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**PRO in finite clauses: A study of the inflectional heads of the
Balkan languages**

Terzi, Arhonto, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1992

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PRO IN FINITE CLAUSES
A STUDY OF THE INFLECTIONAL HEADS OF THE BALKAN LANGUAGES

by

ARHONTO TERZI

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New
York.

1992

c 1992

ARHONTO TERZI

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

PRO IN FINITE CLAUSES
A STUDY OF THE INFLECTIONAL HEADS OF THE BALKAN LANGUAGES

by

Arhonto Terzi

Adviser: Professor Richard Kayne

This dissertation focuses on a set of languages that to different degrees lack infinitival structures, and studies the behavior of the finite representations that have replaced them. More specifically, I investigate the properties of the inflectional heads present in subjunctive clauses of the Balkan languages. These structures are of interest for syntactic theory because they display phenomena that have standardly been associated with nonfinite contexts. Control and clitic climbing are the phenomena that will be of main concern here. The subject obviation commonly associated with subjunctive subordinates of Romance languages is a topic I also investigate.

I initially focus on the subjunctive particle, the element introducing the relevant clauses. I demonstrate that the subjunctive particle, or else M^0 , is an element of Infl rather than a complementizer and heads the maximal projection Mood Phrase (MP). I conclude that M^0 is an A-head, thus accounting for its distinct behavior from the A'-heads C^0 and

Neg⁰. I argue that the Spec(MP) position can host PRO. Consequently, I attribute the incompatibility often manifested by C⁰ and M⁰ to a PRO theorem violation, and thereby weaken the claims which consider the two elements to compete for the same structural position.

I also focus on subjunctive complements of restructuring verbs and inquire into why clitic climbing is impossible in the Balkan languages. I offer empirical support for the claim that clitic climbing can take place over a CP complement and argue that the occurrence of finite Infl is irrelevant for clitic climbing. I conclude that the presence of M⁰ is the crucial factor rendering clitic climbing impossible in the Balkan languages, while a lexical C⁰ does not always have the same effect.

I propose a licensing mechanism for the category PRO that reduces licensing of PRO to the well-formedness of a verb movement that adjoins the verb to the uppermost inflectional projection which hosts PRO in its Specifier position. I demonstrate that the role of the subjunctive marker is essential in licensing a PRO subject, as it is able to render licit the proposed verb movement even in finite environments.

Στη θεία τη Μαρίκα

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Contents

Abstract	iv
Dedication	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Overview of the Data	3
1.2. Organization of the Dissertation	7
2. PRO as the Subject of Finite Clauses	10
2.1. General Remarks	
2.1.1. The Subjunctive Marker as an Infl Element	12
2.1.2. The Empty Category PRO	25
2.2. Subjunctive Complement Clauses and PRO	
2.2.1. Subject and Object Control Predicates in Greek	27
2.2.2. Albanian and Romanian	32
2.2.3. The 'Double' Nature of 'try'	37
2.2.4. Adjunct Causatives	45
2.2.5. PRO and phi-features	48
2.3. Sentential Subjects	
2.3.1. Word Order Differences	51
2.3.2. Subjunctive Subjects and Weak Crossover	53
2.4. PRO and Expletives	
2.4.1. Subjunctive Particle and Expletives ...	57
3. Volitionals and Subject Obviation	69
3.1. Complements of Volitionals in Greek	
3.1.1. Word Order and Referential Possibilities	71
3.2. Subject Obviation	
3.2.1. Subject Obviation and Anaphoric Tense .	77
3.2.2. Anaphoric Tense in Greek	81
3.2.3. The Structural Ambiguity of Greek Subjunctives	84
3.2.4. Anaphoric Tense and PRO: Null vs. Lexical Governors	88
3.2.5. Subjunctives and I-to-C movement	96
3.3. Volitionals in Albanian and Romanian	
3.3.1. Complementizerless Subjunctives	100
3.3.2. Subjunctive Complementizer and	

	Obviation	104
3.3.3.	The Subjunctive Complementizer	108
3.4.	Lexical Complementizers and the Subjunctive Particle	110
3.5.	Appendix - Subject Obviation	116
3.5.1.	First Problem: How Anaphoric Should Anaphoric Tense Be?	116
3.5.2.	Second Problem: Obviation and Passives	120
3.5.3.	Anaphoric Tense in C ⁰	126
4.	Clitic Climbing, Finite Infl and the ECP	135
4.1.	Pronominal Clitics in Greek	
4.1.1.	Position of Clitics	137
4.1.2.	Clitic Climbing and Gerunds	140
4.2.	Control and Clitic Climbing	
4.2.1.	Absence of Clitic Climbing from Finite Control Structures. Finiteness or the presence of PRT?	144
4.2.2.	Subjunctive Complementation in Salentino	151
4.2.3.	Clitic Climbing from Finite Subordinates	158
4.3.	The Subjunctive Particle and the ECP	
4.3.1.	The Subjunctive Head and the Negative Head	162
4.3.2.	Clitic Climbing and Lexical Complementizers	166
4.3.3.	A Note on Incorporation of Subjunctive Heads	170
5.	Licensing Conditions for PRO	180
5.1.	Control and Finiteness	
5.1.1.	Previous Accounts	182
5.1.2.	An Evaluation of Previous Control Accounts as Applied to the Balkan Facts	185
5.2.	Governed PRO and Verb Movement	
5.2.1.	General Background	194
5.2.2.	PRO as the Subject of Infinitives	196
5.2.3.	The Impossibility of PRO as the Subject of Finite Predicates	199
5.2.4.	PRO as the Subject of Balkan Subjunctives	202
5.3.	The Future Particle	
5.3.1.	The Future Particle and Licensing of PRO	205
5.3.2.	The Future Particle and C ⁰ . Two Types of Complementizers	208
	Bibliography	216

Chapter 1

Introduction

This dissertation focuses on those finite clauses in the Balkan languages which correspond to structures exclusively associated with infinitives in the languages that display the finite vs. nonfinite distinction. My goal is to investigate the properties of the inflectional heads specific to these representations and the role they play with respect to a number of syntactic phenomena, primarily control, subject obviation and clitic climbing.

I will discuss data from Albanian, Greek, Romanian and the Salentino dialect of Southern Italy, all of which lack infinitival clauses to various degrees and utilize structurally similar finite representations known as

subjunctives. Since subject obviation and clitic climbing are phenomena closely associated with the Romance languages (in this case Romanian will fall under the Balkan group), I will often shift to the Romance group and compare equivalent structures of the two language groups.

The inflectional category of central concern is the particle that introduces subjunctive clauses in the Balkan languages. I will argue that the subjunctive markers are inflectional heads rather than complementizers and I will agree with the idea already proposed in the literature that the subjunctive marker, or else M^0 , heads the maximal projection Mood Phrase. The current controversy over the syntactic status of the subjunctive particle, i.e., whether M^0 is an element of Infl or a complementizer, requires a closer look at the complementizers specific to the subjunctive subordinates. We describe how C^0 and M^0 interact with each other, and we offer an explanation for why this is so.

I will demonstrate that many of the configurations investigated display behavior typically associated with control structures and argue for the presence of PRO in their subject position. I will show that the presence of PRO in subject position of this type of subjunctive subordinates does not contradict standard claims of syntactic theory that exclude PRO from finite contexts.

The same configurations present an interesting context for the study of another phenomenon which has been associated

with nonfinite complements exclusively, the phenomenon of clitic climbing. We compare data from a) the Romance languages b) the Balkan language group and c) the dialects of Southern Italy. Since all these languages have clitics, but only the Romance group displays clitic climbing, we have the necessary material to investigate the issue of clitic climbing in a context where we can hold the background steady while observing the effects on clitic climbing when changing each one of the conditions required for the manifestation of the phenomenon.

1.1. Overview of the Data

The following representations contain a range of the facts we will investigate.

- (1) I Maria prospathi na elegksi tin oreksi tis. (G)
 Mary tries PRT controls the appetite her
 'Mary tries to control her appetite.'

The particle introducing the subordinate clause is unique among the Indo-European languages, and there considerable controversy over whether it is a complementizer or an Inflectional element. I supply evidence from a number of Balkan languages against the first option. Furthermore, following current proposals with respect to two types of functional heads I will argue that the subjunctive particle M^0 is an A-head, thus accounting for the distinct behavior it displays when compared to the functional heads Neg^0 and C^0 .

I also inquire into the syntactic status of the null subject of the above type of embedded clauses. I show that its properties agree for the fact that it belongs to the empty category PRO rather than the expected from this position pro.

Consequently, I propose a licensing mechanism for PRO which, while being consistent with standard syntactic claims about the nature of PRO and its presence as the subject of infinitivals, will be able to account for the occurrence of PRO in representations such as in (1). This is accomplished by an approach that considers PRO to be licensed via government without diminishing the role of the PRO theorem. M^0 will be shown to play a crucial role in this relationship and its presence crucially differentiates the relevant finite configurations from other finite structures within the same language group. Furthermore, the absence of a comparable particle from other languages makes it impossible for control phenomena to be manifested in finite configurations.

Another set of data to be investigate are is the following:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| (2) | Jani | do | [_C 0 [_M t _ē haj _ë . | (A) |
| | Ion | vrea | [_C 0 [_M s _ă m _ă n _î n _c e. | (R) |
| | O Yiannis | theli | [_C 0 [_M na fai. | (G) |
| | John | wants | PRT eats | |
| | 'John wants (him/her) to eat.' | | | |

I will point an important difference between the three languages, regarding the fact that only the first two have a distinct complementizer available (3).

(3)	Jani	do	[_C qə	[_M tē	hajə.	(A)
	Ion	vrea	[_C ca	[_M să	mănince.	(R)
	O Yiannis	theli	[_C 0	[_M na	fai.	(G)
	John	wants		PRT	eats	

Why the subjunctive specific complementizer can appear only in representations such as (3), but is excluded from (1)? We investigate this question in depth and we answer it by evoking the PRO theorem. Thus, we offer additional confirmation for the existence of a PRO subject in (1).

I investigate representations such as (2) from another point of view. It has been noticed that structures of this type are not associated with the array of phenomena known as subject obviation in the Romance languages. I argue against this misconception and demonstrate that subject obviation is present in the languages under investigation but is concealed by the existence of two different syntactic representations that characterize (2). My claims have implications for existing accounts of subject obviation, since they weaken the proposal that attributes subject obviation in the context of subjunctive subordinates to the existence of a parallel infinitival structure.

Another issue I investigate is clitic climbing. I will look at the contrast between (4b) and (5b) from Spanish and Greek and the question whether the ungrammaticality of (5b) should be attributed to the finiteness of the subordinate clause or the existence of the subjunctive marker.

- (4) a. Quiero comerlo. (S)
I-want to-eat-it-cl
- b. Lo quiero comer.
it-cl I-want to-eat
- (5) a. Thelo na to fao. (G)
- b. *To thelo na fao.
'I want to eat it'

The question raised by (5b) is not a trivial one since it tests two different proposals with respect to clitic climbing: Does clitic climbing require a VP subordinate or may the embedded be subordinate a CP? Apart from contributing to a better understanding of the phenomenon of clitic climbing, the answer to this question has further implications for major principles of grammar such as the ECP.

Crucial evidence in favor of one over the other option comes from Salentino of Brindisi, which is structurally similar in all respects to the Balkan languages, but has the additional option of not realizing lexically the subjunctive marker.

- (6) a. Voggyu ku lu kkattu. (S1)
I-want PRT it-cl I-buy
- b. Voggyu lu kkattu.
I-want it-cl I-buy
- c. *Lu voggyu ku kkattu.
it-cl I-want PRT I-buy
- d. Lu voggyu kkattu.
it-cl I-want I-buy
'I want to buy it.'

I argue that absence of an IP node from the embedded clause is not a requirement for clitic climbing, so that an account that

considers (4b) as a monoclausal structure is on the wrong track. I also propose that the presence of a lexical complementizer does not interfere with clitic climbing either, unless its Specifier position is occupied by an operator.

1.2. Organization of the Dissertation

In Chapter 2 I introduce the clauses under investigation and describe their properties. I review some proposals in the literature concerning the structure of the subjunctive marker and I argue that this particle is the functional head M^0 with behavior significantly different from that of a complementizer. I subsequently present subjunctive subordinates of subject control predicates and I argue for the fact that their subject position is occupied by PRO. My analysis explains the incompatibility of M^0 and C^0 in number of contexts.

In Chapter 3 I focus on subjunctive complements of volitional predicates, a syntactic environment that is typically associated with subject obviation phenomena in the Romance languages. I address the issue of subject obviation and I review some of the relevant accounts of the phenomenon. I present the restricted tense possibilities that subjunctive subordinates display in Greek, and compare them with those manifested by the Romance languages. Subsequently, I show that subject obviation is also manifest in the Balkan languages, but is not overt. I argue that the apparent lack

of subject obviation follows from the structural ambiguity of the relevant representations. My conclusions strengthen the proposal that attributes subject obviation to the tense dependencies that subjunctive subordinates are associated with. In the appendix of Chapter 3 I elaborate on some aspects of this proposal.

Chapter 4 deals with the phenomenon of clitic climbing and its prerequisites. I will compare Romance languages in which clitic climbing is associated with nonfinite 'restructuring' configurations, Balkan languages which do not demonstrate clitic climbing out of their finite counterpart structures and Salentino where clitic climbing out of finite structures is possible when the subjunctive marker is not lexically realized. My findings favor the approach that considers the relevant structures to have a CP subordinate, but differ in that we predict that a lexical complementizer in the C^0 position does not always interfere with clitic climbing.

Chapter 5 focuses on how to provide a licensing mechanism for the empty category PRO, which I have held to be the subject of many of the subjunctive clauses in the Balkan languages. A number of proposals appear to be good candidates for accommodating the data under investigation, even though they all depart to various degrees from standard claims with respect to the nature of PRO. I will reject those analyses and propose an account that reduces licensing of PRO to a verb

movement that adjoins the verb to the higher IP projection. The proposed analysis, at first glance unorthodox, has the advantage of accommodating the data in question, explaining why PRO cannot be the subject of other finite clauses while it still considers PRO a distinct empty category that is subject to the PRO theorem.

I will use the following abbreviations to identify data from the languages discussed.

Albanian	(A)
Arbëresh	(Ar)
Bulgarian	(B)
French	(F)
Greek	(G)
Italian	(I)
Romanian	(R)
Salentino	(Sl)
Spanish	(S)
Portuguese	(P)

Chapter 2

PRO as the Subject of Finite Clauses

The central task of this chapter is to establish the presence of the empty category PRO in subject position of a number of subjunctive clauses in Albanian, Modern Greek (henceforth, Greek), and Romanian. The empirical observation that renders this task theoretically interesting is that PRO appears to occupy a syntactic position from which it has been explicitly excluded by standard claims of current syntactic theory.

The first part of the chapter serves a twofold introductory purpose. To start with, I offer a description of the clausal structure and the major properties of Greek subjunctives. I then compare them with their Albanian and Romanian counterparts with particular focus on the subjunctive

marker, its syntactic properties, and its relationship to the complementizers. The conclusion that I draw from this comparison is that the subjunctive marker in all three languages should be considered an inflectional element rather than a complementizer.

Subsequently, I shift the discussion to clausal complements of predicates that correspond to subject control and object control verbs of languages with 'real' infinitives. It follows as a rather uncontroversial conclusion, that the empty subjects of this type of subjunctive clauses display the set of properties standardly associated with PRO. Arguing for the occurrence of PRO in this position has the advantage of explaining the incompatibility of a number of subjunctive subordinators with lexical complementizers. I attribute the incompatibility that subjunctive particle and lexical complementizers often manifest to a PRO theorem violation.

The third section is concerned with subjunctive clauses that appear as sentential subjects. I demonstrate the sharp contrast that their subject position displays when compared with the null subjects of indicative sentential subjects. I show that subjunctive sentential subjects, contrary to indicatives, are able to evade Weak Crossover effects. Thus, they support the claim that the subject position of the former type of sentences is occupied by PRO, while that of the latter by an empty pronominal.

Finally, I investigate the conditions under which the

subject of a subjunctive clause can be an expletive. The data examined offer further support for the claim that the subject position of a number of subjunctive clauses is occupied by PRO, and confirm the observation made across a wide range of languages that PRO cannot function as an expletive.

2.1. General Remarks

2.1.1. The Subjunctive Marker as an Infl Element

Greek subjunctives have historically replaced infinitives in all syntactic positions in the language.¹ Greek contrasts in this respect with the rest of the languages of the Balkan peninsula, as well as with several dialects of Southern Italy, in which infinitives are still to be encountered in a limited number of environments.² Subjunctive clauses in all the above languages are finite forms introduced by an invariable particle (PRT). In Greek, the particle 'na' has most commonly been considered to be not a complementizer but an Infl element (Ingria 1981, Phillipaki 1987, Rivero 1988).³

- (1) I Maria prospathi na elegksi tin oreksi tis.
 Mary tries PRT controls the appetite her
 'Mary tries to control her appetite.'
- (2) O Yiannis elpizi na pari tin ipotrofia.
 John hopes PRT gets the scholarship
 'John hopes to get the scholarship.'

More precisely, according to recent accounts that consider Infl to be split into different maximal projections, one can regard 'na' to head its own maximal projection Mood Phrase (MP), following Motapanyane's suggestion concerning 'să' in

Romanian (Motapanyane 1991), an idea implicit in Rivero (1988) as well. For this reason, throughout this work the subjunctive particles will be referred to either as PRT or as M⁰.

Primary empirical evidence in favor of the view that 'na' is not a complementizer is offered by the fact that no overt subject can intervene between it and the lexical verb, as shown in (3). Thus, the situation contrasts with indicative subordinates; these are obligatorily introduced by the lexical complementizer *oti*, which can always be succeeded by a lexical subject (4).

(3) *Maria theli na o Yiannis diavasi.
 Mary wants PRT the John reads
 'Mary wants John to read.'

(4) I Maria ipe oti o Yiannis diavase.
 Mary said COMP the John reads
 'Mary said that John read.'

The only elements that may appear between the subjunctive marker and the lexical verb at S-Structure are

- a) the pronominal object clitics, shown in (5)⁴
- b) negation - where a different negative marker for subjunctives appears than that used for indicatives, as shown by (5) and (6)⁵
- c) a very limited number of manner adverbs, one of which is exhibited in (5). These adverbs have been analyzed by Rivero (1992) as incorporating into the verb.⁶

The order of the above elements is the string consisting of the subjunctive marker, negative marker and pronominal

clitics demonstrated in (5). Any other order is unacceptable. The position of the adverbs appears to be similar for both subjunctive and indicative complements and is shown in (7) for subjunctives.

- (5) I Maria theli na min to polidiavasi.
 Mary wants PRT NEG1 it much-reads
 'Mary wants to not read it a lot.'
- (6) I Maria ipe oti o Yiannis den diavase.
 Mary said that John NEG2 read
 'Mary said that John did not read.'
- (7) I Maria shediazi na grapsi (sindoma/pali/
 tou hronou) ti diatrivi tis (sindoma/pali/
 tou hronou)
 'Mary plans to write (soon/again/next year)
 her thesis (soon/again/next year).'

Finally, no distinct inflectional morphology on the lexical verb signals the presence of subjunctive mood in Greek. In contrast, the lexical verb is inflected with distinct morphology in Albanian and Romanian.⁷

A salient property of Greek subjunctives is their incompatibility with lexical complementizers.

- (8) *I Maria theli oti na min to polidiavasi.
 Mary wants COMP PRT not it much-reads
 'Mary wants that to read it a lot.'

Based merely on this fact one could perhaps argue that the subjunctive particle is a complementizer rather than an inflectional element, and thus the two compete for the same structural position in (8). The ungrammaticality of (3), contrasted with (4), however, offers the first piece of counterevidence against this possibility, as the word order of (4) is the common case in Greek. Additional evidence against

the view that 'na' is a subjunctive complementizer is offered when comparing the Greek data to the rest of the languages that display the counterpart particle.

In Romanian, Albanian, and Arbëresh of San-Nicola (an Albanian-related dialect of Southern Italy), - the latter taken from Guasti (1992) - the subjunctive particle may cooccur with elements that are unambiguously complementizers. Based on the common assumption that a sentence cannot be simultaneously headed by two different complementizers, the well-formedness of (9) and (10) argues that the subjunctive particles of these languages are not C⁰s.

(9) Doresc ca pe Ion să-l examineze Popescu.(R)
 I-wish COMP pe John PRT-him examines Popescu
 'I wish that John be examined by Popescu.'

(10) a. Jani do që Maria të hajë. (A)
 John wants COMP Mary PRT eats
 'John wants Mary to eat.'

 b. Mompar se te vinj. (Ar)
 before COMP PRT come
 'Before coming.'

What should follow as a first conclusion from the facts presented so far is that no decision concerning the nature of the subjunctive particle should be made solely on the basis of its compatibility with lexical complementizers and from examining only one of the relevant languages in isolation. If one assumes, for instance, that Albanian 'të' is not a complementizer merely because it cooccurs with another complementizer, it would be predicted that Greek 'na' is a complementizer, since a lexical complementizer is never

possible in its presence. This prediction, however, does not seem to be correct on the basis of a number of considerations that will become evident in the course of this work.

On the other hand, if the nature of 'na' is determined on the basis of independent evidence and one reaches the conclusion that 'na' - or any of the comparable particles of the related languages - is part of the inflectional system, assuming that the relevant structures are CPs, the incompatibility of M^0 and C^0 is a major fact that requires explanation.⁸

Let us now shift our attention to the counterparts of 'na' in Albanian and Romanian, i.e., 'të' and 'să' respectively. These particles introduce subjunctive complements just like Greek 'na', but their relation with the complementizers is more complex. Unlike Greek, both Albanian and Romanian have at their disposal two distinct lexical complementizers. While 'që' and 'ca' (COMP1), introduce subjunctive clauses (11), and thus support the view that the subjunctive markers are not complementizers, 'se' and 'că' (COMP2), head indicative subordinates exclusively (12).⁹

As expected by the above selectional requirements, the cooccurrence of COMP2 with the subjunctive particle gives ungrammatical results, as does the presence of COMP1 in the context of an indicative subordinate clause. This is demonstrated by (13) and (14) respectively.

- (11) Jani do që fëmijët të punojnë. (A)
 Jon vrea ca elevii së lucreze. (R)
 John wants COMP1 the children PRT work
 'John wants the children to work.'
- (12) Jani tha se fëmijët punojnë. (A)
 Jon a spus că elevii lucrează. (R)
 John said COMP2 the children work
 'John said that the children work.'
- (13) *Jani do se fëmijët të punojnë. (A)
 *Jon vrea că elevii së lucreze. (R)
 John wants COMP2 the children PRT work
 'John wants for the children to work.'
- (14) *Jani tha që fëmijët punojnë. (A)
 *Jon a spus ca elevii lucrează. (R)
 John said COMP1 the children work
 'John said that the children work.'

The situation is slightly different in Greek. Apart from the conditional complementizer *an* 'if', Greek has only one lexical complementizer, *oti*, which is restricted to indicatives. As a consequence, the Greek subjunctive marker never cooccurs with a lexical complementizer, as was seen in (8).

Nonetheless, it is rather misleading to say that Greek does not have a complementizer specific to subjunctives. In what I have discussed so far, it has been implicit that there actually exists a complementizer specific to subjunctives in Greek, but it is not lexical, an idea that I will clarify in subsequent sections of this chapter. The point to keep in mind for the moment is that Greek subjunctives contrast with subjunctives in Albanian and Romanian as well as with indicative subordinates of all three languages in that they always require a null complementizer, which, furthermore, is the only option available.

The view that Greek subjunctives involve a nonlexical complementizer is also shared by Rivero (1987a). Furthermore, Rivero (1988) as well as Motapanyane (1991), and Kempchinsky (1987) agree in that 'të' and 'să' are inflectional elements rather than complementizers, evoking several of the reasons we already discussed.¹⁰

A different stand on the status of the Romanian subjunctive particle is taken by Dobrovie-Sorin (1991) who holds that 'să' may be either Comp or Infl.¹¹ It is worth exploring the arguments that are set forth for the idea that 'să' is a C⁰ before we settle with the line that I argued for above i.e., that the subjunctive particles in all the above languages are unambiguously inflectional elements, and should not be confused with complementizers. Dobrovie-Sorin claims that although 'să' displays properties of an element of Infl, it can also be regarded as a C⁰ because:

- a) it is invariable
- b) it can head an embedded clause
- c) its position is leftmost, preceding clitics and negation.

Beginning with the first of her arguments, notice that while this property of 'să', shared by the Albanian and Greek subjunctive particles as well, indeed reminds us of complementizers, it also happens to be reminiscent of particles such as the infinitival 'to' in English (and its counterpart in a number of Germanic languages). It is, however, beyond doubt that 'to' is part of Infl in English,

despite the fact that it is invariable (in the sense of not bearing morphological inflection), on a par with complementizers (Chomsky 1981, Chomsky 1986a, Beukema and den Dikken 1989).

As to whether 'să' actually heads an embedded clause in sentences such as (15) below, as claimed by Dobrovie-Sorin, it is not clear that the embedded clause is in fact headed by the subjunctive particle and not by a nonlexical complementizer. Recall that 'want' has been analyzed as selecting for an empty 'for'-complementizer in its ECM-like contexts in English, for instance (Chomsky 1981).

- (15) Vreau să nu-l mai întîlnești. (R)
 I-want PRT not-him more you-meet
 'I want you to not meet him again.'

While the empty complementizer of (15) is probably different from that selected by the English 'want' - note that only the latter is apparently capable of assigning accusative Case - the idea that (15) involves a CP complement clause headed by a nonlexical C^0 seems an entirely plausible alternative. The detailed analysis of structures involving volitional predicates that will be presented in the following chapter will argue towards this direction.

Let us now turn to the last of Dobrovie-Sorin's points, concerned with the fact that 'să' occupies the leftmost clausal position in a structure. It is known that negation follows 'să' in Romanian as well as the subjunctive particles in the rest of the languages we are investigating, as seen in

(15). The word order thus mimics the sequence manifested by negation in the presence of a lexical complementizer, leaving M^0 always clause initially on a par with complementizers. Recall, however, that negation may follow 'to' in English as well, as shown by the gloss of (15), yet this alone cannot support the claim that 'to' is a complementizer. One has, of course, to remember the crucial difference between English and the languages under discussion; while negation can also precede infinitival 'to' in English, this possibility does not normally arise for any of the Balkan languages, in which the sequence PRT-Neg-Verb appears to be the only string sequence available.

In light of the above contrasts recall for a moment the relationship of 'to' with negation. Following standard claims with respect to the syntactic structure of English infinitives, Pollock (1989) considers 'to' be base-generated in Infl in English, a claim that accounts for the linear order of representations such as *John wants to not go*. Consequently, as Pollock suggests, since 'to' is an unbound morpheme it can (but does not have to) move via 'rule R' and adjoin to VP at S-Structure. Thus, the order in *John wants not to go* is obtained. Along the above lines one can conceivably argue that the reason why the order Neg-PRT-Verb is never obtained in the Balkan languages in the presence of a subjunctive particle is not because the subjunctive particle is a complementizer, but because, unlike English 'to', and for

reasons that are not immediately obvious, M^0 cannot undergo lowering.

Furthermore, the unique exception to the above word order displayed by Albanian indicates that PRT is distinct from complementizers which can never be preceded by negation. In other words, while negation is found to always follow the subjunctive particles in all syntactic environments in the Balkan languages, there is an instance in Albanian in which (the subjunctive specific) negation can also precede 'të'. It is demonstrated in (16) that in root subjunctives (which always function as imperatives) *mos* can appear on either side of M^0 .

- (16) a. Mos të shkosh. (A)
 NEG PRT you-go
 'Don't go.'
- b. Të mos shkosh.
 PRT NEG you-go
 'Don't go.'¹²

The parallelism between Balkan subjunctives and English infinitival complements ceases when we move to clitic climbing, another area that is also used by D-S to support the view that the subjunctive particle is an C^0 . A closer look at the phenomenon of clitic climbing in the context of Romance languages, however, has something more to suggest. It is well-known that clitic climbing is blocked in the presence of a lexical complementizer in Romance. This observation leads Dobrovie-Sorin to suggest that the absence of clitic climbing in Romanian subjunctives is due to the fact that the

subjunctive marker is a complementizer. I would like to note here that this is not the only instance in which clitic climbing is unacceptable in the Romance languages. Recall that the presence of a functional head like negation also results in ungrammatical output if clitic climbing takes place, as seen in the Italian sentences below (from Zanuttini 1990).

- (17) a. Devo parlarti.
I-must to-talk-to-you-cl
'I must talk to you.'
- b. Ti devo parlare.
to-you-cl I-must to-talk
'I must talk to you.'
- (18) a. Devo non parlarti.
I-must NEG to-talk-to-you-cl
'I must not talk to you.'
- b. ??Ti devo non parlare.
to-you-cl I-must NEG to-talk
'I must not talk to you.'

The view that Balkan subjunctive particles head their own maximal projection makes it plausible to assume that they have a similar effect on clitic climbing to that of negation as a result of a Head Movement Constraint violation. Consequently, the lack of clitic climbing per se cannot be considered conclusive evidence for the idea that subjunctive particles are complementizers.

Finally, comparing French subjunctives in root contexts to parallel Romanian constructions, Dobrovie-Sorin concludes that the element that appears leftmost in (20) is also a complementizer, thus patterning with 'que' in (19).

- (19) Que les masques tombent. (F)
 COMP the masks fall
 'Let the masks fall.'
- (20) Să trăiască Romania. (R)
 PRT live Romania
 'Long live Romania.'

Dobrovie-Sorin notes, however, that the presence of 'ca', an element which is unambiguously a complementizer, is ungrammatical in sentences such as (20). This piece of information can perhaps be taken to argue for the fact that no lexical complementizer is permitted in Romanian root subjunctives in general, and, therefore, 'să' in (20) is not a complementizer either.

On the other hand, one can argue that in representations such as (20), not only M^0 alone, but the lexical verb as well has moved to C^0 , thus mimicking what is arguably the behavior of true imperatives (Rivero 1988). Such a proposal can also explain why the presence of the lexical complementizer is impossible in structures such as (20), i.e., the relevant movement presupposes a nonlexical C^0 . A safe conclusion that I believe follows from the above discussion is that no claims with respect to the status of PRT in general should be attempted on the basis of representations such as (20). A closer investigation of this type of structures is necessary as they might be fundamentally different from subjunctive clauses in other syntactic environments. As already conjectured, they might involve some type of movement to C^0 which is common to true (and 'surrogate') imperatives.¹³

To summarize, I have demonstrated that the arguments which Dobrovie-Sorin offers for claiming 'să' to be a complementizer in Romanian, and implicitly that the same holds for Greek 'na', are not as strong as they appear to be at first glance.¹⁴ Furthermore, the idea that an element like the subjunctive particle has an ambiguous status, i.e., that it is sometimes a Comp and at other times in Infl, is a rather undesirable conclusion for a restrictive theory of grammar. On the basis of the above considerations, I will maintain throughout this work that the subjunctive particle in Albanian, Greek and Romanian is an invariable Infl element.

A central question that arises for this line, which Dobrovie-Sorin does not fail to raise, is the following: if subjunctive markers are indeed inflectional elements, why is it that in a number of environments they appear to be incompatible with lexical complementizers? One of the major advantages of the analysis I will offer in subsequent sections of this chapter is that it provides a principled answer to the above question.

Having established the syntactic status of the particles that introduce subjunctive clauses, I will now continue with an overview of the basic assumptions concerning the properties of the empty category PRO. This is a necessary step, since I will use many of the standard assumptions that will follow as guideline in a more detailed investigation of the behavior and the properties of a number of null subjunctive subjects.

2.1.2. The Empty Category PRO

It is required by the Projection Principle, as stated in Chomsky (1981), that the θ -marking properties of each lexical item be represented categorially at each syntactic level. In the sentence that follows, for instance, the predicate 'win' has an external θ -role to assign and therefore there must be an argument available to receive it. This empty argument has been called pronominal anaphor or PRO and is encountered in the subject position of nonfinite clauses:

(21) John tries to win

Chomsky's (1981) account, which is, despite considerable disagreement, still quite viable, treats PRO as having the features of both a pronoun and an anaphor. The fact that the antecedent of PRO (if any) has an independent θ -role is the property shared by PRO and pronominals, and furthermore, PRO is similar to pronominals in that it can be either free (22), or bound, (23).

(22) John is too stubborn PRO to talk to.

(23) John decided PRO to vote twice.

