

Subjunctives

Josep Quer

Institució Catalana de Recerca i Estudis Avançats (ICREA) and Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Spain

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Syntactic transparency
 - 2.1 Obviation
 - 2.2 Long-distance anaphoric binding and NPI-licensing
 - 2.3 Raising
- 3 Syntactic licensing of subjunctive clauses
 - 3.1 Subjunctive as defective tense
 - 3.2 Subjunctive as operator
 - 3.3 Subjunctive as a dependent nominal
- 4 Functional syntax of subjunctive clauses
 - 4.1 The locus of subjunctive: I vs. C, I-to-C movement
 - 4.2 MoodPhrase and CP
 - 4.3 Subject licensing and control
 - 4.4 Subject inversion
 - 4.5 C-deletion
- 5 Concluding remarks

1 Introduction

Subjunctive is the traditional label for one of the possible values of the grammatical category “mood” (in some grammatical traditions also known as “conjunctive”). It minimally contrasts with the mood category displayed in assertive main clauses, namely indicative. It mostly surfaces in subordinate clauses (Gr. *hypotaktiké* ‘subordinated’), but independent uses of subjunctive are attested as well. In many languages this category is typically realized as a separate finite verbal paradigm with specific inflectional morphemes (see the verbal ending in (1a)), but it can also be materialized in inflectional particles (such as Greek *na* in (1b)) or in the C-system (note the Russian “subjunctive complementizer” *ctoby* in (1c)).

The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Second Edition.

Edited by Martin Everaert and Henk C. van Riemsdijk.

© 2017 John Wiley & Sons, Inc. Published 2017 by John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

DOI: 10.1002/9781118358733.wbsyncom113

(1) Catalan

- a. Volen que dimiteixi.
 want.3PL that resign.SUB.3SG

Greek

- b. θέλun na paretíθi.
 want.3PL SUB resign.3SG
 'They want her/him to resign.'

Russian

- c. ja zhelaju to-by ona ushla.
 I desire.1SG that-BY she go.PST
 'I desire that she should go.'¹

A wide range of syntactic phenomena have been argued to depend on the co-occurrence of subjunctive. However, subjunctive does not constitute a syntactically uniform object either cross-linguistically or even within the same language. For instance, some of the subjunctive-related phenomena described for one language do not hold for other languages having subjunctive mood. Similarly, some allegedly subjunctive-related phenomena show up in a subset of the subjunctive clauses in a language, but not in all of them. These facts indicate that subjunctive may be essentially seen as an epiphenomenon derived from other lexical, syntactic, or semantic factors and that as such it does not allow us to identify subjunctive clauses as one class. We mainly concentrate here on the syntactic properties that have been claimed to pertain to subjunctive subordination, namely argument clauses. The interpretive effects of this mood category are put aside, unless considered essential for the explanation.²

First, three phenomena are examined that have been linked to the syntactic "transparency" of subjunctives as clausal domains. Next, a review is offered of the approaches that take subjunctive clauses to be a syntactic object different from indicative clauses, subject to specific licensing conditions. Finally, a discussion follows of different aspects of the functional structure of subjunctive clauses to the extent that they show specific traits vis-à-vis indicative clauses.

Most work on the syntax of subjunctives has concentrated on Romance and Balkan languages, which will provide the empirical evidence for this survey.

2 Syntactic transparency

Subjunctive clauses have been argued to constitute more transparent domains than indicative ones with respect to a number of syntactic relations. Some of the explanations concentrate on one or more of the transparency effects, or on a certain group of languages, which makes it difficult to characterize the notion of subjunctive transparency in a unified fashion. The biggest difficulty, though, lies in the fact that the purported transparency of subjunctive clauses does not seem to be a property of subjunctives as such, but rather of a subset thereof, and that the determining factor

for transparency has to be found ultimately in the lexical semantic properties of the item licensing or selecting them.

2.1 Obviation

In most Romance languages, subjunctive clauses embedded under volitional and directive predicates display obviation effects, namely a ban on coreference between the embedded and the matrix subject, as in (2).

(2) Spanish

- a. *Queremos_i que ganemos_i.
 want.1PL that win.SUB.PRS.1PL
 ('We want to win.')
- b. Queremos_i que ganen_k.
 want.1PL that win.SUB.PRS.3PL
 'We want them to win.'

Picallo (1984; 1985) ascribes the coreference restriction between matrix and embedded subjects to the defective Tense specification of subjunctive clauses (see section 3.1). This defectivity enforces the establishment of a T(ense)-chain between the tense features of the subjunctive Infl node and the Infl antecedent. As a result of this, the binding domain for the embedded subject is extended and the first accessible subject for the embedded subject turns out to be the matrix subject.³ By the Principle B of the Binding Theory, the embedded pronominal Agr is forced to be free in its binding domain, thus excluding coindexation with the matrix Agr.

The restriction on the reference of the embedded subject is only operative with respect to the matrix subject, though, and it does not apply when coreference is established with an internal argument in the main clause.⁴ In Picallo's account this is derived through the Case Resistance Principle (Stowell 1981), which forces extraposition of the embedded clause. As a result of this, the internal argument of the main clause does not c-command the embedded subject and they can freely corefer.

(3) Spanish

- Les_i pidió que se callaran_i.
 to-them ask.PST.3SG that REFL be-quiet.SUB.PST.3PL
 'S/he asked them to be quiet.'

Obviation was originally taken to be a defining property of subjunctive as a whole, but it has been shown that it only is a property of a set of subordinating predicates in some languages (Romance, but not Balkan, languages possess this characteristic). While restricting obviation to the relevant set of subjunctive selecting predicates (volitionals, directives, causatives), many accounts of obviation build on Picallo's insight that the defectivity of subjunctive tense lies at the bottom of subject disjoint reference (see the reference to the analyses by Progovac or Raposo in section 3.1). Alternatively, Suñer and Padilla-Rivera derive obviation from a lexical feature specified in the relevant set of predicates. However, on the accounts of subjunctive as

an operator, obviation effects are seen as the consequence of operator movement (see section 3.2 for details): though enforced by other requirements, the displacement of the operator ends up creating a configuration where the matrix and the embedded subjects must be disjoint in reference.

It is important to notice that obviation effects do not arise in operator-triggered subjunctive (Polarity Subjunctive, in Stowell's 1993 terms, see section 3.3 for the distinction), as in (4):

- (4) Spanish
 No cree_i que vaya_i.
 not believe.3SG that go.SUB.PRS.3SG
 'S/he doesn't think s/he'll go.'

A parallel line of research has focused on the competition between subjunctives and infinitivals. Farkas (1992) follows a rather different path from the accounts reported so far and explains obviation as a case of blocking by infinitival clauses in canonical (subject) control contexts: in order to encode the subject dependency, infinitives are then selected over subjunctives, which mark the broader notion of world dependency. A number of other works have established a tight link between control and obviation, analyzing infinitival controlled clauses and subjunctive clauses in tandem (for different implementations, see Luján 1999; Hornstein and San Martin 2001; Feldhausen 2008). On the basis of the analysis of non-argument clauses, Costantini (2011) argues for a competition-type of analysis of obviation over a tense-dependency one. In previous work on obviation in argument clauses, though, Costantini (2009) somewhat combines elements of both types of approaches: following Giorgi and Pianesi's (2001) work, he proposes that some embedded clauses (typically, subjunctive and infinitival clauses) do not contain the utterance coordinates and are temporally interpreted with respect to the main clause eventuality. Only in non-finite clauses of this kind does an unsatisfied position occur that results in a *de se* reading of the embedded clause after theta-identification of that unsatisfied position with the agent of the context (in general the subject of the main clause or the bearer of the propositional attitude). In subjunctives, no such unsatisfied position occurs, because the empty subject does saturate the predicate and the conditions are not met for triggering a *de se* reading (see Giorgi 2004 on long-distance anaphors and section 2.2 below).

A conceptually related alternative account is suggested in Dobrovie-Sorin (2001), who argues that subjunctive clauses in Romance languages other than Romanian do define a governing category for their subjects. The need to use an infinitival clause in a subject control structure where both subjects are coreferent would derive from a principle that requires choosing an anaphor instead of a pronoun whenever possible (see Bouchard 1984). A potential problem for this explanation is created by operator-triggered subjunctives as in (4) above, because everything else being equal, an infinitival should surface instead of a subjunctive.

Kempchinsky, in different works and most recently in Kempchinsky (2009), defends that the obviation effect in the subjunctive complements to desideratives and directives results from the presence of an imperative operator in Fin. This embedded imperative imposes the interpretation "anyone other than the matrix subject" on the embedded subject, in a parallel fashion to a root imperative, which triggers the interpretation "anyone other than the speaker."

However robust the core obviation cases might be, there are a number of factors that lift subject disjoint reference effects (see Ruwet 1984; 1991; and Costantini 2009 for a more detailed discussion). The most systematic ones are the following:

(i) a modal in the embedded clause

(5) Spanish

Espero_i que pueda_i ir.
 hope.1SG that can.SUB.PRS.1SG to-go
 'I hope to be able to go.'

(ii) focus on the embedded subject

(6) Spanish

Espero_i que gane_i sólo yo ahora.
 hope.1SG that win.SUB.PRS.1SG only I now
 'I hope to win alone now.'

(iii) passive subjects in the matrix or the embedded clause

(7) Spanish

- a. Espero_i que sea_i autorizado a ir.
 hope.1SG that be.SUB.PRS.1SG allow.PPL to to-go
 'I hope to be allowed to go.'
- b. Fue_i convencido de que se marchara_i.
 be.PST.3SG convince.PPL of that REFL leave.SUB.3SG
 'He was persuaded to leave.'

(iv) compound tenses in the embedded clause

(8) French

Je voudrais que je sois déjà parti!
 I want.COND.1SG that I be.SUB.1SG already leave.PPL
 'I would like for me to be already gone!'

(v) coordinated complements

(9) French

?Je veux que tu partes et que je reste.⁵
 I want.1SG that you leave.SUB.2SG and that I stay.SUB.1SG
 'I want you to go and for me to stay.'

(vi) clitic left-dislocated constituent in the embedded clause⁶

(10) Catalan

L'Elena espera que al formulari, hi hagi posat la
 the-Elena expect.3SG that in-the form CL.LOC have.SUB.3SG put.PPL the
 data correcta.
 date correct
 'Elena hopes to have filled in the correct date.'

