

Greek ‘ECM’ and how to control it*

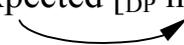
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Abstract. The proper analysis of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) constructions has been a long-standing problem in Greek syntax. The lack of embedded nonfinite clauses in Greek militates against a mainstream ‘raising-to-object’ analysis of the phenomenon. In this paper I argue that, despite appearances, Greek quasi-ECM is only superficially related to English ECM, since it is not amenable to a raising analysis (with or without overt movement to the appropriate position of the matrix clause). I also claim that not even an ‘influence/reanalysis’ approach proves adequate. A number of diagnostics lead me to the conclusion that the accusative-marked (‘quasi-raised’) DP occupies a position in the matrix clause throughout the derivation. Moreover, the fact that the grammaticality of Greek quasi-ECM constructions depends on the thematic properties of this DP leads me to the conclusion that the constructions in question are control ones and not raising ones. A number of complications that the proposed analysis meets are discussed and an explanation of the subcategorization peculiarities of the quasi-ECM verbs is attempted.

1. Introduction

The term Exceptional Case-Marking (ECM) is traditionally used to refer to the phenomenon in which the thematic subject of an embedded non-finite clause is accusative case-marked by the matrix verb as if it were its object:

- (1) I expected [_{DP} him] to take part in the party.
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Greek¹ exhibits a construction which is superficially similar to this in (1). In this construction we have accusative case-marked subjects of embedded

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¹ I will use the term ‘Greek’ meaning ‘Modern Greek’ throughout.

subjunctive clauses, which are complements of verbs like *thelo* ‘want’ and *perimeno* ‘expect’²:

- (2a) O Theodorakis theli ti Faranturi na
 Theodorakis-Nom want-3rd.sg Faranturi-Acc SUBJ
 trayudai mono dika tu trayudja.
 sing-3rd.sg only own-his songs-Acc
 ‘Theodorakis wants Faranturi to sing only his songs’.
- (2b) den perimena ti Marina na yrapsi toso
 NEG expected-1st.sg Marina-Acc SUBJ write-3rd.sg that
 asxima sto djagonisma tis fisikis.
 badly in exam physics-Gen
 ‘I did not expect Marina to do so badly in the physics exam’.

The superficial similarity between (1) and (2) might lead us to the conclusion that the phenomenon is common for the two languages. However, a number of complications arise in the Greek case. First of all, Greek lacks not only infinitives, but nonfinite complement clauses altogether³, as it exhibits full agreement features on the ‘Tense’ head of subjunctives. Therefore, it is difficult for one to explain why the DP* ‘subject’⁴ needs the matrix verb for case assignment reasons, given that structural case assignment is traditionally connected with agreement.

Moreover, the same sentences which allow quasi-ECM in Greek have a perfectly grammatical counterpart in which the DP* surfaces in nominative (3).

² Note that perception verbs, which are sometimes followed by an accusative that might be claimed to be the embedded subject, have been analyzed as control verbs (Felser 1999 for English, Iatridou 1993, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1997 for Greek), and therefore they will not be examined in this paper.

³ Note that the disagreement as far as Greek control structures are concerned (cf. Iatridou 1993, Terzi 1992, Varlokosta 1994 vs. Philippaki-Warburton & Catsimali 1999) is not a disagreement on the finite/nonfinite status of the embedded subjunctives (see also Joseph 1983), but on their tense properties and, hence, the availability vs. absence of a PRO subject in these clauses.

⁴ The DP involved in quasi-ECM and its nominative counterpart will from now on be marked with an asterisk for ease of reference, so as not to be confused with any other DPs in the clause.