At the same time, PRO is like an anaphor in that it does not have an independent reference (Chomsky 1982, Chomsky 1986b). Thus the distribution of PRO is regulated by both Principles A and B of Binding Theory. Consequently, and since no element can simultaneously satisfy both Principles of Binding Theory, namely, be both bound and free, PRO must have no governing category i.e.,

(24) **PRO Theorem:** PRO must be ungoverned

This line of reasoning relates the 'intrinsic' properties of the infinitival subjects, i.e., the fact that they do not have independent reference while they receive a θ -role, with their 'structural' properties, i.e., the fact that they appear as subjects of infinitives and therefore are ungoverned. According to the standard version of Binding Theory, a number of properties of PRO derive from the fact that it is ungoverned. First, PRO cannot be the subject of finite clauses since it would then be governed by verbal inflection. Therefore, it is encountered in subject position of infinitives (and gerunds) only, i.e., a position where nominative Case cannot be assigned.¹⁵ Consequently, no lexical NP can possibly appear in the place of PRO because it will violate the Case Filter.¹⁶

My investigation of the nature of the empty subject of the first group of Greek subjunctive complements that I will discuss in the immediately following section will be based on precisely the above properties of PRO. In other words, I will adopt the standard version of Government and Binding Theory concerning the existence of four different types of empty categories, from which it will follow that if a null subject bears a distinct θ -role, but is referentially dependent upon another argument and cannot be substituted by a lexical NP, it cannot be anything else but a pronominal anaphor.

It should be reminded here that several of the standard

claims concerning PRO have been challenged to various degrees and that the existence of the pronominal anaphor as a distinct category has often been called into question (Manzini 1983, Koster 1984) and more recently, (Huang 1989, Borer 1989). Therefore, one can argue that since the data I am investigating involve finite predicates associated with control properties I should concentrate on one of the last two alternative accounts and disregard standard claims that relate PRO to nonfinite structures as inappropriate from the very beginning. This is indeed a possible step.

However, the manner in which I will proceed in this work will consist in establishing the availability of PRO following the standard assumptions of Government and Binding Theory presented in brief above. When this is accomplished, I will evaluate - in the last chapter - the most relevant alternative accounts and see how satisfactorily they accommodate the data in question when compared with the standard version of Binding theory as well as with the new proposals made there.

2.2. Subjunctive Complement Clauses and PRO

2.2.1. Subject and Object Control Predicates in Greek

I will begin my inquiry into the nature of the null subjects of Greek subjunctive complement clauses by presenting structures that involve matrix verbs which correspond to the subject control verbs of languages with 'true' infinitives:

- (25) I Maria prospathise na diavasi.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3sg
 'Mary tried to read.'
- (26) I Maria prospathise na diavasi ena vivlio.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3sg one book
 'Mary tried to read a book.'
- (27) *I Maria prospathise na diavasoun.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3pl
 'Mary tried for them to read.'
- (28) *I Maria prospathise na diavasoun to vivlio.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3pl the book
 'Mary tried for them to read a book.'
- (29) *I Maria prospathise ta pedia na diavasoun.
 Mary tried-3sg the children PRT read-3pl
 'Mary tried for the children to read.'
- (30) ?*I Maria prospathise na diavasoun ta pedia.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3pl the children
 'Mary tried for the children to read.'
- (31) ?*I Maria prospathise na diavasoun ta pedia
 to vivlio.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3pl the children
 the book
 'Mary tried for the children to read the book.'

It is clear that the null subjects in (25) and (26) receive a θ -role from the embedded predicate. Despite the fact that the embedded clauses are finite, however, their null subjects are referentially dependent upon the matrix subjects as in comparable structures of languages that select for infinitival subordinates. This offers the first piece of evidence for the claim that the empty category in (25) and (26) is PRO rather than pro, since only the former is referentially dependent upon some other argument. Furthermore, the 'canonical' subject position of the embedded clause cannot be occupied by a lexical NP, as seen in (29).

The sentences in (25) and (26) become ungrammatical when the number-person features of the two predicates differ, namely, when the embedded null subject is a clear instance of pro as in (27). It appears, in other words, that a null pronominal subject cannot be licensed in this context despite the fact that Greek is a null subject language, and null pronominals are in general present in embedded contexts, as demonstrated by the following sentence.

- (32) I Maria ipe oti tha grapsoun ena piima.
 Mary said-3sg that pro FUT write-3pl one poem
 'Mary said that they will write a poem.'

Notice that the sentences in (25) and (26) improve slightly when the null embedded subject is replaced by an overt NP in the position that follows the embedded verb as seen in (30) and (31). These sentences are significantly different from (25) and (26), however, in that their interpretation is reminiscent of causative constructions. This causative 'flavor' is not present in (25) and (26).

Comparable structures are also acceptable for some speakers of English and they have a similar interpretation.

- (33) Mary tried for John to win.¹⁷

Therefore, the fact that a lexical NP can appear as the subject of an embedded clause as (30) should not affect the nature of the embedded subject of (25) and (26). In a similar manner, the existence of well-formed sentences such as (33) does not challenge the existence of a PRO subject in sentences such as (34).

(34) Mary tried to win.

Thus, I will consider the null subject position of the embedded sentences in (25) and (26) to host the empty category PRO, since this null subject receives a distinct θ -role, is referentially dependent on the matrix subject and cannot be alternatively occupied by a lexical NP or a null pronoun. The idea that representations such as (25) involve a PRO subject is also shared by Iatridou (1988) and Felix (1989).

Object control structures behave similarly, as seen in the paradigm that follows.

- (35) I Maria parakalese to Yianni na diavasi.
 Mary asked John-ACC PRT read-3sg
 'Mary asked John to read.'
- (36) *I Maria parakalese ton Yianni na diavaso.
 Mary asked John-ACC PRT read-1sg
 'Mary asked John that I read.'
- (37) ?*I Maria parakalese to Yianni na diavasoun ta
 pedia.
 Mary asked John-ACC PRT read-3pl the
 children-NOM
 'Mary asked John for the children to read.'
- (38) I Maria parakalese ta pedia na diavasoun.
 Mary asked the children-ACC PRT read-3pl
 'Mary asked the children to write.'

The null embedded subject in (35) and (36) can only refer to the matrix object, a pro subject is excluded, as seen in (36), and an overt lexical NP is only marginally acceptable (37). In conclusion, it seems that the null subject of the subjunctive complement clauses selected by subject and object control predicates in Greek patterns with the obligatorily controlled PRO that appears as subject of infinitival

complement clauses of languages that demonstrate the finite-nonfinite distinction.

Thus, following standard assumptions that consider PRO to be a distinct empty category which has the features [+anaphoric] and [+pronominal] and cannot occupy the same position as a lexical NP, I will analyze sentences such as (25) and (35) to involve the representation in (39), where only the structure of the subordinate clause is indicated. PRO occupies the Specifier position of the maximal projection Mood Phrase, which is headed by the subjunctive particle.

(39) ... [CP [C⁰ [MP PRO [M na [VP diavasi

By establishing the presence of a PRO subject in the above subordinate clauses we are in a position to provide an answer to why a lexical complementizer is not acceptable. I would like to suggest that the reason (40) and (41) below are ungrammatical is because the complementizer 'oti', which occupies the C⁰ position of the embedded (CP), governs PRO in Spec(MP) and induces a PRO theorem violation. A nonlexical complementizer does not have the same effect, thus explaining why sentences that involve subject or object control predicates can only be followed by a subjunctive CP headed by a nonlexical complementizer, shown in (39).

(40)=(25) *I Maria prospathise oti na diavasi.
 Mary tried COMP PRT reads
 *'Mary tried that to read.'

(41)=(35) *I Maria parakalese to Yianni oti na diavasi.
 Mary asked John COMP PRT reads
 *'Mary asked John that to read.'

Recall that along the same lines, Kayne (1991a) has explained the behavior of similar structures in English, which, however, involve infinitival sentences instead, i.e., the glosses of (40) and (41), repeated below.

(42) Mary tried [_{CP} [_C 0 [_{IP} PRO to read

(43) Mary tried [_{CP} [_C that [_{IP} PRO to read

To summarize, I have claimed in this section that the incompatibility of a subjunctive marker and overt complementizers in the type of representations I have discussed so far from Greek is related to the anaphoric properties of the null subjects of the subjunctive complement clauses. I have considered these subjects to be pronominal anaphors, and have claimed that the presence of a lexical complementizer induces a PRO theorem violation. This conclusion can be taken as the first piece of evidence in favor of a view that attributes the incompatibility of lexical complementizers and subjunctive particles to factors other than that their competing for the same structural position, thus supporting the claim that the subjunctive markers are not complementizers.

2.2.2. Albanian and Romanian

Similar considerations appear to hold for the Albanian and Romanian counterparts of the structures I analyzed above. In the sentences that follow, the embedded null subject can only refer to the matrix subject, as confirmed for Romanian by

Dobrovie-Sorin (1991) and Motapanyane (1991).

- (44) a. Maria përpigët të shkruajë. (A)
 b. Maria încearcă să scrie. (R)
 Maria tries PRT writes
 'Maria tries to write.'

Extending the analysis I offered for Greek to the above facts, I would like to suggest that the null subject that occupies the Specifier position of the projections headed by 'të' and 'să' in (44) is also a pronominal anaphor. Consequently, the reasons that these sentences are ungrammatical with a lexical complementizer, as shown in the paradigm in (45), are similarly attributed to the fact that the lexical complementizer governs PRO in Spec(MP) and induces a PRO theorem violation.

- (45) a. *Maria përpigët se të shkruajë. (A)
 b. *Maria încearcă că să scrie. (R)
 Maria tries COMP2 PRT writes
 'Maria tries to write.'

A nonlexical complementizer does not have the same effect as shown by the grammaticality of the sentences in (44) which are crucially considered to involve a CP complement headed by a nonlexical complementizer, rather than an embedded IP.

One can plausibly argue, however, that the unacceptability of (45a) and (45b) is to be expected on independent grounds. As I discussed in section (2.1.1.), 'se' and 'că' are the complementizers that introduce indicative subordinates and their incompatibility with subjunctive complements is predicted to derive from a violation of their selectional restrictions. This is indeed a well-founded

argument.

No comparable violation of selectional restrictions can be evoked in the following set of facts from Albanian and Romanian, however, since the subjunctive-particular complementizer is now employed. Yet, subjunctive particles and lexical complementizers are again incompatible. The same incompatibility is also manifested in structures that involve object control predicates.

- (46) a. *Maria përpigët që të shkruajë. (A)
 b. *Maria încearcă ca să scrie. (R)
 Mary tries COMP1 PRT write
 'Mary tries to write.'

The ungrammaticality of (46) is a rather surprising fact in light of sentences as in (11), which showed that the subjunctive particle and COMP1 cooccur. One is then led to ask why 'që' and 'ca' are licit in the following sentences but impossible in (46).

- (11) Jani do që (fëmijët) të punojnë. (A)
 Ion vrea ca (elevii) să lucreze. (R)
 John wants COMP1 the children PRT work
 'John wants (the children)/X to work.'

The answer to the above question follows as a natural prediction of the approach I am suggesting. Any lexical element that occupies C^0 is predicted to be unacceptable in a sentence that involves a PRO subject since it would be responsible for a PRO theorem violation. Even though COMP1 is the lexical complementizer introducing subjunctives and thus selects for an MP complement, its presence is excluded from environments in which a PRO theorem violation may be induced.

Motapanyane (1991) holds that the matrix predicate of (46b) selects for an IP complement in Romanian, thus directly explaining its incompatibility with either type of complementizer. But what evidence is there for the view that the complement sentence in (44) is an IP rather than a CP? Motapanyane uses the presence of the complementizer (as well as the adjacency between matrix verb and PRT) as a diagnostic, i.e., when the complementizer is present the embedded sentence is a CP, if a complementizer is impossible then it is an IP. Her claim, apart from being circular, is also incorrect, since complementizers can often be present but not be lexical.

The approach presented here has the advantage of postulating the same type of clausal structure for all subjunctive subordinates. Namely, my analysis depends neither on the lexical properties of the matrix verb that are responsible for IP vs. CP selection, nor on a CP deletion mechanism that is often assumed for IP complements (see Pesetsky (1991) for additional reasons why such a type of approach is to be preferred). Furthermore, given the fact that a lexical complementizer is never possible in Greek subjunctives, if the line of reasoning suggested by Motapanyane were to apply to Greek (note that Motapanyane holds that 'na' is an Infl element in Greek, and thus her claim is presumably transposable to Greek as well) it would have to predict that all subjunctive complements are IPs in Greek. This claim cannot be true as will become clear later.

Motapanyane excludes the possibility of a PRO subject in the above type of Romanian sentences. Only a null pronominal is expected to be found in Spec(MP) since 'with subjunctive IPs specified for [+Agr] the licensing and identification of referential pro is not simply possible but also obligatory'. One might counterargue that while Agr is indeed present in the sentences we are discussing it might not be in a position to govern the subject position and license a pro subject. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, where the licensing conditions for PRO will be presented.

Along similar lines, Dobrovie-Sorin also excludes the possibility of a PRO subject in sentences involving subject or object control verbs. She takes a completely different stand, however, since she rejects the idea of PRO as a distinct empty category in general and reduces control to binding. While the embedded subject in (44b) is a pronominal, it is at the same time a 'contextual anaphor' - as opposed to intrinsic anaphors like 'se' in Romance. Consequently, the coreference of an embedded subject with a matrix argument, manifested by (44b) for instance, becomes possible only in the absence of a lexical complementizer. One is led to ask at this point what it is that allows some languages, like Romanian, to license a null contextual anaphor and others, like Italian or Spanish, not to do so.

The approach I have argued for captures the suspicious ban on any type of complementizer in the presence of a null

embedded subject that happens to display the referential properties of a pronominal anaphor, while it relies on standard and widely-accepted claims of syntactic theory. By arguing that the sentences in (44a) and (44b) involve a PRO embedded subject, it follows naturally that they are equally incompatible with any lexical element that occupies the embedded c^0 position, and no special provisions need to be made with respect to the status of the different empty categories.

2.2.3. The 'Double' Nature of *try*

Let us now address address a set of data from Greek that can be potentially problematic for the proposals presented above. These data appear at first glance to challenge the claim that the subject position of sentential complements of 'try', exemplified in (25) is occupied by PRO.

(25) I Maria prospathise na diavasi.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3sg
 'Mary tried to read.'

For this reason we will reconsider sentences (27) and (30), which were marked ill-formed before but are perceived by a number of speakers as having the status indicated below and are thus responsible for the problems we will address subsequently. While all speakers of Greek detect improving grammaticality when a lexical subject replaces the null one, in other words (27) is less acceptable than (30), not everyone agrees that sentences such as (27) are absolutely

ungrammatical. Furthermore, there are speakers for whom (30) is completely well-formed.

- (27) ?I Maria prospathise na diavasoun.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3pl
 'Mary tried them to read.'
- (30) I Maria prospathise na diavasoun ta pedia.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3pl the
 children-NOM
 'Mary tried the children to read.'

It is clear that the acceptance of a lexical subject in a clause I have argued to involve PRO weakens the claim for the occurrence of PRO and suggests the presence of a null pronominal instead - since PRO and a lexical NP bearing nominative Case cannot occupy the same structural position. In the light of these facts something more has to be said and the first area to turn to is to see how the embedded subject of (30) behaves with respect to wh-extraction.

- (47) *?Pii/Pia pedia prospathise Maria na kerdisoun?
 who/which children-NOM tried Mary PRT win-3pl
 'Who/which children did Mary try to win?'
- (48) a. Pii/Pia pedia ipe i Maria oti tha diavasoun?
 who/which children said Mary that will read-3pl
 'Who/which children did Mary say will read?'
- b. Pii/Pia pedia theli i Maria na diavasoun?
 who/which children wants Mary PRT read-3pl
 'Who/which children does Mary want to read?'

Quite paradoxically, there is consensus with respect to wh-extraction of the embedded subject of (30), a process that yields the ungrammatical output of (47). In other words, even though there is no wide agreement as to whether sentences such as (30), which involve a lexical subject of the subjunctive subordinate, are grammatical everyone agrees that wh-

extraction of this subject is not acceptable. Notice that the same type of extraction from other sentential complements is entirely unproblematic. (48a) demonstrates that *wh*-extraction of the subject of an indicative subordinate clause is completely acceptable, and the same holds for the subject of the subjunctive complement of the volitional matrix predicate in (48b).

It appears, therefore, that the lexical subject of sentences such as (30) is significantly different from other nonanaphoric embedded subjects in the language. The contrast between (47) and (48) is, at first glance, suggestive of an ECP violation induced in the former case but not in the latter. Since everything else appears to be equal, it is reasonable to assume, as a first approximation, that while the embedded subject in (47) is in an argument position, the subject of (48) is not, and thus the head-government requirement of ECP is not satisfied when the latter is extracted.

But before proceeding any further, it would be instructive to examine a slightly different set of extraction facts that will provide additional support in deciding whether the previous conjecture is on the right track. In what follows, I consider subextraction from the embedded subject.

Subextraction from an NP in Greek can take place in the context of a genitive nominal complement, the result of which has a slightly marked status, but is nevertheless acceptable.

In the immediately following sentence, part of the subject of an indicative subordinate clause is extracted by *wh*-movement and the result is acceptable.

- (49) ?Tinos ipe i Maria oti arostisan ta
 Whose said-3sg Mary that got sick-3pl the
 pedia?
 children
 'Whose children did Mary say that got sick?'

The same holds for *wh*-extraction of the subject of a subjunctive complement of a volitional verb:

- (50) ?Tinos theli i Maria na kerdisoun ta pedia?
 Whose wants Mary PRT win-3pl the children
 'Whose children does Mary want to win?'

Wh-extraction of part of the subject of a subjunctive complement of *prospathise* 'tried' is not acceptable, however:

- (51) ?*Tinos prospathise i Maria na kerdisoun ta pedia?
 Whose tried Mary PRT win-3pl the
 children
 'Whose children did Mary try to win?'

Thus, the status of (51) in which subextraction of the embedded subject has taken place is not in any way different from the status of (47), in which the whole NP has been extracted. Even though the above facts do not offer direct support for the view that the embedded subject of sentences like (30) is not in an argument position, they appear not to contradict it either. Notice, that we face one additional problem in our effort to understand clearly the above facts: we lack precise information as to how subjects are extracted in Greek. This kind of information can prove to be decisive, given the fact that contrary to object extraction, which is

fairly constant across languages, subject extraction is highly idiosyncratic. It is obvious that in order to form a complete idea of why extraction is impossible in (47) or (51), it would be useful to know how extraction proceeds in the instances where it is possible, i.e., (48)-(50).

To this end, let us direct our attention to a last set of related data with the hope that they will have something more to reveal. Consider the following object extraction from the subjunctive subordinate in (30). Recall that the grammaticality status of sentences such as (30) remains an unsettled issue, since the acceptance of a nominative lexical subject in the embedded clause by a number of speakers sheds doubts on the presence of the empty category PRO in the same position.

(30) I Maria prospathise na diavasoun ta pedia.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3pl the children
 'Mary tried for the children to read.'

Compare now (52), in which the object of the subjunctive complement clause of a volitional verb has been extracted, with (53), in which object extraction out of the subjunctive complement of 'try' has taken place.

(52) Pia vivlia theli i Maria na diavasoun ta pedia?
 which books wants Mary PRT read-3pl the children
 'Which books does Mary want for the children to read?'

(53)?*Pia vivlia prospathise i Maria na diavasoun ta
 which books tried-3sg Mary PRT read-3pl the
 children
 'Which books did Mary try for the children to read?'

It appears that object extraction from the embedded sentence in (30) does not give better grammaticality judgements, i.e., is not in any sense different from subject extraction out of the same clause, as demonstrated when comparing (53) to (47). We are thus facing a new aspect of the paradox: while we have conjectured that wh-extraction of the embedded subject of (30) is ungrammatical because it occupies a nonargument position, it is clear that the same explanation cannot account for the ungrammaticality of (53) where the embedded object has been extracted. Obviously, something else has to be said.

I would like to suggest that the reason why any type of extraction out of the embedded clause of (30) is impossible follows from the fact that the subjunctive subordinate itself clause is not a complement of 'try' but an adjunct. Consequently, either subject or object extraction out of this clause is equally ungrammatical because the intermediate wh-trace in Spec(CP) violates ECP. More specifically, following Rizzi's (1990, p.75) conjunctive formulation of ECP according to which

- A nonpronominal empty category must be
- (i) properly head-governed (Formal licensing)
- (ii) Theta-governed, or antecedent-governed
(Identification)

I would like to suggest that representations (47), (51) and (53) are ungrammatical because the wh-trace in the Specifier position of the embedded CP fails to be properly head-governed.

Therefore, sentences such as (25) which appear to employ

suggests that its adjunction site is higher than VP, presumably IP.

(56) I Maria prospathise na diavasoun ta pedia to
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3pl the children the
 book
 'Mary tried for the children to read the book.'

The counterpart of TRY2 is also available in English: there appears to be a predicate like 'try' with the 'causative' interpretation as in (57) below. English TRY2, however, has different syntactic properties. First it selects for an infinitive headed by the prepositional complementizer 'for'. Furthermore, the infinitive appears to be the complement of TRY2. The complement status of the 'for'-infinitival is confirmed by the fact that extraction out of the infinitival clause is possible for those English speakers who accept (57).¹⁹

(57) Mary tried for the children to read the books.

(58) Which books did Mary try for the children to read?

To summarize, I have shown in this section that sentences such as (30) do not present counterevidence for the claim that the embedded subject position of (25) is occupied by PRO. PRO of (25) and the nominative lexical subject of (30) do not occupy the same structural position, and thus none of the standard claims concerning PRO is violated. While PRO occupies the subject position of the complement clause of TRY1 in (25)=(54), *ta pedia* 'the children' of (30)=(56) occupies the postverbal subject position of a different clause, which

is not a complement but an adjunct of a different predicate, TRY2.

2.2.4. Adjunct Causatives

A few more remarks regarding (30) are in order, which will shed some more light on its causative 'flavor'. There is at least one more structure in Greek which parallels the behavior of (30) under wh-extraction and also has a causative interpretation. The causative 'flavor' is now overtly represented by the causative verb *kano* 'make'. This structure is not to be confused with 'regular' Greek causatives such as that in (59).²⁰

- (59) I Maria ekane tous fitites na diavasoun.
 Mary made the students-ACC PRT read
 'Mary made the students read.'

The structure I am concerned with appears in (60a) and, like (59), it also employs the causative verb *kano* 'make' followed by a subjunctive clause. In contrast to (59), however, the subject of the embedded clause in (60a) is inflected for nominative Case and appears in postverbal position. Furthermore, any type of extraction from the embedded clause appears to be impossible, patterning with the extraction from the subjunctive clause that follows TRY2 in (30).

- (60) a. I Maria ekane na diavasoun i fitites.
 Mary made PRT read the students-NOM
 'Mary had it to come about that the students
 read'²¹

- b. ?*Pii fitites ekane i Maria na diavasoun.
Which students-NOM made Mary PRT study-3pl
'Which students did Mary have it come about that
they read?'
- c. ?*Pia vivlia ekane i Maria na diavasoun i fitites.
Which books made Mary PRT read-3pl students-NOM
'Which books did Mary have it come about that the
students read?'

Again, the situation contrasts with either subject or object *wh*-extraction from the 'regular' causative in (61).

- (61) a. Pious fitites ekane i Maria na diavasoun?
Which students-ACC made Mary PRT read-3pl
'Which students did Mary make to read?'
- b. ?Pia arthra ekane i Maria tous fitites
na diavasoun?
Which articles-ACC made Mary the students-ACC
PRT read-3pl
'Which articles did Mary make the students to
read?'

The adjunct status of (60a) versus the complement status of (59) is further confirmed by the fact that only in the second instance is accusative Case assigned to the embedded subject, presumably because only then is the embedded subject head-governed by the causative verb *kano* 'make'.

The existence of causative verbs that select for a subjunctive complement with a postverbal nominative subject has been mentioned by Motapanyane (1991) for Romanian. Guasti (to appear) also notes in passing the existence of a similar type of 'causative' in the Arbëresh dialect of San Nicola, exemplified by (62), and she decides not to include these cases in her discussion of 'causative proper' in this dialect. The pronounced differences between two types of causative structures in Greek justify her decision.

- (62) Boi të hanjin ghajarellet. (Ar)
 make-1sg PRT eat-3pl children-NOM
 'I make so that the children eat.'

Incorrectly, however, Guasti groups (62) (which is the counterpart of (60a)) together with subjunctive complements of volitional verbs in Greek, which also display postverbal subjects, as seen below.

- (63) Thelo na fane ta pedia. (G)
 want-1sg PRT eat-3pl the children-NOM
 'I want the children to eat.'

I will show in chapter 3 that subjunctives selected by volitional predicates are fundamentally different from representations such as (62) or (60a) in Greek, as well as in the rest of the Balkan languages. It suffices to say for the moment that representations such as (63), contrary to the pseudo-causatives in (60a) and (62), involve a complement subjunctive clause rather than an adjunct. This is initially confirmed by the grammaticality of the extraction facts demonstrated by (48b), (50) and (53).

In my view, a close equivalent of (60a) is to be found in Italian, where the matrix predicate *fare* 'make' is also employed. In this case the embedded clause appears in the subjunctive mood and is clearly an adjunct.

- (64) Maria ha fatto si' che i bambini leggessero molto.
 Mary made SI COMP the children read-SUB a lot.
 'Mary had it come about that the children read a lot.'

Thus, sentences (30), (60a), and (64) appear to belong to the same paradigm as they all involve subjunctive clauses

selected by the verbs 'try' and 'make', which are adjuncts rather than syntactic complements of these verbs. They are introduced by 'si' in Italian and presumably by a null counterpart of it in Greek.²²

2.2.5. PRO and phi-features

Representations such as (38), which I considered to be object control structures involving a PRO subject in the embedded subject position, show clearly that the embedded predicate shares number and person features with the matrix object.

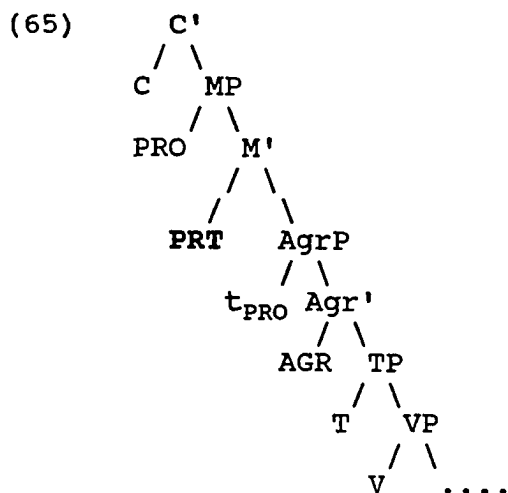
- (38) I Maria parakalese ta pedia na diavasoun.
 Mary asked the children-ACC PRT read-3pl
 'Mary asked the children to study.'

The embedded predicate also agrees with the matrix subject in (25) and (26), but this is more difficult to detect, since this agreement might be mistakenly regarded as feature agreement between matrix and embedded verbs.

- (25) I Maria prospathise na diavasi.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3sg
 'Mary tried to read.'
- (26) I Maria prospathise na diavasi ena vivlio.
 Mary tried-3sg PRT read-3sg one book
 'Mary tried to read a book.'

The question that arises in the present context is how this feature sharing takes place. I suggest that the agreement between the embedded predicate and the matrix argument be understood as the agreement obtaining between the embedded predicate and the trace of PRO in Spec(AgrP). This presupposes that subjects are base-generated VP-

internally and subsequently move to their S-Structure position in Spec(IP) (Koopman and Sportiche 1989).²³ The relevant Spec-head configuration is created when the verb raises to the Agr head to pick up inflection and is shown below.



Therefore, the Greek and also the Balkan data appear to provide direct empirical evidence for the claims that a) PRO, on a par with other subjects, is base-generated VP-internally (hence the agreement features shared with the embedded predicate)²⁴ and b) that PRO has moved to its S-Structure position (thus being encountered in Spec(MP), a conclusion at which we arrived earlier on independent grounds). Note that the assumption that PRO, like other NPs, is base-generated VP-internally has been essentially only hypothesized, and is based on theory-internal reasons, but no empirical support has been offered. Since PRO is not obliged to raise in order to receive Case, its S-Structure position in Spec(IP) was assumed to be the result of a movement that

mimics the movement of lexical NPs, and was presumably triggered by the fact that in this way PRO avoids government by T^0 or, possibly, by V^0 . However, no further empirical support had been offered.

Sentences such as (38) also indicate that PRO bears phi-features. This property of PRO should not be considered exceptional and particular to Greek only. Recall that arbitrary PRO is grammatically specified for plural number and masculine gender in Italian for instance, despite the fact that it is the subject of 'real' infinitives, as shown in (66), taken from Rizzi (1986).

- (66) E difficile essere sempre allegri.
'It is difficult to be always happy.'

Furthermore, as noticed in Chomsky (1981), PRO can be plural in predicative contexts in English:

- (67) They tried to be doctors.

The features of PRO in (66) and (67) are number and gender features and are most likely 'acquired' by PRO from the corresponding adjective or noun via some predication mechanism.

What appears to be specific to the Balkan languages, however, and is demonstrated by object control structures such as (38), is the fact that PRO can be associated with person features as well. This property appears to be uniquely associated with this type of languages and is presumably related to the fact that PRO is construed with finite predicates.²⁵

2.3. Sentential Subjects

2.3.1. Word Order Differences

I have argued so far for the occurrence of the empty category PRO as the subject of a number of subjunctive sentences in complement position in Albanian, Greek and Romanian. In this section, I will investigate the nature and the properties of the null subjects of subjunctive sentences in Greek when these appear as sentential subjects.

I should note at the outset that Greek is probably the only Balkan language that does not use infinitives (in the sense of morphologically invariable verbal forms) as sentential subjects. 'True' infinitives are, for instance, widely available in subject position in Romanian, while the presence of subjunctives in the same position is restricted.

- (68) A urma un asemenea regim e foarte greu. (R)
 to follow a such diet is very hard
 'To follow such a diet is very hard.'

Both subjunctive and indicative sentences can function as sentential subjects in Greek. It is, however, necessary that either type of sentential subject is headed by the dterminer 'to', the definite neutral article.²⁶

- (69) a. To [oti o Yiannis pini] me stenohori.
 The that John drinks me worries
 'That John drinks worries me.'
- b. To [oti pini o Yiannis] me stenohori.
 The that drinks John me worries
 'That John drinks worries me.'

- c. To [oti EC pini] me stenohori.
The that drinks me worries
'That (he/she) drinks worries me.'
- (70) a. To [na horisi o Yiannis] den ine kali idea
The PRT divorces John not is good idea
'For John to divorce is not a good idea.'
- b. *To [o Yiannis na horisi] den ine kali idea.
The John PRT divorces not is good idea
'For John to divorce is not a good idea.'
- c. To [EC na horisi] den ine kali idea.
The PRT divorces not is good idea
'For (him/her) to divorce is not a good idea.'²⁷

Note in the above paradigm the sharp contrast manifested by subjunctive and indicative sentential subjects with respect to the position of their lexical subjects. The lexical subject of an indicative sentential subject can appear either before, (69a), or after the verb, (69b), a property that correlates systematically with the possibility of having null subjects in the language (Perlmutter 1971, Rizzi 1982). Along these lines, and since subjunctives are finite clauses, one would expect the same word order possibilities for (70). Yet the lexical subject of a subjunctive sentential subject is absolutely impossible in the Specifier position of the highest inflectional node, presumably Spec(MP), as seen in (70b), while it can always occupy the position immediately following the verb, (70a). Why would this difference arise if the subject position of both sentential subjects was of a similar nature?

In order to answer this question we will have to determine the nature of the above null subjects, with

particular attention to the nature of the subject of subjunctive subject clauses, i.e., the empty category appearing in the bracketed section of (70c). The ungrammaticality of (70b) offers the first indication that the null subjects of the sentential subjunctive subject are somewhat different from those of the corresponding indicatives, a difference that requires clarification.

2.3.2. Subjunctive Subjects and Weak Crossover

Jaeggli and Safir (1989) have suggested a diagnostic which is able to disambiguate between the two types of null subjects, pro and PRO, and will be shown to provide reliable evidence for the cases that concern us. The test is based on the observation, due to Higginbotham (1980), that a PRO subject creates a 'gate' so that WCO effects do not arise in a context in which they would otherwise appear.

(71) Who_i e_i loves his_i mother?

(72) *Who_i does his_i mother love e_i?

In (71), the subject trace is locally A'-bound by the wh-phrase in Comp and the pronoun is locally A-bound by the trace. In the ungrammatical (72) - a typical Weak Crossover configuration - both the possessive pronoun and the wh-trace are locally A'-bound by the wh-phrase in Comp, thus creating the illicit configuration in which an operator locally A'-binds more than one variable. I will not discuss here the reasons that render such a multiple variable binding

impossible. Instead, I want to draw attention to the escape hatch from these effects that is provided when PRO intervenes in the binding configuration. Relevant is the following minimal pair, in which the PRO subject of the first sentence has been replaced by a lexical subject in the second.

(73) Who_i did washing his_i car upset e_i ?

(74) *Who_i did his_i washing his_i car upset e_i?

Higginbotham (1980) points out that the reason why WCO effects do not arise in sentences such as (73) is because PRO acts as a 'gate' to permit coreference between 'his' and the postverbal trace, allowing for the indexing given in (73). If PRO is substituted by an overt pronoun the same indexing is unacceptable, as shown by (74).