At face value, these cases pose serious problems to purely syntactic accounts of obviation effects. Some of the contexts where obviation is weakened are explained by Costantini (2009) within the terms of his account, but a unified analysis turns out not to be feasible.

2.2 Long-distance anaphoric binding and NPI-licensing

Subjunctive appears to be a prerequisite for simplex long-distance anaphors (i.e., logophoric use of reflexive pronouns) to be licensed in some languages like Icelandic, Italian, and French.⁷

(11) Icelandic

Jón_i segir að Pétur_j raki sig_{i/j}.
 Jón say.3SG that Pétur shave.SUB.3SG self
 'Jón says that Pétur shaves himself.'

(12) Icelandic

Jón_i veit að Pétur_j rakar sig_{*i/j}.
 Jón know.3SG that Pétur shave.IND.3sg self
 'Jón knows that Pétur shaves himself.'⁸

However, subjunctive is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the licensing. Reuland and Sigurjónsdóttir (1997) point out that the Icelandic logophor *sig* in subjunctive clauses is regulated by discourse conditions (its antecedent has to bear the point of view of the utterance, whether it c-commands the logophor or not), as opposed to *sig* in infinitival clauses, where grammatical constraints are at play.

The Italian long-distance anaphor *proprio* has also been shown to be sensitive to mood distinctions. Giorgi (1984; 2004; 2006; 2007) shows that this anaphor is sensitive to the mood of the embedded clause, as it only gets licensed long-distance if the embedded clause is in the subjunctive:

(13) Italian

- a. [Quel dittatore]_i spera che i notiziari parlino
 [that dictator]_i hope.3SG that the TV-news talk.SUBJ.PRES.3PL
 a lungo delle proprie_i gesta.
 for long of-the self deeds
 '[That dictator]_i hopes that the TV news will talk about his_i deeds for a long time.'
- b. *[Quel dittatore]_i ha detto che i notiziari televisivi
 [that dictator]_i have.3SG say.PPL that the news TV
 hanno parlato a lungo delle proprie_i gesta.
 have.3PL talk.PPL for long of-the self deeds

In Giorgi's account, such long-distance anaphors are the spell-out of unsatisfied theta-positions that must undergo theta-identification either with an argument of the embedded clause (a co-argument) or with the bearer of the attitude, which must

be locally represented, and this is what brings the *de se* reading about. The coordinates of the bearer of the attitude are argued to be syntactically represented. These coordinates, present in indicative clauses but absent in subjunctive ones, trigger a blocking effect for long-distance anaphors.

Licensing of NPIs and negative indefinites can also happen at a distance (over a clause boundary or more) if the embedded clause containing the licensee is in the subjunctive. Indicative blocks this kind of long-distance licensing. Furthermore, Kayne (1981) and Rizzi (1982) noted a subject/object asymmetry in French and Italian respectively: while a preverbal NPI subject licensed by matrix negation gives an ungrammatical result, the structure is grammatical if it involves an NPI object in the same configuration:

(14) Italian

- a. Non pretendo che tu arresti nessuno.
not require.1SG that you arrest.SUB.2SG no one
'I do not require that you arrest anyone.'
- b. *Non pretendo che nessuno ti arresti.
not require.1SG that no one you arrest.SUB.3SG
'(I do not require that anyone arrests you.)'⁹

Related facts were discussed in Kayne (1984) involving NPs headed by *de* 'of' in French, as in (13): the empty QP heading the *de*-N NP [_{NP} [_{QP} e] *de* N] can be licensed long distance by *pas* across a subjunctive clausal boundary, but only if the NP is in object position. For a detailed account of these facts, see Kampers-Manhe (1992).

(15) French

- a. Jean ne voudrait pas que tu boives de bière.
John NE want.COND.3SG NOT that you drink.SUB.2SG of beer
'John wouldn't like for you to drink beer.'
- b. *Jean ne voudrait pas que de bière lui coule dessus.
John NE want.COND.3SG NOT that of beer him spill.SUB.3SG on
'(John wouldn't like it if beer were spilled on him.)'

Under the assumption that the NPI in (12) has to move covertly to the matrix negation marking its scope, Picallo (1984) attributes the ill-formedness of a case like (12b) under the purported reading to the inability of subjunctive Infl to properly govern the trace in preverbal subject position. In a different vein, Progovac (1993; 1994) suggests that the domain extension of the embedded subjunctive which would be required for the NPI to be licensed by matrix negation does not take place in (12b) because the preverbal NPI subject triggers negative agreement on that Infl node, thus blocking Subjunctive Functional Deletion (see section 3.1).

Nevertheless, subjunctive as such again does not suffice for long-distance licensing of NPIs and NIs, as other factors like the existence of a single T-domain between the embedded and the main clause seem to be involved. For a detailed discussion, see Giannakidou and Quer (1997) and for reinterpretations of that proposal, see Giannakidou (1997; 1998).

2.3 Raising

Subject raising out of subjunctive clauses has been described and analyzed for Balkan languages like Romanian and Greek, illustrated here by (16) and (17), respectively.

- (16) Romanian
 Studenții trebuiau [t să plece].¹⁰
 students-the must.3PL SUB leave.3PL
 'The students must have left.'

- (17) Greek
 Ta pedhia arxisan na trexun.¹¹
 the children start.PST.3PL SUB run.PRS.3PL
 'The children started to run.'

Subjunctives, unlike infinitives, display finite morphology with subject agreement. Raising from a finite clause poses theoretical problems, as it contradicts the generalization that raising to subject is only allowed for case reasons out of non-finite clauses.¹² Subjunctive morphology can independently license lexical subjects in the embedded clause, as can be observed in the counterpart to (16):

- (18) Romanian
 Trebuia [ca studenții să plece].
 must.3SG that students-the SUB leave.3PL
 'It must have been the case that the students left.'

This has been taken to be sufficient evidence to exclude raising to subject out of subjunctive clauses in Balkan languages (Philippaki-Warbuton 1987). However, some proposals have been made that do analyze this type of cases as instances of raising. Dobrovie-Sorin (2001), for example, reduces both raising and control in Balkan subjunctive clauses to anaphoric binding. Roussou (2001) also brings them together by arguing that the functional domain of subjunctive CPs lacks the projections of both Fin (in the C-system) and AgrS (in the IP system). Drawing on Manzini and Roussou's (2000) framework, she suggests that the "raised" DP in the matrix clause is actually sitting in a topic position and that the main AgrS attracts the thematic feature of the embedded predicate, which triggers morphological agreement between the matrix and the embedded predicate. This replicates in more recent terms the traditional view that complements to raising verbs are defective in some sense, that is IPs instead of CPs. An important fact to take into account in this connection is that the presence of an overt complementizer blocks raising out of the subjunctive clause, as illustrated in (19):

- (19) Romanian
 Toți doctorii s-au nimerit (*ca) să fie de acord.
 all doctors-the REFL-have.3PL happen.PPL that SUB be.3PL of agreement
 'All the doctors happened to agree with each other.'

3 Syntactic licensing of subjunctive clauses

The dependent character of subjunctive clauses has been reinterpreted in different ways: as a result of dependent Tense, of need for operator licensing, or of narrow-scope properties of the mood itself. Some of the properties of subjunctives reviewed in section 2 have been argued to derive naturally from the kind of analysis put forth.

3.1 Subjunctive as defective tense

The tense properties of subjunctive forms are argued to be defective, as they rely on the full tense specification of the matrix. This surfaces in the restrictions on sequence of tense in subjunctive dependents that do not show up in indicative dependents. This can be observed in the Catalan examples (20): while a CP complement in the indicative allows for both present and past tenses (20a), the past form is excluded in a subjunctive clause embedded under a present tense (20b).

(20) Catalan

- a. Sabia que telefona/ telefonava.
 know.IMPF.1SG that phone.IND.PRS.3SG phone.IND.IMPF.3SG
 'I knew that s/he calls/that she used to call.'
- b. Desitja que telefoni/ *telefonés.
 desire.PRS.3SG that phone.SUB.PRS.3SG phone.SUB.IMPF.3SG
 'S/he wishes that s/he calls/called.'¹³

Relying on these basic facts, Picallo (1984; 1985) develops the hypothesis that albeit sometimes displaying tense oppositions such as [\pm Past], subjunctive forms do not have an independent temporal interpretation. In this respect, they are defective if we compare them with indicative forms, whose tense is contentful. This characteristic prevents them from appearing independently in assertive root clauses, as in (21).

(21) Spanish

- a. *Daniel haya llamado.
 Daniel call.SUB.PERF.3SG
 ('Daniel has called (SUB).')

Catalan

- b. *Ahir plogués.
 yesterday rain.SUB.IMPF.3SG
 ('Yesterday it rained (SUB).')

The core of Picallo's proposal consists in characterizing subjunctive Infl as [$-$ Tense, $+Agr$], whereas its indicative counterpart would be [$+Tense$, $+Agr$]. The defectivity of subjunctive Infl forces it to rely on the content of the superordinate Infl for its tense interpretation, which materializes in an anaphoric-like link between the temporal features of the subjunctive and those of the root Infl.¹⁴ Given that in root contexts there is no tense specification available, the subjunctive tense in sentences like (21) remains unbound and leads to ungrammaticality, in the same fashion as

unbound nominal anaphors.¹⁵ Giannakidou (2009) implements the same underlying idea of temporal dependency for subjunctive clauses in Greek, and argues that the “subjunctive” particle *na* actually introduces a temporal variable *now*, which in turn is selected by the main predicate. Since *na*-clauses cannot refer to the utterance time because of its deficient character, they are argued to instantiate a case of polarity dependency in the temporal domain. In this respect, Giannakidou’s approach combines the insights of the approaches that analyze subjunctive clauses as dependent tenses and dependent nominals.

The tense-dependency of subjunctive is argued to give rise to several transparency effects affecting the subordinate clause: disjoint reference between the embedded and the matrix subjects (obviation), long-distance anaphoric binding and NPI-licensing across a CP boundary, subject raising from a finite domain, and so on (see section 2).

