

Agreement, case and locality in the nominal and verbal domains

Edited by

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Chapter 1

An asymmetry in backward control: subject vs. object control

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In this paper we discuss an asymmetry in the distribution of backward control in Greek. Greek has been argued to have subject backward control, however, as we will show, the language lacks backward object control. We will account for this asymmetry by appealing to case conflicts of the type discussed in the context of free relatives.

1 Aims and goals

In this paper, we discuss backward control configurations, focusing on Greek, a language showing an asymmetry between backward subject control (BSC), which is fully productive, and backward object control (BOC), which is severely limited. This is a puzzling state of affairs if Greek indeed has backward control understood as movement and spell-out of the lower copy of the chain, as has been argued in the literature. Based on new evidence, we argue that the movement approach to Greek BSC is an illusion. The correct analysis involves the formation of a chain between the phi-features of the matrix T, the phi-features of the embedded T and those of the embedded subject, which is possible as long as the embedded subject does not intervene between the matrix and the embedded T. The formation of such chains is possible due to the fact that Greek has pronominal agreement, being a pro-drop language (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998, Barbosa 2009). The formation of comparable chains is severely restricted in BOC



configurations, which are only possible if the full embedded subject is either a clitic-doubled experiencer bearing dative or accusative case or an emphatic nominative anaphoric pronoun. We will discuss potential reasons why this should be so from the perspective of current approaches to Agree.

The paper is structured as follows. We first briefly summarize the arguments in Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, Iordachioaia & Marchis2010 that Greek has backward subject control (BSC), as well as more recent arguments, recently presented in Tsakali, Anagnostopoulou & Alexiadou2017, that this type of phenomenon does not involve scrambling and indeed instantiates agreement chains between a matrix T and an embedded subject. We then discuss the environments that have been argued to show object control in Greek and point out that there is an asymmetry between BSC (possible) as opposed to backward object control (BOC) (generally impossible) in Greek. We attribute the lack of BOC to the general unavailability of chain formation between a lower T and a higher Voice/vAPPL head, which can be overridden under certain conditions.

2 Introduction

As has been discussed in the work of Polinsky & Potsdam (2006; henceforth ‘P&P’), the movement analysis of control, put forth in Hornstein1999, coupled with the copy-and-delete theory of movement, predicts that next to canonical/forward control patterns, where the lower copy of the moved element is deleted, there should also exist backward control patterns, where the higher copy is deleted. A third possibility, which we do not consider in this section, is resumption, where both copies are pronounced, as depicted in Table 1.

Table 1: Typology of control and raising in P&P (2006)

Higher copy pronounced	Lower copy pronounced	Structure
✓	*	Forward Control (FC)
*	✓	Backward Control (BC)
✓	✓	Resumption

A lot of evidence has been provided in the literature for BC, which can be observed in several unrelated languages. For instance, BSC can be observed in several Nahk-Dagestanian languages, in Northwest Caucasian, in Malagasy, and in Korean; see e.g. Fukuda’s (2008) overview. The claim that BC exists in natural

language is the strongest argument brought by the movement analysis of control against the PRO-based approach; see e.g. **Landau1999** and subsequent work.

In Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, Iordachioaia and Marchis (2010; henceforth ‘AAIM’), we addressed Landau’s (2007) objections to BSC. One of the objections raised in **Landau2007** concerned the rarity of the phenomenon in one of the languages in which BC has been argued to exist, namely Tsez: in Tsez, only **two** verbs display BC. In other languages, the numbers hardly exceed five. Most commonly, the BC verbs are aspectuals (*begin, continue, stop*), which also have a standard raising analysis. On the basis of Greek and Romanian control constructions, we argued that BC is real in these two languages, as it is exhibited by the same verbs that allow OC (hence the ‘rarity’ objection doesn’t hold for Greek and Romanian).

Recently, a re-evaluation of the empirical picture was put forth in Tsakali, Anagnostopoulou & Alexiadou (2017; henceforth ‘TAA’) that can be summarized as follows: what has been analyzed as BSC in Greek, Romanian and Spanish is an illusion. In Spanish, it involves complex predicate formation, while in Greek/Romanian it involves co-reference with an embedded subject. Specifically, BC in Greek is a side-effect of the availability of an agreement chain between a null main subject and an overt embedded subject in all types of subjunctives (*na*-clauses) and, to a certain extent, in indicatives (*that*-clauses). While backward coreference is allowed in both types of clauses if the order is VSO or VOS, embedded SVO orders, which are available in indicatives, lead to a robust Principle C effect. TAA thus propose that what has been analysed as BC actually reflects φ -agreement between matrix T, embedded T and the overt S(ubject), licit only if the S doesn’t intervene between the two T heads, as in (1a):

- (1) a. $[T\varphi_k [_{TP/CP} T\varphi_k DP\varphi_k]]$
 b. $**[T\varphi_k [_{TP/CP} DP\varphi_k T\varphi_k]]$

In what follows, we summarize both aspects of this discussion. Nevertheless, as we will show in §3, such co-reference is not available in the case of object control.

3 BSC in Greek: An epiphenomenon

In Greek, control is instantiated in a subset of subjunctive complement clauses, as the language lacks infinitives; see e.g. **Varlokosta1994** and references therein. These subjunctive complement clauses are introduced by the subjunctive marker

na (2). The embedded verb, similarly to the matrix verb, shows agreement in number and person with the matrix subject.¹

- (2) Greek (O) Petros/ego kser-i/-o **na** koliba-i/-o
the Peter.NOM/I know-3SG/-1SG SBJV swim-3SG/-1SG
‘Peter/I knows/know how to swim.’

The literature on Greek control recognizes two main types of subjunctive complements (but cf. **Spyropoulos2007a** and **Roussou2009** for refinements): Obligatory Control (OC) ones and non-OC ones (NOC) (or *C(ontrolled)-subjunctives* and *F(ree)-subjunctives* in Landau’s (2004) terminology).

1. **OC/C-subjunctives** are found as complements of verbs such as *ksero* ‘know how’, *tolmo* ‘dare’, *herome* ‘be happy’, *ksehno* ‘forget’, *thimame* ‘remember’, *ma-theno* ‘learn’, *dokimazo* ‘try’, aspectual verbs such as *arhizo* ‘start/begin’, *sinehizo* ‘continue’.

- (3) a. *o Petros kseri na **kolimbao**
the Peter.NOM knows SBJV swim.1SG
Lit. ‘Peter knows how I swim.’
b. *o Petros kseri na **kolimbai** I Maria
the Peter.NOM knows SBJV swim.3SG the Mary.NOM
Lit. ‘Peter knows how Mary swims.’

