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Slavic Obviative Subjunctives*

Petr Biskup
University of Leipzig

In this article, I investigate Slavic obviative subjunctives embedded under the volitional verb 'want'. I propose an analysis which is based on the operation Upward and Multiple Agree and which uses a quasi imperative operator. In contrast to most previous approaches, the proposal can also derive weakened obviation effects.

1 Subjunctives and Tense

Let us first look at tense properties of obviative subjunctives. East and West Slavic languages have the subjunctive (irrealis) marker *by*, which can only co-occur with the *l*-participle form of the verb (in Russian and Polish also with infinitives, in contrast to e.g. Czech), as shown by the following example from Russian.[1]

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[1] A tense restriction can also be found in South Slavic languages, which do not use the irrealis *by* in subjunctive complements and use the particle *da* 'that' (plus e.g. *naj* 'let' in Slovenian); subjunctive complements can only contain the present tense marking.

(1) Oleg chočet, čto-by Artur čital / * čitaet / * budet čitať
Oleg wants that-by Artur read$_{PAST}$ reads will read$_{INF}$
gazetu.
newspaper
'Oleg wants Artur to read a newspaper.'

However, the embedded clause can refer to a past, present or future time, as shown by the Czech example in (2), containing all three types of temporal adverbials.

(2) Jan chtěl, a-by Jirka dneska / včera / zítra
Jan wanted and-by Jirka today yesterday tomorrow
koupil noviny.
bought newspaper
'Jan wanted Jirka to buy a newspaper today/yesterday/tomorrow.'

Volitional verbs like the Russian *chotet'* 'want' select a complement without an independent semantic tense and the event of the embedded clause must follow the matrix volitional event.[2] This holds for subjunctives, as in (1) and (2), as well as for infinitives, as in the Polish example (3).

(3) Kasia chciała kupić pralkę.
Kasia wanted buy$_{INF}$ washing.machine
'Kasia wanted to buy a washing machine.'

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. The next section briefly introduces obviation effects. Section 3 discusses previous approaches to obviative subjunctives and shows that they mostly have a problem with weakened obviation effects. Sections 4 and 5 present an analysis that is based on the operation Upward Agree and Multiple Agree and which uses a quasi imperative operator. Section 6 concludes the paper.

[2] Indexicals present in the subjunctive clause like 'in two days' can be anchored either to the speech time or the reference time of the matrix clause; compare *zítra* 'tomorrow' in (2) (as in the case of non-subjunctive embedded clauses).

2 Subjunctives and Obviation

North Slavic languages also show obviation effects in embedded subjunctive clauses, i.e., the subject of the embedded clause must be disjoint in reference from the subject of the matrix clause. For instance, the following Russian example shows that the embedded subject *on* 'he' cannot be coreferential with the matrix subject *Oleg*.[3]

(4) Oleg_2 chočet, čto-by $\text{on}_{1,*2}$ čital gazetu.
Oleg wants that-by he read newspaper
'Oleg wants that he reads a newspaper.'

This contrasts with the behavior of embedded infinitives, as in (5), repeated from (3), and embedded indicatives, as shown in the Polish example (6). Specifically, contrary to the obviative *on* in (4), the big PRO in (5) must corefer with the matrix subject *Kasia*.

(5) Kasia_1 chciała $\text{PRO}_{1,*2}$ kupić pralkę.
Kasia wanted buy washing.machine
'Kasia wanted to buy a washing machine.'

(6) Jacek_2 powiedział, że $\text{pro}_{1,2}$ kupił rower
Jacek said that bought bicycle
'Jacek said that he had bought a bicycle.'

As shown in (6), *pro* in the indicative complement is also non-obviative; it can either refer to the matrix subject or to some other person.

3 Approaches to Obviative Subjunctives

In this section, I briefly discuss recent approaches to obviative subjunctives.

Avrutin & Babyonyshev (1997) and Costantini (2005, 2006) show that competition approaches to obviation (in which PRO/infinitive blocks

[3] The situation in South Slavic languages is more complicated, e.g. Bulgarian and Standard Serbian do not exhibit subject obviation (Krapova 2001, Tomić 2006), whereas Standard Croatian shows obviation effects (Tomić 2002-2003; Stojanović & Marelj 2004). From now on, I will concentrate on North Slavic languages.

pro/subjunctive with respect to coreference; see e.g. Bouchard 1982, Farkas 1992, Schlenker 2005) have a problem with data in which the subjunctive and infinitive are not in complementary distribution, as illustrated in (7) and (8).

