



Ca' Foscari
University
of Venice

Master's Degree programme

in Language Sciences
(D.M. 270/2004)

Final Thesis

The Syntax and Semantics of Bare Subjunctives in Romanian: a Balkanism

Supervisor

Ch. Prof. Iliyana Krapova

Assistant supervisor

Ch. Prof. Guglielmo Cinque

Graduand

Anda-Amelia Neagu

Matriculation Number 866105

Academic Year

2017 / 2018

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Iliyana Krapova, who has always been, during my years at Ca' Foscari, a strong point of reference. She hasn't only been a helpful supervisor for my thesis, giving me precious advices and suggesting me how to best accomplish this task, but also an inspiring Professor of Bulgarian Language and Slavic Linguistics.

I would also like to thank Professor Guglielmo Cinque, my assistant supervisor, most of all for making me understand, thanks to his classes and his works, that syntax, although not being as obscure and abstruse as it might seem at a first glance, is a whole universe which needs to be constantly explored, thus making me realize that I wish to continue its exploration.

I want to thank the faculty members at Ca' Foscari, in particular Professor Alessandra Giorgi, who introduced me to generative grammar and syntax, and to whom I owe my initial interest in this field. I also want to express my thanks to Professor Assia Assenova, who has been for me a constant and valuable source of help and support, and who transmitted me her love for teaching and for Bulgarian language.

I am also thankful to Professor Andrea Trovesi, my bachelor's degree supervisor, for if it wasn't for him, I wouldn't have discovered and taken interest in Balkan linguistics.

Non posso non ringraziare Matteo per essere sempre stato il mio solido appoggio in qualunque situazione io abbia dovuto affrontare, nonché un formidabile e insostituibile compagno di vita e di università.

Nu în ultimul rând, aş vrea să le mulţumesc părinţilor mei, care au sprijinit întotdeauna orice decizie pe care am luat-o în viaţă, şi care m-au susţinut constant.

Abstract

The aim of this MA thesis is to analyze bare subjunctive structures in Romanian in order to account for the syntactic and semantic behaviour of such constructions. The analysis, although focusing on Romanian, will be placed in a broader context, namely that of the Balkan Sprachbund. It is well-known that the languages of the Balkan Peninsula share common linguistic features, among which subjunctive structures in both embedded and root clauses. While embedded subjunctives in these languages have been widely studied because of their substitution of the Romance-type embedded infinitive, bare subjunctives have received less attention. In this thesis, I introduce Romanian subjunctive structures from a typological and a diachronic point of view, then I provide an analysis of the syntactic distribution of subjunctives based on the syntactic status of the subjunctive marker. I also discuss bare subjunctives from a semantic point of view, in order to reveal their various modal meanings. In addition to presenting my own analysis of Romanian bare subjunctives, I also review a number of previous studies that have dealt with structural properties that Romanian shares with the other Balkan languages, namely Bulgarian, Modern Greek and Albanian.

Table of contents

INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1	
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	3
1.1 THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM	3
1.2 THE CARTOGRAPHIC APPROACH.....	6
CHAPTER 2	
BALKAN SUBJUNCTIVES	9
2.1 THE BALKAN <i>SPRACHBUND</i>	11
2.1.1 <i>Development of the Balkan subjunctive form</i>	14
2.2 OVERVIEW ON THE USES OF BALKAN SUBJUNCTIVES.....	20
2.2.1 <i>Embedded Balkan subjunctives</i>	20
2.2.2 <i>Bare subjunctive forms</i>	24
2.3 CONCLUSIONS	28
CHAPTER 3	
MORPHO-SYNTACTIC FEATURES OF THE ROMANIAN SUBJUNCTIVE MARKER.....	31
3.1 THE SYNTAX OF THE ROMANIAN CLAUSE	31
3.1.1 <i>Rivero (1994)</i>	32
3.1.2 <i>Motapanyane (1995)</i>	33
3.1.3 <i>Alboiu (2002)</i>	35
3.2 MORPHOLOGICAL STATUS AND SYNTACTIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE ROMANIAN SUBJUNCTIVE MARKER.....	40
3.2.1 <i>Să and the left periphery of the clause</i>	41
3.2.2 <i>Arguments in favour of an IP-internal position of Să</i>	47
3.2.3 <i>Syntactic position inside the IP</i>	49
3.3 CONCLUSIONS	58
CHAPTER 4	
MODAL USES OF BARE SUBJUNCTIVE STRUCTURES IN ROMANIAN	61
4.1 IMPERATIVE CLAUSES	61
4.1.1 <i>Imperative mood and subjunctive mood: common features</i>	62
4.1.2 <i>Subjunctive mood and root modality</i>	65
4.2 INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES.....	71
4.2.1 <i>Root modality and epistemic modality</i>	73
4.2.2 <i>Rhetorical interrogatives</i>	79
4.3 DECLARATIVE CLAUSES.....	82
4.4 CONCLUSIONS	83
CHAPTER 5	
SUBJUNCTIVE STRUCTURES IN ROOT CLAUSES: A BALKAN PHENOMENON.....	85
5.1 SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES	86
5.1.1 <i>Bulgarian</i>	87
5.1.2 <i>Modern Greek</i>	89
5.1.3 <i>Albanian</i>	92
5.2 SEMANTIC PROPERTIES	93
5.2.1 <i>Bulgarian</i>	94
5.2.2 <i>Modern Greek</i>	96
5.2.3 <i>Albanian</i>	99
5.4 CONCLUSIONS	102

FINAL CONCLUSIONS 105
REFERENCES..... 109

Introduction

The aim of this master thesis is to provide an analysis concerning subjunctive structures in root clauses in Balkan languages, mostly focusing on Romanian. Balkan languages exhibit a series of common linguistic properties covering various aspects of these languages, e.g. phonetics, morphology, syntax. Among them, subjunctive structures play an important role in bringing together these languages, which form a linguistic union better known as *Balkan Sprachbund* (cfr. Sandfeld 1930; Banfi 1985; Rosetti 1978; Mišeska-Tomić 2006). In fact, Balkan languages form and employ the subjunctive mood in the same manner: they all make use of analytical forms which occur in the same type of syntactic structures bearing the same meanings. These syntactic structures may either be embedded clauses or matrix clauses. Although the former have been long considered a Balkanism (Sandfeld 1930; Banfi 1985; Mišeska-Tomić 2006), it will be shown that the latter should be part of the list of Balkan common features as well (Mišeska-Tomić 2006). Indeed, the languages of the Balkan linguistic union employ subjunctive structures in order to express a variety of modal meanings in different types of clauses. Even though other groups of languages may use this mood in similar manners, e.g. Western Romance languages, the ones belonging to the *Balkan Sprachbund* employ it in a more various way (Bîlbîie & Mardale 2018). This thesis, however, will not only focus on the semantics conveyed through these clauses. Before analysing their modal meanings, I will concentrate on their syntax, mainly on the morpho-syntactic features of the subjunctive marker. The thesis is organized in 5 chapters. The first chapter is an introduction providing a brief overview on the theoretical framework employed in the syntactic analysis of Romanian and Balkan subjunctives. While I will attempt an analysis by using the Cartographic approach, it will be shown that linguists have employed both Minimalism and Cartography in order to describe the syntactic properties of the Balkan subjunctive marker. For this reason, in the part dedicated to the theoretical framework I will provide a brief summary regarding the Minimalist Program (cfr. Chomsky 1995 and subsequent works) and the Cartographic approach (cfr. Rizzi & Cinque 2016).

Chapter 2 introduces the concept of *Balkan Sprachbund* and the linguistic features that characterize this linguistic union, mainly focusing on subjunctive structures. It will be shown how the subjunctive mood is expressed in Romanian, Bulgarian, Modern Greek and Albanian, and how these structures have developed from a diachronic point of view, mostly from the Romanian point of view. Finally, a series of examples will illustrate how subjunctives are

employed in both embedded and root clauses, and which modal meanings are conveyed by the latter, thus introducing the modality-related terminology employed throughout the thesis.

In chapter 3 I will focus on the syntax of the subjunctive clause in Romanian. After illustrating how authors have previously analyzed it (Rivero 1994; Hill 1995; Alboiu 2002), I will introduce some studies concerning the left periphery of the Romanian clause and I will test the position of the subjunctive marker against elements appearing in the CP field (cfr. Hill 2002, Alboiu 2002, Hill & Tomić 2009). Since, following other proposals (Rivero 1994; Alboiu 2002; Sočanac 2017; Bîlbîie & Mardale 2018), I consider the subjunctive marker to be an IP element, I attempt an analysis by employing the detailed representation of the inflectional field provided in Cinque (1999; 2006) and I will try to suggest that, beside the syntactic position of the subjunctive marker, the illocutionary force plays a crucial role as well.

The aim of chapter 4 is to illustrate the various modal meanings associated with bare subjunctive structures. It will be shown that they can occur in different clause types: imperative clauses, interrogative clauses, and declarative clauses; all of which may convey different modal meanings. Imperative clauses are generally associated with root modality, interrogative clauses may convey either root modality or epistemic modality, occasionally possessing other modal flavours, while declarative clauses will be shown to correspond to truncated structures, mostly conditionals.

Chapter 5 is a brief overview of previous studies on the syntax of subjunctives in Bulgarian (Krapova 1998, 2001; Sočanac 2017), Modern Greek (Roussou 2000; Giannakidou 2007), and Albanian (Turano 2017). I will also provide a short semantic analysis of these structures, following the pattern employed in chapter 4. This chapter does not aim at giving an exhaustive analysis, its only purpose being to insert the Romanian syntactic and semantic phenomena illustrated in chapters 3 and 4 in a broader context, namely the Balkan *Sprachbund*.

Finally, at the end there will be a final section where I will draw the main conclusions derived from the analyses provided throughout the thesis.

Chapter 1

Theoretical framework

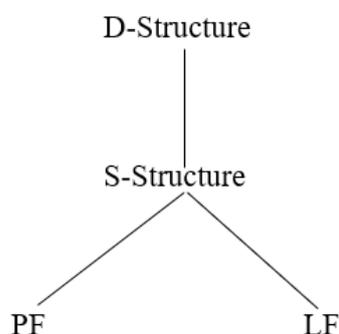
The general introduction has mentioned that chapter 3 of this thesis is dedicated to the syntactic analysis of the subjunctive clause structure in Romanian. Before proceeding with my own analysis, I provide a brief overview of previous studies on the topic. These analyses are carried out within the *Government and Binding theory* (Chomsky 1981, and subsequent works), while the more recent ones are provided within the *Minimalist Program* (Chomsky 1995, and subsequent works). In the analysis of the left periphery of the clause, the studies I review are generally carried out within the *Cartographic approach* (Rizzi 1997, and subsequent works). In order to account for the position of the Romanian subjunctive marker, I provide an analysis within the same approach, but focusing on the IP field and its functional projections (Cinque 1999, and subsequent works).

The following sections are therefore dedicated to a brief summary of the minimalist program and the cartographic approach respectively.

1.1 The Minimalist Program

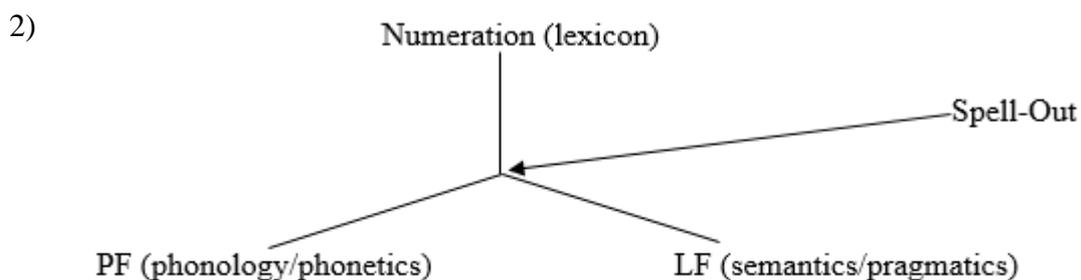
The Minimalist Program is a development of the *Transformational Generative Grammar* and, more specifically, is based on the *Principles and Parameters* theory and its consequent manifestation, i.e. *Government and Binding* (GB). In the Principles and Parameters model there are four levels of representation: D(eep)-Structure, S(urface)-Structure, Phonetic Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF). These levels of representation, which are related by derivation, are depicted below:

1)



The derivation of every sentence starts out with the generation of the syntactic level of the D-structure, where items from the lexicon are inserted according to their syntactic properties and

semantic roles. The D-structure is altered by movement transformations leaving traces, thus creating a second representational level, the S-Structure, which is the phrase marker in the derivation, i.e. “a representation of the abstract structural properties of a sentence” (Lasnik 2002: p. 433). The S-structure is then converted, by another set of operations, into a phonetic representation, the PF, and a semantic representation, the LF. PF and LF are two interfaces, and they are assumed to be essential since human language relates sound/gesture and meaning. Considering the two interfaces, the PF is related to the articulatory-perceptual systems, while LF is related to the conceptual-intentional system (Lasnik 2002; Haegeman & Lohndal 2011). In the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), the importance of D-structure and S-structure is questioned, for they are considered non-essential for the computational system. As Lasnik (2002: p. 432) points out, “Given traces, the role of D-structure in determining thematic relations becomes insignificant, as derived structure (augmented by traces) includes the relevant D-structure information”. Lexical items are not inserted in a single initial block but are rather inserted during the syntactic derivation, which works ‘bottom-up’ through generalized transformations. The derivation follows a new model, which is illustrated below:



Numeration consists in a set of lexical items which are used in the construction of a sentence. Each lexical item is associated with a counter indicating how many times the lexical item will be used in the sentence. The *LF* and *PF* interfaces have already been defined earlier in this section, while *spell-out* is an operation, and consists in the moment when the derivation splits, thus sending part of the information to PF and part of it to LF.

Minimalism also establishes a syntactic structure and a series of syntactic operations. As far as structure is concerned, the constituent is no longer formed by multiple heads, each with its own specifier, and each justified by the morphology. The hypothesis put forward by Chomsky (1995) in the Minimalist Program involves multiple specifiers for each head. The number of

heads changes too, and it is reduced to a minimal structure containing the following heads: C, T, v, and V. Therefore, the syntactic representation of the clause follows the following model:

3) [CP C [TP T [vP v [VP V]]]]

The head-complement and the head-specifier relationships disappear as a consequence of this new structure where all local relationships derive from the notion of *minimal domain*, which includes all the positions which are associated with a specific head. The minimal domain is then subclassified in *internal domain* and *control domain*. The former includes the projection of complements, while the latter includes the projection of specifiers.

From the point of view of syntactic operations, I will here illustrate *Merge*, *Move*, and *Agree*. Merge, or external merge, is a syntactic operation allowing the lexical items to connect in the constituent structure, showing and complying with their thematic and syntactic relations. Move, or internal merge, is related to movement. This operation produces a copy in the item's original position. When we merge two elements (X; Y), there are two possibilities: in the first case we have external merge, whereby X is not part of Y; in the second case we have internal merge, whereby X is part of Y. At LF, the thematic roles are assigned by Merge, while the syntactic roles, e.g. case assignment, are a prerogative of the Move operation, which takes place in syntax.

Lexical items can be further analyzed by taking into consideration their features, which define the lexical item in all its aspects. There can be different types of features: semantic, syntactic, and phonetic features. Features are further specified on the basis of their (non-)interpretability: an interpretable feature can be interpreted in the phonological system, otherwise it is uninterpretable. Minimalism postulates that one of these features, namely the *edge feature*, is responsible for the Merge operation.

Some lexical items possess some uninterpretable features, which, according to the Minimalist Program, must be interpreted and then cancelled so that the derivation results successful. At the end of the derivation, each uninterpretable feature must obtain its value, and, in order to do so, we need the internal Merge operations, which, through the *probe-goal* relationships, match each uninterpretable feature of a goal, with the value derived from its probe.

The probe-goal relationship brings us to the third syntactic operation, i.e. Agree. The latter is a syntactic operation taking place between a probe and a goal under provided a *Matching* relation holds: "Matching is a relation that holds of a Probe P and a goal G. Not every matching pair induces Agree. To do so, G must (at least) be in the domain D(P) of P and satisfy locality conditions" (Chomsky 2000: p. 122).

Moving back to features, in certain languages the movement of a feature is visible, while in others it is not. This is a parameter linked to the PF, hence, even when movement is not visible, it still takes place. In this case, we talk about *covert movement*, while in cases in which movement is visible, we talk about *overt movement*. The former takes place after the spell-out, while the later takes place before Spell-out. A feature involving overt movement is called a *strong feature*, while a feature involving covert movement is called *weak feature*. A strong feature, in order to be cancelled, undergoes *overt movement*, while a weak feature stays in its original (first Merge) position and then moves in the position where it can be interpreted and cancelled, usually at LF, by undergoing *covert movement*, which is not visible at PF. Strong features must be interpreted and cancelled prior to spell-out, while weak features do not have to. In order to explain this difference, Chomsky (1993; 1995) introduces a principle called *Procrastinate*, i.e. delaying every operation as much as possible by following the *Economy Principle*.

1.2 The Cartographic approach

As Rizzi & Cinque (2016: p. 143) point out, “the initial impulse for focusing on the fine details of functional structures came from the Split Infl hypothesis”. This hypothesis allows to account for the complexity of syntactic structures and for the rich articulation of functional projections. The first representations in which the IP field was split into more functional heads focused on T(ense) and Agr(eement), and further developed with the insertion of other functional heads, such as Mood, Mod(ality), Asp(ect), Neg(ation). This gave rise “to the fully crosslinguistic systematic approach to clause structure put forward by Cinque (1999)” (Rizzi & Cinque 2016: p. 143). At the same time, the same approach was adopted for the CP field (cfr. Rizzi 1997), which gave rise to a highly articulated structure accounting for particles occurring in the left periphery, and allowing a structural approach to the mechanisms employed in the expression of scope-discourse semantic properties and discourse-related articulations (Rizzi & Cinque 2016). The aim of the *Cartographic approach* to syntactic structures is to provide detailed maps accounting for the richness of the articulation of such structures. This approach focuses on functional configurations, whose resulting maps “offer a new tool for comparative syntax, interact in many ways with theoretical and descriptive research on syntactic computations, and may provide a background for applied research, ranging from first- and second-language acquisition to language pathology and computational linguistics.” (Rizzi & Cinque 2016: p. 144).

In the cartographic approach, the IP field is represented through a relevant amount of functionally specialized projections for which Cinque (1999; 2006) presented crosslinguistic evidence. These functional projections are rigidly ordered in a complex functional hierarchy. Each projection has a specifier, which hosts a related adverb, and a functional head, which hosts a grammatical morpheme accounting for the distinct moods, tenses, and aspects (cfr. chapter 3 for the detailed representation). This richly articulated IP field is located in between the VP, which, in turn, may also involve a richly articulated structure, and the CP, whose complex structure I briefly summarize below.

The CP field possesses an articulated structure too, although it is not as rich as the one of the IP field. The work on the cartography of the CP field derives from the observation that those elements which were previously classified as complementizer particles, in fact, occupy different positions. The general hypothesis, based on the analysis of Italian, where different C particles can occur simultaneously, is that the complementizer domain is delimited by two heads: Force, the highest head expressing illocutionary force and clausal type, and Fin(itness), the lowest head which is in direct contact with (“looks inside”) the content of the IP and is responsible for properties like mood, tense and finiteness, all of which characterize the grammatical properties of the clause. There are other projections occurring between these elements, e.g. Topics and Focus (cfr. chapter 3 for a detailed representation).

The cartographic approach also provided detailed maps of the PP and the AP, which I will not summarize here because they do not bear on the topic of this thesis. Instead, I will summarize Cinque & Rizzi’s (2016) position on why Cartography and Minimalism should be considered part of the same theoretical framework. Although the Minimalist Program adopts a very simplified syntactic representation, while the cartographic approach adopts a rather detailed one, these two approaches do not need to contradict one another. First of all, the cartographic approach assumes the same elements of syntactic computation as the Minimalism, hence it adopts the same syntactic operations introduced in the previous sections. Secondly, the labels C, T, v, and V adopted by the Minimalist Program for the representation of syntactic structures are often employed by the minimalist literature as abbreviations of the richer structures provided by the Cartography. Apart from these two reasons, one must also take into consideration the size of the functional lexicon, which justifies a view that functional heads are quite large in number, giving rise to structural functional sequences when they co-occur (Rizzi & Cinque 2016). In other words, “The cartographic magnifier reveals a finer structure that shows the same inner geometric constitution of structures “visible with the naked eye”—

hierarchically organized head-dependent relations created by merge” (Rizzi & Cinque 2016: p. 157).

To conclude, Cartography does not contradict and is fully compatible with the Minimalism, for the former follows the same syntactic operations as does the latter and, even if the syntactic representation does not result “minimal”, but, on the contrary, is highly detailed, the labels adopted by the Minimalist program are simply represented in a more articulated way in order to account for the functional richness of syntactic configurations.

Chapter 2

Balkan subjunctives

The core of this thesis regards bare subjunctive structures in Romanian, however, as I have mentioned in the introduction and as I will better show in the following sections and in chapter 5, this is a linguistic phenomenon concerning a specific geographic area: the Balkan Peninsula. This geographic area corresponds to a linguistic area, which includes a series of languages sharing an important amount of linguistic features, despite the fact that they are not directly related from a genetic point of view. These languages belong to what linguists have called *Balkan Sprachbund*, a concept that will be better explained in the next section. One of the features Balkan languages share is the syntax and the semantics of subjunctive structures, which are here analyzed when they appear in root clauses, i.e., as bare subjunctives.

Before proceeding with the next sections of this chapter, it is important to introduce the strategies employed by the Balkan languages in order to form the subjunctive mood. The first characteristic that should be noted, is that they all make use of periphrastic forms containing a particle followed by an indicative verb. Since this thesis focuses on Romanian (though in chapter 5 I will provide an overview of bare subjunctive structures in Bulgarian, Modern Greek, and Albanian), I will show how the subjunctive mood is formed in these languages. As just mentioned, subjunctives are formed through the use of particles, which I will call *subjunctive markers* from now on. The subjunctive marker is lexicalized as *să* in Romanian, *da* in Bulgarian, *na* in Modern Greek, and *të* in Albanian. It is followed by the verbal complex, to which it is strictly adjacent, and which, in the Balkan languages, may include negation, clitic pronouns, adverbs, all being clitic elements. The verb occurring in the verbal complex, as mentioned above, is generally inflected for the indicative mood, the only exceptions being Romanian and Albanian, which still possess limited subjunctive morphology:

- 1) A. *Trjabva da mu go vărneš.* BG
must Subj.Mark cl.3SG.DAT cl.3SG.ACC get back.2SG.PRES
'You must get it back to him.'
- B. *Trebuie să i- l ducă înapoi.* RO
must Subj.Mark cl.3SG.DAT cl.3SG.ACC get.3SG.SUBJ back
'(S)he must get it back to him.'

As it can be noticed from the glosses in example (1), the subjunctive marker precedes the whole verbal complex, which in this case includes clitic pronouns, and, while Bulgarian employs the indicative mood, Romanian is shown to use the subjunctive mood for the 3rd person singular.

In order to illustrate how subjunctives are formed in the aforementioned languages, I will employ a table summarizing the data:

Table 1

ROMANIAN	<p>+ present indicative (1st and 2nd persons)/present subjunctive (3rd persons)</p> <p><i>să</i></p> <p>+ fi + past participle (invariable for all persons)</p>
BULGARIAN	<p><i>da</i> + indicative mood > perfective/imperfective</p>
MODERN GREEK	<p>+ simple present indicative</p> <p><i>na</i> + simple past indicative stem + present inflectional affixes > perfective/imperfective</p> <p>+ present perfect indicative</p>
ALBANIAN	<p>+ present indicative/present subjunctive (2nd and 3rd person singular) *</p> <p>+ imperfect indicative</p> <p><i>të</i></p> <p>+ perfect indicative</p> <p>+ pluperfect indicative</p> <p>* the verbs 'to have' and 'to be', which are also used as auxiliaries in composed tenses possess specific morphology not only for 2nd and 3rd person singular, but also for the 1st person singular and the 3rd person plural.</p>

As it is possible to observe from *Table 1*, the Balkan languages here illustrated, although not possessing a specific morphology for the subjunctive mood, employ different linguistic strategies. Moreover, it can be noticed that, while quite generally these languages make use of various indicative tenses and/or verbal aspects combined with the subjunctive marker, Romanian is the only language which employs present tense and an invariable past tense. However, subjunctive morphology is not the only thing Balkan languages have in common. In fact, it will be shown in this chapter that they also employ these constructions in a similar manner, both in embedded and root clauses.

This chapter is organized in the following way: section 2.1 focuses on the concept of Balkan *Sprachbund* and on the development of the subjunctive forms in Balkan languages, mainly focusing on Romanian; section 2.2 provides an overview of the different uses of subjunctive structures, i.e. in embedded and root clauses, introducing the modal meanings conveyed through the latter; section 2.3 is a conclusion.

2.1 The Balkan *Sprachbund*

Before focusing on the Balkan *Sprachbund* in particular, let us first define the general term *Sprachbund* and its implications. A *Sprachbund* is a linguistic area where multiple languages not related genetically but spoken in the same geographical region share several linguistic features (mostly structural) due to their chronologically prolonged contact. According to the theories exposed by Trubeckoy and Jakobson¹, the languages belonging to a *Sprachbund* must share a series of characteristics: they must belong to different linguistic families (or groups), they must be spoken in neighbouring territories, and they must have developed a series of common linguistic features which mostly belong to the phonetic and morpho-syntactic field. However, languages belonging to the same linguistic union (or *Sprachbund*) also share common vocabulary and semantic properties, as Georgiev (1977)² points out. He also highlights a crucial feature of the languages that make part of a *Sprachbund*: the common linguistic features that they share must have been generated in a relatively recent period of their evolution, otherwise these common features could be taken as part of their genetic background.

The Balkan *Sprachbund* is a linguistic union formed by some of the languages spoken in the Balkan Peninsula, more specifically, Albanian, Bulgarian, Modern Greek, Macedonian, Arli Balkan Romani, Romanian (Daco-Romanian, Megleno-Romanian, Aromanian) and, to some extent, Serbo-Croatian. As it can be observed, they are all Indo-European languages, but they belong to different groups: Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbo-Croatian belong to the Slavic group, Daco-Romanian, Megleno-Romanian, and Aromanian belong to the Romance group, Arli Balkan Romani belongs to the Indo-Aryan group, while Modern Greek and Albanian are isolated Indo-European languages. The reason why such a variety of languages share an important amount of linguistic features should be ascribed to different causes. Sandfeld (1930) points out that the peoples of the Balkans were strongly influenced by the Byzantine culture and stayed for more than one thousand years under the domination of the Greek Church, which created a certain homogeneity visible, for example, in the popular literature. Moreover, the author also notes that the bilingualism which characterized a big number of individuals inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula has also contributed to the formation of a linguistic union in this region. A more detailed analysis is provided in Rosetti (1978) and Rosetti (1958), cited in Banfi (1985). The author claims that there are three main factors which together determined the common linguistic features characterizing the languages of the Balkans: the first factor is the

¹ In Banfi (1985)

² *Ibid.*

influence of the Thracian, Dacian, and Illyrian substrate; the second one is the aforementioned bilingualism, which was imposed by socio-economical factors; finally, the third factor is the Byzantine civilization, which unified the Balkan Peninsula from a cultural point of view. Therefore, the substrate has played an important role in the formation of this linguistic union, and the same can be said for the cultural and socio-economical sphere. This means that the Balkan *Sprachbund* is the product of parallel changes in the languages spoken in this area, which spread thanks to the multilingual environment which characterized the Balkan Peninsula in the past, as well as of mutual influence (cfr. Mišeska-Tomić 2006, chapter 1.3).

As it was stated earlier in this chapter, the features shared by the languages belonging to the Balkan linguistic union are several, and cover several aspects of each language. I will not illustrate all of them, however, it is important to provide examples for some of the main features that characterize these languages. From a phonological point of view, for instance, some of the Balkan languages, namely Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Romanian, and certain Modern Greek and Serbian dialects, have in common the realization of a neutral vowel sound [ə]. This vowel is represented *ă* in Romanian, in words like *sănătate* ‘health’, *ѐ* in Bulgarian, in words like *мъж* ‘man’, *ë* in Albanian, in words like *këmishë* ‘shirt’. The most important features, however, are of a morpho-syntactic nature. One of them is the vocative case marker, which is here represented in Romanian and Bulgarian:

- | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----|---|-------|-----|----|
| 2) A. Maria | NOM | > | Mario | VOC | RO |
| B. Petăr | NOM | > | Petre | VOC | BG |

Another shared feature is the replacement of infinitive forms with subjunctive structures, which I am illustrating for Bulgarian, Romanian, and Albanian:

- | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|----------------|----|
| 3) A. <i>Iskam</i> | <i>da</i> | <i>pija.</i> | BG |
| want.1SG.PRES | Subj.Mark | drink.1SG.PRES | |
| B. <i>Vreau</i> | <i>să</i> | <i>beau.</i> | RO |
| want.1SG.PRES | Subj.Mark | drink.1SG.PRES | |
| C. <i>Dua</i> | <i>të</i> | <i>pi.</i> | AL |
| want.1SG.PRES | Subj.Mark | drink.1SG.PRES | |
| ‘I want to drink.’ | | | |

A third characteristic shared by Balkan languages is the postposition of definite articles:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|----|
| 4) A. <i>prijatel</i> | <i>prijatelj</i> | BG |
| B. <i>prieten</i> | <i>prietenul</i> | RO |

C. <i>mik</i>	<i>miku</i>	AL
‘friend’	‘the friend’	

Balkan languages also share similar strategies in the formation of future tenses, which are always periphrastic and employ a form of the verbs *want* and *have to* plus an indicative, infinitive or subjunctive. The examples illustrated below show the formation of the future with the *will/want* auxiliary:

5) A. <i>šte</i>	<i>piša</i>	BG
will.Mod.Inv	write.1SG.PRES	
B. <i>tha</i>	<i>grafo</i>	MG
will.Mod.Inv	write.1SG.PRES	
C. <i>pisati</i>	<i>ću</i>	HR
write.INF	will.1SG.Mod.Inv	
‘I will write.’		