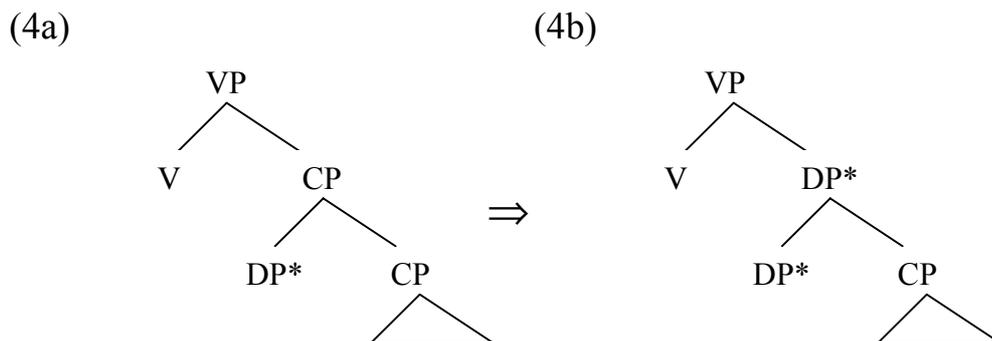
2. Possible analyses

Bearing in mind these peculiarities of the Greek case, let us turn to the possible explanations of the phenomenon:

A) The mainstream raising account (originally presented in Kakouriotis 1980), according to which the DP* cannot be assigned Case in the subordinate clause and therefore agrees with the verb of the matrix. In more recent terms, actual raising to [Spec, ν P] of the matrix clause depends on the existence or not of an EPP feature on the ν P phase in Greek (according to Chomsky 2000, 2001).

B) The explanation given by Philippaki-Warburton and Spyropoulos (1996) (following Philippaki-Warburton 1987⁷), according to which the accusative-marked DP* is not the real subject, but the clitic-left dislocated element coindexed with the real subject *pro* in SVO structures (see also Barbosa 1997). The *pro* remains in [Spec, ν P]. The peripheral position of this DP exposes it to the domain of influence of the matrix verb which assigns accusative to it. This does not mean change of case from nominative to accusative, since the nominative is assigned to the real subject, which is the *pro*. We will refer to this analysis as the ‘influence’ analysis from now on (for a similar proposal see Bruening 2001a,b⁸).

A descendent of this account is the *reanalysis* explanation of the phenomenon. According to Hadjivassiliou et al. (2000), the peripheral Clitic-Left Dislocated DP* gets reanalyzed as an object of the matrix verb. That is, structure (4a) turns to (4b).



⁷ A host of arguments against the mainstream raising approach had already been provided by Philippaki-Warburton (1982).

⁸ A justified question here would be whether Bruening's (2001a,b) account for Passamaquoddy might extend to Greek as well, given that Greek preverbal subjects are in a peripheral position, as in his account, and seem to be influenced by the matrix verb. However, it seems that this analysis cannot account for the Greek data, since it presupposes the complementary distribution of DP* and an embedded DP-subject (which does not hold for Greek, see section 5) and it also cannot explain the semantic flavour that appears in Greek quasi-ECM and the optionality in Case presented in (3).

After this reanalysis, the embedded clause stands in an appositive relation with respect to the DP*

C) A third possible analysis would claim that the constructions we are examining do not differ from control structures of verbs like *piθo* 'persuade', *anagazo* 'force' etc. This means that the DP* is an argument of the matrix verb throughout the derivation and controls a *pro*-subject of the embedded clause (according to the analysis of control in Greek pursued by Philippaki-Warburton & Catsimali 1999 and Spyropoulos & Philippaki-Warburton 2001a).

3. On the case of DP*

The raising analysis needs the assumption that the DP* does not get case in the embedded clause. However, as we mentioned earlier, the Tense head of subjunctives in Greek is nondefective in agreement features. So, according to theories that connect the case-assigning property with the presence of agreement (George & Kornfilt 1981, Chomsky 2000, 2001), the DP* should be case-marked.

But even if we follow the assumption that Tense is the element responsible for case assignment (Martin 1996, 2001), and we make use of the fact that subjunctives in Greek sometimes seem to disallow a [+past] specification (Iatridou 1993, Varlokosta 1994⁹), we still have to admit that subjunctive can in principle assign case, as it does to the subjects of matrix clauses:

- (5) Na plini ta piata ekinos pu θa fai
 SUBJ wash-3rd.sg the dishes-Acc he-Nom that FUT eat-3rd.sg
 telefteos!
 last
 'The one who eats last should wash the dishes'.

