

First notes on Greek subjects

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Abstract. In this work I provide a brief review of two major theoretical analyses concerning the status and the position of subjects in Modern Greek, and propose an alternative account of the relevant phenomena, an account consistent with the recent theoretical advances in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2000a, 2001). In my discussion, I follow mainly Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos's leading assumptions and observations on the phenomena under investigation as formulated in their 'Discontinuous Subject Hypothesis', but I also depart from their analysis in that I question the necessity of the existence of a covert subject clitic in [Spec, TP]. After examining their arguments for this clitic, I conclude that the 'real' subject in Greek might just be the in-situ element found in [Spec, vP], either a *pro* or an overt postverbal DP/(NP), and I claim that the [Spec, TP] position might not be projected at all. The prohibition against the existence of overt (and, if my proposal is on the right track, also: covert) material in [Spec, TP] as well as the unavailability of A-movement in Greek might lead us to the conclusion that the EPP is not applicable in Greek. This hint to a weak/parameterized EPP certainly needs more refinement and cross-linguistic evidence in order to be accepted.

1. *The problem – (Introduction)*

It is well known that Greek is a Null Subject Language with rich morphological agreement, a fact that has led some linguists to the proposal that the 'real' subject in this language is exactly this rich morphological manifestation of agreement in the verbal ending (Philippaki-Warburton 1987, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998). This inflectional element is considered to have a nominal categorial status and perform EPP-checking via V-to-I movement.

According to an alternative analysis (Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos (henceforth, P&S) 1997, 1998, 1999, Spyropoulos 1999), the Greek subject consists of a discontinuous element, namely (a) a bundle of nominal features, probably a null subject-clitic, that occupies the 'canonical' EPP position ([Spec, TP]), and (b) a *pro* or a lexical DP in the

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VP-internal thematic position. Since both of these elements are said to constitute the ‘subject’ in Greek, this theoretical account is called the ‘Discontinuous Subject Hypothesis’ (DSH).

In this paper I propose an alternative analysis¹ that seeks to maintain the major empirical benefits of the DSH, while dispensing with the phonologically null nominal element in [Spec, TP], contributing thus to a more economical description of the phenomena at hand. A number of observations that had lead P&S to the conclusion that such a tacit element exists will be discussed in the light of a phase-based theory of grammar, and alternative explanations for the relevant phenomena will be attempted. If successful, our discussion will lead to the conclusion that [Spec, TP] remains empty because the EPP-feature is demoted in significance for Greek (and possibly for other Null Subject Languages).

The structure of the TP in Greek, then, will be as follows:²

- (1) $[_{TP} \emptyset [_{T'} T [_{vP} \text{Subj } (pro/DP) [_{v'} v [_{VP} \dots [_{V'} V \text{Obj}]]]]]]]$

This leaves us with a fairly economical account: The subject in Greek might be nothing other than the *pro*/DP that occupies the [Spec, *v*P] position. This element is merged in its θ -position, and is subsequently probed by T which needs to discharge its uninterpretable ϕ -features. Matching is induced, which results in deletion of the uninterpretable features of the probe and assignment of structural Nominative Case to the goal/subject. Movement does not have to take place, since T does not have an EPP feature (contrary to what happens in English, for example).

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2 I briefly review the two main proposals that have been put forward in the minimalist literature with respect to Greek subjects. In section 3 I provide an outline of the aspects of the framework of Chomsky (2000a, 2001) that will be relevant for our discussion. In section 4 I present my proposal, following in fact the intuitions and the main observations of P&S’s account of the phenomena under investigation. Section 5 summarizes the discussion.

¹ Note that apart from Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou’s analysis on the one hand, and Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos’s on the other, there are also some non-configurational approaches to the Greek data (Catsimali 1990, Horrocks 1994). I will not discuss these proposals here, though they may offer better explanations to some word-order puzzles in Greek. For theoretical reasons I begin with the assumption that a configurational approach should be adopted.

² I omit the functional layers above TP, and DP-adjuncts of SVO constructions, since they are irrelevant for the relation between T and the position of the subject, which is crucial here.

2. *The literature*

2.1 *Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou's 'EPP-checking via head-adjunction' proposal*

The first proposal that I will outline is the one presented in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (henceforth, A&A) (1998). According to this account, the EPP requirement is taken to be universal, while there is cross-linguistic parametric variation with respect to the way in which the EPP-feature ([D] categorial feature) of AGR is checked. It is assumed that in languages with rich morphological agreement on the verb, such as Greek, the verbal ending contains a nominal feature with its own categorial [D] status. This nominal element suffices to satisfy the EPP feature of the AGR head, when V raises and adjoins to AGR⁰. So, in languages with strong morphological agreement the requirement of EPP checking remains, but the [Spec, IP]³ does not have to be projected, as overt verb raising satisfies the EPP. (So DP-raising from within *v*P doesn't have to take place and, by Procrastinate, it mustn't). On the other hand, languages without rich morphological agreement manifestation in the verbal ending cannot check the EPP feature of AGR⁰ via head-adjunction and, thus, have to employ DP movement or merge of an expletive to [Spec, IP], so as to prevent the derivation from crashing because of the unchecked [D] feature on AGR.

2.2 *Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos's 'Discontinuous Subject Hypothesis'*

A second view on the Greek subject is the one advanced by Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos in a number of papers (1997, 1998, 1999, and Spyropoulos 1999). Their proposal relies on some crucial observations on the behaviour of Greek subjects:

Based on the fact that Greek permits extraction out of subjects, which would be disallowed if the subject occupied the [Spec, TP] surface position (cf. English) or if the preverbal subject in the A'-position was the 'real' subject (since extraction out of A-bar elements is equally disallowed), P&S

³ I use the terms AGR_SP and IP here as meaning roughly the same thing. A&A's account is formulated in a theoretical framework that does not obey Chomsky's (1995) abandonment of Agreement Projections. On the other hand, P&S's account relies heavily on the non-existence of AGR. I will discuss every account within its framework, using the term IP as meaning AGR_SP and TP, respectively. I will, nevertheless, assume an AGR-free (T-oriented) model for my proposal, on a par with P&S.

postulate that the subject either is a DP that stays in situ ([Spec, ν P]) in Greek, or –when we have a preverbal ‘subject’-DP- the real subject is a *pro* in the [Spec, ν P] position. In this instance, the preverbal DP occupies a peripheral position and is coindexed with *pro* and eventually interpreted in the thematic position.⁴ This observation takes account of the fact that the [Spec, ν P] position, being thematic and postverbal (after V-to-I movement) allows for extraction.⁵

