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Da Clauses, Finiteness, and Opacity

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In this article I examine certain aspects of the syntactic behavior of *da* clauses, the finite clauses which have replaced the infinitive in modern Bulgarian, from the point of view of Government and Binding theory. *Da* clauses are quite different from English infinitives in terms of their Case-marking properties and their ability to take various types of subjects; these differences can be accounted for by the principles of Government and Binding and in fact are exactly those predicted by the theory set forth in Chomsky 1981. Some remarks will also be made on the similar constructions in the other Balkan languages: *da* clauses in Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian, *št* clauses in Rumanian, *na* clauses in Modern Greek, and *të* clauses in Albanian, which also appear to behave as predicted by Government and Binding theory.

Bulgarian *da* clauses and their counterparts in the other Balkan languages, as is well known,¹ bear most of the syntactic and semantic functions of infinitive clauses in other European languages, but differ from true infinitives in that they contain what appears to be a finite verb. Proving that this verb actually is finite depends, of course, on having a clear notion of what constitutes finiteness, and this is not at all a trivial problem. Joseph 1983 points out that the division of verb forms into finite and non-finite classes is drawn somewhat differently in different languages, and suggests that finiteness must be defined language-internally for each individual language. Nonetheless, linguists do use the term "finite" as if it had some crosslinguistic content; there is at least a fair degree of tacit agreement on what it means to say a verb or clause is finite. While finiteness has sometimes been treated as an unanalyzable primitive, a feature of verbs or clauses, there have recently been several efforts to define finiteness in terms of more primitive elements. These definitions generally require either *tense* or *subject-agreement* markers (or both) on a verb in order for it to be finite.² Under any such definition, the verb in a Bulgarian *da* clause is quite clearly finite. The verb following the clause-introducer *da* always agrees with its subject in person and number (see examples (1a-c)), and in the perfect tenses the participle also agrees with the subject in gender

(as in (1d)). The parentheses in each of these examples show that the subject pronoun is optional; the verb alone clearly marks what the subject of the *da* clause is.

1. a. Po-dobre e (nie) da čakame.
better is we to wait-1pl.
- b. Po-dobre e (ti) da čakaš.
you wait-2sg.
- c. Po-dobre e (te) da čakat.
they wait-3pl.

'It's better for us/you/them to wait.'

- d. Po-dobre bi bilo (az) da ne sîm čakala.
better would be I to not have-1sg. waited-f.sg.
'It would have been better for me not to have waited.'

Whether the verb in a *da* clause has tense or not is a somewhat more problematical question; the verb following *da* is nearly always present tense (and most often perfective) regardless of the time reference intended (compare examples 2a, b, and c). There do exist constructions where a morphologically past tense verb follows *da*; however, these are generally counterfactual rather than past *time* clauses.³ Two examples of this type of construction are given in (2d-e).

2. a. Prođižavam da četa.
'I continue to read (present perfective).' (present reference)
- b. Prođižih da četa.
'I continued to read (present perfective).' (past reference)
- c. Predi da zamina, šće govoria s tjah.
'Before I leave (present perfective), I will talk with them.' (future reference)
- d. Da beše došill
'If only he had (past) come! [but he didn't].'
- e. I da beše došill...
'Even if he had (past) come... [but he didn't].'

Whether or not this counts as "really" being marked for tense, the agreement facts given in (1) are probably sufficient to establish the finiteness of these verbs, especially since recent work on languages where tense and person-number marking do not coincide, such as Turkish and Portuguese, indicates that agreement may be more fundamental to the definition of finiteness than tense is. In

Portuguese, for instance, clauses which have a non-tensed but person-marked verb (the "personal infinitive") behave syntactically like tensed clauses and *not* like true infinitives (Rouveret 1980). I will not argue for or against the primacy of agreement here, but simply note that the verb in a *da* clause is inflected and probably also tensed, and is thus presumably finite according to current definitions.

