

## Operator movement in Polish subjunctive clauses

Barbara Tomaszewicz  
Frankfurt University / Wrocław University

Subjunctive mood in West and East Slavic languages is a rather rarely studied and a not well understood grammatical phenomenon. The aim of this paper is to provide a new perspective on its main characteristic feature – the irrealis mood particle *by*. I argue that *by* should be analyzed as an element moved to  $C^0$  from a lower position, which can explain why there are certain syntactic restrictions on subjunctive clauses in North Slavic. Treating *by* in subjunctive complementizers as a moved operator lends support to the theories positing a null-operator movement for the derivation of conditionals (Bhatt & Pancheva, 2006, Haegeman, 2007). Overt movement of the irrealis morpheme is argued to account for a crucial property of subjunctive clauses, namely, their close integration with matrix clauses. Conditional adverbial clauses are thus allowed to be temporally underspecified with respect to the matrix clause, while subjunctive complements may be equivalent to infinitival complements. I will show that the properties of both internal and external syntax of subjunctive clauses follow from an operator movement analysis.

Regarding *by* as an operator lets us analyze the puzzling *żeby* (Polish) / *aby* (Czech, Slovak) / *čtoby* (Russian) complements not only in relation to *that*-complements but also with respect to *gdyby* (Polish) / *kdyby* (Czech) / *keby* (Slovak) / *esli by* (Russian) conditional adverbial clauses, which, it will be shown, can account for their common syntactic and semantic properties. That *by* is incorporated into the complementizer in the course of derivation and not base generated as its part will be shown on the basis of the following arguments:

(i) *By* turns out to be the spell out of the ExclF(w) morpheme argued in Iatridou, 2000, to be obligatory in both CF antecedents and CF consequents. Since in Polish, CF antecedents and CF consequents differ only the position of *by*, it can be concluded that it is the same exclusion morpheme that needs to be raised in CF antecedents. I argue that the driving force behind this movement is the need of *by* to take higher scope, because the movement fits exactly into the proposals of Bhatt & Pancheva, 2006 and Haegeman, 2007, where the same kind of structure, CF antecedents, is derived through operator movement in order to bind a possible world variable. Any instance of the event described in the antecedent will lead to the situation in the consequent. Similarly, any instance of the event described in the subjunctive complement to the *want*-type verb will satisfy the wish/order/etc. expressed in the matrix clause.

(ii) It will be demonstrated that the left-ward movement of *by* has syntactic consequences and results in intervention effects akin to those analyzed in Haegeman, 2007, which concern speaker-oriented adverbs, long-moved adjuncts and the event-modifying particle *to* (see 1, 2 below). The position identified by Haegeman, 2007, as the origin of the null operator is an irrealis mood projection immediately below T. Interestingly, the same projection has been argued in Migdalski, 2006, to be the source of *by* which is the only modal verbal element in Polish and other Slavic languages that has no infinitival form. It will be discussed whether his proposal that *by* in Polish has to raise to T to pick up past tense auxiliaries can be incorporated into the present study.

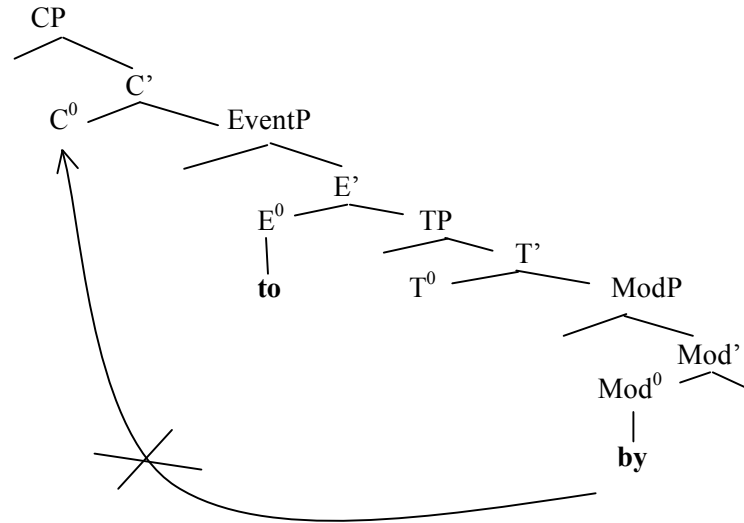
(iii) *By* cannot appear in factual conditional adverbials, which do not involve an operator. Moreover, conditional inversion, which in English substitutes *if* for a fronted verb, in Polish leaves *by* in the same position exchanging only the material preceding it. After conditional inversion the modal particle seems to be enough to “type” the clause. A similar result of clause typing is achieved in the so-called optatives and subjunctive exclamatives, which have been analyzed in Grohmann, 2000, as containing a modal operator in  $C^0$  moved from a lower position. It can be concluded then, that clause typing does not really involve features like *exclamative* or *subjunctive* but rather more general features such as [exclusion]. When a  $C^0$  characterized with such a feature is selected, it will trigger the movement of a morpheme having the ExclF(w) semantics. Such a  $C^0$ , it is argued, is selected when a greater integration of the adverbial/complement clause is required.

(iv) *Żeby*-clauses are in a complementary distribution with control infinitives probably due to the fact that

they can be both selected under a C<sup>0</sup> with an [excl] feature. The evidence for some syntactic similarity between infinitival and subjunctive complements comes from their common property of allowing long-distance wh-movement.

Finally, the present proposal will be compared to the “conditional movement” analysis in Willis, 2000, for Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian conditional mood.

(1)



(2) **To** as event modifier:

a) Ty to napisałeś skargę (ale ja nie).  
 you to write.Pst.2Sg complaint but I not  
 You wrote a complaint, but I didn't.

b) \*Chcę, żebyś ty to napisał skargę (ale ja nie).  
 want.Pres.1Sg ze.by.2Sg you to write.Prt complaint but I not  
 I want that you write a complaint (but I don't).

c) \*Gdybyś ty to napisał skargę...  
 gdyby.2Sg you to write.Prt complaint  
 If you wrote a complaint...

### Selected references:

- Bhatt, R. & R. Pancheva. 2006. Conditionals. In: Everaert, M. & van Riemsdijk, H (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*. Vol 1. Blackwell, Boston & Oxford, 638-687.
- Grohmann, K. K. 2000. Null Modals in Germanic (and Romance): Infinitival Exclamatives. In *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 14, 43-61.
- Haegeman, L. 2003. Conditional clauses: external and internal syntax. In *Mind and Language* 18, 317-339.
- Haegeman, L. 2006. Conditionals, factives and the left periphery. In *Lingua* 116 (2006), 1651-1669.
- Haegeman, L. 2007. *The Syntax of Adverbial Clauses*. Manuscript, Université Charles de Gaulle.
- Iatridou, S. 2000. The Grammatical Ingredients of Counterfactuality. In *Linguistic Inquiry* 31.2
- Migdalski, K. 2006. *The Syntax of Compound Tenses in Slavic*. Utrecht:LOT
- Willis, D. 2000. Verb Movement in Slavonic Conditionals. In: Pintzuk, S., Tsoulas G. & Warner, A. (Eds.) *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*, OUP. 322-348.