The syntactic dependency of subjunctive Infl and the phenomena deriving from this property are analyzed as the result of different mechanisms. Picallo (1985) claims that a T(ense)-chain is established between the tense features of the subjunctive Infl node and those of the antecedent Infl. The extension of the binding domain of the embedded clause to the matrix one is seen as the consequence of such a T-chain formation. Under this view, what establishes a transparent domain for binding are the tense properties of subjunctives rather than the agreement ones. Progovac (1993; 1994) argues that domain extension with subjunctives takes place under a more general condition at LF: according to her, subjunctive Infl/Comp projections become invisible (or rather, delete) at LF up to recoverability, under the assumption that they are unnecessary for interpretation. She discusses three phenomena that would be sensitive to functional deletion, namely long-distance licensing of negative polarity items, long-distance reflexivization, and disjoint reference effects between embedded and matrix subject. However, functional deletion is not contingent on the existence of subjunctive marking in a given grammar. In fact, a language like Serbian/Croatian without a subjunctive paradigm displays the effects of domain extension under volitional predicates.

Despite the general treatment of subjunctive clauses as transparent domains, it has been widely acknowledged that different sets of embedded subjunctives have to be distinguished, as not all of them possess the described properties. A clear divide exists between subjunctive complements to volitional and directive predicates (*want*, *order*) and subjunctive complements to factive and epistemic predicates (*regret*, *believe*). In her proposal, for instance, Progovac restricts the application of functional Infl/Comp deletion to clausal complements of volitional predicates, because they select a Comp without a truth value and an Infl without independent tense. The complements to factive predicates, on the other hand, cannot undergo functional deletion because they realize a C with a truth value, which would not be recoverable if deleted. Raposo (1985–1986), though taking the same basic facts as Picallo as departure point, does not reduce them to the indicative/subjunctive opposition, but to the selectional properties of the embedding predicates. He identifies two basic classes: E-predicates (including epistemics and declaratives) and W-predicates (comprising volitionals, non-factive emotives, and verbs of influence, permission and necessity). The former would select a [+Tense] operator in their C, while the latter would not select it, leading to a [–Tense] specification of their C.

Only in the first case would opacity be triggered by the presence of the [+Tense] operator. If absent, the subjunctive tense must be bound by the tense specification of the matrix indicative, giving rise to transparency effects.¹⁶

Nevertheless, Raposo (1985–1986) clearly dissociates mood choice from the temporal interpretation of the complement: whereas W-predicates typically select for subjunctive mood, there are also E-predicates that take subjunctive when negated or questioned, but still do not give rise to transparency effects¹⁷ (see (22), where coreference between matrix and embedded subjects is allowed).

(22) European Portuguese

O Manel_i não acredita que (ele_i) ganhe a corrida
 the Manel not believe.3SG that he win.SUB.3SG the race
 ‘Manuel does not believe that he will win the race.’¹⁸

Suñer and Padilla-Rivera (Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1985; 1987; 1990; Padilla-Rivera 1985; 1990; M. Suñer, 1990) have extensively argued against the claim that subjunctive clauses lack tense in Spanish (see also Laca 2010, more recently). They show that strict temporal dependencies arise exclusively in the complements of subjunctive selecting predicates and they attribute this fact to the presence of a [–Precedence] feature that bars non-agreeing sequences of tense like [–past... + past], as exemplified in (20b) above, or [+past... – past], as in (23).

(23) Spanish

Quería que telefonaras/ *telefonees.
 want.IMPF.3SG that phone.SUB.IMPF.2SG phone.SUB.PRS.2SG
 ‘S/he wanted you to phone.’

They point out, though, that the feature [–Precedence] is not exclusive of predicates that select subjunctive: the sequence of tense restriction triggered by this feature also surfaces in the complement of indicative-selecting predicates like *prometer* ‘to promise’. In addition, they dissociate subject obviation, an alleged transparency effect, from subjunctive as a category and attribute it to the lexical feature [WILL]. Zaring (1985) essentially aligns with Suñer and Padilla-Rivera’s position on tense restrictions in subjunctive complements and proposes a feature system that distinguishes Portuguese inflected infinitives (which are tenseless but display agreement) from subjunctive by means of a [±Indicative] feature: subjunctive would not simply be [–Tense, +Agr] (the feature composition of inflected infinitives), but rather [–Tense, +Agr, –Indicative].

3.2 Subjunctive as operator

Subjunctive clauses (or rather, a subset thereof) have been claimed to possess an idiosyncratic complementizer with operator like properties. The idiosyncratic tense and binding properties of subjunctive dependents are made to follow from the syntax attached to the special C.

Kempchinsky’s (1986; 1987; 1990; 2009) main insight is that subjunctive complements to verbs of volition, influence, and command are in some sense like

embedded imperatives. In her proposal, the main predicate selects for an imperative operator in the subordinate C which has to be identified by the subjunctive I head (Fin° in her 2009 proposal). This identification requirement is satisfied at LF in languages like Spanish by covert I-to-C movement, as schematized in (24).

$$(24) \quad [_{CP} [_{C0} C [_{I0} I [V]_{i,j}] [_{IP} NP [I' e_j [_{VP} e_i \dots]]]]]$$

Through this movement the subjunctive Infl head ends up coindexed with one of the arguments of the main predicate, and this would constitute the explanation for the subject obviation effects. The restrictions on the sequence of tense are argued to stem from the presence of the imperative operator, which imposes a future interpretation on the embedded eventuality.

In languages like Romanian that display an overt subjunctive C, such an identification requirement would not be operative, and I-to-C movement would not take place. Similarly, subjunctive-taking verbs that do not belong to the volitional or directive type do not select for such an imperative operator, and consequently I-to-C movement does not apply. As a result, no subject obviation or sequence of tense effects arise. Kempchinsky (2009) further argues that lexically selected subjunctive complements host an uninterpretable W(orld) feature in the Force head, encoding the selection relation by the main predicate and marking the introduction of a set of worlds. This uninterpretable W feature must be checked and deleted by the complex V head in Mood via Agree. By contrast, non-selected subjunctive complements have an interpretable feature in Force, which will be identified by Mood, but not checked.

Avrutin and Babyonyshev (1997) view the Russian subjunctive complementizer *ctoby* (see (1c)) as an operator that must raise by head movement up to the matrix V in order to be able to bind the two event variables of the matrix and embedded predicates. In order to reach the appropriate c-command configuration, the complex formed by V-to-I-to-C movement (claimed to be universal, either overtly or covertly) adjoins to the V head in the main clause. From that position, it binds the main and embedded event variables, thus imposing a temporal ordering between the two eventualities. Given that the matrix V also undergoes V-to-I-to-C movement, at LF the embedded C-AgrS-T-V complex ends up adjoined to the matrix C-AgrS-T-V one. In this configuration the main AgrS c-commands the embedded AgrS. Under the assumption that the two heads are coindexed when main and embedded subjects are coreferential, they induce a Principle B violation, which would constitute the explanation for the obviation phenomena. They have to stipulate that the C selected by epistemic predicates, though identical in form to the one selected by volitionals, does not raise to the matrix V, because their subjunctive complements do not show sequence of tense restrictions or obviation effects.

3.3 Subjunctive as a dependent nominal

The parallelism drawn between subjunctive clauses and nominal indefinite expressions originates in the observation that subjunctive tense is not referential and needs independent licensing. This is different from stating that it simply picks up reference in the main clause anaphorically and it allows us to account for the existing past shifted, future shifted, and simultaneous readings of embedded subjunctives.

Tsoulas (1994; 1995) draws the parallelism between indefinite nominals and infinitive/subjunctive clauses on the basis of *wh*-extraction patterns: *wh*-movement out of an indefinite NP or an infinitival/subjunctive clause gives a better result than extraction out of a definite NP or an indicative CP (compare (25) and (26)).

(25) French

- a. De qui veux-tu voir une photo?
of who want.PRS.2SG-you to-see a picture
'Who do you want to see a picture of?'
- b. *De qui veux-tu voir la photo?
of who want.PRS.2SG-you to-see a picture
('Who do you want to see the picture of?')

(26) French

- a. Que te demandes-tu qui a exigé que Sophie
what REFL ask.PSR.2SG-you who have.PRS.3SG require.PPL that Sophie
écrive?
write.SUB.3SG
'What do you wonder who required that Sophie write?'
- b. *Que te demandes-tu qui a dit qu' Alex
what REFL ask.PSR.2SG-you who have.PRS.3SG say.PPL that Alex
a vu?
have.PRS.3SG see.PPL
('What do you wonder who said Alex saw?')

Tsoulas proposes that indefiniteness in the clausal domain amounts to temporal indefiniteness, which derives from the impossibility to assign a truth value to the embedded proposition. Subjunctive complements to factive verbs are analyzed as the correlates of specific indefinites, which also block extraction. Baunaz (2014) and Baunaz and Puskás (2014) have shown for French that the extraction possibilities do not depend on the mood of the complement, but rather on the size of the complementizer: the selecting environments take *que* complementizers that are smaller or larger in terms of their feature composition, and it is precisely that composition that makes them stronger or weaker *wh*-blockers from a Relativized Minimality perspective.

As an indefinite Tense, subjunctive has to be licensed by a sentential operator in the relevant syntactic configuration (head-to-head dependency, c-command). Under the view that subjunctive CPs are the clausal analogues of NPIs or indefinites, they have to appear in the scope of a certain type of operator in syntax (intensional, non-veridical, etc.). By contrast, indicative clauses have to escape from the scope of such operators (anti-polarity or positive polarity effects).

Manzini (2000) gives a syntactic interpretation of Tsoulas' proposal by positing that subjunctive is an indefinite T that has to be licensed in a head-to-head dependency bound by an intensional operator such as negation, a question operator, or conditional *if*. Subjunctive morphology constitutes the spell-out of such a T-dependency. Otherwise the mood that surfaces is indicative. The main motivation for this type of approach is the sensitivity of subjunctive dependencies to island and parasitic gap-like configurations. Long-distance reflexivization and obviation effects are argued to rest on the presence of the syntactic dependency established by the subjunctive.