2. **NOC/F-subjunctives** are found with e.g. volitional/future-referring predicates:

- (4) a. O Petros perimeni na **erthun**
the Peter.NOM expects SBJV come.3PL
‘Peter expects that they come.’
b. o Petros elpizi na figi i **Maria**
the Peter.NOM hopes SBJV go.3SG the Mary.NOM
‘Peter hopes that Mary goes.’

AAIM (2010) present evidence that **all** OC verbs in Greek allow BC. In fact, the subject DP can appear in a number of positions (here Greek differs from Tsez).

¹Na has been analyzed as a subjunctive mood marker (cf. Philippaki-Warbuton & Veloudis1984), a subjunctive complementizer (Tsoulas1993, Aggouraki1991) or a device to check EPP (Roussou2009). Here we side with the first view.

Preverbal subjects are considered to be in a left-dislocated position, while post-verbal subjects are located within the vP; see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998 for discussion. VSO and VOS orders have different information structure properties; see Alexiadou (1999, 2000) for discussion. Generally, the DP in the subjunctive complement agrees with both the low and the matrix verb in person and number:

- (5) (O **Janis**) emathe (o **Janis**) na pezi (o
 the John.NOM learned.3SG the John.NOM SBJV play.3SG the John.NOM
 Janis) kithara (o **Janis**)
 guitar the John.NOM
 ‘John learned to play the guitar.’

The pattern in which the DP resides in the complement clause qualifies as a case of BC on the basis of P& P’s argumentation. First, these constructions are bi-clausal (contra Roussou 2009), as can be shown on the basis of evidence from *negation* and *event modification*.

- *Two separate negations* are possible:

- (6) a. **Den** emathe na magirevi o Janis
 not learned.3SG SBJV cook.3SG the John.NOM
 ‘John didn’t learn to cook.’
 b. Emathe na **min** magirevi o Janis
 learned.3SG SBJV not cook.3SG the John.NOM
 ‘John learned not to cook (i.e. ‘John got into the habit of not cooking’).’
 c. **Den** emathe na **min** magirevi o Janis
 not learned.3SG SBJV not cook.3SG the John.NOM
 ‘John didn’t learn not to cook (i.e. ‘John still has the habit of cooking’).’

- The *event of each clause can be modified independently*:

- (7) a. Fetos tolmise **tesseris fores** na pirovolisi o Janis
 this.year dared.3SG four times SBJV shoot.3SG the
 John.NOM
 ‘This year there were four times that John dared to shoot.’

- b. Fetos tolmise na pirovolisi tesseriis fores o Janis
 this.year dared.3SG SBJV shoot.3SG four times the

John.NOM

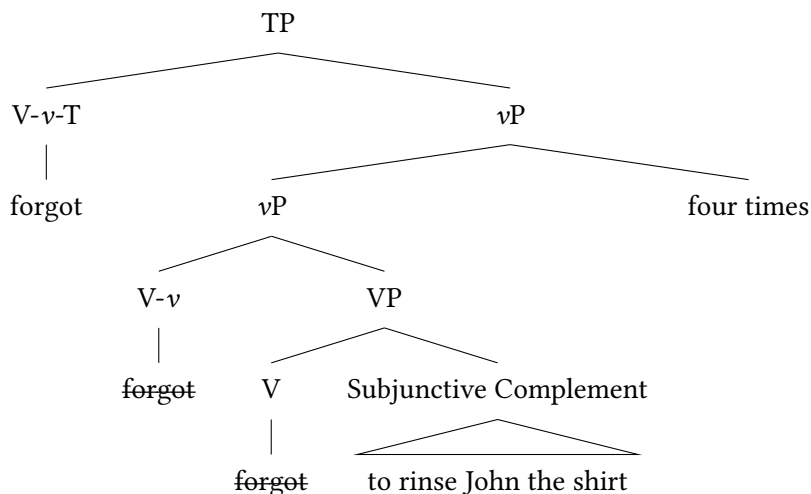
‘This year John dared to shoot four times (in a row).’

The subject is truly embedded, as it precedes both *embedded objects* and *embedded VP-modifiers*. Clause-final event adverbials have the potential of modifying either the matrix verb or the embedded one, depending on where they are situated:

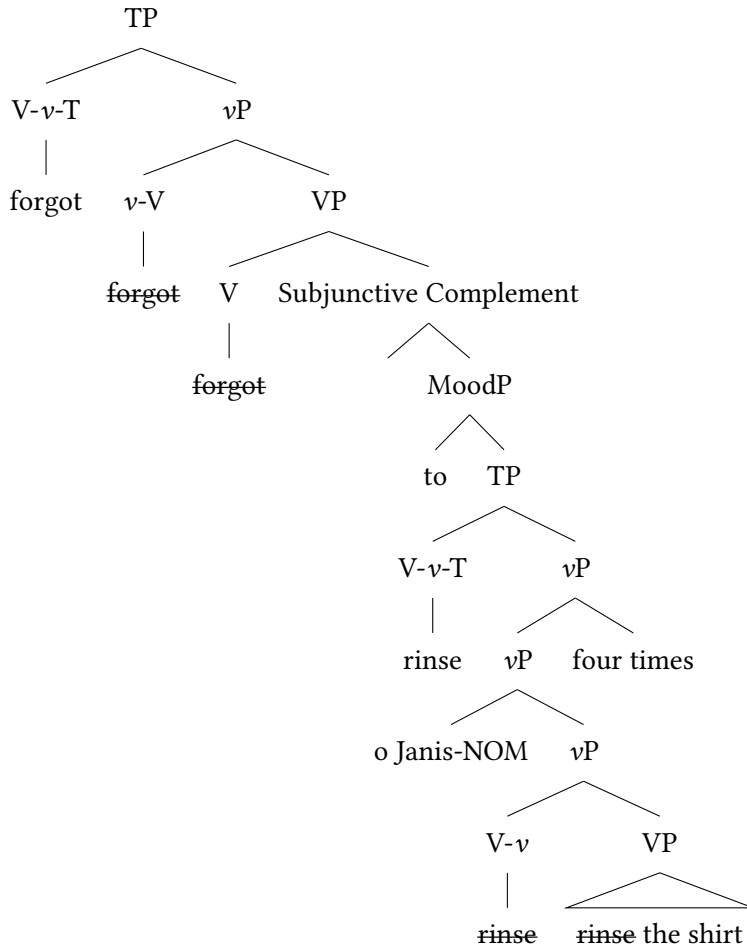
- (8) a. ksehas na ksevgali o Janis to pukamiso tseris fores
 forgot SBJV rinse the John.NOM the shirt four times
 ‘John forgot to rinse the shirt four times.’ (*four rinsings/forgettings*)
 b. ksehas tseris fores na ksevgali o Janis to pukamiso
 forgot four times SBJV rinse the John.NOM the shirt
 ‘John forgot four times to rinse the shirt.’ (*four forgettings*)

This difference in interpretation depends on the adjunction site of the adverb. When it modifies the matrix verb, it (right-)adjoins to the matrix vP or TP (10a). When it modifies the embedded verb, it adjoins to the embedded vP or TP (10b):

- (9) a. High reading



- b. Low reading



Evidence from *negative concord* potentially suggests that in BC the subject does **not** belong to the higher clause and surface to the right of the embedded verb as a result of rightward scrambling. Negative quantifiers in Greek, a negative concord language, must be either in the clause containing sentential negation (11a) or in the c-command domain of a higher sentential negation (11b). They cannot be licensed by a negation in a lower clause (11c) (see Giannakidou1997):

- (10) a. O Petros dietakse *na min* apolithi kanis
 the Peter.NOM ordered SBJV not was.fired nobody.NOM
 ‘Peter ordered that nobody was fired.’

