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Subjunctive Complements of Intentional Verbs in Serbian and Croatian

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The usage of infinitive and subjunctive complements with individual types of intentional verbs in (standard) Serbian is different from their usage in (standard) Croatian. When the intentional verb and its complement have disjoint reference, intentional verbs in both (standard) Serbian and (standard) Croatian take subjunctive complements. In the case of joint reference, intentional verbs in (standard) Croatian take only infinitives, while with intentional verbs in (standard) Serbian both infinitive and subjunctive complements occur, though the latter are preferred.

The Serbian/Croatian Future tense configurations relate to intentional verb plus complement configurations with joint reference. Since in cases with joint reference in (standard) Croatian no subjunctive complements occur, the modalclitic plus infinitive configuration is the only Future tense configuration in Croatian. In (standard) Serbian, where both infinitive and subjunctive complements are allowed with intentional verbs, the Future tense can have the structure modal clitic plus infinitive or modal clitic plus subjunctive construction. In the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, where no infinitives occur, there is no Future tense with infinitives.

1. Introduction

Intentional verbs in the Bosnian/Croatian/(Montenegrin)/Serbian speaking area can take infinitival and subjunctive complements. Generally speaking, subjunctive complements are sparingly used in Northwest Croatia; they occur increasingly more frequently as one moves Southeast wards, to completely oust out the infinitive in the Southeastern Serbian dialects. Usage of subjunctives is not, however, exclusively guided by geography or standardization; it also depends on the selectional properties of individual intentional verbs.



In Section 2 I will discuss the use of infinitives and subjunctives with three types of intentional verbs. In Section 3 I will relate intentional verb plus complement configurations to Future tense configurations. In Section 4 I will draw some general conclusions.

2. Three classes of intentional verbs

With respect to agreement with the person/number features of their subjunctive complements, intentional verbs fall into three classes: A verbs such as *narediti* 'order', *preporučiti* 'suggest', *pozvati* 'invite', the reference of whose subjects differs from the reference of the subjects of their complements (disjoined reference verbs); B verbs such as *nam(j)eravati* 'intend', *usp(j)eti* 'manage' and *pokušavati* 'try', whose subjects have same reference as the subjects of their complements; and C verbs such as *ht(j)eti* 'will/want', *žel(j)eti* 'wish', *tražiti* 'demand', *planirati* 'plan', which may agree or disagree with the person/number features of their complements.¹ While verbs of class A always take subjunctive complements, verbs of class B and class C can take either infinitive or subjunctive complements. There is, however, a difference in the usage of infinitives and subjunctives in Serbian and Croatian.

Class A verbs do not take infinitival complements in either Croatian or Serbian:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------|------------|-----------|--------------------|------|
| (1) | a | <i>*Naredio</i> | <i>ti</i> | <i>je</i> | <i>doći.</i> | Cr/S |
| | | ordered.M.Sg.Part | 2Sg.Dat.Cl | is | come.Inf | |
| | b. | <i>Naredio</i> | <i>je</i> | <i>da</i> | <i>dodeš</i> | |
| | | ordered.M.Sg.Part | is | Subj.Mark | come.2Sg.Perf.Pres | |
- 'He gave an order for you to come.'

The subject of subjunctive constructions in complement positions of verbs of class A can be (a) dropped; (b) expressed by a DP/NP or a pronoun in the Nom case (occurring to the left or to the right of the verb, or to the left of the subjunctive marker)²; or (c) raised to the position of indirect object of the main clause and expressed by a Dat clitic or a Dat NP/DP.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-------------|------|
| (2) | a. | <i>Naredio</i> | <i>je</i> | <i>(TI)</i> | <i>da</i> | <i>(ti)</i> | Cr/S |
| | | ordered.M.Sg.Part | is | you | Subj.Mark | you | |
| | | <i>dodeš</i> | | <i>(TI).</i> | | | |
| | | come.2Sg.Perf.Past | you | | | | |
- 'He gave an order for you to come.'

