A TYPOLOGY OF SUBJUNCTIVE COMPLEMENTS IN BALKAN LANGUAGES

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Abstract: This paper proposes a comparative approach to the subjunctive complements to verbs and nouns in two language groups: Romance Balkan (i.e. Standard Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian) and Slavic Balkan (mostly Serbian, Croatian, and Macedonian). There are many analyses of V-subjunctive complement selection in these languages but, to our knowledge, none that zooms in on the group differences in the composition of the left periphery of subjunctive clauses. In these configurations, our analysis finds a micro-variation that has implications for the understanding of other cross-linguistic variations among these languages, in particular, in the subjunctive complementation to nouns. In other words, we argue that the typology of verb complementation is the key to the understanding of the typology of noun complementation in these languages.

Keywords: subjunctive complements, typology of verb complementation, Romance Balkan, Slavic Balkan

1. Framework

In our analysis, we use assessment tools for syntactic positions, which we borrow from the cartographic approach to the left periphery of clauses, such as proposed in Rizzi (1997). We supplement this framework with some insights from the pre-cartographic representations of the clause architecture in Balkan languages, such as proposed by a number of linguists (e.g. Cornilescu 2000 for Romanian, Tomić 2007 and Rivero 1994 for Slavic Balkan). From these studies, we borrow the proposal of a Mood head, spelled out as the subjunctive marker, which heads the hierarchy of the inflectional domain. We briefly remind you that the preverbal subjunctive mood marker occurs in all the Balkan languages. So the representations we work with are those in (1) and (2).

(1) $[_{\text{ForceP}}$ Force $[_{\text{TopP}}$ Topic $[_{\text{FocusP}}$ Focus $[_{\text{FinP}}$ Fin $[_{\text{IP}}$ I]]]]]

(2) $[_{\text{MoodP}}$ Mood $[_{\text{IP}}$ $[_{\text{NegP}}$ Neg $[_{\text{AspP}}$ Asp $[_{\text{vP}}$ v]]]]

In (1) Force checks the sentence typing, whereas Fin(iteness) checks the compatibility between the inflectional system and modal/scope requirements of the left periphery (the complementizer field - CP). Thus, Force is generally the site for 'that' type complementizers, while Fin is the site of verb movement in subject-verb inversion constructions (e.g. aux-subject in Italian) or, some say, for [mood] distinctions. Accordingly, subjunctive mood markers in Balkan have been analysed in some studies as being merged in Fin (e.g. Damonte 2006).

In (2), the representation of the middle field (IP) ends up with a MoodP, reflecting the fact that [mood] is part of the verb inflection in these languages, and is, thus, part of the inflectional field. This is not incompatible with the representation in (1), since Fin is rather related to modality than to grammatical mood, although the two features may be collapsed in certain derivational patterns.

The main point for our analysis is that, for the mapping in (1), we have to keep in mind an important distinction, namely, selection typing features versus discourse pragmatic features. The selection typing features are those that decide on the type of sentence (i.e. declarative or interrogative) and on the type of inflectional phrase that goes with that sentence

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(i.e. indicative or subjunctive). So the technical distinction between ForceP and FinP is justified on c(onstituent)-selection grounds. The presence of Topic and Focus in this field, however, has no bearing on the selection process. These projections are located in the CP field because they come with certain scope requirements, which are satisfied in this configuration. However, the same scope requirements may be satisfied by an IP, if the IP were the highest level in the clause hierarchy (which is actually the proposal in Alboiu 2002). So, for testing purposes, the presence of constituents fronted to Topic and Focus do not prove the existence of an articulated CP field unless they co-occur with other elements specific to such a field.

2. MoodP is not FinP

Having defined our assessment frame, we shall show in this section that MoodP is not to be converted to FinP in Romance and Slavic Balkan, and in fact, its existence does not depend on the presence of FinP in the derivation. Establishing this fact is important when we try to determine whether a CP field is present at all at the left periphery of the subjunctive clause in complement positions.

