contexts, then it proceeded that PNP can be supported solely by *da* [-veridical]. In *da*+PNP, *da* serves as a binder of a PNP and the matrix verb (Bulatović (2008). In other words, *da* [-veridical] repairs the tense deficiency of PNP while *da* [+veridical] cannot do that.

(1) a. Mislim **da** napišem pismo.

*think(plan)-1.sg da write PNP-1sg. letter*

I think (plan) to write a letter.

b. Hoću **da** napišem pismo

*want-1sg da write PNP-1sg. letter*

I want to write a letter.

Diagram Three illustrates the functional projections associated with *da*+PNP which complement nonveridical epistemic/factive and subjunctive (excluding aspectuals) verbs.

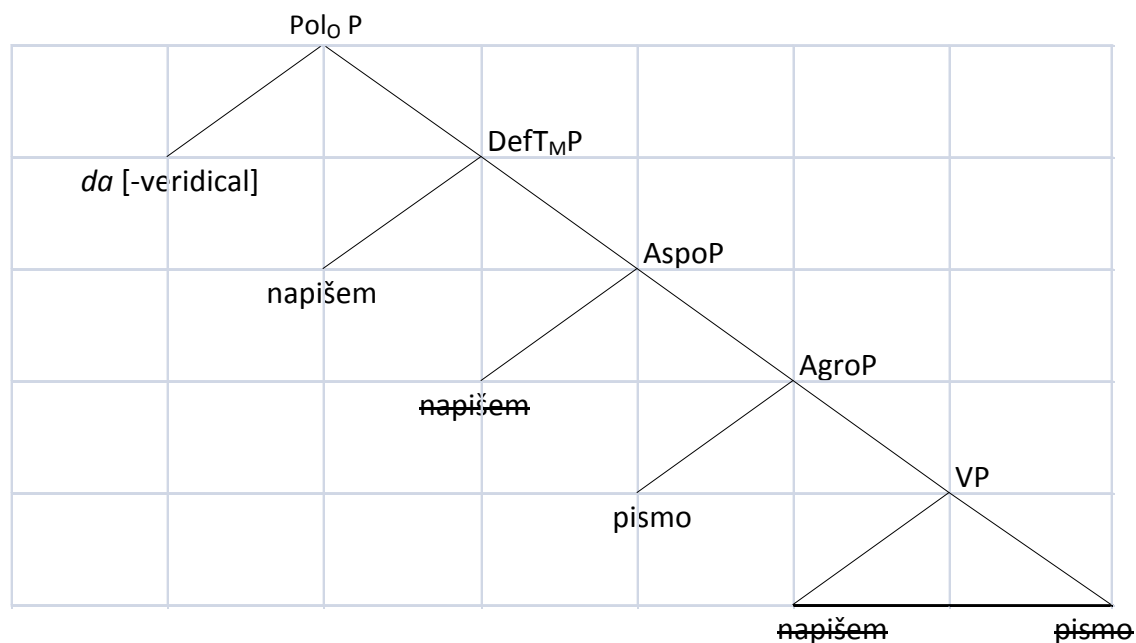


Diagram 3. Functional projections of PNP

I propose that *da*+PNP is projected in the lower domain, Pol<sub>O</sub>P. The PNP raises from VP to Asp<sub>O</sub>P to check its perfective feature and later to DefT<sub>M</sub>P. Asp<sub>O</sub>P is responsible for checking the features of perfective prefixes which quantify universally over the direct object (Progovac 2005). Given that perfective prefixes are associated with transitivity, and in that they require an object in order to allow for the derivation to remain licit, then it seems only plausible to suggest that they are projected in the lower Pol<sub>O</sub>P, the object layer. The nonveridical *da* is projected in PolP which is responsible for checking its [-veridical] feature; at the same time, the nonveridical *da* anchors and repairs the tense deficiency of PNP allowing it to be interpreted. However, *da* cannot rise further to Pol<sub>S</sub>P which is responsible for checking [+veridical] feature. Since *da* checks its [-veridical] feature in Pol<sub>O</sub>P, the *da*+PNP structure can only complement nonveridical verbs, such as subjunctive-selecting verbs (with the exception of aspectuals) and epistemic nonveridical such as *misłiti* (think) and *znati* (know). Since PNP cannot refer to *now*, past, or future, I propose that PNP is tense deficient; therefore, instead of T<sub>O</sub>P projection I propose DefT<sub>M</sub>P (deficient tense mood projection) which allows for mood interpretations.

Unlike *da*+PNP, *da*+INP can complement both veridical and nonveridical verbs. I propose that *da* [+veridical] and *da* [-veridical] in this case can occur with INP. Furthermore, *da* [+veridical] complementing veridical indicative verbs is projected in Pol<sub>S</sub>P, unlike *da* [-veridical], which is projected in Pol<sub>O</sub>P. Veridical indicative complements will select for *da* [+veridical] while subjunctive complements (and nonveridical epistemic and factive verbs) will select for *da* [-veridical]. Examples similar to those in (2) have already been discussed in Chapter Four but are repeated here to highlight the environments pertinent to the analysis in this section.

(2) a. Znam **da** pravim tortu.

*know-1sg da make INP-1sg. cake*

i. I know that I am making the cake.

ii. I know how to make a cake.

b. Želim **da** pravim tortu.

*want-1sg da make INP-1sg. cake*

I want to make a cake

c. Tvrdim **da** pravim tortu.

*claim-1sg da make INP-1sg. cake*

I claim that I am making the cake.

I propose that *da* in (2a), which allows the complement to be interpreted as equivalent to the English present progressive under (i), and *da* in (2c), used after the assertive verb *tvrditi* (claim) selects *da* [+veridical], which is projected in Pol<sub>S</sub>P. On the other hand, *da* that gives rise to the interpretation under (ii) in (2a) and *da* in (2b) used after factive and subjunctive selecting verbs is *da* [-veridical] projected in Pol<sub>O</sub>P. Diagram Four illustrates the functional projections associated with the *da*+INP, which complements indicative veridical verbs.

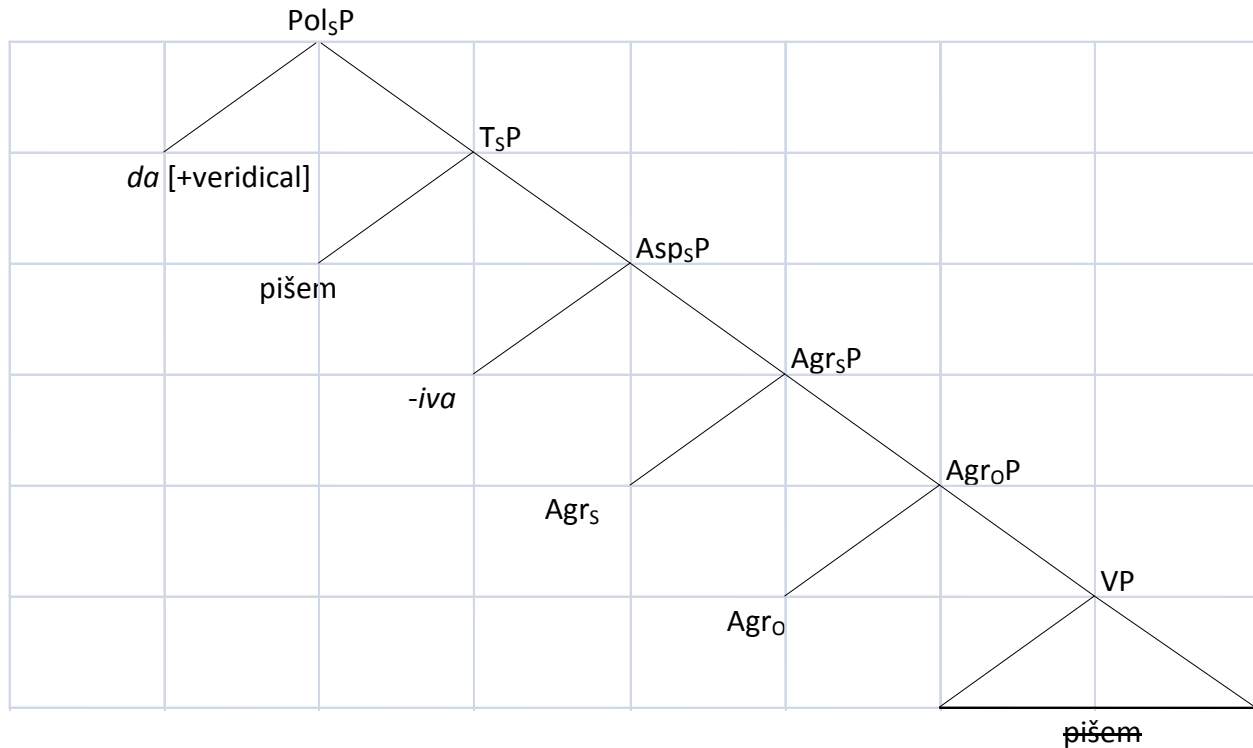


Diagram 4. Functional projections of the indicative INP

In Diagram Four, INP is projected in VP and raises to T<sub>S</sub>P to check its tense feature. Since durative imperfectives are inherently imperfective (Progovac 2005), aspectually not specified, and have no aspectual feature to be checked, they will not require Asp<sub>S</sub>P projections, which is responsible for checking aspect features. However, if the INP verb is an *-iva* imperfective, then it will raise to Asp<sub>S</sub>P to check its feature [+Universal Q] feature before it raises to T<sub>S</sub>P to check its tense feature. The imperfective suffix *-iva* scopes over *events* and *times*; therefore, it must check its feature in Asp<sub>S</sub>P (Progovac 2005).