¹ The symbols within brackets mark phonemes characteristic for (standard) Croatian and not existing in (standard) Serbian.

² In unmarked sentences the subject occurs to the right of the verb. When focused, it occurs to the left of the verb or to the left of the subjunctive marker. The capital letters denote focused subjects.



- b. *Naredio je (MARLJA) da (Marija)*
 ordered.M.Sg.Part is Marija Subj.Mark Marija
dode
 come.3Sg.Perf.Pres Marija
 'He gave an order for Marija to come.'
- c. *Naredio mi je da*
 ordered.M.Sg.Part 1Sg.Dat.Cl is Subj.Mark
dodem
 come.1Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 'He ordered me to come immediately.'
- d. *Naredio je Mariji da*
 ordered.M.Sg.Part is Marija.Dat Subj.Mark
dode
 come.1Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 'He ordered Marija to come immediately.'

In complement positions of verbs of class B, only infinitive complements occur in Croatian, while in Serbian both infinitive and subjunctive complements occur, though the latter are strongly preferred.

- (3) a. *Nam(j)erava putovati. Cr/?*
 Sintend.3Sg travel.Inf
 '(S)he intends to travel.'
- b. *Moj sin je pokušava zaboraviti.*
 my.M son 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl try.3Sg forget.Inf
 'My son is trying to forget her.'
- (4) a. *Nam(j)erava da putuje/*putuješ. S*
 intend.3Sg Subj.Mark travel.3/2Sg
 '(S)he intends to travel.'
- b. *Moj sin pokušava da je*
 my.M son try.3Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
*zaboravi/*zaborave.*
 forget.3Sg/Pl.Perf.Pres
 'My son is trying to forget her.'

Being identical with the subject of the main clause, the subjects of the complements of Class B verbs are dropped, unless they represent contrastive foci, in which case they are featured by pronouns. Examples of sentences with dropped subjects are given in (3) and (4). In (5) and (6) we have examples in which the subjects of the complements represent contrastive foci:

- (5) a. *Nam(j)erava ON sam putovati. Cr/?S*
 intend.3Sg he alone travel.Inf
 'He intends to travel himself.'
- b. *Pokušavamo se MI sami izvući*
 try.1Pl Acc.Refl.Cl we alone pull out.Inf



- iz krize.
from crisis.Gen
'We are trying to pull out of the crises by ourselves.'
- (6) a. *Nam(j)erava da ON (sam) putuje.* S
intends Subj.Mark he alone travel.3Sg
'He intends to travel himself.'
- b. *Pokušavamo da se MI sami*
try Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl we alone.
izvučemo iz krize.
pull.3Pl.Perf.Pres from crisis.Gen
'We are trying to pull out of the crises by ourselves.'

The type of complements of Class C verbs depends on whether their subjects have joint or disjoint reference with the subjects of the main clause. In the former case, in Croatian only infinitive complements are used, while in Serbian both infinitive and subjunctive complements are possible, though subjunctive complements are preferred. In the latter case, subjunctive complements are used in both Serbian and Croatian.

- (7) a. *Marija ti ga hoće dati.* Cr/S
Marija 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl want.3Sg give.Inf
b. *Marija hoće da ti* S
want.1Sg want.3Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
ga da.
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'Marija wants to give it to you.'
- (8) *Hoću da mu ga daju* Cr/S
want.1Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Pl.Perf.Pres
'I want them to give it to him.'

As in the case of complements of Class B verbs, the subjects that have joint reference with the subject of the matrix clause are expressed only when emphatic:

- (9) a. *Marija_i ti ga hoće dati.* Cr/S
Marija 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl want.3Sg give.Inf
ONA_i sama.
she alone
b. *Marija_i hoće da ti* S
want.1Sg want.3Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
ga ONA_i (sama) da.
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl she alone give.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'Marija wants to give it to you herself.'

