

SUBJECT RAISING AND OBLIGATORY SUBJECT CONTROL IN SERBIAN*

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1. Introduction

In current syntactic theory, two opposing approaches dominate the analysis of subject raising and obligatory subject control. On the one hand, there is a more traditional approach which maintains control and raising as distinct (e.g. Landau 2003, 2004). According to this approach, subject raising involves A-movement, while subject control does not involve A-movement. Specifically, subject control involves two distinct coreferential subjects, a lexical DP in the main clause and a null coindexed DP (i.e. PRO) in the embedded clause. On the other hand, there are reductionist approaches, which propose the elimination of PRO, but differ in the solutions they attach to the analysis of the subject control phenomenon (e.g. Hornstein 1999; Manzini and Roussou 2000; Wurmbrand, 2004).

In this paper, I investigate the phenomena of subject raising and obligatory subject control in the Serbian language from the Minimalist perspective, evaluating, at the same time, the validity of the traditional versus one of the reductionist approaches, Hornstein's approach (1999).

The main research questions postulated in this paper are: (i) Do the data from Serbian support the traditional approach, i.e. raising involves A-movement but control does not and PRO is required, or (ii) do the data support the reductionist approach without PRO? If the data support the traditional approach, is there uniformity among languages as to which verbs involve raising, or is this determined on a language-specific basis? If it turns out that the possibility of A-movement depends on language-specific variation, which verbs would involve A-movement in Serbian, and which not.

Preliminary conclusions show that the data do not support the reductionist approach, but can support the traditional approach, with some modifications. Serbian data offer a different and more complex picture of the phenomena of control and raising. On the one side, raising verbs, like the verb *seem*, which in many languages require raising of the embedded subject DP to the main clause, do not behave that way in Serbian. Namely, although the verb itself still assigns only one, internal, θ -role, the embedded subject DP has to remain in the embedded clause, and the Agree relationship does not hold between the embedded subject DP and the main clause verb. The verb *seem* involves neither raising nor control, but two completely independent clauses, the main and the embedded clause, whose subjects are non-coreferential lexical DPs. On the

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other side, the obligatory subject control verbs do not behave in a uniform way, as one and the same verb can involve both raising and control.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly outlines the traditional (e.g. Landau 2003, 2004) versus the reductionist approach (Hornstein 1999). In sections 3 and 4, I examine the behaviour of the *seem*-type verbs and *try*-type verbs respectively, first, presenting the data, then investigating the phasal status (TP, full CP, or reduced CP) of complements using the Clitic Climbing test (Rizzi, 1982) and the Topic/Focus test (Rizzi, 1997), and analyzing tense and mood in the subject raising embedded clause. In section 5, I propose a Minimalist analysis of subject raising and obligatory subject control constructions in Serbian, also focusing on the diachronic and the sprachbund approach (Joseph 1983) to explain the two options for obligatory subject control verb complements, on the evidence for the existence of the MoodP in Serbian, and on the status of the lexeme *da*. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Subject Raising and Obligatory Subject Control

On the one side, there are subject raising verbs, like *seem*, *appear*, *happen*, and *be likely*. Both the traditional and the reductionist approach agree in the derivation of subject control constructions. An example of a subject raising construction is given in (1).

- (1) Hercule Poirot seems [to be the best].
 [_{C_{TP}} **Hercule Poirot**_i seems [_{TP} <**Hercule Poirot**_i> to <**Hercule Poirot**_i>
 be the best]]

Several conclusions can be drawn from the sentence in (1). First, the sentence contains the verb *seem* in the main clause, which has one, internal, θ -role to assign. This θ -role gets assigned to the only lexical DP in the sentence, *Hercule Poirot*, which is also the subject of the non-finite embedded clause *to be the best*. Second, the main clause T agrees in person and number with the DP *Hercule Poirot*, making both, in this case, 3SG. Third, in the English example in (1), the subject DP *Hercule Poirot* also moves from the embedded to the main clause, in order to satisfy the EPP feature on the main clause T. However, there are languages where this A-movement is not realized, and it is enough to establish an A-chain between these two DPs (e.g. Romanian, see Alboiu, to appear).

On the other side, there are obligatory subject control verbs, like *try*, *manage*, *hope*, and *decide*. An example of an obligatory subject control construction is given in (2).

- (2) Hercule Poirot tried [to find a clue].