(7) a. Volodja ugovoril Nadju$_1$, čto-by ona$_1$ poechala v Evropu.
Volodja persuaded Nadja$_{ACC}$ that-by she went to Europe
'Volodja persuaded Nadja to go to Europe.'
b. Volodja ugovoril Nadju$_1$ PRO$_1$ poechat' v Evropu.
Volodja persuaded Nadja$_{ACC}$ go$_{INF}$ to Europe
'Volodja persuaded Nadja to go to Europe.'

(8) a. Jirka$_1$ chtěl PRO$_{1,*2}$ dostat pusu od všech holek.
Jirka wanted get$_{INF}$ kiss from all girls
'Jirka wanted to be kissed by all girls.'
b. Jirka$_1$ chtěl, a-by pro$_{1,2}$ dostal pusu od všech holek.
Jirka wanted and-by got kiss from all girls
'Jirka wanted to be kissed by all girls. '

Given the proposed blocking effect, it is not obvious why both PRO and *ona* 'she' are possible in the Russian (7), taken from Avrutin & Babyonyshev (1997:233), and why both PRO and *pro* are grammatical in the Czech example in (8).[4]

[4] A reviewer asks how robust the data in (7) and (8) are. All my four Russian speaker informants find (7) fully acceptable (besides Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997, the data in (7) are also discussed in Szucsich 2009a). All my informants also find (i), with the coreferential dative object, fully grammatical. The same also holds for (ii), a Russian counterpart of the Czech (8). Czech informants also judge the Czech pendant of (7) and (ia) (not shown here because of lack of space) as perfectly acceptable. (ib) cannot be derived in Czech because the Czech *říci* 'tell' is not compatible with infinitives.

(i) a. Volodja skazal Nade$_1$, čto-by ona$_1$ poechala v Evropu.
Volodja told Nadja$_{DAT}$ that-by she went to Europe
'Volodja told Nadja to go to Europe.'
b. Volodja skazal Nade$_1$ PRO$_1$ poechat' v Evropu.
Volodja told Nadja$_{DAT}$ go$_{INF}$ to Europe
'Volodja told Nadja to go to Europe.'

(ii) a. Oleg$_1$ chotel PRO$_{1,*2}$ polučiť chorošie ocenki.

Avrutin & Babyonyshev (1997) also argue that binding domain extension approaches (which are based on Principle B; see Picallo 1984; 1985; Terzi 1992; Progovac 1993a,b; Oshima 2003) have a problem with the following exceptions from obviation. According to binding domain extension approaches, in (9), the binding domain of the embedded pronoun includes the matrix subject; hence the sentence should be ungrammatical under the given coindexation.[5]

(9) Volodja$_1$ chočet, čto-by Nadja pocelovala ego$_1$.
Volodja wanted that-by Nadja kissed him
'Volodja wants Nadja to kiss him.'
(Russian, Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997:232)

The same reasoning applies to Russian examples in (10)-(12), taken from Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997:233-236, which contain an embedded pronoun coindexed with a matrix R-expression. The binding domain extension approach predicts all of them to be ungrammatical.

(10) Volodja ugovoril Nadju$_1$, čto-by ona$_1$ poechala v Evropu.
Volodja persuaded Nadja that-by she went to Europe
'Volodja persuaded Nadja to go to Europe.'

(11) Volodja$_1$ chočet, čto-by ego$_1$ žena poechala v Evropu.
Volodja wanted that-by his wife went to Europe
'Volodja wants his wife to go to Europe.'

(12) Volodja$_1$ chočet, čto-by emu$_1$ bylo veselo.
Volodja wanted that-by him was fun
'Volodja wants to be having fun.'

Oleg wanted receive$_{INF}$ good grades
'Oleg wanted to receive good grades.'

b. Oleg$_1$ chotel, čto-by on$_{1,2}$ polučil chorošie ocenki.
Oleg wanted that-by received good grades
'Oleg wanted to receive good grades.'