The syntax of *da* clauses—clauses functionally or semantically similar to infinitives, but containing a finite verb—is of great interest within recent versions of generative syntactic theory, particularly Government and Binding (GB) theory, because of predictions this theory makes about how such clauses ought to behave. Finiteness, defined in terms of the presence in the clause of tense or agreement (AGR), both features of the node known as INFL (inflection), is claimed by GB theorists to play an important and even explanatory role in accounting for syntactic differences between infinitives and other types of clauses. (For the sake of simplicity I will refer just to INFL, rather than to its features +tense and AGR, in the remainder of this paper.) An investigation of the properties of the Balkan *da/sd/nd/té* clauses should be extremely useful in determining whether in fact the claim that it is the absence of INFL which accounts for the behavior of infinitive clauses is justified. If so, the Balkan clauses should behave like finite clauses and unlike infinitives in all relevant respects; if not, they might well be expected to behave more like infinitives, which they resemble semantically. In the following section I first summarize the Government and Binding analysis of the differences between finite and non-finite clauses in English, and then examine how well this analysis extends to Bulgarian.

One of the major areas of syntactic difference between infinitives and finite clauses in English is the group of phenomena collectively known as *opacity*, that is, the availability or non-availability of the embedded clause subject to binding, government, or Case⁴ marking from outside the clause. Some definitions and principles of GB theory relevant to the analysis of opacity are given in (3) (adapted from Chomsky 1981:188); I will refer to these in the discussion of the data below.

3. Binding principles:

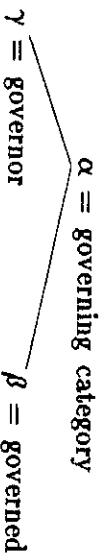
- A. An anaphor is bound in its governing category.
- B. A pronominal is free in its governing category.

Governing category:

α is the governing category for β if and only if α is the minimal category containing β and a governor of β , where $\alpha = NP$ or S .

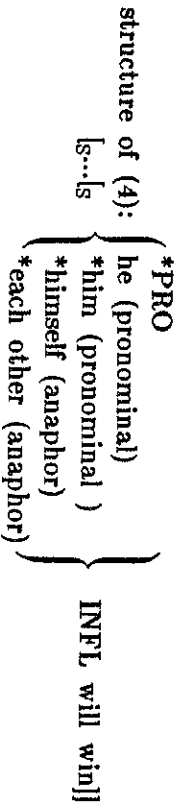
Governor (roughly):

γ governs β if the first maximal projection α dominating γ also dominates β . $\gamma = N, A, V,$ or P . A governor assigns Case to an NP it governs.⁴

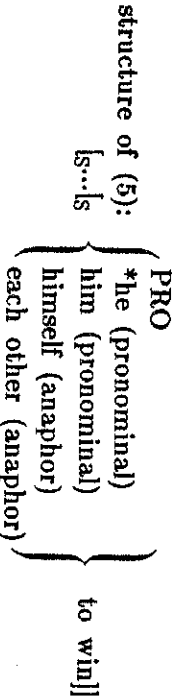


In English, finite and non-finite clauses have quite different patterns of possible subjects, as can be seen in (4) and (5):⁵

4. a. *John expects that will win.
- b. John_i expects that he_(tj) will win.
- c. *John expects that him will win.
- d. *John expects that himself will win.
- e. *They expect that each other will win.



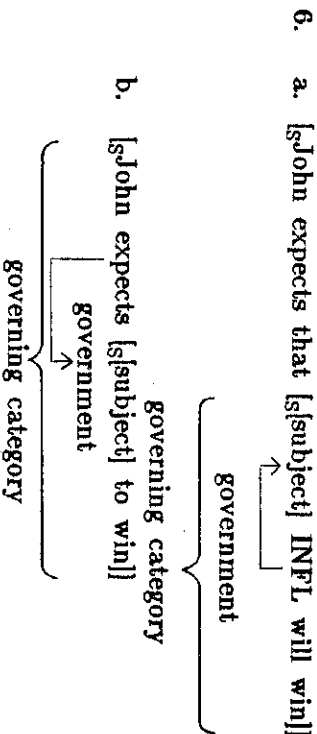
5. a. John expects to win.
- b. *John expects he to win.
- c. John_i expects him_(tj) to win.
- d. John expects himself to win.
- e. They expect each other to win.