- b. O Petros **den** dietakse *na* apolithi **kanis**
 the Peter.NOM not ordered SBJV was.fired nobody.NOM
 ‘Peter did not order that anybody was fired.’
- c. * **Kanis** dietakse *na* **min** apolithi o Petros
 nobody.NOM ordered SBJV not fired.NACT the Peter.NOM

The same pattern is found in OC contexts:

- (11) a. **Kanis** **den** tolmise *na* fai to tiri
 nobody.NOM not dared.3SG SBJV eat.3SG the cheese.ACC
 ‘Nobody dared to eat the cheese.’
- b. **Den** tolmise *na* fai **kanis** to tiri
 not dared.3SG SBJV eat.3SG nobody the cheese
 ‘Nobody dared to eat the cheese.’
- c. * **Kanis** tolmise *na* **min** fai to tiri
 nobody dared.3SG SBJV not eat.3SG the cheese

If the subject in BC constructions were part of the main clause, we would expect BC sentences with a low negation to have exactly the same status as (12c), which contains a negative matrix subject and an embedded sentential negation. This is not what we find. There is a clear difference in status between (12c) and its BC counterpart:

- (11) d. % Tolmise *na* **min** fai **kanis** to tiri
 dared.3SG SBJV not eat nobody the cheese

Even though (11d) is not perfect, it is much better than (12c). AAIM (2010) take this to be evidence that the subject in BC resides in the embedded clause.

Negative concord points to the existence of a higher copy in BC. If such a copy wasn’t present, (12d) should be fully acceptable. Further evidence in support of this comes from the observation that in Greek, *nominal secondary predicates and predicative modifiers* like ‘alone’ agree in gender and number with the c-commanding DP they modify:

(12) Greek ()

- a. O **Janis** efige **panikovlitos**/*-i
 the John-NOM left panicking-MS/*-FEM
 lit. ‘John left in panic.’

Greek

- b. O Janis irthe monos tu/*moni tis
the John-NOM came alone-MS/*alone-FEM
‘John came alone.’

In BC constructions, such modifiers can be licensed in the matrix clause, while the DP they modify resides in the embedded clause; see AAIM 2010: 103-104, examples (36)-(38). Hence, a silent copy must be present in the higher clause.

On the basis of these and similar arguments, AAIM (2010) thus conclude that Greek has BC. Unlike Tsez, BC in Greek is optional (FC is also permitted). Crucially, all OC verbs in Greek and Romanian allow BC, providing a stronger argument for BC.

TAA (2017) re-evaluate the empirical picture, using extensive questionnaires, by focusing on the following configurations with OC/NOC verbs favoring co-reference and NOC verbs that do not favor coreference:

- (13) a. V *na* V Subj Obj
b. V *na* V Obj Subj

Their results suggest the following:

1. OC verbs show obligatory co-reference which can be analyzed as BC.
2. There is no clear contrast between OC and NOC verbs as far as Principle C effects are concerned (contra AAIM). A significant number of speakers allow co-reference with NOC verbs.

Note that, as well as examples like (6) where the embedded subject is nominative, native speakers were also asked to evaluate examples like (15) below involving BC between an embedded dative/genitive or accusative experiencer and a matrix null (nominative) subject.

- (14) OC verb (verb of knowing)

- a. Emathe siga siga na tis aresun i operes
learned-3SG gradually subj CL-DAT/GEN like-3PL the opera-NOM-PL
otan gnorise to Jiani
when met-3SG the Jiani-ACC
‘She learned gradually to like opera, when she met John.’
Try/manage verbs (strongly favoring coreference)

- b. *Prospathi na min tin stenahori i ikonomiki*
 try-3SG SBJV NEG CL-ACC make-3SG sad the financial
krisi
 crisis-NOM
 ‘She tries not to feel sad about the financial crisis.’
- c. *Katafere na min tin apasholi i ikonomiki krisi*
 manage-3SG SBJV NEG CL-ACC worry-3SG the financial crisis-NOM
 ‘She managed not to feel anxious about the financial crisis.’
 Future referring verb NOC (not favoring coreference)
- d. *Apofasise na min tin katavali i asthenia*
 decided-3SG SBJV NEG CL-ACC put-3SG down the illness-NOM
 ‘She decided not to become depressed by the illness.’
- e. *Iposhethike na min tin stenahori pia i*
 promised-3SG SBJV NEG CL-ACC feel-3SG sad anymore the
siberifora tu jiu tis
 behavior-NOM the son-GEN CL-POSS
 ‘She promised not to feel sad about her son’s behavior.’

The majority of the speakers these authors asked accept examples of the type in (15), and the rate of ungrammaticality ranges from 1.9–11.1%.

3. The comparison between VSO and VOS order in *na*-clauses shows that the preference for the disjoint reading is stronger in VSO orders than in VOS orders, but co-reference is still possible for many speakers, who do not have a significant contrast between VOS and VSO.

Importantly, TAA show that the Greek pattern cannot be analyzed as involving restructuring implemented in terms of remnant movement, as proposed for Spanish by Ordóñez (2009) and Herbeck2013, and suggested by an anonymous reviewer. Specifically, Ordóñez presents several arguments against a BC analysis for Spanish. First of all, he points out that similar patterns are found in structures that are standardly considered not to involve control. This is the case, for instance, in causative and perception verb constructions, where the subject may appear overtly in the post-infinitival position:

- (15) *Ayer nos hizo leer Juan el libro.*
 yesterday to us make to read Juan the book
 ‘Yesterday Juan made us read the book.’