On the other hand, as illustrated in Diagram Five, functional projections associated with *da*+INP complements of nonveridical verbs are different from those associated with *da*+INP

used as complements of veridical indicative verbs. Diagram Five illustrates the functional projections of subjunctive *da*+INP complements.

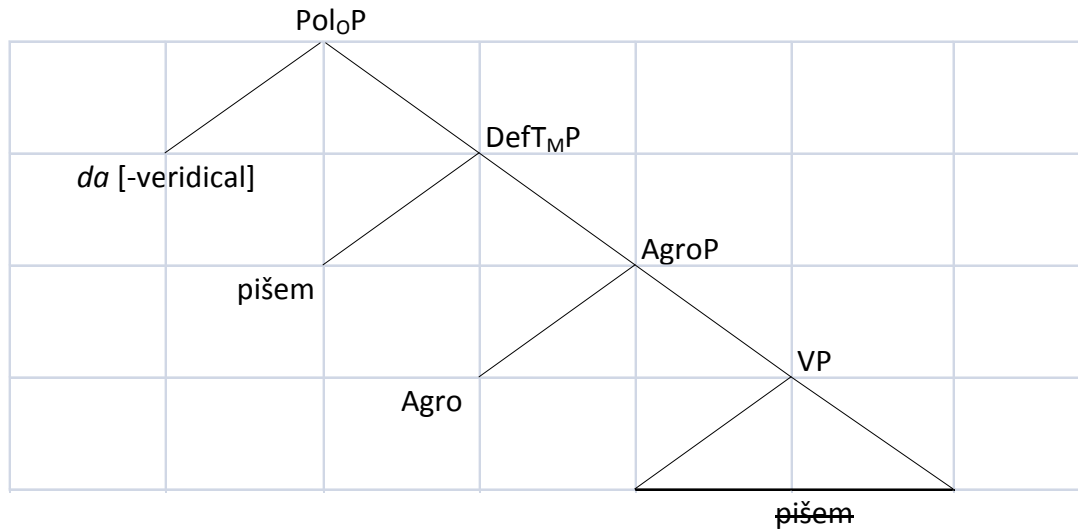


Diagram 5. Functional projections of the subjunctive INP

Subjunctive-selecting verbs as in (2b) and epistemic and factive verbs that give rise to interpretations as in (2a-ii) select for *da*+INP projected in the lower domain of Pol<sub>O</sub>P. In these instances, durative INP raises from VP to Def<sub>T</sub><sub>M</sub>P. Unlike indicative INP complements that have to check tense features, subjunctive INP complement, anchored by *da* [-veridical] is tense-deficient. Similarity as with PNP selected by *da* [-veridical], there is no T<sub>O</sub>P projection with INP selected by *da* [-veridical]. However, if the subjunctive complement is constructed with an iterative INP –*iva* verb, INP has to raise further to Asp<sub>S</sub>P to check its aspectual feature [+Universal Q], but it is still tense deficient and pronounced in Def<sub>T</sub><sub>M</sub>P, the tail of the chain. This proposal is consistent with Progovac's (2005) clausal structure which suggests that even non-ultimate copies of the movement can be pronounced.



The postulation of different projections for *da*+INP is necessary to account for different interpretations of INP in indicative and subjunctive constructions. Elimination of T<sub>OP</sub>, for both PNP and INP in the subjunctive *da*-complements and postulation of DefT<sub>MP</sub> allow for modal interpretations of *da*-complements. However, when INP is anchored by *da* [+veridical], its interpretation is limited to *now* whereas *now* interpretation is impossible when INP is anchored by *da* [-veridical]. In conclusion, it is yet again validated that the interpretation of modality in Serbian seems not to be associated with mood but with the operators, aspect, and tense.

## 5.2 Tense and *da*

Although in 5.1 I claim that T<sub>OP</sub> projections are not necessary and instead claim that the object layer has only a DefT<sub>MP</sub> projection, I do not propose that all TPs should be eliminated. I propose that T<sub>SP</sub> projections are necessary and are associated with the feature-checking mechanism of the future and past tenses in Serbian. As observed in 4.2 indicative- and subjunctive-selecting verbs pose different tense restrictions on their *da*-complements. Since subjunctive selecting verbs allow for both *da*+INP or *da*+PNP, whose projections have already been discussed in 5.1, the major focus in this section is on indicative selecting verbs which select for *da*-complements where the embedded verb is in the future or past tense. The analysis will now proceed to focus on *da* projections in the complements of those constructions as in (3) and (4), precisely in the complements of indicative-selecting verbs.

Before I proceed further, it should be observed that the epistemic verbs *misliti* (think) and factive *znati* (know), as in (4), can be only interpreted as veridical indicative verbs since they are directly complemented by *da* [+veridical], under which *da* [-veridical] is embedded and which

does not directly contribute to the semantic interpretation of the matrix verb. The *da* which directly follows the matrix verb is responsible for its semantic restrictions, not the lower *da*.

- (3) a. Zamišljam *da* ću *da* (po)letim.

*imagine-1sg da aux-1sg da (PNP) fly INP-1sg.*

(i) I imagine that I will fly. (with INP)

(ii) I imagine that I will take off (with PNP)

- b. Zamišljam *da* sam (po)letela.

*imagine-1sg da aux-1sg (perf) fly imperf. l-part.-fem.sg.*

(i) I imagine that I flew. (with imperfective)

(ii) I imagine that I took off. (with perfective)

- (4) a. Znam *da* ću *da* (na)pišem pismo.

*know-1.sg da aux-1sg. da (PNP) write INP-1sg. letter*

I know that I will write a letter.

- b. Znam *da* sam (na)pisala pismo.

*know-1.sg da aux-1sg. (perf) write imperf. l-part. fem.sg letter*

I know that I wrote a letter.

As I propose in Chapter Four both past and future tense auxiliaries are associated with the notion of veridicality since they operate within the indicative; in other words, they are taken to

be veridical and, for that reason, they can only be hosted by *da* [+veridical]. Therefore, both *da* [+veridical] and auxiliary clitics are projected within the Pol<sub>S</sub>P domain. I proceed with the analysis by first explaining the functional projections associated with the *da +past*.

Diagram Six represent the projections associated with *da*-complements similar to those in (3b) and (4b). In the illustrated examples of *da+past*, the I-participle is derived from a durative imperfective verb; therefore, there is no need to illustrate Asp<sub>S</sub>P or Asp<sub>O</sub>P projections in this case. Also, the Agr<sub>O</sub>P projection is omitted, as there is no object agreement features that need to be checked for the example provided.

