

Cross-clausal dependencies and the subjunctive in Polish and Russian

Luka Szucsich (Humboldt-University Berlin)

In many languages, including Romance and some Slavic languages, subjunctive clauses selected by volitional verbs allow for syntactic phenomena to occur in a less local domain than it is the case with other types of subordinate clauses (especially indicative clauses). One of these phenomena is so-called 'obviation', i.e. obligatory disjoint reference of subjects in the matrix clause and subjects in subjunctive clauses, cf. (1) for Polish.

- (1) Jarek_i chc-e, żeby *pro**_{i/j} śpiewa-ł. [Po]
Jarek_{M:SG:N} want_{PRS:3:SG} that_{SUBJ} *pro* sing_{LPT-M:SG}
'Jarek wants him to sing.'

Obviation is often attributed to 'domain extension' collapsing the tense domains of the matrix and the embedded clause. The nature of domain extension, however, is rarely explicitly analyzed. I will present an analysis of obviation effects which relies on cross-clausal feature dependencies. I assume that (potentially cross-clausal) occurrences of features may constitute the relevant domains for construal processes. Selectional properties of volitional verbs and the deficiency of the clausal complement's T-feature provide the prerequisite for cross-clausal feature sharing, i.e. the matrix and the complement clause's T-features form one feature chain. The T-feature of the complement clause has to be located in the C-domain of the embedded clause, though, in order to be accessible for the T-feature of the matrix clause. Polish provides good evidence for the need of accessibility in volitional-subjunctive contexts. In Polish, deficient subjunctive T-features are marked with the modal marker *by* which is rather mobile (cf. Tomaszewicz 2012). Only with *by* attached to the complementizer as in (1) obviation effects emerge.