Second, it is not the case that only main subjects are permitted after the infinitive, as assumed by the backward control analysis; the object of a main verb may also be inserted in this post-infinitival position with object control verbs. This is shown by the orders V DO INF XP and V INF DO XP in (17a-b). Examples (17b) and (17c) show that main object controllers, just like main subject controllers, can be embedded and appear after the infinitival verb:

- (16) a. Obligaron a Bush a firmar los acuerdos de paz
obliged-3PL to Bush to sign the peace agreements
'They obliged Bush to sign the peace agreement.'
- b. Obligaron a firmar a Bush los acuerdos de paz
obliged-3PL to sign to Bush the peace agreements
'They obliged Bush to sign the peace agreement.'
- c. ?Obligó a firmar el Congreso a Bush los acuerdos de pa
obliged to sign the Congress to Bush the peace agreement
'The Congress obliged Bush to sign the peace agreement.'

Ordóñez proposes a remnant movement analysis of BC (and restructuring constructions) in the spirit of Hinterhölzl's (2005) and Koopman & Szabolcsi's (2000) analyses of verbal complexes:

- (17) a. [_{VP} Juan [_{querer} [_{CP} PRO [_{VP} comprar el libro]]]
Juan to want PRO to buy the book
Step 1: Movement of the verb *to want* above VP:
- b. [_{TP} querer Juan V_i [_{TP} PRO [_{VP} comprar el libro]]]
to want Juan to buy the book
Step 2: Movement of the TP above *wanted*:
- c. [_{TP} PRO [_{VP} comprar el libro]] [_{TP} querer_i [_{VP} Juan V_i to buy the book wanted Juan
Step 3: Scrambling of the object out of TP + movement of the main subject *Juan* to its licensing position above the scrambled object:
- d. [_{Juan₁} el libro₂ [_{TP} PRO [_{VP} comprar *t*₂]]] [_{TP} querer_i [_{VP} *t*₁ Juan the book to buy to want
Step 4: Movement of the VP containing *to buy* above the licensing position of subject and object:
- e. [[_{VP} comprar *t*]] Juan el libro [_{TP} PRO] [_{TP} querer_i [_{VP} *t* to buy Juan the book wanted

Step 5: Movement of TP+*querer* to SpecCP and final Spell Out:

- f. [CP [TP *querer*_i [VP *t* [VP *comprar* *t*_i]] Juan el libro [CP PRO *t*_i

Crucially for Ordóñez (2009), object scrambling (step 3) is a local movement and cannot cross a finite clause boundary. This explains why there are no comparable verbal complexes formed with finite clauses:

- (18) a. *? Ayer les hizo_i [que comprasen Juan_i el libro]
 yesterday to them made that buy-3PL Juan the book
 b. Ayer les hizo_i comprar Juan_i el libro
 yesterday to them made to buy-INF Juan the book

Further evidence for the scrambling analysis in Spanish is provided by the following contrast. In examples involving infinitival *wh*-islands, as discussed by **Torrego1996**, BC and FC behave differently. While the upper copy is available, the lower one is ungrammatical. According to Ordóñez, the ungrammaticality of (20a) can be explained, if scrambling out of non-tensed CPs is blocked by filled CPs.

- (19) a. Backward control
 *? No sabe si contestar Juan las cartas.
 not know whether to answer Juan the letters
 b. Forward control
 Juan no sabe si contestar Juan las cartas.

TAA (2017) show that the Greek facts are very different: specifically, there is no blocking of VSO orders and BC in OC constructions involving a filled SpecCP; cf. (20):

- (20) de kseri pos na apandisi o Janis ta gramata
 not know-3SG how SBJV answer John-NOM the letters-ACC
 ‘John does not know how to answer the letters.’

Moreover, embedding of the main object controller is not possible; i.e. here we have an asymmetry between subjects and objects:

- (21) a. anagasan ton Bush na ipograpsi ti
 obliged-3PL Bush-ACC SBJV sign-3SG the peace
 sinthiki irinis
 agreement-ACC
 ‘They obliged Bush to sign the peace agreement.’

- b. * anagasan na ipograpsi ton Bush ti sinthiki
 obliged-3PL SBJV sign-3SG Bush-ACC the peace agreement-ACC
 irinis

Furthermore, in Spanish, no argument may intervene between finite verbs and infinitives with a postverbal subject. This is not the case in Greek, where no locality effect is caused by an IO intervener in the matrix clause:

- (22) *? les prometió a los familiares [darles el jurado la libertad
 to them-promised to the family members to give the jury
 a los prisioneros]
 liberty to the prisoners
- (23) iposhethikan tis Marias na dosun i
 promised-3PL Maria-GEN SBJV give-3PL the judges-NOM
 dikastes amnistia sto filakismeno andra tis
 amnesty-ACC to the imprisoned husband hers
 ‘The judges promised Mary to give amnesty to her imprisoned husband.’

As Greek lacks clitic climbing, there is no evidence for restructuring (see Terzi1992 and others). Moreover, BC is found with all control verbs, not just with a small class (the restructuring class in Spanish).

Finally, TAA show that the obviation of Principle C effects in embedded VSO constructions is also found **with finite clauses**, as shown in (25b). Crucially, there is a robust Principle C effect in embedded *that*-SVO sequences illustrated in (25a), indicating that Greek does have Principle C effects caused by a matrix null subject when the embedded subject precedes the inflected verb.

- (24) a. pro_{j/k} emathe oti o Petros_j kerdise to lahio
 learned-3SG that Peter-NOM won-3SG the lottery-ACC
 ‘He/she learned that Peter won the lottery.’
- b. pro_{j/k} emathe oti kerdise (o Petros_j
 learned-3SG that won-3SG (Peter-NOM) the lottery-ACC
) to lahio (o Petros_j)
 (Peter-NOM)
 ‘He/she learned that Peter won the lottery.’

We can thus conclude that Greek BC configurations do not involve complex predicate formation. While there is evidence for verb clustering in Spanish, there

is no such evidence in Greek. Moreover, in Greek, backward co-reference is even allowed within finite clauses unless the subject is in preverbal position.

TAA thus conclude that a backward dependency can productively be established in Greek provided that the embedded DP subject remains *in situ*. They propose that what has been analysed as BC should not be analysed in terms of movement, because on a movement analysis it would be hard to explain the emergence of a Principle C effect when the subject occurs preverbally.² For this reason, they propose that Greek BC actually reflects φ -agreement between matrix T, embedded T and the overt S(subject), which can also take place across embedded indicative CPs and is licit only if the S doesn't intervene between the two T heads, as in (2a), repeated below:

- (2) a. [T φ_k [TP/CP T φ_k DP φ_k]]
 b. * [T φ_k [TP/CP DP φ_k T φ_k]]

TAA relate the availability of long-distance agreement chains as in (2a) to the pro-drop status of the language. Their analysis assumes a version of (30): see Rizzi1982, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou1998, Holmberg2005, Barbosa2009.³ The crucial intuition is that Agr in null subject languages is pronominal and can thus enter long-distance agreement relationships, like pronouns.