Jaeggli and Safir notice that in null subject languages pro patterns with the overt pronoun of languages like English with respect to WCO effects, and therefore acceptability contrasts as in (73) vs. (74) can be used to disambiguate between pro and PRO. They suggest, in other words, that if a null subject does not display WCO effects then it is of the latter type, while if WCO is manifested in its presence, the relevant null subject is an empty pronominal.

The sentences that follow show that Greek, just like other languages with overt wh-movement, is also subject to Weak Crossover phenomena. A test based on Weak Crossover is therefore valid.

(75) Pios_i e_i agapa ti mitera tou_i?
 Who loves the mother his
 'Who_i loves his_i mother?'

(76) *Pion_i agapa i mitera tou_i e_i?
 Whom loves the mother his
 'Who does his mother love?'

Sentences like (73) and (74) are not possible in Greek, since gerunds never appear in argument position. On the other hand, as seen in (69) and (70) both subjunctives and indicatives can be readily encountered as sentential subjects and they are precisely the type of structures whose subjects we want to investigate. The contrast is indeed striking.

(77) Pion_i nevriazi to EC_i na pleni to aftokinito tou_i
 Whom upsets the PRT washes the car his^{e_i?}
 'Who does washing his car upset?'

(78) *Pion_i nevriazi to oti pro_i pleni to aftokinito tou_i
 Whom upsets the COMP washes the car his^{e_i?}
 'Who does that he washes his car upset?'

It is demonstrated by the indices of the above representations that in the presence of a subjunctive subject, multiple variable binding is possible, as seen in (77), while it is prohibited in the environment of an indicative sentential subject (78). The lack of WCO effects in (77) therefore suggests that the empty category that appears as the subject of the subjunctive clause in subject position is a pronominal anaphor, since only this type of null element can evade Weak Crossover. Sentence (78) is ungrammatical with the given indexing, suggesting that a pro subject is present. In other words, the contrast of (77) vs. (78) in Greek seems to

pattern with the contrast between (73) and (74) in English, with the difference that the pronominal subject is null in the former language but overt in the latter.

This line of reasoning is consistent with and provides an explanation for the word order facts in (69) and (70).²⁸ If the subject of (70c) is PRO - and is apparently located in some pre-PRT position - then the same position cannot be occupied by a lexical subject or this would induce at least a Case Filter violation.²⁹ On the other hand, a lexical subject is acceptable in the preverbal position of an indicative sentence, as seen in (69a), since this position is occupied by pro, whose alternation with a lexical NP is always possible. At the same time, a lexical NP is also possible in postverbal position of an indicative sentence, (69b), which simply utilizes the alternative option available to null subject languages.

Finally, while a lexical subject is not possible in subject position of a subjunctive sentential subject, presumably because it cannot receive nominative Case, it can always appear in the position immediately following the verb, as seen in (70c). This suggests a type of a V-to-I-to-C movement that makes nominative Case assignment possible in postverbal position, a mechanism comparable to Rizzi's (1982) Aux-to-Comp movement. Alternatively, this could be considered the result of the embedded subject remaining in Spec(VP), where it is assigned nominative Case, while the verb has

raised to Agr (Koopman and Sportiche 1988). The present facts do not argue in favor of one or the other alternative, unlike structures involving volitional predicates which will be shown in the following chapter to favor an I-to-C movement approach.

To summarize, I discussed in this section another syntactic environment for subjunctive clauses, i.e., subjunctive sentential subjects and showed that they have the ability to evade Weak Crossover effects. This supports the view that their subject position is occupied by PRO, a view that also explains why this syntactic position cannot host a lexical NP. Indicative sentences, which can also function as sentential subjects, behave differently, and, as expected, confirm the availability of a null pronominal in their subject position.

2.4. PRO and Expletives

2.4.1. Subjunctive Particle and Expletives

Jaeggli and Safir (1989) have proposed another diagnostic that distinguishes PRO from pro, based on the observation that while pro can serve as an expletive, a PRO subject cannot. This is exemplified by the following sentences from English and Spanish, with Spanish having a null expletive whereas English has only a lexical one:

- (80) a. *It is not clear when to be possible for John to
leave.
b. *No es claro cuando ser posible irse Juan.
- (81) a. It is not clear when it is possible for John to
leave.

- (86) a. Ine pithano na kerdisi.
 is possible PRT wins
 'It is possible that (he/she) wins.'
- b. O Yiannis den kseri na kerdisi.
 John NEG knows PRT wins
 'John doesn't know how to win.'

Furthermore, the unacceptability of (85) cannot be attributed to some sort of incompatibility between the subjunctive particle and a wh-element in the embedded Spec(CP), since the two often cooccur.

- (87) Kseris pou/pote na pas?
 know-2sg where/when PRT go-2sg
 'Do you know where/when to go?'

Nor can the expletive interpretation of the null subject of a sentential complement be considered incompatible with the presence of a negative epistemic predicate in general. This is shown by the fact that when negative epistemics select for an indicative subordinate (this additional possibility of negative epistemics is demonstrated by (88)), it is quite acceptable for the null subject of the indicative complement to have an expletive interpretation (89).

- (88) O Yiannis den kseri pote tha kerdisi to lahio
 John NEG knows when FUT wins the lotto
 'John doesn't know when he will win the lotto.'
- (89) O Yiannis den kseri pote tha ine/ine pithano
 na kerdisi
 John NEG knows when will be/is possible
 PRT wins
 'John doesn't know when it will be/is possible
 to win.'³⁰

I would like to claim that the contrast between (85) and (89) is due to the different nature of the null subjects of the sentential complements of the negative epistemics. The

complement of 'den kseri' in (85) is a subjunctive clause and its ungrammaticality follows from the fact that its subject position is occupied by PRO which does not allow for an expletive interpretation. The pro subject of the indicative subordinate in (89), on the other hand, can serve as an expletive and the sentence is rendered grammatical.

Let us finally look at adjectives such as *pithano* 'possible' that select for subjunctive complements only, see (90). (91) shows that the null subjects of these subjunctive complements can function as expletives, thus arguing at first glance that the null subject that precedes the subjunctive particle belongs to the category pro, since only this null subject can function as an expletive.

(90) a. Ine pithano na erthi o Yiannis.
is possible PRT comes John
'It is possible for John to come.'

b. *Ine pithano oti tha erthi o Yiannis.
is possible COMP FUT comes John
'It is possible for John to come.'

(91) Ine pithano na ton epharisti to oti i Maria ine arosti
Is possible PRT him pleases the that Mary is sick
'It is possible to please him that Mary is sick.'

I will show in detail in the following chapter that a number of predicates that select for subjunctive complements have ambiguous representations, in which a pro embedded subject is indeed present but only in postverbal position. I would like to suggest that this is also the case in (91), i.e., that the null subject which functions as an expletive in (91) occupies a postverbal position. We will not investigate here whether

NOTES

1. The only non-finite forms encountered in Greek are the gerund, (i), the 'absolute constructions', (ii), and the participles in (iii). The latter are not inflected for Tense or Agreement and (perhaps as a result of this) can never stand on their own, (iv).

- (i) Pigenondas sto kendro ida to Yianni.
going to-the center I-saw John
'Going downtown I saw John.'
- (ii) Erhomenos o Yiannis stin ora tou ...
Coming John in-the time his ...
'Arriving John on time ...'
- (iii) Ta pedia ihan erthi stin ora tous.
'The kids had arrived on time.'
- (iv) *Erthi ta pedia stin ora tous ...
'Arrived the kids on time ...'

2. A number of true infinitives can appear as complements to modals and aspectuals, (i), (ii). In addition, infinitives are productive in subject position in Romanian.

- (i) la Maria pote inire. (S1)
Mary can come-INF
'Mary can come.'
- (ii) pot mînca. (R)
I-can eat-INF
'I can eat.'
- (iii) A citi e o bucurie.
to read is a joy

3. I should point out that accounts which consider 'na' to be a complementizer in Greek (Triandafillides 1976, Agouraki 1991). The option of 'na' being C⁰ will be examined in detail later when considering a number of suggestions by Dobrovie-Sorin on the C⁰ status of 'să' in Romanian.

4. I am referring to pronominal clitics only, because Greek lacks reflexive clitics, in the sense of distinct X⁰ elements that adjoin to some functional head. The Greek counterparts of the Romance reflexive clitics are parts of the verbal inflection. Romanian, on the other hand, retains the Romance type of reflexive clitics (in addition to the pronominal ones), while Albanian has a mixed set of reflexive clitics, some of which are X⁰ elements and others part of the verbal inflectional morphology. For a discussion of the latter see Rivero (1989).

5. In all three languages negation is located in the same position, between subjunctive marker and clitics. However, while the negative particle in Greek and Albanian has a different lexical form for indicative and subjunctive clauses,

in Romanian the same lexical element appears in either type of clauses. To this I should add the extra possibilities of Albanian that will be presented later in this section.

6. A number of these adverbs are also encountered in Romanian but are analyzed differently (Dobrovie-Sorin 1991). More precisely, from the fact that these adverbs cannot precede the limited number of bare infinitives in Romanian, D-S concludes that they are clitics rather than incorporated adverbs. Therefore, the ungrammaticality of (i) is taken to follow from the fact that there is no functional head to which the clitic *mai* 'again' can attach.

- (i) *pot mai vedea.
 I-can again go-INF
 (ii) mai pot vedea.
 'I can go again.'

7. Nevertheless, even in Albanian and Romanian subjunctive verbal inflection is minimally different from indicative. While 2sg and 3sg person subjunctive inflectional morphology is different from that of indicatives in Albanian, only the 2sg person (and in some verb conjugations the 3pl as well) is different in Romanian.

8. One can conceivably argue that the subjunctive particles in Albanian and Romanian are indeed complementizers but that their compatibility with another complementizer, shown in (9) and (10), is a manifestation of recursive CP configurations. If this is proven to be true, the claim that 'të' (and presumably 'să' in Romanian) are Infl elements would be seriously threatened. At the same time, the C⁰ account would have to extend this line of thinking to Greek and say that Greek does not have recursive CPs. Therefore, the ungrammaticality of sentences like (8) would rather follow from the fact that 'na', as complementizer, competes with 'oti' for the same structural position.

The option of recursive CPs as the appropriate representation for sentences like (9) and (10) has never been considered in the relevant literature, and sentences like (3) can be thought of as the first counterevidence for this proposal. Furthermore, while sentences such as '*I think that not once has he ever told the truth*' are standard instances of recursive CPs in English, for instance, and embedded V-second constructions reflect recursive CPs in other Germanic languages (Vikner 1991), the phenomenon has not been shown to involve the simultaneous occurrence of two complementizers.

Therefore, because of lack of further evidence favoring the idea of recursive CPs in the Balkan languages, I will hold that the cooccurrence of the subjunctive particle and the lexical complementizer in representations such as (9) and (10) supports the view that the two elements do not occupy the same structural position.

9. The utilization of different complementizers depending on the Mood of the embedded clause has led Rivero (1987a) to suggest the notion of an 'Agreeing COMP-INFL parameter' for the Balkan language group.

The question that arises is why should such an 'Agreement' parameter be there to start with and clearly differentiate the Balkan language group from the rest of the West-European languages (but see also Russian and Polish for a slightly different picture). In other words, why is it that while the same complementizer can take either a subjunctive or an indicative sister IP in Romance and Germanic, each of the above types of subordinate clauses is strictly associated with a distinct complementizer in the Balkan languages? An answer to this question might suggest more fundamental differences between what are called 'subjunctives' in the above languages.

It would be rather premature to somehow ascribe the 'Agreement' parameter to the presence of M^0 , before the relevant complementizers of the whole spectrum of the West-European languages is examined.

At first glance, the data indicate that at least two different types of C^0 s are available crosslinguistically; those which take an AgrP complement exclusively and those that take something else instead. The first seems to be the common type and is exemplified by the lexical complementizers of finite constructions in a wide variety of languages plus the indicative subordinates of the Balkan languages. The latter type of complementizers is found in structures involving subjunctive subordinates in the Balkan languages. They can be either null, as in Greek, Albanian and Romanian, or lexical, as in Albanian and Romanian.

Greek, appears to be exceptional at first glance since the lexical complementizer 'oti', which takes an AgrP complement, (i), and is therefore banned from the environment of a subjunctive, (ii), appears also to take complements other than AgrP, (iii).

- (i) O Yiannis ipe oti egrapse kala.
John said COMP wrote-3sg well
'John said that he wrote well.'
- (ii) O Yiannis theli (*oti) na grapsi kala.
John wants COMP PRT writes well
'John wants (him/her) to write well.'
- (iii) O Yiannis ipe oti tha grapsi kala
John said COMP FUT writes well
'John said that he will write well.'

A discussion of the apparently exceptional behavior of Greek will be offered in chapter 5.

10. A similar position has been adopted by Rudin (1983) with respect to 'da', which appears to be the Bulgarian counterpart of the particles under discussion.

- (i) Iskam da pejat decata.
I-want PRT play-3pl the children

- 'I want the children to play.'
- (ii) Toj se dvoumi dali da se vurne obratno.
 he refl debated-3sg whether PRT refl turn-3sg back
 'He debated whether to turn back.'

11. Calabrese (1991) has also assumed an ambiguous status for the comparable particle in Salentino. The two apparently similar positions differ in an interesting way, however, as we will see in chapter 4.

12. This peculiar behavior of Albanian is in many respects reminiscent of a construction discussed in Kayne (1991b). It is argued there that the exceptional case in (i), in which a clitic is found to precede an infinitival in Italian, involves an empty modal that immediately precedes the infinitive and to which the clitic attaches.

- (i) Non lo fare.
 NEG it to-do
 'Don't do it.'

The same line of reasoning is applicable to the Albanian case in (16a) for which the existence of an empty modal preceding the subjunctive subordinate can be postulated. Such a proposal appears to gain further support from the fact that the interpretation of (16a) is slightly different from the interpretation of (16b) in a way consistent with Kayne's idea. While (16b) is interpreted as 'Don't go', the interpretation of (16a) is better conveyed by 'You shouldn't go'. But see footnote 4 of chapter 4 for potential problems that this approach encounters.

13. The representation in (20) is also available in Albanian and Greek.

- (i) a. Të rrojë Shqiperia! (A)
 PRT lives Albania
 b. Na zisi i Elada! (G)
 PRT lives Greece

Furthermore, the subjunctive-specific complementizer is not possible in this structure in Albanian.

- (ii) a. *Që të rrojë Shqiperia! (A)
 b. *Që Shqiperia të rrojë!

Finally, the word-order facts of (i) are similar to the word order in true imperatives, for which an I-to-C movement has been proposed (Rivero 1988).

- (iii) a. Rroftë Shqiperia!
 b. *Shqiperia rroftë!
 (iv) a. Zito i Elada!
 b. *I Elada zito!

14. The following set of facts pointed out by Dobrovie-Sorin argue perhaps more convincingly for the view that 'să' is a complementizer in Romanian. Notice, however, that for D-S's argument to go through, we also have to adopt her position

that representations such as (ii) are the result of V-to-I-to-C movement, and, consequently, (iii) is ungrammatical because 'să' occupies the C⁰ position.

- (i) Să se întîmple ce s-o întîmpla.
PRT se arrive what se may arrive
'Arrive what may.'
- (ii) Întîmple-se ce s-o întîmpla.
arrive-se what se-may arrive
- (iii) *Să întîmple-se ce s-o întîmpla.

For the approach we are suggesting, the ungrammaticality of (iii) remains an open question.

15. The requirement that PRO not be governed and, consequently, not occupy the subject position of finite clauses, is apparently the factor that has led most of the research on Balkan languages to conclude that PRO is present neither in Greek (Philippaki 1987) nor in Romanian (Motapanyane 1991).

16. The exceptional instances in which an overt NP appears as the subject of an infinitive are subsumed under the ECM paradigm.

- (i) John believes/considers/wants Mary to be innocent.
To be more precise, while 'want' is treated separately in older accounts (Chomsky 1981, Kayne 1984), which postulate a nonlexical complementizer equivalent to 'for', it is accounted for along the same lines with 'believe' and 'consider' in Pesetsky (1991).

17. A further difference between sentences (30) and (33) is apparently the manner in which Case is assigned to the embedded lexical subject. The accusative Case assigner in English is presumably 'for', while the nominative Case assigner in the marginal Greek sentences is not immediately obvious.

18. Thus, representations such as (56) pose a further puzzle for syntactic theory since the predicate TRY2 appears to select for a complement that is syntactically an adjunct. Ken Safir brought to my attention similar instances from English for which this problem arises, i.e., *John made as though he was upset*.

19. Judgements due to David Pesetsky.

20. By the term 'regular' causatives, I refer to structures that correspond roughly to Romance or even English causative constructions, studied by Kayne (1975), Burzio (1986) and, more recently, by Guasti (1991) and Reed (1992). It is not to be forgotten, however, that Greek 'regular' causatives, contrary to Romance, involve a subjunctive complement clause and demonstrate a number of additional differences with

respect to clitic placement.

21. This is an approximate interpretation of the Greek sentence.

22. A unexpected fact about (64), that requires further investigation, is why wh-extraction out of the embedded clause is grammatical as seen in (ii), or, at least, it does not differ from extraction out of the indicative complement clauses in (iii) and (iv).

(i) Quali bambini Maria ha fatto si' che leggessero?
 which children Maria made SI that read-SUB

(ii) Quali libri Maria ha fatto si' che i bambini
 leggessero?
 which books Maria made SI that the children
 read-SUB

(iii) Quali bambini Maria ha detto che hanno letto?
 which children Maria said that read

(iv) Quali libri Maria ha detto che i bambini hanno letto?
 which books Maria said that the children read

23. The question as to whether the subject is generated in Spec(VP) or as a VP adjunct (Huang 1990) is not of crucial importance at the moment.

24. To be more accurate, what is actually shown by (38) is that PRO has occupied the Spec(AgrP) position at some stage of the derivation. Whether PRO was actually moved to Spec(AgrP) or was generated there is not immediately obvious. For lack of any clear evidence arguing for the fact that PRO started from Spec(TP) or, perhaps Spec(AgrP), for instance, I will take it to be the case, as is commonly assumed for subjects, that PRO was generated in Spec(VP) and has raised to Spec(IP)=Spec(MP).

25. One might be tempted to associate the presence of person features in Greek PRO with the unavailability of arbitrary PRO in the language.

26. The presence of the determiner is not a possibility in Romanian and Albanian.

The following sentences show that subjunctive sentential subjects are headed by the subjunctive particle in both languages.

(i) Să bei în fiecare seară nu e bine. (R)
 PRT drink-2sg in every night NEG is good
 'To drink every night is not good.'

(ii) Të bësh diet nuk është gje e lehtë. (A)
 PRT do-2sg diet NEG is thing easy
 'To be on a diet is not an easy thing.'

27. I will not be concerned here with the precise location of EC in (70c). It is taken to precede 'na' for reasons of exposition, on a par with the null subject of indicative complements in (69c).

28. Notice that the word order facts of (70a) and (70b) alone would not be sufficient to claim the presence of a PRO subject. My claim about the presence of the category PRO as the subject of sentences such as (70c) is primarily based on the multiple binding facts of (77), while the word order facts of (70) add further supporting evidence.

Recall that similar word order restrictions hold for inflected Portuguese infinitives, complements of epistemic verbs:

- (i) *Eu penso/afirmo [os deputados terem trabalhado pouco].
'I think/claim the deputies to-have-Agr worked little'
 - (ii) Eu penso/afirmo [terem os deputados trabalhado pouco].
'I think/believe to-have-Agr the deputies worked little'
- As has been convincingly argued by Raposo (1987), however, the null subject of this type of sentences is a pronominal.

29. (70c) could not presumably have a pro reading also, as will be argued to be the case with other subjunctive structures. This would render the multiple binding facts demonstrated by (77) impossible, as in (78), in which a pro subject is clearly present.

30. An interesting prediction holds for the subject position immediately preceding the future particle 'tha' when comparing (89) with (85), in which the subject position preceding 'na' is shown not to be able to function as an expletive. If, following Safir (1985), we hold that an expletive must be governed, it follows that the position preceding 'tha' is governed, while that preceding 'na' is not. I will return to this point in chapter 5, where the relationship between the two particles is discussed.

Chapter 3

Volitionals and Subject Obviation

In this chapter I will focus on subjunctive subordinates of a more complex type, i.e., subjunctives selected by volitional predicates. These structures are more complicated because, as I will propose, they are ambiguous between two representations, only one of which is associated with a PRO subject.

The proposal that sentences involving volitional predicates are structurally ambiguous has the advantage of offering an answer to the question of why the phenomenon of subject obviation is absent from the languages under investigation. Notice that Greek subjunctives, as well as those of the rest of the Balkan languages, differ sharply in

this respect from the Romance language group which always demonstrates the phenomenon of subject obviation in the context of subjunctive complements of volitional predicates.

My findings argue against an account that directly attributes the absence of subject obviation among the Balkan languages to the concurrent lack of infinitival structures. Instead, they appear to support the view that obviation is a consequence of the anaphoric tense of subjunctives. The notion 'anaphoric tense' is a formal way of capturing the limited tense alternations that a number of subjunctive subordinators manifest and amounts to a nonlexical operator in C^0 . I will attempt to show that in order for this operator to be able to govern the pronominal subject of its sister IP and to induce obviation it has to be incorporated into a lexical complementizer.

In a separate section I discuss subjunctive complements of volitional predicates in Albanian and Romanian. These structures are more revealing than their Greek counterparts, since in the presence of volitional predicates, both languages have the option of employing a lexical complementizer which is specific to subjunctives. It follows from my analysis that in the presence of this complementizer a PRO subject is impossible, and, consequently, the structural ambiguity assumed for the nonlexical-complementizer subjunctives does not hold for these representations. Therefore, subjunctive complements of volitional verbs whose complementizer is

lexical are predicted to manifest the phenomenon of subject obviation. This prediction is indeed borne out and thus falsifies the claim that a particular grammar's lack of infinitival complements is the only factor that determines the absence of subject obviation from the subjunctive structures that can be employed in the same environment.

3.1. Complements of Volitionals in Greek

3.1.1. Word Order and Referential Possibilities

I will begin by considering sentences such as the following from Greek, in which the volitional matrix predicate selects for a subjunctive subordinate clause.¹

- (1) O Yiannis_i theli EC_{i/j} na diavasi.
 John wants PRT reads
 'John wants (him/her) to read.'

The standard assumption has been that the embedded null subject in sentence (1) belongs to the type pro (Phillipaki 1987, Felix 1989, Rivero 1987a, 1987b, 1988). This is an entirely plausible assumption for a null subject language like Greek and is further supported by the referential properties of the embedded null subject. The behavior of the empty category in (1) appears to pattern, at first sight, with the behavior of null pronominals rather than that of anaphoric elements, as it does not depend upon some antecedent within the same sentence for its reference.

Further investigation of the behavior of sentences such as (1), however, reveals that their embedded subjects differ

from other null pronominal subjects in Greek, as well as from other pronominal subjects of corresponding structures in related languages. I will demonstrate the following in what sense the null subject in (1) is different from other null pronominals in Greek. I should note that the position of EC_j in (1) and (3) is taken to be the same as that of EC_i for reasons of simplicity. The precise position of EC_j will be reconsidered later in this chapter.

It is well-known that although argumental null and overt pronouns do not have identical referential properties in null subject languages, they may always occupy the same structural position (Rizzi 1982, Montalbetti 1984, Jaeggli 1986). This appears to be the case in Greek, and is illustrated by the indicative sentence in (2). Consequently, it is predicted that the 'canonical' subject positions of the subjunctive subordinates in (1) and (3) should also be able to host a lexical subject.

- (2) I Maria ipe oti o Yiannis/0 tha diavasi.
 Mary said that John/(he/she) will reads
 'Mary said that John will read.'
- (3) I Maria_i theli $EC_{i/j}$ na fai.
 Mary_i wants $EC_{i/j}$ PRT eats
 'Mary wants (him/her) to eat.'
- (4) *?I Maria theli o Yiannis na fai.
 Mary wants John PRT eats
 'Mary wants John to eat.'
- (5) I Maria theli na fai o Yiannis.
 Mary wants PRT eats John
 'Mary wants John to eat.'

- (6) I Maria theli na fai o Yiannis to rizogalo.
 Mary wants PRT eats John the rice pudding
 'Mary wants John to eat the rice pudding.'
- (7) Juan_i quiere que EC_{j/*i} venga. (S)
 John wants COMP comes-SUB
 'John_i wants that he_{i/*j} come.'

(4) shows, however, that an overt NP is not widely acceptable in the position that is arguably occupied by pro in (3). The unmarked position for an embedded lexical subject of the subjunctive clause is the position immediately following the verb as seen in (5) and (6). This word order contrasts with the word order displayed by indicative complements as seen when comparing (2) to (3). Therefore, while the referential possibilities of the embedded subject in (1) and (3) apparently argue in favor of its pronominal nature, the word order restrictions it displays set it apart from other null pronominals in the language. This is the first fact that one needs to investigate when examining the syntactic properties of sentences such as (1) in Greek.

Let me now illustrate how the same null subjects behave differently from null subjects of similar sentences, i.e., complements of volitional predicates, in other languages. Briefly stated, the phenomenon that differentiates representations such as (1) and (3) from comparable structures in Romance languages - in which volitional predicates may also select for a subjunctive sentential complement - is that the latter, unlike the former, manifest the phenomenon of subject obviation exemplified by the indices in (7). In other words,

while embedded and matrix subjects must be obligatorily disjoint in reference in a Spanish sentence like (7), no such restriction is imposed on the comparable Greek example in (3). This appears to be the second difference of Greek subjunctive structures which needs to be explained along with the word order facts mentioned earlier.

A legitimate question to ask at this point is why subjunctive complements of volitional predicates in Greek, Italian and Spanish should be expected to behave alike. Put differently, why should one expect sentences (1) and (3) to demonstrate obviation effects, and therefore consider the lack of this phenomenon as an irregularity that requires explanation? There are two factors that lead us to expect that subject obviation be a property of Greek subjunctives - as well as those of the other Balkan languages.

Firstly, we are faced with a semantic group of predicates that subcategorize for clausal complements in the same mood (subjunctive) in a wide group of languages, i.e., both Balkan and Romance. Since a large number of them display the distinct property of subject obviation, it is logical to expect the same property to be manifested by the remaining languages of the group.

The second reason is related to the factor that has often been held responsible for subject obviation. The choices of tense that subjunctive complement clauses demonstrate in Greek and the other Balkan languages (as well as in Romance) are

significantly limited when compared to the tense alternations that are available in the presence of indicative subordinates. This is precisely the factor responsible for the subject obviation phenomena among the Romance languages (Picallo 1985, Meireles and Raposo 1984, Rizzi 1989).² Therefore, according to the above accounts, subject obviation should be demonstrated in the context of Balkan subjunctives as well.

An alternative account of the phenomenon of subject obviation rejects the explanation based on the restricted tense alternation of subjunctives clauses and according to it the behavior of Balkan subjunctives is fully predictable: Farkas (1985) has argued that the languages that display subject obviation in the context of subjunctive complement clauses are the ones that have a distinct structure at their disposal, the 'real' infinitive, which requires coreference between matrix and embedded subject. A grammar which makes use of a more specific structure such as the infinitive, disallows the use of a more general one, such as the subjunctive, in the same context with the result that subject obviation arises when the latter is used. Subsequently, the lack of obviation effects from subjunctive complements of volitional predicates in the languages of the Balkans is expected since these languages also happen to lack infinitives.

Farkas' idea appears to be empirically justified on general grounds. Languages which behave like those of the

Balkan group with respect to subject obviation, while utilizing infinitival structures productively - as those of the Romance group, for instance - have not been attested. Furthermore, the relationship between subject obviation and presence of infinitive in the same environment is also observed in languages outside the Indo-European family such as Hungarian, as Farkas points out.

Dobrovie-Sorin (1991) pursues a similar line of argument with her Romanian data, i.e., she considers subject obviation to be somehow related to the existence of infinitival structures in the same syntactic environment. I will discuss her work in detail in a later section. It should be noted here, however, that although the above two approaches are appealing at first glance, they are rather unsatisfactory on theoretical and empirical grounds. As we will explain shortly, the empirical counterevidence comes not only from Greek and Romanian but also from the 'mainstream' Romance languages, which, manifest obviation even in structures for which an infinitival alternative is available. Consequently, the quest for the reasons behind the absence of subject obviation from languages like those of the Balkan group remains a legitimate task, and is expected to contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon in general.

Much is to be gained if we examine how subject obviation - when it is present - is accounted for by the approach that attributes it to the restricted tense sequences manifested by

subjunctive subordinates. In the following, I will explore the phenomenon in further detail and evaluate the two previous accounts of subject obviation.

3.2. Subject Obviation

3.2.1. Subject Obviation and Anaphoric Tense

The unusual binding properties of subject pronouns of subjunctive sentential complements as in (7) - repeated below - have long been noticed in the literature on Romance languages:

- (7) Juan_i quiere que EC_{j/*i} venga. (S)
 John wants COMP comes-SUB
 'John_i wants that he_{i/*j} come.'

Picallo (1985), Meireles and Raposo (1984), and Rizzi (1989) have attributed subject obviation to the tense of subjunctive complements which they consider to be anaphoric. Regarding the tense of subjunctives 'anaphoric' is essentially an attempt to express formally the fact that subjunctive subordinates manifest stricter 'sequence of tense' restrictions than indicatives. In the following Italian sentences, for instance, the sequence past-present is grammatical with indicatives, but not with subjunctive subordinates.

- (8) Gianni sapeva/diceva che io lavoravo/lavoro con voi.
 Gianni knew/said that I worked-IND/work-IND with
 you.
- (9) Gianni voleva/credeva che io lavorassi/*lavori con voi.
 Gianni wanted/believed that I worked-SUB/work-SUB with
 you.

(12)		<u>Matrix Ind.</u>	<u>Embedded Subj.</u>
	a.	present	present
	b.	*present	past
	c.	*past	present
	d.	past	past

Recasting the above facts, Rizzi (1989) proposes an explicit mechanism to relate the restricted tense alternations of subjunctive complement sentences to the distinct binding properties of their pronominal subjects. Subjunctive clauses that demonstrate limited tense alternations are taken to involve an anaphoric tense. Subsequently, Rizzi suggests a slight redefinition of the notion governing category according to which the pronominal subject of the subjunctive subordinate and the anaphoric tense, which governs it, are considered jointly. Thus, the role of anaphoric tense emerges to be crucial. Since ordinary governors are not anaphoric, the modification in (13) proposed by Rizzi does not have consequences for structures other than subjunctives.

(13) Z is the governing category for X iff Z is the minimal category with a subject containing X, a governor G for X, and where the binding requirements of X and G are satisfiable.

(14) María quiere que (ella) coma.
Mary wants that she eats-SUB

Within standard accounts of the dependency domains over which binding theory operates, the governing category of the pronoun, X, in (14) is the embedded clause, and thus 'ella' should be able to refer to 'Maria' as it happens with other embedded pronouns. According to the redefinition in (13), however, the governing requirements of the governor G of the

embedded pronoun, the anaphoric tense, cannot be satisfied within the embedded clause since there isn't any nonanaphoric tense available to bind G. The next nonanaphoric tense is the tense of the matrix clause by which the anaphoric embedded tense is indeed bound. Therefore, the matrix clause becomes the governing category of the pronoun as well, since this is the only (minimal) domain within which the binding requirements of both the pronoun and its governor can be satisfied. Consequently, and following Principle B of Binding Theory, the embedded pronoun has to be free within this domain and thus disjoint in reference from the matrix subject. This is why she can never refer to Maria in (14).

Since the approach outlined above was designed for languages in which the phenomenon of subject obviation is present, languages such as those of the Balkan group where subject obviation is not manifest, were not taken into consideration. This does should not mean, however, that Rizzi's line of reasoning is neutral with respect to the latter type of languages. In order for it to be correct it is expected to predict that languages which do not manifest subject obviation are not associated with anaphoric tense. To this end, I will examine how the anaphoric tense analysis fares with respect to the Greek data.

3.2.2. Anaphoric Tense in Greek

We will consider in this section the tense sequences permitted in the presence of a subjunctive complement of a volitional predicate in Greek. As I already mentioned, knowing that these structures do not demonstrate subject obviation, they are predicted not to be associated with limited tense alternations, or else the account proposed by Rizzi is seriously weakened.

It is observed in (15) that the sequence past-present - which, as shown in (12c), is not allowed in Italian and the rest of the Romance - is acceptable in Greek. Thus, Greek appears to demonstrate an apparently important difference from Romance in that it is not subject to a fundamental tense sequence restriction under which all Romance languages essentially fall.

- (15) O Yiannis ithele na doulevo/doulepto mazi sou.
 John wanted PRT I-work-IMP/I-work-PER with
 you.

Nevertheless, Greek subjunctives are subject to the tense restrictions demonstrated by the Portuguese facts in (10), which are repeated by Italian and Spanish in (11) and are summarized in (12b). It is shown by the contrast in (16) and (17) that when the matrix verb appears in present tense, the tense of the embedded clause cannot be [+Past].

- (16) a. O Yiannis kseri/legi oti doulevo/doulepta mazi sou.
 'John knows/says that I work/worked with
 you.'
 b. O Yiannis tha kseri oti doulevo/doulepta mazi sou.
 'John will know that I work/worked with you.'