A finite clause can have *only* a nominative NP as its subject; when that nominative NP is a pronoun (as in (4b)) it may either corefer with the subject or not (*he* may be the same person as *John*, or someone else.) A non-finite clause has almost exactly the opposite pattern: it may have a null subject (called PRO), an accusative pronoun (which however must not be coreferential to the matrix

subject), or a reflexive or reciprocal anaphor (*himself* or *each other*, in this case), but it may not have a nominative pronoun subject.

These patterns can be accounted for by the two Binding principles in (3), given that the structure of the two types of clauses is as given below the example sets (4) and (5), namely, with INFL in the finite clause but no INFL in the infinitive. These two structures are repeated in (6a) and (6b), which show the possibilities for government of the subject in finite and non-finite clauses respectively, according to the definitions in (3).



Comparing the two structures in (6) we see that INFL governs the subject of the finite clause (6a), and since both INFL and the subject are in the lower clause, the governing category of the subject is limited to that clause (the lower S). This is then an *opaque* domain: the subject cannot be governed by anything outside the finite clause. Since there is no possible antecedent for the subject inside the clause, it must be something which can be free in its governing category, namely a pronominal and not an anaphor. This rules out (4d) and (4e), since the reflexive and reciprocal "pronouns" are anaphors. *Him* is impossible (in (4c)) because INFL always assigns nominative case to the item it governs, and PRO also is ruled out (in (4a)) because, as a *pronominal anaphor*, it can occur only in ungoverned positions. (See Chomsky 1981 for discussion of what counts as a pronominal, an anaphor, or a pronominal anaphor.) Coreference between *he* and *John* in (4b) is possible, because *he* is free *within its governing category* (the embedded clause) whether it is bound by *John* or not.

In the infinitive clause (6b) there is nothing within the clause to govern the subject. There are then two possibilities: either the position can remain ungoverned (in which case the subject can only be null (PRO), as in (5a)), or it can optionally be governed by the

matrix verb, which assigns it objective case. In this case the governing category of the embedded subject is the entire sentence, and the matrix subject thus becomes available as an antecedent to bind the anaphors *himself* and *each other* in (5d) and (5e). The pronoun *him* must not corefer with *John* in (5c), since this would violate Binding principle B; *John* is in the governing category of the pronominal *him* and therefore may not bind it.

In short, the finite clause is an opaque domain, precisely because it contains INFL, and the infinitive clause is not opaque precisely because it does not contain INFL, according to this theory.

Now, what about Bulgarian? If the Government and Binding approach is correct, that is, if the differences in opacity between English infinitive and finite clauses are due entirely to the presence or absence of INFL (along with the binding conditions) then we expect to find that Bulgarian *da* clauses, in spite of their functional similarity to infinitive clauses, will follow pattern (4) rather than (5), since they seem to contain INFL, which should make them opaque to government from outside. And indeed, this is basically what we do find, as shown in (7):

7. a. Ivan očakva da pobedi. (=Ivan očakva PRO da
Ivan expects to win pobedi.)
b. Ivan očakva toj_(a) da pobedi.
he: nominative
c. *Ivan očakva nego da pobedi.
him: accusative
d. *Ivan očakva sebe si da pobedi.
himself
e. *Te očakvat edin drug da pobedi/pobedjat.
each other win-3sg./win-3pl.
- structure of (7):
- | | | |
|---------|------------|------------------|
| [s...ls | PRO | INFL da pobedi]] |
| | toj | |
| | *nego | |
| | *sebe si | |
| | *edin drug | |

This pattern is identical to that of English finite clauses, and opposite of English infinitives, with one small exception: a null subject is acceptable in (7a) while it is not in (4a). This however has nothing to do with opacity, since the subject of *any* sentence can be null in Bulgarian, including main clauses (as in (8a)) and

clauses analogous to English *that* clauses (see (8b)).