[5] A phase approach to binding with a non-active CP phase and the active *v*P phase in the subjunctive clause could explain the contrast between (4) and (9) but it would have a problem with (10) and (11) (depending on the position of *emu*, possibly also with (12)).

Avrutin & Babyonyshev (1997) successfully derive the data above because in their approach, only nominative arguments (related to the pronominal AgrS) are problematic for coindexation. However, Szucsich (2009b) argues that there is a problem with the pronominal status of the verbal category AgrS.

Syntactic approaches like Szucsich (2009b) and Antonenko (2010), which are based on Tense-features of Pesetsky & Torrego (2006, 2007), can derive data with obviation restricted to nominative subjects, as in (9)-(12). At the same time, however, they have a problem with weakened obviation examples in (13)-(20), which also contain two nominative arguments that are coindexed (see also Ruwet 1991, Farkas 1992, Szabolcsi 2010, Citko 2012). In (13)-(14), the embedded verb is unaccusative; in (15)-(16) the verb is passive; in (17)-(18) the embedded clause contains a modal verb; and in (19)-(20) the embedded pronoun is focused. Except (19) and (20), agentivity is decreased in these examples.[6]

(13) Jirka$_1$ chce, a-by pro$_{1,2}$ se uzdravil.
Jirka$_{NOM}$ wants and-by pro$_{NOM}$ self became.healthy
'Jirka wants to become healthy.' (Czech)

(14) Oleg$_2$ chočet, čto-by on$_{1,2}$ vyzdorovel.
Oleg$_{NOM}$ wants that-by he$_{NOM}$ became.healthy
'Oleg wants to become healthy.' (Russian)

[6] There is certain variation in speaker judgements. According to a reviewer, the Russian (4) and (16) are more marked then (14) under the coreference reading. In contrast, one of my Russian speaker informants prefers passive embedded subjunctives and judges the coreferential (16) as slightly better than (14). Besides passivization, there are also other factors, like the lexical meaning of elements present in the sentence and the type of modality. One Russian speaker prefers epistemic modality (possibility) over deontic modality (permission) with respect to the coreference reading of (18) and deontic modality works better for her in (i).

(i) Arestant$_1$ chotel, čto-by on$_1$ smog pozvoniť svoej mame.
prisoner$_{NOM}$ wanted that-by he$_{NOM}$ could call self mother
'The prisoner wanted to be allowed to call his mother.'

A reviewer finds (18) ungrammatical under the coreference reading in contrast to all my informants. One of my informants also finds the modal subjunctive in (18) with the coreference reading slightly better than unaccusative coreferential subjunctives like (14). The Czech (17) can also have the epistemic interpretation, in which case the coreference reading is also possible.

(15) Jan$_1$ chce, a-by pro$_{1,2}$ byl pochválen všemi.
Jan$_{NOM}$ wants and-by pro$_{NOM}$ was praised by.all
'Jan wants to be praised by all.' (Czech)

(16) Oleg$_2$ chočet, čto-by on$_{1,2}$ byl nagražděn (direktorom
Oleg$_{NOM}$ wants that-by he$_{NOM}$ was rewarded by.manager
firmy).
of.company
'Oleg wants to be rewarded (by the manager of the company).'
(Russian)

(17) Pavel$_1$ chce, a-by pro$_{1,2}$ tu árii mohl zazpívat
Pavel$_{NOM}$ wants and-by pro$_{NOM}$ the aria could sing
už dneska večer.
already today evening
'Pavel wants to be allowed to sing the aria already today evening.'
(Czech)

(18) Oleg$_2$ chočet, čto-by on$_{1,2}$ smog posmotreť ėtot
Oleg$_{NOM}$ wants that-by he$_{NOM}$ could watch this
fil'm uže segodnja.
movie already today
'Oleg wants to be allowed to watch this movie already today.'
(Russian)

(19) Pavel$_1$ chce, a-by tu árii zazpíval ON$_{1,2}$.
Pavel$_{NOM}$ wants and-by the aria sang he
'Pavel wants for himself to sing the aria.' (Czech)

(20) Oleg$_2$ chočet, čto-by ON$_{1,2}$ posmotrel ėtot fil'm.
Oleg$_{NOM}$ wants that-by he watched this movie
'Oleg wants for himself to watch this movie.' (Russian)

These data are, of course, also problematic for the domain extension approach and for the operator approach by Avrutin & Babyonyshev (1997). Competition approaches like Farkas (1992) can derive weakened obviation data but they have a problem with the non-competing data presented in (7), (8) and footnote 4. In the next two sections, I propose an

analysis that can handle the standard obviation examples as well as the weakened obviation data.