- (17) a. O Yiannis theli/elpizi na doulevo/*douleva mazi
sou.
'John wants/hopes PRT I work/*worked with
you.'⁴
- b. O Yiannis tha theli na doulevo/*douleva mazi sou.
John will want PRT I work/*worked with you

It seems, in other words, that subjunctive complements of volitional predicates are subject to the restriction described by R&M in the sense that when the tense of the matrix clause denotes [-Past] the embedded tense cannot be [+Past]. This is indicated in (16) and (17), the former of which involves an indicative subordinate and the latter a subjunctive.

Notice, furthermore, that the sequence past-past, the only tense sequence possible among Romance sentences that involve a volitional matrix verb in the past tense (18), is not acceptable in Greek (19). Again, the same tense sequence is grammatical when the subordinate sentence appears in the indicative mood, as shown in (20a) from Spanish and (20b) from Greek.

- (18) Juan quería que trabajaras conmigo.
John wanted that you-worked-SUB with me

- (19)*O Yiannis thelise/ithele na doulepses/douleves mazi
John wanted-PERF/IMP PRT you-worked-PERF/IMP with
me⁵

- (20) a. Juan dijo que trabajabas con él.
'John said that you were working with him'
- b. O Yiannis ipe oti douleves/doulepses
mazi tou.
John said that you-worked-IND-IMP/IND-PER
with him
'John said that you worked with him.'

To recast, it appears that Greek subjunctives have at

their disposal one tense sequence which is unavailable among subjunctive subordinates in the Romance language group, i.e., the possibility in (15). On the other hand, they seem to conform to the norm stated by Raposo and Meireles, since when a matrix volitional predicate denotes present or future (i.e., is [-Past]), its subjunctive complement clause may not be [+Past].⁶ Finally, Greek subjunctives do not permit the sequence past-past, shown in (12d), which is the common case among Romance languages. In addition, a number of restrictions with respect to the choice of Aspect are also manifested in Greek, which are not encountered among indicative complements.⁷

(21) O Yiannis ithele na egrafe/*egrapse.
John wanted PRT write-IMP/wrote-PERF

(22) O Yiannis ipe oti egrafe/egrapse.
John said that wrote-IMP/wrote-PERF

Leaving aspectual restrictions aside, we summarize in the following chart the tense sequences that Greek permits for the subjunctive complement of a volitional predicate.⁸

(23)	<u>Matrix Ind.</u>	<u>Embedded Subj.</u>
a.	present	present
b.	*present	past
c.	past	present
d.	*past	past

Thus, based on the observation that the tense sequences permitted by Greek subjunctive subordinates are more limited than those permitted by indicatives - notice that the absolute number of tense alternations in Greek and the Romance

languages is the same (compare (12) and (23)) - we reach the conclusion that subjunctive tense is anaphoric in Greek as well. Subsequently, on a par with suggestions that have been set forth for the Romance languages, it is expected that the familiar subject obviation effects must also arise in the context of Greek subjunctives that involve volitional matrix predicates.⁹

Therefore, assuming the approach that attributes subject obviation to the anaphoric tense of subjunctives, our initial question concerning the referential possibilities of the embedded subject in (1) and (3) remains unanswered. Why is the null subject in (1) and (3) able to refer to Yiannis even though it is governed by an anaphoric tense? Put in slightly different terms, is it the case that the Greek data pose counterevidence for the account of subject obviation presented above or is something else actually happening? I will argue for the latter.

3.2.3. The Structural Ambiguity of Greek Subjunctives

I will demonstrate in this section that the absence of subject obviation from sentences as in (1) and (3) is only apparent. Moreover, the assumption that sentences as in (1) and (3) involve an embedded pro subject will prove not to be entirely correct. More specifically, I would like to claim that the absence of subject obviation from sentences as (1) - repeated below as (24) - as well as the unusual word order of (4) and

(5) are interrelated. Thus, both issues are explained simultaneously, as they follow from the fact that (24) is structurally ambiguous between the two representations in (25).

(24) O Yiannis theli na fai to rizogalo.
 John wants PRT eats the rice pudding
 'John wants (him/her) to eat the rice pudding.'

(25) a. O Yiannis theli [_{CP} [_C na fai [_{MP} pro [_M t ...
 b. O Yiannis theli [_{CP} [_C⁰ [_{MP} PRO [_M na fai

The postverbal position of the null pronoun in (25a) reflects the unmarked word order manifested when the embedded subject of (24) is lexical. I will regard this word order to be the result of V-to-I-to-C movement, the details of which will be discussed in a subsequent section. If I am right in suggesting that the two representations in (25) describe the behavior of sentences such as (24), and if the account of subject obviation based on the anaphoric tense of subjunctives is on the right track, the reason that representations like (24) do not manifest subject obviation becomes easier to understand.

I would like to argue that in representations such as (25a) the null pronominal subject is indeed susceptible to disjoint reference effects just as those evidenced by Romance pronominal subjects of subjunctive clauses selected by volitional predicates. In other words, the null pronominal in (25a) is obligatorily disjoint in reference from the matrix subject. However, the phenomenon of subject obviation is not

overtly manifested by (24) because it is concealed by representation (25b), which, as a control structure, requires coreference of matrix and embedded subjects. In other words, the dual representation postulated for (24) explains both the apparent lack of subject obviation and the postverbal position of a lexical subject.

As things stand, (24) alone cannot offer convincing evidence for the idea that subject obviation is present in Greek. Additional evidence in favor of this suggestion comes from structures in which the embedded subject pronoun is lexical:

- (26) O Yiannis theli na fai aftos to rizogalo.
 John wants PRT eats he the rice pudding
 'John wants him to eat the rice pudding.'

Along the lines of the analysis I proposed for (24), (26) should involve the two representations in (27).

- (27) a. O Yiannis theli [_{CP} [_C na fai [_{MP} aftos [_M t ...
 b. *O Yiannis theli [_{CP} [_C0 [_{MP} PRO Lexical [_M na fai ..

Notice, however, that the second representation is absolutely impossible this time, since it has to postulate the existence of a lexical PRO. Consequently, the subjunctive complement of a volitional verb with an overt pronominal subject cannot be considered structurally ambiguous and must be taken to involve the representation in (27a) only.

(27a) and (25a) are identical and, according to what I have claimed for the latter, the embedded subject of (27a) is expected to demonstrate disjoint reference effects overtly

since the presence of PRO - which is the only factor that can conceal obviation - is unavailable. Thus, the overt pronoun 'aftos' is predicted not to be able to refer to 'Yiannis' in the sentence that follows, a prediction that is borne out by the indices of (28)=(26).

(28) O Yiannis; theli na fai aftos_{j/*i} to rizogalo.
 John wants PRT eats he the rice pudding
 'John wants him to eat the rice pudding.'

I should point out that the use of an overt pronoun is awkward in this environment, but it would be equally awkward even if the subordinate clause were an indicative. This behavior is apparently related to the fact that Greek is a null subject language. See Montalbetti (1985) according to whom 'overt pronouns in inverted position have 'clumsy' properties' - an issue that neither Montalbetti nor subsequent research has investigated further. For our purposes, it suffices to note that coreference between matrix and embedded subject cannot be obtained in (26) or (28).

Note that the disjoint reference effects demonstrated by these sentences should not be considered to follow from a version of the Avoid Pronoun Principle that is taken to favor null over overt pronouns for coreference, since different referential possibilities arise for the lexical subject pronoun of an indicative subordinate.¹⁰ In the following sentence coreference is not preferred, but it is nevertheless a possibility when the embedded clause is indicative. The same possibility is unavailable for (28).¹¹

- (29) O Yiannis_i ipe oti tha fai aftos_{i/j}
 John said that will eat he
 'John said that he will eat.'

Thus, the distinct referential patterns of the lexical pronouns in (28) and (29) support the claim that subject obviation is present in Greek and they are consistent with the double representation proposed for (24). They show, in other words, that the lack of subject obviation in Greek is only apparent and is in fact due to the presence of the category PRO rather than to its absence. Thus the facts I have presented appear to confirm the approach that attributes subject obviation to the anaphoric tense of subjunctives. Since Greek subjunctive subordinators are associated with limited tense alternations, they also demonstrate obviation.

On the other hand, the data from Greek are rather neutral with respect to Farkas' proposals concerning the complementary distribution of subjunctives and infinitives (provided that Farkas adopts the double representation proposed for (24)). Since (24) is analyzed as involving two different clausal complements of the same predicate, one of which is subjunctive and the other a clause that involves a PRO subject, Farkas would presumably predict that the subjunctive subject is disjoint in reference from the matrix subject.

3.2.4. Anaphoric Tense and PRO: Null vs. Lexical Governors.

I claimed that although subject obviation holds for the representation given in (25a), its effects are not directly

observed in (24) because of the existence of (25b) which entails coreference between matrix and embedded subject. Furthermore, I have adopted the view that the disjoint reference effects demonstrated by the null pronominal of representation (25a) follow from the anaphoric tense of the subjunctive subordinate, which amounts to the limited tense sequences available in the structure.

(24) O Yiannis theli na fai.
 John wants PRT eats
 'John wants (him/her) to eat.'

(25) a. O Yiannis theli [_{CP} [_C na fai [_{MP} PRO [_M t ...
 b. O Yiannis theli [_{CP} [_C⁰ [_{MP} PRO [_M na fai

The question that arises from the above claims is why the same disjoint reference effects do not extend to representation (25b), and alter the binding possibilities of the PRO subject. It is clearly the case that identical tense restrictions hold for (25a) and (25b), and I have maintained that these restrictions are the primary factor responsible for subject obviation. An answer to this question is pertinent not only to Greek, where PRO appears to occupy the subject position of finite clauses, but to the PRO subject of true infinitives as well. Recall that the notion of anaphoric tense in my analysis is distinct from the morphological tense in Infl which is directly related to the finite vs. nonfinite verbal inflection.¹²

The question as to why subject obviation does not extend to infinitives has actually been raised, although not pursued

to any extent, by Raposo and Meireles (1984). They notice that volitional verbs in Portuguese allow for a smaller number of tense alternations of their infinitival complements than factives, as seen in (30).

- (30) a. O Manuel deseja ser/*ter sido o melhor aluno. (P)
'Manuel wishes to be/*to have been the best student.'
- b. O Manuel desejava ter sido/ser o melhor aluno.
'Manuel wished to have been/to be the best student.'
- c. O Manuel lamenta nao ser/ter sido o melhor aluno.
'Manuel regrets to not be/to not have been the best student.'

The same pattern is repeated in Spanish and Italian which also establish that infinitival complements of volitional verbs parallel the behavior demonstrated by subjunctive subordinates of the same verbs with respect to tense sequences permitted. Nevertheless, obviation does not hold for the embedded null subjects of (30), and infinitival subjects such as the above are always coreferent with a matrix argument, following the standard predictions of binding and control theory. The question raised by R&M is imperative in the view of pairs such as (25a) and (25b), however, since the tense alternations associated with the proposed pro and PRO subjects respectively are not simply similar but identical.

I will sketch out a plausible answer to the above question and, beginning with the Romance languages, try to account for the opposite referential possibilities of the embedded null subject in (31) and (32). I will assume that

the tense restrictions which the complements of volitional verbs display amount to the notion of 'anaphoric tense'. It is, furthermore, essential to assume (and we will elaborate in the appendix) that anaphoric tense is represented as an operator, [TENSE], which is nonlexical and occupies the C^0 position of the subordinate clause. I will suggest that the [TENSE] operator can govern a subject pronoun and induce subject obviation in (32), but that it cannot induce the same effects when the embedded subject position is occupied by PRO (31).

(31) Juan_i quiere PRO_{i/*j} comer. (S)
 John wants to-eat
 'John wants to eat.'

(32) Juan_i quiere que pro_{j/*i} coma.
 John wants that eats-SUB
 'John_i wants him to eat.'

The latter part of the above claim is rather well-founded and follows from standard assumptions of binding theory which hold that PRO cannot be governed and that it must actually be the case that PRO is never governed by a nonlexical complementizer. That a PRO theorem violation can be occasioned only by a lexical complementizer is demonstrated by the following contrast.

(33) John wants [_{CP} 0 [_{IP} PRO to eat

(34) *John wants [_{CP} that [_{IP} PRO to eat

Assuming that structures such as (33) and (34) involve a CP complement, a nonlexical C^0 can certainly not be taken to govern PRO or else sentences like (33) would be as

ungrammatical as (34). Remember that the idea that PRO is not allowed to be governed by a lexical complementizer is shared by both the standard version of GB Theory (Chomsky 1981) that considers PRO to be ungoverned, as well as by recent accounts that allow PRO to be governed, since government of PRO is permitted only under specific circumstances i.e., by an element within its maximal projection (Kayne 1991a).

To summarize, it appears that in order to explain why subject obviation does not extend to infinitival complements, one has to assume that while a nonlexical operator in C^0 governs the pronominal subject in representations such as (32) and induces a governing category, the same process cannot take place in representations that involve a PRO subject. As I already mentioned, the idea that a nonlexical element is not a governor is not novel. It is actually claimed in Chomsky (1986b) that only a lexical element can induce a governing category, thus explaining why representations such as (33) do not result in a PRO theorem violation. According to this line of reasoning, however, the assumption that the nonlexical [TENSE] operator does govern the pronominal subjects in (25b) or (31) and induces subject obviation, remains rather ad hoc and unjustified. In other words, why is it the case that while the nonlexical operator does not govern PRO in (31), it governs pro in (32)?

I will show that a solution to the above puzzle is indeed feasible, and, furthermore, that it has a number of

interesting consequences. My point of departure is Pesetsky's claim:

- (35) An X^0 element which is phonologically null at D-structure is not a governor. (Pesetsky 1991)

Thus, according to Pesetsky, (as well as according to Chomsky (1986b)) the null complementizer in (32) is not a governor. Pesetsky carries this argument one step further, however, and he takes into account Baker's (1986) Government Transparency Corollary, which he modifies as follows:

- (36) Government Transparency Corollary (trace version)
A category which has an item incorporated into it governs everything which the trace of the incorporated item governs.

He then claims that while a null complementizer does not govern PRO in representations such as (32), when the same complementizer incorporates into the matrix verb, as in (37), it enables it to govern the infinitival subject and assign accusative Case to it.

- (37) a. John wants Mary to eat.
b. John believes Mary to be innocent.

In much the same spirit, I would like to argue that since the [TENSE] operator that is related to the restricted tense alternations of the subjunctive subordinates is nonlexical, it can govern neither PRO nor pro in sentences such as in (31) and (32), repeated below. Obviously, this proposal explains why subject obviation does not obtain in (31), but it fails to explain its presence in (32).

- (31) Juan_i quiere PRO_{i/*j} comer. (S)
 John wants to-eat
 'John wants to eat.'
- (32) Juan_i quiere que pro_{j/*i} coma.
 John wants that eats-SUB
 'John_i wants him to eat.'

The contrast in terms of government by [TENSE] can be captured by the difference between the C⁰s of the minimal pair above. In both (31) and (32) the nonlexical operator is present, yet only the latter representation involves a lexical complementizer. In light of this difference and the proposal (36), I would like to suggest that the nonlexical operator in (31) induces the familiar disjoint reference effects because it has incorporated into the lexical complementizer, and, as a result, is capable of governing the embedded pronominal subject. Furthermore, I will suggest that the existence of a lexical complementizer in this type of structure forces incorporation of the anaphoric tense operator. This allows for an explanation of why subject obviation does not extend to infinitivals, even when they are associated with anaphoric tense: in infinitivals of this type no lexical complementizer is ever available. Therefore, no incorporation of the nonlexical operator takes place, and, as a result, [TENSE] is not able to govern the embedded subject and induce subject obviation. The different referential possibilities of the pair in (25) are now easier to explain. Subject obviation holds for (25a) because V-to-C movement has taken place and has rendered the C⁰ lexical. On the other hand, the

complementizer of (25b) is nonlexical since no such movement has taken place; consequently, the [TENSE] operator cannot govern the embedded subject and induce obviation.

- (25) a. O Yiannis theli [_{CP} [_C na fai [_{MP} pro [_M t ... b
 O Yiannis theli [_{CP} [_C⁰ [_{MP} PRO [_M na fai

I will consider in the following some further predictions that the above analysis makes. There is, in the Romance languages, a limited number of finite contexts (more specifically, only subjunctives) in which the option of not lexically realizing a complementizer is available.

- (38) Pedro_i ruega pro_{i/j} llege rápido. (S)
 Pedro begs arrives-SUB soon
 'Pedro_i begs that he_{i/j} arrive soon.'

If what I have proposed is correct, structures such as (38) should not manifest obviation: even if [TENSE] is present, it would require the presence of a lexical complementizer in order for [TENSE] to incorporate into it and govern the pronominal subject. The indices in (38) confirm my claims since coreference of the two subjects is possible.¹³

To summarize, I argued in this section that the presence of a lexical C⁰ is a necessary condition in order for subject obviation to occur in the context of [TENSE].

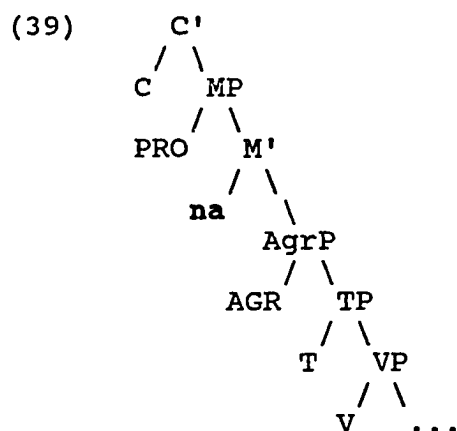
This is why, although both subjunctive and infinitival subordinates may be associated with [TENSE], it is only subjunctives (with a lexical complementizer in C⁰) that manifest obviation. The C⁰ position can be filled either by a lexical complementizer or by some type of movement that has

C⁰ as its landing site. The latter is the case in Greek, where the I-to-C movement proposed for (25a) on the basis of word order facts has made C⁰ lexical.

3.2.5. Subjunctives and I-to-C movement

I have argued so far for the presence of PRO in subject position of finite clauses such as (25b). This is a rather unconventional suggestion - considering that I have maintained the standard assumption that PRO is a distinct empty category that has the features [+anaphoric] and [+pronominal], from which it follows that PRO has to be ungoverned and consequently excluded from finite contexts. What follows intends to clarify the above conclusions as well as shed light on representation (25a).

- (25) a. O Yiannis theli [C_P [C na fai [M_P pro [M t ...
 b. O Yiannis theli [C_P [C⁰ [M_P PRO [M na fai



Consider (39), which is the actual clausal structure of (24) or (25). Notice that I have taken the subjunctive

particle M^0 to head its own maximal projection Mood Phrase (MP) and PRO to occupy its Specifier position.

In the interval between the subjunctive particle and the lexical verb negation and object clitics can be found.

- (40) O Yiannis theli na min to fai.
 John wants PRT NEG it-cl eats
 'John wants (him/her) to not eat it.'

Therefore, the I-to-C movement which I have postulated for (25a) should carry along all this material as well. Assuming that clitics are adjoined to some Infl projection, they should be able to move to Comp without posing a problem. We have to further assume that negation also cliticizes onto Agr if it is to be found preceding the verb in Comp position. This is another plausible assumption since 'mi' is a negative particle that is a head.¹⁴ Notice that a type of cliticization similar to this, i.e., negation onto Agr and subsequent movement of it to C^0 together with the verb that has raised to Agr, has to be assumed for the Italian Aux-to-Comp structures, since negation is found to precede the auxiliary. The Italian negative head 'non' has actually been considered to cliticize to Agr when moving from its base-generated position between AgrP and TP (Belletti 1990). The same idea is also present in Pollock's analysis of French 'ne' (Pollock 1989). Finally, I will also have to assume that the subjunctive particle cliticizes onto the complex Neg-cl-inflected verb and moves along to the C^0 position.

What triggers I-to-C movement in representations such as

(25a)? The suggestion I would like to make is that the position that precedes the subjunctive particle is not a Cased position. In other words, nominative Case cannot be assigned to Spec(MP) either under government or under Spec-Head Agreement. Therefore, the movement to C^0 is necessary for providing the embedded subject with nominative Case.¹⁵ A first piece of evidence confirming the unavailability of nominative Case in the pre-'na' position comes from structures involving perception verbs, another type of predicates that subcategorize for subjunctive complements in Greek. Perception verbs have only one internal θ -role to assign and it is not controversial to say that 'to Yianni' in (41) is not subcategorized by the perception verb, but is the subject of the embedded clause subcategorized for by 'ide'- saw.¹⁶

(41) Ida to Yianni na grafi.
 I-saw John-ACC PRT writes
 'I saw John write.'

(42) *Ida pro na grafi.
 I-saw PRT writes
 *'I saw write.'

(43) Ton ida na grafi.
 him-cl I-saw PRT writes
 'I saw him write.'

Although the embedded subject position is accessible to government and Case assignment by the matrix verb, as shown in (41), this position cannot host a pro subject, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (42). With Rizzi (1986), we take the following two principles to be responsible for the licensing and recoverability of pro.

- (44) a. pro is governed and Case marked by X^0 .
- b. If X is the licensing head, then pro, has the grammatical specifications of the features on X coindexed with it.

Comparing (41) with (42) we conclude that, although the embedded subject position is governed by the matrix verb, which also assigns accusative Case to it, a pro subject is not licensed. This is presumably because no Agr features are present on the governing head and thus the identification requirements for pro are not satisfied. It follows that 'na' would also fail to identify pro in the same structure since it does not have nominal features either.

Why is it then that pro cannot be identified by Agr of the embedded clause, while being head-governed either by embedded Agr itself or by the subjunctive particle? Since the possibility of pro being identified by embedded Agr cannot be excluded on principled grounds but, still, an embedded pro subject is impossible as seen from the ungrammaticality of (42), it follows that neither 'na' nor the embedded Agr govern the embedded subject position. (43) shows that a pro subject becomes possible when identified by 'agreement' of the pronominal clitic (which is adjoined to the head that dominates the governing verb).

As to why Agr cannot govern the embedded subject position in (42), we might conjecture that M^0 acts as a minimality blocker. Why then doesn't M^0 govern the Specifier position of Mood Phrase? A possible answer is that 'na' is the type of

head that, while acting as a minimality barrier, is not a governor itself (Reuland 1983, Pesetsky 1991). This is precisely what enables PRO to occupy the Spec(MP) position, thus remaining ungoverned even though it is the subject of a finite clause. On the other hand, a PRO subject is not possible in (42) because the position it occupies is governed (and Case marked) by the matrix verb.

To summarize, the data from the perception verbs in (41)-(43) support the claim that Spec(MP) is an ungoverned position, and also a position to which nominative Case is not assigned. Thus, the I-to-C movement proposed to account for the postverbal position of subjunctive subjects appears to be triggered by the necessity for nominative Case assignment.

3.3. Volitionals in Albanian and Romanian

3.3.1. Complementizerless Subjunctives

In this section I will consider sentential complements of volitional verbs in Albanian and Romanian. As in Greek, volitional verbs in both languages select for subjunctive subordinates only.

- (45) a. Jani do të hajë. (A)
 b. Ion vrea să mănince. (R)
 John wants PRT eats
 'John wants (him/her) to eat.'

A lexical subject is not acceptable in the position preceding the particle in either language, as shown in (46). Thus, the facts are in this respect reminiscent of Greek sentences such as in (4). Notice also the word order differences with

respect to the subject position of subjunctive vs. nonsubjunctive complement clauses (cf. (46) vs. (47)).

- (46) a. *Jani do Maria të hajë. (A)
 b. ?*Ion vrea Maria să mănince. (R)
 John wants Maria PRT eats
 'John wants Mary to eat.'

- (47) a. Maria tha se fëmijiët do të hanë. (A)
 b. Maria a spus că elevii vor mânca. (R)
 'Mary said that the children will eat.'

Finally, as in Greek, the sentences in (46) regain their grammaticality when the lexical subject appears in the position immediately following the verb.¹⁷

- (48) a. Jani do të hajë Maria. (A)
 b. Ion vrea să mănince Maria. (R)
 John wants PRT eats Mary
 'John wants Mary to eat.'

Another characteristic that the above sentences share with their Greek counterparts in (24) is that they do not display subject obviation effects. Thus, the embedded subject of (49) is able to refer to the matrix subject, as seen from the gloss.

- (49) a. Jani do të hajë. (A)
 b. Ion vrea să mănince. (R)
 John wants PRT eats
 'John wants (him/her) to eat.'

The distinct referential possibilities of the pronominal subjects of sentences such as (49), particularly with respect to Romanian, have attracted considerable attention since Romanian demonstrates here behavior quite distinct from the rest of the Romance languages (Farkas 1985, Rivero 1987b, Dobrovie-Sorin 1991, Motapanyane 1991). Rivero and Motapanyane do not attempt to investigate why subject

obviation is absent from Romanian. Farkas considers this property to be related directly to the fact that the language also lacks infinitival structures in this particular context. In other words, while volitional predicates select for either subjunctive or infinitival complement clauses in the other Romance languages, only the first option is available in Romanian.

Dobrovie-Sorin, on the other hand, claims that the different referential possibilities of the embedded pronoun of the Romanian and French sentences in (51) can be explained by her version of 'Avoid Pronoun Principle' (50):

(50) Use an anaphor instead of a pronoun whenever possible.

- (51) a. Ion_i vrea pro_i să plece devreme mâine. (R)
 b. *Jean_i veut qu' il_i parte tot demain matin. (F)
 'John wants that (he) leave-SUB early tomorrow.'

According to (50), (51b) is ungrammatical because the coreference between the two subjects does not rely on a legitimate anaphoric relation. Such a legitimate anaphoric relationship exists in a different syntactic environment in French, i.e., the one that involves an embedded infinitival structure.¹⁸ This situation does not arise for Romanian, according to Dobrovie-Sorin, since no parallel anaphoric relationship exists for (51a). For D-S, subjunctive subjects are either 'contextual anaphors' as in the instance of complements of control verbs, or 'contextual pronominals' as in (46a).

My explanation for the absence of subject obviation from

(49) is different. The apparent lack of subject obviation from subjunctive subordinates of volitional predicates that do not utilize a lexical complementizer is not a result of the absence of an infinitival subordinate in the same environment. Rather, it is due to the presence of a subordinate clause that involves a PRO subject and conceals obviation.

Along the claims I made for the Greek representation in (24), I would like to suggest that (49) also be analyzed as involving the two structures of (25).

- (25) a. Ion vrea [CP [C să manince [MP PRO [M t ...
 b. Ion vrea [CP [C⁰ [MP PRO [M să manince

The presence of representation (25b) is responsible for the apparent lack of obviation effects from (49), as it involves an embedded PRO which requires coreference of matrix and embedded subject. The advantage of my explanation will become clear in the following section. If I am right about the structural ambiguity of (49), subject obviation is predicted to be overt in instances where a lexical complementizer is present because a PRO subject is then excluded, and thus obviation cannot be concealed. In addition, the I-to-C movement that I have claimed to give rise to (25a) is then impossible.

3.3.2. Subjunctive Complementizer and Obviation

Data from Romanian and Albanian offer support to the claims about subject obviation made in the previous sections. Recall from section (2.1.1.) of Chapter 2, that Romanian and Albanian have at their disposal a distinct lexical complementizer (COMP1) which introduces subjunctive complements of a number of verbs, and is incompatible with subject control and object control predicates. Since the analysis presented below relies crucially on structures that involve the presence of the subjunctive-specific complementizer, although consistent with the conclusions we drew about Greek, does not apply directly to it, since Greek lacks a lexical complementizer specific to subjunctives.

I claimed in Chapter 2 that the impossibility of COMP1 in the presence of subject and object control verbs is due to a PRO theorem violation, thus arguing at the same time for the fact that the subject position of the relevant subjunctive subordinates was occupied by PRO. Since structures such as (52) demonstrate the cooccurrence of a lexical complementizer and the subjunctive marker, it follows that their embedded null subject is presumably not a pronominal anaphor, otherwise a similar type of violation would be induced.

- (52) a. Jani do që pro të shkojë. (A)
 b. Ion vrea ca pro sã plece. (R)
 John wants COMP1 PRT leaves
 'John wants him/her to leave.'¹⁹

Knowing that both Albanian and Romanian are null-subject languages, we conclude that the empty category in subject

position of (52) must belong to the type pro. This assumption is further supported by the fact that this time a lexical subject can alternatively appear in the pre-PRT position.

- (53) a. Jani do që Maria të shkojë. (A)
 b. Ion vrea ca Maria să plece. (k)
 John wants COMP Mary PRT leaves
 'John wants Mary to leave.'

Therefore, according to my proposals, sentences such as (52) cannot be analyzed on a par with their 0-complementizer counterparts of (49), i.e., cannot be considered to involve the two representations in (25). Rather, their syntactic structure should be taken to roughly correspond to the linear order manifested by (52). If my reasoning is correct, we expect sentences such as (52) to demonstrate subject obviation overtly since they do not involve a control structure which, as I have argued, conceals subject obviation in the Balkan subjunctive complements of volitional predicates.

This prediction is borne out. Motapanyane (1991) (Chapter 2, pg. 14) indicates that these are indeed the referential possibilities of subjunctive subjects that are introduced by a lexical complementizer in Romanian. Sentences such as (54) are ungrammatical with coindexing of the two subjects. In other words, coreference between matrix and embedded subjects is not possible in structures that allow the occurrence of the subjunctive-specific complementizer.

- (54) *pro_i Aș fi vrut ca pro_i să fi venit.
 I-would have wanted COMP1 PRT have come
 'I would have wanted to have come.'

The disjoint reference effects demonstrated by (54) or (52) are not compatible with Farkas' claims. The analysis offered by Farkas predicts that (54), as well as (52), behave on a par with their 0-complementizer counterparts in (49), since no infinitival structure is available in the same context in Romanian.²⁰ (A more elaborate version of (49b) and (52b) is given below for reasons of exposition)

- (49) b. Ion_i vrea EC_{j/i} să mănînce. (R)
 John wants PRT eats
- (52) b. Ion_i vrea ca EC_{j/*i} să plece.
 John wants COMP1 PRT leaves

Dobrovie-Sorin's account does not fare much better either, as it cannot predict the different referential possibilities of the embedded subjects in (49b) and (52b). If, as she claims, the embedded subject in (49b) is a 'contextual pronominal' and thus is able to refer to the matrix subject (furthermore, the principle in (50) allows it to refer to the matrix subject, contrary to its French counterpart) why is it that the 'contextual subject pronoun of (52b) does not behave similarly? Dobrovie-Sorin notes at a later point that coreference of the two subjects is impossible in sentences such as (54) because of the presence of the complementizer which intervenes in the binding relationship. To my understanding this amounts to saying that the embedded subject is now perceived as an anaphor. Thus, her argument is inconsistent with the rest of her analysis, according to which only the subjects of subjunctive subordinates of subject and

object control predicates are 'contextual anaphors'. Furthermore, the empirical problems discussed in footnotes 21 and 24 extend to her account as well. On the other hand, the approach we have suggested does not run into either of the problems that the above accounts face.

To summarize, I presented in this section the two types of subjunctive complements of volitional predicates in Albanian and Romanian. The first category consists of 0-complementizer subjunctives in which subject obviation is apparently absent. I argued that this is to be expected since 0-complementizer subordinates in both languages are structurally ambiguous, and, as in the case of their Greek counterparts, the presence of a control structure hides subject obviation. The above argument gained further support by the examination of the binding effects manifested in the context of subjunctive complements of the same type of predicates when selecting for COMP1. Subject obviation is then demonstrated overtly since the presence of a lexical complementizer excludes the existence of a PRO subject, which I have argued to be the factor that conceals obviation.

Finally, notice that the overt manifestation of the phenomenon of subject obviation in the presence of the subjunctive-specific complementizer is also consistent with the proposals I made in section (3.2.4.). To account for the nonextension of subject obviation to those infinitival subordinates that are associated with a [TENSE] operator, I

argued that the presence of a lexical complementizer is a necessary condition for subject obviation, since the nonlexical [TENSE] operator has to incorporate into a lexical element in order to be able to govern the embedded pronominal subject.

3.3.3 The Subjunctive Complementizer

A relevant issue that needs to be addressed is the role that the overt complementizer plays with respect to the possibility of a pre-PRT subject. Why is it the case that a lexical subject can precede the subjunctive particle only in the presence of COMP1? Put differently, what is the source of the contrast between (46) and (53), repeated below?

- (46) ?*Ion vrea Maria să mănînce. (R)
 John wants Maria PRT eats
 'John wants Mary to eat.'
- (53) Ion vrea ca Maria să plece.
 John wants COMP Maria PRT leaves
 'John wants Mary to leave.'

The question is a rather intricate one but two possible solutions suggest themselves at the moment. At first glance, one is led to hold COMP1 essentially responsible for nominative Case assignment to the embedded subject in (53) (see Platzack 1986, 1987) for similar proposals in Swedish). This suggestion is not entirely unproblematic, however. First, it has often been argued that Case assignment under government requires adjacency between the assigner and the assignee. This holds for nominative Case assignment by the

verb, in SVO languages, and by C⁰ (Platzack above), and Belletti (1990) with respect to Aux-to-Comp constructions in Italian. The sentence that follows shows that adjacency may be violated.