- (25) The set of phi-features in T (Agr) is pronominal in null subject languages (NSLs); Agr is a referential, definite pronoun, albeit a pronoun phonologically expressed as an affix. As such, Agr is also assigned a subject theta-role, by virtue of heading a chain whose foot is in vP, receiving the relevant theta-role.

In order to make (30) compatible with the theory of Agree, Barbosa2009 proposes that the phi-features of T in consistent null subject languages (NSLs) are valued and can therefore value the phi-features of vP-internal pro in pro-drop

²One could attempt to save the movement analysis by appealing to improper movement. Under the hypothesis that SVO orders in Greek involve Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou1998), one could account for the lack of BC in such configurations by analyzing the preverbal position as an A'-position. Such configurations would thus involve an improper A-A'-A movement chain. However, such an analysis would be strongly undermined by the fact that the subject in SVO orders does have A-properties and that CLLD in general has mixed A/A'-properties akin to medium-distance scrambling (see Miyagawa2017 for relevant discussion).

³This is called Hypothesis A in Holmberg2005 and Barbosa2009. Holmberg rejects it while Barbosa argues for a version of it, implemented in terms of Pesetsky & Torrego's (2007) modification of Chomsky's (2001) theory of Agree.

configurations. She furthermore proposes that they are uninterpretable, in order to account for the Agree relationship they establish with overt or covert subjects which have interpretable features. If she is correct, then we must assume that they are not deleted until they form a chain with the higher agreement in long-distance agreement chains, which means that Greek has phase-suspension in the relevant configurations (see Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Wurmbrand2014 for phase-suspension in long-distance Agree configurations arising in raising subjunctives); i.e. there is obligatory phase suspension in OC subjunctives and optional phase suspension in NOC subjunctives with BC, and even in indicatives.

Alternatively, we can maintain that the phi-features on T in Greek are pronominal, and this permits them to enter long-distance agreement relationships, even across finite clauses, like pronouns do. Being pronominal can either be taken to mean that they are interpretable and unvalued (receiving a value either from a null Topic, as argued for in Frascarelli2007, or by entering a chain with a higher DP, depending on context), or they are valued, as Barbosa proposes, but also interpretable.⁴

Turning to the Agree relationships established in BSC configurations, (30) holds in the embedded clause of the non-Principle C VSO/VOS cases investigated by TAA, as in (31):

$$(26) \quad [_{TP/CP} T\varphi_k DP\varphi_k]$$

A further Agree relationship is established between matrix T and embedded CP; i.e. in the phase-hood version of BSC (see above), C is not an intervener for Agree. Following Rackowski & Richards2005, TAA assume that PIC/intervention effects are obviated if a higher head first agrees with *the entire phase* and then continues on to agree with an element *inside* the phase; see also Halpert2016.

$$(27) \quad [T\varphi_k [_{TP/CP} T\varphi_k DP\varphi_k]]$$

Matrix T (and the vP-internal pro-subject associated with it) agrees with the CP and then with embedded T which agrees with the vP-internal subject. Note

⁴Either way, depending on what the facts in other NSLs turn out to be, we might need to parametrize these hypotheses. Specifically, it is well-known that Romance subjunctives show obviation, and this seems to correlate with the fact that they have infinitives. Thus, obviation in those contexts can be accounted for by appealing to global competition between infinitives and subjunctives. But what has not been investigated so far, to our knowledge, is how finite clauses behave. If they consistently show Principle C effects with embedded VSO and VOS orders, then this would indicate that either the phi-features of T are uninterpretable and thus they disappear after local Agree with the vP-internal subject (as proposed by Barbosa2009), or that phase-hood cannot be suspended in Romance indicatives.

here that in Zulu, as argued in Halpert2016, the EPP forces raising of the embedded subject out of the vP. DP-raising does not have to take place in Greek/Romanian, as V-movement satisfies the EPP (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou1998), but when the subject occurs pre-verbally a Principle C effect arises. TAA suggest that the embedded subject DP is an intervener blocking Agree between matrix and embedded T; i.e. Agree between heads can happen as long as no DP intervenes between them. When matrix pronominal agreement directly c-commands a DP with which it shares no thematic index, it gives rise to a standard Principle C effect. This effect does not arise in embedded VSO/VOS orders because matrix T forms a chain with embedded T and embedded T shares the same thematic index with the subject DP.⁵

On the basis of this discussion, we can submit the following conclusions: what AAIM called BC in subjunctives actually involves the formation of agreement chains. BC (broadly/roughly understood as backward co-reference) involves agreement chains rather than actual movement because there is no obvious way of accounting for the asymmetry between embedded SVO vs. VSO orders (evidenced in finite clauses due to the option of SVO orders, which are unavailable in subjunctives for independent reasons having to do with the phonological clitic-like status of *na*) with respect to Principle C effects in a DP-movement approach. When the word order in the embedded clause is SVO, we get a clear Principle C violation, as expected.

In this light, let us now see what happens in object control configurations. The question here is the following: if the availability of ‘BC’ in Greek is related to the availability of agreement chains of the type described above, are such agreement chains possible in object control configurations?

4 No object BC in Greek

4.1 Introduction

Similarly to BSC, it has been argued that object control can also be subdivided into forward and backward object control (BOC):

⁵Note that this analysis is compatible both with analyses taking full DP-subjects to optionally raise to SpecTP in Greek (e.g. Spyropoulos & Revithiadou2009) and with analyses taking the pre-verbal subject to reside in a CLLD position (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou1998, Barbosa2009 and others). In the latter approach, we can even sharpen the explanation for the Principle C effect, attributing it to the nature of CLLDed elements as topic shifters (cf. Frascarelli2007).

- (28) a. Forward object control
 I persuaded Kim_i [Δ_i to smile]
 controller controllee
- b. Backward object control
 I persuaded Δ_i [Kim_i to smile]
 controllee controller

BOC is attested in e.g. Malagasy (Potsdam2006, 2009), Korean (Monahan2003), and Omani Arabic (Al-Balushi2008). We illustrate the phenomenon with a Korean example in (34). (34a) shows that Korean object control predicates permit an accusative-nominative alternation. While the accusative is a constituent of the matrix clause, binding a null element in the embedded clause, (34b), the nominative resides in the embedded clause and is coindexed with a null element in the matrix, (34c):

- (29) a. Cheolsu-neun Yeonghi-leul/ka kake-e ka-tolok
 Cheolsu-TOP Yeonghi-ACC/NOM store-to go-COMP
 seolteukha-eoss-ta
 persuade-PAST-DECL
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.’
- b. Cheolsu-neun Yeonghi-leul_i [Δ_i kake-e ka-tolok]
 Cheolsu-TOP Yeonghi-ACC store-to go-COMP persuade-PAST-DECL
 seolteukha-eoss-ta

 ‘Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.’
- c. Cheolsu-neun Δ_i [Yeonghi-ka_i kake-e
 Cheolsu-TOP Yeonghi-NOM store-to go-COMP
 ka-tolok] seolteukha-eoss-ta
 persuade-PAST-DECL
 ‘Cheolsu persuaded Yeonghi to go to the store.’