4 Deriving Tense Properties

Let us begin with tense properties of obviative subjunctives. We know that the subjunctive clause lacks its own speech time and the ability of expressing the relation between the speech time and the reference time because it uses only the *l*-participle. We have also seen that the time of the embedded event is dependent on the time of the matrix event. For these reasons, I assume that the Tense-feature of the embedded T (*by*) is unvalued. Since in the minimalist framework, a probe is an unvalued feature and the goal is a matching valued feature, the embedded head T must be a probe. Furthermore, since the goal – the matrix T in our case – c-commands the probe, we deal with the operation Upward Agree here (see e.g. Baker 2008, Béjar & Řezáč 2009 and Zeijlstra 2012). Given this, I propose the following definition of the operation Agree, which allows both Upward and Downward Agree.

(21) *Agree*
α agrees with β iff:
1. α has an unvalued feature.
2. β has a matching valued feature.
3. There is a c-command relation between α and β.
4. β is the closest goal to α.

1, 2 and 4 are the usual conditions on the operation Agree. What is important is the condition 3, which does not determine the direction of the c-command relation. This allows us to derive tense properties of obviative subjunctives with Upward Agree and the obviation phenomena with Multiple Agree, which will combine both Upward and Downward Agree.

Concerning the tense properties, the probing embedded T gets the value *present*, *future* or *past* from the matrix T. The Czech example (22a) confirms that these values of the matrix T can be spelled out by *by*. (22b) then shows the compatibility of *by* with these values for the main clause.

(22) a. Jan chtěl / chce / bude chtít, a-by Jirka koupil
Jan wanted wants will want and-by Jirka bought
noviny.
newspaper
'Jan wanted/wants/will want Jirka to buy a newspaper.'
b. Včera / teď / zítra by-s zpíval.
yesterday now tomorrow by-2SG sang
'Now/tomorrow you would sing.'
'Yesterday you would have sung.'

That *by* spells out the head T is supported by the fact that it agrees with the subject in (22b) – which is a typical property of T – and also by the fact that it blocks the agreeing auxiliary *jsi* 'are' in (23), which is standardly taken to realize the head T.

(23) a. Včera jsi zpíval.
yesterday are$_{2SG}$ sang
'You sang yesterday.'
b. *Včera by-s jsi zpíval.
yesterday by-2SG are$_{2SG}$ sung (Czech)

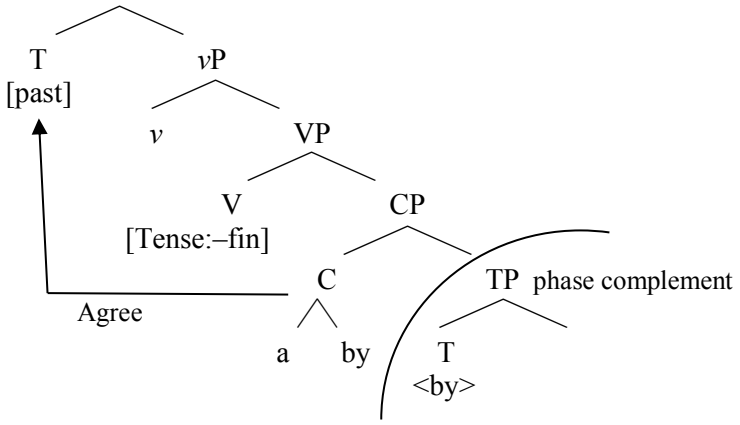
Since I assume the phase model with the weak version of the Phase Impenetrability Condition, for *by* not to be trapped in the CP phase of the embedded clause, it must move at least to the head C. This movement is corroborated by the existence of composed conjunctions like the Russian *čtoby* (e.g. in (1), (4), (7a)), like the Polish *żeby* (e.g. in (29a)) and by the Czech *aby* (e.g. in (2), (8b), (13)); see also Tomaszewicz (2009) for movement of *by* in Polish and Oshima (2003) for movement of *by* in Russian. This predicts that if *by* does not move and is spelled out in the subjunctive CP phase, the sentence will be bad. This prediction is borne out; consider the following Russian example.