- (55) Vreau ca mîine Ion să vină.
 I-want COMP1 tomorrow John PRT comes
 I want John to come tomorrow.'

In addition, it is shown by (56) and (57) that lexical NPs in the pre-PRT position require the presence of a lexical complementizer, as do adverbs.

- (56) a. Vreau ca Ion să vină mîine.
 I-want COMP1 John PRT comes tomorrow
 b. Vreau ca mîine să vină (Ion).
 I-want COMP1 tomorrow PRT comes John
- (57) *Vreau mîine să vina Ion.
 I-want tomorrow PRT comes John

Richard Kayne (p.c.) brought to my attention that the contrast demonstrated by the above two sentences is reminiscent of a contrast manifested in English:

- (58) a. I know (that) Mary was angry at him yesterday.
 b. I know *(that) yesterday Mary was angry at him.

Accordingly, one might then want to suggest that topicalized elements need to be lexically governed, and the failure to do so results in the ungrammaticality of (57) and (58b).²¹ An additional question in this context is how the pro subject I postulated for (52) is licensed. The answer is closely related to the answers we offer to other questions raised so far in this section. Recall that I have claimed in section

(3.2.5.) that Spec(MP) is an ungoverned and uncased position and this is why a PRO subject is possible in representation (25b). It now appears that in the presence of COMP1 presumably the same syntactic position hosts a null pronoun (which alternates with a lexical subject, as seen in (53). Without considering the issue settled, it may be that the pro subject in (52) is licensed by COMP1.

3.4. Lexical Complementizers and the Subjunctive Particle

I established in the beginning of the first chapter, and I maintained throughout this work, that the particle that introduces subjunctive clauses in Greek (as well as in Albanian and Romanian) is an element of Infl rather than a complementizer, an idea shared by Rivero (1987, 1991b) and Motapanyane (1991). A fundamental question that arises, if one maintains this assumption, is why this inflectional particle is incompatible with a lexical complementizer in a number of environments. The interaction between C^0 and M^0 has been one of the very little-studied aspects of these structures, apart from the fact that accounts which consider the subjunctive marker to be a complementizer have used the C^0 - M^0 incompatibility as empirical evidence to support their claims.

I also showed in the first chapter that the lexical complementizer that is specific to subjunctives is prohibited from subject or object control structures in Albanian and

Romanian, and I subsequently argued that this is so because a PRO theorem violation is induced. This argument was directly related to the idea introduced in the same chapter that the embedded subject position of sentences such as in (59) is a pronominal anaphor.

- (59) a. *Maria përpigët që PRO të shkruajë. (A)
 b. *Maria încearcă ca PRO să scrie. (R)
 Mary tries COMP1 PRO PRT writes
 'Mary tries that to write.'

This paradigm is not the only instance in which the occurrence of a lexical complementizer is unacceptable in the presence of subjunctive subordinators. In what follows we will consider indirect questions in the subjunctive mood in Greek.

- (60) *O Yiannis den kseri an na diavasi. (G)
 John not knows if PRT reads
 'John doesn't know if to read.'
- (61) O Yiannis den kseri pou na diavasi.
 John not knows where PRT reads
 'John doesn't know where to read.'²²

Consider also below the English counterparts of these sentences, and compare the corresponding grammaticality judgements. I would like to suggest that the parallel of the English and Greek pairs is nontrivial and, furthermore, it offers support to the proposals we have made so far. For this reason, let us first discuss briefly the source behind the contrast displayed by the English pair in (62).

- (62) a. *John doesn't know if to go.
 b. John doesn't know whether to go.

Kayne (1991a) has proposed that the ungrammaticality of 'if' in the presence of infinitival complements in English is

due to the fact that 'if' occupies the C⁰ position of the embedded CP and from this position it governs PRO, and induces a PRO theorem violation, (62a). No PRO theorem violation is induced if the Specifier rather than the head of the embedded CP is occupied, as seen by the grammaticality of (62b). Kayne has also argued that the above contrast is not present in Italian (and Spanish), as seen in (63) below, because, as evinced by the placement of the clitics, the infinitival verb has moved to a position from which it is capable of protecting government of PRO by C⁰ (Kayne, 1991a).

- (63) a. Juan no sabe si irse. (S)
 John NEG knows if to-go-cl
 'John doesn't know if to go.'
- b. Juan no sabe dónde irse.
 John NEG knows where to-go-cl
 'Juan doesn't know where to go.'

Kayne's explanation of the English and Romance facts is also applicable to Greek. Such a proposal not only explains the contrast in (60) vs. (61) but at the same time argues for the presence of PRO in subject position of the relevant subordinate clauses. In order to do so, however, we have to assume that Greek 'an'(if) occupies the C⁰ position rather the Specifier position of CP, just like English 'if' - and contrary to 'whether' -, as only then would 'an' be able to induce a PRO theorem violation. This assumption is not immediately obvious since in Greek, as well as in a wide variety of languages, there is only one lexical element available that could conceivably correspond to either

'whether' or 'if'.

Evidence indicating that 'an' is structurally parallel to English 'if' rather than to 'whether' is provided by the following facts. First, 'an', as well as 'if', are the elements used in conditionals, (64). Furthermore, 'an' cannot be used in instances where 'whether' is used in English, (65). Finally, 'if' is incompatible with the overt complementizer that induces embedded indicatives, (66).

(64) An ihes erthi sto parti, tha ihes gnorisi ti Maria.
 if had-2sg come to-the party, will had-2sg meet Maria
 'if you had come to the party, you would have met
 Maria.'

(65) *An kerdisi to vravio i ohi aftos tha hari.
 if wins the prize or no he will be pleased
 'whether he wins the prize or not he will be happy.'

(66) *Rotisa an oti efiges gia taksidi.
 asked-1sg if that left-2sg for trip
 'I asked if you went on a trip.'

These considerations lead me to conclude that an occupies the C⁰ position in Greek and that there is no Greek counterpart of 'whether'. Consequently, the contrast manifested by (60) vs. (61) follows from the fact that an in (60) governs PRO that occupies the Spec(MP) position and induces a PRO theorem violation. A wh-phrase such as pou 'where' in Spec(CP) does not have the same effect and thus (61) is grammatical.

Notice that this contrast does not arise if the embedded clause is indicative. The embedded null subject in the following pair of sentences is pro and thus the PRO theorem is irrelevant. Thus, both (67) and (68) are grammatical.

- (67) O Yiannis den kseri an egrapse.
 John not knows if wrote
 'John doesn't know if he/she wrote.'
- (68) O Yiannis den kseri pou egrapse.
 John not knows where wrote
 'John doesn't know where he/she wrote.'

One can obviously argue for the presence of PRO in subject position of the subjunctives subordinates we have discussed only if the number-person features of matrix and embedded verbs are the same. If these features differ, the empty subject of the subordinate sentence must be taken to belong to the category pro instead, as in (69) below. Therefore, the unacceptability of representations such as (70) below requires an explanation since it cannot be due to a PRO theorem violation. Two types of answers can be offered for the contrast in (69) vs. (70). I claimed in section (3.2.3.) that the presence of a postverbal subject in this type of structures is associated with an I-to-C movement that provides the postverbal subject with nominative Case. This movement is expected to be impossible in (70) since its landing site is occupied by the lexical complementizer 'oti'.

- (69) O Yiannis theli na fane ta pedia.
 John want-3sg PRT eat-3pl the children
- (70) *O Yiannis theli oti na fane ta pedia.
 John want-3sg that PRT eat-3pl
 'John wants the children to eat.'

Alternatively, one can perhaps explain the ungrammaticality of sentences such as the following (but also of (70)) on the basis of the selectional restrictions of the complementizer 'oti'. One might suggest, in other words, that

the ungrammaticality of (70)-(71) is due to the fact that the complementizer 'oti', which selects for an indicative IP complement, is followed by M^0 . That would imply that we classify 'oti' along the COMP2 complementizer we discussed in Albanian and Romanian, the use of which is restricted to indicative subordinates only (section 2.1.1 of Chapter 2). As a result of this 'oti' is expected to always be followed by a sister AgrP and never by a MP.

- (71) a. *I Maria theli oti na fai.
 Mary wants that PRT eats
 'Mary wants to eat.'
- b. *O Yiannis kseri oti na diavazi.
 John knows that PRT reads
 'John knows how to read.'²³

The contrast in (60)-(61) is also repeated in Albanian and Romanian. Thus the analysis we offered for Greek (60)-(61) can be extended to the representations in (72)-(73). Notice that Motapanyane (1991), who attributes the impossibility of lexical complementizers in the context of a number of subjunctive structures to the fact that the relevant subjunctive subordinates are IPs rather than CPs, would face a problem in explaining the contrast of (72) vs. (73) in Romanian. The grammaticality of (73) shows that the subordinate clause is a CP, and according to Motapanyane's line of reasoning (72) should also be acceptable. From our point of view, the status of (72) is due to a PRO theorem violation which is not predicted to extend to (73) since 'where' occupies the Spec(CP) of the subjunctive subordinate.

- (72) a. *Maria nu ştie dacă să plece. (R)
 b. *Maria nuk di po të shkojë. (A)
 'Mary doesn't know if to go.'
- (73) a. Maria nu ştie unde să plece. (R)
 b. Mari nuk di unde të shkojë. (A)
 'Mary doesn't know where to go.'

3.5. APPENDIX

In discussing the subjunctive complements of volitional predicates I embraced the approach that attributes the disjoint reference facts of the subjects of this type of structure to the anaphoric nature of the tense of the subjunctive subordinates (Picallo 1985, Raposo and Meireles 1984, Rizzi 1989). In this section, I will investigate a number of objections to my approach, offer a number of suggestions to improve it and elaborate a few points that have remained unclear.

3.5.1. First Problem - How 'Anaphoric' Should Anaphoric Tense Be?

Farkas (1985) notices that subject obviation does not hold for all subjunctives despite the fact that they seem to be subject to limited tense alternations. In particular, subjunctive complements of negative epistemic and factive-emotive verbs are not subject to the phenomenon. This has also been observed in the literature on Romance languages. Calabrese (1991) notes that sentences like (74) are grammatical with the given indexing in Italian, contrary to what the 'anaphoric tense' approach would probably predict.

- (74) pro_i dubito che pro_i abbia vinto
 I-doubt that I-have won
 'I doubt that I have won.'

There is no obviation in the following Spanish sentences either, despite the fact that similar tense dependencies are present.

- (75) a. Él_i no cree que pro_{i/j} escriba bien.
 He not believes that (he) writes well
 'He does not believe that he writes well.'
- b. Él_i lamenta que pro_{i/j} no estudie mucho.
 He regrets that not studies much
 'He regrets that he does not study much.'²⁴

The same considerations hold for subjunctive complements of factive predicates in Portuguese, as noted by Raposo and Meireles (1984).

- (76) Os meus amigos_i lamentam que eles_{i/j} nunca cheguem
 a horas as reuniões.
 'My friends regret that they never arrive-SUBJ
 on time to meetings.'

Raposo and Meireles observe that the complement clauses of factive predicates permit more tense possibilities than those of volitionals. It appears, for instance, that while 'lamentar' continues to disallow the option in (12c)=(77b), it permits the option in (12b)=(77a).

- (77) a. Eu lamento que os meninos saíssem/saíam
 tao cedo.
 I regret that the children left-SUB/leave-SUB
 so early
- b. Eu lamentei que os meninos saíssem/*saíam
 tao cedo.
 I regretted that the children left-SUB/leave-SUB
 so early

From this, R&M conclude that the tense of subjunctive

complements of factive verbs is 'less anaphoric' or, rather, 'nonanaphoric'. Therefore, it does not need to be bound by a higher tense and, consequently, it does not bring about subject obviation. Interestingly, the Spanish analogous of (76) also displays fewer tense dependencies. Following Raposo and Meireles's explanation, it should not be surprising to find that (75) is not associated with obviation in Spanish either.

Negative epistemics in Italian also manifest fewer tense restrictions, compare (78a) with (78b).

- (78) a. Gianni dubita che io lavori/lavorassi con voi.
Gianni doubts that I work-SUBJ/worked-SUBJ with
you
- b. Gianni vuole che io lavori/*lavorassi con voi.
Gianni wants that I work-SUBJ/worked-SUBJ with
you

Coreference between matrix and embedded subjects is again rather predictable for (73). In other words, the referential possibilities of the embedded pronoun in (73) can be taken to follow from the fact that the subjunctive tense is not anaphoric in this structure, and, subsequently, [TENSE] is not present in the embedded C⁰ position.

Notice that the behavior of negative epistemics in Italian mimic the behavior of factives in Portuguese and Spanish in that they also allow for the option in (12b). Therefore, there seems to be a clear relation between the dependency of the tense of subjunctives and the obviation facts associated with their subjects which tends to go

unnoticed at first glance.

Returning to Greek, I should note that factive predicates select for indicative complements only. The same is also true for Romanian and Albanian. Thus, no direct comparison can be made between them and data as in (76) from Spanish or Portuguese. Negative (but also nonnegative) epistemic predicates may select for a subjunctive complement clause in Greek as well. As in Spanish and Italian, their tense sequence appears to be freer, allowing the sequence present-past (the option (23b), as seen in (79a) but prohibiting the sequence past-past (the option (23d)) with either perfective or imperfective aspect (79b).

- (79) a. Den pistevo na ipies/epines.
 Not I-believe PRT you-drunk-PERF/you-drunk-IMP
 'I don't believe you drank/were drinking.'
- b. Den pistepsa na *ipies/*epines.
 Not I-believed PRT you-drunk-PERF/you-drunk-IMP
 'I didn't believe you drank/were drinking.'

The tense sequence pattern of the subjunctive complements of the above negative epistemics seems to be 'placed' somewhere between the strict tense dependencies of complements of volitionals and the free tense alternation of complements of factive predicates. Epistemic predicates can also select for indicative subordinates in Greek.²⁵

To summarize, the comparison of Greek and Romance subjunctive complement clauses reveals an interesting overall correspondence between semantic categories of predicates and the 'degrees of freedom' to which the tense of the subjunctive

complement clauses is subject. Volitional predicates select for clausal complements that allow for the fewer tense possibilities in both Greek and the Romance. While, on the other hand, factive predicates show the least tense restrictions in the Romance languages, and thus do not display obviation, they select for indicative complements in Greek. Thus, the data presented so far confirm the view that only one set of subjunctive complements (those manifesting all of the tense restrictions in (12)) is associated with an anaphoric [TENSE] operator which, in the presence of a lexical complementizer, induces subject obviation. The objection that has been raised for the 'anaphoric tense' account - based on the absence of subject obviation from representations such as (74)-(76) does not seem to be as strong as it appeared at first sight.

3.5.2. Second Problem - Obviation and Passives

The data that follow appear to pose additional problems for the account that considers subject obviation to derive from the strict dependencies manifested by the tense of subjunctive subordinates. Obligatory disjoint reference, which also holds in English among the limited number of subjunctive complements available, disappears when the embedded verb is passivized. The same pattern is repeated for the Spanish sentences in (81).

(80) a. Mary_i insists that she_{j/*i} eat.

- b. Mary_i insists that she_{j/i} be allowed to eat.
- (81) a. María_i insiste que pro_{j/*i} coma.
- b. María_i insiste que pro_{j/i} sea permitida
comer.

The problem is straightforward: if the subjunctive tense is anaphoric in the (a) sentences, thus resulting in disjoint reference of matrix and embedded subject, it ought to be 'equally anaphoric' in the (b) ones and obviation should be expected to arise for these as well. The indices in (80b) and (81b) show that this is not the case.²⁶

Recall that according to the approach adopted here two factors play an essential role in the explanation of subject obviation. First, it is assumed that the tense of a number of subjunctive subordinates is anaphoric and requires binding by a nonanaphoric tense. Second, the definition of governing category has been modified as in (82) with immediate effects for the pronominal subjects of subjunctive subordinates only.

- (82) Z is the governing category for X iff Z is the minimal category with a subject containing X, a governor G for X, and where the binding requirements of X and G are satisfiable. (Rizzi 1989)

In representations such as (80a) the governing category of X 'she' is the matrix clause since this is the only domain within which the governing requirements of its governor G, the anaphoric tense, are also met.

The modification (82) proposed by Rizzi does not specify the level at which the binding requirements of X and G are satisfied, nor does it make it explicit whether X and G can

satisfy their binding requirements at different levels. Both questions are of crucial importance for contemporary syntactic theory, where the syntactic level at which each of the Principles of binding theory applies is an area of continuous investigation. Specifically, while according to current claims of binding theory anaphors undergo LF movement, with the consequence that Principle A is considered to apply at LF (Leboux 1983, Chomsky 1986b, Pica 1987), the case of pronouns is less clear, although it has also been proposed that pronouns undergo LF movement (Hestvik 1990). The task of having to account for the referential possibilities of subjunctive subjects in configurations such as (80) is even further complicated since we have to account for the binding requirements of a pronoun and an anaphor simultaneously (the pronominal subject and its the anaphoric tense).

Since no particular reference to the issue of pronominal subjects of subjunctive subordinates has been made, one is tempted to follow standard assumptions, viz. that the above type of pronouns be treated along with other pronominals and, therefore adopt the concurrent assumptions with respect to Principle B. The question of the syntactic levels relevant for Principle B, however, reappears more imperative in the light of representations such as (83), which demonstrate that disjoint reference effects do hold for (80b) and (81b) but at D-Structure.

(83) a. Mary_i insists that X_{j/*i} allows her_{j/i} to eat

- b. María_i insiste que X_j/^{*}_i permite
a ella_{j/i} comer

The embedded subjects of (83), which is the D-Structure representation of (80b) and (81b) are required by Principle B of binding theory to be free within their governing category, the matrix clause. On the other hand, the object pronouns of (83) (which are the pronouns that concern us in (80b) and (81b)) are not subject to the above referential restrictions. The facts in (83) lead us to the unorthodox conclusion that Principle B of binding theory applies at D-Structure; derived subjects are not subject to it. Thus, disjoint reference does not hold for the subjects of (80b) and (81b) since the position they occupy at D-Structure is different from the one occupied at S-Structure. Assuming that Principle B applies at D-Structure does not contradict the referential possibilities of the pronominal subjects in (80a) and (81a), since these occupy the same structural position at D-Structure and S-Structure.

Nevertheless, such a conclusion faces an additional empirical problem, apart from being at odds with standard assumptions of binding theory. It predicts that disjoint reference effects are not shown by the surface subjects of representations as the following.

- (84) a. María_i insists that she_j/^{*}_i eat.
b. María_i insiste que 0/ella_j/^{*}_i coma.

Recall that the surface subjects of ergative verbs resemble those of passives in that they are derived via NP movement

those of passives in that they are derived via NP movement from a VP-internal position, thus reminding passive formation (Burzio 1986, Belletti 1988). One would have to either maintain that Principle B applies at LF and thus leave the facts in (80b) and (81b) unexplained or conclude that Principle B applies at D-Structure, in which case the contrast of (80b) and (81b) versus (84) is not accounted for.

It should be kept in mind that the syntactic level at which the binding requirements of the anaphoric tense are satisfied should also be determined. If we assume that the binding requirements of the subjunctive tense are satisfied at LF (since it is clearly an anaphoric element), the first alternative amounts to saying that the whole complex binding relationship of the embedded subject of a subjunctive clause is satisfied at LF, at the expense of not explaining the facts in (80b) and (81b). On the other hand, adopting the claim that Principle B applies at D-Structure is rather unmotivated on general grounds and would create a number of problems far more complicated than the issues I am trying to solve. Furthermore, it fails to account for the referential possibilities of the embedded pronouns in (84).

A third possibility could be explored. It is conceivable that Principle A does in fact apply at D-Structure but only when the bindee is [-N], such as the anaphoric tense of subjunctives.²⁷ To my understanding, this modification will not have further consequences for binding theory, as BT has

not attempted to account for the behavior of elements such as anaphoric tense.

Having made the above suggestion, it must be determined whether it is empirically correct to maintain that the binding requirements of the governee of the anaphoric tense, i.e., the subject pronoun, are satisfied at LF, thus resulting in a combination that is not inconsistent with current claims of syntactic theory. Unfortunately, this suggestion fails to explain the contrast displayed by surface subjects of passives on one hand and unaccusatives on the other.

Consequently, I will propose the following alternative for the accommodation of the binding facts manifested by sentences as in (80), (81) and (83).

(85) Principle A applies at D-Structure if the relevant anaphoric element is [-N].

(86) Principle B applies at D-Structure for an argument pronoun, if the binding requirements of its governor have to be satisfied at that level as well. Otherwise, both Principles apply at LF.

(86) accounts for the facts in (80b) and (81b). The embedded pronouns in both sentences are not subject to the disjoint reference effects since they are argument pronouns governed by an anaphoric element and, according to (86), their binding requirements are satisfied at D-Structure. Subjects of ergative verbs are not affected by this modification since they do not involve a subject argument pronoun at D-Structure; thus, the binding requirements of their pronominal subjects of (84) are met at LF and their referential possibilities pattern

those of transitive verbs.

3.5.3. Anaphoric Tense in C^0

In this section I will focus on the nature and the precise structural position of the anaphoric tense that has been postulated for the subjunctive complements that manifest subject obviation. Raposo and Meireles have called the dependent tense of subjunctives [TENSE], clearly disassociating it from the morphological tense in Infl, and consider it an operator-like element in Comp. Rizzi (1989) does not address this issue directly but nothing in his line of reasoning seems to contradict this possibility. The general consensus in a pre-'Barriers' framework had been that the anaphoric Tense of subjunctives occupied the Comp position. Within the more elaborate CP structure initiated in Chomsky (1986a) the precise location of this operator in C^0 or in Spec(CP) has to be established.

A parallel issue is addressed in Rizzi (1990) who discusses the precise structural position of negation. He claims that the negative operator (overt or null) occupies the Specifier position of CP thus creating opacity effects on adjunct variables but not on arguments:

- (87) a. How often do you believe that John bathes?
 b. *How often do you not believe that John bathes?
 c. *How often do you doubt that John bathes?

Rizzi attributes the ungrammaticality of the last two sentences to the presence of negation (an A'-Specifier) which

renders antecedent government of the innermost trace impossible.²⁸

Regarding the status of anaphoric tense, if argued that [TENSE] occupied an A' Specifier position, i.e., Spec(CP), comparable ECP violations should arise. Yet the following sentences show that this is not the case. Representation (88a) involves an indicative subordinate which presumably is not associated with a tense operator, while (88b) involves a subjunctive complement clause associated with [TENSE]. Extraction of an adjunct is equally possible from either embedded clause.

- (88) a. Con qué frecuencia crees que Juan se ducha e?
 with what frequency you-think that Juan bathes
 'How often do you think Juan takes a shower?'
- b. Con qué frecuencia quieres que Juan se duche e?
 With what frequency you-want that Juan bathes-SUB
 'How often do you want Juan to take a shower?'

Since (88b) is grammatical, no element in Spec(CP) apparently disrupts the antecedent-government relationship. Therefore, the operator we have been assuming in (88b) does not occupy a Specifier position but the C^0 . This is a desirable result since it is consistent with the mechanism suggested by Rizzi (1989) with respect to subject obviation. Recall that in order for the pronominal subject of the subjunctive clause to be governed by anaphoric tense (cf. proposal (82)), the latter could not possibly occupy the Spec(CP) position.

A related question is how is it that the [TENSE] operator we have been assuming occupies the C^0 position in

representations such as (88b), if C^0 is already occupied by the complementizer 'que'. Nothing in the relevant literature touches on this issue, presumably because the status of the 'anaphoric tense' was never made explicit. In other words it was never made explicit whether [TENSE] actually corresponded to an operator or to a set of features. Since for our approach the status and the location of [TENSE] is essential, something more has to be said.

I would like to propose that those subjunctive subordinates that are associated with limited tense alternations, i.e., are subject to the restrictions in (12), involve a recursive CP construction. While the lower C^0 position is occupied by [TENSE], the lexical complementizer occupies the C^0 position of the higher CP. Subsequently, the [TENSE] operator moves and incorporates into the lexical complementizer and it thus becomes capable of governing the embedded subject and induce obviation (cf. section 3.2.4.)

NOTES

1. Volitional verbs may actually select only for subjunctive complements in Greek; this is also the case in Albanian and Romanian.

2. For Kempchinsky (1985), subject obviation is a result of the fact that the subjunctive operator (located in Infl) moves to COMP at LF and, subsequently, the binding domain of the pronoun extends to the matrix clause. This process does not take place in Romanian because the subjunctive operator is not located in I.

The problems that this account faces on general grounds is that it incorrectly predicts obviation to extend to all subjunctive complements. It is not easy to evaluate the proposal with respect to the Romanian facts, before the terms concerning the functional heads composing IP are updated. It should be pointed out, however, that an explanation of the Romanian facts in (3.3.2) will be rather difficult under the above account.

On the other hand, Bouchard (1983), based on his analysis of empty categories, has explained subject obviation phenomena by resorting to his version of Avoid Pronoun Principle.

3. But notice the contrast between (11a) and the following:
 (i) Credo che fosse americano. (I)
 'I believe that (he/she) was-SUB American.'

4. To be more accurate, both *thelo* 'want', and *elpizo* 'hope', show the following Aspect restrictions with present subjunctive complements.

(i) Thelo/elpizo na grapso/?grafo kala. (G)
 I-want/I-hope PRT I-write-PERF/I-write-IMP well
 'I want/hope to write well.'

5. Notice that the status of sentences such as (19) should not be confused with sentences like in (i) whose matrix predicate appears in the present tense. The matrix predicate in (i) is preceded by the future particle 'tha' here and the structure is entirely different from (19), as it involves a conditional sentence which is grammatical in the presence of a subordinate subjunctive in the past tense.

(i) O Yiannis tha ithele na douleva mazi tou. (G)
 John will wanted PRT I-worked with him
 'John would want that I worked with him.'

6. The following sentences indicate that the term [-Past] should be considered as the morphological [-Past], not as a semantic (or aspectual).

(i) O Yiannis theli na doulevo/*douleva/*doulepsi mazi sou
 John wants PRT I-work/I-worked-IMP/I-worked-PERF

with you

(ii) O Yiannis theli na eho doulepsi/*iha doulepsi mazi sou
 John wants PRT I-have worked/I-had worked with you
 Furthermore, the ungrammaticalities of the above paradigm are slightly less sharp if 'thelo' is replaced by 'pistevo'-believe.

7. I should point out, however, that although aspectual restrictions of the type in (21) are not encountered in the context of indicatives as in (22), they reappear when the indicative subordinate is introduced by the future particle 'tha':

(i) O Yiannis ipe oti tha egrafe/*egrapse
 John said that FUT wrote-IMP/wrote-PERF

8. Comparing (23) to (12), and if we are to define tense restrictions by 'calculating' the number of tense alternations permitted by subjunctive subordinates, languages like Greek and Spanish (plus the rest of the Romance languages mentioned here) should probably be grouped together, since they allow the same number of Tense alternatives. Furthermore, it seems to me that the tense sequence (c), (past-present) which is prohibited in Spanish but is grammatical in Greek, roughly corresponds to the sequence (d), (past-past) in Spanish which is ungrammatical in Greek.

9. Interestingly, Calabrese (1991) reaches the opposite conclusion when discussing Salentino subjunctive complements of volitional predicates. He claims that subjunctive tense is not anaphoric in Salentino and thus obviation should not be expected to hold even if one maintains that anaphoric Tense is the main factor behind it. Calabrese points out that Salentino allows the sequence past-present (but only with perfective aspect), an option which is also allowed in Greek but is impossible in Italian. However, he discusses neither the sequence past-past nor present-past, both of which are impossible in Greek.

10. The term Avoid Pronoun Principle is used here in a much looser sense than in Chomsky (1981, 65). Montalbetti's Overt Pronoun Constraint (OPC) is a more accurate term for the phenomena under consideration.

11. S. Varlokosta pointed out to me that coreference with the matrix subject can be obtained in sentences like (28) if the pronoun *aftos* 'he' is replaced by *idhios* 'himself'. Note that *idhios* is not anaphor; according to Varlokosta and Hornstein (1991) it is a logophoric pronoun which is bound by an operator in the C⁰ position of the embedded clause.

12. An obvious difference is that where in the case of subjunctives the anaphoric tense is manifested in terms of the limited number of morphological tense sequences available, in the case of infinitives the same dependency is expressed in terms of the limited number of aspectual sequences, as in (30).

13. Recall that according to Rizzi (1982) the 0-complementizer subjunctive subordinates in Italian involve I-to-C movement. Thus, they should be expected to behave along the lines of Greek subjunctives, that will be discussed shortly, and display subject obviation when [TENSE] is present. If Rizzi's claims are correct, then the facts from the complementizerless Romance subjunctives might not be sufficient evidence for the claims we have made, but do not present counterevidence either.

14. I assume that 'mi' is a head mainly because it is construed with tensed predicates. In this I follow Zanuttini (1990) who considers the negative markers that select for a TP complement to be the head of NegP.

15. It does not seem plausible to hold that the embedded subject in Spec(TP) can receive nominative Case by V in Agr⁰. Assuming that Spec(Agr) is existent and is an argument position, I see no reason why the nominative subject cannot optionally occupy the Spec(AgrP) position, after it has already been assigned nominative Case, as it has often been argued for languages in which nominative Case assignment takes place in Spec(VP) (Koopman and Sportiche 1988). That this option does not arise is confirmed by the impossibility of the order PRT-Subject-Verb in Greek.

16. See Raposo (1989) for a discussion of comparable facts in the context of the prepositional infinitival constructions in European Portuguese.

17. Dobrovie-Sorin (1991) takes the postverbal subject in (48b) to occupy its base-generated position in Spec VP. Its inability to appear before 'să' is attributed to the fact that there is no A-position available.

18. Subsequently, Dobrovie-Sorin does not accept the existence of the distinct empty category PRO which is simultaneously pronominal and anaphoric. Instead, she holds that the infinitival subject is an anaphor.

19. Note that adjacency of COMP1 and PRT is not widely acceptable in Romanian. In Albanian, the status of the same sequence has a less marked status, but is, nevertheless, not perfect.

20. Another instance in which the existence of an infinitival structure and subjunctive subordinate in the same context does not give rise to obviation, and thus consists a new problem for Farkas' approach is the following (additional counterevidence for this approach is discussed in footnote 24).

Coreference between subjunctive subject and matrix object may hold in (i) despite the fact that the same coreference can be obtained by the object control structure in (ii).

- (i) María_i convenció a Juan_j que pro_{j/k/*i} estudiara
 Mary convinced John that studied-SUB
 'Mary convinced John that he study.'
- (ii) María convenció a Juan estudiar.
 'Mary convinced John to study.'

The subject orientation of the phenomenon of subject obviation is suggestive of an account along the lines of Hestvik (1990) which argues for an LF movement of pronouns to a position adjoined to INFL (presumably the matrix rather than the embedded INFL in this case).

21. A problem for such a proposal is that, for some speakers, pre-PRT material is acceptable in the absence of a lexical complementizer if it is a 'contrasted constituent' (Farkas 1988). We thus arrive at the rather unrestricted conclusion that for a number of speakers a topicalized constituent does not require government by a lexical complementizer. The same conclusion would hold for Greek as well, since pre-PRT subjects are also acceptable with a contrastive intonation.

22. Notice, on the other hand, that an 'if' is compatible with the future particle *tha*.

- (i) Den ksero an tha fao prin figo.
 Not I-know if FUT I-eat before I-leave
 'I don't if I will eat before I leave.'

23. Sentences like 'John knows how to read' are translated in Greek as 'John knows PRT reads'. Therefore it should not be thought that the ungrammaticality of (71b) is due to the absence of an element like 'how'.

24. These two sentences offer additional counterevidence for the account that considers subject obviation to appear only when an infinitival complement clause is not available for the same predicate.

lamentar 'regret', as well as *no creer* 'don't think' may select for infinitival subordinates in Spanish.

- (i) Juan lamenta/no cree no haber estudiado mucho.
 John regrets/not thinks not to-have studied much
 'John regrets/doesn't think not having studied much'

Nevertheless, when the same verb predicates are construed with a subjunctive complement clause, subject obviation is not present, as shown by (75b).

25. It is not obvious whether the more liberal tense alternation of the subjunctive complement of (79a) - repeated below as (i) - versus the more restricted one of (ii) is due to the fact that the second structure, unlike the first, involves a negative epistemic, contrary to the first.

(i) Den pistevo na ipies/epines poli
 Not I-believe PRT you-drunk-PERF/you-drunk-IMP much
 'I don't believe you drank/were drinking much.'

(ii) O Yiannis pistevi na ??doulevo/*douleva mazi sou.
 John believes PRT ??I-work/*I-worked with you.

Notice, that if the matrix subject of the negative epistemic is 3sg, the sequence present-past is disallowed.

(iii)*O Yiannis den pistevi na ipies/epines
 John not believes PRT you-drunk-PERF/IMP

On the other hand, the positive counterpart of (i) retains its grammaticality.