However, P&S note that the [Spec, ν P] position does not suffice for an adequate description of the Greek ‘subject’. A number of observations, such as the requirement that checking of features should take place in a Spec-Head configuration with T^0 , the fact that the subject and not the object can control into a ν P-adjoined gerundival clause, the possible existence of a tacit expletive in impersonal structures, etc., plus the requirement of *Predication* in the sense of Williams (1980), lead P&S to the conclusion that a nominal bundle of features occupies the [Spec, TP]/‘EPP’ position and performs the relevant tasks. Thus, they claim that the EPP is not suspended in Greek. On the contrary, it is satisfied by the presence of this nominal element, perhaps a phonetically null subject clitic. The Greek ‘subject’, then, according to P&S, consists of a discontinuous element: a subject clitic in [Spec, TP] and a *pro*/DP in [Spec, ν P] coindexed with the clitic. This approach to Greek subjects is termed, thus, ‘Discontinuous Subject Hypothesis’ (DSH).

P&S argue extensively against A&A’s ‘EPP without [Spec, IP]’ account. Apart from a number of observations that show that some phonologically unrealized element occupies the [Spec, TP] position, as I have already said, their main claim is that the fact that A&A assign nominal status to the verbal ending and allow it to enter the numeration as an independent element violates the lexicalist principle, upon which the Minimalist Program is based. An approach, according to which the subject has the form of an affix with its own categorial feature, posing the additional requirement that affixation of this element take place in syntax, makes the boundaries between syntax and morphology too obscure. Moreover, P&S convincingly argue (following Chomsky 1995) that there

⁴ In fact, they propose that the DP is somehow ‘reconstructed’ in the ‘pro’-position.

⁵ The exact reason for that remains somewhat unclear within the Minimalist framework, since the licensing of extraction seems to depend on some notion of ‘proper government’ by the verb, after it has raised to T/I (see Spyropoulos (1999:193)). However, it is far from evident how this requirement could be accommodated within the Minimalist Program, which dispenses with government altogether. I will, nevertheless, assume that extraction out of a thematic position is allowed, together with P&S, leaving the exact formulation of the relevant rule open.

is neither morphological nor syntactic evidence for the postulation of the existence of an AGRP in Greek, and they conclude that checking of agreement features between the subject (-clitic, in Greek) and the verb takes place in a Spec-Head configuration inside TP, in the sense of Chomsky (1995).

3. The framework

The current approach takes advantage of the recent theoretical proposals of the two most recent Chomsky's papers (2000a, 2001). This means that my proposal cannot be said to contradict the ones presented in the last section, since they were formulated in previous frameworks, often making use of them in the best possible way. On the contrary, my analysis adopts many of their observations or tries to reformulate them, so that they can be compatible with the more restrictive theory of Minimalism that we now have before us.

Chomsky's latest view of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2000a, 2001) differs in a considerable number of ways from previous sketches of it (Chomsky 1993, 1995). The status of the Extended Projection Principle and its function within the theory of grammar is one of the parts of grammar that this shift in methodology seems to have influenced radically.

First of all, recall that in the GB framework the EPP was held to be a universal principle that demanded that all languages of the world have a structural subject in the [Spec, IP] position. EPP was supposed to be restricted to the I head and have a semantic/syntactic status. It was the principle that was responsible for the c-command relation between the 'theme' and the 'rheme' in a sentence, the principle that –in somewhat traditional terms- forced the sentence to 'look like' a proposition. As P&S (1998:7) observe:

'Predication is defined as the relation between the 'subject' of the clause and the predicate...The necessary condition for this relation to be established is that of c-command between the 'subject' and the predicate...The EPP in its standard interpretation facilitates this relation by providing the appropriate position for the 'subject'.

Notice, on the other hand, that within GB theory EPP had nothing to do with A-movement. Movement of a phrasal category to [Spec, IP] was thought to be induced by the Case Filter. The satisfaction of the EPP via

movement was taken to be an accidental by-product of the Case filter. Given the existence of expletives, this was a rather justified assumption.

But, as the theory advanced, given minimalist assumptions concerning the architecture of language, which emerged in the early nineties, the EPP requirement as such did not appear to follow naturally from the so-called ‘design specifications’ or ‘bare output conditions’ that the external systems impose to the language faculty. So, Chomsky (1995) abandons the predicational/‘semantically’-flavoured definition of the EPP (see section 4.2). He takes the EPP to be nothing more than an uninterpretable [D] feature on the T-head, that should be eliminated before LF by a corresponding interpretable [D] categorial feature of a nominal phrase in a Spec-Head configuration. This theoretical advance brought EPP-induced movement in line with all instances of movement in that it was driven by the need to eliminate an uninterpretable feature. On the other hand, the stipulation of its existence still looked like a bare observation of facts rather than an true explanation.⁶

Within more recent versions of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2000, 2001), the EPP feature is considered to be just an ‘apparent imperfection’. It is the mechanism that causes movement, which is another apparent imperfection, since its presence is needed for pragmatic reasons (it brings overt material to the ‘edge of the constructions’). Since covert movement and the requirement of feature checking in a Spec-Head configuration have been abandoned, the EPP-feature is now the sole cause of overt A-movement to [Spec, TP] and [Spec, ν P], and A-bar movement to [Spec, CP].⁷

But notice that, since covert movement is no longer applicable and the Spec-Head configuration is no longer needed for feature checking, the satisfaction of the EPP requirement with a phonologically null element does not really make sense any more, if EPP is just the feature that causes movement. A null element might have been needed in previous stages of the theory, so that it could be able to check the ϕ -features or the [D] feature of T. Now this checking can be performed via matching, without the need for movement. Chomsky’s discussion of the *there*-expletive constructions in English shows clearly that while the ϕ -features of T are checked via matching with the in situ ν P-internal subject (with subsequent Case assignment), the expletive satisfies the EPP requirement of T that its Spec be filled with overt material.

⁶ As observed in a number of recent works (Haerberli 2000, Manzini & Savoia 1999, Martin 1999, among others).

⁷ In fact, Chomsky terms ‘*P-feature*’ the one that induces A-bar movement. It is still a kind of EPP-feature, though.

The fact that this is the sole function of the EPP is adopted and argued for by Holmberg (2000). Using a large amount of evidence from the Scandinavian languages and having the phenomenon of Stylistic Fronting as a point of departure, Holmberg (2000:456) concludes that:

“...finite I hosts a feature that I will label [P] (suggesting phonological), an uninterpretable feature checked by a phonologically visible category moved to or merged in [Spec, IP].”