(24) *Oleg chočet, čto Artur by čital gazetu.
Oleg wants that Artur by read newspaper

The movement of *by* to C makes the unvalued Tense-feature visible for the volitional verb, which selects a complement without a finite Tense-feature (subjunctive or infinitive). Thus, the derivation of subjunctives

under 'want', with *by* escaping from the phase complement and agreeing upward with the matrix [past] T, proceeds as shown in (25).

(25)



As to the ordering between the matrix event and the event of the subjunctive complement, it is encoded in the matrix T, which locates the reference time of the embedded clause after the reference time of the matrix clause. The ordering relation cannot be encoded in the subjunctive or infinitive because they also occur in contexts without a precedence relation, as demonstrated in the Czech examples below (see also Wiltscho's 2014 arguments for the time dependency not introduced by subjunctives). Moreover, we know that the presence of the ordering between the matrix event and the embedded event depends on lexico-semantic properties of the selecting predicate.

(26) František by to zazpíval.
František by it sang
'Pavel would sing/have sung it.'

(27) Je velmi obtížné prodat novou myšlenku.
is very difficult $sell_{INF}$ new idea
'It is difficult to sell a new idea.'

Having derived the tense properties, let us now look at obviation effects present in subjunctive complements.

5 Deriving Obviation Effects

The generalization we can draw from data in section 3 is that coreference between the matrix subject and a phrase within the embedded clause is not possible if the embedded clause is subjunctive and the referent of the appropriate phrase is responsible over the event of the embedded clause (see already Farkas 1992).

This seems to be correct because if the matrix subject does not have a control over the embedded event (is not coreferential with the referent of the embedded phrase), using irreality (subjunctive) makes sense. But if the matrix subject controls (is responsible over) the embedded event – is coreferential with the agent of the embedded event – using the irrealis/subjunctive form does not make sense. Recall from the discussion of the weak obviation data in section 3 that with the exception of (19) and (20), agentivity was decreased.

I follow Farkas (1992) in that an individual is responsible over an event if it is the initiator of the event. In addition, I assume that initiators are represented by agents in syntax and that θ-roles are decomposed into features like in Reinhart (2002). That is, agents have features [+c(ausative) +m(ental)].

According to Kempchinsky (1986, 2009), subjunctives contain a quasi imperative operator, which is parallel to the imperative operator in imperatives and has the meaning 'anyone other than the matrix subject' (cf. also Giannakidou's 2009 directive operator in Greek subjunctives). This can explain why the subjunctive (28a) has the obviative and imperative interpretation, whereas (28b), without movement of *by*, has the non-obviative and conditional meaning.[7]

(28) a. Jacek$_2$ powiedział, że-by pro$_{1,*2}$ kupił rower.
Jacek said that-by bought bicycle
'Jacek ordered him to buy a bicycle.'

b. Jacek$_2$ powiedział, że pro$_{1,2}$ kupił-by rower.
Jacek said that bought-by bicycle
'Jacek said that he would buy a bicycle.' (Polish)

[7] The imperative force of subjunctives like (28a) is weaker than the imperative force of direct imperatives, as in the case of indirect speech with the verb 'order'.

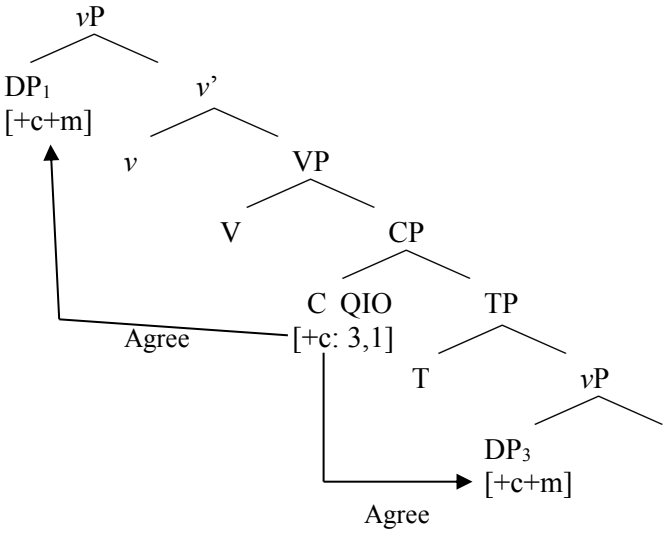
A closer look at data, however, shows that it is not the matrix subject, but the matrix initiator (i.e. agent), that is relevant; consider the passive example (29), in which it is the complement clause that is the subject of the construction. In contrast to the indicative complement in (29a), *pro* in the subjunctive complement in (29b) cannot corefer with the matrix agent (marked by the index on PP *v parlamentu* 'in the Parliament'). Thus, the quasi imperative operator wants the embedded initiator to be different from the matrix initiator and its meaning should be 'anyone other than the matrix initiator'.