The last feature I am going to illustrate concerns the pronominal clitic doubling, which I am here exemplifying for Bulgarian and Romanian:

6) A. <i>Na mene</i>	<i>mnogo</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>charesva.</i>	BG
to me.Pro.DAT	much.ADV	me.Pro.DAT.Cl	like.3SG.PRES	
B. <i>Mie</i>	<i>îmi</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>mult.</i>	RO
me.Pro.DAT	me.Pro.DAT.Cl	like.3SG.PRES	much	
‘I like it very much.’				

It was stated previously in this chapter that the languages belonging to the Balkan *Sprachbund* also share common vocabulary, semantic features, and further morpho-syntactic and phonetic features which were not illustrated in the examples above. Since, however, there is a series of prominent morpho-syntactic features occurring in these languages, I just illustrate them with the following table provided in Mišeska-Tomić (2006).

Table 2

	Ma	Bu	SC	Ro	Ar	MR	Al	MG	BR
postpos. articles	+	+		+	+	+	+		
Dat/Gen merger	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	(+)
Voc case marker	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	+
locat/dir merger	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	(+)
preposit. cases	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	(+)	(+)	(+)
clitic doubling	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	(+)
Dat/Gen clitic in DP	+	+	(+)	(+)				+	
subjunctives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
“will” future	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
“will” future in the past	+	+	(+)		+		+	+	(+)
“have” perfect	+			+	+	+	+	+	
“have” past perf	+				+	+	+	+	
evidentials	+	+				+	+		

(Mišeska-Tomić 2006: p. 27)

Ma – Macedonian; **Bu** – Bulgarian; **SC** – Serbo-Croatian; **Ro** – Romanian; **Ar** – Aromanian; **MR** – Megleno-Romanian; **Al** – Albanian; **MG** – Modern Greek; **BR** – Arli Balkan Romani.

Table 2 provides a more complete account of the main features which define the Balkan *Sprachbund*. As the author points out, the brackets refer to features occurring only in some dialects or with some case relationships. If we analyze the table, we can observe that some languages possess more Balkanisms than others, and these languages are Macedonian, Bulgarian, the varieties of Romanian, Albanian, and Modern Greek, which are in fact the languages considered the core of the Balkan *Sprachbund*.

2.1.1 Development of the Balkan subjunctive form

Some linguists believe that it is thanks to their prolonged contact if these languages have developed similar strategies in expressing the subjunctive mood (Sandfeld 1930; Rohlf's 1933; Joseph 1983; in Hill 2013), while others claim that the languages of the Balkans independently developed these subjunctive structures and that only casualty lead to similar results (Demiraj 1970; Philippide 1927; Reichenkron 1962; in Hill 2013). If we analyze the Balkan languages from a diachronic point of view, we notice that Bulgarian, for instance, has never had a subjunctive mood, while the Greek subjunctive became through time the equivalent of the indicative (Asenova 2015). In the case of the Greek, the emergence of the subjunctive is linked

to its secondary functions, e.g. the expression of anteriority or posteriority, that led to a switch from non-finite verbs to finite verbs introduced by *ina* ‘in order to’, which further developed into the subjunctive marker in Modern Greek. This switch was caused by its secondary functions, which allowed infinitive clauses and finite clauses to be used interchangeably. The decreased usage of infinitive forms in Greek is attested in Biblical texts ever since the 7th century and, after the Byzantine period it is not employed anymore. The development of these constructions with the use of a particle, if we accept the contact hypothesis, is the result of the Greek influence over the other languages of the Balkans. More precisely, Greek is seen as the epicentre from which this construction expanded. As far as Bulgarian is concerned, the first translations of the Bible (IX/X centuries) from Greek influenced the development of *da*-clauses, which began to replace the Bulgarian infinitives (Krapova 2001). Krapova & Cinque (2018) point out that, although subjunctives and infinitives compete in Bulgarian up to the XV/XVI centuries, replacements of infinitive forms through subjunctive forms are attested earlier, mostly as a marker of disjoint reference: “The first uses of the *da*-construction are seemingly related to the use of the particle as a marker of disjoint reference in contexts (e.g., in final clauses) where an infinitive would imply subject identity (strict coreference). Sometimes, however, the two constructions appear to be (near) parallels. For example, in Codex Zografiensis we find *ispl̄bnišę sa d̄bnye roditi ei* ‘the days arrived [for her] to give-INF birth’, while in the same place Codex Assemanius uses a *da*-construction *ispl̄bnišę sa d̄bnije da rodit̄b* ‘the days arrived PRT give-3SG birth’ (Mirčev 1978: 233)” (Krapova & Cinque 2018: p. 170, fn. 18). Greek also influenced the evolution of Romanian and Albanian subjunctives and implemented the use of *să*-clauses and *të*-clauses respectively (Rosetti 1978).

If we accept the opposite claim, the development of Greek subjunctive structures is irrelevant to the development of other Balkan subjunctives. The main argument in favour of this claim comes from problems of chronology. Taking into consideration Romanian, for instance, it is shown that this language started its infinitive replacement process with the subjunctive in the XVI century, and there seems to be no evidence for language contact in this period (Hill 2013). Moreover, Mišeska-Tomić (2006) cites Mirčev (1937), who claims that “the replacement of the infinitive by subjunctive constructions in Old Church Slavonic is in contrast with the fact that some of the infinitives in the Greek originals in the Bible were translated into Old Church Slavonic by finite clauses introduced by the complementizer *da*, which shows that the uses of the infinitive and the subjunctive in Greek and Old Church Slavonic differed” (Mišeska-Tomić 2006: p. 413).

Whichever hypothesis we assume, one common factor surfaces from this brief introduction: the spread of analytic subjunctive forms is related to the loss of infinitive forms and to the concurrence between these moods. However, not all Balkan languages have completely lost infinite forms. In Romanian, for example, infinitives are still productive, although the subjunctive is more productive in those embedded and root environments which will be illustrated in section 2.2 of this chapter. These environments are of course typically associated with Balkan languages only and are in fact regarded as Balkanisms. The next subsection will illustrate more thoroughly the diachronic development of Romanian subjunctive forms.

2.1.1.1 The case of Romanian

It was shown, in the last section, that linguists have argued about the causes which brought to the development of parallel subjunctive structures in Balkan languages. However, this is not the only aspect which can be analyzed in terms of historical evolution of these constructions. In this subsection I will only focus on the development of Romanian subjunctive forms, by showing the origins of the subjunctive marker, the morphology and the uses of this mood in Old Romanian compared to Modern Romanian, and the competition with other moods in Old Romanian. In order to do so, I will review two studies on the topic, namely Pană Dindelegan (2016) and Hill & Alboiu (2016)³.

Before introducing the origins of the subjunctive marker, I will first illustrate the subjunctive constructions which were employed by Old Romanian. The first one is the *present simple* subjunctive form we can also observe in Modern Romanian. It is formed by the subjunctive marker and the lexical verb inflected for the present indicative in the 1st and 2nd persons, or for the subjunctive in the 3rd person, which results identical for singular and plural and which was inherited directly from the Latin present subjunctive. Beside this synthetic form, there are three analytical forms, all employing the auxiliary *fi* ‘be’. This auxiliary presented phi-features for person and number in the 16th and 17th centuries, however, starting with the 17th and the 18th centuries it is also attested in its invariable form, which becomes more frequent in the 19th century (cfr. Pană Dindelegan 2016: section 2.1.1.2), which led to the normativization of the invariable form in Modern Romanian. The first form, a *present perfect*, resembles the Modern Romanian past subjunctive form, since it employs said auxiliary and the past participle of the lexical verb. This construction was attested with less frequency in the 16th century, but its usage

³ Hill & Alboiu (2016) provide a more extended analysis of subjunctive structures, arguing that the subjunctive marker is a FinP element and analysing the syntax of the left periphery of these constructions. Although it is an important analysis, I will not review that part, for here I will only focus on the diachronic development of subjunctives, without providing an in-depth analysis of syntactic structures in a specific moment of the evolution of Romanian.

increased afterwards (Pană Dindelegan 2016). As mentioned above, this is one of the two subjunctive constructions which are still productive in Modern Romanian. The second analytical form is a *past perfect* employing the already cited auxiliary, which was, once again, inflected, the past participle of the verb *fi* ‘be’, and the past participle of the lexical verb. Unlike the previous two constructions, this is no longer productive. The third periphrastic subjunctive could be defined as a *present perfect progressive*. It employs the auxiliary and the gerund of the lexical verb. This latter form is maintained in Modern Romanian, however, it was not illustrated in *Table 1* for it is rare and confined to epistemic uses. The following examples⁴ show the different subjunctive forms attested in Old Romanian in the same order as the one followed above in the illustration of the way they were formed:

- 7) A. *Iani să spunem de Nil.*
 let SĂ_{SUBJ} say.SUBJ.1PL about Nile.ACC
 ‘Let’s talk about the Nile.’
- B. *Să fiu aflat har întru ochi tăi, doamne!*
 SĂ_{SUBJ} be.SUBJ1SG find.PPLE gift.ACC into eyes.DEF.ACC your lord.DEF.VOC
 ‘May I continue to find favour in your eyes, my lord.’
- C. *dzicu călugării să fie fost făcut și sfeșnicile cele mari*
 say.PRES.3PL monks.DEF.NOM SĂ_{SUBJ} be.SUBJ.3SG be.PPLE make.PPLE also
 candlesticks.DEF.ACC CEL.F.PL big.PL
 ‘the monks say that he had made the big candlesticks too.’
- D. *[...] să nu fie având andesine urâciune.*
 SĂ_{SUBJ} not be.SUBJ.PRES.3PL have.GER between.them hate.ACC
 ‘[...] they should not hate each other.’

What is most noticeable from a morphological point of view, is the fact that the auxiliary *fi* was not used in this form, as in Modern Romanian, but was instead inflected. In (7B) it is inflected for the first person singular, while in (7C) and (7D) it is inflected respectively for the 3rd person singular and the 3rd person plural, both exhibiting the same morphology. It can be also noticed that the usage of subjunctive structures in Old Romanian resembles the Modern Romanian one. Namely, they are employed in root clauses conveying, i.e., a cohortative meaning (7A), an exhortative meaning (7D), or an optative meaning (7B), and in embedded clauses, where they convey, as (7C) shows, a tense related meaning.

Let us now observe how these structures behaved from a syntactic point of view. It was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, and it will be better shown in chapter 3, that the

⁴ All examples are taken from Pană Dindelegan (2016) and Hill & Alboiu (2016). It derives that the glosses slightly differ from the ones I employ in the examples provided by me. The authors themselves employ corpora of Old Romanian texts.

subjunctive marker is strictly adjacent to the verbal complex and that the latter is formed by a series of clitic elements. Although this adjacency was not a requirement of Old Romanian, the word order *să*-clitic-(aux)-V was strongly preferred in the 16th century, while starting with the 17th century, this word order becomes general (Pană Dindelegan 2016). The following example illustrates the word order prevailing in 16th century texts:

- 8) cum *să* se întoarce
 how SĂ_{subj} CL.REFL.ACC.3SG return.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘how to return’

The example in (7) contains a “simplified” verbal complex. It can still be observed, however, that the word order corresponds to the one required by Modern Romanian, where the subjunctive marker precedes the clitic pronouns, which in turn precede the auxiliary or the lexical verb. In Old Romanian, however, the subjunctive marker was not always required, and root clauses sometimes did not make use of it, which was only possible with verbs bearing subjunctive morphology, a characteristic that can be observed in Modern Romanian as well, although less frequently.

- 9) A. *După aceeaia grăiască diaconul.*
 after that speak.SUBJ.3SG deacon.DEF.NOM
 ‘Then, let the deacon speak.’
 B. *Au om sfârșit și destoinic tot acela fie carele*
 INT man.NOM perfect and capable ever that be.SUBJ.3SG who.DEF.NOM
face așa?
 does like.this
 ‘Could he who does this be a perfect and capable man?’

Regarding (9B), Pană Dindelegan (2016: p. 16) points out that the “absence of *să* is sporadically recorded in epistemic closed interrogatives”. This means that the example in (8B) can be associated with the root clauses conveying modal meanings in (6). This time, however, the modal meaning is epistemic, and it is expressed in an interrogative clause, a characteristic that can be, once again, observed in Modern Romanian too.

It is clear, by now, that in the 16th century, which was the period of the first attested written texts in Romanian, the periphrastic form was already the norm in both root and embedded clauses. The subjunctive marker was shown to precede the verb, but it could be also preceded by a series of complementizers, some of which are still productive in Modern Romanian:

- 10) A. *cine iaste, Doamne, de să crez întru el?*
 who is God.VOC DE SUBJ believe.1SG in him
 ‘God, who is he, so that I should believe him?’

- B. *Tremease-l și în fântâna Siluamului, ca să arate*
 sent.3=him also to fountain.the Siloam's CA SUBJ show.SUBJ.3
proștiia și bună mintea orbului
 humility.the and good mind.the blind.the.GEN
 'He also sent him to Siloam's fountain, in order to show the blind's man humility
 and good mindedness.'

The examples in (10) show two of the possible complementizers that were used in Old Romanian. Between the two, only *ca* is preserved in Modern Romanian, however, as Hill & Alboiu (2016) point out, its behaviour is slightly different. There were other complementizers and *wh*-words which could precede the subjunctive marker, but they will not be illustrated here. Another usage of subjunctive structures in Old Romanian was with *verba voluntatis*, *verba affectum* and *verba cogitandi*. This characteristic is still partially maintained in Modern Romanian, however, diachronic changes “affect the individual members, which may have switched their selectional properties from subjunctive to indicative or vice-versa” (Hill & Alboiu 2016: p. 231). On the other hand, aspectual verbs preferred to employ *de*-indicatives and *a*-infinitives rather than subjunctives, a property which underwent a change in Modern Romanian. The latter makes use of the subjunctive mood in complement and embedded clauses in which Old Romanian employed other moods.

There are other uses of subjunctive structures attested in Old Romanian, but I will not describe and illustrate them here, for it falls outside the purpose of this chapter and of this thesis. I will only mention one particular usage. In Old Romanian, *să* was also employed as a conditional and a concessive complementizer. This is linked to the etymology of the subjunctive marker. In fact, it derives from the Latin adverb *sic*, which, in Classical Latin, developed into the complementizer *si*, which was employed either in indirect interrogatives, with the meaning ‘whether/if’, or in conditionals, with the meaning ‘if’. This complementizer could be used both with the subjunctive and the indicative mood. It developed into the Old Romanian *să*, where it was used in conditionals and where it specialized for *irrealis* modality in selected and non-selected clauses (Hill & Alboiu 2016).

To sum-up this section, I dealt with the development of subjunctive structures in Balkan languages and it was shown that there are two main theories on the topic: the first one attributes this phenomenon to the influence of Greek over the other languages, while the second one claims that these periphrastic structures developed separately in each language, leading to similar results. However, it is universally observed that the development of analytic subjunctive forms is correlated with the loss (or decreased usage) of the infinitives (cfr. Sandfeld 1930; Joseph 1983; Banfi 1985; Mišeska-Tomić 2006). The section then focused on Romanian, and

it was shown that Old Romanian employed these structures in similar ways to Modern Romanian, however, the tenses of the subjunctive mood were 4 instead of 2. Moreover, it was shown that certain verbs which now select subjunctive complements, used to select indicative or infinitive complements. Lastly, it was shown that *să* has Latin origins, deriving from the Latin complementizer *si*.

2.2 Overview on the uses of Balkan subjunctives

Subjunctive structures are employed in Balkan languages in both embedded and root clauses. The former is probably the most common use of this mood in Balkan languages, for it is not only employed in subordinates corresponding to embedded subjunctive clauses in other Indo-European languages, e.g. Western Romance languages, but also in subordinates corresponding to infinitive clauses. This was shown to be linked to the loss of infinitives in Balkan languages, or, in the case of Romanian, to the reduced uses of this mood. The way Balkan languages employ the subjunctive mood in root clauses constitutes a specificity of this linguistic area. It will be shown that similar structures exist, for instance, in Western Romance languages, however, the languages of the Balkan *Sprachbund* make a more varied use of such clauses. They possess different modal meanings, and can occur in imperative clauses, interrogative clauses, and declarative clauses.

In the next subsections I will illustrate the different uses with which subjunctive structures are associated in both embedded and root clauses. Section 2.2.1 is dedicated to embedded subjunctives, which I chose to illustrate despite the fact that the thesis focuses on root clauses. Section 2.2.2 is dedicated to bare subjunctive structures, i.e. subjunctives occurring in matrix clauses. In this section I will also introduce the terminology I will employ throughout the thesis when referring to the different modal meanings subjunctives can convey.

2.2.1 Embedded Balkan subjunctives

It was mentioned that subjunctive structures are especially employed in embedded clauses. This was said to be linked to the fact that Balkan languages lack infinitives, or, even when they possess the morphology to express them, like Romanian, they tend not to use it. Instead, they employ the subjunctive phrase:

- | | |
|----------------------------------------|----|
| 11) A. <i>Je veux aller au cinema.</i> | FR |
| I want.1SG go.INF to.the cinema.M.SG | |
| ‘I want to go to the cinema.’ | |
| B. <i>Maria deve studiare.</i> | IT |
| Mary must.3SG study.INF | |
| ‘Mary must study.’ | |

- C. *O Janis bori na majirevi.* MG
 the Janis can.3SG Subj.Mark cook.3SG
 ‘Janis can cook.’ (Krapova 2001)
- D. *Ivan iska da pee.* BG
 Ivan want.3SG Subj.Mark sing.3SG
 ‘Ivan wants to sing.’
- E. *Trebuie să mâncați.* RO
 must.2PL Subj.Mark eat.2PL
 ‘You must eat.’

The examples above show a comparison between two Western Romance languages, namely French and Italian, and some Balkan languages, namely Modern Greek, Bulgarian and Standard Romanian. All examples contain control verbs. In Romance languages, except for the Romanian varieties and some Southern Italian dialects, as well as in Germanic languages, these kinds of verbs are followed by an infinitive, as examples (11A), (11B) and the English translations show. Balkan languages, however, employ the subjunctive introduced by a particle. Another embedded construction that requires the subjunctive mood is the future indicative:

- 12) A. *Studentët do të vinë nesër.* AL
 students.the.PL will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark come.3PL.SUBJ tomorrow
 ‘The students will come tomorrow.’ (Mišeska-Tomić 2006)
- B. *Studentji or së vinë mâine.* RO
 student-the.M.PL want.MOD.3PL Subj.Mark come.3PL.SUBJ tomorrow
 ‘The students will come tomorrow.’

This is due to the fact that Balkan languages share similar future structures: it was previously shown in this chapter that they employ the verbs *have to* or *want/will*, followed by the indicative, by the subjunctive, or by the infinitive. Modern Greek and Albanian use a structure formed with a form of the verb *want*, as the Albanian example in (12A) shows, but it won’t be furtherly analyzed here⁵. Instead, it could be interesting to make a comparison between Balkan Romance and Balkan Slavic languages. Each group builds the future with both *want* and *have to* verbs, but the Slavic group does not use an embedded subjunctive in the *want*-future. The Romance group, however, possesses such a structure. Consider the examples below:

- 13) A. *O să mănânc.* RO
 want.INV Subj.Mark eat.1SG
 ‘I will eat.’

⁵ Note that, unlike Albanian, Modern Greek does not employ the subjunctive in these constructions.

- B. *Va s' cǎntu.* AR
 want.INV Subj.Mark sing.1SG
 'I will sing.'
- C. *Maria va cânta.* RO
 Mary want.3SG sing.INF
 'Mary will sing.'
- D. *Marija šte jade.* BG
 Mary want.INV eat.3SG
 'Mary will eat.'

As example (13A) shows, Romanian employs a crystallized form of the verb *want* followed by the subjunctive in order to form the so-called “popular future”. A similar strategy is employed by Aromanian, which uses an invariable form of the verb *want*, as showed in example (13B). The “literary future” (13C), on the contrary, is formed with an ancient form of the verb *want* which maintains its phi-features, followed by the bare infinite. On the other hand, the Bulgarian future form possesses a crystallized particle derived from the verb *want*, followed by the present indicative. All these languages also possess *have to*-future forms, which are always followed by the subjunctive:

- 14) A. *Am să cânt.* RO
 have.1SG Subj.Mark sing.1SG
 'I will sing.'
- B. *Ivan njama da dojde.* BG
 John not.have.INV Subj.Mark come.3SG
 'John won't come.'
- C. *Nu ari si vin.* MR
 not have.INV Subj.Mark come.1SG
 'I won't come.' (Hill & Tomić 2009)

As the examples above show, there is a small difference between Standard Romanian and other Balkan languages, in this case Bulgarian and Megleno-Romanian. While Romanian possesses the *have to*-future for both affirmative (14A) and negative forms, Bulgarian and Megleno-Romanian (14B; 14C) only build this structure with the negative form of the verb. Nevertheless, these future forms are a perfect example of Balkan syntactic structures containing subjunctive complements.

The most “peculiar” behaviour of Balkan subjunctives, however, regards subordinates selected by control verbs. In these constructions the subject of the matrix clause may be coreferential with the subject of the embedded clause. Observe, for instance, the occurrences below:

- 15) A. *Je voudrais étudier le grec.* FR
 I want.1SG.COND study.INF the.M.SG Greek
- B. *Mi piacerebbe studiare il greco.* IT
 me.DAT like.1SG.COND study.INF the.M.SG Greek
- C. *Mi-ar plăcea să studiezi greaca.* RO
 me.DAT PRT.COND like.INF Subj.Mark study.1SG Greek-the.F.SG
- D. *Bich iskal da uça grăcki.* BG
 PRT.COND want.M.SG.PP Subj.Mark study.1SG Greek
 ‘I would like to study Greek.’

The examples in (15) show the contrast between different languages. When compared to Western Romance (15A; 15B) and Germanic languages (the English translation), Balkan languages (15C; 15D) show a different behaviour. The former select [-fin] clauses, while the latter select [+fin] clauses. The fact that the non-Balkan languages above select infinitives, is related to the required coreferentiality introduced above.

The coreferentiality of the subject, hence the infinitive/subjunctive alternation in non-Balkan languages, is also linked to the semantic properties of the matrix verb. There are, in fact, verbs whose semantic properties require that the subject of the matrix verb and the subject of the embedded verb are coreferential. For example, aspectual verbs and the already cited control verbs possess this characteristic. The following examples illustrate how aspectual verbs behave:

- 16) A. *Započvam da četa.* BG
 start.1SG.PRES Subj.Mark read.1SG
- B. *Încep să citesc.* RO
 start.1SG.PRES Subj.Mark read.1SG
- C. *Comincio a leggere.* IT
 start.1SG.PRES to read.INF
- D. *Je commence à lire.* FR
 I start.1SG.PRES to read.INF
 ‘I’m starting to read.’

Western Romance languages (16C; 16D) pattern together with Germanic languages (translation), while Balkan languages (16A; 16B) exhibit a different behaviour, as observed in (15) as well: the former employ infinitive complements, while the latter make use of subjunctive complements.

At the same time, there are verbs whose lexical properties select Western Romance-type subjunctives, which means that both Balkan and Romance languages employ subjunctive complements:

- 17) A. *Iskam da se uči.* BG
 want.1SG.PRES Subj.Mark refl learn.3SG
- B. *Vreau să învețe.* RO
 want.1SG.PRES Subj.Mark learn.3SG
- C. *Voglio che lui impari.* IT
 want.1SG.PRES that he learn.SUBJ.3SG
- D. *Je veux qu' il apprend.* FR
 I want.1SG.PRES that he learn.SUBJ.3SG
 'I want him to learn.'

The examples in (17) illustrate that all these languages employ the subjunctive mood in embedded structures. This is due to the fact that the matrix verbs are volitional verbs, which normally select Romance-type subjunctive clauses. There are other verbs which select this kind of structures, e.g. desiderative verbs or deontic verbs, which, however, I will not exemplify here.

Briefly summing-up this subsection, it was shown that Balkan languages employ subjunctive complements in constructions which correspond to Romance-type infinitives and Romance-type subjunctives. This means that even when the matrix verb is a control verb, or an aspectual verb, it selects an embedded subjunctive clause, because there is coreferentiality between the matrix subject and the embedded subject. On the other hand, Western Romance languages and Germanic languages were shown to select infinitive clauses in such constructions. This property of Balkan languages is related to the loss of the infinite or to the reduced usage of this mood.

2.2.2 Bare subjunctive forms

This section is dedicated to a brief overview of subjunctive structures in root clauses and to the terminology that will be employed, throughout the thesis, in the analysis of the modal meanings they convey. It will not be an in-depth analysis, for this topic will be treated in a more detailed manner in chapter 4⁶. Before introducing the terms and expressions that will be employed in this thesis, I will briefly show that, although the subjunctive mood is used in matrix clauses in Western Romance languages as well, the corresponding structures in the Balkan languages are more varied:

- 18) A. *Kăde da otida?* BG
 where Subj.Mark go.1SG
 'Where should I go?'

⁶ Chapter 4 is dedicated to the analysis of these structures in Romanian. For their analysis in other Balkan languages, although less detailed, see chapter 5.

- B. *De ce să nu mergem și noi la mare?* RO
 why Subj.Mark NEG go.1PL also we to seaside
 ‘Why shouldn’t we go to the seaside as well?’
- C. *Dove (dovrei) andare?* IT
 where should.1SG.COND go.INF
 ‘Where should I go?’
- D. *Perché non (dovremmo) andare anche noi al mare?* IT
 why NEG should.1PL.COND go.INF also we to-the.M.SG seaside
 ‘Why shouldn’t we go to the seaside as well?’

It can be noticed from the examples above that differently from Western Romance languages (18C; 18D), Balkan languages (18A; 18B) employ several linguistic strategies in order to express the same meaning: subjunctive structures as opposed to infinitive structures or modal verbs. This is also observable in the English translations. Let us now see the different modal meanings these constructions convey, and the type of clauses in which they occur.

In chapter 4 it will be shown that the subjunctive mood may occur in *imperative clauses*, *interrogative clauses*, and *declarative clauses*. I employ the expression *imperative clauses* for those structures which can be associated with imperatives in traditional grammars. In order to account for the diversity of the modal meanings expressed in such clauses, I associate to imperative clauses one specific modality, i.e. *root modality*⁷, which is then subclassified into four main semantic subsets: *obligation*, *volition*, *permission*, and *invitation*. Obligation is always related to orders uttered by the speaker, or to a set of rules/laws the addressee(s) are supposed to obey to. Observe, for example, the following utterances:

- 19) A. *Să nu întârzi la muncă!* RO
 Subj.Mark NEG be late.2SG to work.F.SG
 ‘Don’t be late at work!’
- B. *Da zatvoriš vratata!* BG
 Subj.Mark close.2SG door-the.F.SG
 ‘Close the door!’

Volition, on the other hand, involves the speaker’s wishes. By using the distinctions made in Ammann & van der Auwera (2004), I have subclassified volition in *cohortative*, *exhortative*, and *optative* modality, sometimes also labelled *hortative*. The following examples illustrate a series of occurrences conveying optative (19A; 19B) and cohortative (19C; 19D) meanings:

⁷ The term *deontic modality* may occasionally be employed throughout the thesis, especially when I make direct or indirect reference to other authors’ works. This term is to be considered as corresponding to *root modality*.

- 20) A. *Da se blagosloveni!* MA
 Subj.Mark are.3Pl blessed.Pl.Pass.Part
 ‘May they be blessed!’
- B. *Da živi kralj!* SC
 Subj.Mark live.3Sg king
 ‘Long live the king!’
- C. *S- ħlj ashciptħm!* AR
 Subj.Mark-3Pl.M.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.1Pl
 ‘Let us meet/welcome them!’
- D. *Da se opitame.* BG
 Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl try.1Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘Let us try (to do that).’

(Mišeska Tomić 2006)

The terms *permission* and *invitation* will be better analyzed in chapter 4, so I will not indulge over them here. Instead, I will proceed by illustrating *interrogative clauses*. These constructions may convey either *root modality*, hence the one described for imperative clauses, or *epistemic modality*. The following examples illustrate how the first of the two meanings are expressed:

- 21) A. *Unde sħ mħ descħł?* RO
 where Subj.Mark me.refl take off the shoes.1SG
 ‘Where should I take off the shoes?’
- B. *Da trħgvam li?* BG
 Subj.Mark go.1SG INT
 ‘Should I go?’

