

Particle *da* in suppletive imperative forms in the Croatian Church Slavonic language

Among the suppletive imperative forms in Croatian Church Slavonic (CCS) language, periphrases with the modal particle *da* and a verb in the present form are most frequently attested (periphrases ‘*neka* + present’ are much less frequent in the corpus and their realization in the texts is a result of the influence of Croatian /Čakavian/ organic idioms). The particle *da* in suppletive imperatives in CCS shows almost the same patterns of behaviour as the lowest *da* in constructions with doubled (or tripled) *da* in CCS (Mihaljević 2019). It appears in contexts in which not the real but the unreal state is described, as evidenced by the fact that it is usually realized in positions where the conjunctive is found in Latin (and Greek) templates. In addition, the modal particle *da*, as well as the corresponding elements in Bulgarian (*da*), Romanian (*să*), Greek (*na*) and Albanian (*të*), is not compatible with true imperatives. It always precedes the verb and can be separated from it only by the negative marker and/or pronoun clitics. In the presentation, the position that the modal particle *da* occupies in the clause structure will be analysed within the Cartographic framework (Rizzi 1997; Cinque and Rizzi 2010). Assuming Rizzi’s (1997) model of split CP-domain, it will be argued that the particle *da* is located in Fin⁰, which is specified for modality (cf. Roussou 2000; Turano 2017), and checks its (strong) modal feature. If the assumption that true imperatives must also check the modal feature is correct (cf. Isac 2015), this can explain why both true imperatives and modal particle *da* cannot be realized in the same sentence. An attempt will also be made to explain why the modal particle *da* and the verb in CCS must be adjacent and the ways in which this fact can be syntactically encoded will be considered.

Keywords: particle *da*, suppletive imperatives, Croatian Church Slavonic, syntax, Cartographic approach

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