(iv) Pistevo na efages/etroges kala
 I-believe PRT you-ate-PERF/you-ate-IMP well

I believe that the right generalization for epistemics might be captured by the unusual statement that they may select for subjunctive complement clauses only when they appear in 1sg.

Thus compare the Italian facts in (11a) (plus footnote 3) where a somewhat comparable asymmetry is demonstrated. It is shown there that while the tense sequence present-past is not allowed with a subjunctive complement of 3sg form of *credere*, when that appears in 3sg, the same sequence is grammatical when the matrix predicate is 1sg.

26. A comparable type of switch in referential possibilities of infinitival complements of 'promise' has been pointed out by Larson (1991).

(i) John promised Mary to leave.

(ii) John promised Mary to be allowed to leave.

Larson claims that the interpretation of PRO in (ii) is not determined by control but rather through entailments that have to do with the dative character of *promise*. In other words, PRO in (ii) is without a surface controller, like in (iii).

(iii) To be allowed to leave is unusual

For Larson, shifting control is crucially tied to the presence of a dative verb. This is why *persuade* and *force* do not change the referential possibilities.

(iv) I persuaded John to be allowed to leave

On the other hand, not only passives cause shifting control:

(v) The mother promised the children to stay up.

These facts, Larson claims, can be accounted for via the semantics of dative verbs. Datives entail a 'transfer' of the theme out of the keeping of the agent and into the keeping of the goal. But how can 'promise' be dative in (ii) but not in (i). And if there is an answer to that, is this why the antecedent of PRO is picked via control in (i) but through

entailment in (ii)?

It would be interesting to investigate what the two processes have in common. While they seem at first glance unrelated, since the reference of a pronominal subjunctive subject is determined by binding theory and that of an infinitive by control, they might prove to be related in a theory that collapses the two under binding theory (Manzini 1983, Kayne 1991a).

27. Recall that Kayne (1991) and Belletti and Rizzi (1988) hold that Principle A must be met at one level of representation but does not need to be met at all levels.

28. Interestingly, Rizzi's claim concerning the status of negation contrasts with Zanuttini (1990) who consider negation to be a functional head, heading its own maximal projection NegP.

Chapter 4

Clitic Climbing, Finite Infl and the ECP

This chapter will address the phenomenon of clitic climbing primarily in the context of the subjunctive subordinate clauses I discussed until now. The main question we want to answer is why clitic climbing is entirely absent from all the above sentential complements despite the widespread presence of clitics across all Balkan languages. Clitic climbing is a very productive phenomenon within the Romance language group (with the exception of French); the investigation of its absence from the languages of the Balkans is expected to contribute to a better understanding of the conditions required for its occurrence.

It is well-known that clitic climbing in the Romance

languages always involves the presence of control or raising configurations which, within the majority of known languages, make use of nonfinite complements exclusively. Having argued in the preceding chapters for the occurrence of controlled PRO in subject position of a number of subjunctive complement clauses in Greek, Albanian and Romanian, the immediate question is why clitic climbing is never an option in these languages. Since control configurations are associated with finite clauses in the Balkan language group, one has to investigate whether the absence of clitic climbing from this syntactic environment is in some way related to the finiteness of the complement clause or should be attributed to other, independent factors.

I will examine mainly two contexts from which clitic climbing is excluded and I will show that each time it is for a different reason. The first case concerns gerundive constructions. I argue that clitic climbing from gerunds is illicit in Greek because gerunds appear only as nonselected adjuncts; thus clitic climbing results in an ECP violation.

Subsequently, I present the core cases of interest, that is subjunctive complement clauses of subject control predicates. Comparing these sentential complements in Greek to parallel structures from the Salentino dialect of Southern Italy, I argue that absence of clitic climbing in Greek, and presumably in the rest of the Balkan languages discussed here, is not related to the finiteness of the relevant subjunctive

subordinate, but rather is due to the existence of the subjunctive marker which is always responsible for an ECP violation. Therefore, I also argue that the presence of a nonfinite IP or else of a bare VP complement should not be considered as a necessary condition for clitic climbing.

I investigate in some more detail the nature of the subjunctive marker and I compare it with another functional head, negation. I conclude that the different behavior these two functional heads demonstrate with respect to clitic climbing follows from their different status in terms of an A vs. A'-distinction.

Finally, drawing on data from the Southern Italian dialect of Arbëresh, I discuss in brief the relevance of finite INFL for another phenomenon that has often been thought of as being restricted to nonfinite predicates, verb incorporation.

4.1. Pronominal Clitics in Greek

4.1.1 Position of Clitics¹

The only pronominal clitics available in Greek are object clitics.² They bear distinct morphological inflection for accusative or dative Case, and they must always immediately precede the finite verb, in both embedded and matrix contexts.³ Thus, they display behavior similar to their Italian, Spanish and French counterparts.

- (1) a. Ton sinandisa. (G)
 him-cl_{acc} I-met
 'I met him.'
- b. Tou ipa to mistiko.
 him-cl_{dat} I-told the secret
 'I told him the secret.'
- (2) a. Le encontré. (S)
- b. Le dije el secreto.

The interruption of the sequence clitic-verb by adverbs, as in (3a) below, involves only a small number of adverbs which, according to Rivero (1992) function as complements of the verb and are actually incorporated into the verb. Thus, the following contrasts hold with respect to the relative position of pronominal clitics and different types of adverbs.

- (3) a. Ton ksana sinandisa. (G)
 him-cl again I-met
- b. Ton sinandisa ksana.
 him-cl I-met again
 'I met him again.'
- (4) a. *Ton htes sinandisa.
 him-cl yesterday I-met
- b. Ton sinandisa htes.
 him-cl I-met yesterday
 'I met him yesterday.'

Similarly, clitics immediately precede the finite verb in subjunctive sentences, as shown below, where the position of negation is also indicated.

- (5) I Maria theli na (mi) to diavasi. (G)
 Mary wants PRT (NEG) it-cl reads
 'Mary wants to (not) read it.'

Finally, clitics are immediately adjacent to the finite verb in sentences introduced by the future particle 'tha'.

- (6) I Maria ipe oti tha to diavasi.
 Mary said that will it-cl reads
 'Mary said that she will read it.'

Following Kayne's (1991a) proposal with respect to the Romance language group, we can consider all instances of the above clitics to adjoin to the highermost inflectional head with which the verb amalgamates.

Again, like their Romance counterparts, clitics follow the verb in true imperatives, seemingly in contradiction of the generalization adopted above.

- (7) a. Diavase to! (G)
 read it-cl
 b. Leelo! (S)
 read-it-cl
 'Read it!'

I will not attempt any thorough analysis of the structures in (7) here, as they are not of immediate relevance for the issue of clitic climbing. It suffices to mention that Rivero (1988) has considered imperatives in the Balkan languages to involve a V-to-C movement which is responsible for the postverbal position of clitics. Her suggestion is easily transposable to the Romance languages, where clitics also follow true imperatives. Thus, the proposal for a homogeneous starting point for clitic climbing - from a position to the left of the verb - does not have to be abandoned.⁴

What bears more directly on the issue of our forthcoming discussion is the position of clitics in the context of gerunds. Clitics follow gerunds in Greek and in Romance languages, (cf. (8a) and (8b)). The sequence gerund-clitic

has also been considered to derive from a representation as in (9) through verb movement over the clitic rather than base-generation of the clitic to the left of the verb (Rivero 1988).⁵

- (8) a. ...trogondas to. (G)
 b. ...comiendolo. (S)
- (9)*a. ...to trogondas. (G)
 *b. ...lo comiendo. (S)
 '...eating it.'

4.1.2. Clitic Climbing and Gerunds

Clitic ordering in Romance and Greek ceases to be similar at this point, however, since clitics do not raise, and adjoin to the verb that precedes the gerund in Greek, as seen from (10b). Thus (10b) contrasts with (11b) from Spanish, where the clitic is adjoined to the matrix verb. Since the possibility of clitic climbing never arises in Greek, one might be tempted to say that (10b) is ungrammatical because of some general considerations that prohibit clitic climbing in the language, without, however, having provided an explanation for why this is so.

- (10) a. Irtha trogondas to-cl. (G)
 I-came eating it
- b. *To irtha trogondas.
- (11) a. Sigo viéndola. (S)
 I-continue seeing-her-cl
- b. La sigo viendo.
 her-cl I-continue seeing

I will show in the following that the ungrammaticality of

structures such as (10b) is fully predictable. More specifically, I would like to argue that the impossibility of clitic climbing out of gerundive constructions in Greek should be kept distinct from other instances in which clitic climbing is also impossible, as it follows directly from the fact that gerunds appear only as nonsubcategorized adjuncts. Thus, if clitic climbing is regarded as an instance of head movement, the movement that takes place in (10b) would presumably induce an ECP violation.

(12) below shows that the impossibility of clitic climbing in (10b) parallels other types of extraction from gerunds, e.g. wh-movement. Notice, furthermore, the different degree of acceptability between clitic climbing and wh-movement out of gerunds. While the latter process yields a result that is not widely acceptable, the former, (10b), is absolutely incomprehensible.

- (12) a. Irthe trogondas mia spanakopita.
 came-3sg eating a spinach pie
 '(he/she) came eating a spinach pie.'
- b. ??Ti irthe trogondas?
 what came-3sg eating
 'What did (he/she) come eating?'

Given the extraction facts in (10) and (12) it would be difficult to see how one can attribute clitic climbing to sources other than those affected by ECP. Moreover, the contrast between (10b) and (12b) points out that clitic climbing is distinct from wh-movement, and indirectly lends support to the view that it is an instance of head-movement.

Recall that Rizzi (1982) has regarded clitic climbing as one of several phenomena that followed from the syntactic rule of 'restructuring', which applied to certain verbs and their infinitival complements and produced a single verbal complex.

- (13) a. Gianni deve [_{CP} presentare la a Francesco. (I)
 b. Gianni la [_V deve presentare] a Francesco.
 'John has to introduce her to Francesco.'

Apart from a major problem for current developments of syntactic theory, i.e., deletion of the intervening PRO subject, it is clear that the concept of 'restructuring' as introduced by Rizzi cannot explain on principled grounds why restructuring cannot take place when the embedded clause is not a complement of the matrix verb.⁶ Note, that when clitic climbing in the context of a gerund takes place in Spanish, it is usually the case that the gerund is the complement of the matrix verb, as noted by Luján (1980). This is precisely the status of the gerundive subordinate in the grammatical sentence (11b), repeated below. The Greek counterpart of (11) can only employ a subjunctive subordinate, as seen in (14).

- (11) a. Sigo viéndola. (S)
 I-continue seeing-her-cl
 b. La sigo viendo.
 her-cl I-continue seeing
- (14) a. *Sinehizo vlepondas tin. (G)
 I-continue seeing her-cl
 b. Sinehizo na tin vlepo.
 I-continue PRT her-cl I-see
 'I continue seeing her.'

Interestingly, the behavior of nonselected gerunds is

significantly different in Spanish. While judgements diverge as to the acceptability of clitic climbing demonstrated by (15a), there is wide agreement with respect to the status of object wh-extraction from the same context. The latter sentence is essentially identical to its English counterpart with respect to syntactic structure and grammaticality.

- (15) a. ?Lo vine comiendo. (S)
 it-cl I-came eating
 'I came eating it.'
- b. Qué vino comiendo?
 what came-3sg eating
 'What did he/she come eating?'

The slight acceptability difference between the above two sentences (which for some speakers is not present) is presumably due to the different type of movement involved. The sharp contrast between (15a) and (16a), however, is more difficult to explain.

- (16) a. *To irtha trogondas. (G)
 it-cl I-came eating
- b. ??Ti irthe trogondas?
 what came-3sg eating

As a first attempt, I would like to suggest that the contrast between Spanish and Greek with respect to extraction from nonselected gerundive adjuncts can be considered to derive from the different positions to which the gerunds attach in each case. Spanish (and English) gerunds are presumably VP adjuncts. Thus they are properly head-governed by the verb and consequently, extraction out of them is licit. On the other hand, Greek gerunds apparently adjoin higher in the

structure and thus head-government cannot obtain.

Sentences such as (16), which show that the gerundive subject can only refer to the higher argument, support the view that the adjunction site of the gerunds in Greek is higher up in the structure. Compare (16) with (17) from Spanish, for instance, in which the gerundive subjects refers to the lower NP.

- (17) a. pro_i ida to Yianni_j EC_{i/*j} pinondas ... (G)
 I-saw John drinking
 'I saw John while I was drinking...'
- b. pro_i vi a Juan_j EC_{j/*i} bebiendo ... (S)
 I-saw John drinking
 'I saw John drinking...'

To summarize, I presented in this section the first context in which clitic climbing is unacceptable in Greek, i.e., gerundive constructions. The impossibility of clitic climbing from this environment follows rather uncontroversially from the fact that gerunds are nonselected adjuncts in Greek, and, furthermore, they adjoin higher up in the structure than their Spanish or English counterparts. This conclusion is consistent with the line of thinking that considers clitics X^0 elements, which are subject to ECP when moved from their base generated position.

4.2. Control and Clitic Climbing

4.2.1. Absence of Clitic Climbing from Finite Control Structures. Finiteness or the Presence of PRT?

In this section we will shift the discussion to structures

that correspond to the standard 'restructuring' configurations discussed by Rizzi (1982) and try to understand what renders clitic climbing impossible in this type of syntactic environment. In Greek, restructuring verbs select for subjunctive subordinates and disallow clitic climbing, as seen from (18b).

- (18) a. Thelo na to diavaso. (G)
 I-want PRT it-cl I-read
- b. *To thelo na diavaso.
 it-cl I-want PRT I-read
 'I want to read it.'

One might want to argue that this behavior is entirely predictable. After all, (18) does not involve an infinitival subordinate, which is the typical configuration associated with clitic climbing. It should be kept in mind, however, that the precise role that the embedded Infl plays with respect to clitic climbing is still very little understood. This is rather understandable since the attested instances of clitic climbing have always been associated with infinitival clauses, and as a consequence, the question of the role of finite vs. nonfinite INFL never arose.⁷ In other words, virtually all cases of clitic climbing attested in the Romance languages have a clitic to either precede the finite 'restructuring' verb (19b), or to follow the lower predicate of a control (or raising) configuration which is always nonfinite (19a).⁸

- (19) a. Juan quiere leerlo. (S)
 John wants to-read-it-cl

- b. Juan lo quiere leer.
 John it-cl wants to-read
 'John wants to read it.'

A number of explanations have been given for the possibility exemplified by (19). Luján (1980), after an exhaustive presentation of clitic climbing environments in Spanish, concludes that a degree of dependency between matrix and embedded tense is a necessary condition for clitic climbing to occur. Rizzi (1982) holds that the syntactic process of restructuring occurs in representations such as (19b). For Burzio (1986), VP-movement takes place when matrix and embedded subjects are coindexed, as in control and raising configurations, and gives rise to clitic climbing.⁹

Kayne (1989) has attributed an important role to the existence of control and raising configurations, but also to the absence of an overt complementizer. Since lexical complementizers are usually associated with finite clauses, and null complementizers with infinitives, it appears that the latter account bears indirectly on the issue of the finite INFL of the embedded clause.

According to another line of thinking, clitic climbing has been considered possible only when the complement of the 'restructuring' verb is a VP (Picallo 1990, Moore 1992). Put differently, the appearance of the clitic preceding the verb 'want' in representations like (19b) has been considered to follow from the fact that 'want' and 'read' form a monoclausal structure and, as expected, the clitic appears to precede the

finite verb . It then follows that clitic climbing is impossible in the case of finite complement clauses, and presumably in the presence of a lexical C^0 , since the latter implies more syntactic structure than a bare VP. Moore (1992), in the spirit of Li (1990)¹⁰ articulates this condition more explicitly and argues that the presence of Infl always blocks the required clitic-argument relation.¹¹

On the other hand, for Kayne (1989) the infinitival complement clauses of 'restructuring' verbs are full CPs, which are not incompatible with clitic climbing as long as the complementizer is nonlexical and coindexing of matrix and embedded subjects holds (in the sense of the obligatory coreference of control structures or the movement involved in the raising configurations). That the above conditions do not always suffice for clitic climbing to occur becomes evident in the case of Modern French, which differs in this respect from Spanish and Italian.

- (20) a. Jean veut les voir. (F)
 John wants them-cl to-see
- b. *Jean les veut voir.
 John them-cl wants to-see

Kayne associates the ungrammaticality of (20b) with the null subject parameter which, in its turn, is related to the fact that Agr is weak in French but not in Italian. This is manifested by the fact that only in the latter case a pro subject is licensed. Essentially the same idea is advanced in Roberts' (1991a) approach of clitic climbing. Clearly, the

last two proposals cannot explain in any obvious way the absence of clitic climbing in languages like Greek.

Dwelling on the approach that regards 'restructuring' configurations as involving a CP complement, let us briefly look at the interaction of the different conditions required for clitic climbing with particular focus on the role of the embedded Infl. While it has been argued that the absence of a lexical complementizer is a requirement for clitic climbing (Kayne 1989, Roberts 1991a), it has also been noticed that the mere absence of a lexical complementizer is not sufficient. This is true for infinitival subordinates such as in (21), but also for the limited number of subjunctive complements in Italian and Spanish in which a complementizer can be optionally omitted (22) and (23).

- (21) a. Maria odia leggerlo. (I)
 Maria hates to-read-it-cl
- *b. Maria lo odia leggere.
 Maria it-cl hates to-read
 'Maria hates to read it.'
- (22) a. Gianni credeva l'avrebbe vista a Roma.
 Gianni believed her-cl have seen in Rome
- b. *Gianni la credeva avrebbe vista a Roma.
- (23) a. Ruego lo leas lo más rápido posible. (S)
 I-beg it-cl you-read-SUB the most fast possible
 'I beg you read it as fast as possible.'
- b. *Lo ruego leas lo más rápido posible.

The ungrammaticality of (22b) and (23b) can be attributed to the fact that matrix and embedded subjects are not coindexed, as they are not control or raising

configurations. One would not be able to predict, however, whether clitic climbing could indeed take place in case the two subjects were obligatorily coreferent. Obligatorily coreferent subjects generally involve embedded clauses that are nonfinite and are usually associated with a nonlexical complementizer in the Romance languages. The few finite subordinates that allow the option of a nonlexical C^0 are not associated with coindexed subjects. In both (22a) and (23a), for instance, the embedded null subject is free to refer either to the matrix subject or outside the sentence. To conclude, even data like the above from the Romance languages, in which the presence of a lexical complementizer has been factored out, cannot provide clear evidence as to the precise role that the finite Infl plays in disallowing clitic climbing, since coindexing between the two subjects does not hold.

Greek sentences such as the following may be more revealing.

- (24) a. O Yiannis prospathi na to diavasi.
 John tries PRT it-cl reads
- b. *O Yiannis to prospathi na diavasi.
 John it-cl tries PRT reads
 'John tries to read it.'

Recall that I have been arguing all along that sentences such as (24a) are control structures in Greek despite the fact that the subordinate clause is finite. Therefore coindexing holds between matrix and embedded subject. Furthermore, I established in the first chapter, that no lexical

complementizer is present in (24), and that 'na' is part of the inflectional system. This, at first glance, seems to be an optimal environment for testing the hypothesis whether clitic climbing out of finite clauses is possible if the remaining conditions are met. The ungrammaticality of (18b) and (24b) show that this possibility never arises for Greek.

For accounts that consider clitic climbing to be possible in the context of monoclausal structures only, the unacceptability of (24b) is straightforward since *prospathi* 'tries' selects for a finite complement, which furthermore, I have considered to be a CP. From my point of view, it is rather premature to attribute the impossibility of clitic climbing in the above structure to the presence of finite Infl.

The reader has probably noticed that even if one considers (24) a clear instance of a control structure, associated with a null complementizer, an additional intervening factor is involved, the subjunctive marker 'na'. Recall that I have considered 'na' to head the maximal projection Mood Phrase. As a head, it would be predicted to prevent clitics from skipping over it since this would result in a violation of the Head Movement Constraint. Thus, the impossibility of clitic climbing in the context of subjunctive complement clauses, which, according to my claims, are control structures involving a nonlexical complementizer, can equally be attributed to the presence of the intervening head 'na',

and not to be related to the finiteness of the subordinate clause.¹²

This is a plausible hypothesis which could be confirmed if we were able to compare sentences such as (24) to other sentences identical to it in all respects, but in which 'na' was missing. Unfortunately, Greek cannot provide the necessary data. The presence of a PRO subject is possible only in the context of a subjunctive complement, which, in its turn, requires the presence of the subjunctive particle. Similar considerations hold for Albanian and Romanian.

Fortunately, minimal pairs for (24) are available but they are to be drawn from another source. The relevant language is Salentino, and it will be the focus of the next section.

4.2.2. Subjunctive Complementation in Salentino

Salentino is an Italian dialect spoken in the Southern tip of the Salentino peninsula. Calabrese (1991) offers a thorough description and an analysis of a number of aspects concerning the subjunctive complementation of this dialect, which are reviewed below.

The variety of Salentino spoken in the area of Lecce does not lack infinitival complements to the extreme degree manifested by the languages of the Balkan peninsula. Infinitives appear in Salentino as complements of

- a) modal and aspectual verbs¹³

b) verbs of perception

c) causative verbs,

as exemplified by the following Salentino sentences:

- (25) La Maria pote inire.
 Mary can to-come
 'Mary can come.'
- (26) Lu addju istu partire.
 him-cl I-have seen to-leave
 'I saw him leave.'
- (27) Ntsi addju fattu kkattare lu milune.
 to-him-cl I-have made to-buy the melon
 'I made him buy the melon.'

In all other environments in which Italian uses infinitives, Salentino utilizes finite clauses, structurally comparable to the finite subordinates of the Balkan language group. Salentino also introduces subjunctive complements by a particle - this time very close phonetically to the complementizer - but distinct from it with respect to several aspects of its syntactic behavior. It is seen in (28) that 'ku' is the particle introducing the structures of our main concern while 'ka' is the complementizer that introduces indicative subordinates (29).

- (28) La Maria ole ku bbete bbona.
 Maria wants PRT is-SUB good
 'Maria wants (her) to be good.'
- (29) Lu Maryu titse ka Maria ete bbona.
 Maryu says that Maria is good
 'Maryu says that Maria is good.'

'ka' can be followed by the embedded subject (29), but an overt subject cannot intervene between 'ku' and the lexical verb, as seen in (30). Only negation and clitics may occur

between the particle and the verb; thus the string order of (31) is the only sequence available.

- (30) *Lu Maryu ole ku la Maria bbene krai. (S1)
 Maryu wants PRT Maria comes tomorrow
 'Maryu wants Maria to come tomorrow.'
- (31) Oyyu ku nnu le kkatti.
 I-want PRT not them you-buy
 'I want you not to buy them.'

The resemblance between (30) and (31) from Salentino and the Greek sentences in (32) is striking. Albanian and Romanian are also similar with respect to the facts so far.

- (32) a. *O Marios theli na i Maria erthi avrio. (G)
 Mario wants PRT Maria comes tomorrow
- b. Thelo na min ta agorasis.
 I-want PRT not them you-buy

Contrary to Albanian and Romanian, however, and on a par with Greek, we do not find in Salentino a 'specialized' complementizer which introduces 'ku' sentential complements exclusively. Thus, Salentino patterns with Greek in that the presence of 'ku' requires a null complementizer. Furthermore, like in all Balkan languages, 'ku' is unacceptable in the presence of 'ka' which is unambiguously a complementizer.

- (33) *Ulia ka ku bbennu. (S1)
 I-wanted COMP PRT I-come
- (34) *Ithela oti na ertho. (G)
 I-wanted COMP PRT I-come

Calabrese (1991) initially argues that both 'ku' and 'ka' are complementizers. He notices, however, that 'ku' has very peculiar properties for a complementizer. First, it attaches as a clitic to the verb of the clause it introduces (cf. the

word order in (30) and (31) vs. (29)), and, second, its presence constrains the tense morphology of the predicate it introduces.¹⁴ These facts lead him to conclude that 'ku' is synchronically a complementizer, base-generated in COMP, but at the same time it is an inflectional morpheme and, as such, it has to be attached to the verbal head.

I agree with Calabrese that 'ka' is a complementizer, but I will disagree as to the nature of 'ku'. I would like to suggest instead that 'ku' is the counterpart of the subjunctive particles 'na', 'să' and 'të' of Greek, Romanian and Albanian, and, consequently, I will consider 'ku' to be an Infl element which is selected by a nonlexical complementizer. Moreover, I would like to suggest that the relationship of 'ku' with 'ka' be seen along the lines suggested for the Balkan languages.

Recall that I have claimed for these languages that a lexical complementizer in C^0 and a PRO subject in Spec of IP are incompatible in control structures, as their cooccurrence results in a PRO theorem violation. This was clearly evinced by the Balkan languages that have at their disposal subjunctive-specific complementizers. While those complementizers are compatible with the subjunctive marker in configurations not involving a PRO subject (35), they are prevented from obligatory control configurations (36). The presence of the particle, on the other hand, is obligatory in all syntactic environments. I conclude from the above that if

'ku' were also a complementizer we would not expect to encounter it in subject control configurations.

- (35) Ion vrea ca să scrie. (R)
 John wants COMP1 PRT writes
 'John wants to write.', 'John wants X to write.'
- (36) Maria incearca (*ca) să scrie.
 Mary tries COMP1 PRT writes
 'Mary tries to write.'

Salentino, like Greek, does not have a subjunctive-specific complementizer but, as Calabrese (p.c.) points out, 'ku' is obligatorily present in sentential complements of subject or object control predicates (37a). I take this latter fact to support the view that 'ku' is an Infl element rather than a complementizer.

- (37) a. sta tSerku ku/*0 mmne bbau te kkwai. (S1)
 'I am trying PRT go away from here'
- *b. sta tSerku ka ku mmne bbau te kkwai.
 'I am trying COMP PRT go away from here'

Consequently, I hold that the occurrence of 'ka' in structures such as (37) is not ruled out because 'ka' and 'ku' compete for the same structural position, which Calabrese argues is C^0 . Instead, since (37) is a subject control structure and thus involves a PRO subject, the presence of 'ka' in the embedded C^0 position induces a PRO theorem violation.

Subjunctive complements of volitional verbs are accounted for on a par with their Greek counterparts in Chapter 3. The impossibility of 'ka' in this type of structures, i.e., the ungrammaticality of (38), is explained on the basis of independent considerations.

- (38) *Lu Karlu_i ole ka ku bbenne. (S1)
 Karlu wants COMP PRT comes
 'Karlu wants (him/her) to come.'

One might suggest that the selectional restrictions of 'ka' are violated in (38) since 'ka' selects for an AgrP complement only while MP is selected by a nonlexical complementizer.

On the other hand, recall from my discussion of the Balkan languages, that I have considered the postverbal subjects of representations that pattern (39b) (and its identical (38)) from Salentino to be the result of an I-to-C movement. We can thus attribute the impossibility of 'ka' from these representations to the fact that the relevant verb movement would have to land into a filled C⁰ position.

- (38) Lu Karlu_i ole ku bbenne EC_{j/i}
 Karlu wants PRT comes
 'Karlu wants (him/her) to come.'
- (39) Lu Karlu_i ole ku bbenne iddu_{j/*i}
 Karlu wants PRT comes he
 'Karlu wants him/her to come.'

Finally, notice that, similarly to Greek, subject obviation is manifested in the presence of an overt pronoun in Salentino (39), while subject obviation is apparently absent in the presence of an empty pronominal (38). The contrasting reference of the null and overt pronouns in the above pair can at first be thought to follow from some version of the Avoid Pronoun Principle. Calabrese (p.c.) points out, however, that the disjoint reference in (39) is much stronger than in a comparable structure that involves an embedded indicative. Recall from section 3.2.3. that an identical contrast holds for the postverbal lexical subject pronouns of indicative and

subjunctive subordinates in Greek. Consequently, the rest of the analysis offered there can extend to Salentino. We can thus argue that the apparent lack of subject obviation from (39a) is due to the fact that it is also associated with the two representations in (25) proposed in Chapter 3 for Greek.

To return to the major concern of this chapter, we should point out that clitic climbing is absolutely impossible from subjunctive complements as in (37) or (38) - as is demonstrated by the ungrammatical (40b) - despite the fact that the phenomenon is present in the context of the nonfinite complement clauses (25)-(27) in Salentino. We have assumed so far that the absence of clitic climbing from similar structures in the Balkan languages is due to the presence of M^0 head rather than to the finiteness of the embedded clause. I would like to suggest that identical considerations explain the ungrammaticality of (40b) below.

- (40) a. Oyyu ku le kattu. (S1)
 I-want PRT them-cl I-buy
 'I want to buy them.'
- b. *Le oyyu ku kattu.
 them-cl I-want PRT I-buy

It thus seems that we have reached the same point here as after the investigation of the Greek data in (24). In order to be able to convincingly support the claim that clitic climbing is impossible in (40b) because of the presence of the subjunctive particle which induces a HMC/ECP violation, we have to find a structure identical to (40) in all respects except for the fact that 'ku' may be absent and compare its

behavior. This minimal pair is fortunately available and it comes from the variety of Salentino spoken in Brindisi and Taranto.

4.2.3. Clitic Climbing from Finite Subordinates

Salentino of Brindisi (and Taranto) is similar in all relevant respects to the variety of Salentino discussed in the previous section (Calabrese 1991). It also lacks most infinitival complements and the finite verbs utilized in the same syntactic environments are introduced by the particle 'ku'. Yet, the two varieties demonstrate a striking difference. When matrix and embedded subjects are coreferent in Salentino of Brindisi, the particle 'ku' may, but does not have to, be omitted. Thus the ungrammaticality of (42b) is presumably due to the fact that deletion of 'ku' takes place in an environment where coindexing of matrix and embedded subjects does not hold.¹⁵

- (41) a. Voggyu ku kkattu nu milune. (S1)
 I-want PRT I-buy a melon
 'I want to buy a melon.'
- b. Voggyu kkattu nu milune.
 'I want to buy a melon'
- (42) a. Voggyu ku vvyeni kray.
 I-want PRT you-come tomorrow
 'I want you to come tomorrow.'
- b. *Voggyu vvyeni kray.
 'I want you to come tomorrow.'

What is of more interest for the present discussion is that when 'ku' is omitted, clitic climbing may take place in

this variety (43d). Clitic climbing is now not obligatory, as was the case with infinitival complements of modal and causative verbs in (26) and (27). Thus, both (43a) and (43d) are grammatical.

- (43) a. Voggyu ku lu kkattu. (S1)
 I-want PRT it-cl I-buy
- b. Voggyu lu kkattu.
 I-want it-cl I-buy
- c. *Lu voggyu ku kkattu.
 it-cl I-want PRT I-buy
- d. Lu voggyu kkattu.
 it-cl I-want I-buy
 'I want to buy it.'

Representations such as (43d) constitute the only known case in which clitic climbing out of a finite sentence has ever been attested, and they offer the necessary empirical evidence to argue for the fact that nonfiniteness of the sentential complement of the restructuring verb is not as necessary condition for climbing to take place. Put differently, (43d) offers strong counterevidence for accounts that consider clitic climbing to be possible only in the presence of infinitives, as infinitives have often been considered to lack an Infl projection.

Calabrese (1991) holds that the grammaticality of (43d) versus the ill-formedness of (43c) follows from the fact that 'ku' - which he considers a complementizer - is absent in the former. I attribute the ungrammaticality of (43c) to the interference of 'ku' as well, but I have ascribed 'ku' the status of an Infl head instead. As we will see shortly, while

clitic climbing is possible in the presence of some lexical complementizers it is sharply ungrammatical over M^0 , a difference that also points towards the direction that PRT is not a C^0 .

Nevertheless, the two different views do not have drastically different consequences for clitic climbing *per se* since the impossibility of clitic climbing in the majority of Balkan languages will still follow as a violation of the Head Movement Constraint. The difference between the two views is due to the type of head that is held responsible for the relevant; while Calabrese takes it to be the C^0 , it is the M^0 for me.

A related digression one should mention here is that although Calabrese considers 'ku' a complementizer, he does not neglect to indicate that it is significantly different from the complementizer 'ka'. He does not fail to point out that the former further cliticizes onto the verb, thus demonstrating simultaneously the properties of an Infl element. He thus seems to differ in an interesting way from Dobrovie-Sorin who considers the comparable Romanian particle to be sometimes a C^0 and at other times an I, depending on the syntactic environment. Calabrese ascribes 'ku' always the same status, which is, however, an element different from either one of the above.

To summarize, the data in (43) are indeed revealing. When combined with what we know about the structure of subjunctive

complements of languages such as those of the Balkans and the dialects of Southern Italy, they clarify a number of issues with respect to the phenomenon of clitic climbing which would have otherwise been based exclusively on facts from infinitival subordinates. We can now say that in order for clitic climbing to occur with restructuring verbs, coindexing between the two subjects (in the sense of obligatory coreference or impossibility of conindexing) must necessarily take place. On the other hand, the occurrence of a nonfinite subordinate does not seem to be a necessary condition. Finally, no further insights as to the role of a lexical complementizer have been offered. It appears, however, that accounts which consider clitic climbing possible only from VP complements of 'restructuring' verbs cannot be maintained in the light of the data we have been discussing (Picallo 1990, Moore 1992).