The nominal nature of complementizers in Romance (and Germanic) has been argued for by Manzini and Savoia (2003; 2011). They capitalize on the generalization that complementizers belong to the same argumental series as *wh*-phrases across Romance varieties. Against standard assumptions, they claim that the *che*-type complementizer is not a functional category of the verb, but a nominal head that functions as a nominal argument of the matrix verb and takes a clause as its complement. The difference between a *wh*-element and the complementizer is that the former introduces an individual variable, while the complementizer introduces a propositional one. A consequence of this analysis is that embedded clauses can have a definite or an indefinite head, which does not necessarily correspond to the indicative/subjunctive divide in the embedded domain (see section 4 below).

Roussou (2009; 2010) exploits these insights in her analysis of control structures in Greek *na*-clauses and defends that the alleged subjunctive particle *na* is a nominal element (not inherently modal) that behaves as a locative subject and enters a chain with agreement on the embedded verb. Under a control predicate, clause union takes place and the chain headed by *na* extends to include the first argument in the matrix. In other non-control cases the reference of the embedded subject is determined by the embedded inflection. According to this analysis, *na*-clauses are not propositions, but unsaturated predications.

The apparent scopal behavior of mood morphology has also been interpreted as a consequence of the polar status of the subjunctive morphology itself. Giannakidou (1994; 1995) establishes a direct link between the semantic licensing of subjunctive and (negative) polarity items: both are legitimate in non-veridical contexts. By contrast, indicative behaves as a positive polarity item that escapes non-veridical triggers. The scopal behavior of indicative/subjunctive had been also proposed in Kampers-Manhe (1991) for French relative clauses.

The polarity approach to mood has been pursued in a number of syntactically oriented studies. The foundations of such approaches can be sought in Stowell's (1993; 1995a; 1995b) theory of tense. Stowell's basic insight that sequence of tense phenomena have to be understood as a consequence of the polar properties of tense morphology is argued to be applicable to mood morphology as well. In such a kind of account, mood has an impact on the derivation to LF, as scope might have to be determined covertly: while subjunctive clauses have to remain necessarily in the scope of its licenser, yielding a narrow-scope effect, indicative CPs have to undergo LF movement in order to get out of the scope of an intensional operator. Brugger and D'Angelo (1994; 1995) develop these ideas by stating that (Italian) subjunctive is an Intensional-Operator Polarity Item, whereas indicative is an Anti-Intensional-Operator Polarity Item, and explore the interaction of the polarity properties of tense and mood. Laka (1990; 1992) pursued similar ideas on the licensing of indicative and subjunctive clauses, but she placed the burden of the explanation on the polarity properties of C, arguing for the existence of a negative complementizer that has to remain in the scope of its licenser.

This sort of approach also has to distinguish two types of subjunctives: subjunctive lexically selected by a (strong intensional) predicate like *want* and subjunctive licensed by a clausal operator like negation. Stowell (1993) calls them Intensional Subjunctive and Polarity Subjunctive, respectively. The two types show opposite

behavior with respect to the following properties, which are argued to follow from the polar properties of tense and mood morphology:

- (a) possibility of displaying past morphology under a matrix present tense (compare (27) with (20b) above),

(27) Catalan
 No recorda que s'hi assemblés.
 not remember.3SG that REFL-DAT resemble.SUB.IMPF.3SG
 'S/he doesn't remember whether s/he looked alike.'

- (b) alternation with indicative clauses (compare (28) with (29)),

(28) Catalan
 No recorda que s'hi assemblava.
 not remember.3SG that REFL-DAT resemble.IND.IMPF.3SG
 'S/he doesn't remember that s/he looked alike.'

(29) Catalan
 *No vol que surten.
 not want.3SG that go-out.IND.3PL
 ('S/he doesn't want them to go out.')

- (c) multiple subjunctive embedding under the same trigger (compare (30) with (31)),

(30) Catalan
 No crec que recordi que s'hi assemblés.
 not believe.1SG that remember.SUB.3SG that REFL-DAT resemble.SUB.IMPF.3SG
 'I don't think s/he remembers whether s/he looked alike.'

(31) Catalan
 *Vull que recordi que s'hi assemblés.
 want.1SG that remember.SUB.3SG that REFL-DAT resemble.SUB. 3SG
 ('I don't want that s/he remembers whether s/he looked alike.')

- (d) subject obviation effects (compare (32) with (33)).

(32) Catalan
 No crec que hi vagi.
 not believe.1SG that LOC go.SUB.PRS.1SG
 'I don't think I'll go.'

(33) Catalan
 *No vull que hi vagi.
 not want.1SG that LOC go.SUB.PRS.1SG
 ('I don't want to go.')

Interestingly, exactly the same properties of Intensional Subjunctive arise in purpose adverbial clauses despite being adjuncts and not arguments (Quer 1998, 40–41).

4 Functional syntax of subjunctive clauses

Different answers have been given to the question of where mood features reside in clause structure. Such answers have different implications for clausal architecture and syntactic derivation.

4.1 The locus of subjunctive: I vs. C, I-to-C movement

Subjunctive surfaces most frequently in the verb complex, either as a specific verb ending or as an inflectional particle (cf. *să* in Romanian or *të* in Albanian in (34)). However, the core cases of subjunctive dependents are triggered through lexical selection by a superordinate predicate. Given that lexical selection is a local head-to-head relationship, the embedded C must be involved somehow in the establishment of the dependency. This can be directly observed in languages that have special C forms for subjunctive dependents, such as Romanian (*ca*), Albanian (*që*) or Salentino (*ku*).

(34) Romanian

- a. Ion vrea ca să manince.¹⁹
 Ion want.3SG that (SUB) SUB eat.3SG
 'Ion wants him/her to eat.'

Albanian

- b. Jani do që të hajë.
 Jani want.3SG that (SUB) SUB eat.3SG
 'Jani wants him/her to eat.'

For languages that do not display specialized Cs overtly, the same divide has been sometimes postulated.

In a language like Greek, subjunctive marking by the particle *na* is superficially ambiguous between an inflectional element and a C-like element (note that the verb does not carry special subjunctive inflectional ending). This has led researchers to provide arguments for both positions: Philippaki-Warbuton and Veloudis (1984), Philippaki-Warbuton (1987), Rivero (1994) analyze the subjunctive marker *na* as an Infl particle, whereas Agouraki (1991), Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) and Tsoulas (1995) defend its C status. As a C-like element, the subjunctive particle is sentence initial, preceding negation and clitics, and can head embedded clauses in the absence of any other C-element. As an I-like element, it must be adjacent to the verb cluster; it must be repeated under conjunction and it can co-occur with *wh*-phrases. An analysis featuring I-to-C movement (either overt or covert; see Roussou 2000) constitutes a third kind of approach that reconciles both points of view by explaining the ambiguity and at the same time straightforwardly accounts for the long-distance selection problem, namely how is subjunctive selected by a matrix element despite the intervening heads? In some analyses this view is cast in terms of feature movement (see Svenonius 1994, for instance). Roussou (1999) offers the following articulated CP structure for *na*-clauses in Greek, where the *na* particle is generated in the lower C head C_{Modal} and raises to C_{Operator}:

- (35) [C [Topic/Focus [C_{Op} *na* [Neg *min* [C_M *t_{na}* [I cl + V...]]]]]]]

Beyond Romanian, quite a number of Romance varieties display a complementizer system reflecting mood distinctions described as dual complementizer systems (Ledgeway 2012, 170–171). They are particularly common in southern Italian dialects like Salentino:²⁰

(36) Salentino

- a. Oyyu ku bbene lu Maryu krai.²¹
 want.1SG that.SUB come.3SG the Maryu tomorrow
 ‘I want Maryu to come tomorrow.’
- b. Lu Maryu titfe ka ete bbonu.
 the Maryu say.3SG that be.3SG good
 ‘Maryu says he is good.’

Although these systems were initially made parallel to the Balkan subjunctive exemplified by Romanian (Rohlf 1969), the distribution of such modal particles and complementizers turns out to be more complex than originally thought, because they instantiate modal features either at the inflectional level or in the higher left periphery. In Rizzi’s (1997) articulated left periphery, two complementizer positions are available: *Fin*^o and *Force*^o. In varieties like Salentino, the former is arguably filled by the complementizer *cu*, while the latter is typically realized by the complementizer *ca*. Topics, focalized constituents, and quantifiers can precede the former, but they must follow the latter.

However, the Southern Calabrian subjunctive marker *mu* (and variants *ma*/*mi*) has been shown to realize neither of those two complementizer positions, but rather a lower inflectional Mood head within the inflectional domain (Damonte 2010). It is compatible with the declarative complementizer *chi/ca* (37a) and with *wh*-elements (37b), and must be preceded by negation (37c). Salentino *cu*, on the other hand, shows the reverse pattern with respect to these properties.

(37) Southern Calabrian

- a. Chimmu ti pigghia toccu!²²
 that-SUB you grab.3SG stroke
 ‘May you be struck down by a stroke!’
- b. Non sacciu chimmu dico.
 not know.1SG what-SUB say.1SG
 ‘I don’t know what to say.’
- c. Speru nommu veni chijju.
 hope.1SG not-SUB come.3SG that.one
 ‘I hope that he won’t come.’

Given this picture, it can be concluded that in dual complementizer systems of the Salentino type *ca* is the declarative complementizer located in the highest syntactic position, while *cu* realizes a modal complementizer in a lower position linked to the expression of finiteness. The subjunctive marker *mu/ma/mi*, by contrast, occupies a lower syntactic head in the inflectional domain. Manzini and Savoia (2011), though, argue that the one-to-one correspondence between complementizer type and indicative/subjunctive cannot be maintained on empirical grounds.

It is important to note that even though subjunctive clauses in these southern Italian varieties feature verbs with indicative morphology, and despite the fact that Salentino dialects lack complete subjunctive paradigms, subjunctive forms are also found ((38)), except in southern Calabria.

(38) Salentino

Ulia cu bbegna qualchedunu.²³
 want.1SG SUB come.SUB.3SG someone
 'I wanted someone to come.'

