

Null Subjects

by

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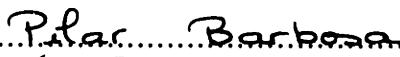
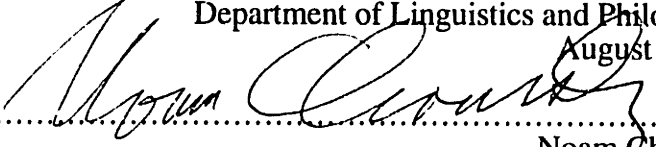

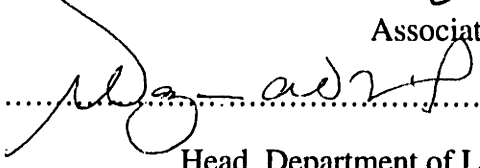
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Marie do Pilar Pereira Barbosa

Submitted to the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

The goal of this thesis is to isolate the properties that characterize the languages that show a correlation between the possibility of dropping a subject and rich subject agreement morphology. I will propose an articulated structure for TP, which is meant to reflect, in binary terms, the relation established among the Speech time, the Reference time and the Event time, the basic primitives of tense in Reichenbachian theories of tense. I will suggest that TP is broken up into a projection of 'Tense relative to the Event time' (T_E) and a projection of 'Tense relative to the Speech time' (T_S). The former corresponds to the standard IP and is the locus of the Extended Projection Principle. Spec- T_S is an A'-position. In subordinate clauses TP_S is selected by C. I will argue that the Null Subject Property is the result of the combination of the following two properties: overt V-to- T_E -to- T_S raising and a sufficiently rich bundle of nominal agreement features capable of checking off the Nominative Case feature of T_E and the EPP. The configuration of c-command established between the bundle of nominal features in T_S and an empty D in Spec- T_E will be argued to be essential to the Null Subject Property. Overt V-to- T_E -to- T_S raising will also be argued to be a property of a standard VSO language such as Irish. The differences between Irish and null subject Romance with respect to word order will follow from the fact that Irish has no agreement inflection. T_E raising to T_S accompanied by subject raising to Spec- T_EP yields VSO order.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1. The subject matter

This thesis focuses on the properties that uniquely characterize the languages that show a correlation between the possibility of dropping a subject and rich subject agreement morphology. Even though argument drop is not a unified phenomenon, it is possible to isolate at least three different systems of licensing a phonetically null definite subject argument.

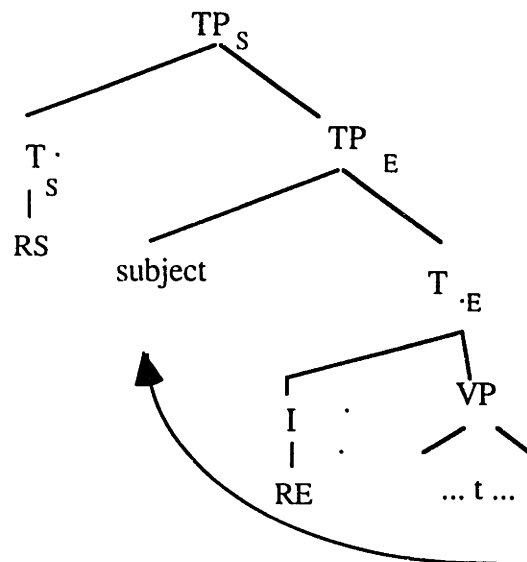
There are pronoun incorporation languages that invariably show agreement morphology for each argument. These are the nonconfigurational languages studied in Jelinek 1984 and Baker 1991, who argue that lexical DPs in such languages are adjuncts linked to incorporated agreement morphemes. Then there are languages that allow for both subject and object drop even though they show no agreement morphology at all (see Jaeggli and Safir 1987 for discussion). This latter type of languages has been extensively studied in Huang 1985, who ascribes the property 'discourse orientation' as their common denominator.

The phenomenon that will be the focus of this thesis, which, since the influential work of Rizzi (1982), came to be known as the Null Subject Parameter, belongs to neither of these two systems, at least not directly. Unlike the nonconfigurational languages, the languages studied here have two options: they can have a lexical subject argument, or they can have a null subject. Unlike Chinese or Japanese, they display rich subject agreement morphology. Even though I will concentrate almost exclusively on the Null Subject Romance languages, the purpose of this thesis is to contribute to a clarification of a phenomenon that is widely attested in language after language.

I will argue for the need to posit a more articulated structure for TP, which is meant to reflect, in terms of binary branching, the relation established among the Speech time, the Reference time and the Event time, the basic primitives of tense in Reichenbachian theories of tense. I will suggest that TP is broken up into a projection of 'Tense relative to the Event time' and a projection of 'Tense relative to the Speech time' (T_S). The former corresponds to the standard IP and is the locus of the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). Spec-T_SP is an A'-position. In

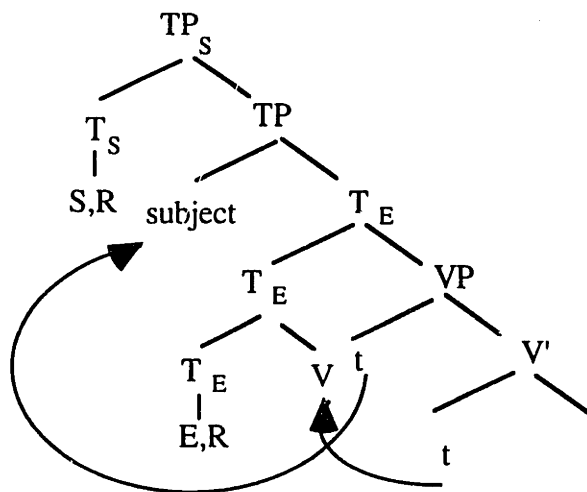
subordinate clauses TP_S is selected by C. The tree in (1) illustrates the proposed clause structure:

(1)



(2) below illustrates the structure of a finite clause in a standard V-raising non-NSL such as French. The verb raises overtly as far as T_E .