Moreover, the existence of the minimal pair in (3) –note that such minimal pairs can be constructed for any 'quasi'-ECM sentence in Greek– is enough to convince us that the embedded subjunctive can assign

⁹ We have to note here that Varlokosta's analysis makes predictions about the defectiveness of the Tense head of embedded clauses which are complements of aspectual verbs and a limited number of other control verbs (like *ksero* 'know'). Her analysis does not aim to account for the ECM facts and, in fact, even the existence of the minimal pair in (3) would suffice for the characterization of the subject of embedded quasi-ECM clauses as nominative-marked (*pro* or overt DP).

nominative case to its subject. It would be weird indeed if we claimed that what seems to be the same subjunctive verb assigns nominative in (3b) but fails to do so in (3a).

A final argument against the inability of case-assignment in the subordinate clause comes from the fact that in quasi-ECM structures we can have a nominative pronoun in the embedded clause.

- (6) Sta teleftea lepta oli perimenan to Rivaldo
 In last minutes all-Nom expected-3rd.pl Rivaldo-Acc
 na ektelesi ekinos to penalty.
 SUBJ shoot-3rd.sg he-Nom the penalty-Acc
 ‘In the last minutes all expected Rivaldo to shoot the penalty’.

We conclude that the quasi-ECM structures of Greek cannot be structures of raising without overt movement.¹⁰ What is more, they cannot be raising with movement since it is well-established that Greek lacks an EPP feature on ν P. It does not have ‘object shift’.¹¹

¹⁰ This holds, of course, only if we assume that a DP cannot be doubly case-marked. But since this is the default assumption in Chomskyan syntax, accounting for a multitude of empirical facts (which I will not go through here), I will take it for granted.

¹¹ I should note here that English does not have object shift, either. Nevertheless there exist accounts in the literature in which the DP subject of ECM-complements occupies a matrix position, that is, it raises to [Spec, ν P] (Koizumi 1993, Boskovic 1997, Lasnik 1999, among many others). I believe, though, that such an approach cannot be sustained for Greek for a number of reasons. First of all, the position of postverbal subjects provides us with a measure for movement to the periphery of the ν P. More specifically, good reasons exist for us to assume that subjects in Greek VSO sentences remain ν P-internal (see Philippaki-Warburton 1987, Spyropoulos 1999, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999b, 2001, Spyropoulos & Philippaki-Warburton 2001b). However, accusative-marked DP*s can appear on the right of in-situ subjects:

- (i) perimene i Niki to Luka na tis milisi kalitera.
 expected-3rd.sg Niki-Nom Lukas-Acc SUBJ her-Acc speak better.
 ‘Niki expected Lukas to speak better to her.’

In (i) the DP *i Niki* occupies the [Spec, ν P] position. Therefore the DP* *ton Luka* cannot be on the periphery of ν P (unless we assume that it moves to [Spec, ν P] before the subject is merged, but something like that would contradict standard analyses of ν P-structure, where it is assumed that arguments are merged before moved elements and that merge and θ -role assignment precedes move and satisfaction of features of moved elements –so I will not be concerned with this alternative).

A note on terminology is also needed here. I use the term ‘object shift’ to refer to overt A-movement to [Spec, ν P]. This kind of raising, if existent in English, does not necessarily have the same properties as Icelandic object shift for example. However, I follow works that subsume the two cases under one term (Chomsky 2000, Boskovic

The fact that Greek quasi-ECM is not actual ECM has also been supported by Philippaki-Warbuton (1987), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1997), Hadjivassiliou et al. (2000). In our attempt to see what the true nature of the phenomenon is, we will turn to some empirical evidence for the fact that the DP* occupies a matrix position.

4. Evidence for the matrix position of DP*

4.1 Position of adjuncts

The interpretation of some adverbial modifiers and adjuncts gives us the first piece of evidence for the matrix position of the DP*. It is, namely, expected that elements occurring after the subject position of an embedded clause cannot modify the verb of the matrix one, since they are not dominated by a matrix node. However, adverbial PPs occurring on the right of embedded 'subjects'¹² seem to be able to be construed with the matrix verb. In (7) the italicized PPs can modify the matrix verb, although they occur on the right of the accusative-marked DP*.

