

PRO and null Case in finite clauses¹

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Abstract

A study of Greek subjunctive complements reveals that in a number of instances their null subject is PRO rather than an empty pronominal. We demonstrate that the same holds true for subjunctive clauses in subject position, which manifest the PRO-gating facts associated with English gerunds. Greek subjunctives are introduced by the subjunctive marker, an inflectional particle typical of the Balkan language group. In a framework that dispenses with the idea of head government, thus considers PRO similar to other empty categories, we propose that it is by virtue of the subjunctive marker, which checks null Case in its Specifier position, that PRO is licensed as the subject of Greek subjunctives. We claim that those subjunctive complements which license a pronominal subject involve Verb Movement to the embedded C⁰.

This paper studies several aspects of the structural composition and properties of the Balkan subjunctive clauses. I examine subjunctives in a number of syntactic environments, and, by focusing primarily on Greek, I argue that their subject position is often occupied by the empty category PRO. I attribute licensing of PRO to the ability of the subjunctive particle, M⁰, to check null Case in its Specifier position, ascribing M⁰ a role comparable to that of the English infinitival *to* in Chomsky and Lasnik's (1993) system.

I demonstrate that considering M⁰ as the functional head responsible for null Case checking provides a unifying account of the different positions in which

1. Research for this paper was supported by SSHRCC Grant #410-91-0178 awarded to M. L. Rivero.

Parts of it have been presented at McGill University, CUNY Graduate Center and the 1994 LSA Winter meeting in Boston, and I wish to thank the audiences of these events for their comments. Also, I would like to thank Helen Goodluck, Maria Teresa Guasti, Richard Kayne, Maria Luisa Rivero, Akira Watanabe and two anonymous reviewers for many useful comments and suggestions.

subjunctives with a PRO subject occur and has advantages over proposals that relate null Case with the defective Tense of subjunctives. This is so because Tense dependencies, like those of Greek, are also found in subjunctives outside the Balkan language group, yet PRO is not licensed in their environment. Furthermore, the notion of Tense dependencies, as employed in the licensing of PRO, is relevant for matrix-subordinate clause configurations only. As will be demonstrated, however, PRO can also be the subject of subjunctive sentential subjects in Greek. Finally, within a framework that considers PRO to be licensed via null Case checking, the functional head against which null Case features are checked may not be associated with (subject) agreement. While the Tense of subjunctives always bears subject agreement, however, the subjunctive marker does not.

In the first section of the paper I discuss subjunctive clauses in both complement and noncomplement position. As for the first category, I mainly focus on structures involving predicates whose obligatory control status has been contested. I attribute their misleading behavior to the fact that they select for hidden indirect causatives, shedding light on facts pertaining to both their interpretation and their syntactic properties. Then, I examine subjunctive sentential subjects: I illustrate that they behave unlike indicative sentential subjects and are able to escape weak crossover effects, providing evidence that their subject position hosts PRO rather than an empty pronominal. In the second section, after reviewing a number of approaches which consider the Greek subjunctive Tense responsible for licensing a PRO subject, I develop the proposal that the functional head that checks null Case and licenses PRO in Greek (and the Balkan languages) is the subjunctive marker.

1. Subjunctive clauses and PRO

1.1. A PRO subject of subjunctive complement sentences

The bracketed sections of the following examples from Greek contain the structures of primary interest in this paper.

- (1) *I Maria prospathi [na elegksi tin oreksi tis.]*
 Mary try-3SG PRT control-3SG the appetite her
 'Mary tries to control her appetite.'
- (2) *O Yiannis elpizi [na pari tin ipotrofta.]*
 John hope-3SG PRT get-3SG the scholarship
 'John hopes to get the scholarship.'

Subjunctive clauses are introduced by the subjunctive marker, an invariable particle (hence, PRT in the glosses) encountered across all Balkan languages,

followed by the lexical verb which is inflected for subject agreement and Tense. Only negation and clitics may appear between the subjunctive marker and the verb, and the string consisting of the subjunctive marker, negative marker and clitics is the only acceptable ordering.²

- (3) *I Maria theli na min to politiavasi.*
 Mary want-3SG PRT NEG it((CL) much-read-3SG
 'Mary wants to not read it much.'

This type of subordinate clauses often corresponds to the infinitives of those Western-European languages in which the finite versus nonfinite distinction is available.

- (4) a. *Prospathisa na diavaso.*
 tried-1SG PRT read-1SG
 'I tried to read.'
- b. *Prospathise na diavasi.*
 tried-3SG PRT read-3SG
 '(He/she) tried to read.'

In this section I focus on the nature of their non-lexical subject, and, anticipating the conclusions reached, I argue that it is PRO. I adopt standard views with respect to the nature of PRO, namely, that PRO is an empty category which is simultaneously anaphoric and pronominal, it receives a distinct theta-role but is coreferent with a higher argument (Chomsky 1981; Chomsky and Lasnik 1993; Kayne 1991).³

Judging from the position of the lexical subject in ECM examples like (5), I will hold that the subject position we are investigating is the Specifier position of Mood Phrase — with the precise role of M⁰ (the head of Mood Phrase) to be discussed in detail in following sections. Example (5) indicates that nominative Case cannot be checked in SpecMP by embedded inflection, whereas (6) shows that accusative is available (from the matrix clause as we will see later).

- (5) **I Maria ide o Yiannis na diavazi.*
 Mary saw-3SG John-NOMPRT read-3SG
 'Mary saw John read.'

2. A limited number of adverbs such as *poli* 'much' in (3) can also be found immediately preceding the verb. They have been analyzed as incorporating into the verb in Greek (Rivero 1992), and as clitics in Rumanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Rivero 1994).

3. See Lasnik (1992), Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) and Martin (1993) for discussion of the approaches that consider PRO to be a pure anaphor and/or account for its distribution via Case theory alone, that is, Bouchard (1984), Koster (1984), Manzini (1983). See also Terzi (1992) for an extensive discussion of Borer's (1989) anaphoric Agr proposal and its relevance for the Balkan control facts.

- (19) *I Maria prospathise EC na diavasi.*
 Mary tried-3SG PRT read-3SG
 'Mary tried to read.'
- (20) *I Maria prospathise na diavasoun (ta pedia).*
 Mary tried-3SG PRT read-3PL the children
 'Mary tried for the children to read.'