(2) *French:*

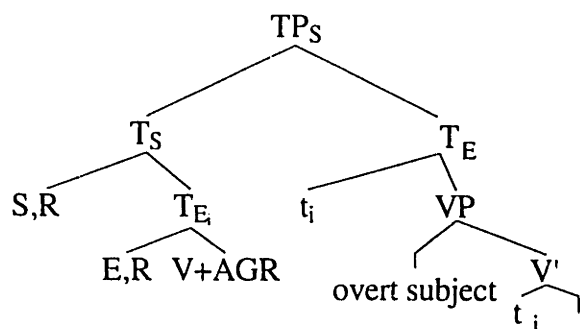


I will argue that the null subject Romance languages combine two properties: overt I raising past IP to T_S and a sufficiently rich bundle of features in Infl capable

of binding an empty D in Spec-IP. I will argue that the Null Subject Property is the result of the combination of the following two properties: overt V-to- T_E -to- T_S raising, and a sufficiently rich bundle of nominal agreement features capable of checking off the Nominative Case feature of T_E and the EPP. I suggest that subject agreement in null subject Romance is a clitic on V. It consists of a bundle of phi-features, and a Nominative Case feature, but it lacks a D feature. The verb moves through T_E to T_S , with the nominal agreement features incorporated. These check the Nominative Case feature under incorporation with T_E , and check the EPP. Since the N features of T are all checked with the exception of the D feature, there are in principle two options open:

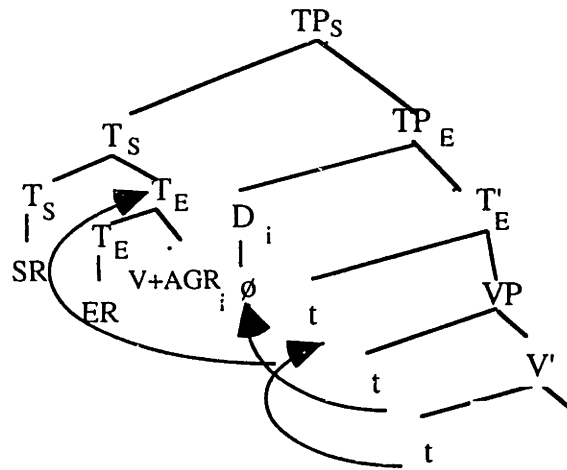
- a) A lexical DP bearing default morphological case is generated in argument position and stays inside the VP in overt syntax. Its D feature raises at LF. This yields the inverted subject constructions typical of null subject Romance, as exemplified in (3).

(3) *Inverted subject constructions:*



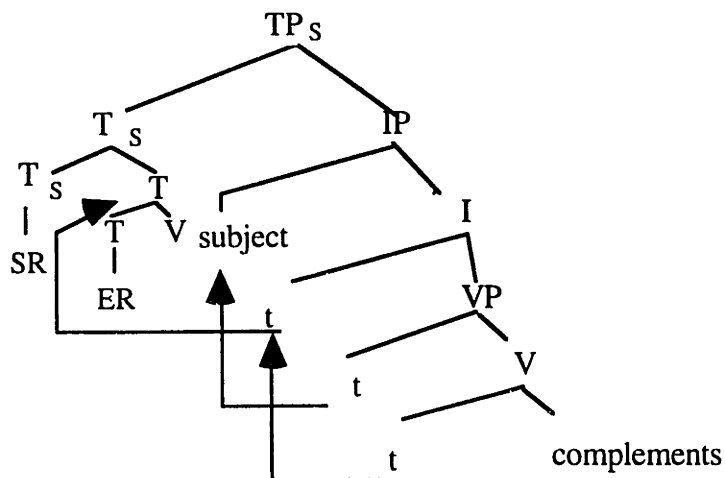
- b) A null D is generated in argument position and raises to Spec-IP, where it checks the D feature and is locally bound by the agreement features in T_S . I will suggest that LF raising is not available to Ds lacking phonetic content.

(4) *Null-subject constructions:*



I will argue that T_E raising to T_S is also a property of a standard VSO language such as Irish (in finite environments). I will suggest that the differences between Irish and null subject Romance with respect to word order are due to the fact that Irish has no agreement inflection. T_E raising to T_S accompanied by subject raising to Spec- TP_E yields VSO order:

(5) *Irish:*



2. Organization of the thesis

2.1. Chapter 2: Preverbal subjects in null subject Romance

In Chapter 2, I will analyse the properties of constructions with preverbal subjects in the Romance null subject languages (henceforth NSLs) and I will show that pre-verbal overt lexical subjects never occupy an A-position in these languages. I will claim that the real subject position for lexical DPs in the NSLs is the post-verbal position. I will argue that SVO constructions in null subject Romance are either instances of left-dislocation or instances of focus-movement of the subject.