In the case of disjoint reference with the subjects of the matrix clause, however, the subjects of subjunctive complements of verbs of Class C are expressed regularly, if



represented by lexical DPs/NPs, and optionally, though frequently, if represented by pronouns:

- (10) a. *Petar*₁ *hoće* (*ONI*)₁ *da* *mu* *ga* Cr/S
 want.1Sg they Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
 (*oni*)₁ *daju* (*ONI*)₁ *lično*.
 they give.3Pl they personally
 ‘Petar wants them to give it to him in person.’
- b. *Ana* *planira* (*D(J)E CA*) *da* (*d(j)eca*) Cr/S
 Ana plans children Subj.Mark children
pođu *sutra*.
 leave.3Pl.Perf.Pres tomorrow
 ‘Ana is planning for the children to leave tomorrow.’

3. Future tense configurations

The forms of the Bosnian/Serbian/(Montenegrin)/Croatian verb *ht(j)eti* ‘will/want’ have clitic counterparts:

(11)		Forms of <i>ht(j)eti</i>			Clitic counterparts	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl		
	1 st	<i>hoću</i>	<i>hoćemoću</i>	<i>će</i>	<i>ćete</i>	
	2 nd	<i>hoćeš</i>	<i>hoćete</i>	<i>ćeš</i>	<i>ćete</i>	
	3 rd	<i>hoće</i>		<i>će</i>		

Like the forms of the lexical verb *ht(j)eti*, their clitic counterparts can take as a complement an infinitive, as well as a subjunctive construction³. Nevertheless, these complements cannot have disjoint reference with matrix verb; so, while (12a) and (12b) are wellformed sentences, (12c) is not:

- (12) a. *Petar* *će* *ti* *ga* *dati*. Cr/S
 Peter will.3Sg.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.Neut.Acc.Cl give.Inf
 ‘Peter will give it to you.’
- b. *Petar* *će* *da* *ti* *ga* S
 Peter will.3Sg.Cl Subj.Comp 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.Neut.Acc.Cl
da.
 give.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Peter will give it to you.’
- c. **Ću* *da* *mu* *ga* *daju*.
 will.1Sg.Cl Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Pl.Perf.Pres
 purported meaning: ‘I want them to give it to him.’

³ The latter, not throughout the Bosnian/Croatian/(Montenegrin)/Serbian speaking area.

The strings to the left of the subjects in (12a-b) actually represent the Bosnian/Croatian/(Montenegrin)/Serbian Future tense. Accordingly, the Bosnian/Croatian/(Montenegrin)/Serbian Future tense is a configuration in which modal clitics take complements that have joint reference with the subject of the matrix clause.

By analogy with Wurmbrand's (1998) infinitives whose subjects are referentially strictly identical with their controllers (the subjects of the matrix clause),⁴ Stjepanović (To appear) offers evidence that all Serbo-Croatian⁵ infinitive complements of modal and intentional verbs and the *da*-complements of modal and intentional verbs in those cases in which they have joint reference with the matrix clause, have properties of restructuring configurations with one single structurally represented subject NPs. The restructuring characteristics are argued for on the example of sentence triplets such as the following one:

- (13) a. *Svi uslovi su se Cr/S*
 all conditions.M.Pl.Nom are.3Pl Refl.Cl
morali ispuniti do tog roka.
 had-to.M.Pl./-Part fulfill.Inf until that.Acc deadline.Acc
- b. *Svi uslovi su morali da se S*
 all conditions.M.Pl.Nom are had to Subj.Comp Refl.Cl
ispune do tog roka.
 fulfill.M.Pl./-Part until that.Acc deadline.Acc
- c. *Svi uslovi su se morali S*
 all conditions.M.Pl.Nom are Refl.Cl had-to.M.Pl./-Part
da ispune do tog roka.
 Subj.Comp fulfill.M.Pl./-Part until that.Acc deadline.Acc
- 'All conditions had to be fulfilled until that deadline.'