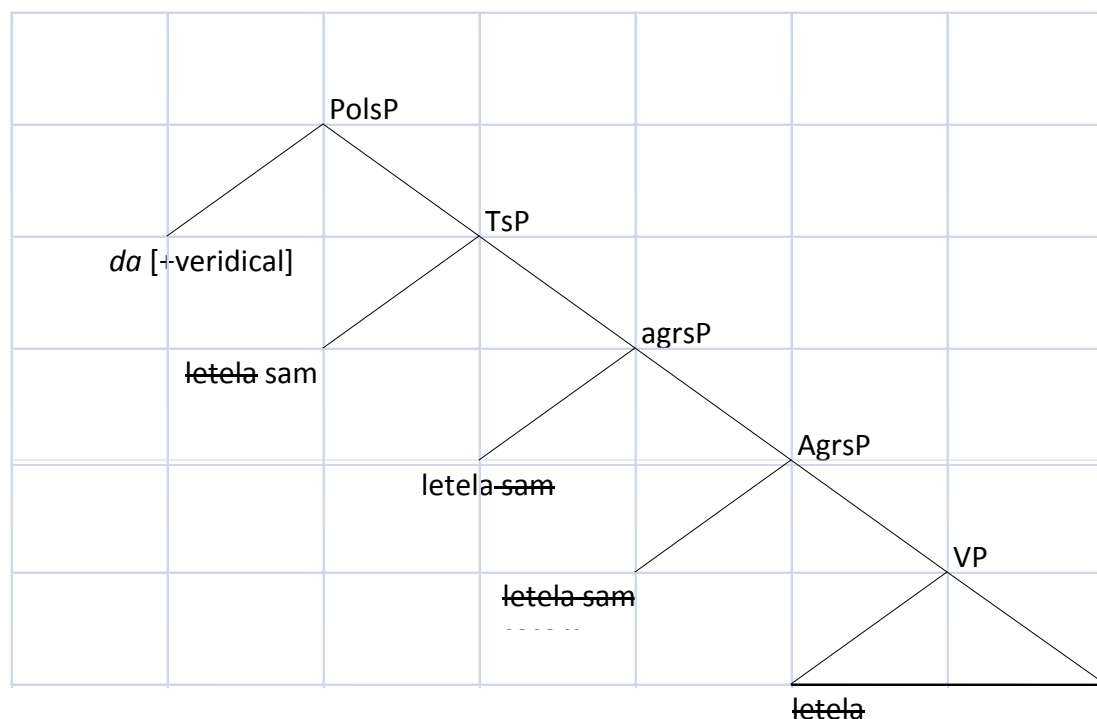


Diagram 6. Functional projections of the *da+past*

Since the subject must agree with both the auxiliary verb in person and number and with the participle in gender and number, there is a need for an Agr<sub>S</sub>P projection as well as an agr<sub>S</sub>P projection (Progovac 2005). While the person/number agreement features are checked in Agr<sub>S</sub>P, the gender/number features are checked in agr<sub>S</sub>P. In *da+past* complements of veridical indicative verbs, the participle moves from VP to T<sub>S</sub>P adjoining the auxiliary clitic in Agr<sub>S</sub>P. Together with the verb, the auxiliary clitic moves from Agr<sub>S</sub>P to T<sub>S</sub>P. However, if the verb complement is a durative imperfective l-participle, it does not further move to Asp<sub>S</sub>P for the reasons already discussed in 5.2. If the l-participle is an *-iva* verb, Asp<sub>S</sub>P will be projected where the *-iva* l-participle will check its aspect feature. If the l-participle is perfective, it is projected lower where it needs to move through Asp<sub>O</sub>P to check its perfective feature and then continue to move to T<sub>S</sub>P, left adjoined to the clitic which it carries to T<sub>S</sub>P. In the past tense, the auxiliary *sam* is projected in Agr<sub>S</sub>P and moves together with the verb to T<sub>S</sub>P to check its tense features. Based on the copy-and-delete movement theory, the verb, in this case l-participle, is pronounced lower in the chain while the auxiliary is pronounced in the highest projection, T<sub>S</sub>P.

Future tense constructions are somewhat more complicated since they allow the presence of two *da(s)*, as observed in (3a) and (4a). The lower *da*, which is embedded under the upper *da*, is projected in Pol<sub>O</sub>P and is incompatible with auxiliary clitics which operate within the indicative. The higher *da* must check its [+veridical] feature in Pol<sub>S</sub>P while the lower *da* must check its [-veridical] feature in Pol<sub>O</sub>P.

The problem the clitic analysis I provide poses is the auxiliary clitic support and movement of clitics in the future tense constructions with *da(s)*. In particular, Diagram Seven illustrates the complex problem of clitic placement in Serbian and further raises the additional issues of phonological versus syntactic placement of clitics. Although I adopt a syntactic

approach to clitic placement in Serbian, I currently do not have a clear explanation for the clitic movement from Agr<sub>S</sub>P to T<sub>S</sub>P in the example illustrated in Diagram Seven. However, one proposal for the problem shown in Diagram Seven is to suggest that the clitic can move on its own without verb support. Given that *da* [+veridical] provides clitic support, I hypothesize but cannot explain at this moment why, the verb movement is not necessary for the auxiliary clitic sandwiched in between the two *da*(s).

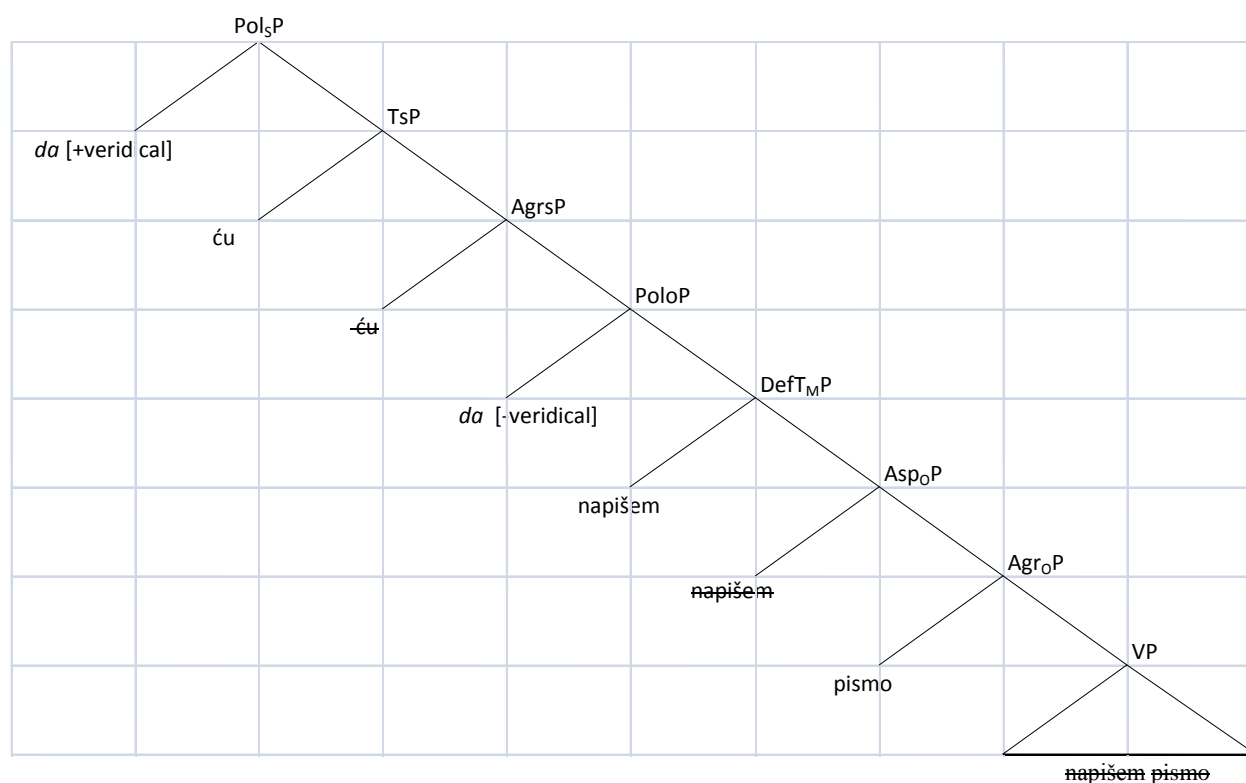


Diagram 7. Functional projections of *da+future*

### 5.3 Clitics and *da*

In section 4.3, it is demonstrated that clitic placement in Serbian does not seem to follow the traditional assumption that all clitics must cluster in the second position of a clause. I adopt the notion that clitics are sensitive to the syntactic-semantic considerations, but that they can be projected much lower in the clausal structure. Progovac (2005), building on Franks (1998, 2000), proposes that clitics are first generated in the argument position and then moved to the Agr position for the feature checking purposes. More importantly, Progovac (2005:137) claims that “clitics cannot attach to the first word unless that word is a syntactic constituent which can independently find itself in the positions where the clitics can attach.” Therefore, since clitics are supported by *da*, and because they can be attached only to the syntactic constituent, it follows that *da* must be a syntactic constituent in order to support clitics. Furthermore, Progovac’s proposal suggests that *da* can be projected in the position that can provide clitic support. On the other hand, a prosodic/phonological account of clitic placement suggests that clitics can be placed after any stressed word (Bošković 2008). However, since *da* in Serbian is not stressed, then it seems that a syntactic approach is much better suited to explain clitic placement in indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements. Furthermore, as suggested by Progovac (2005), clitics must lean on some phonological material situated to the left; however, they do not always have to lean on the same type of host. It then proceeds that both *da(s)*, *da* [+veridical] and *da* [-veridical], are different syntactic constituents that can host clitics. In other words, they are two different hosts on which clitics can lean.

My approach to clitics falls somewhere between Progovac (2005) and Bošković’s (2008) approaches. I claim that the placement of clitics is syntactic in nature, but this does not necessarily imply that all clitics cluster and are projected in the same syntactic head positions,

and certainly does not imply that the syntactic position in which clitics in Serbian are projected must be the second position in a clause. Clitic placement in Serbian has been an ongoing issue of discussion under different consensuses. In this project, and in this section in particular, I limit the discussion of clitics. My goal is to suggest a further investigation of clitics based on their placement in subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements. My analysis of clitic placement in subjunctive and indicative complements suggests that perhaps the only possible solution to clitic placement in Serbian can be found if the two ongoing approaches (syntactic and phonological) are unified in some ways (see Franks 2000).

Functional projections for auxiliary clitics are discussed in 5.2. In this section, more attention is devoted to pronominal clitics, their incorporation with the auxiliary clitics, and their placement in subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements. The examples (5) and (6) are discussed in 4.3 and are repeated here for the clarity of exposition.

- (5) a. Znam **da** ga<sub>i</sub> voliš t<sub>i</sub>.

*know-1sg da him-acc. love INP-2sg.*

I know that you love him.

- b. Znam **da** si mu ga dala.

*know-1sg da aux-2sg him-dat. it-acc. give l-part.fem.*

I know that you gave it to him.

- (6) a. Tanja želi **da** ga<sub>i</sub> vidi t<sub>i</sub>.

*Tanja want-3sg da him-acc see INP-3sg.*

Tanja wants to see him.

- b. ?? Tanja ga<sub>i</sub> želi **da** vidi t<sub>i</sub>.