Before we turn to the question of whether BOC can be evidenced in Greek, we should offer a brief description of the predicates that have been analyzed as object control predicates in Greek. This is a controversial issue, as these structures are in principle also amenable to an ECM analysis; it thus has to be shown that the DP is generated in the object position of the matrix predicate. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou1997 addressed this, and we briefly summarize their argumentation here; see also Kotzoglou2002 and Kotzoglou & Papangeli2007.

4.2 Object control in Greek

Constructions that could be analyzed as ECM in Greek involve perception and causative verbs (cf. **Burzio1986** for Italian):

- (30) a. *ida ton Petro na milai me tin Ilektra*
 saw-1SG the Peter-ACC SBJV talk-3SG with the Ilektra
 ‘I saw Peter talking with Ilektra.’
 b. *evala ton Petro na katharisi to domatio tu*
 put-1SG the Peter-ACC SBJV clean-3SG the room his
 ‘I made Peter clean his room.’

Iatridou1993 treats cases like (35a) as instances of object control. In fact, **Burzio** argues against an ECM analysis for (35a-b) and his arguments also hold for Greek (cf. **Burzio1986**: 287-290). As **Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou1997** point out, unlike tensed/infinitival pairs like *I believe that Eric delivered the speech/I believe Eric to have delivered the speech*, which are closely synonymous, pairs like (36) below are not synonymous:

- (31) a. *Ida oti o Petros telioni ti diatrivi tu*
 saw-1SG that the Peter-NOM finishes the dissertation his
 ‘I saw that Peter is finishing his dissertation.’
 b. *ida ton Petro na telioni ti diatrivi tu*
 saw-1SG the Peter-ACC SBJV finishes the dissertation his
 ‘I saw Peter finishing his dissertation.’

In (36b) the phrase corresponding to *Petros* is the object of direct perception, while this is not true of sentences like (36a). A related point has to do with the non-synonymy of active and passive forms. While S complements maintain rough synonymy under passivization, as with *I believe Eric to have delivered the speech vs. I believe the speech to have been delivered by Eric*, the cases under discussion are not synonymous, as is evident from the semantic anomaly of the verb *ida* in (37b) below:

- (32) a. *ida/akusa to Petro na ekfoni to logo*
 saw-1SG/heard-1SG the Peter-ACC SBJV deliver-3SG the speech
 ‘I saw/heard Peter delivering the speech.’
 b. # *ida/akusa to logo na ekfonite apo ton Petro*
 saw-1SG/heard-1SG the speech SBJV be delivered by the Peter
 ‘I saw/heard the speech being delivered by Peter.’

Another standard test for distinguishing *_NP S* from *_S* complements involves the relative scope of quantifiers. By this test, the structures in question also qualify as non-ECM:⁶

- (33) a. They expected one customs official to check all passing cars.
 i. They expected that there would be one customs official who would check all passing cars.
 ii. They expected that, for each passing car, there would be some customs official or other who would check it.
 b. *ida enan teloniako na elenhi kathe aftokinito*
 saw-1SG one customs official SBJV control every car
 ‘I saw a customs official controlling every car.’
 i. I saw one customs official who checked every passing car.
 ii. *I saw that for each passing car there was one customs official who would check it.

Under the assumption that quantifier scope is clause-bounded, the difference between (38a) and (38b) follows if (38b) has the two quantifiers in different clauses.

A further argument against the ECM analysis comes from Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). CLLD of CP clauses in Greek involves a clitic which is third person singular neuter:

- (34) a. *oti irthe o Petros den to perimena*
 that came the Peter-NOM NEG CL-ACC expected-1SG
 ‘That Peter came, I didn’t expect it.’
 b. *na erthi o Petros den to vlepo*
 SBJV come-3SG the Peter-NOM NEG CL-ACC see-1SG
 Lit. ‘I do not see it that Peter will come.’

If perception verbs took an *S* complement, then we would expect the same clitic to appear in CLLD. However, this is not what we find:

⁶Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou2016 point out, however, that in the context of perception verbs, the subject of the embedded clause is assigned accusative in the matrix clause, but is licensed by the negation in the subordinate clause. This is compatible with an ECM analysis, suggesting that perception verbs behave like quasi-ECM predicates in Kotzoglou & Papangeli’s (2007) terminology. (i) *Bika mesa ke me ekpliksi idha kanenan na min dulevi monos tu.* alone his-NOM entered-1SG in and with surprise saw-1SG nobody-ACC SBJV NEG work-3SG Oli ixan xoristi se omades. all had separated into teams ‘I entered and to my surprise I saw nobody working on his own. They had all separated into teams.’

- (35) a. [ton logo]_i na ekfonite den ton_i akusa
the speech SBJV be delivered NEG him heard-1SG
‘The speech being delivered, I did not hear it.’
b. * [ton logo na ekfonite]_i den to_i akusa
the speech SBJV be delivered NEG it heard-1SG
c. [ton Petro]_i na tiganizi psaria den ton_i ida
the Peter-ACC SBJV fry fish NEG him saw-1SG
‘Peter frying fish, I did not see him.’
d. * [ton Petro na tiganizi psaria]_i den to_i ida
the Peter SBJV fry fish NEG it saw-1SG

These examples are grammatical only with a resumptive clitic, which agrees in features with the DP, not with the whole clause.

On the basis of these examples, then, we can conclude that perception verbs are object control predicates in Greek (but see footnote 7 for a complication). Other object control predicates include *pitho* ‘persuade’, *diatazo* ‘order’, *parakalo* ‘beg’, and *voitho*, ‘help’, which all behave similarly to perception verbs; see (41), which tests CLLD, and Kotzoglou2002 for discussion:

- (36) * [ton Jani na aposiri ti minisi]_i to_i episa
the John SBJV withdraw the prosecution it persuaded-1SG

Before we proceed to the behavior of these predicates in terms of BC, we note that Kotzoglou and Papangeli2007 discuss so-called quasi-ECM predicates such as *perimeno* ‘expect’ and *thelo* ‘want’. Applying several of the tests for object control, as in (42) (their (27b)), involving CP doubling, they conclude that these predicates also involve a matrix DP; i.e. they can be subsumed as a case of object control.