It is not entirely clear, however, that the existence of examples like (20) — which are accepted by a few speakers, hence, the different grammaticality status of the otherwise identical (10) and (20) — provides convincing evidence that the null subject of (19) is *pro* rather than PRO. As Terzi (1992) notices, sentences such as (20) differ from (19) in significant ways (for those speakers who accept them). First, the interpretation of (20) — unlike that of (19) — is reminiscent of a causative construction, namely, *try* is more accurately translated as 'try to make it so that' in (20). Then, while *wh*-extraction of arguments from the subjunctive clause in (19) is well-formed, as (21) shows, identical *wh*-extraction from (20) gives deviant results, (22).

- (21) *Ti prospathise i Maria PRO na diavasi?*
 what tried-3SG Mary PRT read-3SG
 'What did Mary try to read?'
- (22) **Ti prospathise i Maria na diavasoun (ta pedia)?*
 what tried-3SG Mary PRT read-3PL the children
 'What did Mary try for the children to read?'

On the basis of the above extraction facts, I would like to propose that the subjunctive subordinate in (20) — unlike that of (19) — is not selected by *prospatho* 'try', but that *prospatho* selects for an indirect (subjunctive) causative whose causative verb (and the subjunctive marker that introduces it) are non-lexical. The indirect causative is subsequently followed by a subjunctive subordinate, which, however, is not its complement.⁵

⁵ is strongly favored. We will concentrate on the second option here, overlooking at the moment this dialectal (north versus south — as it seems to us) difference.

5. I am referring to indirect causatives similar to those found in French, discussed by Ruwet (1976) and Reed (1991). Terzi (1992) notes that (long) argument extraction from this type of causatives is deviant in Greek.

(i) *Ekana na diavasi i Maria to periodiko.*

made-1SG PRT read-3SG Mary-NOM the magazine
 'I made it so that Mary reads the magazine.'

(ii) **Ti ekones na diavasi i Maria?*

what-ACC made-2SG PRT read-3SG Mary-NOM
 'What did you make it so that Mary reads?'

Subsequently, it is argued in Terzi (1994) that *ekana* 'made' in examples like the above selects

in (morphologically realized) nominal whose complement is the subjunctive clause.

- (23) $V_{try} [_{CP} [_{MP} PRO [_{M'} PRT_{nonlex} [_{XP} make_{nonlex} [_{MP} PRT [_{IP} \dots]]]]]]$

By postulating (23) as the clausal structure of (20) we are in a position to explain the different interpretation that *try* receives when occurring with a lexical subject (or *pro*) in the subordinate clause. Also, we can account for the degraded *wh*-extraction facts from the subjunctive clause — by attributing them to the unacceptable *wh*-extraction from the subjunctive subordinates of indirect causatives (as in footnote 5). The clausal structure of (19), on the other hand, is as in (24); the subordinate clause is selected by *try*, as is also manifested by the interpretation of the sentence which does not have the "try to make" flavor of (20). It is also predicted that long *wh*-extraction is possible in (19), and (21) confirms this prediction.

- (24) $V_{try} [_{CP} [_{MP} PRO [_{M'} PRT [_{IP} V \dots]]]]$

By associating (20) with the representation in (23) we establish that accepting (20) does not entail that we consider *try* to select a subjunctive clause with a null (or overt) pronominal subject and therefore deny its subject control status in Greek. Rather, speakers who accept (20) have an additional subcategorization frame for *try*, that is, one in which *try* selects a CP complement whose predicate is an empty causative, and, more precisely, an indirect causative. In both (19) and (20) (as shown by their articulated structure in (23) and (24) respectively) the subject of the sentential complement of *try* is null and coreferential with the matrix subject, namely, it is PRO, which amounts to saying that *try* is unambiguously a subject control verb in Greek.⁶

This line of reasoning can also shed light on the status of a number of other control predicates which can take a lexical subject in their subordinate subjunctive clause according to some speakers. That is, object control contexts such as the one below — considered odd in Iatridou (1993) — are presumably of the same type.

- (iii) $\dots make [_{CP} 0 [_{IP} na \dots]]$

Thus, the extraction facts of (ii) follow as a standard subadjacency violation. (The fact that *Maria* comes after the PRT + verb complex in (i) indicates that PRT + verb have moved to C^0 — as will be explained in detail in the last section of the paper with respect to a number of other structures.)

I consider (iii) — with *make* nonlexical — to be the complement of *try* in (20) (and [23]). As a reviewer points out, the idea to associate some of the sentential complements of *try* with the representation in (23) in Greek, finds support in the Romance languages. In Spanish, for instance, subjunctive clauses embedded under *try* alternate with subjunctive clauses embedded under a causative clause which is, in turn, embedded under *try*:

- (i) *Intenté [que pro vinieran].*
 tried-1SG that came-SUBJ-3PL

- (ii) *Intenté [PRO hacer que pro vinieran].*
 tried-1SG PRO make-INFN that came-SUBJ-3PL

- (25) *Ipa ston Kosta na figi o yios tou.*
 told-1SG to Kosta PRT leave-3SG the son his
 'I asked Kosta for his son to leave.'

To summarize, in this section I argued that the subject position of subjunctive clauses complementing traditional verbs of control hosts PRO in Greek — essentially agreeing with Iatridou (1993) and Felix (1989). Moreover, I addressed in detail a number of predicates whose obligatory control status has been less clear, or has even been debated. I argued that the behavior of verbs such as *prospatho* 'try', *ipa* 'told' and *episa* 'convinced' is often misleading as a result of the fact that they also select an indirect (and nonlexical) causative. The overt subject that appears to alternate with PRO in the subordinate clause of the above verbs, contesting their obligatory control status, was shown to be the subject of the subjunctive clause following the causative. In other words, EC and the lexical NP in pairs such as (19) and (20) are the subjects of two different clauses and therefore the occurrence of the latter does not challenge the PRO status of the former, confirming the control status of *try* in both cases.

1.2. PRO and phi-features

Examining control configurations such as (7) (and (14)) in more detail, we are able to obtain information concerning the nature of PRO which is not directly available in standard control contexts.⁷ Contrasts like the ones below demonstrate, for instance, that PRO bears Agr features.