In (13a), the subject *svi uslovi* has Nom case and agrees in person/number/gender with the matrix verb. Given the interpretation of the sentence, it is, however, clear that *svi uslovi* is not selected by the matrix verb, but rather by the infinitive *ispuniti*. Accordingly, we here have restructuring and the subject *svi uslovi* has raised from the lower to the upper clause. In (13b-c), the Nom subject *svi uslovi* agrees both with the verb of the matrix clause and the verb of the embedded *da*-construction. Nevertheless, as in (13a), *svi uslovi* in these sentences starts out as object of the embedded verb.⁶ Therefore, it is plausible to assume that (13b-c) are also restructuring configurations with raised subjects.

⁴ Wurmbrand makes a distinction between two subclasses of control infinitives in language such as German – one in which the infinitive subject is referentially strictly identical with its controller (the subject of the main clause) and one with “imperfect” control, in which only reference to the controller is included.

⁵ This is the term used by Stjepanović, who uses Bosnian data.

⁶ In (13b), the reflexive clitic marking passivity remains within the subjunctive complement, indicating that it is the embedded verb that is passivized, but the position of the reflexive clitic in (13c) shows that it can climb to the matrix verb, and thus achieve domain extension, just as in the case of the sentence with an infinitive complement. Note, however, that with infinitives, clitic climbing is obligatory, while with subjunctive constructions it is optional.



The raising properties of modal verbs and the awareness that the verbs in the subjunctive construction have no independent tense properties⁷ led Stjepanović to argue that *da*-complements of verbs such as *morati* ‘must’ (or *ht(j)jeti*, when the verb of the complement and the verb of the matrix clause have the same formal features) are Verb phrases rather than clauses. For sentences such as (14a) she proposes a structure along the lines of (14b)⁸

- (14) a. *Petar nije morao da* S
 Petar.M.Sg.Nom not+is had to.M.Sg./Part Comp
upozna nikoga.
 get to know.3Sg nobody
 ‘Peter didn’t have to get to know anybody.’
- b. [*Petar_i nije_{[FP t_i morao}* [_{daP} *da* [<sub>VP t_i upozna nikoga]]]] S
 where *t_i* marks the traces of the raised subject.</sub>

The structure of the Bosnian/Croatian/(Montenegrin)/Serbian Future relate to intentional verb plus complement structures with joint reference. Though in standard Serbian and standard Croatian modal clitics do not inflect for tense,⁹ they inflect for

⁷ Whatever the tense of the verb in the main clause, the tense of the verb in its subjunctive complement is always Present:

- (i) *Petar hoće da ti ga* S
 Peter want.3Sg.Pres Subj.Comp 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.Neut.Acc.Cl
da.
 give.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Peter wants to give it to you.’
- (ii) *Petar htjede da ti ga* S
 Peter want.3Sg.Past Subj.Comp 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.Neut.Acc.Cl
da.
 give.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Peter wanted to give it to you.’

⁸ The structure which Stjepanović proposes for the subjunctive constructions in restructuring configurations is strongly reminiscent of Aux + participle constructions presented or assumed in the literature on South Slavic (cf. Bošković 1994, 1997; Rivero 1994; Tomić 1996, among others). In (ii) I represent the relevant portions of the Aux + participle structure of (i):

- (i) *Petar je bio izabran.* S/Cr
 Petar.M.Sg.Nom is been.M.Sg./Part chosen. M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘Peter was chosen.’

(ii) [*Petar_i...[_{AuxP} je [_{VP} bio [_{VP} izabran t_i]]*]
 As it may be seen, the subject *Petar*, which originates as the object of the participle *izabran*, agrees in gender and number with both participles and in person with the inflected auxiliary clitic.

⁹ Note that in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, the modal auxiliaries inflect for tense, as well.

- (i) *Ća da ga nosi.* S-ES
 would.Sg.Mod.Aux Subj.Comp 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl carries
 ‘(S)he wanted to carry him.’