- (37) * to_i perimena [ton Jani na aghapisi ti Maria]_i
it expected-1SG the John-ACC SBJV love-3SG the Maria-ACC
‘I expected John to love Maria.’

The authors do, however, notice some important differences between quasi-ECM verbs and object control verbs. First, as they state (Kotzoglou and Papangeli2007: 129), “there is a crucial difference in the thematic information that is realized in the Greek examples. Object control verbs cannot select a clause as their single argument, while this was shown to be possible in the quasi-ECM examples.” Moreover, object control verbs “always realize the subject matter role as a clause. They

thus lack the PP alternate that is attested with verbs of the ‘quasi-ECM’ type.” A second difference involves *wh*-extraction, which is banned in Greek ‘quasi-ECM’ domains, but is licit out of the object control clause; see (43) (their (42)):

- (38) a. ?? *pjon itheles ton prothipurgho na entiposiasi?*
 who-ACC wanted-2SG the prime-minister-ACC SBJV impress-3SG
 ‘Who did you want the prime minister to impress?’
 b. *pjon epises ton prothipurgho na entiposiasi?*
 who-ACC persuaded-2SG the prime-minister-ACC SBJV impress-3SG
 ‘Who did you persuade the prime minister to impress?’

This, in combination with the observation made in Kotzoglou & Papangeli2007 that the accusative object of quasi-ECM verbs licenses nominative secondary predicates in the embedded clause, as in (46), leads us to suggest that quasi-ECM configurations actually involve movement of the embedded DP to the CP level, where it is assigned accusative by the matrix predicate. This is an instance of an edge-effect in Baker’s (2015) terminology:

- (39) *perimena to Jani na ine arostos/*arosto*
 expected-1SG the John-ACC SBJV be sick-NOM/*-ACC
 ‘I expected John to be sick.’

In (46), the DP is first assigned nominative in the lower clause, and then accusative, after movement, at the CP level. This means that accusative, which we treat following Marantz1991 and Baker2015 as dependent case, can be assigned on top of a case assigned lower, inside the embedded clause. As Baker notes, there is cross-linguistic variation as to whether multiple realization is possible.

Note that from the perspective of the ‘control as movement’ theory, the derivation of (46) is similar, if not identical, to that of control predicates. In both cases, the DP raises from the embedded clause to the matrix clause, where it is assigned dependent accusative. The difference between the two might presumably be related to the fact that in (46) the DP raises to SpecCP, where it is frozen, while in the object control cases, it raises higher, to the matrix *v*P, in order to be receive a thematic role. However, on the basis of our argumentation in §2 regarding TAA’s results, it is crucial that there is movement in so-called quasi-ECM environments, but not in control configurations.

4.3 Greek lacks BOC

Interestingly, none of the object control verbs in Greek allows BOC. The movement analysis of control would predict that the lower copy is spelled out as nominative; i.e. that it bears the case of the embedded clause. However, the examples in (47b) and (48b-c) are all ungrammatical:

- (40) a. I Maria epise to Jani na hamogelasi
the Mary persuaded the John-ACC SBJV smile-3SG
'Mary persuaded John to smile.'
- b. *I Maria (ton) epise na homogelasi o Janis
the Mary (CL-ACC) persuaded SBJV smile-3SG the John-NOM
- (41) a. I Maria voithise to Jani na simazepsi to domatio tu
the Mary-NOM helped the John SBJV tidy.up-3SG the room his
'Mary helped John to tidy up his room.'
- b. I Maria voithise na simazepsi o Janis to domatio
the Mary-NOM helped SBJV tidy.up-3SG the John-NOM the room
tu
his
[good but not on the reading where she helped John]
- c. *I Maria (ton) voithise na simazepsi o Janis to
the Mary-NOM (CL-ACC) helped SBJV tidy.up-3SG the John-NOM the
domatio tu
room his

On the backward control analysis, this asymmetry is puzzling and unexpected. If, however, control does not involve movement, as TAA argue, then the observed asymmetry boils down to configurations that enable co-reference; i.e. the formation of long-distance agreement chains of the type we described in §2.

At first sight, the above behavior seems to suggest that the distribution of BC patterns is related to the presence of *pro*. Greek has subject *pro* and allows BSC. By contrast, Greek lacks object *pro* (Giannakidou & Merchant 1997) and disallows BOC. While this would be in agreement with our conclusions in §2, Potsdam (2006, 2009) argues that this does not hold across languages, as Malagasy lacks object *pro* but allows BOC. One of the arguments Potsdam brings against the *pro* analysis in Malagasy involves variable binding. As he points out, the *pro* analysis would predict that a bound variable interpretation for the controller-controllee relation should be impossible, as there is no c-command. However, the

example in (49), involving a distributed universal quantifier, shows that variable binding is possible in backward control. Thus, it seems that the controller and controllee must be in a c-command relationship to obtain the right configuration for binding.

- (42) boky inona avy no nanontania- nao hovidian' ny mpianatra tsirairay
 book what each FOC ask.CT you buy.TT the student each
 ?

'For each x , x a student, which book did you ask x to buy?'

(Potsdam2006: ex. (17a))

We can thus maintain that Malagasy has BOC control, and that the availability of object *pro* does not correlate with the availability of BOC in true BC-as-movement languages. But, crucially, Greek was argued in §2 not to be such a language.

The only cases of BOC that seem possible in Greek involve a Gen/Dat or Acc object realized as a clitic and a Gen/Dat or Acc experiencer in the embedded clause, a pattern that seems similar to that of resumption; see Table 1. Note that (47b)-(48c) remain ungrammatical in spite of the presence of a clitic in the matrix clause:

- (43) a. O Janis tu epevale/ton katafere na tu aresi
 the John-NOM CL-GEN imposed/ cl-acc managed SBJV CL-GEN
 tu Kosta i opera.
 like the Kostas-GEN the opera
 'John imposed on Kostas to like the opera/convinced Kostas to like the opera.'
- b. O Janis tu epevale/ton katafere na ton efxaristi
 the John-NOM CL-GEN imposed/CL-ACC managed SBJV CL-ACC please
 ton Kosta i opera.
 the Kostas-GEN the opera
 'John imposed on Kostas to like the opera/convinced Kostas to like the opera.'

Let us consider now the configuration for OC in comparison to our analysis of BSC: in the case of forward control, an Agree relationship must be established between matrix Voice and matrix DP and subsequently the phi-features of T in the embedded CP.