The sentence in (2) contains the verb *try*, which has two θ -roles to assign. It assigns the internal θ -role to the embedded clause subject DP, and the external θ -role to the main clause subject DP. These two subjects are coreferential, i.e.

refer to the same entity in the outside world, and, therefore, contain the same ϕ -features. Whether the DP *Hercule Poirot* has a coreferential empty DP in the embedded clause, or whether it represents one DP raised from the embedded to the main clause is in the centre of the debate around which the paper concentrates.

According to the traditional approach, there is no A-movement and the main Subject DP is base-generated in the main clause; therefore, there are two distinct Subject DPs, DP_i & PRO_i , and the embedded clause is a phasal, CP domain, out of which raising is not possible (3).

- (3) [_{CTP} **Hercule Poirot**_i <**Hercule Poirot**_i> tried [_{CP} PRO_i to < PRO_i > find a clue]]

According to the reductionist approach, there is A-movement and the embedded subject DP moves to the main clause Spec TP position. The embedded clause is a non-phasal TP domain, out of which, raising is possible (4).

- (4) [_{CTP} **Hercule Poirot**_i <**Hercule Poirot**_i> tried [_{TP} <**Hercule Poirot**_i> to <**Hercule Poirot**_i> find a clue]]

Therefore, according to the reductionist approach, the derivation of subject control constructions proceeds along the same steps as the derivation of subject raising constructions. Subject raising verbs and subject control verbs differ in the number of θ -roles they assign: subject raising verbs assign one θ -role, and subject control verbs assign two θ -roles. According to the traditional approach, the derivations of subject control constructions and subject raising constructions differ significantly.

3. The *Seem*-Type Verbs

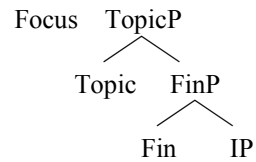
Phasal domains are domains opaque for operations that follow their shipping off, as stated in the Phase-Impenetrability Condition (PIC): first, the movement is generally not allowed out of a phase (except via edges, i.e. adjuncts or Spec CP positions); second, the Agree relationship cannot be established between a syntactic element outside of the phase and a syntactic element inside a phase (Chomsky 1999 and subsequent works).

Relevant for this paper is the fact that a CP, can be phasal or non-phasal (Alboiu, to appear). In addition, I also take into account Rizzi's (1997) expanded CP domain (5).

- (5)
-
- ```

graph TD
 ForceP --- Force
 ForceP --- TopicP
 TopicP --- Topic
 TopicP --- FocusP
 FocusP ---

```

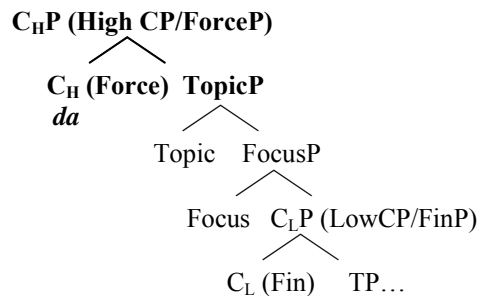


According to Rizzi (1997), the CP layer also displays the complexity granted to TP and vP layers. Basing his research mostly on examples from Romance languages, Rizzi shows that there are two C projections in the CP layer, FinP and ForceP, the first located lower than the second, and FocusP projection and TopicP projections sandwiched in-between the two C projections.

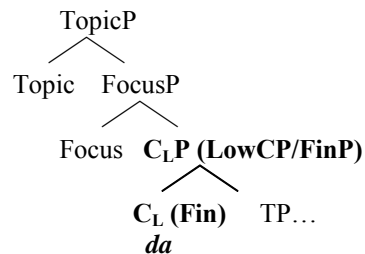
Therefore, I assume that there can be two complementizer positions, one located in LowC (Finite) and another in HighC (Force). Also, there is at least one Topic position, and one Focus position in between the FinC and ForceC. Moreover, ForceP is a phase (6a), while FinP is not a phase in the absence of ForceP (6b), following Alboiu (to appear).

(6)

a.



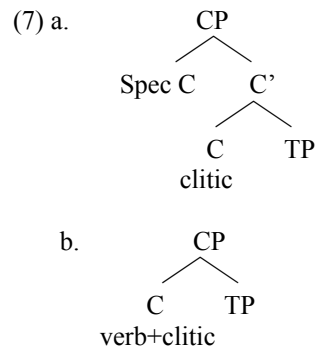
b.