*Tanja him-acc want-3sg da see INP-3sg.*

In section 5.2, it was noted that past auxiliary clitics move from Agr<sub>S</sub>P, left adjoined to the verb (I-participle), into the highest position, T<sub>S</sub>P to be pronounced on the silent copy of the verb. In Chapter Four, it was noted that auxiliary clitics are associated with the indicative and incompatible with *da* [-veridical] while pronominal clitics are projected much lower than auxiliary clitics. Given that pronominal clitics carry an interpretable case feature, they can be projected in an argument position and later moved to an agreement position. Either way, for the analysis I further provide, it is irrelevant whether pronominal clitics are indeed generated in the argument position first and moved later to the agreement position, or if they are generated in the agreement position. The crucial observation is that pronominal clitics in Serbian occupy the agreement position, Agr<sub>O</sub>P within the Pol<sub>O</sub>P domain. Diagram Eight illustrates the functional projections of pronominal clitics and their placement within indicative *da*-complements.



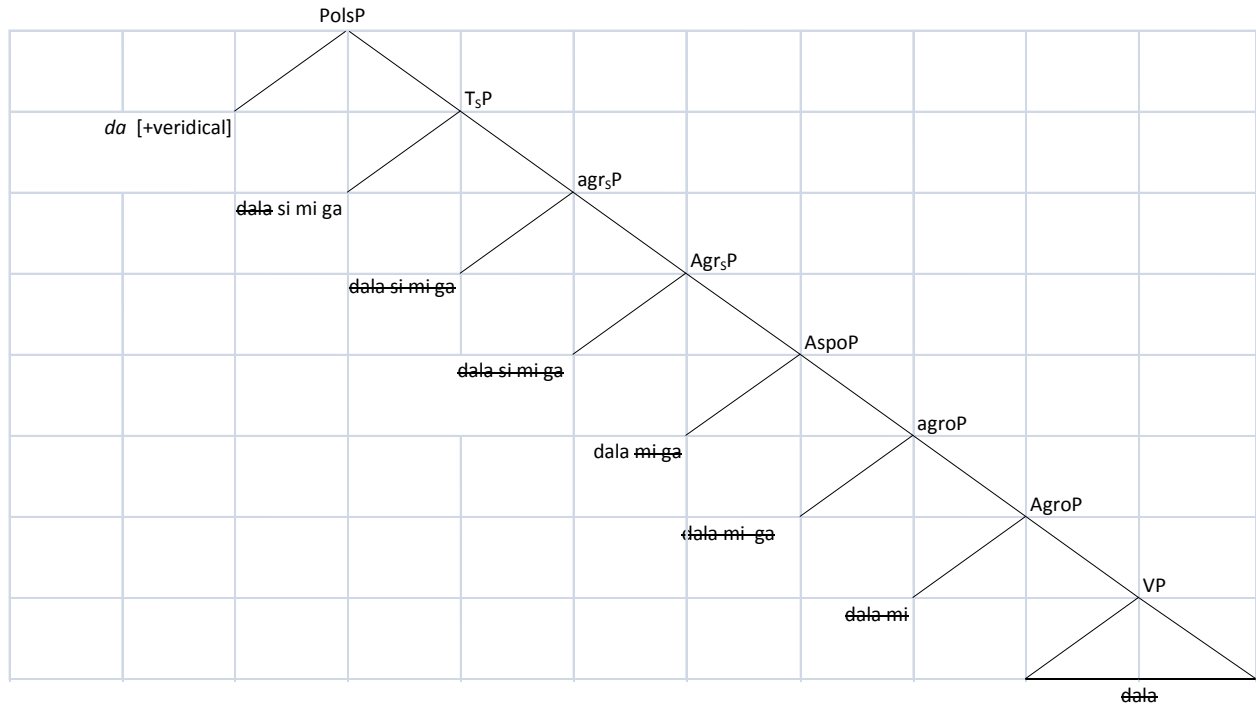


Diagram 8. Functional projections of pronominal clitics

In indicative *da*-complements, pronominal clitics are left adjoined to the verb and moved to T<sub>S</sub>P where they are pronounced while the verb, as expected by now, is pronounced in the lower copy of the movement. Building on Progovac (2005), I propose that when there is more than one pronominal clitic, the dative and/or genitive/accusative clitic, the dative clitic will be projected in Agr<sub>O</sub>P while the accusative/genitive clitic will be projected in agr<sub>O</sub>P, as illustrated in Diagram Eight. If the auxiliary clitic is present as well in the indicative *da*-complement, it will be adjoined to the verb+pronominal clitics cluster which moves to T<sub>S</sub>P where all clitics are pronounced.

Unlike indicative *da*-complements, subjunctive *da*-complements once again exhibit different properties. In the case of clitic placement, unlike indicative *da*-complements,

subjunctive *da*-complements allow clitic climbing. The clitic can climb out of the *da*-complement selected by a nonveridical/subjunctive verb, as illustrated in (6b), because *da* [-veridical] does not create a clausal boundry. I propose that only elements projected in Pol<sub>S</sub>P disallow clitic climbing. Furthermore, I propose that clitic in subjunctive *da*-complements can climb out of the Agr<sub>O</sub>P and raise to Agr<sub>S</sub>P since the matrix verb provides the support that the complement verb would otherwise provide if it had moved together with the clitic to Agr<sub>S</sub>P. Moreover, since Pol<sub>O</sub>P does not create a clausal boundry, then the notion of clitic climbing can be eliminated because the clitic really does not climb out of an embedded clause, but instead a complement.

As observed in section 5.1, the INP or PNP in subjunctive complements remains within the Pol<sub>O</sub>P. Because the INP or PNP in subjunctive *da*-complements does not rise to T<sub>S</sub>P because it has no tense feature to be checked, it cannot adjoin to the pronominal clitic to further carry it to the Agr<sub>S</sub>P. The pronominal clitic which has climbed out of subjunctive complements receives support from the matrix verb. Therefore, the complement verb does not rise with the pronominal clitic since the pronominal clitic receives support from the matrix verb. Instead, the clitic climbs on its own, without support from the embedded verb. Just as with the future tense auxiliary clitics, it is observed once again that a clitic can move even when the verb no longer moves with it.

Clitic climbing phenomenon from subjunctive *da*-complements is further restricted. Interestingly, if the matrix verb is in the past or future tense, whose auxiliary clitics carry the tense feature, no clitic climbing is allowed out of the subjunctive *da*-complement. The reason why pronominal clitics remain in subjunctive *da*-complements when the matrix tense is specified for the future or past is that pronominal clitics that climb on their own cannot adjoin and cluster

with auxiliary clitics without first being left adjoined to the verb. Specifically, a pronominal clitic, climbing on its own, cannot provide additional support for auxiliary clitics nor can it receive support from the matrix verb since the auxiliary clitics are blocking the support which the pronominal clitic would otherwise receive from the matrix verb. For this reason, when both *da* [+veridical] and *da* [-veridical] are present in the embedded structure, and if both auxiliary and pronominal clitics are projected, the auxiliary clitics will follow *da* [+veridical] while the pronominal clitics will follow *da* [-veridical]. Therefore, clitic climbing is restricted to pronominal clitics out of subjunctive *da*-complements only when the matrix tense is the nonpast and when there are no other clitics in the way since clustering and the movement of the clitic cluster is impossible without the support from the verb, unlike the movement of a single clitic which does not seem to require verb movement for support.

The explanation for the indicative and subjunctive *da* is associated with different functional projections, the first, which creates the clausal boundry, but, not the second, eliminates the problem of clitic climbing and further suggests that clitic placement in Serbian can only be resolved if both, syntactic and phonological accounts for clitic placement are to be considered. In addition, since the subjunctive *da* does not create a clausal boundry, then there is really no clitic climbing. On the other hand, since both the indicative *da* [+veridical] and subjunctive *da* [-veridical] can support clitics, and when both are present in the same structure, auxiliary clitics would follow the indicative while the pronominal would follow the subjunctive *da*; given that this is so, the second position clitic approach (as well clitic clustering in Serbian) is challenged too.



In section 4.2.1, it is noted that negation can be interpreted on both, the matrix indicative-selecting verb and on the embedded verb in indicative *da*-complements. Embedded verbs in indicative constructions carry tense features just as matrix verbs do, and, for that reason negation can be generated and interpreted on both the matrix and embedded verb. However, as noted in section 4.2.1, interpretations of the sentence with negation interpreted on the embedded or matrix verb produces two different readings. In the indicative constructions, where negation is interpreted on the embedded verb, negation is generated in NegP above TP where the embedded verb raises to check its tense feature, and below Pol<sub>S</sub>P where the indicative *da* is generated as illustrated in Diagram Nine. In indicative constructions where negation is interpreted on the matrix verb, negation is still generated in NegP above TP, but above Pol<sub>S</sub>P, where the indicative *da* is generated.