Interestingly, Ledgeway (2015) has argued that the Salentino clauses introduced by *cu*, the subjunctive complementizer is always marked for subjunctive. He claims that *cu* (and its covert counterpart, according to his analysis) triggers phonosyntactic doubling (*raddoppiamento fonosintattico*) in central-southern varieties of Salentino, regardless of whether the verbal form bears subjunctive or indicative morphology. An example of this phenomenon is given in (39), where the initial consonant of the verb is reduplicated as a consequence of the co-occurrence with the subjunctive C^0 *cu* under the right structural configuration (simple linear adjacency cannot account for it). This doubling/lengthening is argued to be the PF-reflex of "irrealis" mood synchronically. It is thus the doubled initial consonant, not the verb ending, what instantiates the alternation between indicative and subjunctive in the relevant varieties.

(39) Salentino

Lu Karlu ole cu bbene/bbegna krai.²⁴
 the Karlu want.3SG SUB come.IND/SUB.3SG tomorrow
 'Karlu wants to come tomorrow.'

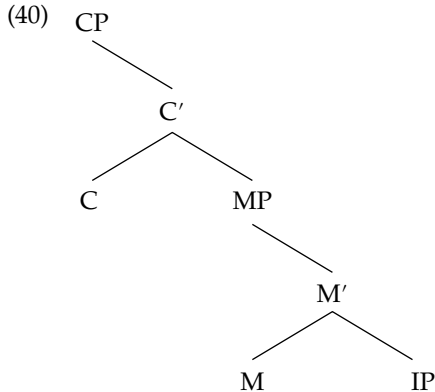
A further case where specialized subjunctive morphology is argued to be disguised is discussed in Lekakou and Quer (2016): in Griko, a variety of Greek spoken in Sale-nto (Italy), subjunctive is not only marked with the particle *na*, but also with aspect morphology (the perfective non-past form) recycled as subjunctive marking on the verb.

In further work, Ledgeway and Lombardi (2014) show that the loss of transparent morphological marking of the indicative/subjunctive distinction either on the verb (Italian dialects of the extreme south) or on both the verb and the complementizer (Italian dialects of the upper south) is countered in the syntax: the opposition manifests itself in the positions lexicalized by the verb and the complementizer in the T- and C-domains, respectively.

4.2 MoodPhrase and CP

In the context of the proliferation of verbal functional categories beyond IP and CP, MoodP has been proposed in order to host mood features and to account for some of the subjunctive-related phenomena. It is mostly represented as an intermediate projection between the IP domain and the CP domain (Terzi 1991; 1992; 1997;

Rivero 1994; Philippaki-Warbuton 1991; Isac and Jakab 2004; among many others). In a more articulated structure of the CP domain, as in Rizzi (1997), a corresponding CModal Phrase has been postulated (Roussou 2000), where modal particles like Greek *na* are merged.



The need to check a subjunctive feature on this head may trigger overt verb movement to such a high position, which in some accounts explains the C-like properties of a subjunctive verb complex. Terzi makes crucial use of the Spec,MP position as a host for the PRO subject in control structures. Her reasoning is that M, by not bearing finiteness features, can check the Null Case the PRO subject bears. In doing this, she is forced to establish a different structure for non-control structures, where the verbal complex moves all the way up to C, from where a pro subject is licensed in Spec,MP.

The difference in “size” between different types of embedded clauses depending on their mood has been exploited in different proposals. Making use of the MP projection, Kempchinsky (1998) suggests that subjunctive complements to volitionals are not CPs but MPs, for instance.

4.3 Subject licensing and control

Languages such as Greek or Romanian display obligatory control with finite subjunctive clauses in the same environments where other languages resort to non-finite subordination structures. Iatridou (1993) pointed out that in Greek some predicates trigger real control, as the embedded V must display the same agreement specification as the matrix one (41), no lexical subject can appear in the embedded clause (42) and the embedded V cannot have independent tense (43). For her, lack of Tense implies lack of Nominative Case: the embedded subject must then be a PRO licensed by Null Case.

- (41) Greek
 O Janis kseri na kolimbaj/ *kolimbao.
 the Janis know.3SG SUB swim.3SG swim.1SG
 ‘Janis knows how to swim/Janis can swim.’

(42) Greek

*O Janis kseri na kolimbaj i Ana.
 the Janis know.3SG SUB swim.3SG the Anna
 ('Janis knows how to swim Anna.')

(43) Greek

*O Janis kseri na kolimbuse.
 the Janis know.3SG SUB swim.IMPF.3SG
 ('Janis knows how to swim (PAST).')

However, in cases of optional control, lexical embedded subjects are possible despite the tense restrictions (see (20)). Terzi (1992; 1997) interprets this as indicating that we are dealing with a different structure where V-to-C movement and a *pro* subject are involved. Roussou (1999) sets volitionals apart from control predicates and argues that they do have a full CP structure and AgrS; in her account, subject coreference derives from associating the matrix and the embedded AgrS.

(44) Greek

O Janis theli na kolimbisi/*-e (i Ana)
 the Janis want.3SG SUB swim.PRS/PST.3SG the Ana
 'Janis wants to swim/Ana to swim.'

Varlokosta and Hornstein (1992) also distinguish two types of subjunctive clauses on the basis of the presence or absence of temporal reference in the embedded clause. Whereas *pro* would be the empty subject in the former case, in the latter PRO can be identified as the subject category, because it forbids split antecedents, it only permits sloppy readings under ellipsis and it requires a *de se* interpretation. This same divide is exploited by Krapova (2001), who defends the existence of two different types of subjunctives. Roussou (2009; 2010) exploits the idea that the alleged subjunctive particle *na* is a nominal element that behaves as a locative subject and enters a chain with agreement on the embedded verb. Under a control predicate, clause union takes place and the chain headed by *na* extends to include the first argument in the matrix. In other non-control cases the reference of the embedded subject is determined by the embedded inflection. According to this analysis, *na*-clauses are not propositions, but unsaturated predications.

At the same time other analyses maintain that *pro* is uniformly the empty subject category of subjunctives, while control must derived from other factors. Philippaki-Warbuton and Catsimali (1999) defend this point of view by showing that predicate adjectives, NP-modifiers, and intensifiers of the embedded subject are necessarily marked with Nominative morphology in Greek. In addition, examples can be constructed featuring an NP-subject to the right of the embedded V but still to the left of a constituent in the subordinate clause. Finally, the PROarb that is typical of languages that have control is not attested in subjunctive complements. They take this as conclusive evidence in order to ban PRO from control subjunctives in Greek.

Dobrovie-Sorin (2001) follows a different path on this issue by explaining both control and raising as instances of anaphoric binding.

4.4 Subject inversion

Subject (stylistic) inversion in French is allowed only in contexts where there is some kind of operator present, such as a *wh* or a relative operator. Subjunctive clauses, being one of such subject postposing contexts, are claimed to involve a covert operator that licenses the inversion (Kayne and Pollock 1978).

(45) French

Je veux que parte Paul.
 I want.1SG that leave.SUB.3SG Paul
 'I want Paul to leave.'

However, this type of alleged inversion is not allowed in all subjunctive clauses, as Kampers-Manhe (1998) points out: it is limited to ergative, passive, and certain unergative verbs; it is only allowed when the matrix is of a certain type (volitional, verb of fear, etc., but not factive-emotive or a negated epistemic), and with a definite subject no inversion is possible if a VP-final constituent co-occurs. In her analysis, that the subject DP be within focus is claimed to be a requirement for the inverted order to be grammatical, in combination with the defective properties of subjunctive tense under volitionals: with these verbs there is no Tense feature in C, which determines that the Case feature on the T head is weak and consequently it does not need to be checked overtly, so the DP subject can stay in situ. What this analysis amounts to is that the postverbal subject remains in its base-generated position under the required conditions.

4.5 C-deletion

In some Romance varieties such as Italian²⁵ the overt C introducing an argument clause can be absent in certain subjunctive CPs.²⁶ An example of this phenomenon, called complementizer deletion or C-deletion (CD), is reproduced under (46):²⁷ (46a) is the CD case corresponding to (46b).

(46) Italian

a. Credo lo faccia.
 think.1SG it do.SUB.PRS.3SG
 b. Credo che lo faccia.
 think.1SG that it do.SUB.PRS.3SG
 'I think he does it.'

Beyond a slight register difference (CD is perceived as somewhat more formal), both variants are interpreted as equivalent, thus rendering CD completely optional. However, there are some clear restrictions on the application of CD:

- (i) It occurs only in the presence of subjunctive morphology in the embedded verb (compare (46a) with (47)):

(47) Italian

Ha detto *(che) è partito.
 have.3SG say.PPL that be.IND.3SG leave.PPL
 'S/he said he has left.'

Some speakers, though, accept CD with an embedded future or conditional tense as well:²⁸

(48) Italian

- a. %Credo sarà interessante.
 believe.1SG be.IND.FUT.3SG interesting
 'I think it will be interesting.'
- b. %Credo funzionerebbe meglio.
 believe.1SG work.COND.3SG better
 'I think it would work better.'

- (ii) CD is only possible if the embedded CP occurs in its argument position, and not when it is in a left-dislocated or focalized position:

(49) Italian

- a. (Che)* fosse partito, lo credeva.
 that be.SUB.3SG leave.PPL it believe.IMPF.3SG
 'That he had left, he believed it.'
- b. (CHE)* FOSSE PARTITO credeva.
 that be.SUB.3SG leave.PPL believe.IMPF.3SG
 'THAT HE HAD LEFT, he believed.'

- (iii) Not all verbs allow for CD. Typically, epistemic and volitional predicates admit it, but factives do not, as in example (50):

(50) Italian

- Si rammarica *(che) sia partito.
 REFL regret.3SG that be.SUB.3SG leave.PPL
 'S/he regrets that he has left.'

Some adjectives and nouns taking sentential complements can also display CD to a certain degree:

(51) Italian

- Sono certo tu lo possa fare.
 be.1SG sure you it can.SUB.2SG to-do
 'I'm sure you can do it.'

- (iv) It should be differentiated from Aux-to-Comp movement (Rizzi 1982), as a lexical subject cannot intervene between the raised finite form and the participle:

(52) Italian

- *Credeva fosse Gianni arrivato.
 believe.IMPF.3SG be.SUB.3SG Gianni arrive.PPL
 ('S/he thought Gianni had arrived.')