- (7a) O Petros perimene ti Sofia *me laxtara*
 Petros-Nom expected-3rd.sg Sofia-**Acc** with desire
 na dexti tin protasi *γamu*.
 SUBJ accept-3rd.sg the proposal-Acc wedding-Gen
 'Petros expected with desire Sofia to accept the wedding
 proposal'.
- (7b) Iθele ton patera tu *apo siniθia* na
 Wanted-3rd.sg the father-**Acc** his-Gen out of habit SUBJ
 tu lei kaθe mera ke ena *djaforetiko paramiθi*.
 him-Gen tell-3rd.sg each day and a different story-Acc
 'Out of habit he wanted his father to tell him a different story
 each day'.

1997, Lasnik 1999). What is crucial for me is that, either way, Greek does not seem to have (obligatory) overt movement of DP-objects to the periphery of vP for ϕ -feature checking reasons. So the correlation between overt A-movement and the availability of 'ECM' cannot hold for Greek.

¹² The CLLD DPs that appear in preverbal position in Greek SVO structures may not be the 'real' subjects, as we have already said, but it is uncontroversial, as far as I know, that they belong to the embedded clause. Therefore, they can be used as markers for the position of the adverbials we are examining.

Now, if we replace the accusative-marked DP* with its nominative counterpart, then the matrix interpretation of the same adverbial phrases is no longer possible.

(8a) O Petros perimene i Sofia *me laxtara* na dexti tin protasi yamu
Sofia-**Nom**

(8b) Iθele o pateras tu *apo siniθia* na tu lei kathe mera ke ena
the father-**Nom**
δjaforetiko paramiθi.
(both * under the matrix interpretation of the italicized PPs)

Taking into account the position of the PP-adverbial, we are led to the conclusion that the accusative-marked DP* belongs to the matrix clause, a conclusion militating against the raising and the influence approaches. Note that the reanalysis approach also fails to account for (7) since there is no node in (4b) that could accommodate the PP between the DP* and the embedded clause such that this node belongs to the matrix clause.

On the contrary, if the structures in (7) are control structures, then the position of the adverbial modifier is the same with that in (9), which is doubtlessly an object control construction.

(9) Episa to Jani *meta apo poles prospathies*
Persuaded-1st.sg Yannis-Acc after many attempts
na min paretiθi.
SUBJ NEG resign-3rd.sg
'After many attempts, I persuaded Yannis not to resign'.

4.2 Negative polarity items

A second diagnostic for the position of the DP* comes from the distribution of Negative Polarity Items. I will not be concerned here with the review of the proposals concerning NPI-licensing in Greek (see, among others, Tsimpli and Roussou 1996, Giannakidou 1998, Klidi 1998).

What is of particular interest is the difference between (10a) and (10b):

- (10a) Me tetia siberifora perimena KANIS na
 With such behaviour expected-1st.sg nobody-**Nom** SUBJ
 mi me proslavi sti δulja tu.
 NEG me-Acc employ-3rd.sg to job-Acc his-Gen
 'With such a behaviour I expected nobody to employ me'.
- (10b) *Me tetia siberifora perimena KANENA na mi me proslavi
 nobody-**Acc**
 sti δulja tu.

Since case does not play a role in NPI-licensing, it is obvious that the contrast between the two sentences derives from the different position of KANIS and KANENA. The accusative token of the NPI-item presumably occupies a matrix position and cannot be in the scope of the embedded negation.

4.3 The pronoun 'o iδjos'

Varlokosta and Hornstein (1993) have studied the distribution and interpretation of the pronoun *o iδjos* 'he himself', reaching the conclusion that when it occupies the subject position this pronoun behaves as a normal pronoun and is subject to Principle B of the Binding Theory. On the other hand, the object variant of this pronoun functions as a bound pronoun, which is licensed by a null operator in [Spec, CP]. What is important for our purposes is that the two occurrences of this pronoun differ not because of their case, but because of their respective positions in the phrase marker.

We would expect, then, that if the DP* *tin iδja-Acc* occupied a subject position indeed, it would behave as its nominative counterpart. This does not happen though. See (11).