Our main piece of evidence in favour of the MoodP versus FinP status of the subjunctive complement comes from the compound future forms with the auxiliaries 'have' or 'be', illustrated in (3):

(3) a. Am/ai/are să plec/pleci/plece. Standard Romanian
have.1/2/3Sg Subj go.1/2/3Sg.Subj
'I/you/(s)he am/are/is going to leave.'

b. N-am să plec.
not-have.1Sg Subj go.1/3Sg.Subj Standard Romanian
'I/(s)he will not go.'

c. Nu ari si vin. Megleno-Romanian
not have.Impers Subj come.1Sg
'I won't/am not going to come.'

d. Nema da dojdam. Macedonian
not+have.Impers Subj come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
'I won't/am not going to come.'

e. Njama da dojda. Bulgarian
not+have.Impers Subj come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
'I won't/am not going to come.'

f. Petar će da ti ga da Serbian
Peter will.3Sg.Cl Subj 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'Peter will give it to you.'

This is a pan-Balkan construction, where such auxiliaries select a subjunctive clause and yield a mono-clausal construction with future tense reading. The relevance of this construction is that both the auxiliary and the subjunctive verb string must be within IP – which proves that the subjunctive is derived lower than FinP.

The monoclausal status of this construction comes from two properties: (i) restriction on the negation; and (ii) distribution of phi-features. The restriction on negation placement is shown in (4a), where only one negation per form is allowed, and that negation must precede the auxiliary, not the subjunctive. Bi-clausal constructions allow for two negations, one for each IP, as in (4b). The examples in (4a, b) come from Standard Romanian (SR), where the

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compound future has both positive and negative forms. In Megleno-Romanian (MR) and some Slavic languages, only the negative equivalent is available, and the restriction on the negation is the same, as shown in (4c).

(4) a. (N)-am să (*nu) plec. Standard Romanian
not-have.1Sg Subj not go.1/3Sg.Subj
'I/(s)he will not go.'
b. (Nu) pot să (nu) plec. Standard Romanian
not-can.1Sg Subj not go.1/3Sg.Subj
' I can('t) (not) go.'
c. Nemaše da (*ne) dojdam. Macedonian
not+have.Impers.Past Subj not come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
'I wasn't going to come.'

The second property is the sharing of the tense and phi-features between the auxiliary and the subjunctive verb, as shown in (5).

(5) a. O/(*avem/*aveți/*au) să plecăm/plecați/plece. Standard Romanian
have-invar/have.1/ 2/ Pl Subj go.1/2/3Pl.Subj
'We/you/they are going to leave.'
b. O/avea să plece.// *O să fi plecat.
have.Pres./have.Impf. Subj go.3Sg.Subj// have Subj.M be.Past gone
'S/he will go/will have gone.'
c. Nemaše da dojdam/dojdeš/dojde. Macedonian
not+have.Impers.Past Subj come.1/2/3Sg.Perf.Pres
'I wasn't going to come.'
d. Nema da dojdev/dojdeše. Macedonian
not+have.Impers Subj come.1/2/3Sg.Perf.Past
'I wasn't going to come.'
e. *Nemaše da dojdev/dojdeše. Macedonian
not+have.Impers Subj come.1/2/3Sg.Perf.Past

The general observation is that some of these features occur on the auxiliary, some on the verb, so the complete future tense and phi-interpretation is obtained only when the properties of the two verbal elements are put together. The exact distribution of these features differs from one language to another, as shown in (5). In Romanian (5a), we see that the phi-features are defective on the auxiliary but fully specified on the verb (the auxiliary is inflected for person only in singular; for plural, only an invariable form is available, while the person and number appear on the verb); in the same language, (5b) shows that tense is marked on the auxiliary, not on the subjunctive. In Macedonian (MC), illustrated in (5c-d-e), the tense feature can be specified either on the auxiliary or on the verb, but not on both.