In order to establish the phasal status of raising verb complements, I use two tests, the Clitic Climbing test (Rizzi, 1982) and the Topic/Focus test (Rizzi, 1997).

As regards the Clitic Climbing test, Rizzi shows, in his restructuring analysis (1982) that, since clitics in Italian target a TP domain, they climb out of the embedded clause, if the embedded clause is not a TP. In Serbian, clitics target the second position in a CP domain (e.g. Franks and Progovac, 1994;

Progovac, 1996). In other words, clitics are located in C, while the material that precedes them is located either in Spec C (7a) or C (7b). Therefore, following Rizzi, clitics in Serbian should climb out of the embedded clause, if the embedded clause is not a CP domain.



In order to perform the Clitic Climbing Test, I replace the embedded object DP by the pronominal clitic, which is originally located in the embedded clause. The test can yield two results. Either, the clitic remains in the complement clause, which tells us that the complement clause is a CP domain, or the clitic climbs out of the complement clause, which tells us that the complement clause is not a CP domain, which is what the clitic is looking for.

In the Topic/Focus test, I test the possibility of the existence of the Topic and/or Focus position in the subject raising verb complement clause, and, if there is such a position, whether it is lower or higher than the complementizer *da*. There are two possible outcomes of the test. First, if the Topic and/or Focus are located lower than the complementizer *da*, then *da* is ForceC. Second, if the Topic and/or Focus are located higher than the complementizer *da*, then *da* is FinC. Consequently, following Alboiu (to appear), if the embedded clause contains FinC, Topic and Focus, but not a ForceC, then the clause is not phasal; and, if the embedded clause has ForceC, Topic and Focus, then the clause is phasal.

In Serbian, verbs like *seem* do not involve either subject raising or subject control, because the subject of the embedded clause cannot undergo A-movement to the main clause (8b) and because subjects are not coreferential (8a).

- (8) a. **pro<sub>j</sub>** izgleda [da **deca<sub>i</sub>** čitaju knjigu].  
**pro<sub>j</sub>** seem.SG [that **children<sub>i</sub>** read.PL book]  
 'It seems that the children are reading a book.'
- b. \***Deca** izgledaju [da čitaju knjigu].  
**children<sub>i</sub>** seem.PL [that read.PL book]  
 'The children seem to be reading a book.'

Example (9) shows that the pronominal clitic replacing the embedded object DP cannot climb out of the embedded clause.

- (9)  $pro_i$  (**\*je**) izgleda (**\*je**) [da (**je**) deca<sub>i</sub> čitaju].  
 $pro_i$  (**\*it**) seems.SG (**\*it**) [that (**it**) children<sub>i</sub> read.PL]  
 ‘It seems that the children are reading it.’

Since the clitic has to remain in the embedded clause, the embedded clause is a phase.

Example (10) shows that the complementizer *da* is located higher than Topic and Focus.

- (10) a.  $pro_i$  izgleda [**(\*knjigu)** da (**knjigu**) deca<sub>i</sub> čitaju].  
 $pro_i$  seem.SG [**(\*book)** that (**book**) children<sub>i</sub> read.PL]  
 ‘It seems that the children are reading a *book*.’
- b.  $pro_i$  izgleda [**(\*KNJIGU)** da (**KNJIGU**) deca<sub>i</sub>  
 $pro_i$  seem.SG [**(\*BOOK)** that (**BOOK**) children<sub>i</sub>  
 čitaju].  
 read.PL]  
 ‘It seems that it is a BOOK the children are reading.’ (not a magazine)

Since Topic and Focus are located below the complementizer, the complementizer is in HighC and the embedded clause is a phase.

Example (11) shows that with the raising verb in the past tense form, the embedded clause verb can be in the present, past or future tense forms.

- (11)  $pro_i$  izgledalo  $je$  [da  $pro_i$  su čitala /  
 $pro_i$  seem.PAST.PART.3SG.N CL.AUX.3SG [that  $pro_i$  PAST /  
 / da čitaju / će čitati knjigu]  
 PRESENT / FUTURE book.ACC]  
 ‘It seemed that the children read / are reading / would read a book tomorrow.’

The data in (11) show that the embedded clause time reference is independent of the main clause time reference. As it was previously concluded that the complement of the *seem*-type verbs in Serbian is phasal, the fact that its time reference does not depend on the time reference of the main clause confirms the assumption that the two clauses are independent CP domains, following Stowell (1982), who argues that independent Tense is a C property.