8. a. Šte pobedi.
will win-3sg.
'(S/he) will win.'
b. Očakva će šte pobedi.
expects that will win-3sg.
'(S/he) expects that (s/he) will win.'

The fact that some languages but not others can have null subjects in such cases is known to GB theorists as the "pro-drop parameter," and is currently the subject of considerable controversy. However it is to be handled, it need not concern us here, since it is clearly independent from the question of opacity and does not differentiate *da* clauses from any other type of clause in the language.

The government pattern of *da* clauses, then, appears to be as in (9), which is parallel to (6a), not (6b), just as Government and Binding theory predicts.

9. [sIvan očakva [s[subject] INFL da pobedi]]
↑
government

governing category

There are a few apparent exceptions to the pattern of possible subjects of a *da* clause just outlined, but these all turn out not to be serious counterexamples when analysed more carefully. One such case concerns sentences with an accusative pronoun preceding *da*, like (7c), which I have marked ungrammatical. This particular sentence was in fact rejected by native speakers; however, other sentences with an apparent accusative subject of a *da* clause often are acceptable, especially with a clitic rather than a full pronoun, as in (10) (*go* is the clitic equivalent of *nego* 'him'). Particularly natural sounding examples occur with perception verbs such as *viždam* 'see' or *čuvam* 'hear'.

10. a. Iskam go da otiđe.
want-1sg. him to go-3sg
'I want him to go.'
b. Čuh go da pee.
heard-1sg. him to sing-3sg.
'I heard him singing.'

This fact, however, is irrelevant to the claim that an accusative

subject is not possible in a *da* clause, since the pronoun *go* in (10) is not the subject of the *da* clause; in fact it is not in the *da* clause at all.

This is quite easily proved: (11) and (12) show that such clauses can have a nominative subject (*toj* 'he,' in this case), as well as the accusative pronoun; the structure of (10a/b) is (11c/12c) with a null pronoun subject. All of the sentences in (11) are paraphrases of (10a), and all those in (12) are paraphrases of (10b).

11. a. *Iskam toj da otide.*
want-1sg. he to go-3sg.
b. *Iskam go toj da otide.*
want-1sg. him he to go-3sg.
c. *Iskam go [PRO da otide]*
12. a. *Čuh go (toj) da pee.*
heard-1sg. him he to sing-3sg.
b. *Čuh go će (toj) pee.*
heard-1sg. him that he sing-3sg.
c. *Čuh go [PRO da pee]*

Example (12b) illustrates that this phenomenon is not limited to *da* clauses; a coreferential matrix object and (optional) downstairs subject are possible also in other types of clauses, here one introduced by the complementizer *če* 'that.' Further evidence that *go* in the above examples is the object of the upper clause and not the subject of the lower clause is the fact that when the upper clause is not one that takes an object, no *go* is possible:

13. a. *Dobre e (toj) da pee.*
good is he to sing-3sg.
'It's good for him to sing.'
b. **Dobre go e (toj) da pee.*⁶
good him is he to sing-3sg
c. *Vjarno e će (toj) pee.*
true is that he sing-3sg.
'It's true that he sings.'
d. **Vjarno go e će (toj) pee.*⁶
true him is that he sing-3sg.

The validity of the pattern in (7) is thus not affected by apparent exceptions like those in (10).

The possibility of similar apparent exceptions due to a noun phrase acting as object of the matrix clause rather than subject of

the *da* clause extends also to the case of the reflexive and reciprocal anaphors in (7d) and (7e). Sentences like (14a) and (15a) are possible, but have the structure given in the (b) examples below them, where the anaphor is the matrix object, and the subject of the *da* clause is PRO. *Se* is the clitic form of the reflexive pronoun *sebe* *si*; (14) is slightly more natural with the clitic.