- (26) *I Maria prospathise PRO na diavasi.*
 Mary tried-3SG PRT read-3SG
 'Mary tried to read.'
- (27) **I Maria prospathise na diavaso.*
 Mary tried-3SG PRT read-1SG
 'Mary tried for me to read.'
- (28) *I Maria parakalese ta pedia PRO na diavasoun.*
 Mary asked-3SG the children-ACC PRT read-3PL
 'Mary asked the children to read.'
- (29) **I Maria parakalese ta pedia na diavaso.*
 Mary asked-3SG the children-ACC PRT read-1SG
 'Mary asked the children that I read.'

7. The Case-marked PRO of Icelandic, does not provide such information either, as it is also the subject of infinitives with Infl/Agr (Sigurdsson 1991).

The idea that PRO is associated with (number) Agr features is not new (Chomsky 1981; Chomsky and Lasnik 1993).

- (30) *They tried PRO to be doctors.*

Furthermore, PRO_{nb} is specified as plural, masculine in Italian (Rizzi 1986), but singular in Spanish.

- (31) *E difficile PRO essere sempre allegri.* (Italian)
 (32) *Es difícil PRO estar siempre contento.* (Spanish)
 'It is difficult to always be happy.'⁸

Finite control structures such as (26) and (28) demonstrate that PRO may bear person features as well. Moreover, as the ungrammaticality of (27) and (29) suggests, these features are checked against those of AgrS of the embedded clause, just like any other NP. In other words, the Greek control cases provide evidence that PRO is more similar to other subject NPs, or, less exotic than previously thought, in the spirit of Chomsky and Lasnik (1993).⁹

Assuming that Agr features are checked in a Spec-head relation with AgrS of the associated verb, and adopting a VP-internal subject hypothesis (Kitagawa 1986; Koopman and Sportiche 1991) the Greek examples also indicate that although PRO is generated in SpecVP, it raises to a higher position in the clausal structure, that is, at least as high as SpecAgrP.

For versions of syntactic theory that consider PRO uncased (and un governed) its raising out of VP has been rather stipulative (namely, PRO has to move to a pre-*to* position in order to avoid government). In the same theoretical framework, additional empirical support for the claim that PRO is not in SpecVP, but rather precedes the infinitival *to*, is offered by contrasts like the following — provided one attributes their ungrammaticality to a PRO theorem violation, as in Kayne (1991).¹⁰

- (33) **They wondered if to go.*

- (34) *They wondered whether to go.*

Once one dispenses with head-government, however, and with the PRO theorem as well, PRO raising to a pre-*to* position is not equally motivated.

8. Although the manner in which PRO checks its features in (31)–(32) is not entirely clear, the notion of AgrA of predicate adjectives (suggested in Chomsky 1993) can conceivably extend to the above examples.

9. PRO is also less exotic according to Kayne (1991: 680), but for different reasons.

10. Kayne (1991) suggests that the grammaticality contrast between (33) and (34) results from the fact that *if* is in C⁰ of the embedded clause, thus governs PRO and induces a PRO theorem violation in the former example. *Whether* does not have the same effect as it occupies SpecCP.

Although Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) suggest that the infinitival marker is responsible for null Case checking — an idea that has to view PRO in a Spec-head relation with *to* — a good amount of evidence has been provided that it is actually the infinitival Tense (in the sense of Stowell 1982) that checks null Case in English (Martin 1993). If Martin is on the right track, this amounts to saying that there is only evidence that PRO raises as high as SpecTP in (English) infinitives.

Adopting a structure of Infl with AgrP higher than TP (Beletti 1990; Chomsky 1993) the finite control structures we have discussed indicate that PRO has raised at least one step higher up in the clausal structure, that is, to the Specifier position of AgrSP.

1.3. A PRO subject of nonselected subjunctives

Proposals concerning the presence of PRO as the subject of Greek subjunctives have concentrated on subjunctive clauses in complement position only (Iatridou 1993; Terzi (1991), Varlokosta and Homstein (1993)). In this section I show that this is not the only environment where subjunctives with a PRO subject occur. In particular, by investigating the behavior of subjunctive and indicative sentential subjects, I demonstrate that the subject position of the former may also host PRO.

As a point of departure, let us consider examples as the following where a single operator locally \bar{A} -binds both a pronoun and a variable (neither one of which c-commands the other) and gives rise to the well-known Weak Crossover effects:

- (35) **Who_i does his_i mother love e_i?*

Higginbotham (1980) observes that a multiple variable configuration in which no Weak Crossover violations arise is when one of the two variables is PRO, as in (36):

- (36) *Who_i does PRO_i playing tennis upset e_i?*

As the following sentence shows, ungrammaticality reappears when the PRO subject of the gerund is substituted by a pronominal.

- (37) ?**Who_i does his_i playing tennis upset e_i?*

It should be noted that, although discussion of the above issues has centered around psych predicates (see also Authier 1989), the lack of weak crossover with PRO is by no means restricted to those (Farrell 1992).

- (38) *Who_i would PRO_i getting this job provide the biggest raise for t_i?*

From our point of view (but see Jaeggli and Safir 1989 as well) it suffices to point out that (37) should not behave any differently should the pronominal subject be null rather than lexical. Thus, contrasts such as (36) versus (37) can be used to disambiguate the status of null subjects, in particular, to determine whether a null subject is PRO or *pro*. Such contrasts are therefore of crucial importance for Greek which, by being a null subject language and lacking infinitives — in the sense of invariable verbal forms other than gerunds — predisposes one to consider all lexically unrealized subjects as *pro*.¹¹

As the following example demonstrates, Greek exhibits weak crossover effects, thus Weak Crossover is a valid diagnostic in the language.

- (39) **Pion_i agapai i mitera tou_i e_i?*
 who love-3SG the mother his
 'Who does his mother love?'

With the above in mind, let us consider (40) in which an indicative clause occurs as a sentential subject and its null subject is bound by a *wh*-operator.¹² The ungrammaticality of (40) — which is a perfectly grammatical sentence when EC and *pion* are not coreferent — is due to the same reasons as the ungrammaticality of (39): the *wh*-operator binds both the null subject of the indicative clause and the *wh*-trace in sentence final position.