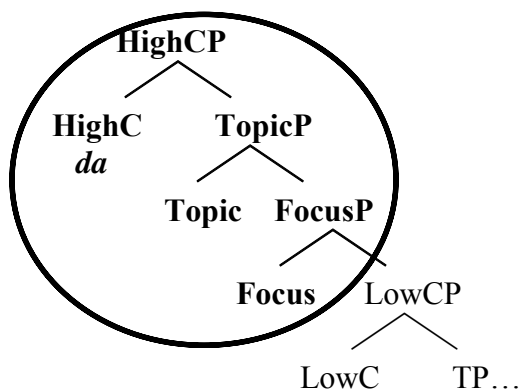
**Table 1. Summary: *Seem*-type Verbs**

|                                                                      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| no SR                                                                |
| 1. Clitics cannot climb – embedded clause is a phase                 |
| 2. Topic/Focus below the complementizer – embedded clause is a phase |

|                                                                                                                                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>no SC</u>                                                                                                                                         |
| 1. Subjects are not coreferential                                                                                                                    |
| Temporal reference is independent                                                                                                                    |
| ⇒ The Reductionist Approach – not supported, because there is no subject raising                                                                     |
| ⇒ The Standard Approach - not supported, because both the main and the embedded clause have non- coreferential subjects, no need for PRO, no control |

Expanded CP domain: *seem*-type verbs

(12)



#### 4. The Try-Type Verbs

In Serbian, verbs like *try* can take two different complements, the finite embedded clause (13a) and the non-finite embedded clause (13b).

- (13) a. Deca<sub>i</sub> pokušavaju [da x<sub>i</sub> **čitaju** knjigu].  
 children<sub>i</sub> try.PL [that x<sub>i</sub> **read.PL** book]
- b. Deca<sub>i</sub> pokušavaju [x<sub>i</sub> **čitati** knjigu].  
 children<sub>i</sub> try.PL [x<sub>i</sub> **read.INF** book]  
 ‘The children are trying to read a book.’

The DP *children* is located in the main clause. However, we cannot yet tell whether the DP *children* A-moved from the embedded clause (subject raising) or is generated in the main clause and the embedded clause has coreferential PRO (subject control). To be able to tell whether *try*-verbs involve subject raising or subject control, we have to check whether the embedded clause is a phase or a non-phase.

The Clitic Climbing Test is applied in example (14).

- (14) a. Deca<sub>i</sub> **(je)** pokušavaju [da **(je)** x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub> čitaju].

- children<sub>i</sub> **(it)** try.PL [that **(it)** x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub> read.PL]
- b. Deca<sub>i</sub> **(je)** pokušavaju [x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub> čitati **(\*je)**].  
 children<sub>i</sub> **(it)** try.PL [x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub> read.INF **(\*it)**]  
 ‘The children are trying to read it.’

Since in the finite embedded clause (14a), the clitic remains in the embedded clause or can climb out of the embedded clause. Therefore, the finite embedded clause can be a phasal or a non-phasal domain. Since in the non-finite embedded clause the clitic climbs to the main clause (14b), the non-finite embedded clause is a non-phase.

The Topic/Focus Test is applied in example (15) with the finite embedded clause and in example (16) with the non-finite embedded clause.

- (15) a. Deca<sub>i</sub> pokušavaju [**(knjigu)** da **(knjigu)** x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub>  
 children<sub>i</sub> try.PL [**(book)** that **(book)** x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub>  
 čitaju].  
 read.PL]
- b. Deca<sub>i</sub> pokušavaju [**knjigu** x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub> čitati ].  
 children<sub>i</sub> try.PL [**book** x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub> read.INF ]  
 ‘The children are trying to read a *book*.’
- (16) a. Deca<sub>i</sub> pokušavaju [**(KNJIGU)** da **(KNJIGU)** x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub>  
 children<sub>i</sub> try.PL [**(BOOK)** that **(BOOK)** x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub>  
 čitaju].  
 read.PL]
- b. Deca<sub>i</sub> pokušavaju [**KNJIGU** x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub> čitati].  
 children<sub>i</sub> try.PL [**BOOK** x<sub>i</sub>/\*Ana<sub>j</sub> read.INF ]  
 ‘The children are trying to read a **BOOK**.’ (not a magazine)

In the finite embedded clause (15) Topic and Focus can be located above or below the complementizer, the complementizer can be in HighC or LowC, and the finite embedded clause can be a phase or a non-phase, respectively. Since there is no complementizer with the non-finite embedded clause, the data in (16) can only tell us that there is Topic/Focus position in the embedded clause.