- (11a) I Jana_i θeli i iδja_i na aponimi
 Jana-Nom wants-3rd.sg she-**Nom** SUBJ award-3rd.sg
 ta metalia.
 the medals-Acc
 'Jana wants to award the medals herself'.
- (11b) *I Jana_i θeli tin iδja_i na aponimi ta metalia.
 her-**Acc**

The ungrammaticality of (11b) is explained if we assume that the pronoun *tin iδja* does not occupy the embedded subject position, but matrix object

one. In this position it gets bound both by the null operator in the matrix [Spec, CP] and by the subject. This coreference violates Principle B of the binding theory for *tin iðja*.

4.4 Clitic doubling

A last indication for the matrix position of the DP* comes from clitic doubling. It is well-known that clausal objects in Greek can be doubled by the clitic pronoun *to*.

- (12) To ksero [oti bori na ksanayinun
It-Acc know-1st.sg that may SUBJ be-held-again-3rd.pl
ekloyes to 2005].
elections-Nom in 2005
'I know that elections may be held again in 2005'.

However, a clause which is the second object of a verb which has an accusative-DP object cannot be doubled by *to*¹³.

- (13) *To episa ton Jani na aposiri ti
It-Acc persuaded-1st.sg Yannis-Acc SUBJ withdraw-3rd.sg the
minisi.
prosecution-Acc
'I persuaded Yannis to withdraw the prosecution'.

The behaviour of the quasi-ECM structures when they appear with clitics is quite predictable only under the assumption that the DP* is in the matrix clause. First of all, we observe that when the DP* is in nominative, the clause in which it belongs can be doubled by a clitic.

¹³ This restriction is straightforwardly explained if we assume (with Warburton 1977, Philippaki-Warburton 1987, and Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2001) that in clitic doubling constructions the clitic is the main argument of the verb, while the double occupies an adjunct position. If so, then the restriction on the co-occurrence of an accusative clitic and an accusative DP-object can be attributed to the fact that a single *v* cannot assign structural (accusative) case to two arguments simultaneously. (A possible complication that arises with respect to double accusative complements of verbs like *ðiðasko* 'teach' can be dealt with if we assume with Anagnostopoulou 1999:67-71 that in double accusatives the theme does not have structural case).

- (14) To perimena o Janis na kani samata
 It-Acc expected-1st.sg Yannis-**Nom** SUBJ make a fuss-Acc
 ja to loyarjasmo.
 about the bill-Acc
 'I expected that Yannis would make a fuss about the bill'.

This means that the clause is the only object of the verb *perimena*. On the contrary, when the DP* surfaces in nominative, then doubling of the clause is no longer possible.

- (15) *To perimena ton Jani na kani samata ja to loyarjasmo.
 Yannis-**Acc**

The ungrammaticality of (15) is explained if the DP *ton Jani* is the object of the matrix verb. Then, structure (15) is a double object construction (that is, a control construction) in which it cannot be the case that both the DP and the clitic can receive accusative case.

Let us also notice that the position of the DP* as an argument of the matrix verb is also confirmed by the fact that this DP* can be doubled in the matrix clause when it surfaces in accusative and not, of course, in nominative.

- (16) Ton perimena ton Jani/*o Janis na kani samata ja to
 Him-Acc Yannis-**Acc**/*-**Nom**
 loyarjasmo.

5. *The DP* is not the peripheral DP-subject of the embedded clause*

The 'influence' and 'reanalysis' accounts of the phenomenon under investigation succeed in bearing out the intuition that the DP* somehow behaves as an object of the matrix clause. They are not, though, completely successful in explaining the optional and not predictable character of the phenomenon. Let us now turn to some of their shortcomings.

First of all, they cannot explain the fact that quasi-ECM in Greek is sensitive to the properties of the matrix verb. That is, it is not the case that any case-assigning matrix verb that subcategorizes for a subjunctive clause can case-mark its subject. So, for example, the verb *pistevo* 'believe' can have a DP-object (as in (17)):

- (17) Pistevó ti mitera mu.
believe-1st.sg mother-Acc me-Gen
'I believe my mother'.