2.2. Chapter 3: The Split TP hypothesis

I will start by looking at nonfinite constructions with an overt subject -- infinitival adjunct clauses, infinitival subject clauses, and different types of absolutive constructions-- and I will show that the the NSLs are quite systematically V-initial whereas French and English are invariably subject initial. I will argue that what characterizes Romance *pro*-drop as opposed to Romance non-*pro*-drop is that, in the former, Infl is attracted to a head that is higher than I but lower than C. Based on evidence from Romanian, Spanish and Catalan, I will argue that the specifier position of this intermediate head is an A'-position.

A study of certain cross linguistic properties of subjunctive clauses will reveal that the nature of this intermediate head between CP and IP is associated with tense. I will propose a more articulated structure for TP, which reflects in binary terms the relation established among the Speech time, the Reference time and the Event time, the basic primitives of tense in Reichenbachian theories of tense. I will suggest that TP is broken into a projection of 'Tense relative to the Event time' (T_E =Infl) and a projection of 'Tense relative to the Speech time' (T_S). In addition, I propose that the null subject Romance languages raise T_E to T_S overtly, whereas French and English do so at LF.

Finally, I will look at Irish tense morphology and I will show that it supports the split TP hypothesis. I will suggest that T_E raising also holds of the standard VSO languages.

2.3. Chapter 4: Subject-drop, agreement and inversion

In this chapter I will argue that the differences in the word order patterns between Irish and Romance *pro*-drop when T is finite are due to agreement. I will argue that Irish lacks agreement inflection and is not subject drop. The alternations between the analytic and synthetic forms of the verb will be attributed to the fact that pronouns raise to SPEC- TP_S and then incorporate with the verb in T_S , in the phonology. I will argue that the T_E nominal features are strong in Irish, so Irish has the EPP. The result of verb movement through T_E to T_S and subject raising to Spec, TP_E will be VSO order.

The second part of the chapter constitutes a discussion of the motivation for analysing agreement inflection in Null Subject Romance as a clitic on V. Finally, I propose a specific analysis of the structure of inverted subject constructions and constructions with a *pro* subject.

Chapter 2: Preverbal subjects in null subject Romance

Introduction

In this chapter, I will analyse the *properties* of constructions with preverbal subjects in the Romance NSLs and I will show that **pre-verbal** overt lexical subjects **never** occupy an A-position in these languages. I will claim that the **real subject position** for lexical DPs in the NSLs is the post-verbal position. I will argue that SVO constructions in null subject Romance are either instances of left-dislocation or instances of focus-movement of the subject.

Consider the following two Italian sentences:

- (1) a. Telefona Gianni.
 calls Gianni
 b. Gianni telefona.
 Gianni calls


In what follows, I will argue that the DP *Gianni* in (1a) is the structural subject, whereas in (1b) it is not. (1a) is derived via verb raising past the VP to a higher functional head. The subject remains inside the VP at spell-out.

- (2) [XP [X telefona [VP Gianni [t]]]
 \nearrow _____]

(1b) should be analysed as illustrated in (3). In (3) the DP *Gianni* is **base-generated** in an adjunct position (that is, left-dislocated) and linked to the **real subject**, *pro*, by coreference:

- (3) [XP Gianni [XP [X telefona *pro*]]]

In addition to (3), SVO order can also be derived by extracting the subject from the post-verbal position via A'-movement, as illustrated in (4):

- (4) a. GIANNI telefona
 Gianni (Focus) calls
 b. [CP GIANNI [C' telefona t]]
- 

The movement in (4) is A'-movement, so the moved subject is predicted to have the *properties* generally associated with A'-positions: it bears contrastive focus, and it reconstructs. In addition, I will argue that certain kinds of quantificational expressions, namely those that cannot be dislocated, are restricted to appear in this configuration whenever they precede the verb.

Even though (3) and (4) may look superficially similar, they are radically different structures, with distinct interpretations. I claim that the only way for a subject argument to find itself in front of the verb is by A'-movement, as illustrated in (4). Other instances of apparent preverbal subjects, such as (1b) are not instances of movement at all, but rather instances of left-dislocation. In order to lay down the ground for my arguments I will first discuss the *properties* of these two constructions, *left-dislocation* and *Focus movement*, as studied in Cinque 1990 for object arguments.

The main goal of this chapter is to argue against the claim that in (1b) the subject has been A-moved from its base position. I won't make any claims regarding the exact nature of the position occupied by *Gianni* in (2), a matter that will be discussed in later chapters. Here I will restrict my attention to overt subjects leaving a more careful discussion of *pro* for later. Following common jargon, I will continue to refer to the subject in (1a) as the 'inverted subject', even though, I will claim, there are no noninverted subjects in Romance *pro*-drop.

2.1. Clitic left dislocation and focus-movement (Cinque 1990)

Cinque 1990 gives a number of arguments in support of the claim that the construction he labels Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) doesn't involve *wh*-movement. The basis of his argumentation is a systematic comparison with another construction he labels 'topicalization'. He reviews a significant number of


differences between them and reduces them to the single fact that 'topicalization', though not CLLD, involves *wh*-movement.