When conveying epistemic modality, which concerns the truth of a proposition, and, more precisely, it concerns the possibility or necessity of the truth of propositions (Bybee & Fleischman 1995), interrogative clauses usually express a dubitative meaning, as in the examples below:

- 22) A. *Sħ se fi terminat dħjħ filmul?* RO
 Subj.Mark refl be.PERF finish.PAST.PART already movie-the.M.SG
 ‘Could the movie be already over?’
- B. *T’ a kesh dħgjuar kħtħ lajm?!* AL
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl have.2Sg.Subj.Pres heard.Part that news.Sg
 ‘Could it be that you have heard that news?!’ (Mišeska Tomić 2006)
- C. *Iundi si iħ dus?!* MR
 where Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Subj.Pres gone.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘Where could he have gone?!’ (Mišeska Tomić 2006)
- D. *Na pethane o Themelis?!* MG
 Subj.Mark die.3Sg.Aor the.M.Sg Themelis
 ‘Could it be that Themelis has died?!’ (Mišeska Tomić 2006)

Epistemic interrogatives may sometimes possess other modal flavours, such as mirativity, like in example (22A), or evidentiality, like in example (22B). Mirativity is a term employed to refer to an utterance which conveys information that results new or unexpected to the speaker (DeLancey 2001: p. 370). Evidentiality is often observed to possess a close relationship with the category of mirativity (Lazard 1999; Guentchéva 1996; in DeLancey 2001), and it refers to an utterance specifying the type of source on which it is based, e.g. the speaker seeing it, hearing it, or inferring it from indirect evidence, or learning it from someone else (Aikhenvald 2004).

- 23) A. *Të kesh marrë para hua?! AL*
 Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Subj.Pres taken.Part money loan
 ‘Could (it be that) you have taken money on loan?!’ (Mišeska Tomić 2006)
- B. *Să fie vreo zece? RO*
 SĂ be.3PL+SUBJ approximately ten
 ‘Could they be ten in number?’ (Mihoc 2012)

The last type of clause I am here going to exemplify is the *declarative clause*. It will be better shown in chapter 4 that these are in fact truncated clauses⁸, mostly corresponding to truncated conditionals. They can also correspond to truncated structures whose matrix clause corresponds to ‘I hope’. The following examples illustrate both kinds of structures, namely the one corresponding to truncated conditionals, as in (24A; 24B), and the one corresponding to the other truncated construction, as in (24C; 24D):

- 24) A. *Să fi învățat și eu să schiez. RO*
 Subj.Mark be.PERF learn.PAST.PART also I Subj.Mark ski.1SG
 ‘If only I had learnt to ski too.’
- B. *Da go bjax namerila tuk! BG*
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.1Sg.Past found.M.Sg.Perf.1-Part here
 ‘If only I would have found him here!’
- C. *Să nu fi ieșit pe zăpada asta. RO*
 Subj.Mark NEG be.PERF go out.PAST.PART on snow-the.F.SG this
 ‘I hope he/she didn’t go out with all this snow.’
- D. *Să nu trebuiască să meargă iar la doctor. RO*
 Subj.Mark NEG must.3SG Subj.Mark go.3SG again to doctor
 ‘I hope he/she doesn’t have to go to the doctor again.’

To sum-up, in this subsection I have introduced those cases in which subjunctive structures occur in matrix clauses. It was shown that this mood may be employed in imperative clauses,

⁸ I employ this term to refer to sentences undergoing ellipsis, i.e. clauses where “words which are obvious from the context can be omitted” (Kiparsky 2002). In other words, what I have called *truncated clauses* lack the apodosis or the matrix clause, which, however, can be semantically interpreted even if absent.

interrogative clauses and declarative clauses. Each type of clause possesses different modal meanings: imperative clauses are normally associated with root modality, interrogative clauses convey either root modality or epistemic modality, occasionally possessing other modal flavours, while declarative clauses were shown to normally correspond to truncated counterfactuals. These modal meanings were here simply illustrated, thus allowing me to introduce the terms and expressions that will be employed throughout the thesis. They will be better analyzed in chapters 4 and 5.

2.3 Conclusions

This chapter was dedicated to an overview of the so called Balkan *Sprachbund* and to the linguistic phenomena correlated with this linguistic union. It was shown that most of the languages spoken in the Balkan Peninsula share a series of linguistic features as a consequence of their prolonged contact throughout the centuries. One of these features is the structure and the uses these languages make of the subjunctive mood. In fact, subjunctive morphology is quite similar, namely all languages use for this purpose a preposed particle, which I have called, following other studies on the topic, *subjunctive marker*. This particle is generally followed by the verb inflected for the indicative mood, the only exceptions being Albanian and Romanian, which still conserve partial subjunctive morphology.

After introducing this linguistic phenomenon, I have provided a brief overview on how it developed, showing that it is usually assumed that it occurred under the influence of the Greek. It was also shown that the development of the Balkan subjunctive forms is strongly related to the replacement of infinitive structures. In Romanian, although this language still possesses the infinite mood, it was illustrated that the uses Old Romanian made of subjunctive structures correspond to the ones made by Modern Romanian, with few exceptions.

Finally, in the last two subsections, I have introduced the way the subjunctive mood is employed in the languages belonging to the Balkan linguistic union. These languages make use of these structures both in embedded and in root clauses. In embedded clauses such structures correspond to either Western Romance-type subjunctive subordinates, or to Western Romance-type infinitive subordinates. The latter are seen in the literature as one of the features that bring Balkan languages together (cfr. Sandfeld 1930; Mirčev 1937 in Mišeska-Tomić 2006; Joseph 1983; Banfi 1985; Rosetti 1978; Mišeska-Tomić 2006). Matrix subjunctive structures were shown to convey different modal meanings, a characteristic which can also be found in Western Romance languages. However, in section 2.2.2 it was shown that the uses Balkan languages

make of such constructions are more varied, which indicates that these structures could be considered a Balkanism as well.

Chapter 3

Morpho-syntactic features of the Romanian subjunctive marker

This chapter deals with the morphological status and the syntactic position of the subjunctive marker in Romanian. It is organized as follows: in section 3.1 I will introduce some of the studies that have been made so far on the Romanian clause structure (Rivero (1994), Motapanyane (1995) and Alboiu (2002)), mainly focusing on the syntax of subjunctives. In section 3.2, I will provide an analysis of the subjunctive marker and I will show where in the lay-out of the Romanian clause it is generated, by testing its position with regard to elements of both CP and IP fields. Section 3.3 is a conclusion where I sum-up the information and the analysis provided in the preceding sections.

3.1 The syntax of the Romanian clause

In the first chapter I have briefly exposed the theoretical framework I am adopting. Remember that the clause structure adopted by the Minimalist Program is [CP C[TP T[vP v[VP V]]]] (cfr. Chomsky, 1995). At the same time, the cartographic approach is based on the assumption that syntactic structures are complex objects that need detailed and precise maps in order to account for the complexity of such configurations (Cinque & Rizzi, 2008). Although the latter may seem to contradict the former, Minimalism and Cartography don't contradict one another: «[...] Minimalism focuses on the generating devices, and cartography focuses on the fine details of the generated structures, two research topics which can be pursued in parallel in a fully consistent manner, and along lines which can fruitfully interact» (Cinque & Rizzi, 2008: p. 49). The hierarchy of functional categories is seen differently among linguists in terms of presence/absence of individual categories. Adger (2003) proposes a hierarchy of functional categories which may or may not be present, what counts is that when they are present, they must appear in the same scopal order. In other words, some of the proposed functional categories are optional, but they are required to appear in fixed positions irrespective of how many of them actually appear (cfr. Adger (2003)). Cinque (1999), on the other hand, suggests «[...] the existence of a fixed universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections» (Cinque, 1999: p. v). He assumes that «[...] all languages share the same functional categories and the same principles of phrase and clause composition, although they may differ in the movements they admit and in the projections they overtly realize.» (Cinque, 2006: p. 4). What these approaches have in common is the fact that they admit the existence of functional categories and the fact that these are ordered in a strict hierarchy.

Following the assumption that syntactic structures can be analyzed through a series of functional projections or heads ordered into a strict hierarchy, I will adopt the proposal according to which the IP in the Romanian clause structure should be split into a certain number of functional projections. Among the authors who have analyzed the build-up of the Romanian clause, many consider that IP (or TP in Minimalist terms) is not enough to describe its complexity, which led them to postulate the existence of other functional projections that form the IP, e.g. MP, NegP, TP, AgrP, etc. For now I will stick to Alboiu's (2002) representation of the Romanian clause, for I believe it is the one better enclosing its general structure. Section 3.2 will deal in a more detailed manner with this topic, for now I will just give an account of the general structure of the Romanian clause in different proposals, and of how the analysis of the subjunctive clause fits into these proposals. The next sections are a brief overview of the way some linguists, namely Rivero (1994), Motapanyane (1995) and Alboiu (2002), have split the IP into more functional projections when analysing the Romanian (or Balkan) clause structure.

3.1.1 Rivero (1994)

Rivero (1994) analyzes the clause structure of Balkan languages. She suggests that the clause structure common to the languages that are part of the Balkan Sprachbund is the one in (1):

- 1) [CP C⁰ [MP M⁰ [T/AgrP T/Agr⁰ [AuxP Aux⁰ [VP V⁰]]]]] (Rivero, 1994).

The structure above is the simplified version of a more detailed one which is unnecessary for our current purpose⁹. What is now important to notice is the fact that Rivero (1994) doesn't use a unique IP projection between CP and VP, instead she splits this projection into several functional projections, i.e. MP, T/AgrP, AuxP. In this lay-out of the Balkan, hence Romanian, clause structure CP stands for the Complementizer Phrase, which dominates the Modal Phrase. The Tense/Agreement Phrase, which is seen as a complex, is dominated by the latter and, in turn, dominates the Auxiliary Phrase when this is present. AuxP, on the other hand, dominates the VP.

Rivero (1994) suggests that T/Agr is the landing site of finite verbs moving from V and auxiliaries moving from Aux. As shown above, T/Agr is dominated by M, which is headed by invariant particles such as the subjunctive one. This kind of structure accounts for the word order in sentences like the ones in (2):

⁹ The more detailed structure contains a NegP dominated by the CP and dominating MP. Moreover, the T/AgrP takes CL, hosting pronominal clitics, in its specifier position.

- 2) A. *Doresc ca Maria să vină acasă.*
 wish.1SG.PRES C Mary Subj.Mark come.3SG.SUBJ home
 ‘I wish Mary to come home.’
- B. *Mama vrea ca tu să mănânci.*
 mother-the.F.SG want.3SG.PRES C you.S Subj.Mark eat.2SG.PRES
 ‘Mom wants you to eat.’

It is clear from these examples (2) that the complementizer C of the subordinate clause is followed by the subjunctive particle in M, which is followed by the verb that, as proposed by Rivero (1994), raises to T/Agr. A partial scheme of the word order in the examples above could be C > M > T/Agr, which corresponds to the more detailed clause structure in (1). Moreover, since the subordinates in (2) contain a subjunctive form of the verb and since it was stated above that Rivero (1994) considers M as the head of the subjunctive marker, it gives us a first clue on the possible configuration of this verbal structure.

From this very brief summary it derives that Rivero (1994) proposes a split IP analysis in order to account for the complexity of the Balkan syntactic structures. This complexity also belongs to Romanian, as shown in her study, which brings us to the next study, which only focuses on the syntax of Romanian: Motapanyane (1995).

3.1.2 Motapanyane (1995)

The analysis given by Motapanyane (1995) is that of “an exploded I-node” (Motapanyane, 1995: p. 13). Therefore, she considers the IP to be split into functional projections, each with a different function. More specifically, Motapanyane (1995) follows the structure of IP given for French by Belletti (1990) and she adapts it to the Romanian IP. The hierarchy of the functional projections in negative clauses containing simple tenses can be roughly summarized as follows:

- 3) AgrP > NegP > TP > VP

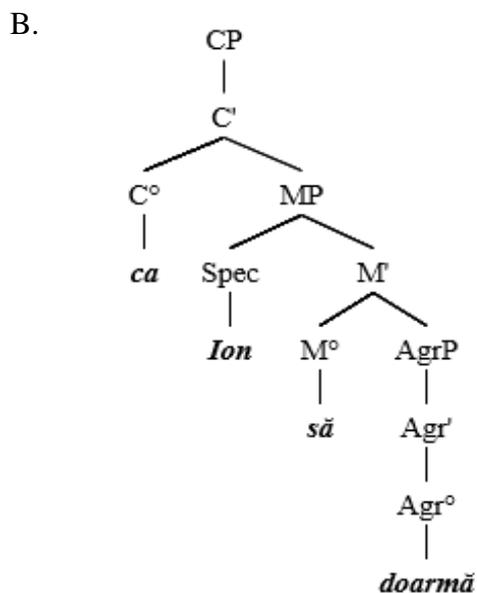
It is clear that there already is a difference between Rivero’s (1994) approach and Motapanyane’s (1995): while for Rivero (1994) Tense and Agreement are considered a complex, according to Motapanyane (1995) they are two distinct projections that can even be separated by a NegP, when this is present, as (3) shows. The two analyses converge however as far as the verb is concerned, since Motapanyane (1995) also claims that the lexical verb or the auxiliary (if present) moves out of the VP. She suggests that their landing site is Agr, conclusion derived by the position of adverbs adjoint to VP and of negation and negative adverbs.

Let us now focus on the syntax corresponding to subjunctive structures: Motapanyane (1995) inserts, as Rivero (1994) did, another functional projection MP where the subjunctive marker *să* is generated. This projection dominates AgrP, which, in this analysis, is the landing site of the verb. I will show now how the functional projections that form the IP are organized from a hierarchical point of view in Motapanyane (1995). If we maintain the simplified structure in (3) and we add the MP, which doesn't only select AgrP, but is also selected by CP, a slightly more detailed structure corresponds to the one in (4):

- 4) CP > MP > AgrP > NegP > TP

I won't consider NegP because we don't need it at this point of the analysis, I only add that this projection is the base where negation is generated and from where it moves out up to the Agr node (Motapanyane, 1995). Instead, I will provide another example of an embedded subjunctive structure (5A) and I will insert it (5B) in the lay-out in (4):

- 5) A. *Sper ca Ion să doarmă.*
 hope.1SG.PRES C John Subj.Mark sleep.3SG.SUBJ
 'I hope John to be sleeping.'



It should be now more evident that the lay-out proposed by Motapanyane (1995) and the one proposed by Rivero (1994) show some similarities, mostly the fact that both authors propose a certain number of functional projections instead of a single IP node. They also propose the same position for the MP that hosts the subjunctive marker, i.e. governed by the CP (in Rivero (1994) only when there is no negation, in which case NegP is the projection governed by the CP). The

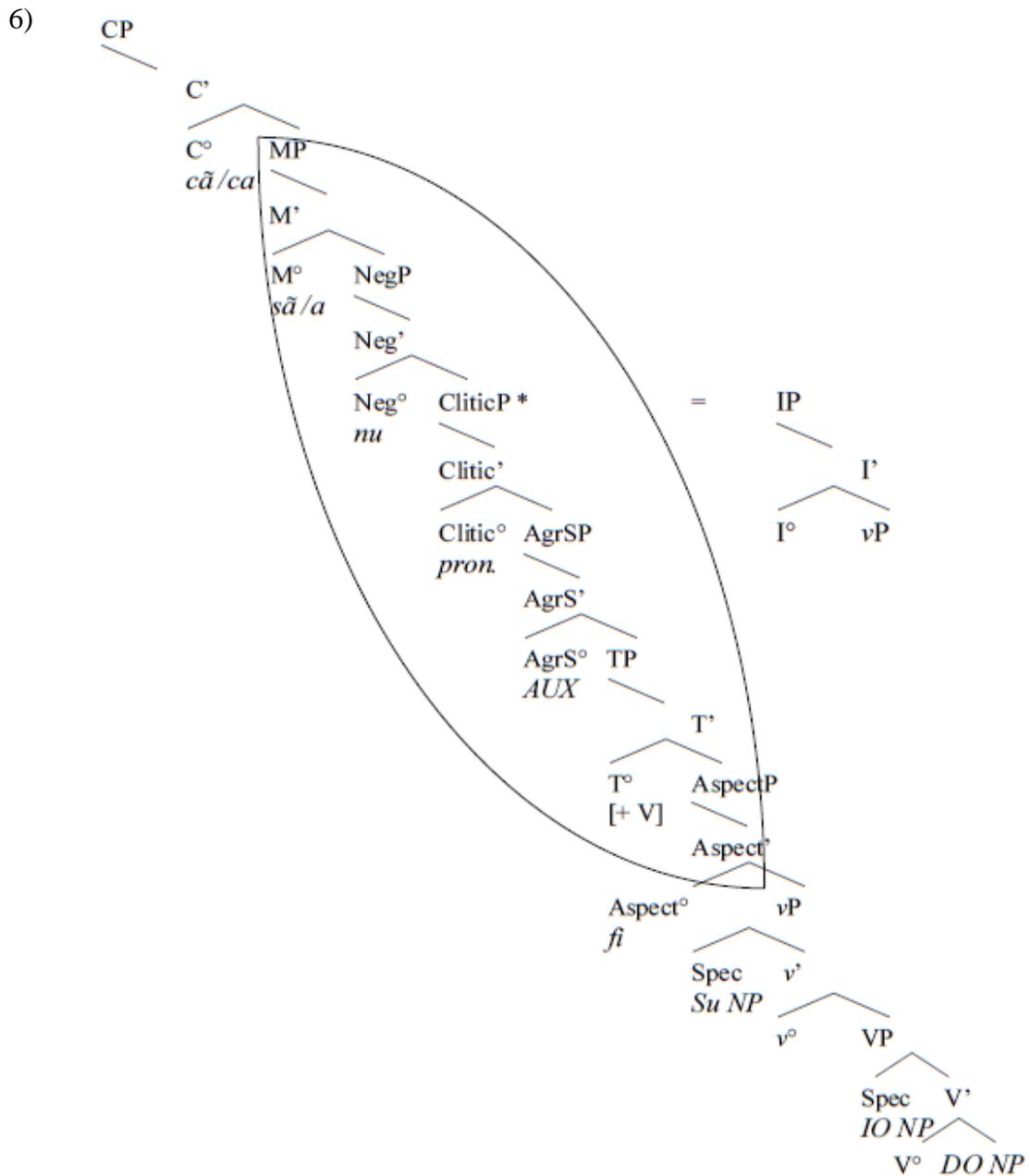
two analyses also diverge on some issues, namely Rivero (1994) considers the Tense+Agreement a single node, while Motapanyane (1995) sees them as two distinct nodes. Moreover, in Rivero's (1994) analysis there's an AuxP projection that isn't present in Motapanyane (1995).

Section 3.1.3 deals with the syntactic representation of the Romanian clause structure as in Alboiu (2002). It is a more detailed representation; therefore I will provide a more detailed overview of this study. I will first focus on the general structure of the clause, showing how the IP is split and the functional projections it is split into. Then I will show, through some examples, how subjunctive clauses fit into this representation.

3.1.3 Alboiu (2002)

The syntactic structure of the Romanian clause as in Alboiu (2002) is the one exemplified below in (6). It is a very detailed representation that mainly focuses on verbal structures, where the IP is shown to split into several functional projections, namely MP, NegP, CliticP, AgrSP, TP and AspectP. It is already clear that Alboiu's (2002) analysis of the IP results in a more detailed map. As in Rivero (1994) and Motapanyane (1995), these functional projections form the architecture of the Romanian clause, but not all of them have to be present in the derivation, their presence depending on the properties of the elements inserted from the lexicon into the derivation.

Let's now focus on the general structure depicted below. IP is used by Alboiu (2002) as an umbrella term for what the Minimalist Program calls TP, because TP is not considered the only significant inflectional projection that enters the build-up of the Romanian clause. However, if we reduce all these functional projections to a single IP/TP node, we obtain a simplified structure where CP, TP, vP and VP are the main projections, as in the Minimalist Program. Since, however, I am trying to account for a position of the subjunctive marker that can explain the variety of mood and modal related meanings it is associated with, Alboiu's (2002) representation suits my purpose of giving a first analysis of the Romanian subjunctive clause.



(Alboiu, 2002: p. 22)

The functional projections that form the IP, as stated at the beginning of this section, are numerous, and they all host clitics (Alboiu, 2002). MP is the Mood Phrase and it hosts the subjunctive marker *sã* (as Rivero (1994) and Motapanyane (1995) claimed too), the infinitive particle *a* and the imperative operator. NegP is the Negative Phrase that hosts the negative item *nu* when this is present. CliticP corresponds to the Clitic Phrase headed by pronominal clitics. This projection is recursive «depending on the number of pronominal clitics present in the derivation» (Alboiu, 2002: p. 23). AgrP stands for the Agreement Phrase which hosts auxiliaries and marks person and number agreement with the subject. TP is the Tense Phrase and is headed

by a strong verbal feature [+V] which attracts the lexical verb out of the VP. AspectP is the Aspect Phrase that hosts the perfective marker *fi* which appears in some complex verbal structure.

All these projections are preceded by the CP, i.e. the Complementizer Phrase hosting complementizers like the one introducing embedded subjunctives, namely *ca*. As far as the projections below the IP are concerned, these are vP and VP. The vP stands for the light verb, which only projects in active voice derivations and whose specifier hosts the subject of the clause (Alboiu, 2002). The VP is the Verb Phrase from where the lexical verb raises to the IP domain and, depending of the properties of the lexical verb, it may require complement NPs (Alboiu, 2002).

I have stated before in this section that Alboiu (2002) considers the material appearing in the IP projections to be clitics. I will show in section 3.2 the syntactic structure, according to Alboiu (2002), of the clitic *să*, which is the element I focus on in this chapter, but it can be useful to understand how Alboiu (2002) analyzes the clitics forming the IP, therefore I will briefly summarize it here. Alboiu (2002) is not the first linguist to analyze the elements forming the verbal complex as clitics. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) and Motapanyane (1995) have also given similar analyses on some of these elements.

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) sees Romanian auxiliaries as clitics, due to some of the properties they show in both monoclausal and biclausal structures, i.e. the impossibility of these auxiliaries to combine with Tense affixes, the necessity of the lexical verbs to raise out of VP even in the presence of an auxiliary or the fact that the auxiliary is not subject to V-second. In other words, the auxiliary must be adjacent to the lexical verb and no other element apart from other clitic elements attached to the verb can separate the auxiliary from the lexical verb. These other clitic elements are usually adverbial clitics, like *mai* ‘again’, *și* ‘already’, *cam* ‘a little’, *prea* ‘too much’, *tot* ‘still’, but other types of clitics are necessarily adjoined to the verb, namely pronominal clitics and what Dobrovie-Sorin (2004) calls clitic conjunctions, i.e. subjunctive *să* and infinitive *a*.

Regarding the short monosyllabic adverbs seen in the previous paragraph, Motapanyane (1995) accounts as well for their clitic behaviour. She suggests that these elements do not project, but are instead inserted in the Specifier position of TP in a structure that resembles a clitic cluster. However, in her analysis of the subjunctive marker *să* and of the infinitive marker *a*, Motapanyane (1995) sees them as free inflectional morphemes that occupy the functional head M (cfr. Section 3.1.2).

Moving back to Alboiu (2002), according to her, the clitics that incorporate into the verb raising to IP, thus forming a verbal complex, are the following: the subjunctive and the infinitive markers (respectively *să* and *a*), negation, auxiliaries, clitic pronouns, and adverbial intensifiers. The main features shared by these elements are the fact that they don't allow separation from their syntactic host by a full phrase and that they present a rigid hierarchy. Alboiu (2002) claims that the clitics forming the Romanian IP are syntactic clitics, i.e. clitics that are requested to attach to a specific syntactic host. She then furtherly develops her analysis by distinguishing between two types of clitics, namely clitic₁ and clitic₂. The former are clitic heads that must adjoin to other heads because they don't project functional phrases, and include short adverbs and the perfective marker *fi*. The latter include pronominal clitics, auxiliaries, the negative marker *nu* 'not', the infinitive marker *a* and, most importantly for our analysis, the subjunctive marker *să*. These clitic heads, unlike clitic₁, project functional phrases.

Once we have seen the overview concerning Alboiu's (2002) analysis of the Romanian clause structure, we can now proceed by better showing how the subjunctive clause fits into this representation. Take as an example the following constructions:

- 7) A. *Maria a cerut ca să citească Ion.*
 Mary have.3SG.PRES asked.PAST.PART C Subj.Mark read.2SG.SUBJ John
 'Mary has asked John to read.'
- B. *Să nu fi făcut cumpărăturile?*
 Subj.Mark not be.PERFECTIVE do.PAST.PART shopping-the.F.SG
 '(Is it possible that) he didn't do the shopping?'

Example (7A) is an embedded subjunctive introduced by the complementizer *ca*, and the linear order of the elements shows that the hierarchical order of the functional projections present in this clause structure is the following:

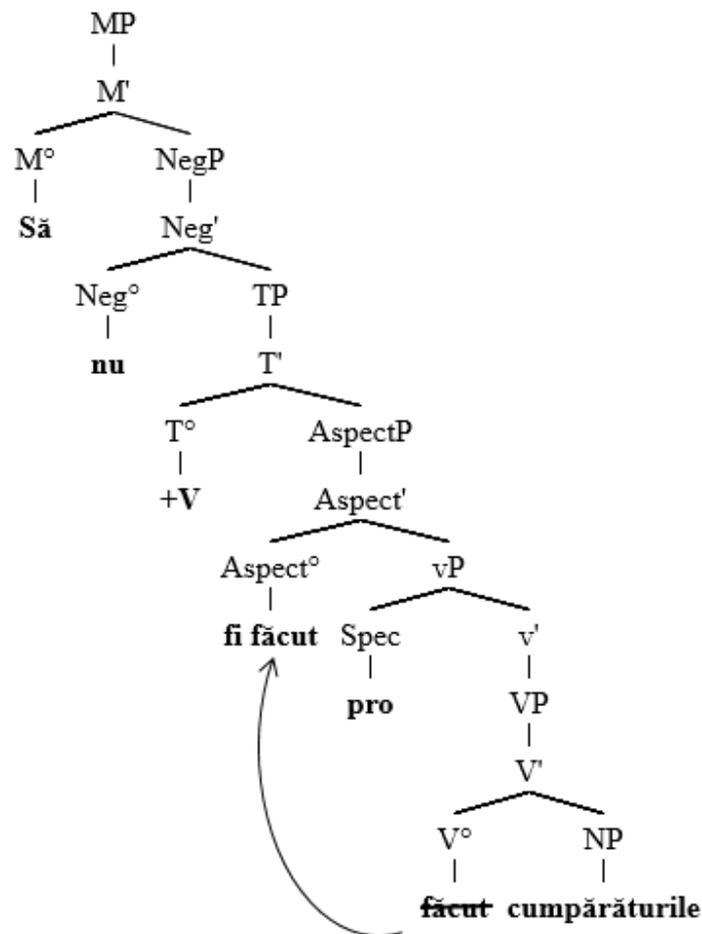
- 8) CP > MP > AgrP/TP > vP > VP

In (8) CP hosts the complementizer, MP the subjunctive marker and AgrP/TP the lexical verb. AgrP and TP are considered here a complex because Alboiu (2002) suggests that in simple structures they don't have to be distinguished since there is no auxiliary occupying AgrP. The lexical verb raises from the VP, while the subject is in Spec, vP. The reason why I've inserted the subject in (7A) at the end of the clause was to show that the unmarked derivation in Romanian is VSO (Alboiu, 2002).

Example (7B) differs a little bit because it consists of a bare subjunctive structure, thus it is not introduced by a complementizer. Moreover, it contains a past subjunctive (vs present

subjunctive in (7A)) formed with the perfective marker *fi*. The syntactic representation of this example is as follows:

9)



Without focusing on the semantic interpretation of the example (7B), let us see how it behaves from the point of view of syntactic distribution. As expected, the subjunctive marker heads the MP, which dominates the NegP, headed by *nu*. In turn, NegP dominates TP, which here is headed by a strong verbal feature [+V] attracting the lexical verb into the IP domain. Aspect° is occupied by the perfective marker together with the lexical verb. The perfective marker, as shown previously in this section, is a clitic belonging to the clitic₁ type, hence it doesn't project a functional phrase. Instead it adjoins to the Aspect head, to which the lexical verb also must adjoin in order to have an AspectP projection. It is in fact the lexical verb the element allowing Aspect° to be projected. The vP is dominated by AspectP and its specifier hosts the subject *pro*. The vP, in turn, dominates the VP which takes a NP as a complement.

To sum up, this section has given an overview of Alboiu's (2002) proposal for the structure of the Romanian clause. It was shown that her approach follows the same pattern as the other two

(Rivero (1994) and Motapanyane (1995)) reviewed in the previous sections, namely splitting the IP into several functional projections that allow a more detailed analysis of the clause structure. The functional projections of the Romanian IP proposed in Alboiu (2002) are MP, NegP, CliticP, AgrSP, TP and AspectP. According to Alboiu (2002), these projections may or may not be present in the derivation depending on the clause that is analyzed and the properties of the elements forming it. In the analysis of the subjunctive clause the most relevant head is M° , which hosts the subjunctive marker *să*. Depending on the properties of the subjunctive clause that is analyzed, the complementizer *ca* that heads CP may or may not be present, and the same holds true for the other functional projections.

In the next sections I will assume that the subjunctive marker doesn't behave like a complementizer (at least as far as Romanian is concerned) and that it is generated in the IP domain.

3.2 Morphological status and syntactic distribution of the Romanian subjunctive marker

At the end of the previous section I have stated that the analysis I will adopt of the Romanian subjunctive marker *să* follows the assumption according to which it is a clitic/affixal-like element generated in the IP domain¹⁰. The first assumption is based on the clitic-like/affixal-like behaviour of said marker, which, as briefly indicated in section 3.1.3, was observed by several linguists who have tackled this topic (cfr. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Motapanyane (1995), Alboiu (2002), Hill (2002), Isac & Jacab (2004), among others). The second assumption is based on the analysis of the Romanian left periphery of the clause and the elements forming it, as well as on the analysis of the IP and the position of *să* with regard to the functional projections that form the inflectional domain.