He, therefore, reduces the EPP to the requirement of the existence of a phonetically full category to the EPP position. I will examine his arguments in detail in 4.2. For the time being, his remark that the EPP might be void of ‘semantic’ content and may be reduced to the need for the appearance of any *overt* element in [Spec, IP], might suffice for our discussion.

4. The proposal

4.1 Main assumptions

My analysis relies on the two major advances in the Minimalist Framework that I have just sketched: The first is the proposal that Agreement between two elements does not need a strict checking/Spec-Head configuration in order to take place. Any Probe can find a Goal in its domain, irrespective of the distance, as long as defective intervention effects are excluded, and feature Matching can take place with both elements in-situ without the requirement of overt movement of the Goal to the Spec of the Probe or covert adjunction of the relevant features to the head that probes. The second fact that facilitates our discussion is the demotion of the role of EPP in the current framework. The significance of the EPP feature of T is clearly diminished, as EPP has lost all of its ‘semantic’ significance, and is now extended to cover a number of categories: TP, CP, *v*P, as we saw in the previous section, with its presence being non-obligatory (in at least the latter two). This shift suggests that EPP is not an intrinsic characteristic of the clause or the ‘proposition’, neither is it obligatorily present in all instances.

In fact, Chomsky (2001) is the first to suggest that the EPP feature is optionally assigned to *v*, C at the strong phase level, if it has an effect on the outcome, in other words, if it is to induce movement that will provide

the sentence with a further semantic interpretation. For T, Chomsky suggests that it might be universal.⁸ But is it so?

In what follows I will argue that there is evidence from Greek that contradicts this view. The fact that [Spec, TP] can never be occupied by the subject-DP speaks against the existence of such a feature on T in Greek. Moreover, the absence of overt (at least) expletives in Greek shows us that no placeholders for [Spec, TP] are required, probably because this position does not exist at all. The absence of A-movement in general in Greek,⁹ even in passive/raising constructions,¹⁰ might also be an indication that the EPP feature, that is considered responsible for this kind of movement, is absent on the T Probe.

My proposal, thus, seems to be in line with Holmberg's (2000) formulation of the EPP as a rule that demands the presence of phonological material on [Spec, TP]. If his claims are on the right track, then the fact that [Spec, TP] cannot be filled by overt material, automatically leads us to the conclusion that the EPP requirement does not hold for Greek.

It will be proposed, thus, that the EPP feature on T might not be universal. Under this assumption, languages might parameterize in those that have an EPP feature on T and those that do not. In languages with an uninterpretable EPP feature on T, this T, which has uninterpretable ϕ -features, probes into its domain, finds the subject (in [Spec, ν P]), with which it agrees in ϕ -features and to which it assigns Nominative Case, but Matching is not enough, since [Spec, TP] cannot remain empty (by EPP). In order to fill this position, then, we have either Movement of the DP-subject from [Spec, ν P] to [Spec, TP], or Merge of an expletive to this position. In languages without an EPP-feature on T, I assume, T still probes into ν P, finds the in-situ subject (DP or *pro*), Matches with its ϕ -features with those of the subject, assigns Case to it, but does not require material in its Spec. So neither Movement of the DP/*pro*, nor Merge of an expletive to [Spec, TP] has to take place.¹¹

Notice that my claim for an EPP parameter is radically different from A&A's one. While they argue that the Extended Projection Principle is

⁸ Though he entertains, even as an option, the idea that it may not be universal even in T, if its presence is associated with ϕ -completeness (Chomsky 2001:8-9).

⁹ See Lascaratou & Philippaki-Warbuton (1983-1984), Philippaki-Warbuton (1987).

¹⁰ Although this is not undisputed. See Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1999).

¹¹ Interestingly, the conclusion that the EPP might be reduced to the requirement of I to be co-superscripted (in more recent terms: to agree) with an NP either in its Spec or in its domain, was independently reached at by Borer (1986), where it is noted that in VSO languages the EPP position is not required, since the verb can identify an NP in its c-command domain (I leave out details of the discussion that are irrelevant for our purposes).

universal and the way in which it is satisfied is parameterized (phrasal movement/expletive merge vs. head-adjunction), I assume that the EPP *itself* might not be universal. I, nevertheless, believe that, in languages for which the EPP holds, there is only one option: the EPP must be satisfied by the existence of an overt phrase/expletive at the [Spec, TP] position. I, therefore, agree with P&S in that checking of the EPP feature cannot take place via head-adjunction, but I disagree with them on the universality of the EPP feature and its existence in Greek.

But, since both proposals that have been put forward in the Greek literature argue that EPP *is* valid in Greek, I will try to see how their claims might be dealt with, or accommodated within an EPP-free view of Greek clause structure. Given that A&A's analysis does not argue extensively in favour of the existence of an EPP feature (it just takes it for granted that, in analogy with other languages, EPP should be applicable in Greek as well) I will restrict the remainder of this paper to the examination of P&S's arguments in favour of the existence of the EPP-feature and the EPP-position in Greek.

Let us, then, compare our proposal with the Discontinuous Subject Hypothesis. It is, first of all, obvious that the current proposal can also make use of the explanatory benefit that the *pro* position offers to us. That is, extraction out of subject can be explained in my proposal in the same way in which P&S explain it: The preverbal DP-‘subject’ is coindexed with the *pro* in the thematic position and can be interpreted as if it were in this position, so that extraction from within this DP can take place freely. Note that in order to maintain this benefit we have to postulate that *pro* does not move to [Spec, TP], as P&S correctly observe. If it did, this movement would leave an A-trace in [Spec, ν P] that would be subsequently deleted (at LF), as it would not be able to receive Full Interpretation. So, the ‘pro’-position would not be available for interpretation at LF and extraction out of subjects would be illicit. The difference between P&S's account and mine is that prohibition against movement is stipulated in their hypothesis, as this movement is being blocked by the existence of another element, a subject clitic, in [Spec, TP], that has, though, the same featural composition as *pro*, whereas it follows automatically from the setting of the EPP-parameter, in this paper: the EPP-requirement is not applicable for T in Greek, so movement to [Spec, TP] does not have to take place in Greek and *pro*/DP stays in situ.