The main superficial difference between 'topicalization' and CLLD is that a 'resumptive' clitic is impossible with a topicalized object but is obligatory with a CLLD object:

- (5) a. GIANNI (*lo) ho visto
 Gianni (focus) (him) I saw
 b. Gianni, *(lo) ho visto

Gianni I saw him

Cinque *proposes* to analyse (5a) under Chomsky's (1977) analysis of topicalization which involves movement of a null operator. Here I will depart from Cinque. There are notorious differences between Italian topicalization and English topicalization. For instance, whereas the former reconstructs, the latter doesn't (see Chapter 3, section # for evidence). As Cinque observes, the Italian construction in (5a) should more *appropriately* be labelled 'Focus-movement'. In order to distinguish this construction from English topicalization and avoid confusion, I will label the Romance construction 'Focus-movement'. I *propose* to analyse it as simply involving direct movement of the argument to [Spec,CP]:

- (5) a. [CP GIANNI [C' ho visto t]]
- 
- Gianni (focus) I have seen

2.1.1. Focus-movement, CLLD and bare QPs


Cinque notes that when the fronted object is a bare quantifier ([NP Q]): *qualcosa* 'something', *qualcuno* 'someone', etc.), though not if it is a quantified NP (*qualche* N'/*alcuni* N' 'some N', *molti* N' 'many N', etc.), the resumptive pronoun may be missing:

- (6) a. Qualcuno, (lo) troveremo.
 someone (him) we will find
 b. Qualcosa, di sicuro, io (la) farò

- (7) a. Qualche errore, Carlo *(lo) ha fatto.
 some error Carlo (it) has made
 b. Alcuni libri, *(li) ho comperati.
 some books (them) I bought.

According to Cinque, the presence or absence of the clitic in (6) is not optional and correlates with a difference in the interpretation of the quantifier. If the speaker has something or someone specific in mind the clitic is required. If the interpretation is 'something or other' or 'someone unspecified', the clitic is *obligatorily absent*. Cinque's conclusion is that this suggests that bare quantifiers used 'nonreferentially' behave like intrinsic operators, which can identify an EC as a variable at S-structure whereas specific bare quantifiers or headed QPs cannot, so that a resumptive clitic is required. Cinque *proceeds* to observe that constructions such as those in (6) -- without a resumptive clitic -- are subject to weak islands, contrary to those in (7).

As far as I understand Cinque, he doesn't give up a CLLD analysis of (6). He simply assumes that the bare QP can identify a variable in argument position from the adjunct position. Thus, according to Cinque, (6) is different from Focus movement, and realizes a third option: base-generation without a resumptive clitic. However, it seems to me that this third kind of fronting is not required. As Cinque himself notes, the constructions in (6) are sensitive to weak islands. Thus, they could very well be analysed as involving (successive cyclic) movement of the bare quantifier rather than base-generation. This alternative analysis is illustrated in (8b) below for the example (8a) where the bare QP is nonspecific:

- (8) a. Qualcuno, troveremo
 someone we will find
 b. [CP Qualcuno [C' troveremo t]]
- 

(8) is just like (5) without focal stress on the moved constituent. In the next subsection I will give arguments for a movement analysis of (8a).

2.1.1.1. Arguments for a *wh*-movement analysis of fronted bare QPs

The main reason why Cinque needs to distinguish the constructions in (8) from Focus-movement is that the former do not require any particular stress on the bare quantifier, whereas Focus-movement in general requires the moved phrase to bear focal stress. However, the presence or absence of a particular intonation pattern doesn't necessarily need to correlate with movement vs base-generation. It could very well be the case that focal stress assignment depends on other factors rather than being the automatic reflex of A'-movement, as Cinque assumes. For instance, Spanish appears to allow indefinites to be *wh*-moved (without a resumptive clitic) with no focal stress on the indefinite. The following examples are from Torrego (1984):

- (9) Un viaje a las Canarias hizo *Antonio* este verano.
 a trip to the Canarias made Antonio this summer
 ' A trip to the Canary Islands Antonio made this summer.'

Definites, by contrast, require focal stress. {EXAMPLE}.

(10)

Torrego 1984 observes that in (9) subject inversion is obligatory. Obligatory inversion is also required in cases of *wh*-movement. For this reason, Torrego concludes that *wh*-movement is involved in the derivation of (9). Thus, (9) is an example of A'-movement that doesn't require the moved phrase to bear focal stress. This shows that the presence or absence of focal stress is not a safe diagnostic for movement, and opens the way to analysing (6) (without the clitic) as also involving *wh*-movement.

The contrast between definites and indefinites with regard to focal stress assignment is an indication that focal stress assignment depends on the denotation of the DP moved. There are other examples of indefinite object fronting without a clitic and without focal stress that suggest (i) that movement and focal stress do not necessarily go together; (ii) that focal stress assignment depends on the interaction between the denotation of the DP moved and information structure. I will discuss these in turn.

Cinque observes that clausal negation can have consequences on indefinite object fronting. Usually, indefinite non bare QPs must bear focal stress when they are fronted and not resumed by a clitic:

- (11) a. *Molti amici, ha invitato, che io sappia.
 many friends he-has invited that I know
 'Many friends he has invited, as far as I know.'
 b. MOLTI AMICI ha invitato che io sappia.

Cinque points out, however, that if the IP-internal EC is in the scope of clausal negation, the ungrammatical (11a) becomes grammatical:

- (12) Molti amici non ha invitato, che io sappia.
 many friends he has not invited that I know

Even though it is not at all clear why negation should license lack of focal stress, it is possible to show that (12) involves movement. There are two arguments for this claim. The first argument comes from scope interactions of the indefinite with respect to clausal negation.