This section focuses therefore on the syntax of Romanian subjunctives and on the position of the subjunctive marker. It is organized as follows: section 3.2.1 is an overview of previous analyses on the left periphery of the Romanian verb, which allows me to show that the subjunctive marker doesn't appear in the CP domain, hence it is not a complementizer; section 3.2.2 focuses on the reasons why the subjunctive marker should be seen as an IP internal element; lastly, section 3.2.3 is an analysis of the syntactic position of *să* inside the IP, which will be shown by using Cinque's (1999; 2006) hierarchy of functional projections that form the IP.

¹⁰ I personally follow Alboiu's claim, who analyzes the subjunctive marker as a clitic, as shown in section 3.1.3 and as it will be illustrated in section 3.2.2.

head present in I° in the respective derivation” (Alboiu, 2002: p. 323). The position the formal feature [+focus] occupies is related to a verb-adjacency requirement, i.e. no element can appear between focused elements and the verbal complex, as in (11):

- 11) A. *CIORBĂ_i să mănânce Ion t_i nu ciocolată.*
 soup.F.SG Subj.Mark eat.3SG.SUBJ John t_i not chocolate.F.SG
- B. **CIORBĂ_i Ion_j să mănânce t_j t_i nu ciocolată.*
 Soup.F.SG John Subj.Mark eat.3SG.SUBJ t_j t_i not chocolate.F.SG
- ‘SOUP John must eat, not chocolate.’

The structures exemplified above are bare subjunctive clauses containing a corrective focus, hence a fronted focused element. As example (11A) shows, this element is perfectly acceptable when directly adjacent to the verb, which is, as argued previously in this chapter, a complex containing not only the lexical verb, but also a series of clitic elements, in this case the subjunctive marker *să*. However, the structure becomes ungrammatical as soon as another element is inserted between the focus and the verbal complex, as (11B) shows. The same behaviour can be observed in embedded subjunctive structures as well:

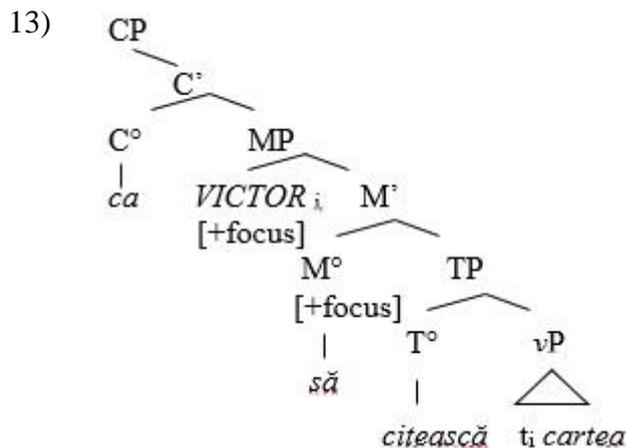
- 12) A. *Maria a cerut ca PAVEL_i să citească t_i*
 Mary have.3SG.PRES ask.PAST.PART C Paul Subj.Mark read.3SG.SUBJ t_i
cartea, nu Ion.
 book-the.F.SG not John
- B. **Maria a cerut ca PAVEL_i cartea_j*
 Mary have.3SG.PRES ask.PAST.PART C Paul book-the.F.SG
să citească ti t_j, nu Ion.
 Subj.Mark read.3SG.SUBJ ti t_j not John
- ‘Mary has asked PAUL to read the book, not John.’

Example (12A) shows that a focused element is possible between the complementizer and the verbal complex forming the subjunctive clause, it is not however acceptable to insert another element between the focus and the subjunctive marker, which is the highest head in this verbal complex.

Furthermore, Alboiu (2002) claims that foci always move to Spec,IP, regardless of the fact that they are pronounced preverbally or in their base position¹¹, which means that the formal feature [+focus], when present, is always at the left periphery of the verbal complex. In particular, in subjunctive structures, the [+focus] feature incorporates onto M°, for, as suggested in Alboiu (2002), it incorporates on the highest verbal functional head present in the derivation. This head

¹¹Constituents undergoing contrastive focus can surface in a preverbal position or in their base position in Romanian, which means that focus movement in Romanian is optional (cfr. Alboiu (2002): section 5.5.1).

is M° in subjunctive clauses. Moreover, the phrase undergoing contrastive focalization acquires a selectional [+focus] P-feature (i.e. peripheral feature) triggering movement of the phrase into Spec,MP. It follows that feature-checking will proceed against M° , which was said to have a [+focus] feature¹² incorporated. The phrase carrying the [+focus] feature undergoes then second merge into Spec,MP. The syntactic representation of the embedded subjunctive structure in (12A) is therefore as follows:



It is evident from the syntactic representation in (13) that, in terms of left periphery and focus, all elements, except for the complementizer *ca*, are inside the IP. The complementizer is the only element appearing in the CP field, while the focused constituent and the subjunctive marker are situated in the left periphery of the IP. Therefore, the sequence *ca...să* covers a section of the syntactic structure that involves both the CP and the IP field. Nonetheless, focus, which in Rizzi's analysis appears in the split CP, in Alboiu's analysis is an element belonging to the left periphery of the IP.

Moving to topicalized elements, they do not show the same restrictions as focused ones, i.e. they are not required to be adjacent to the verbal complex. As far as their position with regard to focus is concerned, topics "may precede [...] focused constituents in any order and in any (processable) amount" (Alboiu, 2002: p. 260). Alboiu (2002) further suggests that topicalized elements, as well as focused elements, do not project their own phrase, but instead scramble to an IP-adjoined position, which leads to recursive IPs in the presence of more than one topic. In the examples in (14) and (15) it is possible to observe how topics¹³ behave:

¹² More specifically, it is a non-selectional formal feature.

¹³ Note that, in Romanian, topicalized indirect and direct object NPs always require a coindexed clitic pronoun.

- 14) A. *Ciorba, Ion să o mănânce.*
 Soup.F.SG John Subj.Mark Cl.F.SG.ACC eat.3SG.SUBJ
 ‘John must eat soup.’
- B. *Maria a cerut ca Pavel, cartea*
 Mary have.3SG.PRES ask.PAST.PART C Paul book-the.F.SG
să o citească.
 Subj.Mark Cl.F.SG.ACC read.3G.SUBJ
 ‘Mary has asked Paul to read the book.’
- 15) A. *Ion, ciorba să o mănânce.*
 John soup.F.SG Subj.Mark Cl.F.SG.ACC eat.3SG.SUBJ
 ‘John must eat soup.’
- B. *Maria a cerut ca cartea, Pavel*
 Mary have.3SG.PRES ask.PAST.PART C book-the.F.SG Paul
să o citească.
 Subj.Mark Cl.F.SG.ACC read.3SG.SUBJ
 ‘Mary has asked Paul to read the book.’

I have employed the same examples used in (11) and (12) in order to show that, when the elements preceding the verbal complex are topics, and none of them has a contrastive focus intonation, they are perfectly acceptable in any order and position. In the previous paragraph I have mentioned that Alboiu (2002) suggests that topics do not project in Romanian. This is related to the fact that topics are not base generated in the left periphery, instead they involve an A-bar movement, where the trace left behind is not a variable, but a pronoun. Alboiu (2002) also claims that, since the topicalized elements in embedded clauses appear below the complementizer, as in (14B) and (15B), these are assumed to occupy a position below C°, hence adjoined to IP. However, if we follow Rizzi & Bocci’s (2017) proposal of an expanded left periphery as in (10), the position of an element below the complementizer does not necessarily imply that this element is adjoined to the IP, unless the complementizer appears in Fin, instead of Force, which is in fact the proposal made by Hill (2002).

Hill (2002) shows that the subjunctive complementizer *ca* may be followed, but not preceded by topicalized and focused elements, as the embedded examples in (12), (14) and (15) show. Let us however further clarify the positions in which these elements (topic, focus and C) may appear:

- 16) A. *Vreau ca florile, Mariei să*
 want.1SG.PRES C flowers-the.F.PL Mary.DAT Subj.Mark
i le dau.
 Cl.F.SG.DAT Cl.F.PL.ACC give.1SG.PRES

- B. *Vreau ca florile MARIEI să*
 want.1SG.PRES C flowers-the.F.PL Mary.DAT Subj.Mark
i le dau.
 Cl.F.SG.DAT Cl.F.PL.ACC give.1SG.PRES
- C. **Vreau ca MARIEI florile să*
 want.1SG.PRES C Mary.DAT flowers-the.F.PL Subj.Mark
i le dau.
 Cl.F.SG.DAT Cl.S.PL.ACC give.1SG.PRES
- ‘I want to give the flowers to Mary.’

In (16A) the word order shows that the complementizer precedes the topicalized elements, which are followed by the subjunctive marker. In (16B) there is a topicalized element, *florile* ‘the flowers’, which is preceded by the complementizer and followed by a focus, which in turn is followed by the subjunctive marker. Example (16C) is ungrammatical because the order of the elements is complementizer > focus > topic > subjunctive marker. As stated before in this section, foci cannot be followed by elements other than the verbal complex, and (15C) doesn’t meet this condition because of the presence of a topic between the focus and the subjunctive marker.

Assuming that the already cited hierarchy (10) of the functional projections that form the CP domain applies to Romanian as well, the complementizer *ca* would be the head of ForceP. However, as Hill (2002) points out, the situation is more complex than it seems. Romanian possesses different [-qu] complementizers, which include the subjunctive one. These complementizers are used in different verbal structures and compete for the same position within the CP, i.e. FinP, as suggested in Hill (2002). The author claims that, since these complementizers appear in a hierarchically lower position with regard to relatives and *wh*-elements, they must occupy the Fin head. Moreover, the complementizer *de*, a FinP element in Romance languages, is one of the elements analyzed in Hill (2002), and it is shown to compete for the same position as the other complementizers.

Hill & Tomić (2009) re-examined the CP field of subjunctive complements in Balkan languages. In their analysis the subjunctive complementizer in Standard Romanian is located in ForceP. They claim that an articulated left periphery is possible in Romanian when triggered by elements such as the complementizer *ca*. Since this is located in ForceP and since the complexity of the CP as shown in (10) also applies to Romanian in such cases, fronted Topics appear in the CP domain. Nevertheless, even when the complementizer is not considered to appear in FinP, the subjunctive marker is analyzed as spelling-out a Mood Phrase which is part of the IP (Hill & Tomić, 2009).

Hill & Tomić (2009) do not take an overt position as far as the proposal in Alboiu (2002) is concerned. They acknowledge the fact that the IP may satisfy the scope requirements of topics and foci, therefore, the presence of topicalized or focused elements doesn't necessary justify the presence of an articulated CP field, which is only justified by the presence of other elements specific to this field, e.g. complementizers. The article analyzes the subjunctive complementizer *ca* as an element which lexicalizes ForceP, thus triggering an articulated CP field where topics and foci occur. As far as the subjunctive marker is concerned, they don't analyze it in FinP, but in a MoodP located inside the IP. They justify this position by using compound future forms as an evidence. They claim that these are monoclausal structures that "may occur under V selection, lower than all the elements of an articulated CP field" ((Hill & Tomić, 2009: p. 199):

17) *O să -l facă de o să umble la bani.*
 has Subj.M him make of has Subj touch at money
 'S/he'll make him touch the savings.' (Hill & Tomić, 2009: p. 200)

With the example in (17) they show that compound future forms occur lower than the complementizer *de*, a FinP complementizer in Romance languages. Therefore, in this analysis, the subjunctive marker appears lower than FinP, i.e. in the inflectional domain. I believe, however, that since these structures are monoclausal, they cannot account for the real position of the subjunctive marker, as they behave differently compared to embedded subjunctives which haven't undergone any diachronic linguistic process that "crystallized" their position into a phrase, or compared to root subjunctive structures.

On the other hand, in this analysis the subjunctive complementizer *ca* appears in ForceP. The authors arrive to this conclusion because of the position of topicalized elements and the complementary distribution of *wh*-words. More specifically, they show that topicalized elements can only follow the complementizer and that *ca* is in complementary distribution with *wh*-words which are said to occupy ForceP. However, as Hill (2002) pointed out, this Romanian complementizer is also in complementary distribution with the complementizer *că*, generally used in indicative clauses, and the already introduced complementizer *de*. The latter was said to occupy a Fin position in Romance languages, which induces an analysis of the other complementizers in the same position as well. Moreover, Alboiu's (2002) extended analysis has shown that topicalized elements are situated in the left periphery of the IP.

To sum-up this section, it was shown that focused and topicalized elements appear at the left-periphery of the verbal complex and Alboiu (2002) suggests that topics and contrastive focus are not heads of a TopicP and a FocusP, instead the former scrambles to an IP adjoined position, while the latter is a formal feature moving to Spec,IP. In this analysis, the left periphery of the

Romanian clause differs from the articulated one proposed in Rizzi & Bocci (2017) in that it is IP related instead of CP related. On the other hand, Hill & Tomić (2009), without refuting Alboiu's (2002) analysis, suggest that topics and foci actually appear in the CP domain, the latter being triggered by elements specific to this field, e.g. the subjunctive complementizer in subjunctive complements. In this analysis, *ca* is claimed to occupy ForceP. However, the subjunctive marker, although it might seem to be a FinP element, is analyzed as IP internal. It is said to occupy a Mood Phrase because of the position of future structures with regard to CP and IP related elements. I believe this to be an insufficient prove of the position of *să* inside the IP. Instead, if we assume that the CP field of the Romanian clause is an articulated one and contains ForceP complementizers and topicalized and focused elements, the subjunctive marker could in principle be analyzed as FinP. This is the proposal made, for instance, in Krapova (1998) for Bulgarian and in Roussou (2000) for Modern Greek, as it will be better shown in chapter 5. The former analyzes the subjunctive marker in FinP, and suggests that the verb moves and adjoins to the subjunctive marker in the CP. The latter suggests that the subjunctive marker is base generated in the C head related to modality, and then moves up to occupy the C head related to clause-typing (cfr. chapter 5).

Whether the left periphery of the Romanian clause is reduced, as in Alboiu (2002) or in Hill (2002), which forces an analysis of the subjunctive marker as an IP-internal element, or it is a detailed one, as in Hill & Tomić (2009), where the subjunctive marker, despite being analyzed as an IP element, rather seems to me to occupy FinP, I follow the line of inquiry that considers *să* a functional morpheme belonging to the inflectional domain. The next sections will furtherly show that the subjunctive marker is in fact to be analyzed inside IP, and not as a complementizer appearing in CP.

3.2.2 Arguments in favour of an IP-internal position of *să*

The previous section has dealt with the position of the subjunctive marker between the CP and the IP, concluding that it appears inside one of the functional projections of the IP. This section discusses other claims, beside the ones exposed in section 3.2.1, that argue in favour of an IP internal position of the subjunctive marker.

Bîlbîie and Mardale (2018) analyze the affixal properties¹⁴ of *să* by showing its strict adjacency to the verb and thus going against traditional grammars listing this marker among the complementizers. The study shows the contrasts between Romanian complementizers and the

¹⁴ Although the authors employ the term *affix* it should be underlined once more that *să* behaves more like a clitic. Indeed, it is possible to insert other clitic elements between the subjunctive marker and the verb, namely clitic adverbs and/or negation.

subjunctive marker by analysing the different syntactic distributions of these elements. In particular, it is shown that *să* can co-occur with other complementizers, such as the already introduced *ca*, *dacă* ‘if’ (18A), or with relative introducers, such as *care* ‘who/which/that’ (18B).

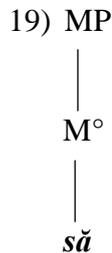
- 18) A. *Mă întreb dacă să vin.*
 refl wonder.1SG.PRES if Subj.Mark come.1SG.PRES
 ‘I wonder whether I should come.’ (Bîlbîie & Mardale, 2009)
- B. *Vreau un telefon care să facă*
 want.1SG.PRES a.M.SG telephone.M.SG that Subj.Mark do.3SG.SUBJ
poze.
 pictures.F.PL
 ‘I want a telephone that takes pictures.’

The study then highlights two other features of the subjunctive marker, i.e. its high degree of selection with regard to its host, and the absence of a wide scope over coordination. The former refers to the property according to which *să* can only select subjunctive mood/present tense verbs, while complementizers such as *că* or *dacă* can select a certain number of moods and/or tenses. This means that *să* is strictly bound to the verb. Furthermore, it needs a host, i.e. the verb. The second feature listed above refers to the fact that, in coordinated structures, *să* must be repeated before each coordinated verb displaying subjunctive properties. The same cannot be said of complementizers, which possess a wider scope over coordination, hence don’t have to be repeated before each verb.

Furthermore, Rivero (1994) claims that the IP internal position of the Romanian subjunctive marker, which is said to appear in a MP projection in the high portion of the IP field, is also justified by its effect on Long Head Movement (LHM). LHM is a type of head movement which characterizes Balkan languages. It “raises the non-finite V from its position in VP to C, skipping over the intermediate finite Aux” (Rivero, 1994: p. 65). The Romanian subjunctive marker blocks the non-finite verb from raising to C, which is the same effect made by other modal elements, such as the Bulgarian future marker *ște*, or by other functional projections, for example negation. This behaviour, according to Rivero (1994), is a further proof of the position of modal particles, e.g. *să*, in an M° projection heading MP.

All these properties indicate that the subjunctive marker is not to be analyzed as a complementizer, moreover, they show how it is always bound to the verb, both morphologically and syntactically. As mentioned in this section and in section 3.1.3, it is often assumed that *să* is either a morpheme/affix, or a clitic. Alboiu (2002), for instance, adopts the second definition, and analyzes the subjunctive marker as a syntactic clitic, labelled as ‘clitic₂’. She follows

Chomsky's (1995) definition of clitics as both X° and XP elements, and assumes that it occupies the head M° and that it always forms a maximal category MP, which, however, lacks the specifier position. Her syntactic representation of this projection is as follows:



The behaviour of the subjunctive marker exposed so far in this section indicates two main properties: it is not a complementizer and it requires a subjunctive verbal host to which it must be adjacent (except for other clitic elements). As stated in note 2, in the introduction to this section, following Alboiu (2002), I consider the subjunctive marker a syntactic clitic, however, what mostly counts for the analysis presented in this section is the fact that the subjunctive marker is syntactically bound to its verbal host, whose position is inside the IP.

There are other reasons to believe that the subjunctive marker is an IP internal element. Sočanac (2017), for instance, points out that, since it may occur in matrix clauses, the subjunctive marker cannot be considered a complementizer, for “the primary function of Comps is to turn an independent clause into a depended embedded complement” (Sočanac 2017: p. 109). This means that the properties of the subjunctive marker don't correspond to those of a complementizer.

To sum up, whether it is analyzed as an affix or a clitic, it is clear that the syntactic distribution and the morphological status of *să* differ from those shown by complementizers, therefore I will adopt the line of inquiry that analyzes the subjunctive marker as an IP internal element, rather than a CP element. Moreover, it was shown that this element can bare either subjunctive mood features or irrealis modal meanings. The mood vs modal characteristics of the subjunctive marker will be explored in the next section, where I will use Cinque's (1999; 2006) hierarchy of functional projections to show its position inside the split IP projection.

3.2.3 Syntactic position inside the IP

In section 3.1 I have briefly illustrated that a great number of linguists have accounted for the existence of multiple functional projections entering the build-up of the clause. Furthermore, in the subsequent sections I have shown how different authors have analyzed the structure of the Romanian clause by suggesting the existence and the relative order of a number of functional

projections. Although the three representations exposed in sections 3.1.1, 3.1.2, and 3.1.3 are able to capture the Romanian overall clause structure, especially the one in Alboiu (2002), I believe they do not fully account for the syntactic-semantic relationship in the structures I am analysing in this thesis: root subjunctive clauses.

In a highly relevant study on this topic, Cinque (1999) argues in favour of the existence of a given number of functional projections of the clause ordered in a fixed universal hierarchy. In order to account for the latter, he firstly establishes a hierarchy of the different classes of AdvPs, after which he establishes the hierarchy of the functional heads of the clause by analysing the order of functional morphemes across languages. Finally, he shows the the Spec-head relationship between AdvPs and functional morphemes, where AdvPs are located in a unique Spec position of a distinct maximal projection, whose head hosts the related functional morpheme or verb. I will analyze the Romanian subjunctive marker in the light of the hierarchy proposed in Cinque (1999) and amplified in Cinque (2006):

- 20) A. [*frankly* Mood_{speech act} [*fortunately* Mood_{evaluative} [*allegedly* Mood_{evidential} [*probably* Mod_{epistemic} [*once* T(Past) [*then* T(Future) [*perhaps* Mood_{irrealis} [*necessarily* Mod_{necessity} [*possibly* Mod_{possibility} [***usually* Asp_{habitual}** [***again* Asp_{repetitive(I)}** [***often* Asp_{frequentative(I)}** [***intentionally* Mod_{volitional}** [***quickly* Asp_{celerative(I)}** [***already* T(Anterior)** [***no longer* Asp_{terminative}** [***still* Asp_{continuative}** [***always* Asp_{perfect(?)}** [***just* Asp_{retrospective}** [***soon* Asp_{proximative}** [***briefly* Asp_{durative}** [***characteristically* (?) Asp_{generic/progressive}** [***almost* Asp_{prospective}** [***completely* Asp_{SgCompletive(I)}** [***tutto* Asp_{PICompletive}** [***well* Voice** [***fast/early* Asp_{celerative(II)}** [***again* Asp_{repetitive(II)}** [***often* Asp_{frequentative(II)}** [***completely* Asp_{SgCompletive(II)}**

(The universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections as in Cinque (1999): p. 106)

- B. .. Asp_{habitual} > Asp_{delayed} (or 'finally') > Asp_{predispositional} > Asp_{repetitive(I)} > Asp_{frequentative(I)} > Mod_{volition} > Asp_{celerative (I)} > Asp_{terminative} > Asp_{continuative} > Asp_{perfect} > Asp_{retrospective} > Asp_{proximative} > Asp_{durative} > Asp_{progressive} > Asp_{prospective} > Asp_{inceptive} > Mod_{obligation} > Mod_{ability} > Asp_{frustrative/success} > Mod_{permission} > Asp_{conative} > Asp_{completive (I)} > Voice > Asp_{celerative (II)} > Asp_{inceptive (II)} > Asp_{completive (II)} > Asp_{repetitive (II)} > Asp_{frequentative (II)} ...

(The revised portion of the universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections as in Cinque (2006): p. 93)

The structure in (20a) gives Cinque's (1999; 2006) hierarchy of the functional projections of the clause. More specifically, (20A) is a representation of said hierarchy as in Cinque (1999), while (20B) is the representation of a revised portion of the hierarchy in (20A), namely of the portion in bold letters.

Before focusing on the position of the subjunctive marker, I will first attempt to analyze in which portion of the hierarchy in (20) lands the finite verb in Romanian clauses. It was previously shown that the finite verb in Romanian raises into the IP domain, therefore I will test the position of the verb in unmarked clauses with regard to the hierarchy of the adverbs proposed in (20). Schifano (2014) argues that the ordering V-Adv is generally perceived as the default word order. The tests carried out in the article show that the verb precedes even high adverbs such as *probabil* ‘probably’, *de obicei* ‘usually’, *înadins* ‘intentionally’. This leads the author to the conclusion that the Romanian finite verb, at least the present indicative, targets the highest field of the IP domain. I agree with such conclusion, although I would place the verb in a slightly lower position. Schifano (2014) claims that, although both the preverbal and the postverbal positions of *probabil* are acceptable, only the postverbal one is unmarked, despite the acceptability of the other position in structures pronounced with a flat intonation. I personally believe that the preverbal position of this adverb can be perceived as unmarked, a characteristic which is furtherly enhanced by the flat intonation:

21) *Probabil primește mai multe jucării.*
 probably receive.3SG.PRES much more toy.F.PL
 ‘He/she probably receives more toys.’

As the example in (21) shows, the adverb *probabil* precedes the verb. I therefore suggest that, in this case, the unmarked order is Adv-V. This means that the lexical verb could in principle land in a position lower than the projection $\text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}}$.

Let us now verify which is the position of the verb with regard to the adverb *poate* ‘perhaps’:

22) *Poate citește noua lui carte.*
 perhaps read.3SG.PRES new-the.F.SG his book.F.SG
 ‘Perhaps he’s reading his new book.’

I consider the adverb *poate* to surface preverbally in unmarked structures as well. What the position of the verb in relation to these adverbs shows, is that the lexical finite verb surfaces in a position lower than these adverbs, the order being the following: $\text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{irrealis}} > \text{V}$.

Where does the verb surface, however, with regard to the adverb *neapărat* ‘necessarily’? Example (23) shows its position:

23) *Îi îndeplinește neapărat dorințele.*
 pron.Cl.3SG.DAT fulfil.3SG.PRES necessarily desire-the.F.PL
 ‘He/she necessarily fulfils his/her desires.’

Example (23) clearly shows that the unmarked word order is here V-Adv. I therefore derive that the lexical verb surfaces in a position higher than $\text{Mod}_{\text{necessity}}$. However, it was said in the previous section that in Romanian we usually refer to a verbal complex containing a series of clitic elements: clitic auxiliaries, clitic pronouns, negation. Does the word order showed in examples (21) to (23) hold in the presence of a more articulated verbal complex? I believe it does:

- 24) A. *Probabil nu va merge la cinema.*
 probably NEG will go.3SG.PRES to cinema.N.SG
 ‘He/she probably won’t go to the cinema.’
- B. *Poate o fi mâncat și el pizza.*
 perhaps AUX.PRESUMPT be.PERFECTIVE eat.PAST.PART too he.NOM
 pizza
 ‘Perhaps he has eaten pizza too.’
- C. *Poate nu au vorbit neapărat despre Ion.*
 perhaps NEG have.3PL.PRES talk.PAST.PART necessarily about John
 ‘Perhaps they haven’t necessarily talked about John.’

Example (24) shows that the verbal complex follows adverbs such as *probabil* and *poate*, but it precedes the adverb *neapărat*. Example (24C) employs two of the three analyzed adverbs, and it clearly shows the word order *poate* > V > *neapărat*, where V is the verbal complex.

This induces me to suggest that the verbal complex in Romanian targets the highest portion of Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy. In Cinque (1999) it is assumed that the adverbs are in a fixed position in the specifier of each functional projection they are related to, and the verb moves through head positions. According to this assumption, the Romanian verbal complex moves through these positions. Therefore, the verbal complex can surface in the head of the $\text{Mood}_{\text{irrealis}}$ maximal projection, as well as in the heads of all higher functional projections. It cannot however lexicalize the heads of the functional projections below, as its position with regard to the adverb in $\text{Mod}_{\text{necessity}}$ shows. This means that the Romanian verbal complex moves to the portion of the hierarchy in (20) that roughly corresponds to the functional projections related to Mood and T. The element triggering these positions is the lexical verb, which was shown, in the previous sections, to raise out of VP. However, since the other elements forming the verbal complex are all clitics, I tentatively suggest that they are carried along with their host. These clitic elements are supposedly base generated in other functional projections in the IP domain and are subsequently carried along by the lexical verb to the higher functional projections it triggers. I won’t investigate the positions where these clitics are generated, for it is sufficient for the current analysis to postulate the latter assumption.

Let us now see which is the position of the adverbs mentioned above when the subjunctive marker is present:

- 25) A. *Să mergem neapărat la doctor.*
 Subj.Mark go.1PL.PRES necessarily to doctor.M.SG
 ‘We must necessarily go to the doctor.’
- B. *Poate¹⁵ să fi rămas acasă.*
 perhaps Subj.Mark be.PERFECTIVE stay.PAST.PART home
 ‘Perhaps he/she stayed at home.’

Example (25) shows that the pattern analyzed in the previous examples also holds true in the presence of the subjunctive marker, with the adverb in the specifier position of Mood_{irrealis} preceding it, and the adverb in the specifier position of Mod_{necessity} following it. In the previous sections the subjunctive marker was analyzed as a clitic element which lexicalizes the head M^o of a maximal projection MP. This projection was said to be located in the inflectional domain. Hence, the subjunctive marker must necessarily be generated in one of the functional heads in the hierarchy in (20). The examples in (25) illustrate that *să* always precedes the adverb in Mod_{necessity}. Moreover, this element is employed in both matrix and embedded clauses in order to express either mood or modal-related meanings, or tense (cfr. section 2.2). This justifies its position in the portion of the hierarchy encoding mood and tense. More specifically, since the subjunctive marker cannot surface lower than Mod_{necessity} and considering that subjunctive mood is generally associated with *irrealis* mood, I tentatively suggest that *să* is base generated in Mood_{irrealis}. The verbal complex, when moving to the portion of the hierarchy triggered by the lexical verb, merges into the Mood_{irrealis} head where the subjunctive marker is located. From here, the whole verbal complex may move in the other heads of this portion of the hierarchy, if required, for instance, by the presence of related adverbs:

- 26) A. *Parcă să fi sărac este o vină în lumea asta.*
 seems that Subj.Mark be.2SG.SUBJ poor.M.SG be.3SG.PRES a guilt.F.SG in world-the.F.SG this
 ‘It seems that being poor is a guilt in this world.’
- B. *Probabil să rămână încă o noapte la Londra.*
 probably Subj.Mark stay.3SG.SUBJ more one night in London
 ‘He/she might probably stay one more night in London.’