14. a. *Vidjaj se/sebe si da usmihna.*
saw-1sg. myself to smile
'I saw myself smile.'
b. *Vidjaj se [PRO da usmihna]*
15. a. *Čakaha edin drug da trūgnat.*
waited-3pl. each other to leave-3pl
'They waited for each other (in order) to leave.'
b. *Čakaha edin drug [PRO da trūgnat]*

Example (15) is parallel to sentences like (16), where the matrix object and lower clause subject are clearly distinct:

16. a. *Čakam te (nie) da trūgnem.*
wait-1sg. you we to leave-1pl.
'I'm waiting for you for us to leave (so we can leave).'

Once again, apparent exceptions to the predictions of Government and Binding theory concerning possible subjects of *da* clauses turn out not to be real exceptions.

Another case which seems at first glance to contradict the pattern in (7) and thus to present problems for the Government and Binding analysis is that of "Control Pro" sentences, that is, cases where the subjects of the two clauses must be coreferential. Certain verbs, including *moga* 'can,' *prodūžavam* 'continue,' and some other modal or aspectual verbs, require the subject of their *da* clause complement to be identical to the matrix subject. Sentences like those in (17) are thus ungrammatical.

17. a. **Ivan prodūžava ti da rabotiš.*
Ivan continues-3sg. you to work-2sg.
'(Ivan continues for you to work!')
b. **Marija može az da otida.*
Maria can-3sg. I to go-1sg.
'(Maria is able for me to go.)'

This is not at all surprising; in fact, it is exactly what we would expect given the semantics of this class of verbs. What is interesting about this construction is that the *da* clause subject

must be PRO (that is, null); no subject pronoun may appear in the complement clause.⁷ This is surprising, because, as we have seen in several examples above, *da* clauses normally can have an overt subject, which may or may not be coreferential to the matrix subject. The (b) sentences in (18) and (19) might be expected to be synonymous with the (a) sentences, but they are instead ungrammatical.

18. a. Ivan *prodūžava da raboti.*

Ivan continues-3sg. to work-3sg.

'Ivan continues to work.'

b. *Ivan *prodūžava toj da raboti.*

he

19. a. Marija *može da otiđe.*

Maria can-3sg. to go-3sg.

'Maria can go.'

b. *Marija *može tja da otiđe.*

she

The impossibility of the nominative pronoun here is not predicted by the Binding principles in (3); however, it can be explained on independent, pragmatic grounds. Subject pronouns in Bulgarian are omitted more often than not, in all constructions; since subjects are optional and verbal person-number marking provides most of the same information as a pronoun, there is no reason to use a pronoun subject unless it is being stressed, most often contrastively. In a sentence like (20b), the stressed pronoun *tóji* makes sense, since it contrasts with other possible subjects, including other third person singular subjects, where no difference shows up in the verb, as well as subjects of other persons and numbers. Sentence (20a) is potentially multiply ambiguous, although it would almost always be unambiguous in context.

20. a. Ivan *iska da otiđe.*

Ivan wants-3sg. to go-3sg.

'Ivan wants (it/her/him/himself) to go.'

b. Ivan *iska toj da otiđe.*

he

'Ivan wants him/himself to go.'

c. Ivan *iska Marija da otiđe.*

'Ivan wants Maria to go.'

d. Ivan *iska šz da otiđa.*

I to go-1sg.

'Ivan wants *mé* to go.'

In a Control Pro sentence like (18) or (19) the situation is quite different. The *da* clause in (18a), unlike that of (20a), is not at all ambiguous; there is no possibility of the subject there being anything other than coreferential to *Ivan*. It would be quite peculiar pragmatically to put contrastive stress on an item which has no potential ever to contrast with anything, and it is also quite strange in Bulgarian to use a subject pronoun when it cannot be stressed. The oddness of sentences like (18b) and (19b) is attributable to these pragmatic factors and the unacceptability of a pronoun in them does not constitute a serious counterexample to the pattern of possible subjects of *da* clauses in (7).

So the predictions of the Binding theory with respect to opacity and finiteness do work correctly for Bulgarian, an encouraging result for Government and Binding theory. In order to be really significant, however, these predictions should work not only for Bulgarian and English, but for *all* languages, and certainly at least for the constructions similar to Bulgarian *da* clauses in the other Balkan languages.