Finally, this monoclausal construction may occur under V selection, lower than all the elements of an articulated CP field, as shown in (6).

(6) a. Spunea [că, la serviciu, directorul pe Elena [are s- o promoveze.]]
said that at work director-the Elena -FOC has Subj.M her promote
'S/he said that, at work, the director will promote ELENA.'

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b. Nu ştiu [când [am să plec.]]
not know-1sg when have-1sg Subj go
'I don't know when I'll be leaving.'
c. 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.'

The Romanian examples in (6) show that the compound future may occur under a fully articulated CP field: in (6a) this CP field contains a lexical 'that' in Force, followed by constituents in Topic and Focus; the future 'have' occurs lower than Focus; in (6b), if we consider that the *wh*-element is in FocusP, then the future 'have' is again lower than Focus; in (6c) the prepositional complementizer 'de' precedes the future 'have'; 'de' is typically a Fin element in Romance (including Romanian), according to the data in Rizzi (1997). So the word order in (6c) indicates that future 'have' is inserted lower than FinP, therefore the subjunctive mood marker is merged even lower in the IP hierarchy. This word order is maintained in the other languages concerned, whenever equivalent CP elements arise.

The conclusion to this section is that, in Balkan languages, the subjunctive mood marker spells out a MoodP which is part of the inflectional (IP) field, or else the subjunctive clause would not be available for compound tenses. The implication is that, by default, subjunctive clauses must be considered IPs, not CPs. The projection of a CP at the left periphery of a subjunctive complement is, of course, possible, but it has to be triggered (i.e. by inclusion in the Numeration of elements associated with typing features, such as 'that' complementizers or *wh*-words), and, therefore, it can be overt.

3. Subjunctive CP

Once we have established that CPs in Balkan subjunctive complements can be spelled out, we can pinpoint an empirical contrast between the Romance and the Slavic Balkan groups: Romance languages have overt 'that' type complementizers, whereas Slavic languages do not. Hence, from the outset, Slavic Balkan subjunctive complements never project a CP field. If this is true, then how is the c-selection possible – i.e., how is the clause and inflection typing achieved in relation to the selecting head?

We answer these questions by sorting out the word order in the CP field, when such a field is lexicalized. First, we look at CPs with 'that' complementizers, then we look at CPs with wh-words.

3.1 'That' CPs

Languages of the Romance Balkan group display 'that' complementizers in both indicative and subjunctive complements. The indicative complementizers are obligatory, the subjunctive ones are optional, as we'll show later in the presentation. For the moment, we notice that the form of these complementizers differs according to the inflection (indicative versus subjunctive) in two out of the three languages surveyed, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: 'That' complementizers in Romance Balkan

	Indicative	Subjunctive
Aromanian	*ca*	*tă*
Megleno-Romanian	*ca*	*ca*
Standard Romanian	*că*	*ca*

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The variety of complementizers in Table 1 indicates that these languages use 'that' complementizers to mark not only the declarative sentence type, but also the type of IP compatible with the verb (indicative or subjunctive). Therefore, by Rizzi's conditions on (1), each of these complementizers must be seen as checking the features of both Fin and Force.

The following test will show whether all these complementizers merge in the same position in the derivation, cross-linguistically. The test proposed in (7) looks at the position of the preverbal lexical subject. Such subjects are often considered to be Topics in Balkan languages; so in a configuration with a CP field triggered by the presence of a lexical complementizer, we expect subjects to be able to appear in the Topic position, between Force and Fin, in addition to the preverbal IP internal subject position.