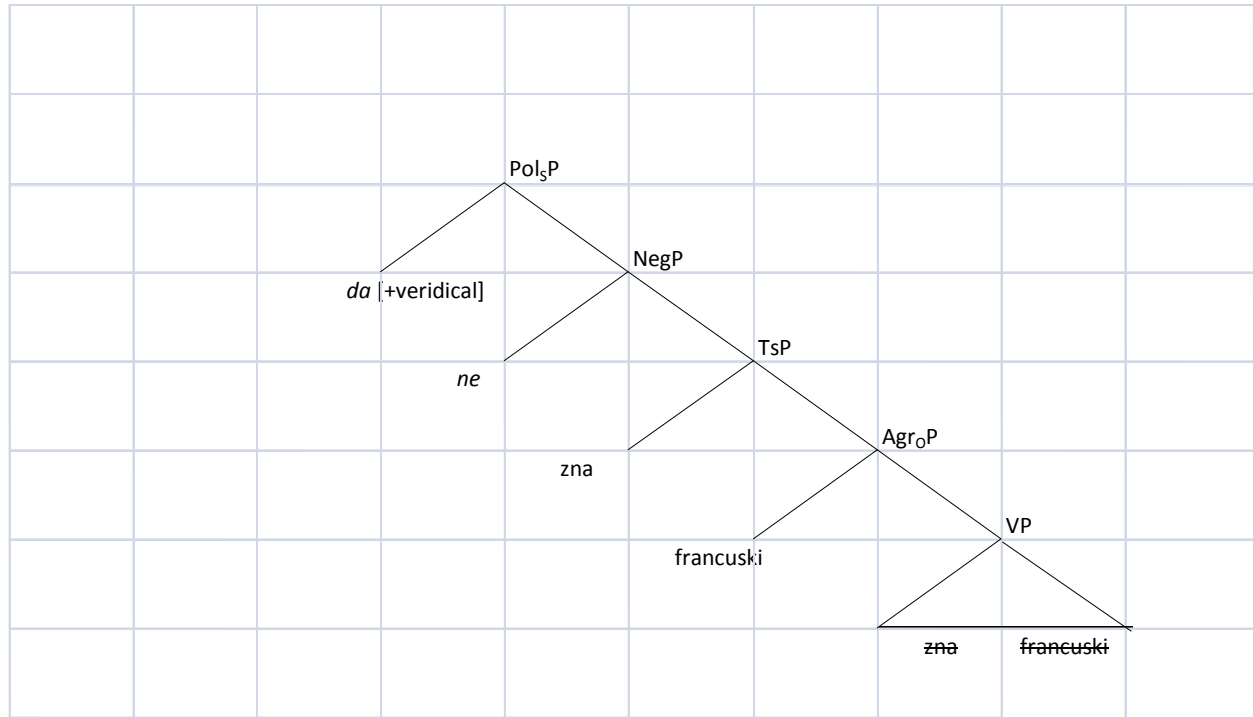


Diagram 9. Functional projection of negation in the indicative *da*-complements

The subjunctive *da* generated lower in Pol<sub>O</sub>P blocks the interpretation of negation on the embedded, tense-deficient verb. Furthermore, since subjunctive *da*-complements are tense-deficient complements, negation cannot be interpreted on the embedded verb; instead, negation can only be interpreted on the matrix verb. As *da* [-veridical] is inserted into the syntax before *ne*, it restricts the interpretation of the embedded verbal aspect to that of mood (DefT<sub>M</sub>) not tense. As a result, *ne* must be pronounced and interpreted on the matrix verb specified for tense, and not on the embedded, tense deficient PNP, as illustrated in Diagram Ten.

Additionally, something that is nonveridical, such as the subjunctive mood represents an unrealized action. Negating an unrealized action is impossible because only something that is (implying existence) can also imply its opposite (non-existence). Since the subjunctive mood as nonveridical does not imply existence, thus it proceeds that it cannot imply non-existence either; therefore, it is impossible to negate something that may not even exist. In other words, a disposition cannot be negated since it already implies impossibility (nonveridicality). For this reason negation cannot be interpreted in the same domain of the subjunctive, nonveridical *da*-complement.

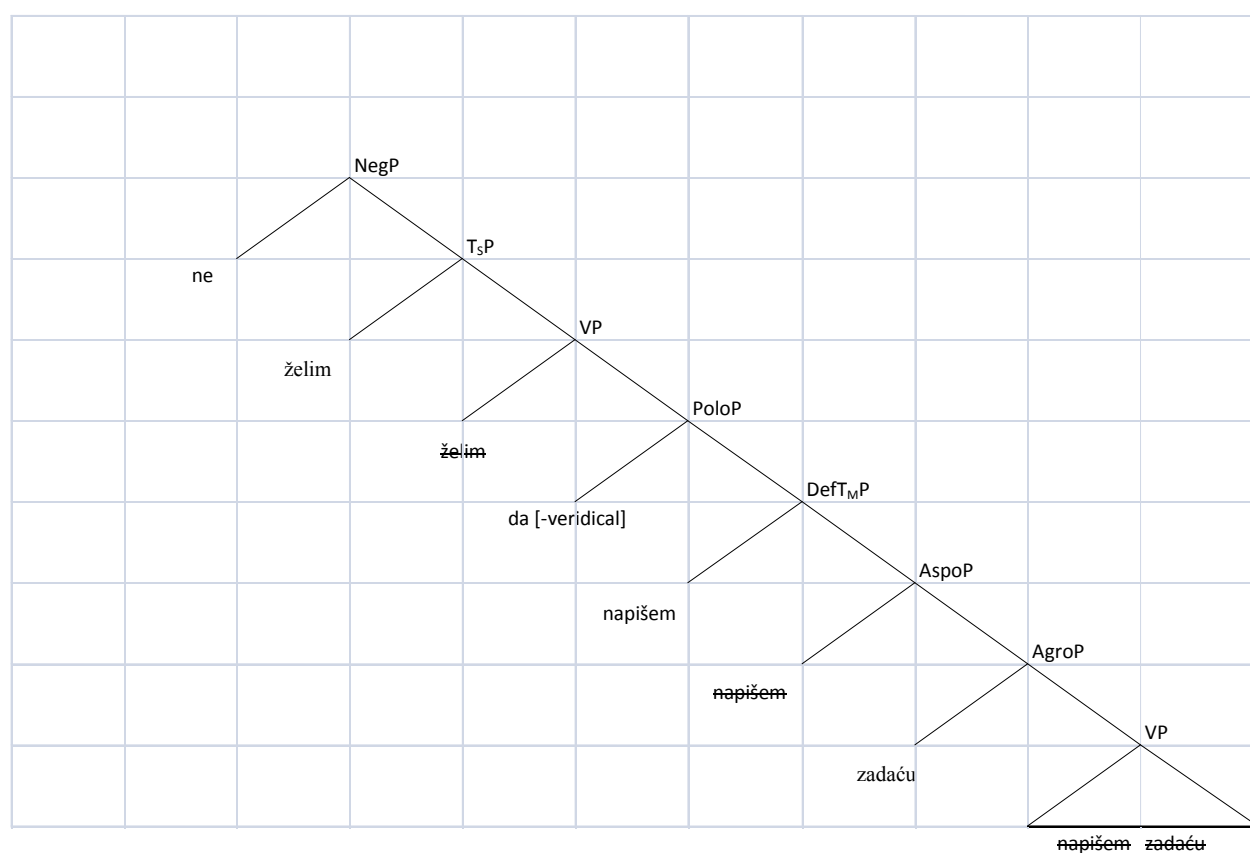


Diagram 10. Functional projection of negation in the subjunctive *da*-complements.

## 5.5 Negative polarity items and *da*

Bošković (2008, 2009) claims that NI-NPIs and I-NPIs are different lexical items. He further adds that NI-NPIs move overtly to spec NegP while I-NPIs move covertly to spec NegP. Progovic claims that NI-NPIs are marked for [+neg] feature while I-NPIs are marked for [-neg, -pos] feature<sup>33</sup>. Their proposals differ in that Bošković considers that both NI-NPI and I-NPIs move to NegP either overtly or covertly while Progovic considers that NI-NPIs check their features in the lower Pol<sub>0</sub>P and I-NPIs in the higher Pol<sub>1</sub>P.

Within Progovic's (2005) clausal structure and copy-and-delete movement analysis, I claim that NPIs, as well as I-NPIs, can be pronounced in different positions/copies of the movement. Although NI-NPIs or I-NPIs can be pronounced lower in the structure, the first still check their uninterpretable feature in the specifier positions of NegP, where they are not necessarily pronounced, while the second check their uninterpretable feature in the specifier positions Pol<sub>1</sub>P, where they too are not always pronounced.

In indicative *da*-complements, as represented in Diagram Eleven, and in the example (8a) discussed in Chapter Four and repeated here, *nikoga* overtly raises from the object position to the Spec NegP position to check its uninterpretable [+neg] features after the verb has already raised from VP to T<sub>3</sub>P. Since NI-NPIs come from the lexicon with an uninterpretable [+neg] feature (Brown 1999), they trigger negation projections. Once the negative head *ne* is projected in NegP, NI-NPI moves to the specifier position of NegP to check its uninterpretable [+neg] feature while it is still pronounced in lower copy of the movement. The sentence is rendered licit with the *da* [+veridical] in Pol<sub>1</sub>P.

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<sup>33</sup> For the purpose of analysis here, I would simplify the feature bundle of [-neg, -pos] to only [-neg] as the feature I-NPIs which have to check.



(8) a. Tvrdi **da** ne vidi nikoga.

*claim-3sg da not see INP-3sg nobody*

S/he claims that s/he does not see anybody.