While I have not investigated Greek, Albanian, Rumanian, or Serbo-Croatian in any depth, a preliminary survey of possible subjects of various clause types in these languages does seem to bear out the GB predictions quite well, although there are a few problematic or unclear points. The results of having native speakers of these languages translate sets of sentences like (4) and (5) are summarized in Table 1, along with the facts of Bulgarian and English discussed above.^{8,9} The clause types are identified by their complementizer or other clause-introducing word, or by "inf" for the true infinitive in Rumanian and Serbo-Croatian. The circled *da*, *tě*, *na*, and *sđ* are words which introduce clauses similar to Bulgarian *da* constructions: functionally infinitive-like, but containing a finite verb. The data for these constructions is reproduced in Appendix A. Bulgarian *če*, Rumanian *cđ*, Albanian *qđ*, and Greek *oti* and *pos* are complementizers equivalent to English *that*; the clauses they introduce are uncontroversially finite. Serbo-Croatian *da*, in spite of its homonymy with Bulgarian *da*, is a complementizer more similar to *će* than to the *da/tě/na/sđ* group; it is therefore not circled.¹⁰ Albanian *me* represents the Gheg dialect's analytic infinitive, formed with *me* plus a participle. Joseph 1983 considers this to be a non-finite construction; however, its pattern of possible subjects is exactly like that of the standard

Albanian finite clauses. If this data is accurate, the *me* 'infinitive' must in fact be finite (it must contain INFL) in order for the GB analysis to work for Albanian; further research is necessary to determine whether this is a serious problem or whether there is any justification for considering *me* clauses to contain INFL. The notation "+/+*" under *him*, for Greek *oti/pos* indicates a disagreement among speakers; the form was accepted by one speaker but rejected by another.

	Subject of clause:					
	PRO _i	PRO _j	him _i	him _j	he _i	he _j
English						
that	*	*	*	*	+	+
to	+	*	*	+	*	*
Bulgarian						
(<i>da</i>)	+	+	*	*	+	+
će	+	+	*	*	+	+
Albanian						
(<i>të</i>)	+	+	*	+	+	+
që <i>të</i>	+	+	*	+	+	+
<i>me</i> (Gheg)	+	+	*	+	+	+
Greek						
(<i>na</i>)	+	+	*	+	+	+
<i>oti/pos</i>	+	+	*	+/*	+	+
Rumanian						
(<i>să</i>)	+	+	*	*	+	+
<i>că</i>	+	+	*	*	+	+
inf.	+	*	*	*	*	*
Serbo-Croatian						
<i>da</i>	+	+	*	*	+	+
inf.	+	*	*	*	*	*

Table 1. Symbols used: + = grammatical, * = ungrammatical, i = coreferential to matrix subject, j = not coreferential to matrix subject

Looking at the pattern of possible and impossible subjects in Table 1, a first point to notice is that all of the Balkan languages allow a PRO subject in finite clauses; all of them are "Pro Drop" languages. Aside from this fact, which as we have already noted is entirely independent of the interaction between finiteness and

opacity, the Balkan languages seem to behave as predicted by the Government and Binding analysis sketched out above. In particular, the *të*, *na*, and *să* clauses follow the same type of pattern as *da* clauses and *that*-type clauses; they allow a nominative pronoun subject, which may or may not be coreferential to the matrix subject, and in most cases disallow an accusative subject. Albanian and Greek appear to allow an accusative pronoun subject in all types of clauses; however, I strongly suspect that further research would show sentences with this accusative pronoun to be susceptible to the same kind of analysis as the Bulgarian sentences in (10) through (16) above, that is, that the pronoun is the matrix object, and the embedded clause subject is actually PRO. Word order clearly favors such a solution, at least in Albanian *që të* clauses, where the putative accusative subject precedes the complementizer *që* rather than following it as the nominative pronoun does. The structure of (21b) is presumably as shown in (21c). Similar word order facts hold for reflexives as well; see Appendix A and note 11.

21. a. Gjoni pret që ai të fitojë.

John expects that he to win-3sg.

'John expects that he will win.'

b. Gjoni pret atë që të fitojë.