(7) a. Narăncio (Maria) ca (Maria) si vinăună shiună. Megleno-Romanian
order.3Sg.Aor Maria that Maria Subj come.3Sg.Subj one and one

b. Deade naredba (Maria) tă (Maria) s- yină tunoară. Aromanian
give.3Sg.Past order Maria that Maria Subj.- come.3Sg.Subj immediately

c. A cerut (*Maria) ca Maria să vină imediat Standard Romanian
has asked Maria that Maria Subj come.3Sg.Subj immediately
'(S)he asked/ordered for Maria to come immediately.'

d. *?A cerut ca să vină Maria imediat. Standard Romanian
has asked that Subj come.3Sg.Subj Maria immediately
'(S)he asked/ordered for Maria to come immediately.'

The expectation on subject placement is met in MR (7a) and Aromanian (AR) (7b), where the preverbal subject can appear before or after the complementizer, but not in SR, where the subject can appear only after the complementizer. The ungrammatical subject in (7c) indicates that a Topic position is not available above 'that' in SR.

With respect to a merging location, the word order in (7) indicates that SR 'that' merges in Force, whereas MR and AR 'that' merge in Fin. Regional varieties of Romanian may re-analyze 'ca' and the mood marker 'să' as one element 'casă', in which case the word order turns out as in MR and AR. In order to avoid parsing confusions, SR requires lexical material between 'ca' and 'să', to ensure the parsing of 'ca' as Force versus Fin. Thus, (7d) is considered ungrammatical in standard register. Hence, substandard Romanian, allowing for the adjacency between 'ca' and 'să', indicates a weakening of Force in the language.

So, the conclusion so far is that a micro-variation emergences within the Romance Balkan group with respect to the merging site for the subjunctive complementizer: SR has it in Force, MR and AR have it in Fin. However, irrespective of their merging site, each of these complementizers is expected to check two sets of typing features – for sentence and for inflection. One set is checked through direct merge, the other through distance 'Agree'.

3.2 CP with interrogative pronouns

Another trigger for a CP at the left periphery of subjunctive complements is the typing for interrogative clauses. Since wh-words check sentence-typing features (in addition to the operator features), they are expected to occur in complementary distribution with the subjunctive complementizers. The examples in (8) show that this is true for SR and MR, but not for AR. In AR the subjunctive complementizer is optional in indirect interrogatives.

(8) a. Nu ştiu (*ca) cui (*ca) să-i trimit scrisorile. Standard Romanian
not know.1sg that whom-DAT that Subj -3Sg.Dat.Cl send.1Sg letters-the.Pl
'I don't know who to send the letters to.'

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b. Nu ştiu (*ca) la cari (*ca) s-iu trimet prămătia. Megleno-Romanian
not know.1sg that to whom that Subj -3Sg.Dat.Cl send.1Sg merchandise
'I don't know who to send the merchandise to.'

c. Nu shciu (*tă) a cui (tă) s-ălj lji pitrec aiste cărtsă. Aromanian
not know.1sg that to whom that Subj -3Sg.M.Dat 3Pl.Acc.Cl send.1Sg these letters
'I don't know who to send these letters to.'

The relaxed restriction in (8c) indicates that the AR subjunctive complementizer does not interfere with the scope of the wh-element, therefore it does not check the Force features; 'tă' is only a Fin marker, although the indicative 'ca' in the same language has the properties of Force. The contrast between 'ca' and 'tă' can be predicted on etymological background: the Latin origin of 'tă' is a preposition ('trans'), while for 'ca' it is the complementizer 'quia'. So 'tă' behaves like many prepositional complementizers that are exclusively Fin checkers and have a nominalization effect on the clause.

Looking back at the declarative clauses in (7) from this perspective, there is no evidence that in constructions as in (7b) Force is checked or projected. For that reason we consider that, in AR, the subjunctive complements project only to FinP, having a reduced or deficient CP field.

3.3 Non-lexical complementizers

Verbs that do not require obligatory control allow for optional complementizers in the subjunctive complement, as shown in (9).