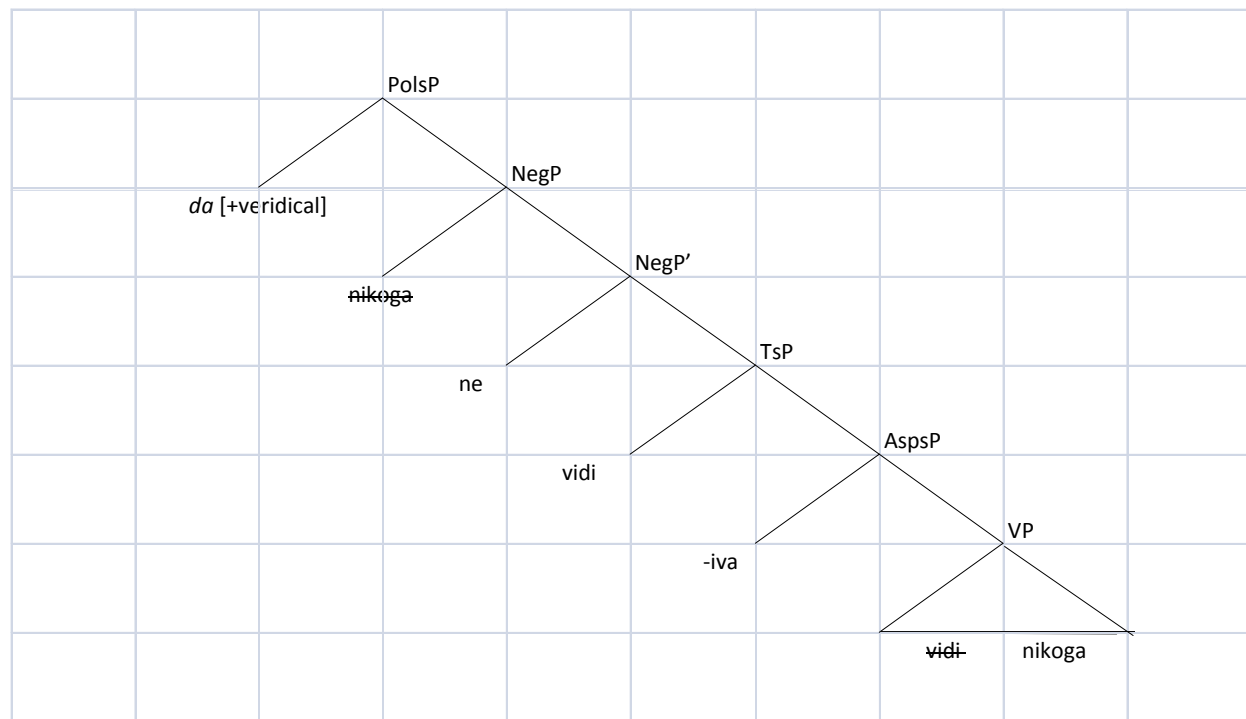


Diagram 11. Functional projections of NI-NPIs in the indicative *da*-complements

In subjunctive *da*-constructions as those in (9a), NI-NPIs, specified for [+neg] feature move to a specifier position of NegP to check their [+neg], as illustrated in Diagram Twelve. Negation is interpreted on the matrix verb only after NI-NPIs check their [+neg] feature against *ne* head in the specifier position of NegP. Since there is no tense projection in subjunctive/nonveridical *da*-complement, as expected by now, negation must be interpreted on

the matrix verb, which checks its tense features in T<sub>S</sub>P, and not on the embedded, tense-deficient verb.

- (9) a. Ne želim da vidim nikoga.  
*not want-1sg da see-1sg nobody-acc.*  
 I do not want to see anybody

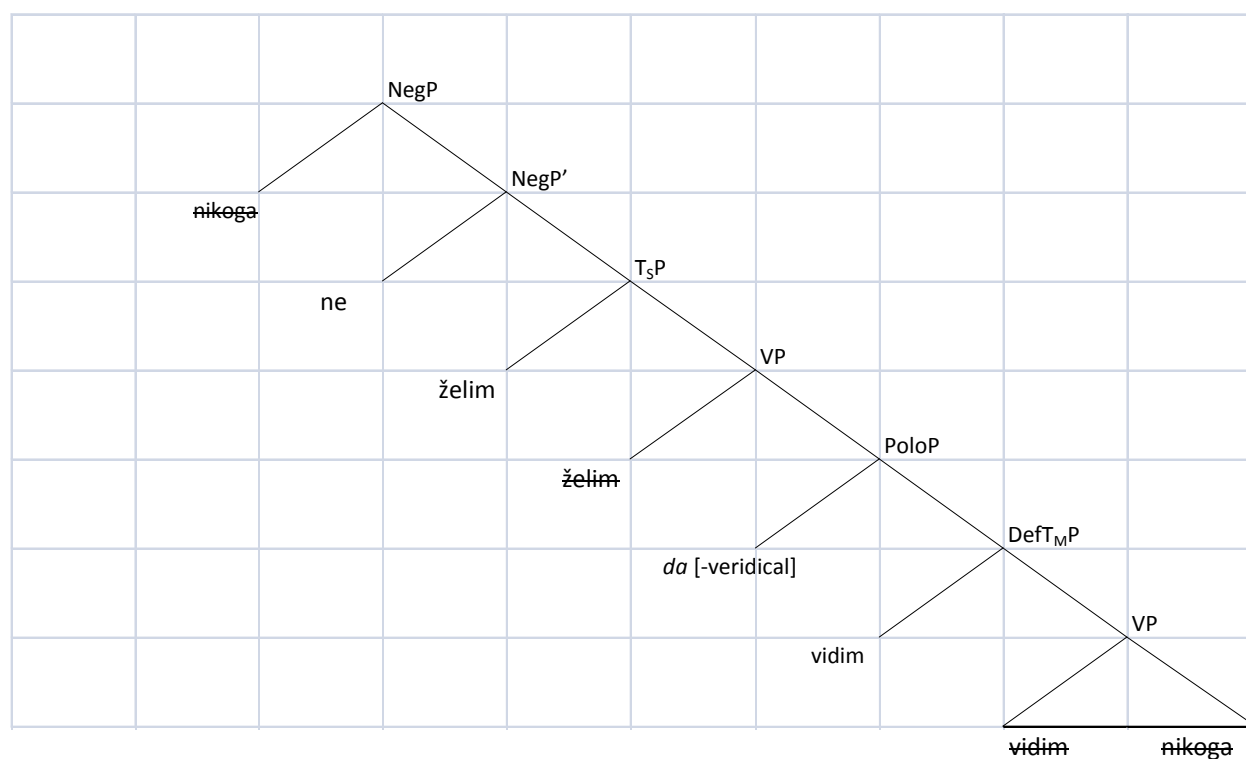


Diagram 12. Functional projections of NI-NPIs in the subjunctive *da*-complements

On the other hand, as noted by Giannakidou (1998), I-NPIs in Serbian are anti-licensed by clausemate negation; therefore, they are not found in the same clause where negation is

interpreted. Since I-NPIs are specified for [-neg] feature, they cannot trigger negation insertion like NI-NPI. On the contrary, I-NPIs require that negation be interpreted on the matrix clause only, not in the embedded clause where they are generated, as demonstrated in (10a). Along the lines of Progovac (2005)'s proposals that I-NPIs check their feature in Pol<sub>S</sub>P, I claim that in indicative *da*-complements I-NPIs raise to the specifier position of Pol<sub>S</sub>P to check their [-neg] feature. However, an I-NPI is still pronounced in the lower copy of the movement, not in the Spec of Pol<sub>S</sub>P, where it checks its [-neg] feature, as represented in Diagram Thirteen.

- (10) a. Ne tvrdi      **da** vidi ikoga.  
           *not want-3sg da see-3sg anybody-acc.*  
           I do not want to see anybody