I believe that the postulation of the existence of an empty category with dubious status does not offer clear explanatory benefits. Furthermore, it is not at all evident why each numeration (or ‘Lexical Subarray’ in a phase-based model) in Greek should obligatorily contain this null element

and why the [Spec, TP] position should be reserved for this subject clitic. Such a situation, apart from being far from universal, is not minimalist in nature either, since the obligatory presence of a non-functional element in every numeration in Greek and the fact that two elements (*pro*/subject clitic) with the same feature composition have to be present for the derivation to converge might hide a missed generalization and, in any case, does not explain the facts, it just follows from a number of (well-aimed, though) empirical observations.

On the contrary, I believe that if we provide an analysis that will capture the empirical observations of P&S's analysis, without the need for a subject clitic, this analysis will succeed as both more simple, and as more up to date with Chomsky (and Holmberg's) view of the EPP, outlined above. But let us see what led P&S to the postulation of the existence of such an element: In Spyropoulos (1999) it is argued that both the conceptual requirement of *Predication*, and empirical evidence advocate for the existence of a nominal element in [Spec TP]. Let me examine them in turn.¹²

4.2 *Predication*

The first thing that argues in favour of a subject clitic is the requirement of *Predication*. According to this notion, the clause and the proposition 'close' when the subject appears in a c-commanding position with respect to the predicate (cf. Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos 1998, Spyropoulos 1999:136-137, building on Williams 1980, 1994). That is, every clause needs a 'formal subject'. This formal subject must c-command the predicative clause, in order to be licensed. Thus, EPP is claimed to be the principle that provides the appropriate position for this relation. From [Spec, TP] the subject can c-command the VP, be identified as subject and 'close' the clause.

At first sight, this requirement seems well justified, given that subjects typically appear in [Spec, TP] in most languages. But there are a number of conceptual and empirical counterarguments to it.

First of all, as I mentioned, the requirement of *Predication* bears a semantic flavour. It looks like a rule of logic rather than syntax. It cannot be shown to follow from the strict Minimalist requirements imposed on the language faculty (*legibility conditions*), and, thus, its presence within syntax is not well-justified.

¹² I deliberately miss out P&S's discussion on small clauses and its implications for the existence of a subject clitic. I hope to return to this issue in the future by providing an analysis that will account for small clauses on a par with full ones.

Moreover, recall that its original postulation by Williams (1980) was made within a framework which contemporary syntactic research has not adopted. Williams argued for the existence of a separate ‘Predication Level’ where a subject, totally external to the predicative phrase, was licensed as subject by means of this c-command relation.¹³ In fact, Spyropoulos himself (1999:202-207) argues against this theory in his discussion of Small Clauses, quite convincingly, in my opinion.

But let us turn to the empirical facts that speak against the necessity of Predication and/or its correlation with EPP. First of all, notice that even if the requirement of Predication does hold, Larson’s (1988) VP-shell theory provides us with an appropriate position for Predication to be established: The subject from the [Spec, ν P] position c-commands the VP, and thus qualifies as a subject.

(2) [ν P Subj [ν ν [ν P ... V Obj]]]

One might object that this does not count as Predication, since this relation does not ‘close’ the sentence. The sentence cannot be said to ‘close’ at the ν P-level. But recall that the c-command requirement was supposed to be enough for Predication to hold. Since it holds at the ν P-level already, why doesn’t the clause ‘close’ here? On the other hand, even if we find some way to overcome this problem, it is not at all obvious why the Greek clause should be complete at the TP level. A number of functional projections dominate TP and participate in the interpretation of the clause, namely MoodP, NegationP, FutureP (at least). If the clause ‘closes’ at TP, all of these are left outside. One might say that these are functional projections, not part of the core-/propositional semantics that Predication is supposed to satisfy. But, since the subject originates ν P-internally, TP is also a functional layer that contributes to the propositional semantics as much (or as less) as the other functional projections do. Thus, it is not clear both why Predication cannot hold ν P-internally and, even if it cannot, why it should hold at the TP level exceptionally.

Moreover, there are plenty of cases in which the element that satisfies the EPP is not the ‘subject of the Predication’, so that EPP seems to be quite distinct from the requirement of Predication. Holmberg (2000), as I have already mentioned, convincingly argues that Scandinavian Stylistic Fronting is driven by an EPP requirement, given that the fronted category targets the [Spec, IP] position and is in complementary distribution with an

¹³ And –possibly– by the saturation of the external θ -role, assigned by the VP as a whole (Williams 1994, Koenenman & Neeleman 2001).

overt expletive in this position. He, nevertheless, observes that almost every kind of phrase can satisfy the EPP, provided that it is phonologically overt. That is the reason that leads him to the conclusion that the EPP requirement is nothing more than a requirement of T (or I) that its Specifier be occupied by phonologically overt material. Let us take a look at some of his data from Icelandic (the italicized elements occupy the [Spec, TP] position. They are base-generated in the blank spaces):

- (3) *Tekin* hefur verið ____ erfið ákvörðun
 taken has been ____ difficult decision
 ‘A difficult decision has been taken’
- (4) Þetta er tilboð [sem *ekki* er ____ hægt að hafna]
 this is offer that not is possible to reject
 ‘This is an offer that cannot be rejected’
- (5) Hver sagðir þú [að *sennilega* hefði ____ skrifað þessa bók]
 who said you that probably has ____ written this book
 ‘Who did you say has probably written this book?’
- (6) *Fram* hefur komið ____ að *fiskað* hefur verið ____
 forth has come ____ that fished has been ____
 í leyfisleysi á chilensku fiskisvæði
 illegally in Chilean fishing-zone
 ‘It has been revealed that illegal fishing has taken place in the
 Chilean fishing zone’
- (7) Þeir sem í *Ósló* hafa verið ____ segja að...
 those that in Oslo have been ____ say that
 ‘Those that have been in Oslo say that...’
- (8) þeir sem *þessa erfiðu ákvörðun* verða ____ að taka
 those that this difficult decision have ____ to take
 ‘Those that have to take this difficult decision’
 from Holmberg (2000:446 & 448-449)

These examples show that EPP can be satisfied by a verb (3), negation (4), a sentence adverb (5), a locative adverb particle (6), a PP (7), or a DP (8) distinct from the subject, among others. Thus, it seems that EPP can be satisfied by elements that are not the ‘logical subjects’, as required by Predication. In fact, the ‘real’ subject can remain inside the vP , in a position from which it cannot be said to c-command the predicate. The same situation obviously holds for the case of quirky subjects:

- (9) me_{dat} thought_{pl} [they_{pl,nom} be industrious]
 Translation of the Icelandic example from Chomsky (2000a:130)

It is obvious that in this case, as well, T agrees with- and assigns nominative to the in situ subject, while another DP satisfies the EPP. Similarly, in English, the EPP can be satisfied by an expletive, while the subject agrees with T from inside vP . No ‘Predication’ requirement obtains again in the sense of EPP:

(10) [IP There [vP arrived three men]]

Notice that these sentences were supposed to involve covert LF movement of the subject to the position of the associate in Chomsky (1993). But in Chomsky (2000a, 2001) the subject stays in situ. Consider also cases, where there is no ‘logical’ subject, and yet the EPP is satisfied by an expletive:

(11) It’s raining

The non-correlation between Predication and the EPP can also be shown in instances of –so called– ‘locative inversion’:

(12) [On the table are [many cookies]

Notice, here that it is not just the case that the subject cannot c-command the predicate, but –in fact– the reverse situation holds. The predicate seems to satisfy the EPP, while the subject stays in situ!