- (ii) *Ćaše da stroše šiše(to).* S-ES
 would.3Pl.Mod.Aux Subj.Comp break.3Pl.Perf.Pres bottle+the.Neut.Sg
 ‘They fell short of breaking the bottle.’ (lit. ‘They wanted to break the bottle.’)

Analogous auxiliaries appear in some Croatian dialects along the Adriatic coast. These auxiliaries are not clitics, however.



person and number and in standard Serbian can take as complements subjunctive constructions with whose verbs they agree in all formal features. I propose to derive the modal clitics in AuxP, to the right of T/AgrS, where they check their features.¹⁰ While the infinitives are VP complements, the subjunctive constructions are Mood Phrases with *da* as Mood complementizer.¹¹

The structure of the Future tense with infinitives is given in (15b), on the example of sentence (15a):

- (15) a. *Petar će doći.* Cr/S
 Petar 3Sg.Mod.Cl come.Inf
 'Petar will come.'
 b. [_{T/AgrSP} *Petar*_i [_{T/AgrS} [_{AuxP} *t_i će* [_{VP} *t_i doći*]]]

The structure of the Future tense with subjunctive construction is given in (16b) on the example of sentence (16a):

- (16) a. *Petar će da dođe.* S
 Petar 3Sg.Mod.Cl Subj.Comp come.3Sg.Perf
 'Petar will come.'
 b. [_{T/AgrSP} *Petar*_i [_{T/AgrS} [_{AuxP} *t_i će* [_{MoodP} *t_i da* [_{VP} *t_i dođe*]]]

Note that in the Southeastern Serbian dialects, there are only two modal clitic forms *će* and *ću*, the former being used for all person/number associations, the latter for first person singular in contexts in which the will of the speaker is strongly expressed.

- (17) a. **Će/ću li dobijem tu knjigu?* S-ES
 will.Mod.Cl/1Sg.Mod.Cl Inter.Cl get.1Sg.Pres that.Acc
 book.Acc
 'Shall I get that book?'

¹⁰ AuxP (Auxiliary Phrase) is independently needed in Serbian/Croatian. As argued in Tomić (1996), it is the node where the third person of the "be"-auxiliary is derived. In Tomić (1996), arguments are also given for the joint treatment of Tense and AgrS (Subject Agreement).

¹¹ There is a general agreement among analysts of the Balkan languages that Mood phrases (MoodPs) in the Balkan languages are higher than Tense Phrases (TPs) (cf. Rivero 1994; Tomić 2002, to appear; Isak and Jakab to appear, among others). I have, however, argued that the projections of the subjunctive mood complementizers are distinct from the projections of the Macedonian or Bulgarian auxiliary modals (cf. Tomić 2002; to appear).

In Serbian/Croatian, *da* is used both as an indicative and as a subjunctive complementizer. The two different uses of *da* in Serbo-Croatian are discussed in Bibović (1971); Browne (1981/1986); Vrzić (1996), among others. Note, however, that what synchronically are referred to as "two different uses of *da*", could diachronically be two different conjunctions. Gołąb (1964: 28) argues that "it is highly possible that Old Slavic *da* represents a homonym: *da* – a modal particle serving to derive an analytic subjunctive mood from the present indicative and *da* – a paratactic conjunction corresponding to English 'so, thus, also'."



- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| b. | <i>Će/ću</i>
will.1Sg.Mod.Cl/1Sg.Mod.Cl
knjigu.
book.Acc
'I will send you the book.' | <i>ti</i>
2Sg.Dat.Cl | <i>pošaljem</i>
send.1Sg.Pres |
| c. | <i>Tvoj prijatelj</i>
your friend
<i>jutre.</i>
tomorrow
'Your friend will arrive tomorrow.' | <i>će</i>
will.Mod.Cl | <i>(da) stigne</i>
Subj.Comp arrives.Perf.Pres |

Moreover, as it can be observed in the above examples, the subjunctive complementizer *da* is only (optionally) used when there are no pronominal clitics to the right of the modal clitic. Accordingly, in the Southeastern Serbian dialects, the place of the Mood head in (16b) would often be filled by an empty operator, while the modal auxiliary clitic would be very close to becoming a noninflecting modal particle as in contemporary Macedonian and Bulgarian (cf. Tomić to appear).