The Salentino facts support the view that clitic climbing from the finite control structures of the Balkan languages is impossible not because the relevant configurations involve finite subordinates, but because these languages do not have the option of omitting the subjunctive marker. The occurrence of M^0 , which is not present in the Romance comparable structures, appears to be the crucial factor that renders clitic climbing impossible in the Balkan language group.

4.3. The Subjunctive Particle and the ECP

4.3.1. Subjunctive Head and Negative Head

In this section we will consider in some more detail the following question: why is clitic climbing over the subjunctive particle ungrammatical, i.e., what is the precise nature of the violation involved? We take the Head Movement Constraint to be reducible to the ECP (Chomsky 1991) and clitic movement over the subjunctive particle to follow as an ECP violation. Since we have adopted a conjunctive formulation of the ECP according to which a trace has to be both head-governed and antecedent-governed, the precise type of violation involved should be explained along these lines.

The question as to what role the subjunctive marker plays with respect to clitic climbing is also expected to contribute to a better understanding of the properties of the subjunctive marker itself. Recall that so far I have assumed with Rivero (1988) and also Motapanyane's (1991) that the subjunctive markers (PRTs) are inflectional heads, M^0 s, that head their maximal projection Mood Phrase. As such, the subjunctive markers are expected to block head movement, as was demonstrated by (24) and is repeated below in (44b).

- (44) a. O Yiannis prospathi na to diavasi. (G)
 John tries PRT it-cl reads
- b. *O Yiannis to prospathi na diavasi
 John it-cl tries PRT reads
 'John tries to read it.'

The ungrammaticality of (44b) can be attributed to the fact that the trace of the clitic fails to be properly head-

governed. But why can't 'na' head-govern the trace of the clitic and render clitic climbing possible? A major portion of the discussion that follows aims to answer this question.

I will first consider a related set of facts which demonstrate that clitic climbing is illicit over another functional head, negation. Zanuttini (1990) has attributed the ungrammaticality of (45b) to an ECP violation induced by the presence of negation, which she considers to be an X^0 element that heads the maximal projection Neg Phrase.

- (45) a. Devo non parlarti. (I)
 I-must NEG to-talk-to-you-cl
 'I must not talk to you.'
- b.??Ti devo non parlare.
 to-you-cl I-must NEG to-talk
 'I must not talk to you.'

When comparing the above two pairs of data, (44) and (45), we should notice that while clitic climbing over the subjunctive particle is always sharply ungrammatical across all Balkan languages (44), the judgements are not equally straightforward with respect to clitic climbing over negation; this is illustrated in Italian, for instance, by the questionable but not flatly ungrammatical status of (45b). Clitic climbing over negation is even considered acceptable by a number of Spanish speakers as shown by (46), (Treviño 1991).¹⁶

- (46) Lo puedo no comer. (S)
 it-cl I-can NEG to-eat
 'I can not eat it.'

In light of these data one wonders whether the claim that negation is a head is on the right track. Although evidence

other than clitic climbing has been adduced to support NEG as a functional head, the behavior NEG demonstrates with respect to clitic climbing is rather surprising. Put differently, if both Neg^0 and M^0 were functional heads, why is it the case that while the latter renders head movement entirely impossible and the former is more relaxed? Possible answers are that either NEG is not actually a head or that both NEG and PRT are heads but of a different kind. In what follows I will pursue the second alternative.

More precisely, I would like to propose that although NEG and PRT are both functional heads, they are heads of a different type and this manifests itself in their distinct behavior with respect to clitic climbing. That Neg^0 and M^0 are dissimilar is intuitively quite obvious, but one has to associate their differences to their structural properties and state them formally. In doing so here, I will draw on Roberts' (1991a) proposals for distinguishing two types of heads, A-heads and A'-heads.

Roberts (1991a) states that although the HMC has been essentially reduced to ECP, it is not adequately treated in the framework of Rizzi's (1990) Relativized Minimality and the conjunctive formulation of the ECP stated there. Bringing together a variety of environments in which head movement occurs, Roberts tries to remedy this situation. In the resulting account he assimilates head-movement to XP movement and argues for the existence of two different types of heads

(A and A'-heads) with different implications for antecedent government.

For Roberts A-heads are relevant for the determination of argument structure or for Case assignment. Thus, A-heads license A-chains (by assigning Case or θ -role), while A'-heads license A'-chains. T^0 and C^0 are therefore considered A'-heads while Agr^0 and V^0 are A-heads. Extending his proposal to negation, Roberts considers it an A'-head as well, a proposal that I will also adopt.

I would also like to extend Roberts' approach to the investigation of the nature of M^0 . More specifically, I would like to suggest that the subjunctive markers of the Balkan languages and the Southern Italian dialects are A-heads, rather than A'-heads. Notice, that from what I have said so far, it is not clear whether M^0 has a θ -role to assign, and I showed in Chapters 2 and 3 that it is unlikely that M^0 can assign nominative Case to a subject that occupies its Specifier position. Nevertheless, based on the fact that the Spec(MP) is an argument position (since it is capable of hosting a PRO subject) I will consider the subjunctive markers of the Balkan languages to be A-heads. This is the major distinction that differentiates M^0 from the functional head Neg^0 . It now remains to be shown what precise effect is of each of the above heads has on the movement of clitics.

I will answer this question by extending Roberts' distinction, designed for antecedent-government to apply to

head-government.¹⁷ I would like to suggest then that A-heads do not qualify as head-governors for the traces left behind by A'-movement. The head-government requirement of the latter type of traces may be satisfied by a head of the same type, i.e., A'-head. With the above in mind, let us now see how the facts in (44)-(46) are accommodated.

In (44b) the clitic has moved over the subjunctive particle in an instance of A'-movement. Thus, the head-government modification I suggested is not satisfied since the trace left by the clitic is head-governed by M^0 which I have considered an A-head. The same type of trace is present in (46), but is now head-governed by negation which is an A'-head. Thus the reformulation on head-government part of ECP that I suggested is satisfied since I have considered an A'-head to be capable of head-governing the trace left by A'-movement.

Notice that the above reformulation does not have a clear answer for the intermediate status of sentences as in (46), which, to my knowledge, has not been addressed in the relevant literature either. An investigation of the individual properties of the predicates involved (assignment or not of a θ -role and its relationship with negation in such constructions) is presumably the direction to follow.

4.3.2. Clitic Climbing and Lexical Complementizers

The A vs. A'-head modifications as relevant for head-

government predict that clitic climbing is possible over a lexical complementizer, since C^0 is considered an A'-head. It thus appears to contradict Kayne's (1989) claim, which considers the absence of a lexical complementizer a necessary condition for clitic climbing to take place. The validity of the above claim, however, is questioned not only on the basis of the above proposals but also by the consideration of independent empirical evidence. In other words, it is not entirely clear to what degree the condition on the absence of lexical complementizers for the occurrence of clitic climbing is a sound one.

The possibility of clitic climbing in instances such as the following is perhaps not particularly revealing since 'que' has been considered to occupy the Spec(CP) position (Kayne 1991a) and should not be expected to interfere with clitic climbing.

- (47) a. Tengo que hacerlo. (S)
 I-have que to-do-it-cl
- b. Lo tengo que hacer.
 It-cl I-have que to-do
 'I have to do it.'

Likewise, not much evidence with respect to the role of the lexical complementizer can be offered by (48). It is not controversial to say that clitic climbing is prohibited in (48b) not because of the presence of the lexical complementizer, but because the two subjects are not coindexed. To be more precise, although the null pronominal of (48) can refer to the matrix subject, the relationship is

clearly different from that between obligatorily coreferent subjects (i.e., control cases as in (47)) or subject positions that are associated via a movement process (raising).

- (48) a. Juan dijo que lo tiene (S)
 John said que it-cl has
- b. *Juan lo dijo que tiene
 John it-cl said que has
 'John said he has it.'

The examples below offer solid evidence with respect to the effect of the lexical complementizer on clitic climbing, and show that clitic climbing over C^0 is indeed possible. Clitic climbing can take place in the presence of 'a' in Spanish and Italian, as well as in the presence of the Italian 'di'. Recall that the last two particles have been considered to occupy the C^0 position of the infinitival subordinate in Italian (Cinque 1990, Kayne 1991a), a proposal that can presumably extend to Spanish a.

- (49) a. Empiezo a leerlo. (S)
 I-start a to-read-it-cl
- b. Lo empiezo a leer.
 it-cl I-start a to-read
 'I start to read it.'
- c. Piero verrà a parlarti di ... (I)
 Piero will-come a to-talk-you-cl about ...
- d. Piero ti verrà a parlare di ...
 Piero you-cl will-come a to-talk about ...
 'Piero will come to talk to you about...'
- e. Mario finisce di batterla a macchina domani.
 Mario will-finish di to-type-it-cl tomorrow
- f. Mario la finisce di battere a macchina domani.
 Mario it-cl will-finish di to-type tomorrow
 'Mario will finish typing it tomorrow.'

In other words, these data confirm the prediction that clitic climbing over an A'-head is possible, and thus support the modification of head-government that I proposed. At the same time they seem to weaken the claim that the absence of a lexical complementizer is necessary for clitic climbing.

Nevertheless, the following facts contradict our analysis, since the impossibility of clitic climbing appears to be related to the presence of 'se/si', elements that have been considered to occupy the embedded C⁰ position.

- (50) a. Non so se farli. (I)
 No sé si hacerlos. (S)
 NEG I-know if to-do-them-cl
- b. *Non li so se fare. (I)
 *No los sé si hacer. (S)
 NEG them-cl I-know if to-do
 'I don't know if to do them.'

An explanation of the contrast in (50) is not simple. A closer examination of the nature of the complementizer 'se/si' would be required before one adopts the suggestion that clitic climbing is incompatible with the presence of lexical complementizers in general, as representations such as (50b) are perhaps the only instances in which a complementizer disallows clitic climbing.

While it is not clear how to express the difference between 'se' and 'a' or 'di' in terms of the A versus A'-distinction that we have been advocating. It should be pointed out that complementizers selected by negative verbs are associated with a set of characteristics not shared by the

rest complementizers (Iatridou and Kroch, 1992). Richard Kayne (p.c.) has suggested, for instance, that the Specifier position of complementizers that introduce indirect questions may be occupied by an abstract operator. This pattern has no parallel for other complementizers where either the C^0 position (cf. (49)) or the Spec(CP) (cf. (47)) is occupied at one time.¹⁸

To summarize, this section showed that clitic climbing in the Balkan languages is prohibited in the context of subjunctive complement clauses which involve a control structure not because a finite complement clause is present, but because such a process presupposes movement over the subjunctive particle which induces an ECP violation. The different status that clitic climbing demonstrates in the presence of a functional head like Neg^0 is accounted for via a reformulation of the ECP that distinguishes between A and A'-heads and accordingly ascribes to Neg^0 and M^0 different roles with respect to head-government. By implication this reformulation argues against the idea that clitic climbing requires the absence of a lexical complementizer.

4.3.3. A Note on Incorporation of Subjunctive Heads

The evidence presented in the last two sections led us to conclude that the phenomenon of clitic climbing is not necessarily associated with the occurrence of a nonfinite complement clause. In this section I will briefly discuss

another phenomenon that has traditionally been associated with nonfinite complement clauses only, i.e., verb incorporation.

Li (1990) has argued explicitly that the reason why verb incorporation (VI) manifests itself only in the presence of causative or modal verbs is because these types of verbs select for a bare VP complement. Stated in his own terms 'a necessary condition on VI is that the matrix verb must be able to take a bare VP as its complement'. Empirical evidence from languages that have at their disposal nonfinite complements, which can often be taken as VPs, proves Li to be essentially right. English causative verbs, for instance, appear to select for a bare VP complement.

- (51) a. Chris made liz laugh
 b. *Chris made Liz to laugh
 c. *Chris made that Liz laughed

I have shown in this chapter that an account of clitic climbing that directly associates the phenomenon with nonfinite complements is on the wrong track. It is worth investigating whether Li's claims with respect to verb incorporation are correct. The languages we are discussing - with the exception of Salentino - provide the appropriate testing ground since they involve causative verbs that select for finite complements.¹⁹

Data from other Southern Italian dialects in which causative complements are introduced by the familiar subjunctive particle show that Li's claim is not entirely

appropriate. Guasti (1991, to appear) has demonstrated that Arbëresh of San-Nicola - an Albanian-related dialect - demonstrates incorporation in the context of a causative matrix verb.

- (52) Lia bon të shurbenj Frankun. (Ar)
 Lia-NOM makes PRT works Frankun-ACC
 'Lia makes Frankun work.'

I should perhaps clarify that for Guasti incorporation in the presence of a causative head in both Italian and Arbëresh, is an instance of S-Structure incorporation, contrary to Baker's (1988) claim according to which incorporation takes place at LF in Italian causatives. The fact that causative and embedded verbs are distinct in Italian (each one having its own inflectional morphology) is, according to Guasti, due to the fact that the additional step of excorporation (a la Roberts 1991b) takes place. This step is not available in languages such as Chichewa, for instance, because of the particular properties of its causative heads. Leaving aside the process of excorporation, the point to be made here is that, contrary to Li's predictions, verb incorporation appears to occur in the presence of a causative head in Arbëresh despite the fact that the embedded predicate is finite.

- (53) Lia i bon të ghojrnj ghibrin (Ar)
 Lia-NOM him-cl-DAT makes PRT reads book-ACC
 ghajarellit.
 kid-DAT
 'Lia makes the kid read the book.'

To be more precise, the element that incorporates into the causative verb is M^0 (Guasti 1991). On the other hand,

Li's claim that incorporation in the presence of a CP complement is not possible seems to be empirically incorrect.

I would like to suggest here that there might be another level of generalization that could capture the same facts. One can simply say that while an INFL element such as the particle 'të' can incorporate, this is never the case with a lexical complementizer. In other words, while Li claims that verbs such as 'say' do not subcategorize for a VP complement in any language and, therefore, cannot incorporate, I would like to suggest that verbs like 'say' do not incorporate because they involve a lexical complementizer and lexical complementizers, contrary to elements like the subjunctive particles, do not incorporate. The reasons for the different behavior of subjunctive markers and complementizers with respect to incorporation in languages like Arbëresh can be attributed to the different status of the two heads, i.e., A versus A'-heads. Thus, verb incorporation can be seen as conditioned by the requirement that it apply only to heads of the same A status. Thus, M^0 incorporates because it, like V^0 , is an A-head but C^0 does not because it is an A'-head.²⁰

The presence of M^0 incorporation in Arbëresh causatives versus the absence of the phenomenon from languages like Greek is parallel to the contrast between Italian versus English causative constructions. Notice that both English and Greek causatives involve ECM constructions and Guasti has conjectured that this property of causative heads is

NOTES

1. I leave out of this discussion the case of possessive pronouns, which are genitive pronominal clitics that immediately follow NPs.

- (i) To vivlio tis.
the book her-cl
'Her book.'

Likewise, I will not discuss the genitive clitics that follow a number of preposition in Greek.

- (ii) Kathisa piso tis.
I-sat behind her-cl
'I sat behind her.'

2. See footnote 4 of Chapter 2 for anaphoric clitics. Also note that the form of the 3rd person pronominal clitics in Greek is identical to the form of the corresponding definite articles.

3. The order is significantly different in Cypriot Greek, partly reminiscent of the clitic ordering in Portuguese (Spencer 1991).

- (i) Ida ton.
I-saw him-cl
'I saw him.'
- (ii) *Ton ida.
him-cl I-saw
'I saw him.'
- (iii) I Maria ide ton.
Mary saw him-cl
'Mary saw him.'
- (iv) *Den ida ton.
NEG I-saw him-cl
'I didn't see him.'
- (v) Den ton ida.
NEG him-cl I-saw
'I didn't see him.'
- (vi) Ipa oti ida ton.
I-said that I-saw him-cl
'I said that I saw him.'
- (vii) *Ipa oti den ida ton.
I-said that NEG I-saw him-cl
'I said that I didn't see him.'
- (vi) Ipa oti den ton ida.
I-said that NEG him-cl I-saw
'I said that I didn't see him.'

Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek behave essentially the same with respect to clitic ordering in the environment of subjunctive clauses.

4. I should point out here that Albanian is the exception to the order positive imperative - clitic, which appears to be the general pattern in all languages discussed here. (i) shows that the order clitic - imperative is possible as well.

- (i) a. Shkurçc!
 'shorten.' (2sg)
 b. Shkurtomë!
 shorten me-cl
 'shorten for me.'
 c. Më shkurto!
 me-cl shorten

It seems more plausible that the V-to-C movement postulated for imperatives is optional in Albanian, rather than go along with Kayne's (1991b) proposal for Italian negative imperatives, namely, that the imperative is embedded under a null modal in (ic). While the Italian negative imperatives discussed by Kayne involve an embedded infinitive, the paradigm from Albanian is an instance of a true imperative that under no circumstances ever appears embedded under a higher predicate. Notice, that in a quite exceptional way, true imperatives can also be preceded by negation in Albanian.

- (ii) Mos ki merak!
 NEG have worry
 'Don't worry.'

Initially, these facts seem to be problematic for Zanuttini's (1990, 1991) proposal, which suggests that imperatives in general do not involve a TP projection, and therefore cannot be negated. For a thorough evaluation of that approach, however, one should keep in mind at least another set of potentially related facts from Albanian.

Recall from Chapter 1 that, in a manner uncharacteristic for Balkan languages, Albanian allows the negative particle 'mos' to also precede the subjunctive particle, when the subjunctive structure is used as an imperative. In light of (iii) one might then want to suggest that (ii), as well, involves a TP projection in Albanian.

- (iii)a. Mos të shkosh.
 NEG PRT you-go
 'Don't go.'
 b. Të mos shkosh.
 PRT NEG you-go
 'Don't go.'

The order of clitics in the context of plural imperatives is also present below. An account of these facts is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

- (iv) a. Shkurtoni!
 'shorten' (2pl)
 b. Më shkurtoni!
 me-cl shorten
 c. Shkurtomëni!

5. We will not evaluate here whether it is more appropriate to consider the clitic in (9) to be adjoined to IP, as was recently proposed by Dobrovie-Sorin, or to an empty I, as proposed by Kayne (1991a) for Romance infinitives. Neither account runs into additional complications that would require a mechanism of excorporation in order to obtain the order gerund-clitic of (8).

Dobrovie-Sorin (1991, 1992) thus differs from Kayne (1989), who takes clitics to adjoin to the highermost inflectional head, and she considers them to adjoin to the highermost maximal projection instead. The advantage of D-S's position is that verb and clitic never have to amalgamate when the verb picks up inflectional morphology. The result of Kayne's (1991a) account is the same since he considers the infinitival verb to skip over the highermost functional head, which is nonlexical and to which the clitics attach.

6. One may point out that although Rizzi's (1982) idea of 'restructuring' seems unsatisfactory within current developments of syntactic theory, it is perhaps not very different from current accounts of similar facts in terms of incorporation (Baker 1988, Li 1990).

7. Recall that while Kayne (1989) attributes a crucial role to INFL for the phenomenon of clitic climbing, he is concerned with the contrast of weak vs. strong Infl in relation to French and Italian, for instance, and not with the relevance of infinitival Infl.

8. We should mention here the case of Sardinian with obligatory clitic climbing. Also note the Romanian facts of footnote 6, Chapter 2 and the data from Salentino in (26) and (27) in this chapter.

9. Recall that Burzio's VP-movement idea was not only consistent with but perhaps necessary for its times since clitics and their antecedents were taken to be subject to Principle A and, therefore, required to appear within the same minimal domain.

10. Li (1990) has argued explicitly that the absence of INFL is a necessary condition for verb incorporation to take place. According to him, verb incorporation is rendered impossible in a finite complement clause since the verb movement associated with it violates ECP.

11. Moore (1992) has adopted a base-generation theory of clitics, where clitics stand in an 'argument' relationship to their argument positions, which they must head-govern.

12. Notice that the view that clitic climbing is impossible in structures such as (24) because of the presence of the subjunctive particle 'na', does not put me in a better position than accounts that exclude clitic climbing entirely from structures that involve an embedded Infl (Moore 1992, Picallo 1990). The crucial difference, which will become clear in subsequent sections, is that while the latter accounts predict the impossibility of clitic climbing even when the subjunctive marker is absent from structures as in (24), my analysis predicts the opposite.

13. Interestingly, clitic climbing is obligatory in (25)-(27).

- (i) Lu addju ntsinnatu a ffare. (S1)
 It-cl I-have begun to-do
 'I have begun to do it.'

Compare this with the clitic climbing phenomena in the presence of an aspectual matrix verb in Romanian and Spanish, all of which subcategorize for an infinitival subordinate and utilize the particle 'a'. While clitic climbing is obligatory in Salentino, it is impossible in Romanian, but optional in Spanish.

- (ii) a. Am inceput a-l mînca. (R)
 I started a-it-cl to-eat
 b. *L-am inceput a mînca.
 (iii) a. Empecé a comerlo. (S)
 I-began to-eat it-cl
 b. Lo empecé a comer
 it-cl I-began to-eat

The presence of 'a' in (i) clearly argues for the fact that the complement of 'begin' involves more syntactic structure than a bare VP. The presence of the infinitival suffix '-re' offers additional empirical support. Consequently, it cannot be argued that the obligatoriness of clitic climbing in (i) follows from the fact that there is no lower functional head for the clitic to attach to. In this light, the claim made by Dobrovie-Sorin (1991) with respect to the obligatoriness of clitic climbing in the context of the limited bare infinitives of Romanian (footnote 6 of Chapter 2) should be reevaluated.

14. Calabrese's notion of tense constraints on 'ku' subjunctive complements is conceptually different from the one we presented in the second chapter. His account of the phenomenon is quite distinct as well.

15. It is not immediately obvious what the parameter is (if any) that allows Salentino of Brindisi the option of not lexically realizing M^0 . Preliminary research by Calabrese (p.c) indicates that M^0 cannot be nonlexical in object control configurations. Thus an interesting association emerges between this observation from Salentino and the fact that clitic climbing, in the languages which demonstrate this

phenomenon productively, never takes place in the context of object control configurations.

16. While Treviño agrees in that clitic climbing over negation is blocked in the context of causative and subject control verbs, she claims that it is indeed possible in the context of modals.

17. While my proposal considering the A vs. A'-head distinction as relevant for head-government captures the instances that concern us here, it also successfully explains the facts that concern Roberts, i.e., the Long Head Movement of Lema and Rivero (1989) and the V-adjunction to IP of Kayne (1991a).

18. A more refined generalization concerning clitic climbing could be instructive in understanding the relevant facts. While clitic climbing is absolutely impossible over A-heads, such as the subjunctive particles, the possibilities of clitic climbing over an A'-head, such as NEG and C⁰ varies.

19. As shown by (25), Salentino causative verbs select for infinitival complements which appear to behave like Standard Italian causatives.

20. This conclusion contradicts at first glance Pesetsky's recent claims that structures such as the following involve the incorporation of a nonlexical complementizer into the matrix verb.

(i) John believes Mary to be innocent.

We are thus led to propose that while lexical complementizers are A'-heads, nonlexical complementizers are not, which seems like a rather ad hoc proposal.

Notice, however, that on the basis of entirely different considerations, Pesetsky (citing (Li p.c.)) arrives to similar conclusions. He notes at first that we do not find languages in which the following representations are possible.

(ii) Mary [_C that] said [_C t_i] the world is round

Consequently, he is led to propose the following principle, 'hoping that it is an explainable property of grammar'.

(iii) C may not raise when phonologically overt.
(Pesetsky 1991)

Chapter 5

Licensing Conditions

for PRO

This chapter investigates the licensing conditions for the empty category PRO. The motivation for this task is offered by the fact that a number of phenomena identified under control are found in the context of finite environments in the languages of the Balkans. Therefore, standard claims of binding theory which relate control to the presence of PRO cannot account easily for the occurrence of PRO in the above group of languages.

I will begin by presenting and evaluating a number of approaches that are apparently adequate for the types of facts under investigation, but happen to deviate in different degrees from the standard positions of syntactic theory that

I have so far been adopting. Subsequently, I will demonstrate that the standard LGB assumptions with respect to the nature of PRO i.e., that PRO combines the features [+anaphoric] and [+pronominal] and therefore has to be ungoverned, can be maintained while allowing PRO to be the subject of finite clauses such as the subjunctive subordinates of the Balkan languages.

I will adopt and further elaborate an approach which essentially derives the licensing of a PRO subject from type of a verb movement that adjoins the infinitival (or finite) verb of the control configuration to the highest IP node whose Specifier position hosts PRO. The possibility of licensing a PRO subject is then reduced to the well-formedness conditions of the above verb movement. It will follow from this line of reasoning that the existence of the subjunctive marker plays a crucial role in the licensing of PRO in the Balkan languages; moreover, it will be shown that no previous accounts dealing with control effects in finite contexts can accomplish the same results.

In the final section I return to sentential complementation in Greek and compare the subjunctive marker with the particle that introduces sentences in the future tense. I describe the structural differences between the two particles in terms of the A vs. A' distinction I introduced in Chapter 4 and from there explain the related differences between the subject positions associated with each particle.

5.1. Control and Finiteness

5.1.1. Previous Accounts

It is well-known that Government and Binding Theory as formulated in LGB (Chomsky 1981) attributes the distinct properties of null subjects of nonfinite predicates to the presence of the empty category PRO, which combines the features [+anaphoric] and [+pronominal]. It is also known that the majority of the research in binding theory up to that time had mainly focused on West-European languages in which the finite versus nonfinite distinction is rather clear. As a result of how restricted the set of data initially obtained was, major claims concerning the nature of PRO (i.e., that PRO must be ungoverned and therefore construed with nonfinite predicates exclusively) fell short in their ability to account for the nature of PRO in languages in which the above distinction is more obscure or even nonexistent.

Since then a considerable amount of attention has been directed toward languages in which the finite-nonfinite contrast is not particularly clear with respect to both possible directions i.e., languages like Chinese in which verbs are not inflected for Agr (and, perhaps, not even for tense) (Huang 1989) or Persian in which all predicates are finite (Hashemipour 1988). An interesting property which the accounts that examine control phenomena in the above contexts share is that they all abandon at some point the standard assumptions with respect to the nature and the properties of

the category PRO. They either reject the existence of PRO as a distinct empty category entirely (Borer 1989, Huang 1989) or account for its licensing conditions in nonstandard ways (Hashemipour 1988).¹ Put differently, the idea of considering PRO an empty category that is subject to the PRO theorem, and, yet, is encountered in subject position of finite clauses, never yet arose as a possibility.

Borer (1989), based on evidence from a wide variety of languages in which not only null but also overt subjects demonstrate referential properties similar to those associated with PRO, attributes this behavior to the presence of anaphoric agreement. Anaphoric Agr, rather than the category PRO itself, and its relationship to an antecedent in a higher clause, is responsible for the referential properties of infinitival subjects. The latter are, according to Borer, indistinguishable from pro.

Huang (1989), mainly drawing on data from Chinese and English, also merges the two subject empty categories into one, pro. Subsequently, he argues that the anaphoric properties of a number of null subjects derive from the fact that they may be controlled either by Agr or by an NP.

Hashemipour (1988), based on proposals developed in Clark (1985), argues that PRO is present in Persian, despite the fact that it appears in subject position of finite clauses. Accepting the presence of PRO as a distinct empty category, however, does not compel Hashemipour to accept the standard

assumptions about its nature and its licensing conditions. Rather, she considers PRO a variable which is licensed via binding by an operator in Spec(CP) of the embedded clause. Moreover, she holds that one of the members of the A'-chain formed by PRO and its operator has to bear Case. Therefore, one of the primary characteristics inherent in the latter account is that PRO is restricted to environments in which Case can be assigned.

To summarize, it seems to have been recognized by now that the languages in which the finite-nonfinite distinction is not present are not the marked case and, furthermore, that many of these languages possess an empty category whose behavior resembles the behavior of PRO. Yet, none of the relevant accounts have included the idea that this empty category is indeed PRO, in the sense of the distinct null subject argued for by the standard binding theory.

In the rest of this work, I will show that it is feasible to argue for the presence of PRO as the subject of finite clauses provided that a number of assumptions concerning its licensing conditions are modified. The modifications proposed will be done in such a way that basic requirements concerning the nature of PRO, as well as the PRO theorem, will remain intact. But first I will present the reasons that make us believe that previous accounts of control phenomena are not in a position to accommodate the data under investigation.

5.1.2. An Evaluation of Previous Control Accounts as Applied to the Balkan facts

I have been arguing all along that the embedded null subject of sentences such as (1) is of the type PRO.

- (1) a. I Maria prospathi [CP [MP PRO [M na grapsi. (G)
 b. Maria încearcă [CP [MP PRO [M să scrie. (R)
 Mary tries PRT writes
 'Mary tries to write.'

This claim is not only supported by the referential possibilities of the embedded subject in (1), but also by contrasts such as the following:

- (2) a. *Maria nuk di po të shkojë. (A)
 b. *I Maria den kseri an na pai. (G)
 c. *Maria nu ştie dacă să plece. (R)
 Mary NEG knows if PRT goes
 'Mary doesn't know if to go.'
- (3) a. Maria nuk di unde të shkojë. (A)
 b. I Maria den kseri pou na pai. (G)
 c. Maria nu ştie unde să plece. (R)
 Mary NEG knows where PRT goes
 'Mary doesn't know where to go.'

As argued in detail in section (3.4.), the ungrammaticality of (2) is due to a PRO theorem violation, and the contrast between (2) and (3) patterns after the behavior of infinitival subordinates of languages that manifest the finite vs. nonfinite distinction.

On the standard version of binding theory, the presence of PRO in (1), (2) or (3) is rather problematic at first glance, as it appears to be the subject of a finite clause. It is however possible to maintain the assumption that the Spec(MP) position of the above configurations is occupied by PRO if we postulate that this is an ungoverned position. In

doing so, we can attribute to M^0 the status of a head which, while acting as a minimality barrier for government by Agr^0 of the embedded clause, is not a governor itself (Reuland 1983).

Although the above stipulation might enable the standard version of binding theory to explain the occurrence of PRO in Spec(MP) of the Balkan languages, it is unable to explain what licenses PRO in representations such as (4a) from Salentino of Brindisi, where the subjunctive particle is not present. Recall that in this dialect the subjunctive particle is optional in obligatory control configurations (4b).

- (4) a. Voggyu lu kkattu. (S1)
 I-want it-cl I-buy
- b. Voggyu ku lu kkattu.
 I-want PRT it-cl I-buy
 'I want to buy it.'

Let us consider now how the accounts we presented in the previous section fare with respect to the data under consideration. Despite the fact that they depart from standard GB assumptions with respect to the nature of PRO, they are of particular interest, as they address control effects mainly in the context of doubtful nonfiniteness.

It would not be controversial to say that the proposal developed in Huang (1989) reflects the fact that he draws most of his data from languages like Chinese or English with minimal $AgrS$ morphology on the verb. Thus it should not be surprising that Huang's 'Generalized Control' theory is faced with a number of problems when extended to control phenomena encountered in the context of highly inflected languages like

those of the Balkan group. Compare sentences like the following from Greek, for instance; a subjunctive subordinate is present in (5) and we have argued that the Spec(MP) position hosts the empty category PRO. Although the same Agr is present in the indicative subordinate in (6), its null subject is clearly a pronominal whose reference is regulated by Principle B of the binding theory.

- (5) O Yiannis prospathi na diavazi.
 John tries PRT reads
 'John tries to read.'
- (6) O Yiannis ipe oti diavazi.
 John said COMP reads
 'John said that (he/she) reads.'

Huang's account predicts that the embedded subject of both (5) and (6) is controlled by Agr, and, therefore, both embedded subjects are free to refer outside their clause. The account thus fails to explain the different referential possibilities of the null subjects in (5) and (6) and explain why only in the latter pro is 'controlled' by Agr.

Hashemipour's proposal addresses primarily a language in which the finite-nonfinite distinction is absent and all complement clauses are finite; thus, it seems more promising at first glance. However, while her nonstandard account elegantly explains the control phenomena attested in Persian, it appears to be problematic for languages like Greek. This is so because, crucially for her account, while accusative Case assignment takes place from right-to-left in Persian, it proceeds from left-to-right in the Balkan languages.

Recall that Hashemipour regards control as a relationship in which an operator in Spec(CP) of the embedded clause binds a variable (PRO, in our terms) in the controlled position and only one of the positions in this chain can bear Case. In English, the operator in Spec(CP) is presumably Case marked by the matrix verb; therefore the controlled subject is required to be uncased, a fact that indeed holds true for English (7). In Persian, on the other hand, the opposite relationship holds; the operator is uncased, since it appears to the right of the Case-assigning verb (8). This makes it possible for the variable (otherwise, PRO) to bear Case, and thus appear in subject position of finite clauses.

(7) John tries [CP+Case [C⁰ [IP PRO_{-Case} to read.

(8) Häsän däly-kärd [CP-Case [C^{ke} [IP PRO_{+Case} qäzaro
 Hasan tries that food
 eats
 'Hasan tries to eat the food.'