On the basis of these facts, I conclude that the requirement of Predication is a tendency rather than an absolute rule. In any case, I believe that, even in the cases in which it holds, it is clearly a semantic requirement, dissociated from a purely formal principle as the EPP. So, I believe that the need for a Predicational configuration cannot justify the existence of a null subject clitic in Greek. On the other hand, the nonexistence of overt material in [Spec, TP] might imply that EPP is not applicable in Greek, if Holmberg’s (2000) formulation of the EPP is valid.

4.3 *Floating Quantifiers*

In Spyropoulos (1999) it is also argued that the behaviour of floating quantifiers supports the element in the EPP position. Consider the following sentences (from Spyropoulos 1999:148-149):

(13) a. * δ javasa ola
 read_{1st, sing} all_{acc}

- (14) b. *oli δjavasan to vivlio¹⁴ (neutral intonation)
 all_{nom} read_{3rd, plur} [the book]_{acc}
 ‘They all read the book’
- a. δjavasa ola ta vivlia
 read_{1st, sing} all_{acc} [the books]_{acc}
 ‘I read all the books’
- b. ta δjavasa ola
 them_{acc} read_{1st, sing} all_{acc}
 ‘I read them all’
- (15) δjavasan oli to vivlio
 read_{3rd, plur} all_{nom} [the book]_{acc}
 ‘They all read the book’

It is argued that the contrast between (13) and (14) derives from the requirement (explicitly stated in Sportiche (1988)) that ‘*the element of which the floating quantifier is floated c-commands it*’.

So, it is claimed, in (13a) the floated quantifier cannot be left in the object position ‘on its own’. It needs either the presence of the NP it quantifies, or a c-commanding resumptive clitic pronoun. The same applies to (13b), where the quantifier is in clause-initial A-bar position, so nothing c-commands it and the sentence is, thus, ungrammatical. On the other hand, the material that is quantified by *ola* is present in (14a), so no problem arises there. (14b) is grammatical as well, since the resumptive clitic c-commands the stranded quantifier. But what happens in (15)? The presence of the bare quantifier *oli* in the postverbal position does not result in ungrammaticality, as expected. Spyropoulos argues that it is the presence of a nominal feature in [Spec, TP] that c-commands the floating quantifier and ‘*licenses its existence*’.

But is this the case? Let us take a closer look at the argumentation. If we adopt Sportiche’s analysis for such constructions, the quantifier is left-adjoined to the NP:¹⁵

- (16) [NP Q [NP ...N...]]

This means that in both (13a-b) the NP has the structure

- (17) [NP Q [NP ...e...]]

¹⁴ This sentence may be grammatical even with neutral intonation. But this does not affect our point (it does affect Spyropoulos’ one, though).

¹⁵ More recent analyses postulate the existence of a QP, or even either an NP or a QP (see Benmamoun 1999), but Sportiche’s model will do as well, for our purposes.

since nothing can be found inside the NP. So, since nothing that could license this floating Q is either modified by it or c-commands it, the relevant sentences are ungrammatical. On the other hand, (14a) is not bare, so no problem arises, and (14b) has the structure (17) but it is ‘saved’ by the resumptive pronoun. What about (15) then? Does the Q need to be licensed by the subject clitic in [Spec, TP], as it is argued? Apparently not, since the NP that is modified by the quantifier is not empty, it just has no phonological manifestation, it is a *pro*. Thus (15) parallels (14a) in structure ((18a,b) respectively):

- (18) a. [_{NP} ola [_{NP} ta vivlia]]
 b. [_{NP} oli [_{NP} *pro*]]

This means that the quantifier is not a floating one so the identification requirement on floating quantifiers does not hold at all for (15=18b).

One might argue that, since Q in (18b), is not accompanied by overt material, it ‘counts’ as a floating quantifier, and so its licensing by a c-commanding element still has to take place. But it is not obvious why this should be so, since *pro* has all the semantic and the categorial features that every other NP has, apart from the fact that it is covert. Moreover, Sportiche (1988) in his pioneering paper on floating quantifiers provides us with the perfect argument in favour of our view. Consider (19):

- (19) Tous ont décidé de venir
 all have decided to come
 ‘They all decided to come’

Sportiche explains the grammaticality of (19), suggesting that the subject is [_{tous} *pro*], although *pro* does not exist in French, and he therefore goes on to argue that the quantifier ‘*plays the necessary identificational role*’ and permits the *pro* to appear there.¹⁶

Since a sequence [_{NP} Q [_{NP} *pro*]] is licensed in a language that is normally considered not to tolerate *pro*, I cannot see why it might need further identification in Greek, where *pro* is the subject par excellence of most of the clauses (apart from VSO with overt DP-subject). We, therefore, conclude that the behaviour of the floating quantifiers doesn’t point to the existence of a subject clitic in [Spec, TP], either.

¹⁶ It is not clear, though, why a quantifier cannot license an object *pro* in Greek (see 13a) if Sportiche’s explanation is on the right track. The answer requires a refinement of Sportiche’s proposal, but this discussion lies outside the scope of this paper.