This phenomenon, originally noted in Rizzi (1982), has received different kinds of analysis. Scorretti (1991) interpreted CD as the optional absence of the CP projection

in the complement clause of certain predicates, much as in the non-finite complements of raising verbs. Next to the problem deriving from the optional selection of CP/IP by the same matrix element, this analysis loses the possibility to explain CD and the embedded V2 phenomenon in Germanic languages under the same light. By contrast, Poletto (2001) capitalizes on the observation that the set of Italian verbs allowing CD basically coincides with the class of bridge verbs permitting embedded V2 in German and Mainland Scandinavian and develops an account based on V-to-C movement for CD. The Italian CD phenomenon derives, according to her, from the presence of a [-realis] feature in a low C position that attracts the V if the lexical complementizer is absent. Such a feature can only be checked by an overt complementizer or by the relevant verbal morphology (i.e., subjunctive, plus future/conditional in the corresponding varieties). The relevant set of predicates would select such a feature in the embedded C domain. Additional evidence for her position is constructed on the basis of adverb placement vis-à-vis CD in Cinque's (1999) framework, as well as subject placement in CD cases.

Giorgi and Pianesi (1998) reject the V-to-C analysis for CD on different grounds. The fact that most Italian verbs allowing for CD coincide with bridge verbs that display embedded V2 in Germanic does not constitute a strong argument for adopting the essentials of the analysis for embedded V2. There are even some CD verbs in Italian that correspond to non-bridge verbs in Germanic. Moreover, under a V-to-C analysis the ungrammaticality of a subject between the fronted verb and the past participle as in (52) above is unexpected, because Spec,AgrSP should be in principle available. However, a consistent group of speakers reject a preverbal subject in CD cases, which does not follow from an alternative analysis where the subjunctive verb stays in AgrS:

- (53) Italian
 %Credeva Gianni fosse arrivato.
 believe.IMPE.3SG Gianni be.SUB.3SG arrive.PPL
 'S/he thought Gianni had arrived.'

Giorgi and Pianesi follow a different path and argue that CD is the consequence of selecting a lexicalized syncretic category Mood/Agr in the complement clause. Agr stands for the ϕ -features and Nominative case, and Mood for the feature corresponding to the subjunctive complementizer, which is different from the one introducing indicative clauses. The split between speakers concerning the grammaticality of CD cases with preverbal subjects like (53) can be reduced to the properties attributed by both groups to Spec,Mood/Agr: an A-position for those accepting the preverbal subject, and an A'-position for those rejecting it. Under this analysis, no subject position is available between the raised verb and the participle, which explains the ungrammaticality of cases like (52). Movement of the verb to the Mood/Agr head is overt because the Agr features are strong. Alternatively the relevant features can also be scattered in two separate projections MoodP and AgrP: in such a situation the verb only raises up to Agr overtly and the complementizer is lexically realized; the verb will only move covertly to check the [+mood] feature. They derive the impossibility of CD with factive or interrogative predicates from the assumption that a feature like [+fact] or [+wh] cannot be lexicalized by a

subjunctive verb, and the scattered projection is forced, whereby the complementizer lexicalizes as *che* and *se* respectively.

In later work, Giorgi and Pianesi (2004) and Giorgi (2009) link the availability of CD to the impossibility of getting double access readings (DAR) of the embedded present tense. A DAR implies that the embedded tense is not only interpreted with respect to the matrix eventuality, but also with respect to the utterance time, that is, the speaker's temporal coordinate, as in (54).

- (54) Italian
 Gianni ha detto che Maria è incinta.
 Gianni have.3SG say.PPL that Maria be.IND.PRS.3SG pregnant
 'Gianni said that Maria is pregnant.'

In (54) Mary's pregnancy is understood to hold both at the time of Gianni's uttering of the sentence and at the time of the speaker's uttering the report. This is argued to result from representing the speaker's coordinate in the embedded C through a feature that serves as pointer to the main context of utterance. Subjunctive clauses in principle do not project such a C because they do not convey relational tenses, as often assumed. Indicative clauses do, though. Generally, the opposition between indicative vs. subjunctive correlates with the availability or unavailability of DAR and CD: without the projection of the speaker's coordinate in the syntax of subjunctive clauses, DAR is not possible but CD is; in indicative clauses, with the speaker's coordinate projected, the opposite situation obtains. However, Giorgi (2009) focuses on the case of the verb *ipotizzare* 'to hypothesize', which takes subjunctive:

- (55) Italian
 Gianni ha ipotizzato (che) Maria fosse incinta.
 Gianni have.3SG hypothesize.PPL that Maria be.SUB.PST.3SG pregnant
 'Gianni has hypothesized that she was pregnant.'

- (56) Italian
 Gianni ha ipotizzato *(che) Maria sia incinta.
 Gianni have.3SG hypothesize.PPL that Maria be.SUB.PRS.3SG pregnant
 'Gianni has hypothesized that she is pregnant.'

Only in (55) is CD optional and the usual sequence of tense surfaces, with past in the embedded clause. In (56) DAR is enforced and CD impossible. Giorgi claims that the contrast derives from the different interpretation of the matrix verb: unlike the epistemic state interpretation of *ipotizzare* in (55), in (56) the same verb yields a speech act verb interpretation, which excludes CD and imposes DAR, the two symptoms of the projection of the speaker's coordinate in the syntax.

Manzini and Savoia (2011), within their analysis of complementizers as nominal elements, argue that in order to introduce a propositional definite description the complementizer is necessary, while other types of propositional complementation admit bare embedding without a complementizer. They further assume that the indicative vs. subjunctive split in CD is connected with the definite or indefinite binding of a propositional variable.

5 Concluding remarks

From this brief survey of the different syntactic phenomena arising in subjunctive clauses, it becomes clear that they do not constitute a uniform class, not only cross-linguistically but also within the same language. Most studies have concentrated on subjunctive argument clauses, where lexical and semantic factors play an important role. Some of the theoretical proposals discussed here would have to be modified or simply changed in order to be able to account for other subordination domains in the subjunctive, such as relative clauses or adjunct clauses. In any event, the study of the syntax of subjunctives has led to formulating interesting questions about the interface of syntax with the lexicon and semantics.

SEE ALSO: Complementizer Deletion; Control Phenomena; Inflected Infinitives in Romance; Left Periphery of the Clause; Logophoric Anaphora in Icelandic; Logophoricity; The Syntax of the Sequence of Tenses; Temporal Reference

Notes

1. Example (c) is from Palmer (2001, 218).
2. On the interpretation of subjunctive clauses, see Farkas (1992), Giorgi and Pianesi (1998), Huot (1986), Kampers-Manhe (1991), Quer (1998; 2001; 2009; 2016) and Portner (2011).
3. Notice, though, that this is not always the case, as a DP subject can require a disjoint subject in the CP complement to the N, as in (i):
 - (i) Catalan
 Li_i agrada que *viatgi_i/ viatgi_k
 to-him please.3SG that travel.SUB.3SG travel.SUB.3PL
 'It pleases him to travel/for them to travel.'
4. There exists a consistent exception to this pattern: ergative predicates taking a clausal subject in the subjunctive also display subject obviation effects with respect to the oblique argument in the matrix clause, as in (i):
 Picallo (1985) explains this unexpected pattern by assuming that such predicates do not assign structural case to their subject, therefore they are not forced to extrapose by the Case Resistance Principle.
5. Example from Ruwet (1991).
6. See Feldhausen (2010, ch. 4) for an analysis of these cases within Luján's (1999) account of obviation in terms of simple vs. double CP layer and subject pronoun movement to C resulting in the extension of the binding domain in the former case.
7. For Icelandic see for instance Thráinsson (1976; 1990), Maling (1984), or Sigurðsson (1990); for Italian see Napoli (1979) and Giorgi (1984; 2004; 2006; 2007), and for French see Pica (1985).
8. Icelandic examples are from Reuland and Sigurjónsdóttir (1997).
9. This example is markedly grammatical under the irrelevant double negation reading 'I do not require that no one arrests you'.
10. Example taken from Rivero (1989).
11. Example taken from Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1999).
12. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1999) propose that the agreement in the embedded subjunctive is not the reflex of Case checking but rather EPP checking.

13. Examples adapted from Picallo (1985, 47–48).
14. For the idea that subjunctive clauses are tenseless or rather that tense in subjunctive clauses is anaphoric, see Luján (1980), Anderson (1982), Pica (1985), Everaert (1984), Jakubowicz (1984), and Johnson (1985), among others.
15. Cases of independent subjunctive forms in non-assertive root contexts such as (i) will not be discussed here. They often involve some element in C (an overt complementizer, V-to-C movement...) indicating directive force, which seems to suggest that a covert modal is binding the tense variable of the subjunctive verb.
 - (i) Catalan
 Que marxi!
 that leave.SUB.PRS.3SG
 ‘Let him/her leave!’
16. A further elaboration of this proposal is presented in Ambar (1992) for Portuguese. She distinguishes morphological Tense, a feature of Infl, and semantic Tense, a feature of C. Unlike epistemic predicates, volitionals select a clause without semantic Tense, which would derive the characteristic properties of their complements.
17. See also Rivero (1971; 1977), Salamanca (1981), Meireles and Raposo (1983).
18. Example taken from Raposo (1985–1986, 103).
19. Examples from Roussou (2001).
20. Dual complementizer systems related to the expression of mood have also been argued to exist in other varieties, such as some northern Italian dialects. For instance, in Turinese and Ligurian (Poletto 2000; Paoli 2006; Manzini and Savoia 2011, 49–79).
21. Examples from Calabrese (1993, 35 and 49, respectively).
22. Examples from Damonte (2010, 232–233).
23. Example from Damonte (2010, 245).
24. Examples from Calabrese (1993, 28, 80).
25. C-deletion has been mostly described and analyzed for Italian. Spanish, for instance, displays essentially the same phenomenon, although the distribution does not always coincide with the Italian one. One such difference is that Spanish typically allows C-deletion with a factive matrix verb:
 - (i) Spanish
 Lamento la hayan molestado.
 regret.1SG her have.SUB.3SG bother.PPL
 ‘I’m sorry they bothered her.’

For a discussion of the facts in Spanish, see A. Suñer (1990).
26. Poletto (2001) also discusses C-deletion in adjunct disjunctive clauses, which correspond to alternative concessive conditionals. For the corresponding facts in Catalan and Spanish, and the semantic interpretation of such structures, see Quer (1998, ch. 5).
27. Example taken from Poletto (2001, 268).
28. Examples from Poletto (2001, 267).