(9) a. Narăncio (Maria) (ca) si vină ună shi ună Megleno-Romanian
order.Sg.Past Maria that Subj come.3Sg.Subj one and one

b. Deade naredba (Maria) (tă) s- yină tunoară Aromanian
give.3Sg.Past order Maria that Subj - come.Subj immediately

c. A cerut (*Maria) (*ca) să vină (Maria) imediat Standard Romanian
has asked Maria that Subj come.3Sg.Subj Maria immediately
'S/he asked/ordered for Maria to come immediately.'

MR and AR show no change in the word order, whether the complementizer is present or not. So the preverbal subject stays in the same position as seen in (7). Free alternation of constructions with or without complementizer in this context suggests that the CP field is articulated at all times (either to ForceP in MR or to FinP in AR), but the spelling of the complementizer is optional. In SR, however, the absence of 'ca' affects the word order: in (7c) the subject could precede the subjunctive mood marker, while in (9c) this is not possible – the subject must be obligatorily post-verbal. This indicates that the string 'să'+verb moved to Force, above the TopP level. In this context, 'ca' and the ['să'+verb] string compete for checking the Force feature and so, they occur in complementary distribution. We may say that the Force feature in SR is very strong and probes for lexical material.

To conclude the discussion in this section, Romance Balkan languages have an articulated CP field in subjunctive complements. Inter-language variation occurs in the spell-out of the complementizer, whereas cross-linguistic variation appears regarding the merging site for 'that', and/or in the size of the CP field (either ForceP or FinP).

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3.4 Slavic Balkan

The Slavic Balkan language group displays a systematic lack of subjunctive complementizers. The left periphery in constructions with subjunctive clauses may show fronting of Topic or Focus constituents, as in (10), but provides no evidence for functional heads specialized in typing features.

(10) a. Bi sakala na planina so MARIJA da odam, ne so Jovana. Macedonian
would like to mountain with Marija Subj go.1Sg not with Jovan.Acc
b. Iskala bix na planinata săs MARIJA da otida. Bulgarian
like would.1Sg to mountain+the with Marija Subj go.3Sg.Perf.Pres
c. Htela bih u planinu sa MARIJOM da idem. Serbian
like would.1Sg in mountain with Marija.Instr Subj go.3Sg
'I would like to the mountains with Mary to go (not with John).'

Functional heads specialized in discourse pragmatics (e.g. Topic and Focus) are known to be able to associate with any functional field (i.e. CP or IP), as long as their scope requirements are satisfied (Belletti 2008, Kiss 1995). From this point of view, in the absence of any kind of marking for typing features, the word order in (10) cannot guarantee the existence of an articulated CP field with the composition in (1). The values of the typing features in (10) are established through the opposition of this lack of marking with the wh-marking in interrogative/relative clauses and with the obligatory lexical complementizer for declarative complements with indicative verbs. Thus, the typing feature system in Slavic Balkan presents the distinctions in Table 2.

Table 2. Values for typing features in Slavic Balkan

Force [-qu]		Force [+qu]
Fin = indicative	Fin = subjunctive (da)	Fin = any inflection
+ complementizer	- complementizer	Wh-word
articulated CP	collapsed CP/IP	articulated CP

According to the classification in Table 2, sentence typing and inflectional typing are parasitic on the subjunctive mood maker when tense is anaphoric (versus valued, as in indicatives) and when no independent need (e.g. interrogative typing) applies for projecting a CP field.

In conclusion, typing (for sentence or for inflection) in subjunctive complements is achieved through another mechanism in Slavic Balkan, where CP and IP are collapsed. Hence, there is a typological difference between Romance and Slavic left peripheries in these constructions.

3.5 Typology of V selected subjunctive complements

Table 3 sums up the properties of the left periphery in subjunctive complements in Romance and Slavic Balkan. Crucially, although all the languages discussed display a similar verb morphology in the subjunctive, and a similar distribution of subjunctive clauses under V selection, the way in which these subjunctives are embedded differs in a systematic way: the embedding is conditioned by an explicit typing process in Romance Balkan, whereas in Slavic Balkan the typing process is implicit.