(29) a. V parlamentu$_1$ bylo řečeno, že pro$_1$ nakoupí auta.
in Parliament was said that buy cars
'The Parliament said that it would buy cars.'
b. V parlamentu$_2$ bylo řečeno, a-by pro$_{1,*2}$ nakoupili auta.
in Parliament was said and-by bought cars
'The Parliament said that they should buy cars.' (Czech)

(30) shows how the derivation works.[8] The subjunctive C with the quasi imperative operator (QIO) has an unvalued [+c(ause)]-feature and via Multiple Agree, it receives referential indices of agents as its value. The operation Downward Agree delivers the referential index of the embedded agent (in our case, 3) and Upward Agree delivers the value of the matrix agent (1). These two operations are allowed by the definition of Agree in (21). At LF, the quasi imperative operator, with the meaning that the embedded initiator must be other than the matrix initiator, applies and filters out the case containing initiators (agents) with identical referential indices. Note that it is not Principle B since the proposed system also works with referential indices of R-expressions.

[8] It shows only the relevant part of the derivation. I assume that the volitional 'want' has an agent (causer) since Lakoff (1977) and Dowty (1991) associate the agentive θ-role with volitional involvement in the event, causing the event and intention. To keep the system as simple as possible, I only use the [+c(ause)]-feature on the embedded C.

(30)



The connection between obviation and temporal restrictions is indirect; it is encoded in the irrealis *by*, which is attracted from T to C by the operator head. This is parallel to verb movement triggered by mood operators in questions and imperatives.

As to lexical restrictions on these constructions, CPs headed by the quasi imperative operator are semantically selected by volitional and desiderative verbs like 'want' and by directives like 'tell'.

Let us now look at how the proposal derives the data discussed in section 3. Consider first the exception from obviation with the embedded experiencer subject in (31), repeated from (12), and the weakened obviation effect with the unaccusative verb in (32), repeated from (13). Since experiencers and themes do not have the [+c]-feature, Downward Agree fails (see e.g. Preminger 2014), and the requirement of the quasi imperative operator is trivially satisfied, given that there is only one value (referential index) on the operator C. Consequently, coreference between the coindexed elements in (31) and (32) is possible.

(31) Volodja$_1$ chočet, čto-by emu$_1$ bylo veselo.
Volodja$_{NOM}$ wanted that-by him$_{DAT}$ was fun
'Volodja wants to be having fun.'

(32) Jirka$_1$ chce, a-by pro$_{1,2}$ se uzdravil.
Jirka$_{NOM}$ wants and-by pro$_{NOM}$ self became.healthy
'Jirka wants to become healthy.'

Now consider (33), with the recipient *pro*, taken from (8b); the exception from obviation in (34), with the coindexed embedded object, taken from (9); the exception from obviation in (35), with the possessive within the subjunctive subject, repeated from (11); (36), with the coindexed matrix object, taken from (10); and (37), containing weakened obviation with the passive complement, repeated from (15). In all these cases, there are two distinct indices on agentive elements and the [+c]-feature of the subjunctive C receives values *3* and *1*. Thus, the requirement of the quasi imperative operator is satisfied and coreference between the coindexed elements (which are not both agentive) is possible.

(33) Jirka$_1$ chtěl, a-by pro$_{1,2}$ dostal pusu od všech holek$_3$.
Jirka wanted and-by got kiss from all girls
'Jirka wanted to be kissed by all girls. '

(34) Volodja$_1$ chočet, čto-by Nadja$_3$ pocelovala ego$_1$.
Volodja wanted that-by Nadja kissed him
'Volodja wants Nadja to kiss him.'