¹⁵ The adverb *poate* here shouldn’t be confused with the homophonous verb *poate*, which is the 3rd person singular form of the present tense of the verb *a putea* ‘can’.

Examples in (26) show that the verbal complex raises into the heads of higher functional projections in the presence of adverbs lexicalizing the specifier positions of these projections. In particular, it raises in $\text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}}$ in the case of (26B) and in $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$ in the case of (26A). It must also be observed that, in the absence of these adverbs, the epistemic meaning in (26B) and the evidential meaning in (26A) are not conveyed. The next section takes a better look at how the different modal meanings can be expressed either through the subjunctive marker, hence through the very subjunctive structure, or in other ways.

3.2.3.1 *Să* and its modal meanings

Romanian subjunctives in root clauses were shown to express a variety of mood and modal related meanings. They will be analyzed more thoroughly in chapter 4, I however need to introduce them here to show how syntax and semantics interact in order to convey these meanings. The most analyzed and probably the most frequent employment of subjunctive structures in main clauses is related to root modality:

- 27) A. *Să ne întoarcem acasă.*
 Subj.Mark us.ACC return.1PL.PRES home.F.SG
 ‘Let’s get back home.’
- B. *Să începeți munca la ora 9.*
 Subj.Mark start.2PL.PRES work-the.F.SG at hour-the.F.SG 9
 ‘You have to start work at 9 o’clock.’
- C. *Să trăiți fericiți!*
 Subj.Mark live.2PL.PRES happy.M.PL
 ‘May you live happily!’

Examples in (27) show that root structures containing the subjunctive marker can express, i.a., volitive modality (27A), obligation (27B), optative modality (27C), a subclass of volition.

Root subjunctives can also be used to convey presumptivity (28A) and even evidentiality (28B):

- 28) A. *Să fie deja întuneric?*
 Subj.Mark be.3SG.SUBJ already dark
 ‘Could it already be dark?’
- B. *Să fie vreo cinci mere în coș.*
 Subj.Mark be.3SG.SUBJ approximatively five apples.N.PL in basket.M.SG
 ‘There seem to be approximatively five apples in the basket.’

Example (28A) bears a presumptive meaning with a flavour of mirativity, while example (28B) possesses an evidential-inferential meaning. Both structures can be replaced by the presumptive mood, which is a grammatical mood in Romanian:

29) A. *O fi deja întuneric?*
 AUX.PRESUMPT be.INF already dark
 ‘Could it already be dark?’

B. *Or fi (vreo) cinci mere în coş.*
 AUX.PRESUMPT be.INF (approximately) five apples.N.PL in basket.M.SG
 ‘There seem to be (approximately) five apples in the basket.’

It shouldn’t come as a surprise that the presumptive mood can replace the subjunctive mood in certain structures. These are clauses conveying an *irrealis* modal meaning, to which we can link both moods.

I have previously suggested that *să* lexicalizes the Mood_{irrealis} head. Cinque (1999, p. 88), citing Sadock and Zwicky (1985, p. 168) who use the definition for a related mood attested in Hidatsa, defines *Irrealis* Mood as a mood “used when the speaker doesn’t know if the proposition is true and doesn’t think the addressee knows either”. However, the variety of mood and modal related meanings conveyed by the subjunctive marker cannot fully match this definition, and although it justifies the position of *să* in certain contexts, the definition leaves out the deontic/root related meanings, as in (27). Furthermore, this definition does not fit the meaning of the adverb *perhaps* as its primary exponent. Cinque (1999) shows that it can co-occur with the epistemic adverb *probably* and that, unlike the latter, it can occur in interrogative clauses. This means that it doesn’t belong to the same class of epistemic adverbs and Cinque (1999) “tentatively suggest[s] that the adverb corresponds to *Irrealis* Mood” (Cinque 1999: p. 88).

Keeping this in mind, I try to suggest that, regarding the modal meanings expressed through subjunctive morphology in Romanian, there are other factors involved. For example, when an *irrealis* presumptive-related meaning is conveyed, it is not the subjunctive particle alone that provides the meaning. Mihoc (2012) proposes that structures like the one in (28B), i.e. structures conveying an evidential meaning, require external markers of evidentiality, in this case the indefinite quantifier *vreo*. In example (29B) I put this element into brackets to show that the presumptive mood, instead, can convey an evidential-related meaning without any “help”. Giorgi and Pianesi (1997: p. 194-195), when comparing indicative mood and subjunctive mood in matrix clauses, argue that “the subjunctive appears in matrix clauses only if they have a special illocutionary force, such as optatives”. In the spirit of this assertion, I propose that, in the absence of a lexical item that enhances the modal meaning of the clause expressed through subjunctive morphology, the illocutionary force will provide it. Therefore, in sentences like those in example (27), the root modality, be it volition, obligation, or permission, is expressed through subjunctive morphology inserted in a matrix clause bearing a specific illocutionary force, which is related to the modal meaning expressed by the clause. In

the terms of Rizzi & Bocci (2017), the illocutionary force is expressed by the highest functional projection of the CP domain: ForceP. Let us now see, through a series of examples, how lexical elements and illocutionary force contribute to the various mood and modal related meanings of root subjunctive structures:

- 30) A. *Unde să meargă oare?*
 where Subj.Mark go.3SG.SUBJ possibly
 ‘Where could he/she possibly go?’
- B. *Să fie în jur de doi litri.*
 Subj.Mark be.3SG.SUBJ around two litres.M.PL
 ‘There seem to be around two litres.’
- C. *Să mâncați neapărat toată mâncarea!*
 Subj.Mark eat.2PL.PRES necessarily all.F.SG food-the.F.SG
 ‘You must absolutely eat all the food!’
- D. *Hai să facem temele!*
 PRT Subj.Mark do.1SG.PRES homework-the.F.PL
 ‘Let’s do the homework!’
- 31) A. *Să vă întoarceți înainte de ora zece!*
 Subj.Mark refl.2PL return.2PL.PRES before of hour-the.F.SG ten
 ‘You must come back before ten o’clock!’
- B. *Să fi plecat de acasă?*
 Subj.Mark be.PREFECTIVE leave.PAST.PART from home.F.SG
 ‘Could he/she possibly have left home?’
- C. *Cine să conducă mașina?*
 who Subj.Mark drive.3SG.SUBJ car-the.F.SG
 ‘Who should be driving the car?’
- D. *Să ne revedem cu bine!*
 Subj.Mark refl.1PL see.1PL.PRES with good
 Lit: ‘May we meet again safely!’

Examples in (30) express modal meanings through the subjunctive morphology and the presence of other lexical items, which are written in bold letters, while examples in (28) express these meanings by means of subjunctive structures and different illocutionary forces.

More specifically, examples in (30) recur to adverbial elements bearing various meanings. In (30A), the adverb *oare* can either correspond to certain uses of the English adverb ‘possibly’, or, instead, the whole structure can be paraphrased as ‘I wonder where he/she is going’. The adverb *oare* enhances the *irrealis* modal meaning, which is weaker if expressed only through subjunctive morphology. Example (30B) is very similar to example (28B): the adverbial expression *în jur de* ‘around’ contributes to the evidential meaning, which would not be conveyed otherwise. While example (30A) would still maintain its *irrealis* flavour even without

the adverb, example (30B) completely depends on the adverbial phrase to express evidential modality. The sentence in (30C) is an example of root modality, more specifically obligation. This modal meaning is conveyed not only through the subjunctive structure, but also through the adverb *neapărat*. Example (30D), instead of an adverb, uses the invariant particle *hai* to enhance the cohortative meaning of the structure. The general assumption which can be derived from the examples in (30) is that, in order to convey certain modal meanings, verbs with subjunctive morphology in matrix clauses need a modal operator or an operator-like element which either enhances the modal meaning or fully conveys it. It must be however noted that only example (30B) loses its evidential meaning in the absence of the adverbial phrase. This means that most of the modal meanings in (30) are conveyed by the illocutionary force triggering interpretation, and that the adverbial elements enhance them, rarely contributing to the whole meaning conveyed by the structure. The head Mood_{irrealis}, on the other hand, is responsible for a limited number of modal-related meanings.

Examples in (31) don't possess the same characteristics of those in (30), for the modal meanings are not conveyed through some lexical element. Instead, it is only the illocutionary force that contributes to their expression. The structure in (31A) is an example of obligation, whose meaning might be conveyed through an imperative illocutionary force. On the contrary, I suggest that the *irrealis* modality expressed in example (31B) is conveyed through the subjunctive morphology, i.e. the subjunctive marker, a characteristic which also explains its position in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy. Out of the blue, example (31C) is very similar to the previous one. It possesses an *irrealis* modal meaning that could be paraphrased as 'I wonder who is driving the car'. The explanation given for (31B) also works for (31C)¹⁶. The last example (31D) conveys an optative meaning, which, as argued by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), is given by a special illocutionary force.

This section has shown that subjunctive structures alone cannot convey the variety of modal meanings they are related to, for the subjunctive marker alone, and its position in the IP field, do not fully account for them. Instead, in most cases, these clauses need a special illocutionary force, which can occasionally be reinforced by modal operators or adverbial elements. Therefore, it can be concluded that subjunctive morphology is underspecified for some of these modal meanings, so it needs a special illocutionary force in order to convey it, or, in less frequent cases, some adverbial elements (cfr. examples (26) and (28B)).

¹⁶ The same structure could be used, in certain contexts, as a rhetoric question, but this implies further pragmatic issues which I won't investigate here.

Summing-up, the last two sections have tried to account for a precise position of the subjunctive marker inside the IP domain. In order to do so, I have used Cinque's (1999) hierarchy of functional projections and I have suggested, by testing its position with regard to a number of adverbs, that *să* should be placed in the Mood_{irrealis} head. This would account for its position on the leftmost position of the verbal complex, as well as for some of the modal meanings it conveys. As far as other modal meanings are concerned, I suggested that they are mostly conveyed through the illocutionary force.

3.3 Conclusions

This chapter has dealt with the analysis of the subjunctive marker and its position inside the inflectional domain.

The first section has shown how the Romanian clause can be analyzed through a series of functional projections that together form the IP. Although the studies presented diverge on some points, they all share the same assumption according to which the IP node should be split into other projections whose function is to fully account for the syntactic positions and operations that characterize the Romanian clause. I have reviewed three works that address this topic, namely Rivero (1994), Motapanyane (1995) and Alboiu (2002). They propose different numbers and sometimes typologies of functional projections, but they converge on some of these. For instance, they all consider the MP to be one of the highest projections into the IP domain: Motapanyane (1995) and Alboiu (2002) see it as the highest projection, while Rivero (1994) consider it the second highest projection that can be dominated by NegP when this is present. The MP is the projection that mostly interests the purpose of this dissertation, for it is headed, in these syntactic representations, by the subjunctive marker *să*. In this respect, I shall point out one evident fact: in all three studies MP is analyzed as a functional projection of the inflectional domain. This means that the subjunctive marker is not seen as a complementizer, instead it is generated inside the IP in a position of adjacency to the verb that can only be interrupted by clitic-like elements.

I have further introduced Rizzi & Bocci's (2017) hierarchy of functional projection in the left periphery of the clause, and I have briefly compared it to some analyses (Alboiu (2002), Hill (2002), Hill & Tomić (2009)) regarding this topic, more specifically the build-up of the left periphery of the Romanian clause. Alboiu (2002) and Hill (2002) argue in favour of a reduced CP field, the former analysing topics and foci in the left periphery of the IP domain, and the latter suggesting that complementizers should be analyzed as FinP elements. Hill & Tomić (2009), on the other hand, suggest that Romanian possesses an articulated CP field, although it

has to be triggered by specific elements, e.g. complementizers. In their analysis topicalized and focused elements are CP related, and the subjunctive complementizer is analyzed inside the outermost functional projection of the left periphery: ForceP. Hill & Tomić (2009) however claim that the subjunctive marker should still be considered an IP element, because future monoclausal structures containing it appear under all elements of the CP field and, most of all, appear inside the IP. I have pointed out that, despite the behaviour shown by these structures, the subjunctive marker could still be considered a FinP element. However, in the subsequent section I have shown that, no matter which claim one sticks to (whether the one that considers the CP field to be reduced or the one that analyzes it as in Rizzi & Bocci (2017)), the subjunctive marker must be analyzed inside the inflectional domain.

Following this line of inquiry, I have attempted an analysis of the subjunctive marker inside the hierarchy of functional projections suggested in Cinque (1999). I have tested the position of the finite verb and of the verbal complex with regard to the adverbs occupying the specifier positions of these projections, showing that the lexical verb triggers the highest portion of the hierarchy, in particular the one encoding the mood and tense functional projections. I suggested that the lexical verb, when raising into this portion of the inflectional field, carries along the clitic elements forming the verbal complex, elements which are base generated inside the IP. As far as the subjunctive marker is concerned, I suggested that it is base generated in the head of Mood_{irrealis} because it cannot surface lower than this position in the hierarchy and, most of all, because subjunctive mood encodes *irrealis*-related meanings. In subjunctive structures, the verbal complex, when raising into the portion of the hierarchy triggered by the lexical verb, merges into the head where *să* is base generated. From here, the whole verbal complex can move to higher positions.

The last section of this chapter has continued the analysis of the relation between syntactic position and semantic characteristics of root subjunctive structures. It was shown that these can convey a series of mood and modal-related meanings which are not always satisfied by the position inside the Mood_{irrealis} functional projection. Instead, I suggested that the subjunctive morphology is underspecified regarding some of the modal meanings, therefore a special illocutionary force or, more rarely, adverbial elements, are necessary in order to trigger the correct interpretation. The latter can also be triggered by the distinct positions occupied by the subjunctive marker in the IP, which however, were shown to be limited to the portion having Mood_{irrealis} as its lower projection.

Chapter 4

Modal uses of bare subjunctive structures in Romanian

This chapter deals with the analysis of the various modal meanings conveyed by subjunctive structures in root clauses in Romanian. It was shown, in the previous chapters, that subjunctives can be used to express a series of meanings. It was also shown that the latter can either be conveyed through the structure itself, or through the subjunctive structure together with other elements, e.g. modal operators. In the first case, the illocutionary force plays an important role, because it adds different modal flavours to the subjunctive mood, which usually possesses an *irrealis* connotation. In the second case, less frequent, there are other lexical categories involved in the subjunctive structures that either contribute to, or completely convey the modal meaning, most of all adverbs. In the previous chapters, it was also said that bare subjunctive structures expressing root modality¹⁷ are the most common. It was shown, however, that they can also appear in interrogative or in declarative clauses. Moreover, when conveying certain modal meanings, the subjunctive mood can be replaced by other moods expressing the same modal meaning.

The following sections will focus on the analysis of these modal meanings. It will be shown how the illocutionary force and other lexical elements appearing in the clause contribute to their expression, and there will be comparisons with other grammatical moods. The chapter is organized in the following way: section 4.1 focuses on imperative clauses, i.e. those structures related to root modality; in section 4.2 I will provide an analysis of the modality expressed through subjunctive structures in interrogative clauses; lastly, section 4.3 concentrates on the modal meanings conveyed in declarative clauses.

4.1 Imperative clauses¹⁸

It has already been pointed out that the imperative meaning conveyed by subjunctive structures in root clauses is probably the most studied phenomenon regarding Balkan bare subjunctive structures (cfr. Turano 1995; Giannakidou 2007; Sočanac 2017). This should not however surprise. It is indeed an employment of subjunctives common not only to the languages of the Balkans, but also to Western Romance languages:

¹⁷ I will generally stick to the term *root modality*, however, in the subsequent sections I will sometimes employ the term *deontic*. The two terms are used with the same meaning, i.e. one regarding a modality possessing world-to-word fit.

¹⁸ I am here using the expression *imperative* as a broad and “stereotyped” term. What I really analyze in this section is root modality related to subjunctive structures, which will result more clearly from section 4.1.2.

- 1) A. *Să te întorci înainte de ora zece!* RO
 Subj.Mark you.refl return.2SG.PRES before of hour-the.F.SG ten
 ‘Come back before 10 o’clock!’
- B. *Ti da mălciș!* BG
 you.sub Subj.Mark shut up.2SG.PRES
 ‘Shut up!’
- C. *Che finisca tutti i compiti prima!* IT
 C finish.3SG.SUBJ all the homework.PL before
 ‘He must finish all his homework first!’
- D. *Qu’il mange toutes ses legumes!* FR
 C he.sub eat.3SG.SUBJ all his vegetable.PL
 ‘He must eat all his vegetables!’

Although both groups of languages possess distinct morphology for imperative clauses, they also employ the subjunctive mood in this sense. Nevertheless, there is a difference that must be underlined. While Balkan languages tend to replace, in certain cases, the imperative mood with the subjunctive mood, Western Romance languages only employ the latter in those situations where there is no imperative morphology that can be used, as in examples (1C) and (1D), or when the speaker wants to express a wish instead of an order. The latter situation can however apply to Balkan languages as well.

Before proceeding with the analysis of the usage of the subjunctive mood in imperative clauses, I will introduce, following Sočanac (2017), some of the characteristics shared by both moods.

4.1.1 Imperative mood and subjunctive mood: common features

Imperative mood and subjunctive mood share a series of morpho-syntactic and semantic properties cross-linguistically. Sočanac (2017) suggests that, in fact, these moods “should be seen as syntactically associated with the same type of CP projection, with the subjunctive CP corresponding to the embedded instance of the matrix imperative CP” (Sočanac 2017: p. 87).

Let us now take a look at the reasons why the author put forward this proposal.

Regarding their morphology, imperative moods and subjunctive moods tend to exhibit similar paradigms cross-linguistically. They indeed tend to share the same root, and the elements that vary are the inflectional morphemes. Of course, this property doesn’t cover all the verbs in a given language, it is however an observable characteristic of, for instance, a Western Romance language like Italian, and a Balkan Romance language like Romanian:

- 2) A. *Abbi fede!* IT
 have.2SG.IMP faith
 ‘Have faith!’

- B. *Mi domando se tu **abbia** idea di* IT
 me.DAT ask.1SG.PRES if you.sub have.2SG.SUBJ idea of
cosa sia questo.
 thing be.3SG.SUBJ this
 ‘I wonder if you have any idea of what this is.’
- 3) A. ***Fiți** atenți la ce spun!* RO
 be.2PL.IMP attentive.M.PL at what say.1SG.PRES
 ‘Pay attention to what I say!’
- B. *Această carte explică cum să **fiți*** RO
 this.F.SG book.F.SG explain.3SG.PRES how Subj.Mark be.2PL.SUBJ
mai fericiți.
 more happy.M.PL
 ‘This book explains how to be happier.’

It is possible to observe, from the verbs in bold letters, that, in certain cases, imperatives and subjunctives share the same paradigm. The examples in Italian make it clear that at least the root of the verb is the same, while the ones in Romanian exhibit even the same inflectional morphemes.

From a syntactic point of view, one of the properties shared by the two moods regards distributional overlaps. This property is connected to the one I have already mentioned in the previous section. It was said that the subjunctive mood can replace the imperative mood, and, in particular in Western Romance languages, this happens because imperative morphology cannot be used in certain syntactic environments (cfr. the examples in (1)).

Another common syntactic property concerns anti-control. In this case the subjunctive structures are used in embedded clauses, in particular, as far as Romanian and Balkan languages in general are concerned¹⁹, these embedded subjunctives roughly correspond to matrix imperatives. In fact, the matrix verbs selecting these complements are directive verbs such as ‘order’, ‘instruct’, ‘command’, etc. In these kinds of sentences, no subject-control reading is allowed:

- 4) *Maria_j a ordonat pro_{i/j}* să termine*
 Mary have.3SG.PRES ordered.PAST.PART pro Subj.Mark finish.3SG.SUBJ
treaba înainte de cină.
 work-the.F.SG before of dinner.F.SG
 ‘Mary_j has ordered *(her_i)_j to finish work before dinner.’

As it can be noticed from the example above, the two subjects, the matrix one and the embedded one, cannot be coindexed, for no coreferentiality is allowed in such structures. In other words,

¹⁹ I am pointing this out because Balkan languages use subjunctive complements not only in these contexts, which are common to Western Romance languages as well. As shown in chapter 2, embedded subjunctives are also used when subject control is required, while Western Romance languages use infinitives instead.

in the mentioned example, one can notice the anti-control effect these sentences are associated to. The same anti-control effect is observable in matrix imperative clauses. However, in this case, it is established with regard to the speaker. More specifically, the subject of the imperative clause cannot be coreferential with the speaker and, in fact, imperatives cannot appear in first-person singular (Kempchinsky 2009 in Sočanac 2017).

Finally, from a semantic point of view, the two main shared properties are direction of fit and tense deficiency. I will first focus on the latter. Sočanac (2017) analyzes Slavic embedded subjunctives and shows that they “can only denote a restricted, future-referring temporal interval with respect to the reference time of the matrix predicate” (Sočanac 2017: p. 78). This claim is applicable to Romanian as well, and, most of all, it is possible to make an even closer parallel between imperatives and subjunctive structures in root clauses bearing an imperative meaning. Regarding imperatives, the future-referring temporal interval is related to the utterance time, for these appear in matrix clauses directly accessing deictic time, and the same is applicable to subjunctives in root clauses:

- 5) A. * *Deschide ușa ieri!*
 open.2SG.IMP door-the.F.SG yesterday
 ‘* Open the door yesterday!’
- B. * *Să citești cartea ieri!*
 Subj.Mark read.2SG.PRES book-the.F.SG yesterday
 ‘* Read the book yesterday!’

As it can be derived by the ungrammaticality of the examples above, a deictic reference that would place the action in the past of the utterance time is not acceptable.

As for the other semantic property, i.e. direction of fit, it is a notion established in Searle & Vanderweken (1985)²⁰. The authors distinguish between *word-to-world fit* and *world-to-word fit*. The former refers to utterances which describe a world, and is related to assertive-type utterances, while the latter refers to utterances which get the world to match a certain state of affairs, and is related to directive-type utterances (Sočanac 2017). Imperatives and subjunctives belong to the group of moods possessing *world-to-word fit*. In other words, they express how the world should be. In particular, imperative clauses and matrix subjunctive clauses with imperative meaning express how the world should be according to some given norms or according to the speaker’s will, desires, expectations, etc.

²⁰ In Sočanac (2017).

Once established that imperatives and subjunctives share a series of common properties, I will proceed in the next section with the analysis of subjunctive structures in imperative clauses by taking a better look at all the modal flavours that can be conveyed.

4.1.2 Subjunctive mood and root modality

In chapter 3 it was shown that subjunctive structures in root clauses express a variety of mood and modal-related meanings which are mainly conveyed through special illocutionary forces. In this section I will analyze the structures expressing root modality, which is associated with a series of semantic subsets: obligation, volition, permission, invitation. Before going on with the description and the illustration of the various subsets, I will briefly introduce the concept of *root modality*. Although this category does not only occur in matrix constructions, the term makes direct reference to root clauses. It is often employed as a counterpart of epistemic modality, and covers deontic and dynamic modality: the former deals with the degree of force which is exhorted on the subject to perform an action, as well as with permission; while the latter deals with the ability of the subject to perform an action (de Haan 2006).

Semantically speaking, obligation is the subset more closely related to what is generally defined, in traditional grammars, as imperative mood. I use obligation, as it will be illustrated in the examples below, as a generic term which includes prohibition as well. The obligation/prohibition can either come from the speaker or from a set of given norms, which means that matrix subjunctive structures conveying this meaning can never be conjugated in the first-person. The following examples show how obligation/prohibition is expressed through subjunctive structures:

- 6) A. *Să scrii tot raportul astăzi!*
Subj.Mark write.2SG.PRES all report-the.M.SG today
'You must write all the report today!'
- B. *Să se închidă porțile școlilor
în timpul cursurilor.*
Subj.Mark refl close.3SG.SUBJ door-the.F.PL school-of-the.F.PL
in time-the.M.SG course-of-the.M.PL
'The school gates must be closed during classes.'
- C. *Să nu vă mișcați de acolo!*
Subj.Mark NEG you.refl move.2PL.PRES from there
'Don't move from there!'

Examples (6A) and (6C) express an obligation imposed by the speaker. In both cases the utterance is related to the addressee's future actions. In the first example the structure is used to induce the addressee to complete an action in a given amount of time, while in the last

example it is employed to forbid the addressees from performing a specific action. Both utterances are bound to the speaker's wishes of how his specific world should be. On the other hand, the example in (6B) expresses an obligation imposed by a pre-established rule. This rule provides a clear indication of how a specific world should be, and the addressees are induced to follow this indication. I have mentioned in the previous paragraph that first-persons are not allowed in structures bearing these semantic properties. It is also true, however, that examples (6A) and (6C) could in principle be used with the first-person plural. Nevertheless, I believe that the obligation-related meaning would be weaker, and instead the structures would acquire a cohortative flavour, which, as I will show in the subsequent paragraphs, is related with the speaker's wishes, rather than with an obligation, which brings us to the next subset of root modality: volition.

Volitive modality, or volitional moods, are related to the speaker's wish for the addressee(s) to carry out this wish. For the purpose of the analysis of matrix subjunctive structures conveying this meaning, I will use the terminology employed in Ammann & van der Auwera (2004) (A & A (2004)). The authors, in order to account for the different modal flavours conveyed through these structures, define the following notions: optative, imperative, hortative, exhortative, and cohortative. They also provide a definition for each of these notions, which I will cite here:

- The *optative* is a constructional paradigm, available for all grammatical persons, a core meaning of which is the expression of the speaker's wish.
- The *imperative* is a construction used with the second person, singular and plural, which has as a core meaning the expression of the speaker's wish and an appeal to the targeted person(s) to carry out the wish.
- The *hortative* is a construction used both with third persons and with first person plural, which has as a core meaning the expression of the speaker's wish and an appeal to the targeted person(s) to carry out the wish.
- The *exhortative* is a construction used with third persons, but not with first person plural, which has as a core meaning the expression of the speaker's wish and an appeal to the targeted person(s) to carry out the wish.
- The *cohortative* is a construction used exclusively with the first person plural, which has as a core meaning the expression of the speaker's wish and an appeal to the targeted person(s) to carry out the wish.

(Ammann & van der Auwera 2004: pp. 295-297)

Following these definitions, what I have called obligation could be seen as a combination of imperative and exhortative in the authors' terms. However, I will use the terminology in A & A (2004) to subclassify volitive modality, which I consider to be semantically "lighter" than obligation. In other words, obligation involves a constraint that comes either from the speaker or from a set of given norms. Volition, on the other hand, involves the speaker's wishes and desires, and, even when an appeal is implied, this concerns what the speaker *wants* to be done, instead of what the speaker *demands* to be done.

Regarding the definitions above, as A & A (2004) underline, there is one modality that differs: the optative one. While all definitions imply that the speaker's wish is always involved in the utterance, the optative construction is the only one that doesn't also involve an appeal for the addressee(s) to carry out the wish. This means that no defined action is required for the addressee(s) to perform. I will not employ all the notions introduced by A & A (2004) in order to analyze Romanian subjunctive structures. Since the term *imperative* was said to be more similar to what I called *obligation*, and since *hortative* is a hypernym for *cohortative* and *exhortative*, I will only use the notions of *optative*, *exhortative* and *cohortative*, the latter two being more specific terms than *hortative*.

It was shown so far that subjunctive structures in root clauses can be employed by the speaker to express a wish used as an appeal for the addressee(s) to carry out the wish. The phi-features possessed by the verb occurring in the utterance performed by the speaker are linked to the addressee(s). They also help us understand to which subset of volitive modality, among the ones illustrated above, the structure belongs to. However, when the phi-features are underspecified for number, as in 3rd person Romanian subjunctives, indexicality and context play an important role in the felicitous realization of the utterance. Take, as an example, the following structures:

7) A. (*Haideți*) *să mergem la masă.*
 prt.2PL Subj.Mark go.1PL.PRES to table
 'Let's go to eat.'

B. *Să mănânce din tort, este foarte bun.*
 Subj.Mark eat.3SG/PL.SUBJ from cake.M.SG be.3SG.PRES very good.M.SG
 'He/she/they should eat some cake, it's very good.'

Example (7A) is quite clear: it conveys a cohortative meaning, which results clear not only from the phi-features of the verb, but also from the modal particle *haideți*, which is inflected for the plural form and which enhances the cohortative meaning. Conversely, the interpretation is more complicated in example (7B). The phi-features of the verb correspond to both 3rd person

singular and 3rd person plural, therefore, if there is no overt subject and if the utterance is analyzed out of the blue, it results infelicitous. In order to convey a felicitous utterance, it needs either a deictic element, e.g. a pronoun or an NP, which links the utterance to the context and, more specifically, to the addressee(s), or an already given context:

8) A. *Să mănânce și Ion din tort, este foarte bun.*
 Subj.Mark eat.3SG.SUBJ also John from cake.M.SG be.3SG.PRES very good.M.SG
 ‘John should eat some cake too, it’s very good.’

B. Context: It is a kid’s birthday party. Both the kid’s friends and their parents are invited. After the birthday cake is cut, a few kids seem to be a bit shy, so they don’t ask for their slice of cake. The birthday boy’s mom notices it, so she tells the parents of the shy kids:

Să mănânce din tort, este foarte bun.
 Subj.Mark eat.3SG/PL.SUBJ from cake.M.SG be.3SG.PRES very good.M.SG
 ‘They should eat some cake, it’s very good.’

The exhortative utterances in (8) are both felicitous, for they are both anchored to the context. In (8A) no explicit context is given, however, the subject, who is also the addressee, is explicit, and the latter characteristic is fundamental for the interpretation of the clause. Example (8B), on the other hand, is now fully interpretable thanks to the precise context provided above. It results clear that the implicit subject refers to a 3rd person plural: a group of kids.