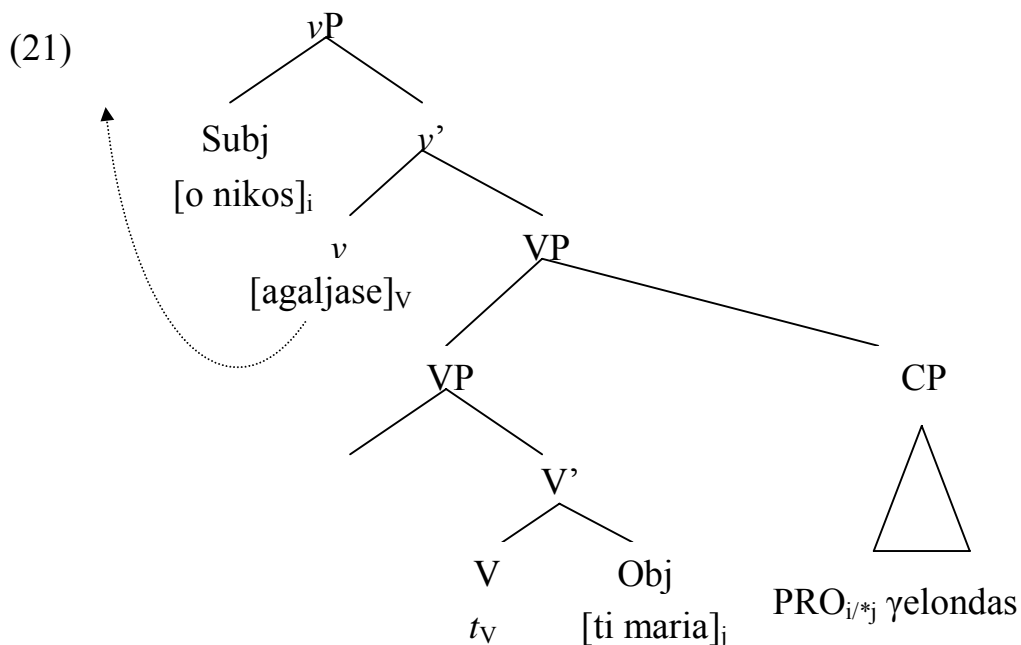
4.4 Subject control

A further argument of P&S is based on the fact that in Greek gerundival clauses that are standardly assumed to be vP -adjoined and constitute non-finite clauses in Greek must be controlled by the subject and cannot be controlled by the object of a clause. So we have the pattern:

- (20) [o nikos]_i(nom) agaljase [ti maria]_j(acc) [PRO_{i/*j} γelondas]
 [the Nick] hugged [the Mary] laughing
 ‘Nick, laughing, hugged Mary’

If we assume that the ‘real subject’ is just a *pro* (or a DP, in VSO structures) in [Spec, vP], then this element obviously cannot bind the PRO-subject of a vP -adjoined gerundival clause.¹⁷ Of course, the A-bar DP *o nikos* is not in an A-position and, thus, cannot be said to be the controller. On the other hand, if we adopt the DSH, then the subject clitic in [Spec, TP] can be the controller and explain the asymmetry in (20).

But let us suggest an alternative structure. If the gerundival clause is not adjoined to the higher vP -shell, but to the lower VP-one, then the asymmetry can be explained without the presence of a clitic in [Spec, TP]:¹⁸



¹⁷ Tsimplici (2000) suggests that gerundival clauses might not be full clauses (CPs), but I will continue to consider them CPs for ease of exposition.

¹⁸ To be precise, (21) corresponds to the VSO counterpart of (20), namely to the sentence: *Agaljase o Nikos ti Maria...* (‘hugged Nick(nom) Mary(acc)...’), so that we can ‘see’ the subject in its base position (recall that in SVO structures Subj is a topic).

It should be noted here that adjunction to the lower shell is not prohibited by any principle of grammar.¹⁹ If adjunction is indeed the most unlimited mechanism in X-bar syntax then a structure like (21) might not be as odd as it seems at first sight.²⁰ So, if the CP is adjoined to this position, then the in situ *pro* can control inside it, whereas the object cannot.

Of course, I have to admit that this solution is not completely unproblematic. P&S (1998) observe that even subjects of ergative main verbs can control the PRO of the gerundival clause:

- (22) [i porta]_i anikse [PRO_i trizondas]
 the door opened squeaking
 ‘The door opened with a squeak’
 from Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos (1998)

We can see that VP-adjunction will not help us here. Subjects of ergative verbs are generated inside the lower VP, in ‘object position’ and –by Chomsky (2000a, 2001) – do not raise covertly to [Spec, TP]. It is obvious that for P&S (22) is unproblematic, since the subject clitic can perform the control, while for the current proposal it is not, since I argue that this subject clitic does not exist and the subject stays inside VP.

But it seems that the problem is not just a problem of this analysis. Notice that a similar problem arises for English, if we assume Chomsky’s (2001) mechanism of feature-checking, according to which there is no covert movement of the associate at the expletive position at LF, contrary to the assumptions of the ‘Minimalist Program’ (Chomsky 1995).

- (23) a. *The inspector arrested [three men]_i [without PRO_i identifying themselves]
 b. There arrived [three men]_i [without PRO_i identifying themselves]

¹⁹ Apart from Kayne’s (1994) Antisymmetry, of course (as far as right-adjunction is concerned). But the validity of Antisymmetry is not undisputed. Cf. Chomsky’s (2001) claim that the Thematization/Extraction rule might involve rightward adjunction to VP.

²⁰ A considerable piece of evidence that the ‘VP-adjunction’ analysis might be on the right track comes from the fact that Radford (2000:28) treats certain kinds of adverbs in English as VP-adverbs. He argues, for example, that –given the fact that English finite verbs do not leave *vP*– the difference between (1a) and (1b)

- (1) a. They desperately want to win the race
 b. They want desperately to win the race

derives from the fact that ‘desperately’ is adjoined to the lower VP shell and ‘want’ moves to light *v* past this adverb in (1b), while it stays in situ in (1a).

In Chomsky (1995) it was assumed that the *without*-clause is a ν P-adjunct that cannot be controlled by the object in (23a). On the other hand, it was assumed that covert raising of the associate to [Spec, TP] at LF in (23b) enables it to bind PRO, and the derivation converges.²¹ The problem arises in the current framework, since the associate never raises to [Spec, TP]. Covert movement, as I have already mentioned, is not applicable in this framework and feature checking between T and the subject takes place via long-distance Matching. It seems, then, that cases like (22) and (23) pose a difficulty for the latest model of Minimalism in general. I leave this issue open.

So, while acknowledging the fact that P&S's account explains the subject control cases in gerundival clauses, I have to mention that, as far transitives and unergatives are concerned, the present analysis can easily accommodate their observations, implementing adjunction to the lower VP-shell, while in the case of ergatives it seems that the explanation of the control facts in (22-23) is a weak point for the overall theory of generative grammar at its current stage. Thus, even if we posit that P&S's analysis for Greek is the right one, since it can explain (22), (23) will still be left unexplained, though it appears that the same problem is involved in both. A uniform explanation of the data in (22-23) might eliminate the need of a subject clitic in Greek. But I cannot claim to have the answer for either construction.