Given the fact that accusative Case is assigned by the verb from left-to-right in the Balkan languages, in order for the above account to be consistent one would have to assume that the embedded subject of sentences such as (9) is not Case marked (and, presumably, not governed either).

(9) O Yiannis prospathi na diavazi.
 John tries PRT reads
 'John tries to read.'

If, however, one were to make these assumptions for the Balkan language group, there would probably be no need to adopt the above account and we could just as well have remained within

the premises of standard binding theory. As discussed earlier, arguing for the presence of a PRO subject within the standard version of binding theory, one would have to make the additional assumption that Spec(MP) is an ungoverned (and, subsequently, uncased) position.

Hashemipour's approach is associated with an additional property that renders it problematic on more general grounds. Since Case plays such a crucial role in her approach, it has the consequence that it fails to account for the licensing of PRO in contexts where Case is not available for the operator which is located in the Spec(CP) of the infinitival subordinate. Consider, for instance, sentences such as (10) from English, as well as from a wide variety of languages in which PRO is the subject of 'real' infinitives. No member of the A'-chain argued for by Hashemipour bears Case in (10), and thus licensing of PRO is predicted to be impossible.

(10) His decision PRO to leave...

The same problem would presumably arise for languages like Greek since we do not have reasons to believe that the Spec(CP) position in (11) receives Case from the noun 'apofasi'. In order to account for the presence of PRO in (11), the above approach would have to assume that the embedded null subject of (11) bears Case. This, however, runs against what one has to assume in order to adopt Hashemipour's account for representations such as (1).

- (11) I apofasi tou na epistrepsi stis IPA...(G)
 the decision his PRT returns to-the US
 'His decision to return to the US...'

Let us now turn to the last of the accounts that we have considered as candidates for a theory that explains the control phenomena attested among the Balkan subjunctive subordinates. Addressing a wide variety of languages, Borer (1989) has attributed the occurrence of control phenomena demonstrated by representations such as (12) to the nature of the embedded Agr. She considers embedded Agr to be anaphoric and thus derives the control relationship from the requirement that the anaphoric Agr - which raises to C^0 - be bound by a higher nonanaphoric element (the controller).

- (12) John tried to sing.

The agreement of the above sentence is indeed different from that exhibited by an indicative subordinate like in (13) in which no similar coreference between the two subjects holds. The different referential possibilities of the embedded subject in (13) follows, according to Borer, from the fact that the Agr of (13) is not anaphoric.

- (13) John said that he sings.

Nevertheless, an approach based on the distinction between anaphoric vs. nonanaphoric Agr, each one of which is associated with different Agr inflection, is not entirely satisfactory in explaining differences like those in (5) or (6), repeated below, from Greek. It would have to explain how the verbal agreement in (5) and (6) differ and furthermore,

how this difference is related to the fact that only in the former case is the null subject referentially dependent on a preceding argument.

- (5) O Yiannis_i prospathi EC_{i/*j} na diavazi. (G)
 John tries PRT reads
 'John tries to read.'
- (6) O Yiannis_i ipe oti EC_{i//j} diavazi.
 John said COMP reads
 'John said that (he/she) reads.'

Representations such as (5) and (6) do not justify in any obvious way the postulation of anaphoric Agr in the former vs. nonanaphoric in the latter case, since the morphological agreement inflection is the same for subjunctives and indicatives.

It might be argued, however, that Borer's account is not to be taken literally, i.e., that anaphoric Agr does not necessarily have to be associated with inflectional morphology distinct from that of nonanaphoric Agr. Recall that another correlation that seems to be equally important for Borer's account is that anaphoric Agr is associated with a nonlexical C^0 exclusively, while nonanaphoric Agr may occur with a lexical complementizer. The first of the previous relationships is crucial in order for anaphoric Agr to be able to move to C^0 and be bound by a higher argument. Recall, however, that the absence of a lexical complementizer is also a requirement associated with Balkan subjunctive subordinates, the only finite representations that can host a PRO subject (cf. (2)). Therefore, given the absence of distinct Agr

inflection associated with Greek subjunctives but given the presence of the subjunctive marker which requires a nonlexical complementizer when a PRO subject is present, one can perhaps argue along Borer's lines that what is actually anaphoric in configurations involving subjunctive subordinates in the Balkan languages is the subjunctive particle *per se*. In other words, one can propose that the anaphoric PRT requires binding by some higher argument and thus needs to raise to C^0 (presumably at LF) which, for this reason, has to be nonlexical. Thus, Borer's account of control phenomena apparently explains not only the referential properties of the null subjects of (1), (5) and (6) but also the contrasts demonstrated by (2) and (3).

At least two types of objections can be raised against the above approach however, the first of which is related to facts specific to the languages of our discussion while the second bears on more general considerations. If one wanted to argue that 'na' is anaphoric in (14) and is thus associated with a PRO subject, the following question is raised: why doesn't the same claim extend to the future particle 'tha', thus allowing it to license a PRO subject as well? The possibility that 'tha' somehow licenses a PRO subject is clearly nonexistent, as indicated by the indices in (15). Therefore, a theory that attributes inherent anaphoric properties to 'na' would have to disassociate 'tha' from them, and I cannot see at the moment any clear way to accomplish

that.

- (14) O Yiannis; prospathi EC_{i/*j}; na kolimbisi. (G)
 John tries PRT swims
 'John tries to swim.'
- (15) O Yiannis; ipe oti EC_{i/j} tha kolimbisi.
 John said COMP FUT swims
 'John said that he/she will swim.'

Furthermore, regarding M⁰ as the anaphoric element that is the counterpart of the anaphoric Agr proposed by Borer, seems to be intuitively on the wrong track, as there is no clear indication that the subjunctive particles are anaphoric in nature. We will show shortly that the occurrence of a PRO subject in the Specifier position of MP can be explained by considerations related to the structural properties of the subjunctive particles, i.e., their status as A-heads.

The second set of data that weakens Borer's account is related to the contrast of (2) vs. (3). While her account explains this contrast, demonstrated by languages like English in representations that involve infinitives, sentences like the following from the Romance languages show that the cooccurrence of PRO with a lexical complementizer is indeed a possibility. These facts argue directly against Borer who claims that 'anaphoric Agr' always requires a nonlexical complementizer.

- (16) No se si comerlo. (S)
 NEG I-know if to-eat-it-cl
- (17) Non so se mangarlo. (I)
 NEG I-know if to-eat-it-cl
 'I don't know if to eat it.'

approach we are adopting and advancing in this work is able to accommodate the contrast of (2) vs. (3) as well as the Romance facts in (16)-(17). Furthermore, it is devoid of many other problems that the previous accounts encounter.

5.2. Governed PRO and Verb Movement

5.2.1. General Background

The reconciliation of the idea that PRO is a distinct empty category which is simultaneously anaphoric and pronominal and yet appears as the subject of finite clauses such as in (1), (2) and (3) will be shown to follow, with minor modifications, from Kayne's recent proposal concerning governed PRO (Kayne 1991a). Exploiting Chomsky's (1986b) idea that the governing categories of a pronoun and an anaphor in subject position are different, Kayne allows PRO to be governed by an element within its own maximal projection, since the PRO theorem continues to be respected this way.² Consequently, as he argues, PRO is licensed via government by the infinitival verb that moves and adjoins to the I', whose specifier position hosts PRO. This is represented in (18) below. Finally, PRO selects its antecedent via binding theory.

(18) ...C⁰...[_IP PRO ...[_I' V_{inf}+[_I'....cl+I

According to the above account, verb adjunction to I' and the licensing of PRO can take place either at S-Structure, as in Spanish and Italian, or at LF, as in English and French. In the first case the results of the V-adjunction to I' are

directly observable, since only then is an overt complementizer compatible with the infinitive, as is demonstrated in (19). The presence of a lexical C^0 does not violate the PRO theorem since the verb that adjoins to I' is a closer governor for PRO, and, at the same time, it is a governor that does not induce a PRO theorem violation.³

- (19). Maria no sabe si comerlo. (S)
 Mary not knows if to-eat-it
 'Mary doesn't know if to eat it.'

In English and French, V-adjunction to I' and subsequent government and licensing of PRO takes place at LF. Thus a lexical complementizer is not possible, as seen in (20), since a PRO theorem violation is already induced at S-Structure and cannot be 'repaired' at LF. In addition, object clitics precede the infinitive in French, in contrast to the clitic ordering demonstrated in the context of Spanish and Italian infinitives.

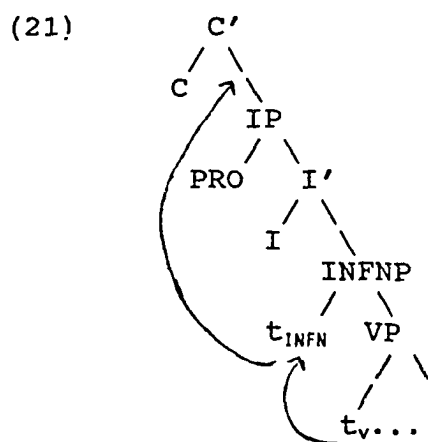
- (20) a. *Marie ne sait pas si le manger. (F)
 b. *Mary doesn't know if to eat it.

In the following I will show precisely how the above verb movement operates. Contrary to Kayne (1991a), however, and in agreement with Kayne (1990), I will take the verb to adjoin to IP rather than to I', thus maintaining a notion of 'directionality of government'. This divergence will not have further consequences for the remainder of the analysis. To anticipate the conclusions reached at, since I consider verb adjunction to IP responsible for the licensing of a PRO

subject, I will show that the presence of PRO is impossible in the cases where the relevant verb movement is illicit.

5.2.2. PRO as the Subject of Infinitives

The following schema illustrates the above proposals by displaying the sentential structure of infinitivals in languages like those of the Romance group. Following Raposo (1987a), Kayne (1991a), Guasti (1991), I will take Romance infinitives to involve the presence of the functional head INFN which hosts the infinitival suffix. The result of the verb movement that according to (18) is responsible for the licensing of PRO is known in advance in this case, since a PRO subject is undoubtedly present as the subject of infinitives. In other words, the movement which adjoins the verb to IP and is responsible for the licensing of PRO is predicted to be well-formed. Let us now see how this movement takes place.



Kayne (1991a) has argued for the existence of another functional head, I^0 , present in infinitivals. It is seen from

(21) that I^0 is nonlexical and is located immediately above INFN. Its existence has been supported by the presence of clitics that have been argued to attach to it. The exact label of this functional head is not entirely clear, although it has also been held that I^0 is the T^0 counterpart of finite clauses. What is more important, however, is that this functional head does not carry lexical material with which the verb must amalgamate. As a result of this, the infinitival verb on its way to adjoining to IP can be taken to skip over I^0 . In doing so the movement does not violate the HMC, since the latter is taken to hold only insofar it reduces to the ECP (Chomsky 1991), and, as will be demonstrated below, the conjunctive formulation of the ECP I have adopted is indeed respected.

The empty category that is crucial in the present configuration is the highest INFL trace, t_{INFN} . Its identification requirement is satisfied via antecedent-government by the IP-adjoined verb. It is not clear whether the adjoined verb can also satisfy the head-government requirement, since it is not in a head position despite the fact that it is an X^0 element.⁴

According to the modifications I introduced Chapter 4, however, the uppermost Infl trace in (21) is head-governed by I^0 . I^0 is an A-head, and, therefore, it is a legitimate head-governor for t_{INFN} which is an A-trace. Notice that C^0 cannot count as a head-governor of t_{INFN} since it is an A'-head.

Thus, it appears that the presence of I^0 is crucial and indispensable for the well-formedness of the verb movement. In its turn, the above verb movement is crucial for the licensing of PRO. Similar considerations will presumably hold irrespectively of whether verb movement takes place at S-Structure or at LF, and will account for the licensing of PRO in languages like Italian, in the former case, and like English and French in the latter.⁵

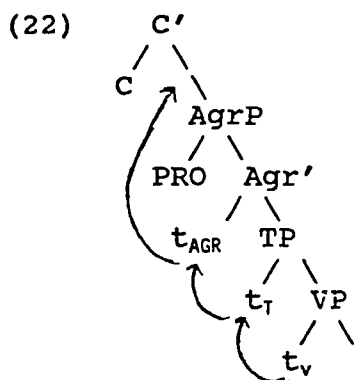
It should be pointed out that things become slightly more complicated when we examine English infinitivals in more detail. That an empty functional head comparable to that argued for in Romance infinitives is present in English and head-governs the highermost Infl trace is not immediately obvious nor does it seem justifiable from independent evidence. Remember that the adjunction site of clitics which offer this type of empirical support for the Romance languages is not available in English. Furthermore, the existence of T^0 for English infinitives is not a widely accepted idea (Pesetsky 1991).⁶

Provided, however, that we adopt the approach presented above with respect to the licensing of PRO, it is plausible to assume that 'to' plays the role in English that the empty functional head I^0 plays in the Romance languages. In other words, the infinitival verb moves over 'to' in English on its way to adjoin to IP from where it governs and licenses a PRO subject. The order of 'to' and the infinitival verb

demonstrates that verb movement in English takes place at LF. That this movement occurs at LF is also consistent with Kayne's (1991a) suggestions concerning control structures in English and French, and, finally, the incompatibility of control structures and lexical complementizers in English is predicted from both considerations.

5.2.3. The Impossibility of PRO as the Subject of Finite Predicates

Let us now consider finite constructions in the same group of languages, but also in languages like English or, perhaps, the rest of the Germanic, and explain why V-adjunction to IP cannot license a PRO subject. We will demonstrate, in other words, how the analysis presented so far ensures that PRO does not occupy the subject position of finite clauses. Omitting irrelevant details, the relevant clausal structure in Romance or Germanic will look like that in (22).



According to what I have said, in order for PRO to occupy the Spec(AgrP) position, it has to be licensed via government by the lexical verb that adjoins to IP (AgrP in this instance). In contrast to the previous configuration, however, the verb

cannot skip over the higher functional head before adjoining to IP because Agr in (22) contains lexical material with which the finite verb has to merge. Therefore, the verb movement in structures that involve finite predicates will always leave a trace in the highest functional head position that will be antecedent-governed by the IP-adjoined verb, but will fail to be licensed via head-government. t_{AGR} cannot be head-governed by the IP adjoined verb because this is an A'-head and, according to the proposals I stated in the Chapter 4, an A'-head cannot count as the head-governor of an A-trace. For much the same reasons, C^0 cannot head-govern t_{AGR} either. Furthermore, there is no other A-head available to head-govern t_{AGR} .⁷

We conclude, therefore, that the reason PRO is not possible as the subject of finite clauses is that the verb movement required for licensing its presence is always illicit, since no proper head-governor is available for the highest trace the verb movement leaves. The same considerations will hold for verb movement at LF, and thus PRO will not be licensed at either syntactic level with finite predicates in the languages of the Romance or Germanic.⁸

Notice that in order for my proposals to be valid it is crucial that finite structures in the Romance or Germanic do not have at their disposal an empty head like that assumed for Romance infinitives. If such a functional head were present in finite contexts then a PRO subject would be

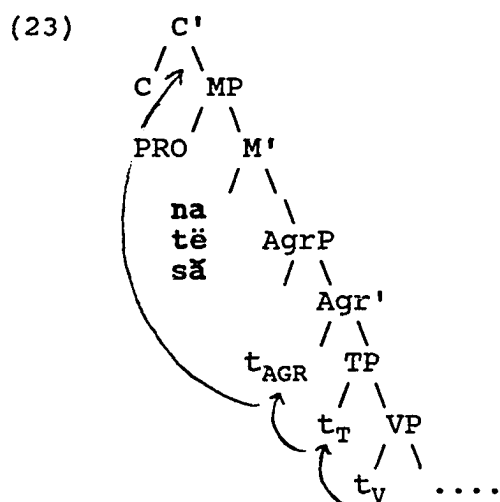
expected to be licensed as well. The absence of such an empty functional head in (22) seems plausible on first consideration, since the nonlexical I^0 postulated for the Romance infinitives corresponds roughly to the T^0 of finite structures, which is lexically realized.

Evidence for the presence of such a functional head in the context of finite subordinate clauses is present in the Italian dialect of Salentino, however. It is not controversial to postulate the existence of a nonlexical M^0 in (4a), repeated below, which has its lexical counterpart in (4b) and reflects the fact that Salentino of Brindisi has the option of omitting 'ku' in obligatory control configurations. The precise role that M^0 plays with respect to licensing a PRO subject will become clear in the section immediately following. To anticipate the results reached there, our proposal predicts that a PRO subject should be possible in (4a), since the existence of the empty M^0 - which I have considered to be an A-head - renders the verb movement required for the licensing of PRO licit. This prediction gives support to the account proposed here and confirms the claims I made in section (4.2.2.) with respect to the structure of the subjunctive subordinates of Salentino.

- (4) a. Voggyu lu kkattu. (S1)
 I-want it-cl I-buy
- b. Voggyu ku lu kkattu.
 I-want PRT it-cl I-buy
 'I want to buy it.'

5.2.4. PRO as the Subject of Balkan Subjunctives

Since I have argued that the empty category PRO is present in the Balkan language group, it is predicted that the verb movement that has been considered responsible for licensing PRO is well-formed in this group of languages despite the fact that the relevant structures are finite. Recall that I have considered the subjunctive markers, *na*, *të*, *să*, to head their own maximal projection Mood Phrase (MP), and, therefore, Balkan subjunctives instantiate the following clausal structure.



The situation appears to be different from that demonstrated by the finite subordinates of the languages discussed in the previous section. Judging from the preverbal position of the clitics in sentences that I argue involve the presence of a PRO subject (24a), the relevant verb movement must take place at LF in the Balkan languages, a proposal that is also confirmed by the incompatibility of subjunctive structures with a lexical complementizer (24b).

- (24) a. I Maria prospathi na to diavasi. (G)
 Mary tries PRT it-cl reads
 'Mary tries to read it.'
- b. Maria încearcă 0/*ca să scrie. (R)
 Mary tries COMP PRT writes
 'Mary tries to write.'

Since the verb in (23) is finite, it also has to pass through each one of the functional heads in order to pick up inflection, thus patterning with the behavior of finite predicates of other languages. The difference, however, between the verb movement in subjunctive complements of the Balkan languages and the finite structures we discussed in the preceding section lies in the final step of the process. Before adjoining to IP (MP in this case), the finite verb moves over the subjunctive particle in (23). Thus, t_{AGR} satisfies the conjunctive formulation of the ECP I have adopted. t_{AGR} in (23) is antecedent-governed by the MP-adjoined verb and head governed by the subjunctive particle, which I have considered to be an A-head.

It seems, in other words, that the verb movement that licenses PRO in Balkan subjunctives resembles the corresponding movement of infinitives in Romance in that it also skips over a functional head immediately before adjoining to IP. The difference is that the crucial functional head (presumably different in nature in the two language groups) is empty in the Romance languages but lexically realized in the Balkan languages. On the other hand, the above head movement is also reminiscent of the infinitival verb movement over 'to'

in English, thus suggesting some additional similarities between the subjunctive particles of the Balkan languages and English 'to'.⁹

Finally, a nonlexically realized equivalent of M^0 can be argued for Salentino of Brindisi, which has the choice of not lexicalizing the subjunctive particle. Thus, the clausal structure of (4a) from Salentino in which it appears that PRO occupies the subject position of a finite subordinate is (25a) rather than (25b).

- (25) a. Lu voggyu [_{CP} [_{MP} PRO [_{M⁰} [_{IP} kkattu. (S1)
 b. Lu voggyu [_{CP} [_{IP} PRO kkattu.

Note that there are two more options that one might consider responsible for the licensing of PRO in the Balkan type of subjunctive subordinates. One can alternatively argue that the PRT-finite verb complex moves together and adjoins to MP or, that the particle alone does so. It seems, however, that both options have to be disregarded since they will both result in a uppermost Infl trace which will fail to be head-governed by an A-head, for the reasons explained earlier.

I conclude, therefore, that the finite verb movement over the subjunctive PRT at LF and its subsequent adjunction to MP from where it governs its Specifier position is responsible for the licensing of PRO in subject position of the finite subjunctive clauses in the languages of the Balkans. The unavailability of the same verb movement in the context of finite structures in other languages, as well as within

nonsubjunctive structures of the Balkan language group follows from the unavailability of an A-head that will be able to head-govern the Infl trace. While having argued for the presence of PRO as the subject of finite clauses, the approach I have followed continues to treat PRO as a distinct empty category that is simultaneously a pronominal and an anaphor and is subject to the PRO theorem.

5.3. The Future Particle

5.3.1. The Future Particle and Licensing of PRO

I referred briefly in the first chapter to the particle 'tha', which introduces matrix or embedded sentences in the future tense in Greek (henceforth FUT). In this section I will undertake a preliminary investigation into the status and properties of FUT and compare it with the subjunctive particle. (26) shows that, as in the context of PRT, it is the lexical verb that bears morphological inflection rather than FUT.

- (26) a. Ipa oti tha ime stin ora mou.
 I-said COMP FUT I-am at-the time my
 'I said I will be on time.'
- b. Ipa oti tha imoun stin ora mou.
 I-said COMP FUT I-was at-the time my
 'I said I would be on time.'

Furthermore, as seen in (27) below, the presence of 'tha' requires an overt complementizer and the string order Neg-FUT-cl is the only sequence available. Thus compare the word order between (27), which involves a complement clause in the

cl is the only sequence available. Thus compare the word order between (27), which involves a complement clause in the future tense, and (28) in which a subjunctive subordinate is present. Notice also the different linear order of negation with respect to each one of the particles.

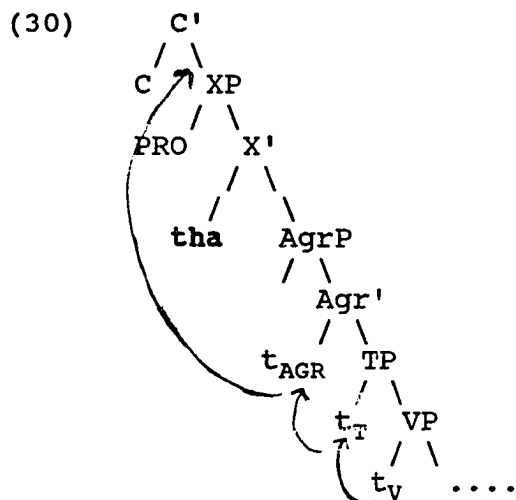
- (27) O Yiannis ipe *(oti) pro/i Maria den tha to fai.
 John said COMP pro Mary NEG FUT it-cl eats
 'John said that (he/she/Mary) will not eat it.'
- (28) O Yiannis theli na min to fai.
 John wants PRT NEG it-cl eats
 'John wants not to eat it.'

The two particles are incompatible with each other, as seen in (29). This incompatibility has been attributed to the fact that the two compete for the same structural position (Rivero 1988).

- (29)*O Yiannis theli na tha/tha na fai.
 John wants PRT FUT/FUT PRT eats

In light of the proposals we have made concerning the nature of the subjunctive particle and the crucial role that it plays in licensing a PRO subject, a number of questions arise with respect to the nature of the future particle. To start with, if both 'tha' and 'na' indeed occupy the same structural position and 'na' is essentially responsible for licensing PRO in Greek, why is it that 'tha' cannot mimic the behavior of 'na'? Why is it, in other words, that the subject position preceding 'tha' in the above configurations cannot be occupied by the empty category PRO? From a descriptive point of view, one could say that the presence of a lexical complementizer is not compatible with a PRO subject. It is

I will argue in the following that the difference between the two particles with respect to the licensing of PRO reflects their structural differences. The sentential structure that is relevant for our purposes is the following, in which the position occupied by 'tha' is left unspecified.



Recall that according to the claims made in the previous sections, the impossibility of the occurrence of a PRO subject is reduced to an illicit verb movement which adjoins the lexical verb to IP (XP in this case). This movement, we claimed, is responsible for the licensing of PRO. All things being roughly equal to the scheme in (23) in which a PRO subject is indeed licensed, it has to be the case that 'tha' is not a proper head-governor for t_{AGR} in (28). This, in turn, amounts to two alternative proposals: either 'tha' is not a head, or it is an A'-head and thus does not qualify as a proper head-governor for t_{AGR} . For the time being we will adopt the latter alternative, and thus suggest that 'tha' is an A'-head.

5.3.2. The Future Particle and C⁰. Two Types of Complementizers

Considering 'tha' to be an A'-head has a number of interesting implications. Examining the superficial linear order of sentences such as in (26) (repeated below) and assuming that the null subjects that immediately precede 'tha' occupy the Specifier position of the projection it heads, we arrive to the conclusion that the pronominal subjects in (26) are not in argument position. This is a rather counterintuitive conclusion since there is no indication of any type that the embedded subject of sentences such as in (26), repeated below, or of any other clause introduced by the future particle occupies a nonargument position.

(26) a. Ipa oti tha ime stin ora mou.
I-said COMP FUT I-am at-the time my
'I said I will be on time.'

b. Ipa oti tha imoun stin ora mou.
I-said COMP FUT I-was at-the time my
'I said I would be on time.'

Assuming that the subjects that precede the particle 'tha' occupy an A'-position becomes even more implausible when examining minimal pairs like (31)-(32). Apart from having to assume that 'Maria' occupies a different structural position in each one of the following sentences (Spec(Agrp) in (31) but Spec(XP) in (32)) we are also led to conclude that only the first of these subjects is in an argument position.

(31) O Yiannis ipe oti i Maria pai diakopes sti Naxo.
John said COMP Mary goes vacations to Naxos
'John said that Mary goes to Naxos on vacation.'

- (32) O Yiannis ipe oti i Maria tha pai diakopes sti Naxo
 John said COMP Mary FUT goes vacations to Naxos
 'John said that Mary will go to Naxos on vacation.'

The above minimal pair brings to mind another instance in which a puzzle of a similar nature arises, this time across a much wider spectrum of languages. Negation has also been assumed to be a head that heads a maximal projection of its own, and, as argued by Roberts (1991), it is an A'-head. The latter property is essentially synonymous with considering the Specifier position of NegP a nonargument position. Therefore, the following two sentences (taken from a language like Spanish, so that we avoid the intervening factor of 'do support' of English) raise the same type of question.

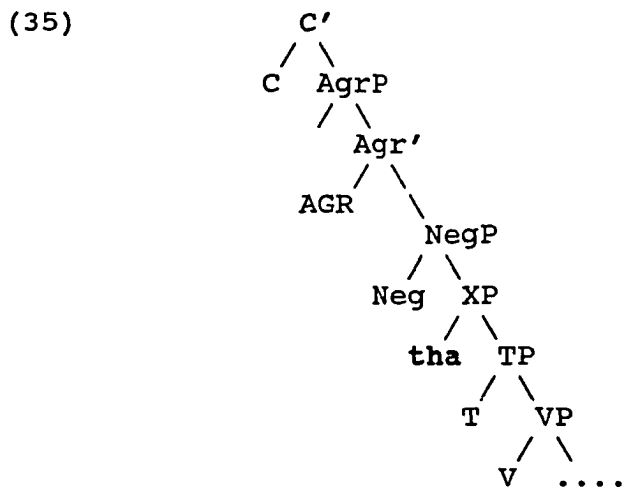
- (33) María dijo que Pablo va de vacaciones. (S)
 María said that Pablo goes de vacations
 'Maria said that Pablo goes on vacation.'
- (34) María dijo que Pablo no va de vacaciones.
 María said that Pablo not goes de vacations
 'Mary said that Pablo doesn't go on vacation.'

Since it is rather uncontroversial that the embedded S-Structure subject of (33) occupies an A-position, what is the difference it exhibits when compared to the embedded subject in (34) to conceivably support the fact that the latter occupies a A'-position? Furthermore, isn't it unmotivated to hold that the embedded subjects occupy different structural positions in each of these sentences, i.e., Spec(AgrP) in (33) but Spec(NegP) in (34)?

Questions of this character are addressed in the context of Italian sentential structure by Belletti (1991), where a

clitic-like nature of negation is also proposed. In light of the uniformity of the question posed by the paradigms in (31)-(32) and (33)-(34) a uniform proposal suggests itself.

I would like to tentatively propose that 'tha' occupies a position between AgrP and TP, thus resembling the ordering that Belletti ((1990), (1991)) has proposed for negation in Italian (Specifiers of phrases other than AgrP have been omitted in (35) for simplicity).



Furthermore, I will propose that 'tha', as well as negation, undergoes cliticization onto Agr. The strict order Neg-FUT (as well as Neg-FUT-cl) parallels the ordering restrictions manifested by pronominal clitics in all other finite contexts in the language.

- (36) a. O Yiannis den tha pai.
 John NEG FUT goes
 'John won't go.'
- b. *O Yiannis tha den pai.
 John FUT NEG goes
 'John won't go.'

It also follows from the above claim that the lexical

subject that linearly precedes the future particle in sentences such as (32) and (36a) does indeed occupy an argument position, on a par with sentences such as in (31), but that this position is the Specifier of AgrP in both cases.

A further conclusion that follows from these facts is that the position that negation occupies in languages like Greek is the same for indicative and subjunctive clauses. The fact that negation appears on opposite sides of the future and subjunctive marker can be attributed to the fact that Mood Phrase is located higher up in the structure than the future particle, as seen when comparing (35) with (23).

Thus, we now seem to have a better understanding of the question raised in footnote 9 of Chapter 2. While it is clear that two types of complementizers are available in the Balkan languages, i.e., those that introduce indicatives and those that introduce subjunctives - thus differing from the majority of the rest Western-European languages in which the same complementizer selects for all types of finite subordinates - each complementizer selects for only one type of complement. COMP1 selects for a Mood Phrase while COMP2 takes an AgrP complement. It should not be thought that COMP2 selects for FUT in addition (this would pose the question of how exactly FUT is distinguished from PRT when it comes to selectional restrictions) since we showed that even when the future particle linearly follows the complementizer, C⁰ selects for AgrP. The fact that the future particle 'tha' appears to be

NOTES

1. I will not refer to or evaluate at present a number of other approaches to control phenomena, which have also challenged the standard claims of binding theory (Manzini 1983, Bouchard 1984, Koster 1984). Instead, I will limit myself to approaches that are mainly concerned with the empty category PRO in the context of languages in which the finite-nonfinite contrast is not present.

2. In his discussion of Chinese null subjects, Batistella (1985) has a partially similar proposal, in which the 'double' nature of PRO is also fully utilized. The similarity of the two approaches should not come as a surprise, since Batistella draws extensively on Huang's (1983) modifications of binding theory on which many of the revisions suggested in Chomsky (1986b) are based as well. Batistella's account, however, crucially relies on the absence of Agr from Chinese, and is thus problematic for the data from the Balkan languages in which Agr is always present. On the other hand, by attributing the licensing of PRO to factors other than the absence of Agr, Kayne's account avoids the problems faced by Batistella.

3. Notice that (19) is identical to (16) and (17), which were problematic for Borer's account predicting that 'anaphoric Agr' is never compatible with a lexical complementizer. For Kayne, a lexical complementizer can cooccur with a PRO subject provided that the process indicated in (18) takes place and thus protects PRO from government by C^0 .

4. For Roberts (1991a) the IP-adjoined verb antecedent governs its uppermost trace and Agr head-governs it. However, it is not clear why the moved verb cannot be the head-governor as well. Notice that a formulation of the ECP which would attempt to capture the above restriction by prohibiting a head to both head-govern and antecedent-govern its trace would fail to account for proper government of the lower traces.

5. We probably have to assume, for reasons that will become clear in the next section, that the LF movement of verbs that license PRO in languages like English or French for instance mimics the steps of the S-Structure movement that the verb undergoes in order to pick up inflection.

6. Stowell's (1982) 'tense of infinitives' is an operator in C^0 rather than the T^0 in Infl.

7. While this line of reasoning explains why PRO cannot be the subject of finite clauses in French, Italian or Spanish (since it is known that the finite verb raises to the uppermost inflectional head in these languages) it is less clear how it can accommodate English where the finite verb has been argued not to raise to the higher inflectional head at S-Structure (Pollock 1989). Since the relevant verb movement takes place in LF in English infinitives, we will assume that at LF the counterpart movement of finite verbs patterns the behavior of the S-Structure verb movement of the Romance languages and thus consider the finite verb to stop at all functional heads.

8. It is not clear, on the other hand, how Roberts' analysis would account for the impossibility of the same type of movement in the case of a finite verb.

9. Interestingly, Pesetsky (1991) attributes to 'to' the property of a mood marker in English, and subsequently draws a parallelism with a number of subjunctive complement clauses in Spanish.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the nature of 'mood marker' is attributed only to a subset of infinitival 'to's i.e., complements of factive predicates.

10. Note that I differ in this respect from Dobrovie-Sorin (1991), who considers the subject position preceding the subjunctive particle to be a nonargument position.

11. Notice that, by adopting a position which holds that FUT and PRT occupy different structural positions, we are losing the advantage of Rivero's (1988) account which attributes the incompatibility of the two particles to the fact that they occupy the same position. However, the incompatibility of 'tha' and 'na' might also be explained on the grounds that each of the particles is selected by different complementizers and cooccurrence of the two would imply the simultaneous presence of more than one complementizer.

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