The following examples show that the complement of the *try*-type verbs cannot have time reference independent of the main clause time reference, with finite (17) and non-finite (18) verb forms.

- (17) a. \*Marija<sub>i</sub> je počela  
 Marija<sub>i</sub>.NOM CL.AUX.PRES.3SG begin .PAST.PART.SG.F  
 [da će x<sub>i</sub> čitati knjigu].  
 [that CL.FUT.3SG x<sub>i</sub> read.INF book.ACC]



‘\*Marija began that she would read a book.’

- b. Marija<sub>i</sub> je počela [da  
 Marija<sub>i</sub>.NOM CL.AUX.PRES.3SG begin.PAST.PART.SG.F [that  
 x<sub>i</sub> čita knjigu \*sutra].  
 x<sub>i</sub> read.PRES.3SG book.ACC \*tomorrow]  
 ‘\*Marija began to read a book tomorrow.’

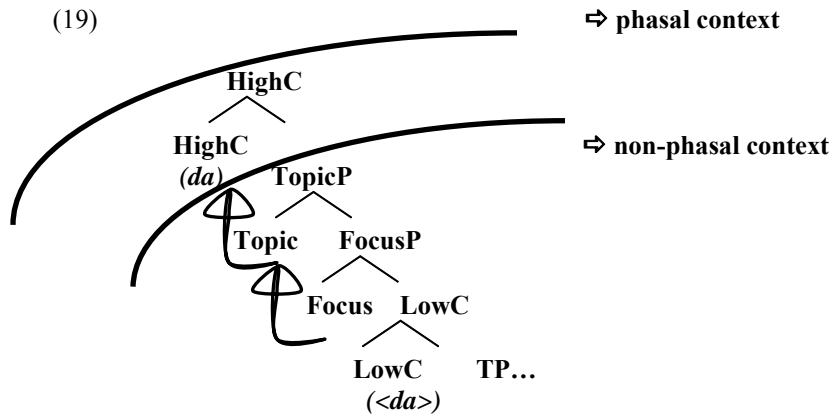
- (18) Marija<sub>i</sub> je počela [x<sub>i</sub>  
 Marija<sub>i</sub>.NOM CL.AUX.PRES.3SG begin.PAST.PART.SG.F [x<sub>i</sub>  
 čitati knjigu \*sutra].  
 read.INF book.ACC \*tomorrow]  
 ‘\*Marija began to read a book tomorrow.’

In (17a), the main clause contains the indicative past tense verb form, and the embedded clause contains the indicative future tense verb form, and the sentence is infelicitous. In (17b), the main clause contains the past tense verb form and the embedded clause contains the present tense verb form and the future temporal adverb, *tomorrow*, and the sentence is infelicitous. In (18), the main clause contains the past tense verb form, and the embedded clause contains the future temporal adverb, *tomorrow*, and the sentence is infelicitous. Since the only tense possible in the finite embedded clause is the tense present in the main clause, obligatory subject control verbs allow only complements with the anaphoric or empty time reference, which Landau terms “C-subjunctives”, or controlled-subjunctives, where “only one event takes place” (Landau, 2004, p. 831.)

**Table 2. Summary: Try-type Verbs**

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><u>SR</u><br/>         1. Clitics can climb – embedded clause is not a phase<br/>         2. Topic/Focus above the complementizer – embedded clause is not a phase</p>                                                                                                                     |
| <p><u>SC</u><br/>         1. Clitics do not climb – embedded clause is a phase<br/>         2. Topic/Focus below the complementizer – embedded clause is a phase</p>                                                                                                                          |
| <p>Temporal reference is dependent</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <p>⇒ The Reductionist Approach: not supported, because subject raising is not present all the time<br/>         ⇒ The Standard Approach: supported, because there are both subject raising and subject control present<br/> <b>modification:</b> the same verb can involve both SR and SC</p> |

Expanded CP Domain



## 5. A Minimalist Analysis of Subject Raising and Obligatory Subject Control Structures

### 5.1 Two Competing Grammars

As the data in (20) show, some verbs in Serbian allow both a finite and a non-finite complement, which do not differ from each other in their interpretations.