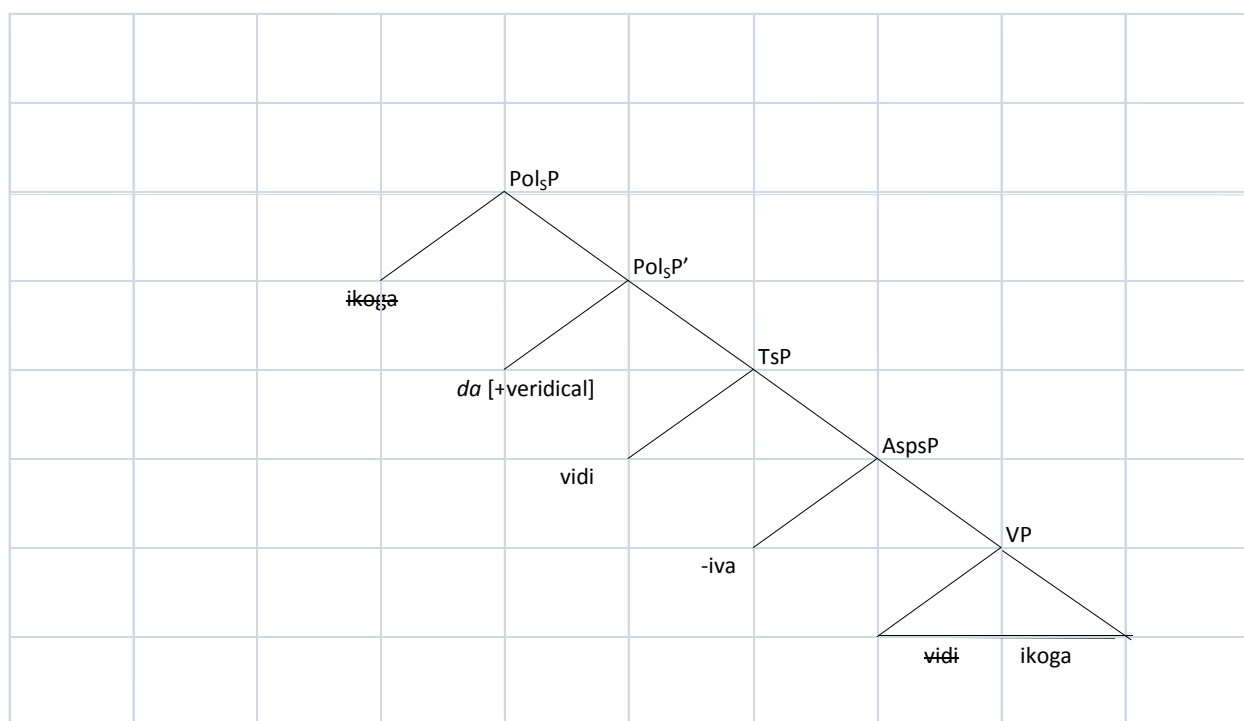


Diagram 13. Functional projections of I-NPIs in the indicative *da*-complements

In subjunctive complements, such as those in (11a), I-NPIs still check their [-neg] feature in the specifier position of Pol<sub>S</sub>P, as demonstrated in Diagram Fourteen. The problem here would be to explain how *ikoga* could raise to the specifier position of Pol<sub>S</sub>P if there is no head projected in Pol<sub>S</sub>P with subjunctive *da*-complements. Just as *nikoga* triggers negation projection, I claim that *ikoga* in subjunctive constructions triggers a null complementizer Pol<sub>S</sub>-head projection in Pol<sub>S</sub>P specified for an interpretable [-neg] feature. With a null complementizer Pol<sub>S</sub>-head projection, *ikoga* can raise to the specifier position of Pol<sub>S</sub>P to check its uninterpretable [-neg] feature. The null Pol<sub>S</sub>-head proposal with I-NPIs rescues the structure and explains why I-NPIs (usually anti-licensed by negation) are licensed in the same environments in which NI-NPIs are licensed. Once again, as noted in Diagram Fourteen, I-NPIs are pronounced in the lower copy of the movement, not where they check their features.

- (11) a. Ne želim      **da** vidim ikoga.  
           *not want-1sg da see INP-1sg anybody*  
           I do not want to see anybody



b. \*Ikoga<sub>i</sub> ne tvrdim **da** vidim *t<sub>i</sub>*.

*anybody. not claim-1sg. da see INP-1sg*

c. Nikoga/\*Ikoga<sub>i</sub> ne želim **da** vidim *t<sub>i</sub>*.

*nobody/anybody not want-1sg. da see INP-1sg*

The non-fronting of I-NPIs and NI-NPIs from indicative *da*-complements is expected by now since, as it is established, indicative *da*-complements create a clausal boundry and as such do not allow the fronting of either NI-NPI or I-NPIs. In other words, NI-NPIs are illicit when fronted across the indicative matrix verb because they move across Pol<sub>S</sub>P. On the other hand, the fronting of NI-NPIs and the non-fronting of I-NPIs from subjunctive *da*-complements could be further explained if the earlier postulation of the null-Pol<sub>S</sub>-head (complementizer) in Pol<sub>S</sub>P is adopted when I-NPIs are generated in subjunctive *da*-complements. Pol<sub>S</sub>-head projection (null-complementizer) blocks the further movement of *ikoga* from the subjunctive *da*-complement; therefore, I-NPI fronting is impossible when the matrix verb selects for an subjunctive *da*-complement as well. On the other hand, with subjunctive/nonveridical *da*-complements NI-NPIs do not trigger the null-Pol<sub>S</sub>-head (complementizer) projection in Pol<sub>S</sub>P; in other words, there is no Pol<sub>S</sub>P projection with NI-NPIs in subjunctive/nonveridical *da*-complements; therefore, fronting is possible since NI-NPIs do not move across Pol<sub>S</sub>P.

Before concluding the discussion on the NPIs in subjunctive and indicative *da*-complements, there is another important phenomenon that requires attention. As observed in (13), NI-NPI is illicit when it is in the subject position of the embedded *da*-complement, immediately following the nonveridical *da* while I-NPI is licit. As noted in Chapter Four, the

example in (13) indicates that NI-NPIs seem to exhibit different licensing properties when in the object or subject position of subjunctive *da*-complements while I-NPIs do not exhibit this asymmetry. The example in (13a) is an instance of non-control where the matrix subject (1p.sg) is disassociated from the embedded subject (3p.sg). Although I cannot provide a clear analysis for NI-NPIs subject and object asymmetry (why NI-NPIs in subjunctive *da*-complements are licit in the object position as in (13b) and illicit in the subject position), I can only suggest that the control versus non-control<sup>34</sup> or the contribution of case<sup>35</sup> could be responsible for the asymmetry of the NI-NPIs licensing (*niko*-nominative; *nikoga*-accusative/genitive).

- (13) a. Ne želim      **da** \**niko*/?*iko*      vidi      Vedranu.  
                                  *not want-1sg da nobody/anybody see INP-3sg. Vedrana*

I do not want that anybody sees Vedrana.

- b. Ne želim      **da** vidim      nikoga/ikoga.  
                                  *not want-1sg da see INP-1sg. nobody/anybody*

I do not want to see anybody.

In conclusion, the proposal that the indicative and subjunctive *da(s)* constitute different syntactic PolP projections accounts better for the licensing properties of NPIs. Considering the subjunctive *da* [-veridical] a Pol<sub>O</sub>P head and the indicative *da* [+veridical] a Pol<sub>S</sub>P head would

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<sup>34</sup> If control and non-control complements are of different syntactic projections then we would expect to see the asymmetry of NPIs licensing. However, at this point I will not explore in great depth the difference between the syntax of control vs. non-control but merely suggest possible lines of future investigation.

<sup>35</sup> The genitive of negation comes to mind here when I mention the contribution of case for the observed asymmetry. The question of how case contributes to subject/object asymmetry of NI-NPIs licensing may perhaps provide a solution to the peculiarities that are noted.

more strongly support the claim that NI-NPIs must be licensed by clausemate negation while I-NPIs must be anti-licensed by clausemate negation.

## 5.6 Conclusion: Serbian Clausal Structure

The analysis provided in Chapter Five shows that distinct functional projections are necessary for the subjunctive and indicative *da*. Using a distinctive syntactic approach for the subjunctive and indicative *da*, exceptions, unpredictable patterns, and asymmetries are avoided on accounts of more uniform proposals for aspect and tense projections, clitic placement, negation, and licensing of NPIs. Furthermore, my analysis of *da*-complements further validates Progovac's (2005) claim the functional projections in Serbian need to come in two layers (an object and subject layer), and that the only necessary functional projections in Serbian are those associated with the grammatical categories of Aspect, Tense, Agreement, and Polarity. Elimination of a CP projection-approach accounts better for the analysis of two *da(s)*, clearly associated with polarity, one that does (*da* [+veridical]) and another that does not (*da* [-veridical]) entail the truth of the clause.

In contrast to Progovac's (2005) clausal structure, I eliminate the T<sub>OP</sub> projection. While I adopt her proposal that PNP is projected in Asp<sub>OP</sub>, universally quantifying over objects, I reject that either PNP or INP in the subjunctive complements have tense projections, but I suggest instead that they are tense-deficient and projected in DefT<sub>MP</sub>. I further propose that INP and PNP do not move to T<sub>SP</sub> when found in subjunctive complements since they have no tense features that need to be checked. On the other hand, I do propose that INP moves to T<sub>SP</sub> when it serves as a complement in indicative constructions introduced by *da* [+veridical], also responsible for INP anchoring. Furthermore, since I eliminate T<sub>OP</sub>, I further claim that auxiliary clitics must then be



generated in Agr<sub>S</sub>P while pronominal clitics are still generated in Agr<sub>O</sub>P. This approach to tense and clitic placement further accounts better for the non-clustering clitic phenomenon observed when both *da(s)*, the veridical and nonveridical, are present in the same clause. Finally, the problem of licensing asymmetries of NI-NPIs and I-NPIs is better understood and, to some extent, avoided with the postulation of *da* [+veridical] in Pol<sub>S</sub>P and *da* [-veridical] in Pol<sub>O</sub>P. Most importantly, my analysis of *da* shows that, while indicative and subjunctive moods in Serbian may not seem to be morphological categories, their interpretation are possible as a result of semantic-syntactic interference. In other words, interpretation of mood in Serbian *da*-complements is dependent on aspect, tense, and the selection of *da*. Furthermore, the interpretation of mood affects clitic placement as well as licensing of NPIs. Therefore, the existence of the indicative and subjunctive mood is validated: on one hand, aspect, tense, and *da* participate in the interpretation of mood while, on the other hand, the choice of mood affects clitic placement and licensing of NPIs.