4. Conclusions

In the Bosnian/Croatian/(Montenegrin)/Serbian language speaking area, both infinitive and subjunctive complements occur with intentional verbs. Nevertheless, the usage of these complements with individual types of intentional verbs in (standard) Serbian is different from the usage in (standard) Croatian. Intentional verbs whose subjects have disjoint reference with the subjects of their complements take only subjunctive complements in both Serbian and Croatian. Intentional verbs whose subjects have joint reference with the subjects of their complements take only infinitive complements in (standard) Croatian, while in (standard) Serbian both types of complements are allowed, but subjunctive complements are strongly preferred. Intentional verbs whose subjects may have either joint or disjoint reference with the subjects of their complements take both types of complements in (standard) Serbian, while in (standard) Croatian they take infinitive complements in the case of joint reference and subjunctive complements in the case of disjoint reference. Generally speaking, in the case of disjoint reference intentional verbs in both (standard) Serbian and (standard) Croatian take subjunctive complements, while in the case of joint reference they take only infinitives in (standard) Croatian, and either infinitive or subjunctive complements in (standard) Serbian, with the preference for the latter.

The Bosnian/Croatian/(Montenegrin)/Serbian Future tense configurations relate to intentional verb plus complement configurations with joint reference. Since in cases with joint reference in (standard) Croatian no subjunctive complements occur, the modal clitic plus infinitive configuration is the only Future tense configuration in Croatian. In (standard)



Serbian, where both infinitive and subjunctive complements are allowed with intentional verbs, the Future tense can have the structure modal clitic plus infinitive or modal clitic plus subjunctive construction. In the Southeastern Serbian dialects, where no infinitives occur there is no Future tense with infinitives. Moreover, the modal clitics are losing their person/number features, and the fact that the verb of the complement is the only inflected verb of the configuration leads to the loss of the subjunctive complementizer.

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KONJUKTIVNE ZAVISNE KLAUZE U INTENCIONALNIM GLAGOLIMA U SRPSKOM I HRVATSKOM JEZIKU

Upotrebe infinitivnih i konjuktivnih zavisnih klausa kao dopuna pojedinih tipova intencionalnih glagola u (standardnom) srpskom, razlikuju se od njihovih upotreba u (standardnom) hrvatskom jeziku. Kad intencionalni glagol i njegova dopuna upućuju na isti objekt, i u srpskom i u hrvatskom riječ je o konjuktivnoj konstrukciji. Kad intencionalni glagol i njegova dopuna upućuju na razne objekte, intencionalni glagoli u (standardnom) hrvatskom imaju kao dopunu isključivo infinitive, dok su u (standardnom) srpskom i infinitivi i konjuktivne konstrukcije moguće, premda su konjuktivne konstrukcije češće.

Srpsko/hrvatsko buduće vrijeme zapravo je struktura u kojoj klitika koja se razvila od intencionalnog glagola ima dopunu koja upućuje na isti objekt. S obzirom na to da u slučajevima istoga upućivanja u hrvatskom konjuktivna konstrukcija nije dopustiva, u ovom jeziku nemamo buduće vrijeme s konjuktivnom konstrukcijom. U (standardnom) srpskom jeziku, gdje intencionalni glagoli mogu imati infinitivne ili konjuktivne dopune koje upućuju na isti objekt kao i intencionalni glagol, imamo buduća vremena s infinitivom, kao i buduća vremena s konjuktivnom konstrukcijom. U jugoistočnim srpskim dijalektima, gdje nema infinitiva, moguće je jedino buduće vrijeme s konjuktivnom dopunom.