- (40) ?**Pion_i nevrhazi [DP to [CP oti EC_i pleni to aftokinito (tou) e_i?]]]*
 whom upset-3SGs the COMP wash-3SG the car his
 'Who does (the fact) that s/he washes his/the car upset?'

The fact that the multiple variable binding in (40) is unacceptable suggests that EC is a pronominal, a conclusion that does not come as a surprise, since it is the null subject of a finite (indicative) clause. The pronominal status of EC is further confirmed by the fact that it can alternate with a lexical NP, (41).

- (41) *Pion_i nevrhazi [DP to [CP oti o Yianmis pleni to aftokinito*
 whom upset-3SG the COMP John-NOMwash-3SG the car
 (tou) e_i?]]]
 his
 'Who does (the fact) that John washes his/the car upset?'

An entirely different picture emerges, however, when the indicative sentential subject is replaced by a subjunctive. As (42) illustrates, multiple binding is now perfectly acceptable.

11. See Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) for such a view.

12. *To* 'the' is the neutral determiner, heading all sentential subjects in Greek.

- (42) *Pion_i nevrizati* [_{DP} *to* [_{CP} *EC_i na pleni to aftokinio (tou) e_i?*]]
 whom upset-3SG the PRT wash-3SG the car his
 'Who does PRO washing his/the car upset?'

Since all other factors are identical, I would like to attribute the contrast between (40) and (42) to the different nature of the subject EC of each sentential subject. Following the reasoning previously exposed, the well-formedness of (42) suggests that the null subjunctive subject is PRO rather than *pro*, and, therefore, is able to escape the Weak Crossover violation induced by the latter in examples like (40).

There is further evidence that the above conclusion is on the right track. Since the null subject of the subjunctive clause is a pronominal anaphor, it cannot alternate with a lexical subject, thus examples like (43) are ungrammatical.

- (43) **Pion_i nevrizati* [_{DP} *to* [_{CP} *o Yiannis na pleni to aftokinio*
 whom upset-3SG the John PRT wash-3SG the car
 (*tou*) *e_i?*]]
 his
 'Who_i does John's washing his/the car upset *e_i?*'

To summarize, based on novel evidence involving Weak Crossover effects, this section argued for the occurrence of PRO in nonstandard control configurations, namely, as the subject of clauses occupying a subject position themselves. Crucially, only subjunctive clauses in subject position have a PRO subject, contrasting sharply with indicatives in the same environment.

2. Licensing of PRO

2.1. The subjunctive tense as a null Case checker

So far I have presented a number of syntactic environments in which subjunctive clauses with a PRO subject occur. The remainder of the paper is an attempt to address what licenses PRO in these environments, a task which is rendered intricate by a number of factors. First, because the account at stake should explain the occurrence of PRO in both complement and non-complement positions. Second, because PRO is associated with finite clauses, therefore, nominative rather than null Case is more likely to be available for the subject. Finally, as the indexing of the following sentences suggests, not all subjunctive subordinators seem to involve a PRO subject. While the null subjects in (44) are clearly PRO, the same does not hold true for (45). The referential properties of

the embedded subjects in the latter examples are more similar to those of null pronominals instead.¹³

- (44) a. *I Maria_i prospathi EC_i na diavasi.*
 Mary try-3SG PRT read-3SG
 'Mary tries to read.'
 b. *O Yiannis_i kseri EC_i na kolimbai.*
 John know-3SG PRT swim-3SG
 'John knows how to swim.'
- (45) a. *I Maria_i theli EC_i na diavasi.*
 Mary want-3SG PRT read-3SG
 'Mary wants (for him/her) to read.'
 b. *I Maria_i elpizi EC_i na diavasi.*
 Mary hope-3SG PRT read-3SG
 'Mary hopes (for him/her) to read.'

Iatridou (1993) notices that subjunctive subordinators such as those in (44), which unambiguously involve a PRO subject, demonstrate limited Tense alternations, in particular, they cannot appear in the past Tense, (46).

- (46) *O Yiannis kseri na kolimbai/*kolimbouse.*
 John know-3SG-PRES PRT swim-3SG-PRES/PAST
 'John knows how to swim/*have swum.'

Thus, they contrast with the subjunctive complements of (45) to which fewer Tense restrictions apply (47):

- (47) *O Yiannis elpizi na erthi/irthe.*
 John hope-3SG-PRES PRT come-3SG-PRES/PAST
 'John hopes (for him/her) to come/have come.'

Considering Tense as the nominative Case assigner in Greek, she interprets the Tense restrictions in (46) as [-T] Infl which amounts to non-availability of

13. Note that the complements of *want/hope* in (45) cannot be analyzed like those of *try* in (20) earlier, that is, as hidden causatives. In contrast with (20) and (22), extraction out of the subordinate clause of (45) is perfectly grammatical, as (i) shows:

- (i) *Ti theli/elpizi i Maria na diavasi?*
 what want/hope-3SG Mary PRT read-3SG
 'What does Mary want (him/her) to read?'

This indicates that the subjunctive subordinate is directly selected by *want* (or *hope*). Further-

- more, a lexical subject (or *pro*) is unambiguously acceptable in the subjunctive clause.
 (ii) *I Maria theli/elpizi na figi (o Yiannis).*
 Mary want-3SG PRT leave-3SG John
 'Mary wants/hopes (for him/her/John) to leave.'

nominative Case for the embedded subject in (44). Therefore, PRO occurs in (44) precisely because it does not occupy a Cased position.

Terzi (1991, 1992) also discusses a number of Tense dependencies pertaining to subjunctive subordinators, (48), that do not extend to indicatives (49), but no association to control is attempted. Rather, Tense dependencies are considered to relate to the disjoint reference effects encountered in the Romance languages.

- (48) *O Yiannis theli/elpizi na doulevo/*douleva mazi sou.*
John want-3SG/hope-3SG PRT work-1SG/*worked-1SG with you
'John wants/hopes that I work/worked with you.'

- (49) *O Yiannis kseri/legi oti doulevo/douleva mazi sou.*
John know-3SG/say-3SG that work-1SG/worked-1SG with you
'John knows/says that I work/worked with you.'