- (20) a. Marija<sub>i</sub> pokušava [x<sub>i</sub> čitati knjigu].  
 Marija<sub>i</sub>.NOM try.PRES.3SG [x<sub>i</sub> read.INF book.ACC]
- b. Marija<sub>i</sub> pokušava [da x<sub>i</sub> čita  
 Marija<sub>i</sub>.NOM try.PRES.3SG [that x<sub>i</sub> read.PRES.3SG  
 knjigu].  
 book.ACC]  
 'Marija is trying to read a book.'

This situation is a reflection of a larger-scale change that has been in progress in the Balkan region since the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Joseph, 1983). Namely, there is a tendency of the infinitive loss among the languages of the Balkans.

Some of the languages that belong to the Balkan Sprachbund are Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Macedonian, Romanian, Serbian, etc, who belong to four different genetic language families. As far as the most influential language is concerned, Greek is taken to be the one from which changes mostly originated. The loss of the infinitive started from Greek and spread north towards Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbian and Romanian, and west towards Albanian. Consequently, some of the languages do not use the infinitive productively any more and some use it less and less. First to be affected were Greek, Macedonian and Bulgarian, where the infinitives are now almost

obsolete, except in some frozen expressions, then Romanian, where they have a very restricted use, and, finally, Albanian and Serbian, where some dialects still use the infinitive (Mišeska Tomić, 2006). According to Joseph, this change “spreads gradually, affecting some constructions before others and within a construction-type, affecting some verbs in that construction before others.” (Joseph, 1983, p. 191). In Serbian, this change started to be evident in the Middle Serbian period, after the 14<sup>th</sup> century. As in other syntactic diachronic changes, some contexts got affected sooner, some later. In Southern Serbia, infinitives are not used with obligatory subject control verbs, while in central and northern parts, they are. Therefore, the change can be viewed in terms of dialectal variation, spreading from the south towards the north (Mišeska Tomić, 2006). Except in the two dialects of Serbian mentioned above, both the infinitive and the *da*-clause option are available.

## 5.2 The Subjunctive Mood

In Serbian, three moods are morphologically distinguished: indicative, imperative and conditional. Since, there is no separate inflection for the subjunctive mood, it is assumed that there is no subjunctive mood. This opinion is supported by the fact that the subjunctive mood was present in the 10<sup>th</sup> century Old Church Slavonic, a language from which today’s Slavic languages derive, but was lost in most Slavic languages.

As far as the subjunctive mood is concerned, the languages that belong to the Balkan Sprachbund can be divided into three groups: those that have the distinctive subjunctive morphology and subjunctive particles (e.g. Romanian, (Alboiu & Motapanyane, 2000), those that do not have the distinctive subjunctive mood morphology, but have subjunctive particles (e.g. Modern Greek (MG), Alexiadou & Anagnosotopoulou, 2002; Philippaki-Warbuton, 1994), and those that have neither the distinct subjunctive morphology nor subjunctive particles (e.g. Serbian). If we compare the contexts in which the subjunctive mood and subjunctive mood particles occur in Romanian, with the same contexts in MG and Serbian, we can see that a parallel can be drawn between the verb forms used in these contexts, too. However, the indicative-like present verb form in Serbian and the lexeme *da*, behave in a different way when used in the context in which the subjunctive mood is undoubtedly used in Romanian and MG. Therefore, their behaviour alone, by analogy with other Balkan languages supports the ideas that there are indeed, in Serbian, both the subjunctive mood and subjunctive mood particle (Landau, 2004; Mišeska Tomić, 2006).

According to Landau (2004), all Balkan languages obligatory control structures contain the subjunctive mood in the embedded clause, whether it is marked by a distinct morphology or not. A correlation can be found between Landau’s example for Hebrew and Serbian. Landau claims that, although, in Hebrew, there is “no designated subjunctive verbal paradigm”, there is “the syntactic type of subjunctive clauses”; moreover, he says that “the entire family of Balkan languages grammaticalizes the subjunctive mood without any

designated verbal paradigm. Instead, a monosyllabic marker is used to identify that mood. One can possibly argue that this marker is null in Hebrew.” (p. 819). Like Hebrew, Serbian not only does not have a distinctive subjunctive morphology, but also does not have a distinctive subjunctive marker. Landau further argues that there are three types of behaviour typical for the subjunctive mood, which, if present, in languages like Hebrew or Serbian, support the existence of the subjunctive mood. First, tense restriction, i.e. the tense of subjunctive clauses is invariable, in Hebrew being always future. Second, subjunctive clauses exhibit subject obviation, i.e. the subject of the embedded subjunctive clause can never be coreferential with the main clause subject. Third, “subjunctives pattern with infinitive and not with indicative with respect to negative polarity items” (NPIs) (p. 820). Landau demonstrates that these three types of behaviour are found in Hebrew. In Serbian, only two of these three types of behaviour are found in Serbian with manipulative and factive verbs in the main clause, which would, in some other languages, involve the morphologically distinctive subjunctive mood.