John expects him that to win-3sg.

'John expects that he will win.'

c. Gjoni pret atë [që PRO të fitojë]

Another apparent problem area for the Government and Binding predictions is that of the reflexive and reciprocal anaphors like *himself* and *each other*. Translations of sentences like (4d,e) and (5d,e) demonstrated such lack of pattern that I have omitted them from Table 1. The main problem with such constructions seems to be that reflexive and reciprocal anaphors simply are not used or are not the normal way of saying something like "he expects himself to win" in most of these languages. My Rumanian consultants would not translate sentences like (5d,e) with anything other than a reflexive verb, and both the Greek and Serbo-Croatian speakers also seemed somewhat reluctant or uneasy about their translations of this type of sentence. In those instances where a clearly acceptable form was produced, it usually turned out to mean something like 'he alone' (clearly a pronominal and not an anaphor) or to be a phrase like 'one to the other,' whose

analysis is unclear, but which is almost certainly not an anaphor in the GB sense. Such responses are of course irrelevant to the evaluation of the GB predictions concerning finiteness.

The next point to note in Table 1 is that in the two languages with real infinitives, Rumanian and Serbo-Croatian, the use of the infinitive is more restricted than in English, and specifically that no accusative pronoun is allowed. Actually this is not unexpected; many if not most European languages do not permit an accusative with an infinitive (for example, French has not **Je le veux venir*, but rather *Je veux qu'il vienne* for 'I want him to come'). This fact is well known to GB theorists, who have proposed that languages may chose to allow government from outside the clause (like English) or not (like French), in cases such as infinitives where the clause itself contains no governor for the subject. I will not go into the mechanisms needed to make both choices available within GB here, but presumably the same mechanism that works for French will work for Serbo-Croatian and Rumanian as well.

Finally, notice that the Rumanian and Serbo-Croatian infinitive clauses (like the English *to*-infinitive) require their PRO subject to be coreferential to the matrix subject. Chomsky (1981:200, 204) treats this fact in English as part of the theory of control; specifically, he claims that a rule of the Logical Form component of the grammar indexes or checks the coindexing of the two subjects. While it is arguable whether this is the optimal way to deal with obligatory coreference, once again, whatever mechanism accounts for the English facts will presumably be able to account for the facts of the Balkan languages as well. Finite clauses in the Balkan languages allow either coreferential or non-coreferential PRO as their subject; this is another difference between finite and non-finite clauses.

In conclusion, I hope to have shown that a study of *da* clauses and similar constructions within a GB framework has at least two interesting results. First, the fact that the Binding principles predict (or at least very nearly predict) the pattern of possible subjects of embedded clauses in several languages which are not those for which these principles were originally formulated surely lends some support to the Government and Binding approach, or at least to the basic insight that finiteness is significant in the description of case marking and opacity phenomena. This insight is not new with GB; it has been

recognized by some earlier versions of the Extended Standard Theory and Revised Extended Standard Theory as well. The importance of tense was acknowledged as early as Chomsky 1973, in the form of the Tensed S Condition (TSC), which later led to the Nominative Island Condition (NIC) and the Propositional Island Condition (PIC). The main difference between these earlier conditions on rules and the GB approach is that GB attempts to derive the effect of these conditions from the most general possible principles. To the extent that this attempt succeeds, it is a good thing, and comparison of the theories would obviously be worthwhile. This paper however does not attempt to defend the Government and Binding framework over any other theory, but merely demonstrates that GB principles can in fact account for the Balkan data and make some correct predictions.

Secondly, the fact that *da* clauses and their counterparts in Greek, Albanian, and Rumanian behave like finite (and *not* infinitive) complements with respect to opacity provides a strong argument that they *are* finite, and strengthens the arguments for a notion of finiteness based on the presence of INFLECTION or AGREEMENT.

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Appendix A. Subjects of *da*-like constructions in Albanian, Greek, and Rumanian. (Translations of sentences (4) and (5) in the text.)