In light of the above facts and work of Martin (1993), where infinitival Tense is shown to correlate with control (but not with ECM) infinitives in English, Watanabe (1993a) proposes that it is the defective Tense of subjunctives that checks null Case and licenses PRO in the Balkan languages. Thus, within a theoretical framework that dispenses with head-government (Chomsky 1993) and, therefore, does not exclude PRO from finite clauses, Watanabe's analysis provides a licensing mechanism for PRO in finite contexts.

As the remainder of this section will demonstrate, however, it is not entirely clear how the Tense restrictions which are interpreted as defective Tense are responsible for null Case checking in Greek. Firstly, because, as they stand, Tense restrictions are not limited to only those subordinators that unambiguously involve a PRO subject. While, for instance, *want* demonstrates the strict Tense dependencies of verbs like *know* which select for subjunctive complements associated exclusively with PRO (cf. [44b] and [46], [50]), it seems to allow for a null pronominal as the subject of its complement clause, (45a). On the other hand, the Tense dependencies of *hope* are different, as (51) demonstrates, although its embedded subject is similar to that of *want*, (see [45b]).

- (50) *O Yiannis theli na erthi/*irthe.*
John want-3SG-PRES PRT come-3SG-PRES/PAST

- (51) *O Yiannis elpizi na erthi/irthe.*
John hope-3SG PRT come-3SG/come-3SG

Secondly, the Tense flexibility that complements of verbs like *hope* demonstrate is difficult to capture accurately, as it does not extend to all forms of the embedded predicate. Thus, compare (52) with (53) below (and (48) earlier).

- (52) *O Yiannis elpizi na erthi/irthe.*
John hope-3SG PRT come-3SG/come-3SG

- (53) *O Yiannis elpizi na ertho/*irtha.*
John hope-3SG PRT come-1SG/come-1SG

Put differently, while it is certainly true that the Tense of Greek subjunctives is defective in several respects, it is not exactly 'clear how defective Tense correlates with null Case checking and licensing of PRO.

Notice, furthermore, that Tense restrictions very similar to those we find in Greek, are long known to be manifested by subjunctive complements of comparable predicates in the Romance languages.

- (54) *Juan trata de que coma/*comiera.*
John try-3SG de COMP eat-3SG-SUB-PRES/PAST
'John tries for him to eat.'

Moreover, Romance subjunctives have also been characterized as involving a defective Tense of some type, or else, an embedded [-T] Infl as in Picallo (1985), Raposo and Meireles (1984), Rizzi (1990). Nevertheless, a PRO subject is never possible in their context:¹⁴

- (55) **Juan trata de que EC_{ij}* coma.*
John try-3SG de COMP eat-3SG-SUB
'John tries to eat.'

By contrast, the [-T] Infl of Romance subjunctives has been considered responsible for the opposite referential properties of their subjects, namely, for the fact that matrix and embedded subjects cannot be coreferent (see references above).

Finally, an approach that relates the occurrence of PRO to the defective Tense of subjunctives, defines the latter on the basis of the Tense dependencies that subjunctive subordinators demonstrate with respect to the Tense of the matrix clause. Therefore, while it may be appropriate for subjunctive clauses in complement position, it fails to capture the presence of PRO in contexts such as the subjunctive sentential subjects discussed in the previous section.

There are some more conceptual questions that this approach to licensing of PRO raises. Firstly, it is not immediately obvious how defective Tense is to be defined exactly, or else, what exactly [-T] Infl amounts to. Notice that in a framework that employs the idea of head-government and considers PRO ungoverned and uncased (Chomsky 1981) one can conceivably equate Tense restrictions with absence of Tense and provide a direct way of allowing PRO to occur where Tense is not present. In a framework that dispenses with head-government (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993, and Chomsky 1993), however, PRO is

14. Neither can PRO appear in the subject position of the few instances of Romance subjunctive subordinators that do not require a lexical complementizer.

considered more similar to other empty categories and, on a par with them, is licensed via null Case checking. Therefore, if we regard the subjunctive Tense dependencies to amount to lack of Tense, we are left without an appropriate functional head against which the case features of PRO are checked. That is, while the LGB framework allowed for PRO to occur where Tense was absent, identical assumptions do not provide a licensing mechanism for PRO in the minimalist framework.

For good reasons then, Watanabe (1993a) associates licensing of PRO in the Balkan languages with the 'defective Tense of subjunctives — rather than absence of Tense. However, given that the verbs we are examining are inflected for subject agreement — which in combination with Tense is held traditionally responsible for nominative Case — the previous questions reappear in a slightly different version: how is the defective Tense to be captured so that it checks null Case rather than nominative?

A possible direction is to distinguish between strong versus weak Tense, based on the Tense restrictions illustrated earlier, and associate them with nominative versus null Case checking respectively, along the lines of strong versus weak subject agreement and licensing of null pronominal subjects (Rizzi 1986). That is, one can argue that — even when merged with subject agreement — strong Tense checks nominative, but weak Tense checks null Case. Provided we offer an adequate definition of weak Tense and its representation in the syntax, we can then hold it responsible for licensing PRO in its Specifier position in Greek (essentially paraphrasing Watanabe 1993a, but also in the spirit of Iatridou 1993).

Nevertheless, as already noted, Greek and the other Balkan languages are not the only languages whose subjunctive subordinates demonstrate defective Tense. What is then the crucial difference between Greek subjunctives and those of the Romance languages which allows PRO to be licensed in the former but not in the latter? I would like to propose that the element that makes Greek subjunctives exceptional is the presence of the subjunctive marker or M^0 . That is, M^0 — which is only found in the subjunctives of the Balkan type — is the inflectional head that checks null Case in its Specifier position and licenses a PRO subject.

2.2. Subjunctive marker and null Case checking

In this section I explore the possibility that PRO occurs as the subject of Greek subjunctives by virtue of checking its null Case with the subjunctive particle. The description of the subjunctive particle that follows immediately below aims at facilitating the rest of the discussion.