(12) is ambiguous between the two readings represented in (13a,b)¹:

- (13) a. many x: x a friend \neg I invited x
 b. \neg many x: x a friend I invited x

When the indefinite is doubled by a clitic, by contrast, only (13a) is available:

- (14) a. Molti amici non *li* ha invitati, che io sappia.
 b. many x: x a friend \neg I invited x
 c. * \neg many x: x a friend I invited x

Thus, we observe that CLLDed phrases obligatorily take wide scope with respect to clausal negation. I will return below to why this might be so. For the moment, it suffices to note that the absence vs presence of a doubling clitic has consequences for interpretation, which suggests that (14a) and (12) are structurally

¹ Cinque reports (12) to have only one reading, namely (13b). My Italian informant, however, considers it ambiguous.

different. This difference can be grasped once we take (14a) to involve no movement, but rather base-generation of the dislocated phrase, and (12) to involve A'-movement to SPEC,CP.

Clearer evidence that (12) involves movement regards *ne*-cliticization., one the diagnostics used by Cinque to determine base-generation vs movement. The NP associated with an indefinite quantifier is obligatorily *prominalized* with the clitic *ne* whenever the quantifier is in the object position. It is obligatorily a zero *pronominal* (*PRO* in the analysis of Belletti and Rizzi 1981) whenever the QP is in preverbal subject position or left-dislocated position. Consider the following examples from Cinque 1990 (p.69):

- (15) a. *(Ne_i) ho smarrite [quattro t_i] (di quelle lettere).
 of-them lost-I four (of those letters)
 b. *(Ne_i) sono andate smarrite quattro t_i
- (16) a. Quattro t_i (*ne_i) sono andate smarrite (non distrutte).
 four (of-them) have gone lost (not destroyed)
 b. Quattro t_i credo che (*ne_i) siano andate smarrite (non distrutte).
 four think-I that (of-them) have gone lost (not destroyed)

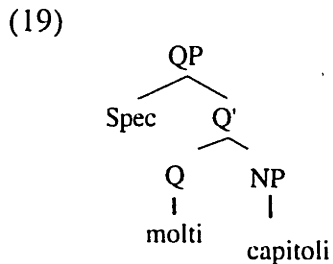
Whereas the clitic is obligatory in (15a,b), it is unacceptable in (16a,b). In (16b) the subject is clearly left-dislocated, since there is an intervening clause between it and the subject position it is associated with. As discussed in Rizzi 1982, the obligatoriness of *ne* is preserved under *wh*-movement.

- (17) a. Quante pietre hai preso?
 how many stones have you taken
 b. *Quante hai preso?
 how many have you taken
 (Compare **Ho preso tre* 'I have taken three'.)
 c. Quante *ne* hai prese?
 how many of-them have you taken
 (Compare *Ne ho prese tre* 'I have taken three of them')

Focus-movement patterns with *wh*-movement:

- (18) a. *Ne* ha invitati molti.
 of-them have-I invited many
 a. MOLTI, *ne* ha invitati.
 many of them have-I invited

I will follow the analysis of partitive *ne* as developed in Cardinaletti and Giusti (1991). According to them, indefinite QPs are analysed as in (19) below:



When the QP contains the trace of cliticized *ne*, movement of the whole QP to pre-verbal position will yield a violation of the *Proper Binding Condition* unless this movement reconstructs. Since A'-movement reconstructs, (17c) is fine, presumably blocking (17b). The fact that Focus-movement patterns with *wh*-movement shows that it is a form of A'-movement.

(16b), which contains a left dislocated subject, shows that CLLD does not involve A'-movement.

So now we have a diagnostic to test the structure of (12). Recall that, for Cinque, such examples (with no focal stress and a gap) involve base-generation of the QP in its surface position, wherefrom it manages to bind a variable in argument position. Above I suggested a different analysis. I have suggested that we analyse (12) and similar cases where the fronted phrase doesn't bear focal stress as instances of *wh*/Focus movement. The two structures are schematized in (20b,c):

- (20) a. Molti amici non ha invitato
 many friends he has not invited
 b. [XP Molti amici_i [XP non ha invitati *ec_i*]]
 c. [CP Molti amici [C' non ha invitato t]]



Equipped with the *ne* -cliticization test we can now test these two competing analyses. (20b) predicts these cases to be parallel to other cases of dislocation. If

the phrase *molti amici* is not moved from object position, then we predict the EC associated with the NP to be realized as a zero *pronominal*, as happens in (16). In other words, we predict *ne* to be absent. This prediction is not born out, as shown in (21).

(21) Molti amici non *ne* ha invitati

(21) is fine with *ne*. This shows that (21) patterns with (18b), a standard case of Focus movement. The only difference between these two constructions is in their phonological form: absence vs presence of focal stress. It is not at all clear why clausal negation should interfere with focal stress assignment. According to my informant, (21), without focal stress, is possible in answer to a question like (22) below:

(22) Ha invitato molti amici ?
 have-you invited many friends
 Molti amici non ha invitato, che io sappia.
 many friends he has not invited that I know

Samek (p.c.) reports that there is a strong sense of echoing the Question Constituent, as is more evident in this exchange:

(23) Quel tuo amico, e' il fratello di Clinton?
 That your friend, is (he) the brother of Clinton?
 (24) Fratello di Clinton non e', che io sappia.
 brother of Clinton not is, that I know.

Perhaps this particular usage of fronting is what is responsible for the lack of focal stress. But if that is so, then assignment of focal stress is *independent* from movement and is, to some extent, dependent on pragmatics. I won't engage here on an investigation of focal stress assignment in Focus-movement constructions. For my present purposes it suffices to note that A'-movement doesn't necessarily entail focal stress assignment. This conclusion, in turn, enables us to *propose* that the following examples all involve A'-movement:

- (25) MOLTI, ne ha invitati t
many of them have-I invite
- (26) Molti amici non ha invitati t
- (27) a. Qualcuno, troveremo t
someone (him) we will find
b. Qualcosa, di sicuro, io farò t

Of the above examples only (25) involves focal stress.