1. Albanian
 - a. Gjoni pret të fitojë.
John expects to win-3sg.
(Gjoni pret PRO_(G/J) të fitojë.)
 - b. Gjoni pret ai_(G/J) të fitojë. (ai 'he'; nominative)
 - c. Gjoni pret atë_(G/*J) të fitojë (atë 'him'; accusative)
 - d. Gjoni pret ai vet të fitojë. (ai vet 'he himself')
 - e. Ata presin njëri tjetrin që të fitojnë.
they expect-3pl. each other that to win-3pl.
2. Greek
 - a. O Yannis perimēni na nikisi.
John expects to win-3sg.
(O Yannis_i perimēni PRO_(G/J) na nikisi.)
 - b. O Yannis_i perimēni na nikisi aftos_(G/J). (aftos 'he')
 - c. O Yannis_i perimēni afton_(G/*J) na nikisi. (afton 'him')

- d. ??O Yannis perimēni ton estfo tou na nikisi. (ton estfo tou 'himself')
 - e. no acceptable translation with a reciprocal anaphor.
3. Rumanian
 - a. Ion se aşteaptă să câştige.
John expects to win-3sg.
(Ion se aşteaptă PRO_(I) să câştige.)
 - b. Ion se aşteaptă să câştige el_(I). (el 'he')
 - c. *Ion se aşteaptă să câştige pe el. (pe el 'him')
 - d. no acceptable translation with a reflexive or reciprocal anaphor.
 - e. no acceptable translation with a reflexive or reciprocal anaphor.

NOTES

¹ See for example Kazazis 1985, Genadieva-Mutačieva 1970, Schaller 1976, Joseph 1983, among many other works which discuss the infinitive-like character of *da* constructions.

² Such proposals have been made, for instance, by George and Kornfilt 1981, based on Turkish data, by Rouvret 1980, based on Portuguese, and more tentatively also by Joseph 1983, based on the Balkan languages. Picallo 1984 suggests that [+tense] and [+AG] (agreement) vary independently, at least in Catalan, to give a range of more and less finite clause types. Chomsky 1981 uses the term "finite" as equivalent to [+tense] (p. 52), but also accepts George and Kornfilt's claim that agreement is crucial in determining opaque domains (p. 210).

³ Genadieva-Mutačieva 1970 gives numerous examples of such clauses, with both *sovit* and perfect tenses, and discusses their semantics in some detail.

⁴ In the notation of GB theory, Case with a capital C refers to abstract case as opposed to any particular case such as genitive or nominative.

⁵ The subscripts *i* and *j* in (4b) and (5c) indicate (non)coreference of the embedded subject with the matrix subject. *He* in (4b) may be the same person as *John* (=i), or it may be a different person. *Him* in (5c), however, must be different from *John*, as indicated by the starred subscript *i.

⁶ The position of *go* before *e* in this sentence is determined by regular clitic placement rules and has nothing to do with the ungrammaticality of the sentence.

⁷ Lemp 1981 is concerned largely with this type of *da* clause, but his treatment of them is quite different from mine; he considers *Verb da Verb* to be a single complex predicate just in case there is obligatory coreference.

⁸ Macedonian is not included in Table 1, as I have not been able to obtain the necessary data from a native speaker. I believe, however, that Macedonian *da* clauses are like Bulgarian ones in all relevant aspects. For a discussion of *da* clauses and related constructions in Macedonian, see Kramer 1983.

⁹ I am grateful to Manolis Serfotis, Anna Agathangelou, Rada Hanu, Elez Biberaj, Milka Dik, Vasile Munteanu, and Dorin Urişescu for providing the data summarized in Table 1.

¹⁰ Actually the situation with Serbo-Croatian *da* is somewhat more complex than this; there are two separate *da* complementizers in Serbo-Croatian with fairly different syntactic behavior. Neither one is identical to the Bulgarian *da*, however.

¹¹ Note the position of *mytri tyetrin* here; it appears to be outside the *qz* clause and to be the matrix object, not a subject. This is probably why it is acceptable. (See the discussion of word order with *alt* around examples (21) in the text.)

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