A good amount of evidence has by now supported the view that the subjunctive marker is part of the inflectional system, rather than a complementizer in the Balkan languages (see Ingria 1981; Philippaki-Warbuton 1987; Rivero

1994; Terzi 1991; Tsimpli 1990 for Greek, Rudin 1983 for Bulgarian; Rivero 1994; Motapanyane 1991 for Rumanian; Terzi 1992 for Albanian).¹⁵

First, as examples like (56) below show, no lexical subject may intervene between the subjunctive particle and the verb (Rudin 1983; Philippaki-Warbuton 1987; Rivero 1994; Terzi 1991).

- (56) **I Maria theli na o Yannis diavasi.*
 Mary want-3SG PRT John read-3SG
 'Mary wants John to read.'

Second, in Albanian, Arbëresh (an Albanian-related dialect of Southern Italy) and Rumanian, the subjunctive particle may co-occur with elements that are unambiguously complementizers (Guasti 1993; Rivero 1994; Motapanyane 1991; Terzi 1991, 1992).¹⁶

- (57) *Monpar [CP se [MP të vut]].* (Arbëresh)
 before COMP PRT come
 'Before coming.'
- (58) *Jani do [CP që Maria [MP të hajë]].* (Albanian)
 John want-3SG COMP Mary PRT eat-3SG
 'John wants Mary to eat.'
- (59) *Doresc [CP ca pe Ion [MP sa-l examineze Popescu]].*
 wish-1SG COMP pe John PRT-him examine-3SG Popescu
 'I wish for John to be examined by Popescu.' (Rumanian)

The incompatibility that Greek subjunctives and lexical complementizers manifest can perhaps be taken to indicate that *na* and the complementizer *oti* compete for the C^0 position, as in (60), but examples like (56) argue for the opposite. If *na* were a complementizer, the subject would be able to follow it in (56).

- (60) *I Maria theli (*oti) na min to diavasi.*
 Mary want-3SG COMP PRT not it read-3SG
 'Mary wants to not read it.'

15. See Agouraki (1991) for the opposite view and Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) for the ambiguous status of the subjunctive marker (as an I^0 or C^0).

16. It is unlikely that (57)–(59) involve recursive CPs, a view that could attribute the status of C^0 to the subjunctive particle. While a lexical subject can always follow the verb in the second C^0 of recursive CPs (Authier 1992; Vikner 1995), it can never follow the Balkan subjunctive marker (cf. (i) versus (56)).

(i) *He said that never in his life has John said the truth.*

Furthermore, recursive CPs do not follow irrealis predicates, which are the type of predicates usually selecting for subjunctive subordinates in the Balkan languages. See Iatridou and Kroch (1992) for reasons why apparent counterexamples as (ii) from Icelandic are not true instances of recursive CPs.

(ii) *Ég vil að morgun fari María snemma á faetur.*
 I want that tomorrow go María snemma á faetur
 on fact

Furthermore, the co-occurrence of *na* and the relative complementizer *pou* in Greek, also shows that *na* is lower in the clausal structure than C^0 .¹⁷

- (61) *Psalmos enan i elektrologo pou na kseri apo psigia.*
look-1SG one electrician-ACC *pou* PRT know-3SG from refrigerators
'I'm looking for an electrician that knows about refrigerators.'

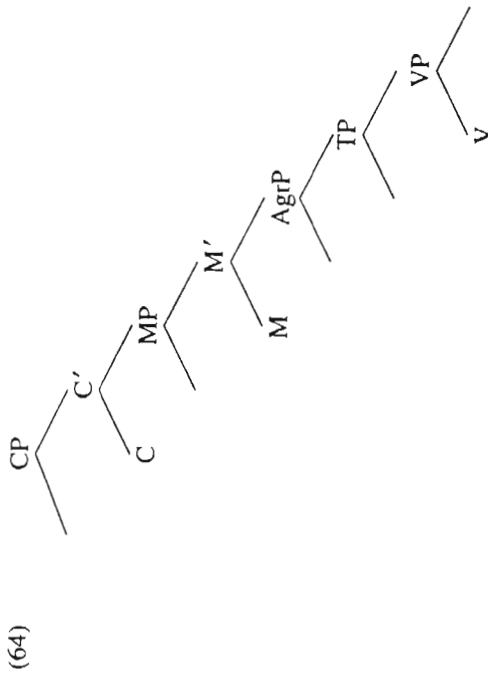
Finally, since the subjunctive particle is obligatory in ECM-like constructions in Greek, (62), it must be lower than C^0 (this claim also extends to the Rumanian facts discussed in Rivero 1991).

- (62) *Ida to Yianni *(na) diavazi.*
saw-1SG John-ACC PRT read-3SG
'I saw John read.'

Notice, that the infinitival marker must be absent from the ECM constructions of those Scandinavian languages in which it has been shown to be a C^0 (Beukema and den Dikken 1989).

- (63) a. *Eg tel hann (*ad) vera heimskan.* (Icelandic)
b. *Jag anser honom (*att) vara dum.* (Swedish)
'I find to him to be foolish.'

Consequently, I will consider the Balkan subjunctive particle to head its own maximal projection Mood Phrase (MP) and assume the position of M^0 illustrated in (64) (see Terzi 1991, 1992; Rivero 1994).¹⁸



Recall that according to Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) PRO checks null Case with the 'infinitival marker (with null Agr)'. On the other hand, Martin (1993) shows that licensing of a PRO subject correlates with infinitival Tense in English — which, crucially, is a Tense that has not amalgamated with subject agreement. In a more vague fashion, Chomsky (1993) proposes that PRO is licensed on the pattern of *pro*, the latter being licensed via Case theory in the Specifier position of AgrS to which Tense has raised. Thus, the underlying assumption shared by the above views is that null Case cannot be checked by a functional head merged with subject agreement.

The fact that M^0 is a functional head which is not associated with subject agreement makes it a legitimate candidate for null Case checking, therefore. The absence of a comparable functional head from the Romance subjunctives (65), distinguishes them from those of the Balkan type (66), and renders the latter unique in being able to host a PRO subject.

- (65) *Juan trata de que pro comia/*comiera.*
John try-3SG de COMP eat-3SG-SUB-PRES/PAST
'John tries for him/her to eat/*have eaten.'

- (66) *O Yiannis prospathli PRO na fai/*efage*
John try-3SG PRT eat-3SG-PRES/PAST
'John tries to eat/*have eaten.'