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Table 3. **Typology of left peripheries in subjunctive complementation**

+Force/+Fin	-Force/-Fin
Standard Romanian	Bulgarian
Megleno Romanian	Macedonian
	Serbian
-Force/+Fin	
Aromanian	

The parametric difference in Table 3 may follow from historical factors, since Romance Balkan inherited the complementizers from Latin, where CP fields are generally well articulated. In this respect, the fact that the spelling of the complementizer may be optional in subjunctive complements in Romance Balkan must be seen as an effect of language contact with the Slavic Balkan group, where the complementizer is absent. The impact of language contact on the syntax of the subjunctive CP is seen more clearly in AR, where the CP field is actually cut down. Aromanian has been in intensive contact with Slavic languages for a long period of time and is, therefore, more prone to the alteration of the inherited patterns, yielding to the weakening of parametric variation.

4. The subjunctive complementation to N

The main point of this analysis is that the typology in Table 3 will help us understand other systematic cross-linguistic variations in the use of the subjunctive clauses in these languages. The particular case we discuss in this section is the cross-linguistic variation in the subjunctive complementation to nouns.

Deverbal nouns tend to preserve the selection properties of the corresponding verbs. So deverbal nouns based on verb stems with obligatory control are expected to select subjunctive clauses. This is true for all the languages concerned except for SR, as shown in (11).

(11) a. [Miracu [si gies en sceannatati]]
desire+the.M.Sg Subj.Mark live.1Sg in foreign land
ra muiltu mari. Megleno-Romanian
was very big
'The desire to live abroad was very big.'

b. [Shpresa a lui [(tă) s-u
hope+the.F.Sg of him Subj.Comp Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
sdalegăproblema]] ira disliginată. Aromanian
untie.3Sg problem+the.F.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf shattered.F.Sg
'His hope to solve the problem was shuttered.'

c. [Želbata [da se živee vo
desire+the.F.Sg Subj Acc.Ref.Cl live.3Sg/Impers in
stranstvo]] beše silna. Macedonian
abroad was strong.F.Sg.Adj
'The desire to live abroad was strong.'

d. [Želanieto [da se živee văv
desire+the.Neut.Sg Subj Acc.Ref.Cl live.3Sg/Impers in
čužbina]] beše silno. Bulgarian
foreign land was strong.Neut.Sg.Adj
The desire [to live abroad] was strong.

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e. [Dorința [?*să locuiască în străinătate]] era foarte puternică. Standard Romanian
desire-the Subj.M live-3Sg.Subj in abroad was very strong
f. [Dorința [de a locui în străinătate]] era foarte puternică. Standard Romanian
desire-the of to-INF live-INF in abroad was very strong
'The desire to live abroad was very strong'.
g. [Predlog [dati im prednost]] dolazi iz Beograda.
proposal give.Inf 3Pl.Dat.Cl priority comes from Belgrade
'The decision to give them priority comes from Belgrade.' Croatian
h. [Predlog [da im se da prednost]]
Proposal Subj.M 3Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl give.Impers priority
dolazi iz Belgrada. Serbian
comes from Belgrade
'The decision to give them priority comes from Belgrade.'

These examples show that Romanian has the only irregular pattern in these constructions, by requiring an infinitive instead of a subjunctive complement to N. Croatian also displays infinitive complements in this configuration, but the option for infinitive instead of the subjunctive is subject to regional preferences, not to the unavailability of a subjunctive version. So why is SR breaking the uniform pattern, by imposing infinitive complementation to nouns, although, for the equivalent verbs, the language would provide only subjunctive complementation? Note, for example, that when the same nouns are incorporated in the VP, the ban on subjunctive complementation is lifted, as shown in (12).