And it can also subcategorize for a full clause:

- (18) Pistevó i mitera mu na exi erθi.
believe-1st.sg the mother-**Nom** my-Gen SUBJ have-3rd.sg
come
'I believe/hope that my mother will have come'.

But it cannot case mark its subject:

- (19) *Pistevó ti mitera mu na exi erθi.
mother-**Acc**

The same happens with the verb *apeto* 'demand' which resembles *thelo* 'want' in meaning:

- (20) Apeto tin epilisi ton provlimaton mu.
demand-1st.sg the solution-Acc the problems-Gen my-Gen
'I demand the solution to my problems'.

- (21) Apeto o ipuryos na mu lisi ta provlimata.
demand-1st.sg the minister-**Nom** SUBJ me-Gen solve-3rd.sg
the problems-Acc
'I demand that the minister will solve my problems'.

- (22) *Apeto ton ipuryo na mu lisi ta provlimata.
the minister-**Acc**

Moreover, the influence and reanalysis approaches do not explain why Clitic-Left Dislocated DPs in genitive cannot be reanalyzed as matrix objects.

- (23) O Sotiris iθele tis Marinas na tis
Sotiris-Nom wanted-3rd.sg Marina-**Gen** SUBJ her-Gen
kani mia ekpliksi. ⇒
make- 3rd.sg a surprise-Acc

*O Sotiris iθele ti Marina na tis kani mia ekpliksi.

Marina-Acc

'Sotiris wanted to make a surprise to Marina'

Let me note that Clitic-Left Dislocated elements are base-generated in their surface position (Cinque 1990). Philippaki-Warburton (1987) and Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1999b) have claimed that preverbal subject DPs in Greek behave as CLLDed elements. So, it is difficult to explain how the DP* changes case when it corefers with the subject clitic and does not change case when it corefers with the indirect object clitic.

A further argument against the view that the DP* in quasi-ECM constructions is the preverbal subject of embedded clauses comes from constructions where we find both the DP* and a preverbal subject pronoun in the embedded clause:

- (24) Meta apo ton kavva perimena ti Maria i iðja
 after the quarrel-Acc expected-1st.sg Maria-Acc she-Nom
 na erθi ke na mu zitisi siynomi
 SUBJ come-3rd.sg and SUBJ me-Gen ask-3rd.sg apology-Acc
 kai oxi na stili ti fili tis.
 and not SUBJ send-3rd.sg the friend-Acc her-Gen
 'After the quarrel I expected Mary to come and apologize
 herself and not send her friend (to do so)'

The control analysis¹⁴ explains all the relevant properties of the sentences, since it proposes that sentences (17-19) and (20-22) derive from different subcategorization frames, it claims that the [+NP +CP] frame gives us a subject control construction and not an object control one (as in (23)), and finally it distinguishes between the DP* and the preverbal DP-subject of SVO structures.

6. Thematic properties of the DP* - Towards a control analysis

So far we have seen that the diagnostics support the view that DP* is in the matrix clause. Moreover, the phenomenon under investigation is not fully productive, but it appears only with some verbs that do not form a natural class in terms of thematic properties. We also saw that the quasi-ECM

¹⁴ Note that we mean the modified version of control proposed for Greek by Philippaki-Warburton & Catsimali (1999) and Spyropoulos & Philippaki-Warburton (2001a).

structures have an additional semantic flavour, they convey an extra meaning. The accusative-marked DP* is the person or thing which is expected or required to undertake the action of the embedded verb.

All of these apparently peculiar properties are explained if we assume that the structures we are examining are control structures in which a separate θ -role is assigned to the DP* argument of the matrix clause.

We will claim that this meaning of ‘the person or thing in question’ is a kind of weak θ -role which is assigned to the DP*. If this role fails to be assigned, then ungrammaticality arises. This prediction is borne out in the case of the subjects of idiomatic expressions. These subjects cannot receive a θ -role different from the one which is assigned to them within the expression.

Consider now (25). When the subject *psili* ‘fleas’ of the idiomatic expression *benun psili st’ aftia* ‘become suspicious’ is in nominative, the sentence is grammatical. When it surfaces in accusative, the sentence is ruled out.