As we have seen previously, with obligatory subject control verbs, the embedded clause can have only one verb form – the indicative-like present tense form, and it is not possible to change the time reference of the embedded clause by adjoining a temporal adverb.

To sum up, although there is not enough evidence to claim with certainty that this verb form is the subjunctive mood, we have to admit at least that the indicative present tense is getting subjunctive-like properties in some contexts. The phenomenon when one linguistic form start changing and taking over the context of another, taking slowly its properties is well-known in languages (Hopper and Traugott, 1993). Taking into consideration that one non-finite verb form, namely, the infinitive, is in the process of becoming obsolete, there is a need for a verb form which will behave in a similar way. Since the infinitive in Serbian marks neither tense nor agreement, and the indicative mood marks both, the subjunctive-like present tense is now somewhere in between - it has agreement, but no tense.

### 5.3 The Complementizer *da*

There is an ongoing debate in the linguistic literature as to the syntactic status of the lexeme *da*: two homophonous complementizers, one introducing indicative complements and the other introducing subjunctive-like complements (e.g. Progovac, 1993); a modal particle and a complementizer (e.g. Jakab, 1999); or a modal complementizer, located in the ModP, between the CP and the TP (Vrzić, 1996).

The lexeme *da* occurs both in contexts which are, in other Balkan languages, taken to be the subjunctive mood contexts, as well as in the contexts which are, in other Balkan languages, taken to be the indicative mood contexts. Using four tests, Philippaki-Warbuton (1994) proves that the Greek particle *na* is a mood particle and not a complementizer. Here, I will use three out of the

four tests (one test is not applicable to Serbian data) to test the status of the lexeme *da* in Serbian.

According to the first test, complementizers occur only in the embedded context, while mood particles occur in both embedded clauses and main clauses, namely, wherever the subjunctive mood appears. Since the lexeme *da* occurs in both main and embedded clauses, it behaves as a mood particle.

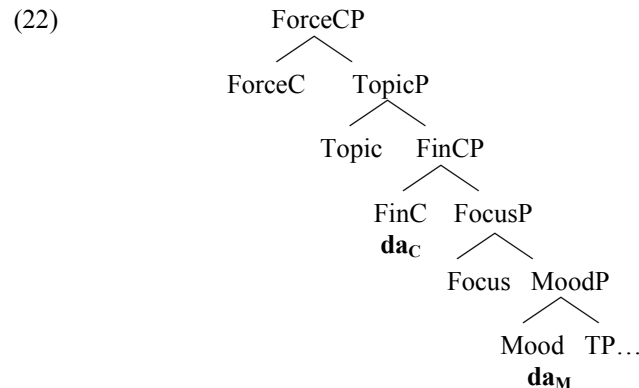
According to the second test, mood particles do not block the movement of the *wh*-phrase to the SpecCP position, because mood particles are not located in SpecCP, while complementizers do not allow this movement, because they compete with *wh*-phrases for the same position in a sentence. In other words, a *wh*-phrase can move to the SpecCP position only if it is empty. In Serbian, *wh*-phrases can move to the SpecCP of the embedded clause in the presence of the lexeme *da*, but not all the time. Therefore, the lexeme *da* behaves again as complementizer and as a mood particle.

According to the third test, two complementizers cannot be found in the same clause, while a complementizer and a mood particle can. In Serbian, there can be two instances of *da* in the same clause (21).

- (21) Znamo [da ćemo ponovo da  
 know.PRES.1PL [*that*.COMP CL.FUT.1PL again *that*.PRT  
 vas vidimo].  
 you.DAT see.PRES.1PL]  
 ‘We know that we will see you again.’

In (21), the verb *know* takes the complementizer *da*. Moreover, the embedded clause has independent temporal reference, and two lexemes *da* can be found in the same clause, one *da* located in C, where it attracts the clitic cluster *ćemo*, and the other *da* located lower than C, attracting the clitic *vas*. Therefore, there are two lexemes *da*, one being a complementizer, and the other a mood particle. Otherwise, they would not be able to appear together in the same clause.