## 6. CONCLUSION

### 6.1 Implications

This research has multiple implications for generative syntax, semantics, general linguistics, as well as Slavic, Balkan, and areal linguistics. One of the most important implications of this research is the new approach to analysis of finite complementation in Serbian. By adopting the notion of the copy-and-delete movement derived for Serbian by Progovac (2005) and based on Chomsky's (1995) minimalist approach, it is possible to explain why *da* can be separated by other syntactic material from the verb and not necessarily be considered a complementizer. Because any copy of the movement can be pronounced, resulting in what is considered a free word order in Serbian, different syntactic elements can be pronounced between *da* and its verbal complement. As different syntactic material can be pronounced separating *da* from its verb, as a result of the copy-and-delete movement, this fact does not have to imply that those are final landing or feature checking positions for the elements that separate *da* from its verb. Therefore, the claim that *da* is a complementizer projected in CP based on the appearance of other syntactic material between *da* and its verb may be resolved by the copy-and-delete analysis, which allows for any copy of the movement to be pronounced that, on the other hand, does not imply the pronunciation of the final movement.

This study has devoted particular attention to aspect, tense, and morphology, which are equally important in understanding mood in Slavic. Serbian is an aspect-prominent language. Unlike many tenses, aspect in Slavic exhibits a distinct and rich morphology. My analysis shows that aspect does not only make a significant contribution to tense interpretation in Serbian but to mood interpretation as well. For example, the ambiguous interpretations of the present tense in Serbian can be resolved in some instances by aspect selection or by restrictions of particular

syntactic contexts. My analysis suggests that, although there is no significant verb morphology for mood interpretation in Serbian *da*-complements, semantic properties of the matrix verb, aspect of the complement verb, and *da* restrict, or better, allow for different interpretation of mood.

Furthermore, this study shows that like many other languages of the Balkans, Serbian productively uses what is defined as finite complementation. As discussed in the initial chapters of this dissertation, finite complementation is favored by many languages of the Balkans which have a highly productive system of complementizer/particle. While it may seem that other languages of the Balkans may have a richer complementizer/particle system than Serbian, which employs only *da*, my analysis suggests that the complementizer/particle system used for constructions of indicative or subjunctive complements in Serbian is not as simple since *da* is homophonous. Moreover, as Serbian has been generally understood as a language which allows both finite and non-finite complementation, analysis of finite complementation and the empirical data discussed in Chapter Four suggest that the two complementation options should not be simply taken as synonymous. In addition, my analysis highlights that the traditionally known *da+present* construction is not always identical and alterable with an infinitive, as it is often suggested in the literature. Moreover, the traditional *da+present* based on my analysis needs to be redefined and dissolved in order to better understand its contribution to mood and tense interpretations.

All of these implications are equally important and my analysis enriches each of these fields in significant ways, and more importantly, raises questions for future research.

## 6.2 Future Research

Research and analysis of *da*-complements can be extended in further depth in order to better understand wh-words, their functional projections, and wh-movement. As noted by Progovac (2005) wh-words and phrases are also associated with polarity. Some areas of further research could explore projections of wh-words in relation to the projections associated with the indicative and subjunctive *da*. A further test with wh-words in regards to *da* [-veridical] and *da* [+veridical] could provide even more evidence which would mandate a distinction between the indicative and subjunctive *da*.

Some examples to consider would be those in (1) and (2) which provide yet another difference between indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements. Wh-long-distance movement is possible from both indicative and subjunctive *da*-complements. However, a long-distance movement over negation is not possible from indicative *da*-complements as observed in (1) while it is possible from subjunctive *da*-complements as in (2).

- (1) a. \*Šta ne tvrdiš **da** si napisala  $t_i$ ?

*what not claim -2sg da aux-2sg write l-participle.fem*

What don't you claim you wrote?

- b. \*Kojoj devojci<sub>i</sub> ne tvrdiš **da** si dao ružu  $t_i$ ?

*which girl-dat not think-2sg da aux-2sg give l-part.masc. rose-acc.*

Which girl don't you claim you gave a rose?

(2) a. Štai ne želiš **da** mi kažeš  $t_i$  ?

*what not want-2sg da me-dat. tell PNP-2sg.*

What don't you want to tell me?

b. Kojoj devojci<sub>i</sub> ne želiš **da** daš pismo  $t_i$  ?

*which girl not want-2sg da give-2sg.impf letter*

Which girl don't you want to give a letter to?

The analysis provided in this dissertation for the *da* [+veridical] and *da* [-veridical] could also extend to independent/root contexts, in which *da* is used in Serbian. Of particular interest are optative and secondary imperatives because negation, PNP, and past tense seem to play a crucial role in the interpretation of *da*. For example, one form of the secondary imperative that is obligatory with negation requires the use of the past tense for an expressed command that is supposed to be realized after the moment of utterance. An important question of investigation in the secondary negated imperatives could explore the syntactic compatibility of negation and (*da*) imperative mood. On the other hand, non-negated secondary imperatives require the use of PNP whose modal contributions could be further attested in root contexts. Both are introduced with *da*.

In addition, the analysis provided in this dissertation could also extend to the question of interrogative *da*. Although it would be necessary to properly test optatives, secondary imperatives, and interrogatives, a possible starting hypothesis could be that the optative/imperative *da* is of the *da* [-veridical] type, while the interrogative *da* is [+veridical].

Furthermore, another important syntactic context that could be further explored with the analysis provided in this research in the syntax of the infinitive in the complement constructions. Since the infinitive alternates with some, but not all, *da*-constructions, further research could perhaps elaborate, what restriction some, but not other *da*-constructions, provide for their (ir)replacement by an infinitive.

Finally, as resultative, purpose and conditional sentences are obligatory with *da*, my analysis could be extend to analyses of *da* in these dependent clauses as well. Given that a conditional is the category of mood, and as I provide the analysis of *da* used after subjunctive-selecting verbs, proposals for the subjunctive, *da* [-veridical] used in subjunctive *da*-complements, could be also applicable to the analysis of conditionals.

These are some of the other significant syntactic contexts with *da* that could be proposed for future analysis. The implications of my analysis suggest that *da*, in the context which I did not further explore in this project, is either of the [+veridical] or [-veridical] type, or that indeed there may be yet another, different *da*. At this point, I leave for future research to test the validity of the suggested proposals and to discover, maybe yet another *da*.

## **APPENDIX**

June 21, 2012  
Professor Ljiljana Progovac  
Wayne State University  
English Department  
5057 Woodward, Room 10303.2  
Detroit, MI 48202

Dear Professor Progovac,

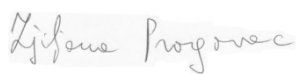
I am writing to request permission to use your sentence diagram proposed for Serbian and published in your 2005 book *A Syntax of Serbian: Clausal Architecture* in my thesis titled *The Subjunctive and Indicative da-complements in Serbian: A Syntactic-Semantic Approach*. This material will appear as originally published, but it will be also modified throughout the chapters of my dissertation in accordance with my proposals. Unless you request otherwise, I will use the conventional style of the Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Chicago as acknowledgment.

A copy of this letter is included for your records. Thank you for your kind consideration of this request.

Sincerely,  
Natasha Todorovich  
Ph.D. Candidate at the University of Illinois at Chicago

HOME ADDRESS:  
1103 Mercury Drive, Unit 2D  
Schaumburg, IL 60193  
USA

Approved by:



Date: June 22, 2012



June 19, 2012

Professor Jouko Lindstedt  
Department of Modern Language  
PL 24 (Unioninkatu 40), B434  
Helsingin Yliopisto  
Finland

Dear Professor Lindstedt,

I am writing to request permission to use the table *Shared Grammatical Innovations in the Balkans* from your publication *Contact-Induced Change by Mutual Reinforcement*, 2000 published in *Languages in Contact* and edited by Gilbers, Nerbonne, and Schaeken in my thesis titled *The Subjunctive and Indicative da-complements in Serbian: ASyntactic-Semantic Approach*.

This material will appear as originally published. Unless you request otherwise, I will use the conventional style of the Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Chicago as acknowledgment.

A copy of this letter is included for your records. Thank you for your kind consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Natasha Todorovich  
Ph.D. Candidate at the University of Illinois at Chicago

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Approved by Jouko Lindstedt Date: June 20, 2012

Open access version of the same paper: <http://hdl.handle.net/10138/33858>



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## PUBLICATIONS:

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2011. How many *da(s)* are there in Serbian? *Formalization of Grammar in Slavic Languages*. Contributions of the Eighth International Conference on Formal Description of Slavic Languages - FDSL VIII 2009 University of Potsdam, December 2-5, 2009.

2001. Friend. (poem) *The Student Literary Magazine of the University of Missouri-Kansas City*. 1. 54. 51-52. Kansas City: University of Missouri-Kansas City.

#### CONFERENCE PRESENTATION:

“Mood in Serbian”. 7<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Slavic Linguistics Society. 2012. University of Kansas, August 25-27, 2012. (Abstract Accepted)

“The syntax of *da* in Serbian.” 5<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Slavic Linguistics Society 2010. University of Chicago, October 29-31, 2010.

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#### TRANSLATIONS:

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#### MEMBERSHIPS:

Slavic Linguistics Society

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Linguistics Society of America