(12) a. Fiecare şi- a exprimat [dorința [? să locuiască în străinătate]].Standard Romanian SR
each Refl-Dat has expressed desire-the Subj. live-Subj in abroad
b. Fiecare şi- a exprimat [dorința [de a locui în străinătate]].Standard Romanian
each Refl-Dat has expressed desire-the of to live-INF in abroad
'Each of them expressed their desire to live abroad.'

So, the ban on subjunctive complements, as seen in (11e) applies only when no V features can be implicated in the selection process.

We relate the puzzling behaviour of Romanian in the configurations in (11) to the properties of articulated CP in the subjunctive complements. In particular, Table 3 shows that SR is the only language where the subjunctive ForceP is "strong" – that is, ForceP is always lexical, whether it is spelled out as 'ca' or as the ['să'+V] string. The hypothesis is that strong subjunctive ForceP interferes with the checking relation between the matrix DP/NP and the embedded subject position it has to control. Since the other Romance Balkan languages have a weak or no subjunctive ForceP, while Balkan Slavic languages lack a subjunctive CP altogether, no locality violations emerge in the same kind of configuration.

In order to understand what kind of violation strong subjunctive ForceP triggers in (11), we must understand in which way the matrix DP/NP ensures the c-selection of its sentential complement in configurations that allow control on the embedded subject. As shown in (13), the interpretation of the embedded subject is constrained by the referential information provided by the selected DP – e.g. through the specification of the possessor.

(13) a. Dorința de PRO_{arb} a reuşi poate deveni obsedantă. Standard Romanian
desire-the of to succeed-INF can become obsessive
'The desire to succeed can turn into an obsession.'

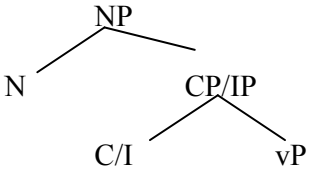
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b. Dorința ei$_j$ de PRO$_j$ a reuşi ne-a impresionat. Standard Romanian
desire-the her of to succeed-INF us has impressed
'Her desire to succeed impressed us.'

Accordingly, the DP values the phi-features of the embedded I head, which mediates the agreement between the subject and the verb. Since the DP has only nominal features, the structural dependency must consist in the checking of the nominal feature of the IP. Such checking relation may be obtained either by local head-head agreement between N and the IP, or by a mediated relation between N and the IP. In the case of the subjunctive complements, these conditions are observed as shown in (14).

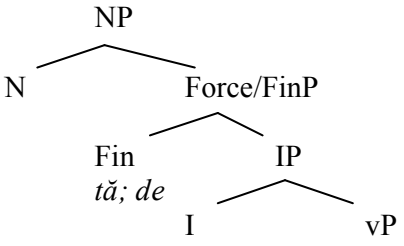
(14) a. checking configuration: local N-I

e.g.: Slavic Balkan



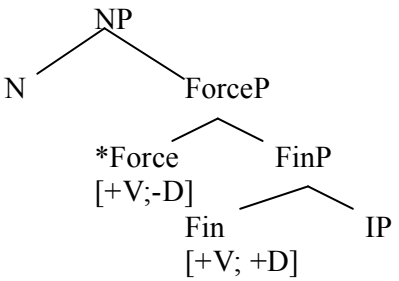
b. checking configuration: N-LINKER-IP

e.g.: Aromanian
SR-*de*/inf
MR-*de*/subj



c. checking configuration: N – *ForceP – LINKER - IP

e.g.: SR-subj



In (14a) the checking configuration is straightforward between the selecting noun and the embedded inflection: N checks the nominal D feature of I and thus values the phi-features of I. This is possible in Slavic Balkan, where CP and IP are collapsed, so there is no intervening head between N and IP. The alternative, in (14b), applies in cases where the CP field is articulated; the purpose in (14b) is to restrict the typing projections only to those that have nominal features, and can, thus, mediate the checking relation between N and I. This can be done by substituting prepositional complementizers to sentence typing complementizers of

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the 'that' type; more precisely, 'de' (with V and D features) instead of 'ca' (with V feature), as in SR infinitive complements. Thus, *de* merges in Fin and checks the typing features of both Fin and Force (which might be collapsed in this configuration, a possibility that is irrelevant to our discussion, because it does not affect how 'stong' Force is).