Now that we have established that examples such as (27a,b) involve movement, we will address the question of why CLLD is unavailable to bare QPs.

2.1.1.2. Bare QPs and CLLD

Compare the following examples with (27a,b) above:

- (28) a. Qualcuno, lo troveremo
someone (him) we will find
b. Qualcosa, di sicuro, io la farò t

(28a,b) are only acceptable when the indefinite is specific. This means that a nonspecific bare indefinite cannot be left-dislocated. A similar observation is made by Dobrovie-Sorin (1992) for clitic doubling in Romanian.

The challenge for any account of the restrictions on left-dislocation is that the QPs that cannot be dislocated do not appear to form a natural class. For instance, they cut across the 'weak', 'strong' distinction (in the sense of Milsark 1969).

Consider the following examples from Cinque:

- (29) a. Tutti i tuoi errore, prima o poi, *(li) pagherai.
all the your mistakes, sooner or later, (them) will-I-pay.
b. Alcune cartoline, *(le) ho ricevuto anch'io
some postcards have received (them) even I

(29a) contains a strong QP; (29b) contains a weak QP. Recall that Cinque's generalization is that bare quantifiers, of the form [QP Q], cannot be CLLDed; quantifiers of the form [QPQ NP] can be CLLDed. This appears to show that the ability to be CLLDed depends on whether a particular QP has enough *descriptive*

content. I will take this to mean that the relation between the left-dislocated phrase and the resumptive clitic is not one of binding, but rather one of coreference or any other form of unbound anaphora. Once binding is excluded, we can begin to try to explain why the unavailability of left-dislocation singles out this peculiar class of *bare* nonspecific QPs.

There are two ways for a *pronoun* to be anaphoric on a phrase that doesn't bind it. One is coreference. When we know the referent of the dislocated DP, the *pronoun* can be used to refer to the same entity. The other way is the mechanism that allows the E-type *pronoun* in (30) to be interpreted as anaphoric on an indefinite that doesn't bind it.

(30) A man came in. He sat down.

E-type anaphora has been the topic of much discussion (see Evans 1980, Heim 1982, Neale 1990). Here I will assume the rule *proposed* in Neale 1990 repeated here in (31):

(31) Neale (1990: p.183):

'If x is a *pronoun* that is anaphoric on, but not c-commanded by a maximal quantifier ' $[Dx: Fx]$ ' that occurs in an antecedent clause ' $[Dx: Fx] (Gx)$ ', then x is interpreted as ' $[the\ x: Fx]$ '

If indeed a rule like (31) is at work in the anaphoric relation between a dislocated QP and the 'resumptive clitic', we can understand why a minimum of descriptive content is required. In order for the clitic to be interpreted as a definite description, a common noun is required. In the case of a bare quantifier, the common noun is lacking, so the E-type strategy is not available, unless the QP is modified by a relative clause. As illustrated below, dislocation is possible (in fact obligatory) in this case:

(32)	Qualcosa, su cui avevo fatto incidere le sue iniziali,	gliel'ho appena data.
		*gli ho appena dato/a
	something on which I had his initials engraved	I just gave (<i>it</i>) to him

In the absence of a relative clause, coreference is the only mechanism linking a bare QP to the clitic. This latter strategy is possible just in case the bare QP is

assigned a referent by the context. This kind of situation is illustrated in the following example taken from Cinque:

- (33) SPEAKER A: Li conosci, quelli?
'Do you know them, those people?"
SPEAKER B: Sì, qualcuno, *(l') ho già conosciuto.
yes someone (him) I already know
(Gloss)

2.1.2. Summary of section

In this section I have reviewed some of Cinque's arguments in support of the claim that the construction he labels Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) doesn't involve *wh*-movement. The basis of his argumentation is a systematic comparison with another construction that we have *proposed* to label Focus-movement. Focus-movement, as the label indicates, involves A'-movement. We have isolated two *properties* that distinguish CLLD from Focus-movement: (i) reconstruction and (ii) scope interactions with clausal negation. A CLLDed constituent doesn't reconstruct for the purposes of the *Proper Binding Condition* and it is obligatorily interpreted as taking wide scope with respect to negation. Focus movement, by contrast, reconstructs and displays scopal interactions with clausal negation. These two *properties* will play a central role in the discussion that follows.

In addition, we have diverged from Cinque in assuming that Focus-movement doesn't necessarily entail Focal stress on the moved constituent. We have suggested that whenever a fronted direct object is not resumed by a clitic it has been A'-moved to the front of the verb. This *process* may or may not be accompanied by focal stress assignment in the phonology. In the case of Bare QPs and certain indefinites it isn't.