- (44) [CP [VoiceP [DP _{ϕ_k} [TP/CP T ϕ_k]]]]

If the phi-features of embedded T are unvalued, we can follow Grano & Lasnik2016, building on Kratzer2009, and Landau2015, who propose two variants for analyzing such configurations, (52a)-(52b):

- (45) a. i. An unvalued pronoun can be valued via feature transmission.
 ii. Transmission of phi-features piggybacks on predication.
 iii. A complement clause can be turned into a predicate via Fin.
 iv. Transmission proceeds from antecedent to Fin and from Fin to [Spec,FinP].
 b. i. An unvalued pronoun can be valued via feature transmission.
 ii. Transmission of phi-features piggybacks on binding.
 iii. Binding is mediated by verbal functional heads.
 iv. C and v intervene for each other in the way they transmit features.

On the latter approach, a matrix binder transmits features onto embedded C, and embedded C binds and values an unvalued pronoun in its c-command domain.

In forward object control configurations, we usually have a genitive or an accusative in the matrix clause that controls the nominative subject of the embedded verb. As we see in (53), the DP *John* bears accusative, assigned by the matrix predicate. The presence of a nominative modifier in the embedded clause suggests that it has been assigned nominative in that context. Thus, it bears two cases, but only one is realized.

- (46) vlepo to Jani na pezi basket monos tu.
 see the John-ACC SBJV play-3SG basket alone-NOM
 ‘I see John playing basketball alone.’

This is a so-called multiple-case-marked A-chain similar to the kind discussed for Niuean in Bejar & Massam1999.

For backward object control, what we would need first, similarly to what we outlined for the BSC cases, is for the Agree relation to hold within the embedded clause:

- (47) [TP/CP T ϕ_k DP ϕ_k]

While in the case of subject co-reference the Agree chain ultimately holds between two T heads, the matrix and the embedded one, in the case of object control the embedded T head must enter Agree with the matrix Voice head, and this configuration seems generally illegitimate (cf. **Kayne1989**). We believe that part of the reason for this is the different requirements that T and Voice impose. T has been argued to have pronominal phi-features while Voice doesn't: Greek is not a rich object agreement, object-drop language, which can be taken to mean that the phi-features of embedded T are not allowed to enter long-distance agreement with the phi-features of the matrix Voice.

But we have seen that this is exceptionally possible if the embedded clause has a dative or accusative clitic doubling the experiencer and the matrix Voice hosts a dative or accusative clitic; i.e. in cases of 'resumption' crucially involving an experiencer in the downstairs clause. This leads us to formulate the hypothesis in (55) as a condition for BC:⁷

(48) Backward Agree applies to heads of the same type.

In the BOC cases at hand, the relationship is between a clitic in the embedded clause and a clitic in the matrix clause. Note that when the downstairs experiencer surfaces as a nominative DP, backward co-reference seems to us to be degraded:⁸

- (49) # O Janis tu epevale/ton katafere
the John-NOM CL-GEN imposed/CL-ACC managed SBJV
na efxaristiete o Kostas me tin opera.
please-NACT the Kostas-NOM with the opera
'John imposed on Kostas to like the opera/convinced Kostas to like the opera.'

⁷An anonymous reviewer suggests two alternative hypotheses to us, (i) and (ii). (i) In a chain with multiple case positions, realize the copy with the more marked case (ACC/GEN >NOM). (ii) In a chain with multiple case positions, realize the higher copy. If both positions are assigned the same case, the lower copy can be realized. The second hypothesis would capture the fact that BSC is possible when the lower clause contains an experiencer and the higher clause a null *pro* bearing nominative, as was seen in the examples in (15), but it would have to be reformulated in terms of agreement chains if control does not involve movement, as we suggest in §2. (i) can be reformulated as suggesting that only a dependent case in the sense of **Marantz1991** and **Baker2015** must be realized (see **Anagnostopoulou & Sevdali2017** for arguments that Greek GEN is a dependent case).

⁸Because these facts have not been investigated before, we are relying on our own intuitions. They need to be checked with a large number of speakers via extensive questionnaires, just as TAA did with the BSC constructions. The same applies to the data discussed immediately below.

Moreover, note that if the clitic-doubled argument in the embedded clause is not an experiencer, backward coreference is not possible (this is indicated by # in the passive (57a), featuring a clitic-doubled goal, which is well-formed in the non-coreference reading, and by ?? in (57b), featuring an affected argument combined with an unaccusative, which seems to us to admit the coreference reading but to be degraded compared to the experiencer cases mentioned above):

- (50) a. # O Janis **tu** epevale/ton katafere na
 the John-NOM CL-GEN imposed/CL-ACC managed SBJV CL-GEN
 tu dothi **tu** Kosta to danio.
 give-NACT the Kostas-GEN the loan
 ‘John imposed on him for a loan to be given to Kostas.’
- b. ?? O Janis **tu** epevale/ton katafere na
 the John-NOM CL-GEN imposed/CL-ACC managed SBJV NEG CL-GEN
 min **tu** pesi **tu** Kosta to vazō.
 fall the Kostas-GEN the vase’
 ‘John imposed on Kostas not to drop the vase.’

This seems to suggest that backward coreference of this type is not only subject to the condition in (55), but requires, in addition, that the embedded clitic-doubled argument encode point of view. Perhaps this is because only experiencers qualify as subjects at some level of representation, which means that they relate to T (Anagnostopoulou1999 for Greek, Landau2010).

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed an asymmetry in the distribution of backward control in Greek. While the language has been argued to have BSC, it lacks BOC. As we pointed out, recently TAA (2017) argued that BSC in Greek is a side effect of the availability of an agreement chain between a null main subject and an overt embedded subject in all types of subjunctives (*na*-clauses), and to a certain extent in indicatives (*that*-clauses). If this is the correct analysis for BSC, the question still remains whether Greek has BOC. We showed in this paper that BOC configurations are severely limited. We related this limitation to the nature of Backward Agree, which seems to require heads of the same type. In BOC configurations, the phi-features of embedded T are not allowed to enter long-distance agreement with the phi-features of the matrix Voice. Backward co-reference is only possible in case of resumption with a dative/genitive clitic in the matrix clause and a

clitic-doubled experiencer in the embedded clause, and crucially depends on the experiencer status of the embedded argument.

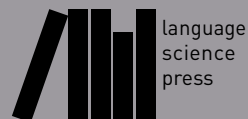
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Agreement, case and locality in the nominal and verbal domains

This book explores the Agree operation and its morphological realisations (agreement and case), specifically focusing on the connection between Agree and other syntactic dependencies such as movement, binding and control. The chapters in this volume examine a diverse set of cross-linguistic phenomena involving agreement and case from a variety of theoretical perspectives, with a view to elucidating the nature of the abstract operations that underlie them. The phenomena discussed include backward control, passivisation, progressive aspectual constructions, extraction from nominals, possessives, relative clauses and the phasal status of PPs.