To sum-up exhortative modality, it is related to the speaker’s wish, it is an appeal for a targeted person (or people) to carry out this wish, and it is inflected for the 3rd person singular or plural. It shouldn’t be confused with 3rd person obligation, for the latter has stronger semantic implications. This can result clear from the English translations in the examples in (8), where the modal verb which is employed is *should*, while if it was an obligation-related meaning, we would employ *must* or *have to* (9):

9) *Toți elevii să termine acest exercițiu până la sfârșitul orei!*
 all.M.PL students Subj.Mark finish.3PL.SUBJ this.M.PL exercise until to end-the.M.SG hour.F.SG.GEN
 ‘All students must finish this exercise by the end of the class!’

Moreover, Romanian exhortative subjunctives need a specific context or indexical elements that link the utterance to the context, for the verbal morphology is underspecified in terms of phi-features²¹.

²¹ This analysis, however, can also be extended to 3rd person obligation.

In example (7) I have briefly introduced cohortative modality, for which I provide an analysis here. It was shown that the term cohortative is very similar to the term exhortative, the former differing only in that it is used with the 1st person plural:

- 10) A. *Să căutăm un magazin care vinde televizoare!*
 Subj.Mark search.1PL.PRES a shop.M.SG which sell.3SG.PRES television.N.PL
 ‘Let’s look for a shop that sells TVs.’
- B. *Hai să ne uităm la un film!*
 prt Subj.Mark we.refl look.1SG.PRES at a movie
 ‘Let’s watch a movie.’
- C. *Hai să nu mai ne certăm!*
 prt Subj.Mark NEG anymore we.refl fight.1PL.PRES
 ‘Let’s stop fighting!’

It can be noticed, from the examples in (10), that this type of employment of the subjunctive structures often makes use of the particle *hai/haide/haideți*. This particle possesses either inflected forms or an invariable form, which is the one used in the examples in (10). I won’t focus on the nature of this particle, but it must be underlined that it enhances the cohortative meaning and is very productive in such structures (cfr. Haegeman & Hill 2013). The structures in (10B) and (10C) would not, however, lose their grammaticality if deprived of the particle, and neither their semantic and modal properties. Unlike exhortative modality, structures conveying cohortative modality result felicitous even when a context is not provided, or when no deictic elements appear in the sentence. This is due to the verbal morphology, which is specified for both person and number.

As far as the modal meaning of both exhortatives and cohortatives is concerned, it must be underlined that illocutionary force plays a crucial role. In fact, the same verbal morphology used for cohortatives and exhortatives can be employed in the expression of optative modality. The latter was said to lack the appeal meaning which characterized all other volitive modalities. In other words, utterances characterized by optative illocutionary force are the mere expression of the speaker’s wishes.

- 11) A. *Să fiți fericiți!*
 Subj.Mark be.2PL.PRES happy.M.PL
 ‘May you be happy!’
- B. *Să trăiască nea șoferul!*
 Subj.Mark live.3SG.SUBJ mister driver-the.M.SG
 ‘Long live Mr. driver!’

C. *Să ne vedem sănătoși anul viitor!*
 Subj.Mark we.refl see.1PL.PRES healthy.M.PL year-the.M.SG next
 ‘May me meet in good health next year!’

Examples in (11) illustrate how the same syntactic structures and the same verbal morphology used in cohortative and exhortative expressions, can be employed to convey optative meaning. From a semantic point of view, these examples are the expression of the speaker’s wish for something positive to happen to the addressee(s). Therefore, the latter are no longer the agent of the action solicited by the speaker, instead they are experiencers. This also explains why in example (11C), unlike in (10B) and (10C), the particle *hai* is not required. This particle is indeed generally employed to induce a targeted addressee to perform an action, but in this case the action is experienced, rather than performed. The semantic difference between cohortatives and optatives can also be observed from the English translations, for when the Romanian subjunctive structures convey a cohortative meaning, the corresponding English translation contains the expression *let’s*, while in cases involving optative meaning, English employs the modal verb *may* (or, in utterances like the one below, an imperative form). These same characteristics apply to a peculiar type of optatives, namely curses:

12) A. *Să te ia naiba!*
 Subj.Mark you.cl.ACC take.3SG.PRES devil
 ‘Go to hell!’

The example in (12) is an optative utterance with a negative meaning. In this case, the speaker does no longer express a wish for something positive to happen to the addressee, instead, the speaker wishes the addressee to experience a negative action.

The last root modal meaning I am going to analyze is permission. The concept of permission is linked to the speaker allowing the addressee(s) to perform an action. A better definition of permission as modality is given in Condoravdi & Lauer (2012), that group together permission and invitation: “This group encompasses uses that don’t really express that the speaker wants something to happen, but rather communicate, in response to a manifest or potential addressee desire, that the speaker does not mind something happening.” (Condoravdi & Lauer 2012: p. 39). Since Romanian allows as well both permission and invitation as readings, I will analyze them both as subclasses of root modality, starting from permission:

13) A. *Să facă ce vor weekendul acesta cât sunt acasă singuri.*
 Subj.Mark do.3PL.SUBJ what want.3PL.PRES weekend-the this while
 be.3PL.PRES home alone.M.PL
 ‘Let them do what they want this weekend while they are home alone.’

B. *Să* *iasă* *cu prietenii* *cu bicicleta*
 Subj.Mark go out.3SG.SUBJ with friends-the.M.PL with bicycle-the.F.SG
 (*dacă vrea.*)
 if want.3SG.PRES
 ‘Let her/him go out with her/his friends on a bike ride, if she/he wants to.’

The utterances in (13) are used by the speaker to express that they allow the addressee(s) to perform a given action. Semantically speaking, in (13A) it is implied that the addressees are not usually allowed to perform the action expressed by the verb, however, the speaker here allows them to perform said action given the circumstances expressed in the utterance. Example (13B) is a conditional sentence. The (implicit) protasis expresses the fact that the speaker supposes that the addressee wishes to perform a specific action, while the apodosis expresses the fact that the speaker does not mind if the addressee fulfils this wish.

Since the same definition applies to invitation as well, it derives that the analysis of this modality will be similar to the previous one:

14) *Să* *veniți* *la noi* *la cină* *săptămâna* *asta.*
 Subj.Mark come.2PL.PRES to we.ACC to dinner week-the.F.SG this.F.SG
 ‘You should come have dinner with us this week.’

The example in (14) could be paraphrased as ‘We don’t mind having you for dinner this week, if you want to come’. The latter is clearly a conditional, a characteristic possessed by the example in (13B) too. In fact, example (13A) could be paraphrased through the means of a conditional as well, although it would result redundand: ‘Let them do what they want this weekend while they are home alone, if they want to’. This means that, as Condoravdi & Lauer (2012) suggest, even when there is no overt protasis, the utterances are implicitly conditionalized.

Briefly summing-up this section, it was shown that subjunctives and imperatives share a series of morpho-syntactic and semantic properties, which furtherly justify the imperative-related meanings of root subjunctive structures. It was also shown that, when subjunctive mood is employed to convey this meaning, it can possess a variety of subsets: obligation, volition (and relative subsets), permission, and invitation.

4.2 Interrogative clauses

As Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018) point out, although subjunctive structures in interrogative clauses are a common linguistic phenomenon in Romanian, they are lesser studied in linguistics literature. Following their article, this section will provide an analysis of such structures.

In section 4.1 I have provided, following Sočanac (2017), a comparison between imperative mood and subjunctive mood. For obvious reasons, the same cannot be done in this section, which is dedicated to a clause type which cannot be associated with a particular grammatical mood, although it will be shown that the modal meanings expressed through subjunctive forms in interrogative clauses may also be conveyed by other grammatical moods. These structures, as Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018) illustrate, occur with various types of questions:

15) A. *Oare așa să fie?*
 really so subj.mrk be.3sg
 ‘Could that be so?’

(Bîlbîie & Mardale 2018: p. 294)

B. *Unde (și) cum să meargă?*
 where (and) how Subj.Mark go.3SG.SUBJ
 ‘Where and how could he go?’

C. *S-o cumpăr sau să n-o cumpăr?*
 Subj.Mark her.ACC buy.1SG.PRES or Subj.Mark NEG her.ACC buy.1SG.PRES
 ‘Should I buy it or not?’

D. Context: a man asks another if he’s giving his cat away. The other replies:
Cum s-o dau? Doar știi bine cât
 how Subj.Mark her.ACC give.1SG.PRES just know.2SG.PRES well how much
de atașat sunt de ea!
 of attached be.1SG.PRES of her
 ‘How could I give her away?! You know well how close I feel to her.’

Example (15) contains all types of questions in which subjunctive structures can occur: polarity questions, as in (15A); (multiple) *wh*-questions, like example (15B); alternative questions, as in (15C); and, finally, rhetorical questions, like the one in example (15D).

As all examples in (15) illustrate, subjunctive mood may be used in a variety of interrogative clauses. However, Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018) show that it is not freely licensed in interrogatives, for it is not allowed “in completely neutral situations, quiz questions, or pure into-seeking questions [...], where only the indicative is allowed” (Bîlbîie & Mardale 2018: p. 296). The modal meanings conveyed by these structures correspond to root modality and epistemic modality and may occasionally possess other modal flavours. Moreover, these interrogatives can also constitute rhetorical questions. In the next sections I will first provide an analysis of the structures conveying root and epistemic modality, and then I will review Bîlbîie&Mardale’s (2018) analysis regarding rhetorical interrogatives.

4.2.1 Root modality and epistemic modality

Leaving aside rhetorical questions for a moment, in this subsection I will focus on the types of interrogatives contained in examples (15A)-(15C). These structures require an assertive answer and, as Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018) point out, they may be uttered out of the blue. In case they appear in a dialog, they occur in its first turn (Bîlbîie & Mardale 2018).

I will start by taking a look at the deontic-related interrogatives. Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018) employ the term *deontic* to define what I have called, in section 4.1, *root* modality:

- 16) A. *Să folosesc o linguriță sau o furculiță?*
Subj.Mark use.1SG.PRES a.F.SG teaspoon or a.F.SG fork
'Should I use a teaspoon or a fork?'
- B. *Ce carte să citească acum?*
what book Subj.Mark read.2SG.PRES now
'What book should he/she read now?'
- C. *Să intrăm în casă?*
Subj.Mark enter.1PL.PRES in house
'Shall we go in?'

Probably the most evident characteristic of the examples above is related to their translation, for English always employs the modal verb *should/shall* with its deontic connotation²². It can be also observed that these interrogatives differ one from another: (16A) is a question-assertion type of interrogative, (16B) is a *wh*-question, and (16C) is a polarity question. I will now analyze each example one by one.

Semantically speaking, the interrogative in (16A) conveys obligation. Depending on the context, the interpretation may change. One could be a situation in which the speaker is asking an addressee if the latter wants the speaker to use a fork or a teaspoon. This means that the speaker expects the addressee to impose them an obligation. A second interpretation could instead involve a social norm the speaker is not aware of, therefore they ask indications to an addressee they believe to be more informed. It can be derived that the answer must possess the same connotation related to obligation. In fact, example (16A) requires a fully-fledged answer, which could be either an elliptic clause (17A), implying an imperative verb, or an imperative clause (17B), which denotes obligation:

- 17) A. *O linguriță.*
a.F.SG teaspoon
'A teaspoon.'

²² However I will show below in this section that the English translation may change depending on the interpretation.

B. *Folosește o linguriță.*
use.2SG.IMP a.F.SG teaspoon
'Use a teaspoon.'

The fact that the answer is an imperative structure denoting obligation shows that the semantics of the answer follows the semantics of the question.

Example (16B) is an utterance that can potentially express different subsets of root modality. Depending on the context, it could either express obligation or volition. In the first case, the speaker may be asking the addressee which book the latter imposes to the subject of the clause to read. At the same time, the speaker might ask the addressee which book the subject has to read because imposed by an external source, for instance by the syllabus of a literature course. Both cases imply obligation:

18) Context: Two teachers are discussing the new school reform, which imposes 7th grade students to read a specific book for English literature, which differs from the one previously imposed. One of the teachers is asking the colleague:

Ce carte să citească acum?
what book Subj.Mark read.2PL.PRES now
'What book do they have to read now?'

On the other hand, the utterance may also convey volition. In such case, the speaker is asking the addressee which book the latter wants to, and suggests to, be read by the subject of the clause:

19) Context: A group of friends decided to read a series of books by the end of the summer. The books are chosen and suggested by their teacher. One of them has already finished the first book, and the others are now asking the teacher:

Ce carte să citească acum?
what book Subj.Mark read.2SG.PRES now
'What book should he read now?'

The context and/or previous utterances play an important role in these utterances, for it was shown that, if out of the blue, they may possess various interpretations. From the point of view of the answer, since Romanian doesn't possess verbal morphology for 3rd person imperatives, it could only be a subjunctive clause conveying root modality (18A), or an elliptic clause containing the title of the book (18B):

20) A. *Să citească "Charlie și fabrica de ciocolată".*
Subj.Mark read.3SG.SUBJ Charlie and factory-the.F.SG of chocolate
'They have to read/He should read "Charlie and the chocolate factory".'

- B. “*Charlie și fabrica de ciocolată*”.
 ““Charlie and the chocolate factory””.

Once again, the modality expressed by the answer mimics the one in the question. Hence, if the context favours the interpretation related to obligation, the same will be the answer’s interpretation; if the question possesses a volitive meaning, the same meaning will be possessed by the answer. It must be also added that both questions (16B; 18; 19) and answer (20A) are morphologically underspecified for number, thus the analysis provided for exhortative modality (and extended to obligation), in the section dedicated to imperatives, in terms of indexicality and anchoring to the context, also applies here.

Lastly, example (16C) is a polarity question. From a semantic point of view, it is the clearest example if analyzed out of the blue, its only connotation being volition. More specifically, it conveys a cohortative meaning.

Before proceeding with the analysis of interrogatives expressing epistemic modality, it must be pointed out that all the direct interrogatives exemplified so far can become embedded interrogatives:

- 21) A. *Nu știu dacă trebuie să folosesc*
 NEG know.1SG.PRES if must.IMP Subj.Mark use.1SG.PRES
o linguriță sau o furculiță.
 a.F.SG teaspoon or a.F.SG fork
 ‘I don’t know whether I should use a teaspoon or a fork.’
- B. *Te întreb ce carte să citească acum.*
 you.2SG.ACC ask.1SG.PRES what book Subj.Mark read.3SG.SUBJ now
 ‘I’m asking you what book he should read now.’
- C. *Vă întreb dacă vreți și voi*
 you.2PL.ACC ask.1SG.PRES if want.2PL.PRES also you.2PL.NOM
să intrăm în casă.
 Subj.Mark enter.1PL.PRES in house
 ‘I’m asking you if you want to go in as well.’

It results clear, from the examples in (21), that subjunctive structures occurring in interrogative clauses and conveying root modality (or deontic in Bîlbîie & Mardale’s (2018) terms) can also occur under a matrix clause, i.e. in embedded structures. Beside the differences in terms of modality, the interrogative structures I am going to analyze now also differ in terms of embedding properties, for they cannot occur in embedded structures (Bîlbîie & Mardale 2018). These interrogatives convey an epistemic modal meaning.

For the analysis of epistemic interrogatives, I will first provide some examples, I will subsequently analyze them, and I will conclude with a general analysis of the phenomenon. These interrogatives, like deontic ones, may appear in different types of questions:

- 22) A. *Unde să fie umbrela?*
 where Subj.Mark be.3SG.SUBJ umbrella-the.F.SG
 ‘Where could the umbrella possibly be?’
- B. *Cine să fie această persoană?*
 who Subj.Mark be.3SG.SUBJ this.F.SG person
 ‘Who can this person possibly be?’
- C. *Să doarmă oare atâtă?*
 Subj.Mark sleep.3SG.SUBJ possibly so much
 ‘Can he possibly sleep so much?’
- D. *Să fi mâncat deja?*
 Subj.Mark be.PERF eat.PAST.PART already
 ‘Could she have possibly already eaten?’

Example (22) illustrates that epistemic interrogatives may occur in *wh*-questions (22A and 22B) or in polarity questions (22C and 22D). Another striking feature is the fact that they can contain both present subjunctive (22A; 22B; 22C) and past subjunctive forms (22D), a characteristic not shared neither by imperative subjunctives nor by deontic interrogative subjunctives. I shall now analyze the examples above one by one.

Example (22A) is an utterance in which the speaker wonders about the whereabouts of their umbrella. From the point of view of the modality conveyed through this structure, the latter possesses a dubitative-epistemic value. Epistemic modality was said to concern the truth of a proposition. This modality can also be defined as being concerned with what is known about the actual world (Hengeveld 2004). The utterance in (22A) expresses a dubitative-epistemic meaning, therefore the speaker expresses a doubt, which however does not concern the truth value of the proposition itself, as the definition above might suggest, instead the doubt regards a circumstantial element, i.e. the whereabouts of the speaker’s umbrella. If we apply the second definition provided above, in the speaker’s world they know that the umbrella exists, but they do not know its location.

The subsequent example (22B) contains a present form subjunctive, with the time of the utterance being parallel to the time of the situation. This example expresses a dubitative-epistemic modal meaning as well. The speaker’s doubts are related to a situation simultaneous to the utterance time, which is evident not only because of the tense that is employed, but also because of the deixis *această* ‘this’, which anchors the situation both to the context and to the

utterance time. Once again, the speaker's doubt does not concern the truth value of the sentence, instead it regards the subject of the sentence.

The subjunctive structure occurring in (22C) is, again, a present form subjunctive. In this case, however, the moment of the utterance does not necessarily correspond to the moment of the action, for the speaker might wonder whether someone sleeps so much in general. It is implied, however, that the speaker is not expressing a doubt about an action they are witnessing, rather they express a doubt concerning an action they believe might take place. From the point of view of the modal meaning, this example is also a dubitative-epistemic, the dubitative meaning being enhanced by *oare*. In this case, however, unlike the examples analyzed above, the speaker's doubt regards the truth-value of the sentence. This utterance also possesses a mirative flavour, which I believe to be enhanced by the adverb *atâta*.

Lastly, example (22D) expresses an epistemic modal meaning which is once again related to what the speaker thinks might have happened. More specifically, it is a doubt expressed by the speaker regarding an action situated in the past of the utterance time, whence the past subjunctive form. The past-related meaning of the action expressed by the verb is reinforced by the adverb *deja* 'already'. As the example in (22C), the doubt the speaker utters concerns the truth value of the sentence itself.

Before proceeding with further analyses, I want to draw a first brief conclusion regarding subjunctive interrogatives and epistemic modality. It was said that these kinds of structures either correspond to *wh*-questions or to polarity questions, and that they cannot be embedded. They generally convey dubitative-epistemic modality, but they can also express other additional meanings: it was shown that these subjunctive structures can possess other modal flavours, such as mirativity, which can be enhanced by the elements occurring in the clause. Moreover, it was illustrated that there is a difference between *wh*-questions and polarity questions: while the former express doubts related to actions the speaker is aware of, the latter express doubts related to the actions themselves. In other words, in *wh*- questions the speaker *knows that* the action has taken or is taking place, and they wonder about context-related elements that are here involved. On the other hand, in polarity questions, the speaker *is wondering whether* the action has taken or is taking place.

4.2.1.1 Epistemic interrogatives: subjunctive vs presumptive and indicative

In the introduction to this chapter I have stated that comparisons can be made between interrogative subjunctive clauses and clauses where presumptive and indicative verbs occur. It is an already observed and analyzed phenomenon (cfr. Bîlbiie & Mardale (2018) or Mihoc

(2012)), and I will illustrate in this section how the three moods compete for the same position and how, or if, the semantic features vary.

I will start by illustrating some examples:

- 23) A. *Cum să fi ajuns/ o fi ajuns/ a ajuns acolo?*
 how Subj.Mark be.PERF arrive.PAST.PART presumpt.3SG be.PERF arrive.PAST.PART have.3.SG.PRES arrive.PAST.PART there
 ‘How could he have possibly arrived there/How has he arrived there?!’
- B. *Cine să plece/ o pleca/pleacă oare la ora asta?*
 who Subj.Mark leave.3SG.SUBJ presumpt.3SG leave leave.3SG.PRES possibly at hour-the.F.SG this
 ‘Who could possibly leave now?/Who is possibly leaving now?!’
- C. *Să fi făcut/ o fi făcut/ a făcut temele?*
 Subj.Mark be.PERF do.PAST.PART presumpt.3SG be.PERF do.PAST.PART have.3SG.PRES do.PAST.PART homework-the.F.SG
 ‘Could she have possibly done her homework?/Has she done her homework?!’
- D. *Să se termine/ s- o termina/se termină așa de repede?*
 Subj.Mark refl finish.3SG.SUBJ refl presumpt.3SG finish refl finish.3SG.PRES so of fast
 ‘Could it possibly finish so fast? Is it finishing so fast?!’

The analysis provided in the previous sections for the subjunctive mood also applies here. Therefore, I will proceed straightforward with the comparisons. As far as the presumptive mood is concerned, in these clauses, it possesses the same semantic properties of the subjunctive mood. Therefore, examples (23A) and (23B) are *wh*-questions which express a dubitative-epistemic meaning. The former is an utterance where the speaker expresses a doubt about an action taking place in the past, while the latter is an utterance where the speaker expresses a doubt about an action taking place in the present. At the same time, examples (23C) and (23D) are polarity-questions conveying dubitative-epistemic modality, which, depending on the context and on the prosody the speaker employs, may possess a mirativity flavour. Although conveying the exact same meaning²³, subjunctive mood and presumptive mood differ in terms of “inherent” modality. If the structures did not possess interrogative illocutionary force, only the presumptive would maintain the epistemic modality. The subjunctive structure in (23C), which is the only one that would be felicitous under declarative illocutionary force, would

²³ I would consider the usage of the presumptive mood to be more spontaneous in the conversational language. It is, however, a purely subjective judgement.

convey regret for a past event. In fact, it would result as a truncated conditional²⁴. On the other hand, presumptive mood, although some of the utterances would not result too spontaneous, is acceptable in all structures if we assume that they are uttered with the intonation of a declarative clause. Moreover, as it was shown in chapter 3, the presumptive mood can express certain modal flavours without the presence of some modal operator, a characteristic not shared by the subjunctive mood. In order to illustrate this difference, I will reproduce here the same example:

- 24) A. *Să fie vreo cinci mere în coș.*
 Subj.Mark be.3SG.SUBJ approximately five apples.N.PL in basket.M.SG
 ‘There seem to be approximately five apples in the basket.’
- B. *Or fi (vreo) cinci mere în coș.*
 presunt.3PL be.INF (approximately) five apples.N.PL in basket.M.SG
 ‘There seem to be (approximately) five apples in the basket.’

The utterance in (24A) employs the subjunctive mood and the obligatory presence of the adverb *vreo* ‘approximately’ makes clear that the evidential flavour conveyed by the structure is related to the presence of this element. In its absence, the structure would acquire a volitive meaning. At the same time, the same adverb is not necessarily required in (24B), which would still express the evidential-related meaning. It can be derived that the subjunctive mood is underspecified for evidentiality, while the presumptive mood is not.

Moving now to the indicative mood, the situation is similar. It loses the epistemic-related meaning if the interrogative clause is transformed into a declarative, and, in the interrogatives exemplified in (23), the modal meanings are interpretable more easily if the speaker utters these sentences with a specific intonation. Prosody, therefore, plays a crucial role in this sense. Moreover, if a specific intonation is employed, a mirativity flavour can be associated to the epistemic modality.

Once analyzed the main properties of interrogative subjunctives conveying root or epistemic modality, I will proceed with the analysis of rhetorical interrogatives in the next section.

4.2.2 Rhetorical interrogatives

Rhetorical interrogatives, as shown in Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018), may be either *wh*-interrogatives or polar interrogatives, and, in addition, there are also some lexicalized interrogatives employing the subjunctive mood. The article accounts in detail for these structures, therefore in this section I will confine myself to reviewing Bîlbîie & Mardale’s (2018) analysis of rhetorical interrogatives.

²⁴ Cfr. section 4.3.

The authors start by taking into consideration *wh*-questions, finding four different patterns:

- 25) A. A: *Maria a fost invitată la petrecere?* B: *Cine să o cheme?*
 Maria has been invited to party who subj.mrk her.acc call.3
 A: ‘Has Maria been invited to the party?’ B: ‘Who could have asked her?’
- B. A: *Ce face Ion?* B: *Ce să facă? Parcă n-ai ști, pierde timpul!*
 what does Ion what subj.mrk do.3sg as.if not-would.2sg know loses time.def
 A: ‘How is Ion?’ B: ‘How could he be? As if you didn’t know, he is
 wasting his time.’
- C. *Cum să stea el pe un pat de spital românesc?*
 how subj.mrk stay.3sg he on a bed of hospital Romanian
 ‘How can he ever lie on a Romanian hospital bed?’
- D. *De ce să nu începem cu țâria?*
 from what subj.mrk not start.1pl with booze.def
 ‘Why not start (~ let’s start) with the booze?’

(Bîlbîie & Mardale 2018: pp. 229-302)

The first subclass analyzed in the article includes interrogatives like the one in (25A). They are employed instead of a negative answer, for they imply negation. As the example shows, these structures induce to reconsider or to negate a presupposition triggered by the first question. *Wh*-rhetorical questions are also employed to mark the obviousness of the answer, as in (25B). In a dialogue, it is used by the addressee of the first question to point out that they consider the answer to this question to be obvious. Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018) also observe that the rhetorical question employs the same verb as the first question of the dialogue. A third type of these structures is employed by the speaker to reject or disagree with the assumption or proposal made in a previous utterance. This third subclass is exemplified in (25C). Moreover, as the authors suggest, it also possesses an additional pragmatic effect, namely irony. The last subclass is formed by *wh*-questions containing the phrase *de ce* ‘why’, as in (25D). They usually employ a negative form of the verb and are used to make a suggestion which possesses a volitive-related meaning.

After analysing rhetorical *wh*-questions, Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018) proceed by providing an analysis for rhetorical polarity questions. These structures are associated with mirative meaning, as one can observe from the examples below:

- 26) A. *(Ce?) Victoraș al nostru să plagieze?! Imposibil!*
 (what?) Victoraș poss.masc our subj.mrk plagiarize.3sg impossible
 ‘Our Victoraș plagiarize?! Impossible!’

- B. (*Cum?*) *Tocmai tu să -mi faci una ca asta?! Nu pot*
 (how?) exactly you subj.mrk-me.dat do.2sg one like this not can.1sg
să cred.
 subj.mrk believe.1sg
 ‘What? You behaving like this to me?! I can’t believe it.’

(Bîlbîie & Mardale 2018: p. 303)

Structures like the ones in (26) are characterized by a specific intonation and are used by the speaker to express surprise with regard to the preceding context or utterances. The overt negative expression, e.g. *imposibil* in (26A) and *nu pot să cred* in (26B), that follows the rhetorical question is used to convey incredulity. On the other hand, the *wh*-word preceding it may be absent, however, when employed, it makes the surprise explicit.

The last type of rhetorical interrogatives analyzed in Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018) are lexicalized interrogatives. The latter are structures employing *ce* ‘what’ and the verbs *a spune/a zice* ‘to say’, *a vedea* ‘to see’, or *a face* ‘to do’:

- 27) A. *Despre fată, ce să spun? Are 30 de ani și nu e măritată.*
 about girl what subj.mrk say.1sg has 30 of years and not is married
 ‘As for the girl, what can I say? She is 30 and not yet married.’

- B. *Dau să intru în casă... Când colo, ce să vezi? Ușa era descuiată!*
 give.1sg subj.mrk enter.1sg in house when there what subj.mrk
 see.2sg door.def was unlocked
 ‘I was about to go in... When - what do you know - the door was unlocked!’

(Bîlbîie & Mardale 2018: p. 304)

I have only reproduced two of the examples in Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018), namely the ones expressing hesitation (27A) and surprise (27B). However, these utterances can also convey irony, refutation, or low-value judgements.

The next section deals with declarative clauses, but first I will draw some brief conclusions regarding section 4.2. It was shown that there are three main types of subjunctive interrogatives: questions conveying root modality, questions conveying epistemic modality, and rhetorical questions. The first type of interrogatives regard utterances in which the speaker interrogates the addressee(s) about certain obligations, or in which the speaker themselves may express volition, and want to know whether the addressee(s) want the same. The epistemic interrogatives concern the speaker’s doubts about the context or the sentence itself, and can occasionally possess other modal flavours, e.g. mirativity and evidentiality. Lastly, the rhetorical questions are interrogatives possessing special pragmatic features, mostly conveying the speaker’s attitude towards previous utterances and/or the context.

4.3 Declarative clauses

In this section I will briefly analyze subjunctive structures appearing in declarative clauses. This kind of clauses differ from the others analyzed so far in that they are truncated structures:

- 28) A. *Să fi mers și eu la mare!*
Subj.Mark be.PERF go.PAST.PART also I to sea
'If only I had gone to the seaside too!'
- B. *Să fi cumpărat Ion acea mașină!*
Subj.Mark be.PERF buy.PAST.PART John that.F.SG car
'If only John had bought that car!'
- C. *Să nu fi fost la Veneția ieri seară.*
Subj.Mark NEG be.PERF be.PAST.PART to Venice yesterday evening
A fost o mare inundație.
have.3SG.PRES be.PAST.PART a big flood
'I hope she wasn't in Venice last night. There was a big flood.'
- D. *Să nu fi mâncat din acel tort.*
Subj.Mark NEG be.PERF eat.PAST.PART from that.M.SG cake
Conține brânza dulce, iar el este alergic.
contain.3SG.PRES cheese sweet and he be.3SG.PRES allergic
'I hope he hasn't eaten some of that cake. It contains sweet cheese, and he's allergic.'