4.5 Impersonal Structures

Another argument in favour of the existence of a subject clitic comes from impersonal structures in Greek:

- (24) fenete [oti de tha erθi avrio [i maria]_{nom}]
 seems that NEG FUT come tomorrow [the Mary]
 'It seems that Mary won't come tomorrow'
- (25) vrexī
 rains
 'It rains'

²¹ In fact, this was the explanation of these structures provided in Uriagereka (1988). Lasnik (1999, chapter 8) discusses the relevant structures and concludes that movement of the DP to AgrO might be the explanation. In the current framework, such movement would be movement to the outer Spec of ν P (namely, object shift), but a number of questions arise, since arguments are thought to remain VP-internal in these constructions and object shift is not applicable either in English or in Greek.

Since strong pronouns cannot appear in (24-25) and the sentences clearly do not involve a *pro* *vP*-internally, as the θ -requirements of the verbs do not demand it, a covert expletive subject-clitic in [Spec, TP] is said to check the agreement features of these verbs, in more or less the same way in which the expletive *it* does in English.

The question that arises is: Do we need an element to pick up the agreement features of the verb? Under the current theoretical framework, it seems that we do, but we do not need to posit that the element that will agree with the uninterpretable ϕ -features of the verb must be in a Spec-Head relation with T. Nevertheless, we cannot use an element in the domain of the probe T, since nothing from within *vP* can check the agreement features. So, a covert element in [Spec, TP] checks them. This conclusion seems to favour P&S's DSH.

But let us make an alternative hypothesis and see how it works. Both verbs in (24-25) bear default 3rd person singular agreement marking. Let us posit that default agreement-marking is absence of 'agreement' rather than agreement with an expletive. So, in (24-25) verbs do not agree with anything. That means that we should also postulate that default 3 person singular agreement is somehow [+interpretable] and does not need to be checked. That is, 'weather'-predicates and impersonal verbs might not need to agree with a DP, since they do not need to discharge an uninterpretable ϕ -set. This might be the (only?) difference between impersonal verbs (26) and their corresponding personal ones (27) in Greek:

- (26) fenete oti den trone ta pedja
 seems_{sing} [that NEG eat_{3pers.pl} the [kids]_{nom}]
 'It seems that the kids don't eat'
- (27) ta pedja fenonde oti den trone
 the [kids]_{nom} seem_{pl} [that NEG eat_{3pers.pl}]
roughly: 'You can see on the kids that they don't eat'

That the interpretability of default agreement is not an implausible claim can be shown from the fact that it is backed up by similar observations by Schütze (1999:480), who is examining the phenomenon of expletive constructions of the sort *There's lots of cookies on the table*, in English. The important correlation with my analysis is that Schütze reaches the conclusion that nonagreement in the above sentence is really absence of agreement between T and the NP that forces T to appear with default (3rd singular) agreement.

Another indication that this hypothesis might bear on reality is the observations from the field of language acquisition. Varlokosta et. al.

(1998), for example, observe that children prefer to omit subjects in a considerably higher proportion when using default agreement (3rd person agreement – the equivalent of the ‘root infinitive’ stage of the acquisition of non-pro-drop languages), than when using regularly inflected forms of the verb. So, if indeed default agreement clusters with the absence of a DP argument that can check agreement against T, then these data from acquisition fall neatly into place.

I have, therefore, suggested that default agreement might be [+interpretable] and therefore it might not need to be checked by a nominal. If an explanation along these lines is true, then P&S’s argument provided by impersonal constructions in favour of the subject clitic does not hold, either.

4.6 A further remark – Reconstruction in [Spec, TP]

Let us make a final remark, based on an argument from the Binding Theory in favour of the subject clitic position. The crucial example is (28).²²

- (28) % [i mitera [tu jani]_i]_j ton_i ayapai
 the mother DET_{gen} John_{gen} him-cl loves
 ‘John’s mother loves him’

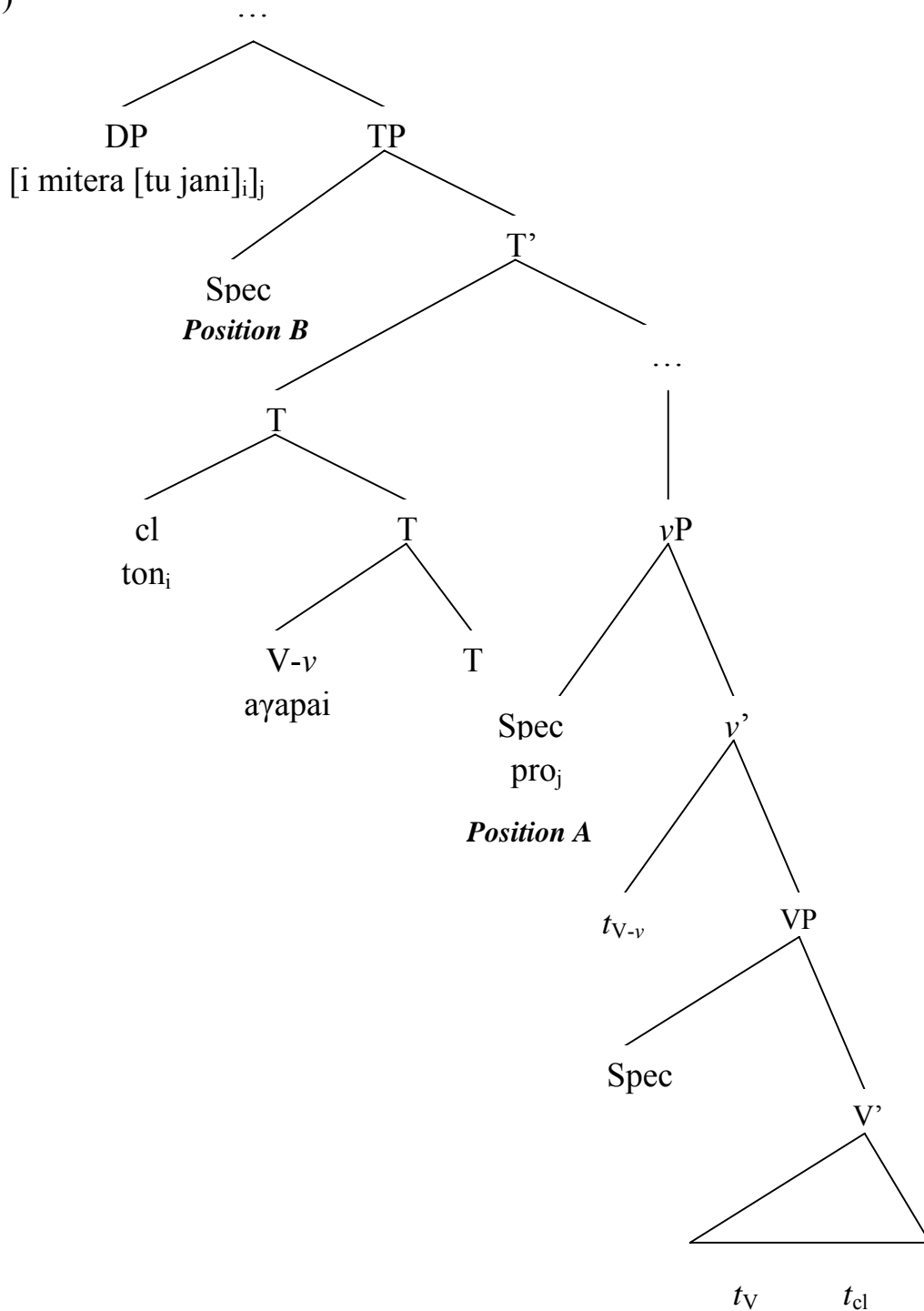
It is suggested that (28) is perceived as marginal by speakers, because of the availability of the [Spec, TP] along with the [Spec, vP] as the locus of interpretation of the preverbal subject for binding reasons. This means that this example supports the availability of the [Spec, TP] position (the position of the nominal bundle of features) for reconstruction.