Based on the results of the three tests, there are two *da*, one being a complementizer and the other a mood particle (22).



#### 5.4 Subject Raising and Obligatory Subject Control Verbs

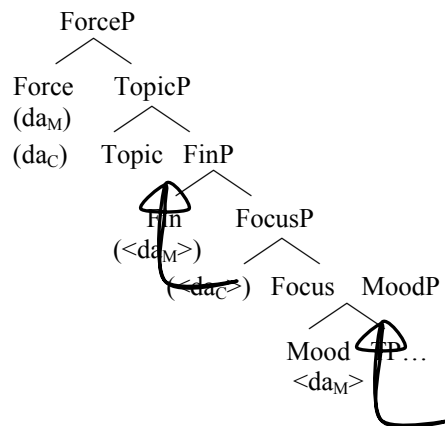
Based on the data so far, we can broadly divide the group of verbs called traditionally subject raising verbs and obligatory subject control verbs into two groups.

On the one side, there are subject raising verbs which select a phasal complement with independent time reference and with a subject of its own, non-coreferential with the main clause subject. Therefore, the lexeme *da* that introduces these complements introduces an indicative embedded clause and is a complementizer. As a complementizer, it merges in FinP and moves to ForceP, which makes the domain phasal. The main clause subject is an expletive, while the embedded clause subject is a lexical subject.

On the other side, there are obligatory subject control verbs which select a either a phasal complement, which do not involve A-movement, or a non-phasal complement, which involves A-movement. Both options allow only anaphoric temporal reference, represented either by the subjunctive mood or the infinitive. In the case of the subjunctive mood, the lexeme *da* is a mood particle, which merges in MoodP, and then, moves to FinP. In the case of the infinitive, the lexeme *da* is absent.

In (23), obligatory subject control verbs can select either a non-phasal CP domain, which starts with MoodP, FocusP, FinP and ends up with TopicP, or a phasal CP domain, where *da* moves to ForceP. With finite complements, the mood particle *da<sub>M</sub>* merges in MoodP and moves to FinP, in the absence of the complementizer. With non-finite complements, the mood particle is absent. Subject raising verbs select a phasal CP domain. With subject raising verbs, this domain starts with FocusP, FinP, TopicP and ends up with FocusP. The complementizer *da<sub>C</sub>* merges in FinP and moves to FocusP. With *try*-type verbs, this domain starts with MoodP, FocusP, FinP, TopicP, and ends up with FocusP. The mood particle *da<sub>M</sub>* merges in MoodP, moves to FinP in the absence of the complementizer, and ends up in FocusP

(23)



## 6. Conclusion

The following examples summarize the constructions with the *seem*-type verbs (24) and the *try*-type verbs (25) in Serbian.

- (24) pro **izgleda** [<sub>HighC</sub> da deca čitaju knjigu].  
 pro **seem.SG** [<sub>HighC</sub> that children read.PL book]  
 ‘It **seems** that the children are reading a book.’
- (25) a. Deca **pokušavaju** [<sub>HighC</sub> da **čitaju** knjigu].  
 children<sub>i</sub> **try.PL** [<sub>HighC</sub> that **read.PL** book]
- b. Deca **pokušavaju** [<sub>LowC</sub> da **čitaju** knjigu].  
 children<sub>i</sub> **try.PL** [<sub>LowC</sub> that **read.PL** book]
- c. Deca pokušavaju [<sub>TP</sub> **čitati** knjigu].  
 children try.PL [<sub>TP</sub> **read.INF** book]  
 ‘The children are **trying** to read a book.’

**Table 3. Summary: *Seem*-type Verbs and *Try*-type Verbs**

| Structure         | SR                     | SC                     | no SR/no SC             |
|-------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Verb-type         | <i>try</i> -type verbs | <i>try</i> -type verbs | <i>seem</i> -type verbs |
| Complement Status | finite/non-finite      | finite                 | finite                  |

The data from Serbian do not support the reductionist approach, since *seem*-type verbs and *try*-type verbs involve subject raising, subject control or two independent clauses. Therefore, we cannot reduce everything to raising. The traditional approach is supported, with two modifications: first, a single verb can involve subject raising and subject control, and second, subject raising is possible out of non-finite and finite clauses.

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