All examples in (28) express the speaker's attitude towards an action which either did not take place, and the speaker regrets it, or which the speaker hopes that did not take place. The examples in (28) present two different patterns: the one exemplified in (28A) and in (28B), and the one exemplified in (28C) and in (28D). I will first analyze the former pattern.

Examples (28A) and (28B) are counterfactuals used to convey regret for a past event. More specifically, they express regret for an action which has not taken place in the past and which the speaker wished it had. As a general meaning, they express how a specific world, the speaker's world, should have been. However, some other factor has prevented the action from taking place. From a morpho-syntactic point of view, these structures are always inflected for past subjunctive.

The examples in (28C) and (28D) semantically differ from the previous ones, in that they express the speaker's hope that a specific action did not take place. This meaning is clearly observable in the English translations, which obligatorily require the expression *I hope* (in alternative this expression could be replaced by the adverb *hopefully*). These structures must contain a negation and they express how the speaker's world should not have been. The speaker does not know whether the action described in the utterance took place: in example (28C) the speaker does not know whether the subject was actually in Venice, while in example (28D) the speaker does not know whether the subject ate some of the cake.

The four examples share, however, some common features. All the structures analyzed in this section employ the past subjunctive to express either regret or hope. Moreover, as I have mentioned above, they are truncated structures. The English translation results once again helpful, for in examples (28C) and (28D) it results clear that the subjunctive structure is actually an embedded clause depending on the matrix clause *Sper* ‘I hope’:

29) *Sper* *să* *nu* *fi* *mâncat* *din* *acel* *tort.*
 hope.1SG.PRES subj.mark NEG be.PERF eat.PAST.PART from that.M.SG cake
 ‘I hope he hasn’t eaten some of that cake.’

On the other hand, the examples in (28A) and (28B) are truncated conditionals (30A), and subjunctive mood could be replaced, without changes in the meaning, by the conditional mood, which can either appear in truncated conditionals (30C), like the subjunctive structures above, or in fully-fledged conditionals (30B):

30) A. *Să* *fi* *mers* *și* *eu la mare, m-* *aș*
 Subj.Mark be.PERF go.PAST.PART also I to sea me.refl cond.1SG
fi *distrat.*
 be.PERF have fun.PAST.PART

C. *Dacă/De-aș* *fi* *mers* *și* *eu la mare, m-* *aș*
 if cond.1SG be.PERF go.PAST.PART also I to sea me.refl cond.1SG
fi *distrat.*
 be.PERF have fun.PAST.PART
 ‘If I had gone to the seaside too, I would have had fun.’

B. *De-aș* *fi* *mers* *și* *eu la mare.*
 if cond.1SG be.PERF go.PAST.PART also I to sea
 ‘If only I had gone to the seaside too.’

To sum-up this section, it has dealt with truncated subjunctive clauses expressing how the world should or should not have been according to the speaker. These structures are always past-related, for they express the speaker’s regret for something in the past that did not happen, or the speaker’s hope that something in the past did not happen. The structures conveying regret are truncated conditionals, while those expressing hope are embedded subjunctives where the matrix clause *Sper* ‘I hope’ is omitted.

4.4 Conclusions

This chapter has dealt with the semantic properties of Romanian subjunctives in root clauses. It has shown that there are three main clause types in which subjunctive structures can occur: imperatives, interrogatives and declaratives.

The structures analyzed in the section dedicated to imperative clauses semantically convey root modality, and I have analyzed the features of obligation, volition, permission and invitation. Obligation was said to involve an imposition which either derives from the speaker or from a set of norms. Volition is instead an appeal to the addressee(s) to perform an action desired, but not imposed by the speaker. Permission and invitation concern the speaker not minding whether a certain action takes place or not. In this section it was also shown that imperative mood and subjunctive mood share a series of common features, and that the two sometimes compete for the same position.

The interrogative structures analyzed in section 4.3 were shown to convey deontic or epistemic meaning. The former is related to obligations the speaker is wondering about, while the latter is used in dubitative-epistemic utterances in which the speaker is expressing doubts regarding situations they witness or witnessed (*wh*-questions), or regarding actions they do not or did not witness, in which case the doubts concern the truth value of the sentence itself (polarity questions). It was shown, in addition, that in certain epistemic interrogatives, the subjunctive competes with the presumptive or with the indicative. Lastly, in this section I have reviewed Bîlbîie & Mardale's (2018) analysis of rhetorical questions containing subjunctive structures. The last section is dedicated to declarative clauses. It was shown that the subjunctive structures occurring in these clauses are always inflected for the past form and are, in fact, truncated structures. They are used to convey regret for past events or hope that a past event did not take place. The former are conveyed by subjunctive structures corresponding to truncated conditionals, while the latter are conveyed by negative subjunctive structures corresponding to embedded clauses whose matrix clause is *Sper* 'I hope'.

Chapter 5

Subjunctive structures in root clauses: a Balkan phenomenon

This last chapter aims at briefly illustrating that the phenomenon analyzed so far is not limited to Romanian. In fact, it concerns all the languages belonging to the Balkan *Sprachbund*. In chapter 2 I have introduced the general properties of Balkan subjunctives in both embedded and root clauses. It was shown that embedded subjunctives are a very common phenomenon in the languages of the Balkans, but it was also shown that these languages have in common the usage of bare subjunctive structures too. These structures, as the analysis of Romanian has shown, are employed to express a number of modal meanings in various clause types. Although the subjunctive structures analyzed in this thesis are productive in most Balkan languages (Albanian, Bulgarian, Daco-Romanian, Megleno-Romanian, Aromanian, Macedonian, Modern Greek, Serbo-Croatian, Arli Balkan Romani), in this chapter I will review some of the studies concerning this phenomenon in three of these languages: Albanian, Bulgarian, and Modern Greek. This will be therefore a way to place the Romanian analysis in a broader context and to show that this usage of the subjunctive mood could be in fact considered a Balkanism. Other languages, e.g. Western Romance languages, were shown to employ the subjunctive in clauses conveying various modal meanings, however Balkan languages make use of such structures in utterances in which other Indo-European languages employ other moods (cfr. chapter 2 for further details). The chapter will not provide a detailed and exhaustive analysis of the syntactic structure and the semantic features of (bare) subjunctives, it will only illustrate that the analysis made for Romanian also holds in other Balkan languages, the only aim of this chapter being to place the Romanian data in a broader context, i.e. the Balkan *Sprachbund*.

Before analysing each language in turn, I will first briefly (re)introduce Rivero's (1994) analysis of the Balkan clause. In chapter 2 it was shown that all Balkan languages employ the same syntactic strategy to form the subjunctive mood, namely through a particle and the indicative of the lexical verb. These particles were said to be *să* for Romanian, *da* for Bulgarian, *na* for Modern Greek and *të* for Albanian. As far as the analysis in Rivero (1994) is concerned, the subjunctive marker lexicalizes a head M° of a maximal projection MP. This projection, unless a negation occurs, is positioned in the leftmost periphery of the IP:

- 1) [$CP\ C^\circ$ [$MP\ M^\circ$ [$T/AgrP\ T/Agr^\circ$ [$AuxP\ Aux^\circ$ [$VP\ V^\circ$]]]]]]

In the presence of negation, the projection NegP is generated in a position between CP and MP. This, however, does not explain the word order Balkan languages sometimes exhibit, where the

negation follows the subjunctive marker. It was observed for Romanian in chapters 3 and 4, and it can be observed for Modern Greek below:

- 2) *Thelo [ta pedhiá na min fighún].*
I-want the children M not leave-Pres-3s
'I want the children not to leave.'

(Rivero 1994: p. 70)

Rivero (1994) proposes that this difference only concerns the surface position, and that NegP should still be analyzed as generated to the left of MP. Instead, in such structures, the subjunctive marker incorporates into negation, thus appearing that the marker precedes negation. Rivero (1994) also claims that both NegP and MP have the same effect over the verb, in that they block the verb from moving into the CP. In other words, in their presence, Long Head Movement is not possible (cfr. section 3.2.2 for the definition of LHM). Since MP is lower than NegP, which is an IP element, and since they both affect LHM, it derives that the MP projection is located into the IP domain. This means that in the analysis provided by Rivero (1994), the Balkan subjunctive marker is an IP element, as shown in the analysis of Romanian in chapter 3. The following sections will focus on one specific Balkan language at a time.

This chapter is organized as follows: section 5.1 is dedicated to the syntactic properties subjunctive structures in Bulgarian, Modern Greek (MG) and Albanian, while section 5.2 focuses on the modal meanings conveyed through these structures in the aforementioned languages.

5.1 Syntactic properties

This section is dedicated to the syntax of subjunctives in Bulgarian, MG, and Albanian. As far as Bulgarian is concerned, the studies on this mood have mainly focused on embedded structures, however, although I am focusing on root clauses, I will review some syntactic analyzes regarding the subjunctive marker and its adjacency to the verb. Chapter 2 has introduced some occurrences employing the subjunctive mood in both embedded and root environments. It was shown that Bulgarian forms the subjunctive by placing the particle *da* in front of the verb inflected for the indicative mood. Unlike Romanian or Albanian, Bulgarian does not possess any morphology for the subjunctive mood. In chapter 2 it was also illustrated that the same adjacency that is required, for instance, in Romanian, between the particle and the verb, also applies to Bulgarian.

MG subjunctives share the same characteristics of Romanian and Bulgarian subjunctives. It means that, as it was illustrated in chapter 2, subjunctive mood is formed by employing the

particle *na* and the verb inflected for the indicative mood. The strict adjacency between the verb and the subjunctive marker also applies to this language and, in terms of syntactic analysis, the proposals analyze *na* either as a CP element or as an IP element.

From the point of view of subjunctive constructions, Albanian is probably the Balkan language resembling Romanian the most. In fact, both languages exhibit some residuals of subjunctive morphology and, in embedded structures, both languages may make use of a complementizer. The adjacency illustrated for Romanian, Bulgarian and MG between the verb and the subjunctive marker also applies to Albanian. It derives that the syntactic analyzes proposed for the aforementioned languages resemble the ones that will be illustrated for Albanian. This characteristic is indeed already observable in the introduction to this chapter, where I have briefly reviewed Rivero's (1994) analysis of the build-up of the clause in Balkan languages. The following subsections will focus on each language in turn and will provide more details by reviewing previous analyzes on the topic.

5.1.1 Bulgarian

I will here provide a review of a number of syntactic analyzes regarding the subjunctive marker *da* and its position in the build-up of the clause. In particular, I will review the proposals in Krapova (1998; 2001) and in Sočanac (2017). The Bulgarian subjunctive clause in embedded (3A) and root (3B) environments appears as follows:

- 3) A. *Iskam da (Ivan) mālči Ivan.*
 want.1SG Subj.Mark John shut up.3SG.PRES John
 'I want John to shut up.'
- B. *Da mālčiš!*
 Subj.Mark shut up.2SG.PRES
 'Shut up!'

It can be noticed that the verb and the subjunctive marker are always contiguous and that even when the subject is lexicalized, it must either appear before or after the verbal complex formed by the subjunctive marker and the verb. This shows that the behaviour of *da* differs from the behaviour of complementizers, such as *če*:

- 4) *Mislja če Marija e krasiva.*
 think.1SG C Mary be.3SG.PRES beautiful.F.SG
 'I think that Mary is beautiful.'

Example (4) shows that, when a complementizer is present, the subject may appear between the latter and the verb. This means that the subjunctive marker should not be analyzed as the complementizer *če*, which is here shown to occupy a different syntactic position. In fact, the

analyzes I am now going to review account for the difference between these two elements, however, *da* is sometimes analyzed as an element of the CP field, and sometimes as an element of the IP field.

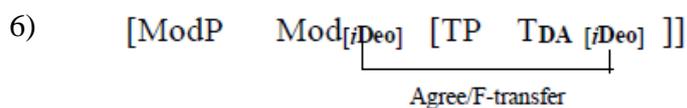
Most of the analyzes I am reviewing in this thesis consider the subjunctive marker an IP internal element, however, Krapova (1998) sees it as part of the CP. The structure of the Bulgarian subjunctive clause the author puts forward is the following: [CP C *da* [TP T [VP SU [V' V OB]]]] (Krapova 1998: p. 85). The latter representation follows the build-up of the clause in minimalist terms, however, the author extends the analysis by adopting the cartographic approach, and by analysing the left periphery of the clause as in Rizzi's (1997) proposal (cfr. chapter 1). Krapova (1998) suggests that the subjunctive marker *da* should be analyzed as occupying FinP, thus as an element of the complementizer field. Furthermore, the author accounts for the strict adjacency between *da* and the verb by suggesting that the verb moves and adjoins to the subjunctive marker in the CP because attracted by an Interpretable Mood feature attracting the verb into this domain. Krapova (1998) accounts for the difference between *da* and *če* by analysing the latter in ForceP.

On the other hand, Krapova (2001) adopts the proposal in Rivero (1994) according to which the subjunctive marker *da* is the head of a maximal projection MP. The adjacency between the particle and the verb indicates that the latter selects a TP (cfr. the structure in (1)). However, the strict adjacency holding between *da* and the finite verb is due to the fact that the verb moves to adjoin to the particle because it must check its categorial feature against the V feature of the particle (Krapova 2001). This means that the two analyzes exposed so far differ regarding the position of the subjunctive marker: Krapova (1998) analyzes it in FinP, i.e. in the CP field, while Krapova (2001) analyzes it in MP, hence in the IP field. However, in both articles the author suggests that the strict adjacency observable between *da* and V is related to the fact that the latter adjoins to the former, either in the complementizer or in the inflectional field.

Sočanac (2017) follows the same line of inquiry, namely the one analyzing the subjunctive marker as an IP internal element. The author shows that *da* should not be analyzed as a complementizer, however, the analysis provided differs in terms of IP position. Sočanac (2017) considers *da* to appear lower than the MP projection proposed in (1), more specifically, in the head T of TP. The author suggests this position because it would account for the tense related properties shown by the subjunctive marker in structures like the one in (5):

- 5) *Marija započva da čete knjigata.*
 Mary begin.3SG.PRES Subj.Mark read.3SG.PRES book-the.F.SG
 'Mary starts to read the book.'

As Sočanac (2017) shows, this kind of structures is not associated with any type of modality, but is instead related to tense. The head of MP would therefore not justify these uses of the subjunctive. Therefore *da* is suggested to be analyzed as a tense operator which “provides the semantic temporal anchor for the interval within which such verbs can be interpreted (the anchor in question corresponding to the reference time of the matrix predicate in this context)” (Sočanac 2017: p. 123). The author, however, does not leave aside the modal meanings that can be conveyed by this particle, therefore the proposal is that *da*, which is positioned in T, establishes an Agree relationship with a higher deontic Mod head. The latter has a *iDeo* feature which, in certain syntactic environments, is transferred from Mod to the subjunctive marker *da* in TP (Sočanac 2017):



(Sočanac 2017: p. 125)

Example (6) shows that the author considers the subjunctive marker an IP internal element appearing even lower in the build-up of the clause than it was assumed by other authors. In this analysis, *da* lexicalizes the head T of TP and possesses modal-related properties only in certain cases, in which the modal feature is transferred to *da* through an Agree relationship between Mod and T.

The analyses reviewed so far for Bulgarian show that there are two main lines of inquiry regarding the syntactic position of the subjunctive marker *da*. The first one considers the latter to be an element belonging to the CP field, and it is the proposal made in Krapova (1998). This kind of analysis resembles the one suggested for the Romanian subjunctive marker in Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), who proposes that *să* is a CP element. At the same time, the second line of inquiry analyzes the Bulgarian subjunctive marker as an IP element. This is the proposal made in Krapova (2001) and in Sočanac (2017). The former suggests that *da* occupies the head of MP, a projection situated in a high position in IP, while the latter analyzes *da* in an even lower position, i.e. TP. Krapova’s (2001) proposal matches Rivero (1994) and the ones I have followed for the analysis of Romanian in chapter 3, while Sočanac’s (2017) analysis focuses more on the tense properties possessed by the subjunctive marker.

5.1.2 Modern Greek

This subsection provides a review of the syntactic analyses made in Roussou (2000) and in Giannakidou (2007), however, before proceeding with the analyses I am reviewing, let us

briefly illustrate the structure of the MG clause in both embedded and root subjunctive structures:

- 7) A. *Thelo o Pavlos na erthi.*
want.1sg the Paul.nom subj come.3sg
'I want Paul to come.'

(Giannakidou 2007: p. 15)

- B. *Na to ixes pi.*
subj it had.2sg said
'You should have said it.'

(Giannakidou 2007: p. 14)

In (7) it can be observed that the subjunctive marker *na* may be used in subjunctive complements, as in (7A) or in root structures, as in (7B). It should be noticed that in both cases the marker is bound to the verb, or, as example (7B) shows, to the verbal complex.

The first analysis of the subjunctive marker I am going to review is the one made in Roussou (2000). The author, before providing a personal analysis, reviews previous works on the same topic. The first one is Rivero (1994), which I will not include here, because it was already exposed in the introduction to this chapter and in chapter 3. The second study reviewed by Roussou (2000) follows the same line of inquiry as Rivero (1994), namely the one which considers the subjunctive marker an IP element. This analysis is provided in Philippaki-Warburton (1992, 1994, 1998)²⁵, where *na* is analyzed inside the MoodP projection, which is the highest IP projection, dominating NegP. The head of the projection MoodP is specified as \pm Indicative, and the subjunctive marker is suggested to realize the -Indicative value. Roussou (2000) then proceeds by reviewing the line of inquiry analysing *na* inside the CP. The author illustrates the proposals in Agouraki (1991) and Tsoulas (1993), who analyze the subjunctive marker in a CP projection dominating a NegP projection, which in turn dominates TP: CP > NegP > TP.

Roussou (2000) follows this line of inquiry, suggesting that *na* is a C head, more specifically, the subjunctive marker is seen as a modal element realizing the lower C in the articulated structure of CP. The author employs Rizzi's (1997) detailed structure of the left periphery and elaborates it by inserting three C heads: C, which is the most external one and could be compared to Rizzi's Force; C_{Op} is the middle C head and provides clause-typing, another characteristic associated with ForceP in the cartographic approach; and finally C_M, which is the lowest C head encoding modality, and roughly corresponding to Rizzi's FinP. As it can be

²⁵ In Roussou (2000).

noticed from the properties associated with each C, the author has divided Rizzi's ForceP into two different projections, one providing "subordination", i.e. the highest C, and one providing clause-typing, i.e. the middle C. The subjunctive marker *na* occupies the latter, which is here observable: [C *pu* [Topic/Focus [C_{Op} *oti/an/na/as* [Neg *den/min* [C_M *ta/tna/as*[I cl + V...]]]]]] (Roussou 2000: p. 79). Roussou (2000) claims that *na* spells-out features that are associated with modality and clause typing operators, hence with the middle and the lowest C heads. Moreover, it is preceded by topic and focus, and it is followed by the verbal complex:

- 8) *Elpizo ta mila na (*ta mila) min ta fai o Petros*
 hope-1sg the apples part (*the apples) not part eat-3sg the Peter
 'I hope that Peter won't eat the apples.'

(Roussou 2000: p. 76)

To conclude, in Roussou's (2000) analysis the subjunctive marker is generated in the lowest C, i.e. the one associated with modality. Then, it moves up to the middle C, i.e. the one associated with clause-typing.

Moving to Giannakidou (2007), the author disagrees with Roussou's (2000) analysis of *na* as a CP element and claims that it should be analyzed as the head of a MoodP projection. The latter is located inside the IP, and it is the highest projection of the inflectional domain. MoodP is dominated by the CP and dominates in turn NegP. The author provides a split IP analysis of the MG clause structure which strongly resembles the ones illustrated for Romanian in chapter 3: CP > MoodP > NegP > T/AgrP > VP.

As Sočanac (2017) did for Balkan Slavic subjunctives, Giannakidou (2007) focuses on the temporal properties of the subjunctive marker. Although placing the subjunctive marker into a Mood head, the author claims that, from a semantic point of view, *na* introduces the variable *now* (*n*) into the syntax, thus serving as the parameter for the temporal anchoring of the verb²⁶. In particular, the subjunctive marker introduces *n* into the subjunctive clause. This particle is also bound to the CP domain, for the head C contains the operator providing illocutionary force in root clauses. This means that *na* does not possess specific modal meanings, which are instead provided by the illocutionary force. The only function associated with the subjunctive marker is tense-related. This analysis resembles to the one I provided in chapter 3 for the Romanian subjunctive marker, although I have not focused on the temporal properties of *să*.

²⁶ It must be noted, however, that the author's analysis focuses on the subjunctive structures employing the perfective nonpast. It was shown throughout the thesis that there are also past subjunctives in the languages of the Balkans.

As in the case of Romanian and Bulgarian, this section has shown that there are two main lines of inquiry regarding the syntactic analysis of the subjunctive marker in MG: the first one sees *na* as an element occurring in the complementizer field, while the second one considers the subjunctive marker an element of the inflectional domain. The former is the analysis provided in Roussou (2000), who suggests that the CP field should be associated with three different C heads. The subjunctive marker is base generated in the C head related to modality, and then moves up to occupy the C head related to clause-typing. Giannakidou (2007), on the other hand, claims that the subjunctive marker is base generated into the IP, namely in the head of MoodP. *Na*'s function, however, is not directly associated with mood and modality, its primary function being to introduce the tense variable *n* into the subjunctive clause. The modal-related meanings are instead provided by the illocutionary force, which is given by an operator hosted in the C head of CP.

5.1.3 Albanian

It should be by now evident that the two main lines of inquiry analyze the Balkan subjunctive marker either as an IP element or as a CP element. I have reviewed some proposals made for Bulgarian and MG, and they were shown to follow the same patterns. The same must therefore be expected from Albanian. Rivero (1994) was shown to analyze *të* inside the IP, which is also the analysis provided in comparative analyses of Balkan languages, like the ones in Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018) and Sočanac (2017). I will not illustrate again these proposals here, for it would be redundant. Instead, I will review the analysis made in Turano (2017), who analyzes the subjunctive marker inside the CP. It was said in the introduction to section 5.1 that Albanian and Romanian possess a subjunctive complementizer. When the embedded subjunctive is headed by the complementizer *që*, it is followed by the subject and by the verbal complex, as shown in (9):

- 9) *Beni dëshiron që studentet të lexojnë librat*
 Ben.nom wants that students+the.nom TË read.3pl.subj books+the.acc¹
 'Ben wants that the students read the books'

(Turano 2017: p. 63)

The author shows that, between the subjunctive complementizer and the subjunctive marker topic (10A) and focus (10B) positions are available:

- 10) A. *Beni dëshiron që librin studentit ta kthejë në bibliotekë*
 Ben.nom wants that book+the.acc student+the.nom TË+it.cl
 return.3sg.subj in library

B. *Beni* *dëshiron që* ***LIBRIN*** *studenti* *të kthejë* *në bibliotekë,*
 Ben.nom wants that BOOK+THE.acc student+the.nom TË return-3sg.subj in library,
jo fjalorin
 not the vocabulary

(Turano 2017: p. 64)

Example (10) clearly illustrates how similar subjunctive structures are in Albanian and Romanian: both languages possess a subjunctive complementizer and reduced subjunctive morphology, and both languages allow the presence of topicalized and focused elements between the complementizer and the subjunctive marker, while the latter must be strictly adjacent to the verb, the only elements that can interrupt this adjacency being clitic elements, as shown in (10A). Turano (2017) employs Rizzi's (1997) structure of the left periphery to illustrate the different positions of the elements occurring in embedded subjunctives:

11) [_{ForceP} që [_{TopP} studentet [_{FinP} të [_{TP} studentet lexojnë [_{vP} studentet lexojnë [_{VP} lexoj
 librat]]]]] (Turano 2017: p. 64)

It can be observed that the author considers the subjunctive complementizer to occupy ForceP, while the subjunctive marker is shown to occupy FinP, which is specified for modality. The subject, when the complementizer is present, moves up to the topic position, while when the complementizer is absent, it occurs in the sentence-final position. Thus, the word order is SVO in the first case and VOS in the second case. The subject, however, can never intervene between *të* and the verb. The adjacency between these two elements is related with their syntactic position. Indeed, it can be derived by the representation in (11) that the verb moves up to TP, which is the projection dominated by FinP.

Summing-up this section, I have not reviewed as many proposals as in the case of Bulgarian and MG, for it would have been redundant. In fact, the two main proposals analyze the Balkan subjunctive marker in similar ways. I have however briefly reviewed Turano's (2017) analysis of the structure of the Albanian embedded subjunctives, showing that this language is the Balkan language that resembled Romanian the most. However, unlike the line of inquiry I have followed for the analysis of Romanian, Turano (2017) considers the subjunctive marker a CP element lexicalizing the head of FinP.

5.2 Semantic properties

Section 2.2.2 has shown that, semantically speaking, Bulgarian, MG, Albanian, and Romanian subjunctives share common properties in terms of mood and modality when appearing in root

structures²⁷. The latter can be imperative clauses, interrogative clauses, and declarative clauses, and the modal meanings they convey are various. In general, imperative clauses express root modality, e.g. obligation and volition, interrogatives may convey either root or epistemic modality, while declaratives are generally used in the expression of counterfactuals.

Like I did for section 5.1, I will here analyze these modal meanings in Bulgarian, MG, and Albanian in this order.

5.2.1 Bulgarian

In chapter 4 I have provided an analysis of the various modal meanings possessed by the subjunctive mood in Romanian. In this subsection I will analyze a series of examples taken from the Bulgarian WordNet and the Bulgarian National Corpus, and I will briefly show that the modal-related meanings associated with subjunctive root clauses in Romanian, also apply for Bulgarian.

I will start by analysing subjunctive structures in imperative clauses:

- 12) A. *Ti da mālčiš!*
You Subj.Mark be quiet.2SG.PRES
'Be quiet!'
- B. *Da se izpolzva samo za zajci pod 5kg.*
Subj.Mark refl use.3SG.PRES only for rabbits under 5kg
'To be used only for rabbits under 5kg.'
- C. *Da razgledame tova sledstvie!*
Subj.Mark look.1PL.PRES this.N.SG fact
'Let's look at this fact!'
- D. *Da vi e čestit novijat stadion! (Požela kmetāt na Sofija)*
Subj.Mark you be.3SG.PRES happy new-the.M.SG stadium
'May you be happy with the new stadium! (Wished the mayor of Sofia)'

The examples in (12) indicate that in terms of root modality, Bulgarian subjunctives may express, a.o., obligation, as in (12A) and (12B), and volition, as in (12C) and (12D). Let us take a better look at the examples one by one.

As far as obligation is concerned, it can either come from the speaker (12A) or from a norm (12B). In the first case, the speaker imposes the addressee to perform, or rather stop performing an action, namely to stop talking. This kind of usage can be related to what is called imperative mood in traditional grammars. I have not analyzed it as hortative, i.e. a wish and an appeal

²⁷ This characteristic is also shared by the other languages which are part of the Balkan Sprachbund, however, since the core of this thesis focuses on the analysis of Romanian, I am here showing parallels between this language and the Balkan languages analyzed in this chapter.

expressed by the speaker to an addressee, because I believe it to be semantically stronger, which makes it belong to the subclass of obligation, rather than to the subclass of hortative modality, and, therefore, volition. Example (12B) is instead easier to analyze, for it is part of some kind of regulation. It derives that, semantically, it is an obligation imposed to the addressee(s) by a norm the latter has to comply with.

Moving to volition, it is represented by the example in (12C), which conveys a cohortative meaning, and by the example in (12D), which expresses an optative meaning. The former is the expression of the speaker's wish and appeal for the addressees to perform a specific action, in particular, in the example in (12C) the speaker wants the addressees to think about a certain fact. Cohortative meaning regards 1st persons plural, therefore the speaker is one of the addressees. As mentioned above, example (12D) is an utterance conveying optative meaning. More specifically, the speaker is the mayor of Sofia, and he wishes the addressees to enjoy the new stadium. As specified in chapter 4, optative modality only involves the speaker's wishes, and there is no appeal coming from them. Therefore, the addressees are experiencers, rather than agents.

This part of the semantic analysis is dedicated to interrogative clauses. These utterances are usually used to express doubt, perplexity, and volition, a.o.:

- 13) A. *Da ne misliș, e me e strach?*
 Subj.Mark NEG think.2SG.PRES that me be.3SG.PRES fear
 'You don't think that I'm afraid?!'
- B. *Ti da ne si bolen?*
 you Subj.Mark NEG be.2SG.PRES sick.M.SG
 'You're not sick, are you?'
- C. *Da vzema li lzika?*
 Subj.Mark take.1SG.PRES int.prt spoon
 'Should I take a spoon?'

All examples in (13) are polarity questions and they either belong to the root modality type, or to the dubitative-epistemic one. Example (13A) is an utterance in which the speaker expresses perplexity, probably as a consequence of previous utterances performed by the addressee(s). This interrogative can be linked to the Romanian ones conveying a dubitative-epistemic meaning, however, as in certain Romanian subjunctives, the utterance in (13A) possesses a mirativity flavour, which induces the perplexity reading. The clause in (13B) also belongs to the dubitative-epistemic type. In particular, the speaker expresses uncertainty regarding the state of health of the addressee. As far as the temporal anchoring is concerned, in both (13A) and (13B) the time of the utterance is parallel to the time of the situation.