The ungrammaticality of 'ca' is derived in (14c) from the nature of ForceP, which has an uninterpretable V feature. When 'ca' is merged, Force and Fin are maintained as separate projections that need different elements for checking. Generally, the V feature of Force is probed/checked by the selecting head, which yields a felicitous result if the selecting head is V but not if it is N – unless the selecting N is incorporated in a VP, as in (12), so the V/N complex checks the V feature of Force and allows the derivation to converge. Thus, SR excludes subjunctive complements to N because all these complements have ForceP.

The examples in (15) detail the MR case.

(15) a. [Miracu [(*ca) si gies en sceannatati]]
desire+the.M.Sg that Subj live.1Sg in foreign land
ra muiltu mari. Megleno-Romanian 1
was very big
'The desire to live abroad was very big.'

b. Miracu di si gies en sceannatati
desire+the.M.Sg of Subj live.1Sg in foreign land
ra muiltu mari. Megleno-Romanian2
was very big
'The desire to live abroad was very big.'

c. Miracu (di) si gies en sceannatati
desire+the.M.Sg of Subj live.1Sg in foreign land
ra muiltu mari. Megleno-Romanian1 or 2
was very big
'The desire to live abroad was very big.'

In MR, N selects subjunctive complements in which *di* (equivalent to SR 'de') seems to be optional, as in (15c), while 'ca' is excluded, as in (15a). A comparison with the SR configurations accounts straightforwardly for the exclusion of 'ca': it signals the presence of ForceP, and therefore, an illicit configuration as in (14c). Thus, although 'ca' is optional in complements to V, it is excluded in the complements to N. Predictably, both SR and MR use de/*di* in Fin. However, cross-linguistic variation arises in two areas: First, the inflectional typing features associated with 'de' are different in the two languages: in MR 'di' types for subjunctive complements, whereas in SR 'de' types for infinitive or indicative, but not for subjunctive complements. Second, SR 'de' is obligatory, whereas MR 'di' is optionally spelled out. This difference follows from the contrast in the nature of ForceP in the two languages: In SR, infinitive ForceP has strong features, on a par with subjunctive ForceP (studies on SR infinitives show that the infinitive ['a'+V] string moves to Force in the same way the subjunctive ['să'+V] string does; see Motapanyane 1991, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). So when 'de' is absent in SR, the structure is still parsed as having ['a'+V] in Force. Hence, 'de' must obligatorily be spelled out in the complements to N, to avoid the parsing of ['a'+V] as Force, and therefore, a blocking structure as in (14c). On the other hand, MR has systematic weak ForceP in subjunctives – even when 'ca' is present, it merges in Fin. Hence, 'di' can be optionally spelled out, since lack of 'di' does not entail an unchecked (strong) ForceP.

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5. Conclusions

This paper re-examined the configurations for embedding subjunctive complements in two Balkan language groups: Romance and Slavic. For V selected complements, a typological pattern came out, presented in Table 3. This typology has been shown to snowball in a cross-linguistic variation in the complements to N. More precisely, strong versus weak or syncretic sentence typing features at the left periphery of the subjunctive clause are correlated with the ban on subjunctive complementation under N for the former versus the latter.

Implicitly, Table 3 provides information on the direction of language contact effects: the ambiguous status of AR, the weak ForceP in MR, the optionality of 'ca' in SR, and the substandard variations in Romanian, where 'ca' and 'să' are fused, indicate that Romance Balkan is under the continuous influence of the Slavic Balkan pattern, where typing features are clustered on inflectional, versus complementizer heads.

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