References

- Agouraki, Georgia. 1991. “A Modern Greek Complementizer and Its Significance for Universal Grammar.” *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*, 3: 1–24.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1999. “Raising without Infinitives.” In *Proceedings of the 18th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, edited by Sonya Bird Andrew Carnie, Jason D. Haugen, and Peter Norquest, 14–26.

- Ambar, Manuela. 1992. "Temps et structure de la phrase en Portugais." In *Structure de la phrase et théorie du liage*, edited by Hans-Georg Obenauer and Anne Zribi-Hertz, 29–49. Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes.
- Anderson, Stephen R. 1982. "Types of Dependency in Anaphors: Icelandic (and Other) Reflexives." *Journal of Linguistic Research*, 2: 1–22.
- Avrutin, Sergey, and Maria Babyonyshev. 1997. "Obviation in Subjunctive Clauses and AGR: Evidence from Russian." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 15: 229–262.
- Baunaz, Lena. 2014. "On the Various Sizes of Complementizers." *Probus*. Ahead of print. DOI: 10.1515/probus-2014-0001.
- Baunaz, Lena, and Genoveva Puskás. 2014. "On Subjunctives and Islandhood." In *Variation within and across Romance Languages*, edited by Marie-Hélène Côté and Eric Mathieu, 233–254. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bouchard, Denis. 1984. *On the Content of Empty Categories*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Brugger, Gerhard, and Mario D'Angelo. 1994. "Aspect and Tense at LF: The Italian Present Perfect." MS, University of Venice.
- Brugger, Gerhard, and Mario D'Angelo. 1995. "Movement at LF Triggered by Mood and Tense." *Folia Linguistica*, 29: 195–221.
- Calabrese, Andrea. 1993. "The Sentential Complementation of Salentino: A Study of a Language without Infinitival Clauses." In *Syntactic Theory and the Dialects of Italy*, edited by Adriana Belletti, 28–99. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Costantini, Francesco. 2009. *Interface Perspectives on Clausal Complementation: The Case of Subjunctive Obviation*. Venice: Libreria Editrice Cafoscara.
- Costantini, Francesco. 2011. "Subjunctive Obviation in Nonargument Clauses." *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics*, 21: 39–61.
- Damonte, Federico. 2010. "Matching Moods. Mood Concord in Subjunctive Complements." In *Mapping the Left Periphery: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, edited by Paola Benincà and Nicola Munaro, 5: 228–256. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1994. *The Syntax of Romanian*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 2001. "Head-to-Head Merge in Balkan Subjunctives and Locality." In *Comparative Syntax of the Balkan Languages*, edited by Maria Luisa Rivero and Angela Ralli, 44–73. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Everaert, Martin. 1984. "Icelandic Long Reflexivization and Tense-Connectedness." *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, 12: 1–35.
- Farkas, Donka. 1992. "On Obviation." In *Lexical Matters*, edited by Ivan A. Sag and Anna Szabolcsi, 85–109. Stanford, CA: CSLI.
- Feldhausen, Ingo. 2008. "The Relation of Obviation and Control: Subjunctives and Infinitives in Spanish." MS, ZAS, Berlin.
- Feldhausen, Ingo. 2010. *Sentential Form and Prosodic Structure of Catalan*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 1994. "The Semantic Licensing of NPIs and the Modern Greek Subjunctive." In *Language and Cognition 4: Yearbook of the Research Group for Theoretical and Experimental Linguistics*, 4: 55–68. Groningen: University of Groningen.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 1995. "Subjunctive, Habituality and Negative Polarity Items." In *Proceedings of SALT V*, edited by M. Simons and T. Galloway, 94–111.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 1997. "The Landscape of Polarity Items." PhD diss., Groningen University.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 1998. *Polarity Sensitivity as (Non)Veridical Dependency*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2009. "The Dependency of the Subjunctive Revisited: Temporal Semantics and Polarity." *Lingua*, 120: 1883–1908.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia, and Josep Quer. 1997. "Long-Distance Licensing of Negative Indefinites." In *Negation and Polarity, Syntax and Semantics*, edited by Danièle Forget, Paul Hirschbühler, France Martineau, and María Luisa Rivero, 95–113. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Giorgi, Alessandra. 1984. "Towards a Theory of Long-Distance Anaphors: A GB Approach." *Linguistic Review*, 3: 307–359.
- Giorgi, Alessandra. 2004. "Long Distance Anaphors and Temporal Relations." In *WCCFL 23 Proceedings*, edited by Vineeta Chand, Ann Kelleher, Angelo Rodríguez, and Benjamin Schmeiser, 223–236.
- Giorgi, Alessandra. 2006. "From Temporal Anchoring to Long Distance Anaphors." *Natural Language and Linguist Theory*, 24: 1009–1047.
- Giorgi, Alessandra. 2007. "On the Nature of Long Distance Anaphors." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 38: 321–342.
- Giorgi, Alessandra. 2009. "Toward a Syntax of the Subjunctive Mood." *Lingua*, 119: 1837–1858.
- Giorgi, Alessandra, and Fabio Pianesi. 1998. *Tense and Aspect: From Semantics to Morphosyntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giorgi, Alessandra, and Fabio Pianesi. 2001. "Tense, Attitudes, and Subjects." In *SALT XI: Proceedings from Semantics and Linguistic Theory XI*, edited by Rachel Hastings, Brendan Jackson, and Zsófia Zvolenszky, 212–230.
- Giorgi, Alessandra, and Fabio Pianesi. 2004. "Complementizer Deletion in Italian." In *The Structure of CP and IP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, edited by Luigi Rizzi, 2: 190–210. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Huot, Hélène. 1986. "Le subjonctif dans les complétives: subjectivité et modalisation." In *La grammaire modulaire*, edited by Mitsou Ronat and Daniel Couquaux, 81–101. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- Hornstein, Norbert, and Itziar San Martín. 2001. "Obviation as Anti-Control." *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca Julio de Urquijo: International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology*, 35 (1): 367–384.
- Iatridou, Sabine. 1993. "On Nominative Case Assignment and a Few Related Things." *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*, 19: 175–196.
- Isac, Dana, and Edit Jakab. 2004. "Mood and Force Features in the Languages of the Balkans." In *Balkan Syntax and Semantics*, edited by Olga Miseska Tomic, 315–339. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jakubowicz, Celia. 1984. "Do Binding Principles Apply to INFL?" In *Proceedings of NELS 14*, edited by Charles Jones and Peter Sells, 188–206.
- Johnson, Kyle. 1985. "Some Notes on Subjunctive Clauses and Binding in Icelandic." *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*, 6: 102–134.
- Kampers-Manhe, Brigitte. 1991. *L'opposition subjonctif/indicatif dans les relatives*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Kampers-Manhe, Brigitte. 1992. "The French Subjunctive and the ECP." In *Linguistics in the Netherlands*, edited by Reineke Bok-Bennema and Roeland van Hout, 137–148. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kampers-Manhe, Brigitte. 1998. "Je veux que parte Paul: A Neglected Construction." In *Romance Linguistics: Theoretical Perspectives. Selected Papers from the 27th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL XXVII), Irvine, 20–22 February 1997*, edited by Armin Schwegler, Bernard Tranel, and Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria, 129–141.
- Kayne, Richard. 1981. "ECP Extensions." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 12: 93–133.

- Kayne, Richard. 1984. *Connectedness and Binary Branching*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Kayne, Richard, and Jean-Yves Pollock. 1978. "Stylistic Inversion, Successive Cyclicity and Move NP in French." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 9: 595–621.
- Kempchinsky, Paula. 1986. "Romance Subjunctive Clauses and Logical Form." PhD diss., UCLA.
- Kempchinsky, Paula. 1987. "The Subjunctive Disjoint Reference Effect." In *Studies in Romance Languages*, edited by Carol Neidle and Rafael Núñez-Cedeño, 123–140. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Kempchinsky, Paula. 1990. "Más sobre el efecto de referencia disjunta del subjuntivo." In *Indicativo y subjuntivo*, edited by Ignacio Bosque, 234–258. Madrid: Taurus.
- Kempchinsky, Paula. 1998. "Mood Phrase, Case Checking and Obviation." In *Romance Linguistics: Theoretical Perspectives. Selected Papers from the 27th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL XXVII), Irvine, 20–22 February 1997*, edited by Armin Schwegler, Bernard Tranel, and Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria, 143–154.
- Kempchinsky, Paula. 2009. "What Can the Subjunctive Disjoint Reference Effect Tell Us about the Subjunctive?" *Lingua*, 119: 1788–1810.
- Krapova, Iliyana. 2001. "Subjunctives in Bulgarian and Modern Greek." In *Comparative Syntax of the Balkan Languages*, edited by María Luisa Rivero and Angela Ralli, 105–126. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Laca, Brenda. 2010. "The Puzzle of Subjunctive Tenses." In *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2008: Selected Papers from "Going Romance" Groningen 2008*, edited by Reineke Bok-Bennema, Brigitte Kampers-Manhe, and Bart Hollebrandse, 171–194. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Laka, Itziar. 1990. "Negation in Syntax: The Nature of Functional Categories and Projections." PhD diss., MIT.
- Laka, Itziar. 1992. "Sobre el subjuntivo." In *De grammatica generativa*, edited by Patxi Goenaga, 199–207. Gasteiz-Donostia: Diputación Foral de Guipuzkoa-UPV/EHU.
- Ledgeway, Adam. 2012. *From Latin to Romance: Morphosyntactic Typology and Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ledgeway, Adam. 2015. "Reconstructing Complementizer-Drop in the Dialects of the Salento: A Syntactic or Phonological Phenomenon?" In *Syntax over Time: Lexical, Morphological, and Information-Structural Interactions*, edited by Theresa Biberauer and George Walkden, 146–162. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ledgeway, Adam, and Alessandra Lombardi. 2014. "The Development of the Southern Subjunctive: Morphological Loss and Syntactic Gain." In *Diachrony and Dialects: Grammatical Change in the Dialects of Italy*, edited by Paola Benincà, Adam Ledgeway, and Nigel Vincent, 25–47. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lekakou, Marika, and Josep Quer. 2016. "Subjunctive Mood in Griko: A Micro-Comparative Approach." *Lingua*, 174: 65–85.
- Luján, Marta. 1980. "Clitic Promotion and Mood in Spanish Verbal Complements." *Linguistics*, 18: 381–484.
- Luján, Marta. 1999. "A Unified Approach to Control and Obviation." In *Grammatical Analyses in Basque and Romance Linguistics (Papers in Honor of Mario Saltarelli)*, edited by Jon Franco, Alazne Landa, and Juan Martín, 105–130. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Maling, Joan. 1984. "Non-Clause-Bounded Reflexives in Modern Icelandic." *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 7: 211–241.
- Manzini, M. Rita. 2000. "Sentential Complementation: The Subjunctive." In *Lexical Specification and Insertion*, edited by Peter Coopmans, Martin Everaert, and Jane Grimshaw, 241–268. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Manzini, M. Rita, and Anna Roussou. 2000. "A Minimalist Theory of A-Movement and Control." *Lingua*, 110: 409–447.

- Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2003. "The Nature of Complementizers." *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa*, 28: 87–110.
- Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2011. *Grammatical Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meireles, José, and Eduardo Raposo. 1983. "Subjunctives and Disjoint Reference in Portuguese: Some Implications for the Binding Theory." Paper presented at the *Col-loqui Internacional de Lingüística Teòrica i Llengües Romàniques*, Sitges.
- Napoli, Donna-Jo 1979. "Reflexivization across Clause Boundaries in Italian." *Journal of Linguistics*, 15: 1–28.
- Padilla-Rivera, José. 1985. "On the Definition of Binding Domains in Spanish." PhD diss., Cornell University.
- Padilla-Rivera, José. 1990. *On the Definition of Binding Domains in Spanish: Evidence from Child Language*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Palmer, F. R. 2001. *Mood and Modality*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paoli, Sandra. 2006. "The Fine Structure of the Left-Periphery: COMPs and Subjects. Evidence from Romance." *Lingua*, 117: 1057–1079.
- Philippaki-Warbuton, Irene. 1987. "The Theory of Empty Categories and the Pro-Drop Parameter in Modern Greek." *Journal of Linguistics*, 23: 289–318.
- Philippaki-Warbuton, Irene. 1991. "The Analysis of the Verb Group in Modern Greek" [in Greek]. In *Studies in Greek Linguistics. Proceedings of the 11th Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, University of Thessaloniki*, 119–138.
- Philippaki-Warbuton, Irene, and Iannis Veloudis. 1984. "The Subjunctive in Subordinate Clauses in Modern Greek" [in Greek]. *Studies in Greek Linguistics*, 5: 151–167.
- Philippaki-Warbuton, Irene, and Georgia Catsimali. 1999. "On Control in Greek." In *Studies in Greek Syntax*, edited by Artemis Alexiadou, Geoffrey Horrocks, and Melita Stavrou, 153–168. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Pica, Pierre. 1985. "Subject, Tense and Truth: Towards a Modular Approach to Binding." In *Grammatical Representation*, edited by Jacqueline Guéron, Hans-Georg Obenauer, and Jean-Yves Pollock, 259–291. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Picallo, M. Carme. 1984. "The Infl Node and the Null Subject Parameter." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 15: 75–101.
- Picallo, M. Carme. 1985. "Opaque Domains." PhD diss., CUNY, New York.
- Poletto, Cecilia. 2000. *The Higher Functional Field: Evidence from Northern Italian Dialects*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Poletto, Cecilia. 2001. "Complementizer Deletion and Verb Movement in Standard Italian." In *Current Studies in Italian Syntax: Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*, edited by Guglielmo Cinque and Giampaolo Salvi, 265–286. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Portner, Paul. 2011. "Verbal Mood." In *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*, edited by Claudia Maienborn, Klaus von Stechow, and Paul Portner, 2: 1262–1291. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Progovac, Ljiljana. 1993. "The (Mis)Behavior of Anaphora and Negative Polarity." *Linguistic Review*, 10: 37–59.
- Progovac, Ljiljana. 1994. *Negative and Positive Polarity: A Binding Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Quer, Josep. 1998. *Mood at the Interface*. The Hague: HAG.
- Quer, Josep. 2001. "Interpreting Mood." *Probus*, 13: 81–111.
- Quer, Josep. 2009. "Twists of Mood: The Distribution and Interpretation of Indicative and Subjunctive." *Lingua*, 119: 1779–1787.
- Quer, Josep. 2016. "Mood." In *The Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages*, edited by Adam Ledgeway and Martin Maiden, 954–966. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Raposo, Eduardo. 1985–1986. "Some Asymmetries in the Binding Theory in Romance." *Linguistic Review*, 5: 75–110.
- Reuland, Eric, and Sigridur Sigurjónsdóttir. 1997. "Long Distance 'Binding' in Icelandic: Syntax or Discourse?" In *Atomism and Binding*, edited by Hans Bennis, Pierre Pica, and Johan Rooryck, 323–340. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Rivero, María Luisa. 1971. "Mood and Presupposition in Spanish." *Foundations of Language*, 7: 305–336.
- Rivero, María Luisa. 1977. *Estudios de gramática generativa del español*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Rivero, María Luisa. 1989. "Barriers and Rumanian." In *Studies in Romance Linguistics*, edited by Carl Kirschner and Janet Decesaris, 289–312. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Rivero, María Luisa. 1994. "Clause Structure and V-Movement in the Languages of the Balkans." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 12: 63–120.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1982. *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery." In *Elements of Grammar*, edited by Liliane Haegeman, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Rohlf, Gerhard. 1969. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, vol. 3: *Sintassi e formazione delle parole*. Turin: Einaudi.
- Roussou, Anna. 1999. "Modals and the Subjunctive." In *Studies in Greek Syntax*, edited by Artemis Alexiadou, Geoffrey Horrocks, and Melita Stavrou, 169–183. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Roussou, Anna. 2001. "Control and Raising in and out of Subjunctive Complements." In *Comparative Syntax of the Balkan Languages*, edited by María Luisa Rivero and Angela Ralli, 74–104. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roussou, Anna. 2009. "In the Mood for Control." *Lingua*, 119: 1811–1836.
- Roussou, Anna. 2010. "Selecting Complementizers." *Lingua*, 120: 582–603.
- Ruwet, Nicolas. 1984. "Je veux partir / *Je veux que je parte." *Cahiers de Grammaire*, 7: 75–138.
- Ruwet, Nicolas. 1991. *Syntax and Human Experience*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Salamanca, Danilo. 1981. "Remarks on the Spanish Subjunctive." MS, MIT.
- Scorretti, Mauro. 1991. "Complementizers in Italian and Romance." PhD diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór Ármann. 1990. "Long-Distance Reflexives and Moods in Icelandic." In *Syntax and Semantics 24: Modern Icelandic Syntax*, edited by Joan Maling and Annie Zaenen, 309–346. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Stowell, Timothy. 1981. "Origins of Phrase Structure." PhD diss., MIT.
- Stowell, Timothy. 1993. "Syntax of Tense." MS, UCLA.
- Stowell, Timothy. 1995a. "What do the Present and Past Tenses Mean?" In *Temporal Reference, Aspect, and Actionality*, vol. 1: *Semantic and Syntactic Perspectives*, edited by Pier Marco Bertinetto, Valentina Bianchi, James Higginbotham, and Mario Squartini. Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Stowell, Timothy. 1995b. "The Phrase Structure of Tense." In *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*, edited by Johan Rooryck and Laurie Zaring, 277–291. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Suñer, Avellina. 1990. "Características sintácticas y semánticas de los verbos afines a *lamentar*." In *Verba*, edited by Gerd Wotjak and Alexandre Veiga, 221–229. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Suñer, Margarita. 1990. "El tiempo en las subordinadas." In *Tiempo y aspecto en español*, edited by Ignacio Bosque, 77–105. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Suñer, Margarita, and José Padilla-Rivera. 1985. "On Obviation and Subjunctive Clauses." *Cornell University Working Papers in Linguistics*, 7: 196–207.
- Suñer, Margarita, and José Padilla-Rivera. 1987. "Sequence of Tenses and the Subjunctive, Again." *Hispania*, 70: 634–642.
- Suñer, Margarita, and José Padilla-Rivera. 1990. "Concordancia temporal y subjuntivo." In *Indicativo y subjuntivo*, edited by Ignacio Bosque, 185–201. Madrid: Taurus.

- Svenonius, Peter. 1994. "C-selection as Feature Checking." *Studia Linguistica*, 48: 133–155.
- Terzi, Arxonto. 1991. "PRO and Obviation in Modern Greek." In *Proceedings of the West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics 10*, edited by Dawn Bates, 471–82.
- Terzi, Arxonto. 1992. "PRO in Finite Clauses: A Study of the Inflectional Heads of the Balkan Languages." PhD diss., CUNY.
- Terzi, Arxonto. 1997. "PRO and Null Case in Finite Clauses." *Linguistic Review*, 14: 335–360.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1976. "Reflexives and Subjunctives in Icelandic." In *Proceedings of the North Eastern Linguistic Society 6*, edited by Alan Ford, John Reighard, and Rajendra Singh, 225–239.
- Thráinsson, Höskuldur. 1990. "A Semantic Reflexive in Icelandic". In *Syntax and Semantics 24: Modern Icelandic Syntax*, edited by Joan Maling and Annie Zaenen, 289–307. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Tsoulas, Georges. 1994. "Subjunctives as Indefinites." In *Teoria del Linguaggio e Analisi Linguistica: XX Incontro di Grammatica Generativa*, edited by Gian Luigi Borgato, 387–407. Padova: Unipress.
- Tsoulas, Georges. 1995. "Indefinite Clauses: Some Notes on the Syntax and Semantics of Subjunctives and Infinitives." In *Proceedings of WCCFL 13*, edited by Raúl Aranovich, William Byrne, Susanne Preuss, and Martha Senturia, 515–530.
- Varlokosta, Spyridoula, and Norbert Hornstein. 1992. "Control in Modern Greek." *Proceedings of the North Eastern Linguistics Society 23*: 507–521.
- Zaring, Laurie A. 1985. "The Syntactic Role of Verbal Inflection in French and Brazilian Portuguese." PhD diss., Cornell University.