Example (13C), on the other hand, is either an obligation or a volitive interrogative. The speaker is asking the addressee(s) whether they are supposed to take a spoon either because imposed by the circumstances or by the addressee(s), or because the latter wants the speaker to do so. In the former case, the utterance would express obligation, because it implies an imposition, i.e. an action the speaker *has to* perform. In the latter case, the utterance would convey volition, because it involves the addressee(s) wish for the speaker to perform the action.

The last Bulgarian example I am going to analyze is a counterfactual occurring in a declarative clause:

- 14) *Da beše se naučil da pišeš, sega njamaše da se skitaš iz gorite!*
 Subj.Mark be.2SGIMPF refl learn.PAST.PART Subj.Mark write.2SG.PRES now
 not have.2SG.IMPF Subj.Mark refl wonder.2SG.PRES through wood-the.F.PL
 ‘If only you had learned to write, now you wouldn’t have had to wonder in the woods.’

The utterance in (14) should be compared with the Romanian structures occurring in declarative clauses. It was shown that those structures were in fact truncated sentences, and that some were truncated conditionals. Although example (14) is a fully-fledged conditional, the analysis made for Romanian also applies to Bulgarian. The speaker utters regret for a past-related action the addressee should have performed, and, since this is not a truncated conditional, the apodosis expresses the consequence of the regretted action.

This section dedicated to the semantics of subjunctives in root clauses has illustrated that the modal analysis provided in chapter 4 for Romanian can be extended to Bulgarian. It was shown that subjunctive structures in Bulgarian can occur in imperative, interrogative, and declarative clauses, and that each type of clause possesses different modal meanings. Imperatives may convey obligation or volition, interrogatives express both root and epistemic modality, while declaratives were shown to correspond to counterfactuals expressing regret for past-related actions. All these modal meanings were shown to be found in Romanian as well, therefore, it can be concluded that Bulgarian and Romanian share a series of semantic properties associated with subjunctive structures in root clauses.

5.2.2 Modern Greek

This section is dedicated to the semantic analysis of bare subjunctive structures, by employing a number of examples from Mišeska Tomić (2006) and Giannakidou (2007), and it aims at showing that the modal meanings associated with subjunctive structures that were observed in Romanian and Bulgarian also apply to MG. In particular, as Giannakidou (2007) points out,

they are not limited to the deontic modality²⁸, but also regard, for instance, epistemic modality. The author shows that *na* may be used with an illocutionary force of a request or a command, in other words, what I have called *root modality* in chapter 4:

- 15) *Na kerdisi o Janis.*
 subj win.PNP.3sg the John
 ‘Let John win!’

(Giannakidou 2007: p. 30)

From a semantic point of view, the example in (15) is related to volition, more specifically to exhortative modality. Giannakidou (2007) proceeds by showing that this kind of modal meaning is not the only one associated with subjunctive structures:

- 16) A. *Pjos na kerdise (araje)?*
 who subj win.PP.3sg question particle
 ‘Who (do you think) won?’
 B. *Isos na efije o Janis.*
 perhaps/possibly subj left.PP.3sg the John
 ‘Perhaps John left.’

(Giannakidou 2007: p. 31)

The examples in (16) show that MG subjunctives can also convey epistemic modality, related to both present (16A) and past (16B) actions.

The examples analyzed above already illustrate that Romanian, Bulgarian and MG share the same modal meanings when subjunctives are employed in root clauses, however, I will proceed by furtherly analysing these meanings. Mišeska Tomić (2006) claims that “Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second and 3rd person, singular and plural, express a wish or a (mild) command.” (Mišeska Tomić 2006: p. 629). This definition could be associated with root modality. It specifies that subjunctives in root clauses may express the speaker’s wish, thus conveying volition, or a command uttered by the speaker, in which case it conveys obligation. Let us now take a look at some examples:

- 17) A. *To mesimeri na to exis*
 the.N.Sg noon Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Cl have.2Sg
sidheromeno to pandeloni!
 ironed.N.Sg.Pass.Part the.N.Sg trousers.
 ‘At noon you should have your trousers ironed!’

²⁸ *Deontic modality* is the term employed by the author. As I have already specified in this thesis, it must be associated to what I have called *root modality*.

B. *Na su dhoso/dhosume.*
 Subj.Mark 2Sg.Gen.Cl give.1Sg/Pl
 ‘Let me/us give (it) to you.’/‘So, I/we shall give (it) to you.’

C. *Na zisete!*
 Subj.Mark live.2Pl
 ‘May you live long!’

(Mišeska Tomić 2006: p. 629)

Example (17) contains utterances conveying both obligation (17A) and volition (17B; 17C). The translation provided in example (17A) resembles more volition than obligation, however, if the context and the illocutionary force play the same role as in Romanian and Bulgarian, it could also be considered an obligation, which would be translated as ‘Have the trousers ironed by noon!’. In this case the speaker would be commanding the addressee to finish a precise action in a precise amount of time.

Examples (17B) and (17C) can instead be more easily associated with volition. The former is clearly an utterance conveying cohortative modality, while the latter possesses optative meaning. More specifically, the structure in (17B) expresses the speaker’s wish for the addressee(s) to perform a specific action, while the structure in (17C), being an optative utterance, expresses the speaker’s wish for the addressees to experience a specific action.

These latter modal meanings are conveyed through what I have defined *imperative clauses* in chapter 4, therefore it remains to verify whether interrogative and declarative clauses in MG as well behave the same way as in Romanian and Bulgarian. I will start with the analysis of interrogative clauses:

18) A. *Ti na kano?*
 what Subj.Mark do.1SG
 ‘What should I do?’

(Agouraki 1991: p. 3)

B. *Se pjon na to exi dhosi to klidhi?!*
 to whom Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl have.3Sg given.Act.Perf.Part the.N.Sg key
 ‘To whom could he have given the key?!’

(Mišeska Tomić 2006: p. 631)

The utterances in (18) express two different modalities that can be conveyed in interrogative clauses. The first one, in (18A), is related to root modality, while (18B) to epistemic modality. Example (18A) is a 1st person singular subjunctive in which the speaker is asking the addressee(s) whether they are supposed either to follow an obligation or to perform an action because of a wish expressed by the addressee(s) in a previous utterance. In the former case, the example expresses obligation, while in the latter it expresses volition. Regarding example

(18B), it possesses an epistemic meaning. In particular, as it was observed in the Romanian and Bulgarian utterances, it conveys dubitative-epistemic modality.

The last occurrence I am going to illustrate is a counterfactual subjunctive clause:

- 19) *Na se ixa konda mu!*
Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Imperf near 1Sg.Gen.Cl
'If only I had you near me!'

(Mišeska Tomić 2006: p. 631)

The speaker uttering the sentence in (19) is expressing regret for an action not taking place in a moment parallel to the time of the utterance. It is true that the examples illustrated for Romanian and Bulgarian bearing counterfactual properties expressed regret regarding an action which did not take place in the past, however, although the tense anchoring differs, the semantics is comparable. Another comparable characteristic with Romanian is the lack of an apodosis, which is implicit. Mišeska Tomić (2006) treats the utterance as an exclamation. This does not mean, however, that it belongs to the “group” of what I have called *imperative clauses*, for, as I have already underlined in chapter 4, although the two “groups” share some semantic properties, namely the direction of fit, they also partially differ.

This section dedicated to the semantics of MG bare subjunctive clauses has shown that parallels can be done, in so far, between three Balkan languages: Romanian, Bulgarian and MG. Indeed, all three languages employ these structures to convey the same modal meanings in the same contexts. The next section will show that a fourth Balkan language shares the same characteristics.

5.2.3 Albanian

This subsection will illustrate that the modal meanings analyzed so far for Romanian, Bulgarian, and MG can also be found in Albanian. These modal meanings were said to be expressed in imperative, interrogative and declarative clauses which employ the subjunctive mood. The modality conveyed through these structures was said to be either root or epistemic, and it can occasionally possess other modal flavours. The first examples I am going to analyze express root modality:

- 20) A. *Të shkosh!*
Subj.Mark go.2Sg.Subj.Pres
'You should go!'
- B. *Të mos ia japësh!*
Subj.Mark not.Mod 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.2Sg.Subj.Pres
'Don't give it to him!'

C. *Të provoj/provojmë.*
Subj.Mark try.1Sg/Pl.Pres
'Let me/us try. / So, I/we shall try.'

D. *Të trashëgoheni!*
Subj.Mark have-children.2Pl.M-P.Pres
'May you be blessed with children!'

(Mišeska Tomić 2006: pp. 598-601)

As in the section dedicated to MG, I am here making use of a number of occurrences taken from Mišeska Tomić (2006). The occurrences in (20A) and (20B) express obligation, while the occurrences in (20C) and (20D) express volition. Like example (17A), the utterance in (20A) is interpreted by the author as a mild command, which would induce an analysis of the occurrence in terms of volition. However, since Albanian has proved to behave in such a similar manner to Romanian, I believe that with a specific illocutionary force and within the proper context, such utterances are rather to be analyzed as conveying obligation. Example (20B), instead, can be more easily analyzed as obligation, or rather, prohibition. The latter can however be intended as an obligation requiring the addressee(s) not to perform a specific action. Indeed, the meaning expressed by the occurrence in (20B) is strongly related to the negation occurring in the utterance.

Examples (20C) and (20D) clearly convey volition. In particular, the former possesses a cohortative meaning, while the latter possesses an optative meaning. The difference between the two modalities was said to be related both to the phi-features of the verb, hence to the addressee(s), and to the thematic roles of the addressee(s). Cohortative occurrences are inflected for the 1st person plural, and express not only the speaker's wish, but also an appeal for the addressees to perform an action. Optative occurrences may potentially be inflected for all persons and are employed in the mere expression of the speaker's wishes, which means that the addressee(s) are experiencers. It is interesting that Albanian employs the subjunctive mood in order to express optatives, for this language also possesses an optative mood, unlike the other Balkan languages analyzed in this thesis.

Albanian expresses root modality through interrogatives as well:

21) *Çfarë të bëj?*
what Subj.Mark do.1SG.PRES
'What should I do?'

The analysis of (21) resembles those provided for the same type of utterances in Romanian, Bulgarian, and MG. Therefore, depending on the context and the illocutionary force, it may

convey either volition, and, more specifically, hortative meaning, or obligation. In the first case the speaker is asking the addressee(s) what they have to do according to a requirement, while in the second case the speaker is asking what the addressee(s) want them to do.

In the previous sections it was shown that Balkan languages may also convey epistemic modality through bare subjunctive structures occurring in interrogatives. The examples below show their behaviour in Albanian in polarity questions (22A) and in *wh*-questions (22B):

22) A. *Të ketë qenë Kozma?!
 Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Subj.Pres been.Part Kozma
 ‘Could it be that it was Kozma?!’*

B. *Ku të ketë qenë domaqini?!
 where Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Subj.Pres been.Part host+the.M.Sg
 ‘Where could the host be?!’*

(Mišeska Tomić 2006: p. 600)

Both occurrences express dubitative-epistemic modality, and both possess a mirativity flavour. As far as the difference between *wh*-questions and polarity questions is concerned, the analysis provided for Romanian in chapter 4 applies to Albanian as well. In fact, while the occurrence in (22B) expresses the speaker’s doubts about an action they know is taking place, the one in (22A) expresses the speaker’s doubts regarding a supposition. From the point of view of temporal anchoring, the time of the action in (22A) is anterior to the time of the utterance, while in (22B) it is parallel.

The last occurrence I am going to analyze regards subjunctive structures in declarative clauses:

23) *Sikur të kisha para!
 ‘If I had money!’*

(Turano 2004: p. 96²⁹)

The utterance in (23) is a counterfactual lacking the apodosis, like the examples made in Romanian and MG. However, compared to the other Balkan languages analyzed in this thesis, Albanian shows a peculiarity: it employs a complementizer which precedes the subjunctive marker. Therefore, the counterfactual meaning, at least in the example in (23), is expressed through a structure which results more complex than the ones observed in Romanian, Bulgarian, and MG. Nevertheless, the Albanian occurrence can be still considered a bare subjunctive structure expressing counterfactuality.

²⁹ I am here using an example from Turano (2004) who provides a translation in Italian. The English translation is provided by me.

Like the parts dedicated to Bulgarian and MG, this section has shown that the modal meanings analyzed for Romanian are employed by Albanian as well. It was shown that this language makes use of the subjunctive mood to express root modality, epistemic modality, and counterfactuality.

5.4 Conclusions

It was stated in the introduction to this chapter that its main purpose was to provide brief (reviews of some) analyses concerning Bulgarian, MG, and Albanian. It did not aim at giving a complete account on how subjunctive structures behave on a syntactic and semantic level in these languages. It aimed at showing that, even when a non-extensive analysis is provided, the properties observed in chapters 3 and 4 regarding Romanian are comparable to those possessed by a group of languages which are not directly related from a genetical point of view, but are instead spoken in the same geographic area, the Balkan Peninsula, which was said to correspond to a linguistic area denominated *Balkan Sprachbund*.

In chapter 2 it was illustrated that the languages belonging to this area share a series of common features in terms of phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. This chapter has focused on a particular type of structures, namely root clauses employing the subjunctive mood. It was shown that syntactically speaking, the subjunctive marker employed by the Balkan languages in the realization of this mood is analyzed in similar ways. More precisely, there are two main lines of inquiry: the first one analyzes this element inside the CP, and generally adopts Rizzi's (1997) extended structure of the left periphery to show that the subjunctive marker lexicalizes the head of FinP; instead, the second line of inquiry considers this element as belonging to the IP field, and it is generally analyzed as the head of an MP projection which is, depending on the author, one of the leftmost projections of the inflectional domain.

From the point of view of semantics, these structures were shown to be employed in what I have defined as imperative clauses, interrogative clauses, and declarative clauses. The first type conveys root modality, e.g. obligation and volition. The second type of clause is used to express either volitive or epistemic modality, which may be conveyed in different types of interrogatives, e.g. *wh*-questions and polarity questions. Finally, the last type of clause was said to correspond to truncated constructions, mostly conditionals. They were shown to possess semantic features resembling the ones observed in imperative clauses, however they also differ. These types of clauses were said to be, effectively, counterfactuals.

A more in-depth analysis should be made regarding the syntax and semantics of subjunctive structures in root clauses in Balkan languages, however, the overview provided in this chapter

suffices for the purpose of this thesis: showing that the behaviour of the constructions mentioned above is not an isolated linguistic phenomenon of the Romanian language, but should be instead considered a feature which characterizes the languages belonging to the Balkan *Sprachbund*.

Final conclusions

This thesis has provided an analysis of subjunctive structures in Balkan languages, with a more in-depth analysis of Romanian. Although introducing the general properties of this mood, it has mainly focused on bare subjunctive structures. The general morphological, syntactic and semantic properties of these constructions have been inserted in broader a linguistic phenomenon called Balkan *Sprachbund*, which is a linguistic union bringing together most of the languages of the Balkan Peninsula. Following previous works on the topic (Sandfeld 1930; Banfi 1985; Mišeska Tomić 2006; a.o.) I have listed a number of linguistic features which characterize Balkan languages, showing that the way in which they form and employ the subjunctive mood is considered a Balkanism. Moreover, it was shown that it is generally assumed that the development of such constructions happened under Greek influence (Rosetti 1978; Krapova 2001; Hill 2013; a.o.). From a diachronic point of view, the emergence of analytic subjunctive forms is also linked to the loss, or scarce usage, of infinitives by the languages of the Balkan *Sprachbund* (Sandfeld 1930; Joseph 1983; Banfi 1985; Mišeska-Tomić 2006). It derives that, in embedded structures, the subjunctive mood replaces infinitives, thus differing from Western Romance languages and Germanic languages. However, Balkan subjunctives are also employed in a variety of matrix clauses expressing different modal meanings, a feature which is also observable in Western Romance languages, which, however, exhibit less variety in this sense, as shown in chapters 2 and 4.

After introducing the main topic, I have focused, in chapter 3, on the syntactic analysis of Romanian subjunctive structures. I have first illustrated previous works regarding the build-up of the Romanian clause (Rivero 1994; Montapanyane 1995; Alboiu 2002) and I have introduced a number of studies concerning the left periphery of the clause in this language (Alboiu 2002; Hill 2002; Hill & Tomić 2008). It was shown that the subjunctive marker is generally analyzed as an element occupying the head of an MP projection in the IP field (Rivero 1994; Montapanyane 1995; Alboiu 2002; a.o.), while, as far as the left periphery is concerned, it is either considered a reduced one, as in Alboiu (2002) and Hill (2002), or a fully-fledged one, as in Hill & Tomić (2008), where the subjunctive marker should be analyzed as Fin.

I have followed the line of inquiry analysing the subjunctive marker as an IP-internal element, and I have attempted an analysis by adopting the Cartographic approach, and, more precisely, Cinque's (1999, 2006) detailed representation of the functional projections of the IP. I have tested the position of the Romanian verb with regard to the adverbs which are assumed to occupy the Spec positions of these projections, then I have tested the position of the verbal

complex containing the subjunctive marker with regard to these elements. The targeted positions always resulted the same: Mood_{irrealis} or higher. I have therefore tentatively suggested that the subjunctive marker is based generated in the head of this projection, and that the adjacency between it and the verbal complex could be explained by assuming that the lexical verb, when raising out of VP, ends up merging in Mood_{irrealis} after carrying along the elements forming the verbal complex. The positions which the subjunctive marker may occupy, however, do not account for all the modal meanings conveyed by bare subjunctive structures. Therefore, in the spirit of Giorgi & Pianesi (1997), I have suggested that the illocutionary force plays a crucial role in the expression of these modal meanings, which can sometimes be enhanced by adverbs or modal operators.

Chapter 4 has dealt more in-depth with the semantic properties associated with matrix subjunctive clauses. It was shown that subjunctive structures may occur in imperative, interrogative, and declarative clauses. Imperative clauses are associated with root modality and its different subsets, e.g. obligation, volition, permission and invitation. I have followed Ammann & van der Auwera (2004) to further subclassify volition in cohortative, exhortative, and optative meaning. Interrogative clauses are associated with root modality, but also with dubitative-epistemic modality. In the latter case the doubt expressed by the speaker may concern the truth-value of the utterance itself, or elements belonging to the context. It was also shown that subjunctives appearing in this type of clauses can also convey other modal flavours, mainly mirativity. Moreover, interrogatives employing the subjunctive mood can also be rhetorical questions, as illustrated in Bîlbîie & Mardale (2018). Finally, what I have analyzed as declarative clauses are in fact truncated constructions either corresponding to truncated counterfactual conditionals, or to structures having as a matrix clause the sentence ‘I hope’, which can, in case, be substituted by the adverb *hopefully*.

The last chapter was dedicated to a brief review of previous syntactic analyses concerning subjunctive structures in three specific Balkan languages: Bulgarian, Modern Greek, and Albanian. For the part dedicated to Bulgarian I have employed the analyses in Krapova (1998, 2001) and in Sočanac (2017); for Modern Greek I have used those in Roussou (2000) and Giannakidou (2007); while for Albanian I have employed the analysis provided by Turano (2017). It resulted that there are two main lines of inquiry, as it was also shown for Romanian: the first one considers the subjunctive marker an IP-internal element, while the second one analyzes it as part of the complementizer domain. At the same time, the brief semantic analysis I have attempted has shown that the modal meanings expressed by subjunctives in Bulgarian,

Modern Greek, and Albanian pattern together with the ones that were shown to be conveyed by the same structures in Romanian.

The main conclusion which can be drawn from this thesis is that bare subjunctive structures should be indeed considered a Balkanism, both because of their morpho-syntactic properties, and because of their modal meanings, hence the semantic properties to which these constructions are associated.

REFERENCES

- Adger, David, *Core Syntax*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003.
- Agouraki, Yoryia, *A Modern Greek Complementizer and its Significance for UG in UCL Working Papers in Linguistics 3*, pp. 1–24, 1991.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra, *Evidentiality*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004.
- Alboiu, Gabriela, *The Features of Movement in Romanian*, University of Bucharest Press, Bucharest, 2002.
- Ammann, Andreas; van der Auwera, Johan, *Complementizer-headed main clauses for volitional moods in the languages of South-Eastern Europe in Balkan Syntax and Semantics*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004.
- Asenova, Petya, *Balkansko ezikoznanie – Osnovni problemi na balkanskija ezikov šajuz*, Faber, Veliko Tärnovo, 2015.
- Banfi, Emanuele, *Linguistica balcanica*, Zanichelli, Bologna 1985.
- Belletti, Adriana, *Generalized Verb Movement: aspects of verb syntax*, Rosenberg&Sellier, Torino, 1990.
- Bîlbîie, Gabriela and Mardale, Alexandru, *The Romanian subjunctive from a Balkan perspective in Balkan Syntax and (Universal) Principles of Grammar*, pp. 278-314, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin – Boston, 2018.
- Bybee, Joan; Fleischman, Suzanne, *Modality in grammar and discourse: An introductory essay in Modality in Grammar and Discourse*, Benjamins, Amsterdam, pp. 1–14, 1995.
- Carnie, Andrew; Sato, Yosuke and Siddiqi, Daniel edited by, *The Routledge Handbook of Syntax*, Routledge, Abingdon - New York, 2018.
- Chomsky, Noam, *Lectures on government and binding: the Pisa lectures*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 1981.
- Chomsky, Noam, *The Minimalist Program*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995.
- Chomsky, Noam, *Minimalist inquiries in Step by step*, ed. R. Martin, D. Michaels, and J. Uriagereka, pp. 89-155, MIT Press, Cambridge, 2000.
- Cinque, Guglielmo, *Adverbs and Functional Heads: a cross-linguistic perspective*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1999.
- Cinque, Guglielmo, *The Cartography of Syntactic Structures 4: Restructuring and Functional Heads*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006.
- Cinque, Guglielmo and Rizzi, Luigi, *The Cartography of Syntactic Structures in STil – Studies in Linguistics*, CISCL Working Papers, vol.2, 2008.
- Condoravdi, Cleo; Lauer, Sven, *Imperatives: meaning and illocutionary force in Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics 9*, ed. Christopher Piñón, pp. 37–58, 2012.
- Coniglio, Marco and Zegrean, Iulia, *Notes on Overt and Covert Modality in Italian and Romanian in Covert Patterns of Modality*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012.
- Coniglio, Marco and Zegrean, Iulia, *Splitting up force. Evidence from discourse particles in Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012.
- de Haan, Ferdinand, *Typological approaches to modality in The Expression of Modality*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 2006.
- DeLancey, Scott, *The mirative and evidentiality in Journal of Pragmatics 33.3*: pp.369-382, 2001.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen, *The Syntax of Romanian: comparative studies in Romance in Studies in Generative Grammar 40*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 1994.

- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen, *Head-to-Head Merge in Balkan Subjunctives and Locality in Comparative Syntax of the Balkan Languages*, Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Garzonio, Jacopo; Poletto, Cecilia, *When low adverbs are high. On adverb movement in Abruzzese in Studi sui dialetti dell'Abruzzo. Quaderni di lavoro*, ASIt 17, pp.19-34, Padova, Unipress, 2014.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia, *The dependency of the subjunctive revisited: temporal semantics and polarity* for *Lingua*, special issue on *Mood* (ed. by J. Quer), Pre-final draft, 2007.
- Giorgi, Alessandra and Pianesi, Fabio, *Tense and Aspect: from Semantics to Morphosyntax*, Oxford University Press, New York – Oxford, 1997.
- Giorgi, Alessandra, *Discourse and the syntax of the left periphery. Clitic Left Dislocation and Hanging Topic in Discourse-oriented Syntax*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015.
- Grey Thomason, Sarah, *Linguistic areas and language history*, in Gilbers, Dicky; Nerbonne, John; Schaeken, Jos, *Languages in Contact*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 311–327, 2000.
- Haegeman, Liliane; Lohndal, Terje, *Introducing the Minimalist Program to students of English in English Language and Linguistics* 15.1: 149–172, Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Haegeman, Liliane, and Virginia Hill, *The Syntactization of Discourse in Syntax and Its Limits*, ed. Raffaella Folli, Christina Sevdali, and Robert Truswell, pp. 370–390, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Hengeveld, Kees, *Illocution, mood, and modality in Morphology: A handbook on inflection and word formation*, Vol. 2, 1190-1202, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 2004.
- Hill, Virginia, *Complementizer Phrases (CP) in Romanian in Rivista di Linguistica*, 14.2, pp. 223-248, 2002.
- Hill, Virginia, *On left periphery and focus in Balkan Syntax and Semantics*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004.
- Hill, Virginia, *Romanian adverbs and the pragmatic field in The Linguistics Review*, vol. 24, issue 1, pp. 61-86, 2007.
- Hill, Virginia and Mišeska-Tomić, Olga, *A Typology of Subjunctive Complements in Balkan Languages in Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics*, XI (1), 2009.
- Hill, Virginia, *A main clause complementizer in Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012.
- Hill, Virginia, *The emergence of the Romanian subjunctive in The Linguistic Review*, 30.4, 2013.
- Hill, Virginia; Alboiu, Gabriela, *Verb Movement and Clause Structure in Old Romanian*, Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Isac, Daniela and Jakab, Edit, *Mood and forse features in the languages of the Balkans in Balkan Syntax and Semantics*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004.
- Joseph, Brian, *The Synchrony and Diachrony of the Balkan Infinitive: A Study in Areal, General and Historical Linguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Joseph, Brian, *The semantics and syntax of complementation markers as an areal phenomenon in the Balkans, with special attention to Albanian in Complementizer semantics in European languages*, Mouton de Gruyter, 2016.
- Krapova, Iliyana, *Subjunctive complements, null subjects and case checking in Bulgarian in University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics*, 8(2), 73-93, 1998.
- Krapova, Iliyana, *Subjunctives in Bulgarian and Modern Greek in Comparative Syntax of the Balkan Languages*, Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2001.

Krapova, Iliyana; Cinque, Guglielmo, *Universal Constraints on Balkanisms. A case study: The absence of Clitic Climbing in Balkan Syntax and (Universal) Principles of Grammar*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston, 2018.

Kratzer, Angelika, *The Notional Category of Modality in Formal Semantics: The Essential Readings*, John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2008.

Lasnik, Howard, *The minimalist program in syntax in Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, vol. 6 n. 10, 2002.

Lupşa, Cornelia Daniela, *Deconstructing the “Adverb plus Complementizer Construction” in Romanian in Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics*, XIII (2), pp.91-98, 2011.

Mihoc, Teodora, *The Romanian Presumptive Mood: Inferential Evidentiality and Upper-End Degree Epistemic Modality*, master thesis, 2012.

Motapanyane, Virginia, *Theoretical Implications of Complementation in Romanian in Rivista di Grammatica Generativa – Monograph Series*, Unipress, Padova, 1995.

Pană Dindelegan, Gabriela, *The syntax of Old Romanian*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Protopopescu, Daria, *On Adverb Formation in Romanian in Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics*, XI (1), 2009.

Rivero, Maria Luisa, *Clause Structure and V-Movement in the Languages of the Balkans in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 12*, pp. 63-120, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Netherlands, 1994.

Rivero, Maria Luisa and Terzi, Arhonto, *Imperatives, V-movement and logical mood in J. Linguistics 31*, pp. 301-332, Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Rizzi, Luigi, *The fine structure of the left periphery in Elements of Grammar*, pp. 281-337, Kluwer, Dordrecht, 1997.

Rizzi, Luigi and Bocci, Giuliano, *Left Periphery of the Clause: Primarily Illustrated for Italian in The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, second edition, 2017.

Rizzi, Luigi and Cinque, Guglielmo, *Functional Categories and Syntactic Theory in Annual Review of Linguistics*, pp. 139-163, 2016.

Rosetti, Alexandru, *Istoria limbii române*, I, Bucarest, ed. Ştiinţifică şi enciclopedică, 1978.

Roussou, Anna, *On the left periphery: modal particles and complementisers in Journal of Greek Linguistics 1*, pp. 65–94, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2000.

Sandfeld, Kristian, *Linguistique balkanique: problèmes et résultats*, Champion, Paris, 1930.

Schifano, Norma, *(Un)marked patterns of verb-movement: the case of Romanian in Limba română: diacronie şi sincronie în studiul limbii române*, I, Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, Bucharest, 2014.

Schifano, Norma, *Le lingue romanze: verso una cartografia del movimento del verbo in Actes du XXVII Congrès international de linguistique et de philologie romanes (Nancy, 15-20 juillet 2013). Section 4: Syntaxe*, Ledgeway, Adam/Cennamo, Michela/Mensching, Guido (éd.), Nancy, 2016.

Sočanac, Tomislav, *Subjunctive Complements in Slavic Languages: A Syntax-Semantics Interface Approach*, doctoral thesis, 2017.

Sočanac, Tomislav, *Subjunctive complements in Balkan languages: Problems of distribution in Balkan Syntax and (Universal) Principles of Grammar*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston, 2018.

Tomić, Olga Mišeska, *Balkan Sprachbund Morpho-Syntactic Features*, published by Springer, Dordrecht, 2006.

Turano, Giuseppina, *Introduzione alla grammatica dell'Albanese*, Alinea, Firenze, 2004.

Turano, Giuseppina, *Modal particles in Albanian subjunctive, infinitive and supine constructions: presence vs absence of clitic climbing* in *Working Papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies*, n. 3, pp. 61-86, 2017.

Von Stechow, Kai, *Modality and language* in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy – Second Edition*, edited by Donald M. Borchert, Detroit: MacMillan Reference USA, 2006.