Finally, I have suggested that the relation between the clitic and the CLLDed constituent is one of unbound anaphora. This kind of construal raises a number of interesting questions that I won't pursue here. For instance, as pointed out by Cinque, it obeys strong islands. Iatridou (1991) *proposes* an analysis of this phenomenon that attempts to reconcile Cinque's findings with a movement analysis of strong-island violations. However, there is another *property* of CLLD that is left unexplained under Iatridou's analysis. Even though we have seen that CLLD doesn't reconstruct for the purposes of *Proper Binding* of the empty category

associated with *ne*-cliticization, the fact is that it shows reconstruction effects for the purposes of Condition C of the binding theory. Consider the following example taken from Portuguese:

- (34) a. O pai do Pedro, encontrei-o ontem em casa da Maria.
 the father of Peter met-I him yesterday in house of Maria
 'Peter's father, I met him yesterday at Mary's'
- b. O pai do Pedro encontrou-o ontem em casa da Maria.
 the father of Peter met-he him yesterday in house of Maria
 'Peter's father, he met him yesterday at Mary's'

In (34b) the *pronominal* subject *pro* cannot corefer with the DP *o Pedro*, a standard condition C violation. However, in order for Condition C to apply, the DP *o pai do Pedro* must be reconstructed to object position, where it is c-commanded by *pro*. Thus, we appear to have two kinds of reconstruction: reconstruction for the purposes of the *Proper Binding Condition*, and reconstruction for the purposes of condition C. The former only applies to instances of A'-movement. The latter applies even in the absence of movement, perhaps at a later point in the derivation. This asymmetry between these two kinds of reconstruction effects, as well as the apparent contradiction between strong island violations and the evidence against movement in CLLD remain a mystery and a challenge for the theory as it stands.

I will not *proceed* this matter any further. Here I am simply interested in laying down the ground for the argumentation that will be used in later sections. I will discuss evidence that will suggest that preverbal subjects in null subject Romance are not A-moved to the preverbal position and that SVO constructions in null subject Romance are either instances of left-dislocation or of A'-movement to the front of the verb.

2.2. Preverbal subjects in Null Subject Romance

2.2.1. Introduction

The idea that preverbal subjects in the null subject Romance languages are left-dislocated is not new. It has been *proposed* in Rigau 1988, Sola 1992 and Contreras 1991. As pointed out by Sola, even the most radical theory contending that

obligatory: any clitic left-dislocated element can be *pronounced* without any special pause or phonological clue possibly differentiating it from what would be a 'true' non-dislocated subject. (p.268).'

Finally it has often been contended that a true dislocated element cannot be used in a sentence which is a natural answer to 'What is happening?'. As also pointed out by Sola, this test doesn't give clear results. According to him, all of the following examples in Catalan are reasonable answers to 'What is happening?' (e.g., when someone arrives and feels something strange in the atmosphere):

- (36) a. A en Joan li han robat la cartera.
 To the J. him-have robbed the wallet
 b. Al nen l'ha mossegat una rata
 to-the child him-has bitten a rat

Likewise, the following Portuguese example is a clear example of dislocation, since there is an intervening clause between it and the argument position it is associated with:

- (37) O João creio que está seriamente doente.
 the John think-I that is seriously sick

Yet, (37) is perfectly *appropriate* as an answer to 'What is happening?'. Moreover, no intonational break is necessarily perceived between *o João* and the rest of the sentence.

This suffices to establish that no intonational clue is reliable enough, nor are intuitions of what is basic or marked. Before I turn to a systematic discussion of the *properties* of SVO structures in the NSLs, I wish to point out that the indeterminacy argument pointed out above for (35) -- that it is in principle impossible to prevent a left-dislocation analysis for (35) anyway -- also holds for constructions with bare QPs. In this latter case, it will be very hard to tell whether a bare QP has been A'-moved rather than A-moved to the front of the inflected verb. Recall that object bare QPs do *not need to bear focal stress* when they are fronted. Without the phonological clue, it is very hard to tell whether A'-movement has taken place. Since it is not possible to prevent an A'-movement analysis of a bare QP anyway, (38) below is, in principle, ambiguous between an A'movement and an A-movement analysis:

- (38) Ninguém apareceu.
Nobody showed up

Hence, our task will be to try to find out whether (35) and (38) are indeed ambiguous between left-dislocation/A'-movement of the subject and A-movement. In order to precisely determine whether they are truly ambiguous, we need to investigate whether SVO structures in the NSLs differ from SVO structures in the non-null-subject languages with respect to those *properties* that distinguish CLLD from A-movement, on the one hand; and A'-movement, from A-movement, on the other. This is essentially the strategy that I will follow in sections 2.2.3, 2.2.4. and 2.2.5. In the next section, I will turn to some dialects of northern Italy which have subject clitics. These dialects have mixed *properties*: they share some of the *properties* of null subject languages while requiring overt clitic subjects. I will show that for some of these dialects at least it is possible to show that lexical subjects are not A-moved to pre-verbal position.

2.2.2. Fiorentino and Trentino: a case-study

Unlike standard Italian, Fiorentino and Trentino do not allow subject *pronouns* to be dropped in all persons³. Thus, the equivalents to the Italian example (6) is bad in the dialects, as illustrated in (7b,c):

- (39) a. *Standard Italian*: Parli
(you) speak
b. *Fiorentino*: * (Tu) parli
c. *Trentino*: * (Te) parli

In this respect, the two dialects behave a lot like French, a non-null subject language with subject clitics. However, as shown in Rizzi 1986, Brandi and Cordin 1989, Giupponi 1990, Polletto 1993, this resemblance is only apparent. In what follows, I will briefly review their arguments.