It should be noted, however, that the existence of M^0 , or, more precisely, of ModalP, has also been argued for the Romance subjunctive paradigm (Laka 1990) and this raises the question of why M^0 does not check null Case and license a PRO subject in the Romance languages. As an anonymous reviewer suggests, this might be related to the different position of M^0 in the two

17. Following the tradition initiated in Kayne (1976) with respect to French *que*, I consider the relative *pou* to be a complementizer in Greek. The contrast which *pou* and the relative pronoun demonstrate as to modification by a preposition, indicates that the former occupies C^0 rather than SpecCP.

(i) *O iktrologos me tou optio irtha se epafi*
the electrician with the-ACC who-ACC came-1SG to contact
(ii) **O iktrologos me pou irtha se epafi*
the electrician with *pou* came-1SG to contact
'The electrician I contacted'

18. Thus, I attribute the impossibility of clitic climbing from languages like Rumanian, (ib), to the HMC/ECP violation induced by M^0 , with no need to consider M^0 a complementizer, as Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) does on the grounds that lexical C^0 's generally block clitic climbing as (iib) shows. See Kayne (1989) and Zanuttini (1991) for the blocking effects that functional heads, such as Neg⁰, have on clitic climbing, for instance.

(i) a. *Maria incearca sa-l scrie.* (Rumanian)
Mary started-3SG PRT it(CL) write-3SG
b. **Maria l-incearca sa scrie.*
'Mary started to write it.'
(ii) a. *No se si hacero.* (Spanish)
NEG know-1SG if do-1NFN-it(CL)
b. **No lo se si hacero.*
'I don't know whether to do it.'

language groups: while MP is higher than TP/AgP in the Balkan languages, it is lower in Romance. Since the highest functional head AgrS⁰ is considered to check nominative Case in the Romance subjunctives and host the subject in its Specifier position (Picallo 1985; Belletti 1990 among others) it must be that M⁰ does not check Case (of any type), otherwise the subject would not have moved higher than SpecMP.

Considering M⁰ responsible for null Case checking in Greek (and the Balkan languages) requires addressing a number of additional issues, however. If PRO is licensed in SpecMP then why is it that the null subject of complement clauses of *want* and *hope*, contrary to those of *try* (and *know*), is not always coreferent with the matrix subject as (44)–(45) — repeated below — show?

- (44) a. *I Maria, prospathi EC_{v/r} na kolimbai.*
 Mary try-3SG PRT swim-3SG
 'Mary tries to swim.'
 b. *O Yiannis, kseri EC_{v/r} na kolimbai.*
 John know-3SG PRT swim-3SG
 'John knows how to swim.'

- (45) a. *I Maria, theli EC_{ij} na diavasi.*
 Mary want-3SG PRT read-3SG
 'Mary wants (for him/her) to read.'
 b. *I Maria, elpizi EC_{ij} na diavasi.*
 Mary hopes-3SG PRT read-3SG
 'Mary hopes (for him/her) to read.'

Following Terzi (1991), I will hold that verbs like *want* or *hope* do not involve a complement clause with a null pronominal subject in Greek, as is suggested by the indices in (45). Rather, they involve the two representations below.

- (67) $V_{\text{want/hope}} [_{CP} [_{C'} 0 [_{MP} \text{PRO} [_{M'} M [_{IP} I_r V \dots]]]]$
 (68) $V_{\text{want/hope}} [_{CP} [_{C'} M + V [_{MP} \text{PRO} [_{M'} e_{M+V} [_{IP} I_r e_v \dots]]]]$

The one in (67) is a standard subject control configuration with PRO occupying the SpecMP position. In (68) the complex M⁰ + V⁰ has moved to C⁰, from where a postverbal null (or overt) subject is licensed in a manner comparable to Rizzi's (1982) Aux-to-Comp mechanism.¹⁹

19. In view of (68) and the word order in (69), what seems to be taking place is: V-movement to M⁰ (with incorporation of the verb to the M⁰) and further movement of the M+V complex to C⁰. Given the distinct composition of the Balkan IP, this manner of obtaining the postverbal order of subjunctive subjects is a close counterpart of the V-to-I-to-C of other languages (Raposo 1987). If M⁰ movement to C⁰ has actually been suggested, for different reasons, for Rumanian (Farkas 1982; Motapanyanc 1991) and for Greek by Varlokosta and Hornstein

Evidence that the postverbal subjects of subjunctives are the result of (M+)V-to-C movement is provided by the fact that the unmarked word order is VSO when the subject is overt:²⁰

- (69) *I Maria theli na agorasi o Yiannis tin efimerida.*
 Mary want-3SG PRT buy-3SG John the newspaper
 'Mary wants John to buy the newspaper.'²¹

The embedded subject is inflected for nominative Case, as in all Aux-to-Comp contexts (Rizzi 1982; Raposo 1987).

Thus, the properties of *want* in Greek are reminiscent of the behavior that *want* demonstrates in English. Although it is a subject control verb selecting an infinitive with a PRO subject, as in (70), it may also select an infinitival clause headed by a (overt or null) 'for' complementizer which allows for a lexical subject in the position otherwise hosting PRO, (71) (Kayne 1981).²²

- (70) *Mary wants PRO to read.*
 (71) *Mary wants (for) John/him to read.*

(1993). As for the idea of M⁰ incorporation into the (Neg-cl)-V-Infl complex in Rumanian, see Dobrovie-Sorin (1994).

20. The embedded subject can also be found in final position, (i), but it is then associated with contrastive focus.

(i) *I Maria theli na agorasi tin efimerida o YIANNIS.*

Mary want-3SG PRT buy-3SG the newspaper John

'Mary wants JOHN (NOT HARRY) to buy the newspaper.'

Since a negative object can be always licensed in final position (ii), it is suggested that the object is not Left Dislocated when the subject immediately follows the verb.

(ii) *I Maria theli na min agorasi o Yiannis kamia efimerida.*

Mary want-3SG PRT NEG buy-3SG John none newspaper.

'Mary wants John to not buy any newspaper.'

Thus, (i) and (ii) suggest that when the embedded subject is found in postverbal position, this is not the result of some type of rightward movement. (I would like to thank Vieri Samek-Lodovici for discussing these examples with me).