(35) Volodja$_1$ chočet, čto-by ego$_1$ žena$_3$ poechala v Evropu.
Volodja wanted that-by his wife went to Europe
'Volodja wants his wife to go to Europe.'

(36) Volodja$_1$ ugovoril Nadju$_3$, čto-by ona$_3$ poechala v Evropu.
Volodja persuaded Nadja that-by she went to Europe
'Volodja persuaded Nadja to go to Europe.'

(37) Jan$_1$ chce, a-by pro$_{1,2}$ byl pochválen všemi$_3$.
Jan wants and-by pro was praised by.all
'Jan wants to be praised by all.'

It is a well-known fact that with modals agentivity decreases; therefore in (38) and (39), repeated from (17) and (18), obviation is missing. For this reason, I assume that that modals assign [–c]-feature. Since *pro* in (38) and

on in (39) then have contradictory features ([+c] from the main verb and [–c] from the modal verb), Downward Agree fails and only one value occurs on the operator C. Hence, the requirement of the quasi imperative operator is trivially satisfied, with the result that coreference between the coindexed elements is possible.

(38) Pavel$_1$ chce, a-by pro$_{1,2}$ tu árii mohl zazpívat už
Pavel wants and-by the aria could sing already
dneska večer.
today evening
'Pavel wants to be allowed to sing the aria already today evening.'

(39) Oleg$_2$ chočet, čto-by on$_{1,2}$ smog posmotreť ėtot fil'm
Oleg wants that-by he could watch this movie
uže segodnja.
already today
'Oleg wants to be allowed to watch this movie already today.'

The cases with the coreferential focused pronoun in (40), taken from (19), and (41), repeated from (20), are explained in terms of markedness.

(40) Pavel$_1$ chce, a-by tu árii zazpíval ON$_{1,2}$.
Pavel wants and-by the aria sang he
'Pavel wants for himself to sing the aria.'

(41) Oleg$_2$ chočet, čto-by ON$_{1,2}$ posmotrel ėtot fil'm.
Oleg wants that-by he watched this movie
'Oleg wants for himself to watch this movie.'

Specifically, there is a correlation between the focused status, overtness and the marked status; and between the backgrounded status, covertness and the unmarked status. Moreover, markedness (the overt pronoun) can reverse the reference value – coreferential vs. non-coreferential –, as demonstrated by the contrast between the coreferential *pro* in the Czech example (42a) and the non-coreferential *on* 'he' in (42b). I propose that the same happens in (40) and (41), just in the opposite direction. Given the

relation between the focused status and markedness, the reference value of the focused *on* in (40) and (41) can be reversed.[9]

(42) a. Jirka$_1$ si koupil knihu a pro$_1$ šel domů.
Jirka self bought book and went home
'Jirka bought a book and went home.'
b. Jirka$_2$ si koupil knihu a on$_{1,*2}$ šel domů.
Jirka self bought book and he went home
'Jirka bought a book and he went home.'

It has been observed that only an immediately adjacent clause is relevant to reference; consider the Russian example in (43), taken from Avrutin & Babyonyshev (1997:239).

(43) Volodja$_1$ skazal, čto Felix$_2$ chočet, čto-by on$_{1,*2}$ poceloval
Volodja said that Felix wants that-by kissed
Nadju.
Nadja
'Volodja said that Felix wants him to kiss Nadja.'

This is derived in the current proposal by the fact that *Volodja* is too far away for the probing [+c]-feature of the subjunctive C. Since there are three phase boundaries between *Volodja* and the probing [+c]-feature, Upward Agree cannot be established.

6 Conclusions

I have shown that in contrast to most recent approaches, the flexible Agree system, with the operations Upward Agree and Multiple Agree, in connection with the quasi imperative operator can derive not only the standard cases of obviation with embedded subjunctives, but also the problematic weakened obviation effects.

[9] It remains to be seen whether the difference between (40) and (41), in which both reference options are possible, and (42b), in which only one option (non-coreference) is possible, can be traced back to the direction of the reversal.

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biskup@rz.uni-leipzig.de