- (25a) Me tosa pu pire to mati tu
 With so-many-Acc that took-3rd.sg the eye-Acc his-Gen
 perimena psili na tu bun
 expected-1st.sg fleas-**Nom** SUBJ him-Gen enter-3rd.pl
 st’ aftia.
 in the ears-Acc
 ‘With the things that he saw I expected that he would become suspicious’.
- (25b) *Me tosa pu pire to mati tu perimena psilus na tu bun st’ aftia.
 fleas-**Acc**

We note here that movement of a constituent (for example, raising) does not affect the interpretation of the idiom, since in raising no θ -role is assigned to the DP in its derived position. This is the reason that constructions like (26) are grammatical in English:

- (26) [All hell]_i seemed *t*_i to break loose.

Therefore, the contrast in (25) is caused by the additional θ -role assigned to the DP in Greek quasi-ECM constructions. The existence of this role means that the constructions we are examining are not ECM ones but control ones.

More specifically, following Hadjivassiliou et al. (2000), I assume that the DP* occupies a matrix position and I agree with them that the

phenomenon is a *blend*. I differ from them, though in claiming that this blend is not produced in the syntactic component with the process of reanalysis, since such a procedure would take into account the structural syntactic parameters and it would not give rise to the asymmetries and the lexical gaps that I examined in section 5 of this article. I propose, therefore, that the blend in question is constructed in the Lexicon, where some verbs obtain a parasitic [+NP, +CP] frame beside the [+NP] and [+CP] ones that they already have. This new subcategorization frame comes together with a [+control] feature on the matrix verb.¹⁵ This account of quasi-ECM in Greek is a desirable one from a theoretical point of view, since it succeeds in reducing the optionality and superficial arbitrariness of the phenomenon to the Lexicon, which is the depository of irregularities.

This analysis explains why the quasi-ECM property belongs only to specific verbs in a non-predictable manner, since it reduces to a control feature, which is an indispensably idiosyncratic feature of certain lexemes (Culicover and Jackendoff 2001, among others).

To sum up, the current proposal has the following advantages:

1. It explains the existence of minimal pairs of sentences in which the DP* surfaces in nominative and accusative, without weakening the minimalist principle which requires no optionality in the syntactic component. This is possible if we assume that the minimal pairs in question are derived from different Numerations and the different subcategorization frames of the same verb.

2. The small number of verbs permitting this construction and their not predictable kind is attributed to the lexical idiosyncracies of certain verbs and not to a syntactic operation such as movement or reanalysis.

3. It explains the additional semantic nuance observed in quasi-ECM constructions as opposed to those in which the DP* surfaces in nominative.

¹⁵ Two crucial questions that arise concern 1) the exact point in which this frame is produced, i.e., if it is present in the learned lexical entry, or if it is a product of a post-lexical/pre-syntactic operation, and 2) the possibility of reducing the redundancy between the presence of the proposed subcategorization frame and the control feature on the matrix verb. As far as (1) is concerned, I will not commit myself to a clear decision. My main concern in this paper is to show that the phenomenon of 'ECM' in Greek is not a phenomenon of the narrow syntax and not to trace its exact position in the Lexicon. As for the second concern, I would like to note that it would really be desirable if we could eliminate the subcategorization part of my explanation in favour of a s-selection account, in line with much recent work in syntax. However, the fact that no discernible pattern exists with respect to the thematic properties of the matrix verb (as I have mentioned in section 5), coupled with the fact that the new frame seems to be a by-product of the other two, makes the c-selection account seem inescapable.

4. The distribution of clitics in the constructions under investigation is accounted for.

Of course a number of questions remain regarding the exact status of the postulated θ -role and about a number of other matters concerning the structures in question (for example, the impossibility of extraction out of them, noted by Hadjivassiliou et al. 2000). An open question is also whether the account presented here with respect to the subject of subjunctives (which have been claimed to permit raising, see Roussou 2001, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1999a), extends to the accusative marked DP* quasi-subject of indicatives in cases like (27).

- (27) ksero to Niko oti kani kales tiropites.
 know-1st.sg Nick-Acc that makes-3rd.sg good cheese-pies-Acc
 ‘I know that Nick makes good cheese-pies’.

I will leave these issues open for future research.

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