It is argued that the ambiguity in the judgements arises because, apart from the ‘canonical’ position where the DP is interpreted, namely the ‘pro’-position (after reconstruction), which gives a Principle C violation, because the R-expression ‘tu jani’ is bound by the clitic, the speakers ‘*somehow allow for the preverbal DP-subject to be interpreted in the EPP position, a position which is not c-commanded by the clitic*’ (Spyropoulos 1999: 166).

Let us see the relevant phrase marker (from Spyropoulos 1999:165):

²² As Spyropoulos notes, the example originally comes from Horrocks (1994).

(29)



First of all, I do not agree with the marginal status that Spyropoulos assigns to (28). According to my and most of my informants' intuitions the sentence is grammatical and coindexation between the clitic and the R-expression is permitted. Since I believe that (28) does not deserve the judgement of deviance, it seems reasonable to suppose that the DP [i mitera tu jani] can never be interpreted as occupying Position A, namely

the [Spec, ν P] position in SVO orders, because this would result in ungrammaticality, being a Principle C violation. This means that, if my judgements are right, reconstruction to the ν P-internal position is not supported by the Binding Theory. But the discussion, apart from giving us hints about the application or not of reconstruction to [Spec, ν P], leads us to some interesting observations with respect to the availability or not of the [Spec, TP] position. Spyropoulos posits, as we saw, that speakers who consider (28) grammatical interpret the DP subject as occupying the EPP position, namely Position B of our phrase marker (29). He takes this to be an argument in favour of the view that something exists in [Spec, TP].

But it is not clear why this would be so. For (28) to be grammatical (the only interpretation for me, one of the two permitted according to Spyropoulos) we need the DP [i mitera tu jani] not to be c-commanded by the clitic, which is adjoined to T. This happens, indeed, if it occupies the [Spec, TP] position, but it need not do so! The surface A'-position of the DP_t is already a position where the R-expression [tu jani] is not c-commanded by the coreferential clitic. Why do we need then to posit that [Spec, TP] is available as a position for interpretation where this c-command relation cannot take place? It is not clear. Note that the DP is not the potential binder, but the potentially bound element. If it were to be the binder, it would be reasonable to suppose that its A-bar position cannot give us any binding effects. But this does not hold. The DP is the bindee and the only thing that we need in order to permit a grammatical interpretation for (28) is an A-free position for the DP, irrespective of the status of this position (A- or A-bar). And, indeed, the surface A-bar position is enough for this. For the R-expression to be unbound, we do not need to postulate that the DP gets interpreted as occupying the [Spec, TP] position, as the R-expression is free in the adjoined position already. Thus, we do not have evidence for the postulation of the existence of a subject-clitic in the EPP position.

5. The implications – (Conclusion)

In this paper I made some preliminary remarks on the position and the status of Greek subjects. Based on the formulation of the EPP in recent literature (Chomsky 2000a, 2001, Holmberg 2000), and on the assumptions that Greek strictly forbids overt material in [Spec, TP] and lacks A-movement altogether, I tried to show that P&S's arguments in favour of an EPP position in Greek can be either reformulated (predication, quantifier float), or given an alternative explanation (subject control,

impersonal agreement). The observation that the EPP position might be left blank in Greek coupled with the P&S's arguments against an analysis of EPP-satisfaction via head-movement, lead me to the conclusion that the EPP requirement might not hold in Greek.²³ So, it might be the case that the Extended Projection Principle is parameterized, a conclusion that needs, though, cross-linguistic support in order to be seriously considered. I suspect, following the traditional way of thinking on the issue, that if such a parameter exists, it should somehow correlate with the strength of agreement in *pro*-drop languages.²⁴ The issue awaits further examination.

Specific arguments of this paper, such as the ability of subjects of ergative verbs to control within an adjunct constituent, or the exact nature ([+/-interpretable]) of default agreement need more refinement and investigation. So does the major question that arises from the claims of this paper: If there is indeed an EPP-parameter, how is it exactly formulated? I hope to be able to return to this matter in the future.

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²³ It might be interesting, though, to mention an alternative way of explaining the relevant phenomena. Chomsky (2000b:71) observes that in transitive constructions something must escape the *v*P, and claims that VSO languages involve movement of the subject to the Spec of some functional projection followed by movement of the verb to a higher functional head. This is the explanation provided by McCloskey (1996) for VSO in Irish and by Lahousse (2000) for impersonal constructions in Romance, among others. Such a solution would explain the control asymmetry (see section 4.4.), at least, but I think that we must remain skeptical, since this analysis would require reformulation of the entire clause architecture of Greek, a matter that lies beyond the scope of this article.

²⁴ Perhaps Speas' (1995) intuition that either the Spec or the head of a projection have to be filled at some point of the derivation might give us the desired results. If T is strong then it counts as filled. Otherwise movement or merge to the EPP position has to take place.

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