21. See Terzi (1991) for a detailed discussion of the representations (67)–(68). It is argued there that subjunctives with a null pronominal subject — like in (68) — behave like their Romance counterparts displaying disjoint reference effects which are, however, concealed by the simultaneous occurrence of (67).

22. It is perhaps not a coincidence that *want* is a predicate that may select for either an infinitival or a subjunctive sentential complement in languages like the Romance ones, associated with PRO or a pronominal embedded subject respectively.

(i) *Maria quiere PRO leer.*

Mary want-3SG read-1INFN

'Mary wants to read.'

(ii) *Maria quiere que pro lea.*

Mary want-3SG COMP read-3SG-SUBJ

'Mary wants him/her to read.'

On the other hand, no double subcategorization frame is available for *try* — except for the marginal case with an overt C^0 , in examples such as *John tried for Bill to win*.

Taking into account that the verb of the Balkan subjunctives is inflected for Agr and Tense, one more question arises: since MP is higher in the clausal structure than AgrP and TP, and we have evidence that PRO has moved at least as high as SpecAgrSP in Greek (see section 1.2., and the schema in [64]) why does not PRO check nominative Case features while in the latter position? Notice for instance the identical form of the verb in subjunctive clauses with a PRO subject, (72), and in root clauses such as (73) where a non-inactive subject is licensed.

(72) *O Yiannis prospathi PRO na graf.*
John try-3SG PRT write-3SG
'John tries to write.'

(73) *O Yiannis graf.*
John write-3SG
'John writes.'

The possibility that PRO checks nominative Case in the SpecAgrSP associated with subjunctive Tense is excluded according to our line of reasoning, as it implies movement of PRO from one Case position to another (SpecMP) in violation of Case theory and the Last Resort principle.

Moreover, that it is by no means obvious that nominative Case is indeed available in SpecAgrSP of subjunctives. If that was the case, a lexical subject should be possible between M^0 and the lexical verb in examples that do not otherwise exclude a subject from the subjunctive clause, that is, with complements of verbs such as 'want' and 'hope', as in (74). But, as (75) indicates, this is impossible in Greek (and the same holds for the rest of the Balkan languages).

(74) *O Yiannis theli na diavasi i Maria.*
John want-3SG PRT read-3SG Mary
'John wants Mary to read.'

(75) **O Yiannis theli na i Maria diavasi.*
John want-3SG PRT Mary-NOM read-3SG
'John wants Mary to read.'

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994: 99) holds that SpecIP (which translates to SpecAgrSP in current terminology) is not an A-position in Rumanian subjunctives, and her claim can certainly extend to Greek. Since A-positions amount to potential Case positions according to Dobrovie-Sorin, however, her idea is only a circular answer to our question. Moreover, the A- versus \bar{A} -distinction does not hold any

longer within current theoretical developments, neither is the L-related versus non-L-related distinction proposed in Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) in a position to offer a better understanding of the issue. It might be that the adjacency condition between the Balkan M^0 and Agr S^0 (also discussed in Dobrovie-Sorin) is somehow related with the inability of the latter to check nominative Case, but the issue is certainly not settled.

Finally, it remains to be explained why ECM configurations are not ill-formed in Greek as a result of the fact that two Cases are checked with the embedded subject, that is, accusative with Agr O^0 of the matrix verb and null Case with M^0 .²³

(76) *I Maria ide to Yianni na diavazi.*
Mary saw-3SG John-ACC PRT read-3SG
'Mary saw John read.'

Here, I would like to adopt Watanabe's (1993b) proposal that a follow-up process to Case checking is necessary for a convergent derivation, and this requires adjunction of the Case checker to C^0 . According to Watanabe, during the process of Case checking a new feature [F] is created in Agr and Agr has to undergo further movement to some higher functional head to check it in order for the Agr node to disappear. Considering ECM configurations to lack C^0 , the follow-up process does not take place in (76), and, consequently, null Case is not checked with the embedded subject.²⁴ The unavailability of null Case in the embedded clause is also confirmed by the fact that a PRO subject is excluded, as the indices in (77) illustrate.

(77) *I Maria_i ide EC_j_{PR} na diavazi.*
Mary saw-3SG PRT read-3SG
'Mary saw (him/her) to read.'

Therefore, ECM subjects correctly check only one Case, namely, accusative by raising to the matrix SpecAgrOP.

The above Case checking mechanism predicts that the embedded subject should be able to check Case within its own clause, that is, within the embedded clause, when the latter is a CP. This is indeed borne out by the minimally different example in (78).

(78) *I Maria ide na diavazi o Yiannis.*
Mary saw-3SG PRT read-3SG John-NOM
'Mary saw that John read.'

23. Greek does not have ECM verbs of the *consider* type. Perception verbs such as *ide* 'saw', *akouase* 'heard' are the closest counterparts.

24. It is presumably for similar reasons that null Case is not checked in (68).

The CP status of the embedded clause follows from the postverbal position of the subject, which we have considered to reflect M+V movement to C⁰.

It should be noted that the interpretation of *see* is not identical in (76) and (78) as indicated by the glosses, but this comes as no surprise given the different subcategorization frames of *see* in each case (see Guasti 1993 for a detailed study of finite and nonfinite complements of perception verbs, mostly within the Romance language group).

3. Conclusions

In this paper I have argued for the presence of PRO in the subject position of Greek subjunctives by focusing primarily on syntactic contexts not previously discussed in the literature, and on control predicates whose status as such has been debated.

I showed that the features associated with PRO in finite control configurations, offer empirical support to proposals which consider PRO more similar to other argument empty categories (Chomsky and Lasnik 1993) and consequently, take it to be licensed in a similar manner, that is, via Case theory.

I proposed that the functional head responsible for null Case checking and licensing of PRO in Greek is M⁰. By doing so, I offer an alternative licensing mechanism for PRO, which does not utilize the notion of defective Tense subjunctives, and, as a result, avoids problems associated with the representation of Tense in syntax. Rather, I exploit the distinct clausal structure of Balkan subjunctives, essentially attributing the subjunctive marker M⁰ a role comparable to that of infinitival *to* in English in Chomsky and Lasnik (1993).

Received 21 July 1995

Revised 27 March 1996

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