In these Italian dialects, the subject clitic is *obligatory* with overt preverbal subjects (including *pronouns*), as illustrated below for Trentino:

(40) *Trentino*:

- a. El Mario *(el) parla
the Mario *(he) speaks
- b. Ti *(te) parli
you you speak

The examples in (40) contrast with French (41) below. In French, the subject clitic is not obligatory in the presence of a non-clitic subject:

(41) *French*:

- a. Jean parle
John speaks
- b. Il parle
he speaks
- c. Jean/lui il parle.
John/him he speaks

Another example of the mixed *properties* of the dialects concerns sentences with inverted subjects. Fiorentino has a kind of construction that resembles French expletive constructions - involving a post-verbal subject and a preverbal expletive clitic with unmarked person and number specification:

(42) *French*:

Il est venu des filles
it is come some girls

(43) *Fiorentino*:

Gl' è venuto dele ragazze
cl-3sg. is come some girls
'Some girls have come'

Trentino lacks an overt clitic in these configurations, but the auxiliary and the verb show neutral (third person singular) agreement, as shown in (44):

(44) *Trentino*:

E' vegnú qualche putela
is come some girls

Once again, the parallelism between the two dialects and French breaks down under close inspection. In French, expletive constructions are restricted to unaccusative verbs, as illustrated in (45). In the dialects, however, similar constructions are acceptable with a wider range of verbs, including unergative verbs and transitive verbs:

(45) *French:*

*Il a téléphoné des filles
cl-3g-masc has phoned some girls

(46) *Fiorentino:*

Gl' ha telefonato delle ragazze
cl-3sg. has phone some girls

In this respect, the expletive constructions in the dialects resemble the 'free-inversion' constructions characteristic of Null Subject Romance.

Another *property* that brings the dialects closer to Italian is the lack of an indefiniteness restriction on the inverted subject. Thus, compare (47) with (48):

(47) *Fiorentino:*

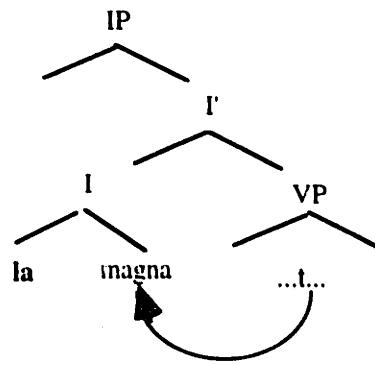
- a. Gl' è venuto Maria.
CL-3d is come M.
- b. E' vegnú la Maria
is come the Maria
'There came Maria'

(48) *French:*

* Il est venu Marie
it is come Marie

These two *properties* - inversion not restricted to underlying objects; and lack of an indefiniteness effect on the inverted subject -- are the hallmarks of 'free inversion' in Romance *pro-drop*. In view of this set of *properties*, Rizzi 1984, Brandi and Cordin 1989, and Polletto 1993, have argued that the dialects are subject-drop, and that these subject clitics are best analysed as the 'spell-out' of agreement features in Infl, as illustrated in (49):

(49)



The dialects are thus to be analysed similarly to Italian, the main difference being that they have overt clitics as bundles of features under INFL. The other difference is that the form of the clitic varies according to whether the subject is inverted or null.², as illustrated below for Fiorentino:

- (50) a. **Gli** ha telefonato delle ragazze
cl-3sg. has phone some gir/s
'There called some girls'
- b. (Delle ragazze) **Le** hanno telefonato.
(some girls) cl-3rd-FEM have called

(50a) illustrates 'free' inversion: the form of the clitic is third person singular. (50b) illustrates a preverbal subject construction. The subject can be 'dropped'. In both cases, a clitic is obligatory and the form of the clitic is fully inflected for gender and number, as well as person.

The fact that the dialects display different morphology depending on whether the subject is inverted or null *provides* us with the kind of environment needed to test the nature of the preverbal position. This is so because the hypothesis that preverbal subjects are either left dislocated or A'-moved to the front of the verb makes very strong predictions in these two dialects. I will review these in turn. In what follows I will refer to the analysis sketched in the introduction as the *adjunction hypothesis*. I will use the term *standard analysis* to refer to any variation of the claim that preverbal subjects raise to a preverbal A-position.

² This pattern is reminiscent of standard Arabic, so it is not at all unusual.

2.2 2.1. Agreement and antiagreement

The adjunction hypothesis assigns the structural representation in (51) to SVO constructions with nonfocused lexical subjects (the exact position of *pro* is not directly relevant for the discussion at hand, so I invite the reader to disregard this part of the analysis). The partial structural representation in (52) is assigned to an inverted subject construction::

(51) [IP DP_i [IP [I' V *pro*_i]]

(52) [IP [I' V [VP *subject*]]

Regarding these two particular dialects, it predicts that preverbal nonfocused overt subjects should cooccur with the morphology that is typical of constructions with a nonovert subject or with a right-dislocated subject; i.e., the agreement morphology associated with referential *pro*. In effect, preverbal nonfocused subjects require the fully inflected clitic form, as illustrated in the Fiorentino examples in (53).

(53) *Fiorentino*:

- a. La Maria l' è venuta.
the Maria **cl-3sg-fem.** is come
- b. *La Maria **gli** a telefonà.
the Maria **cl-3sg** has phoned

Although I couldn't find any studies of intonational patterns in Trentino or Fiorentino, Saccon (1993) reports that, in Conegliano, neutral agreement constructions require that no intonational pause intervene between the verb and the inverted subject (cf. (54a). When such a pause is present, only the fully inflected form is possible, just like in constructions with preverbal overt subjects (cf. 54b,c)³.

³ Saccon assumes that clitics in Conegliano are also a form of agreement, so I presume the facts are similar to Trentino and Fiorentino.

(54) *Conegliano*:

- a. Intonation H*L
El a telefonà la Maria
cl-3sg-masc. has phoned the Maria
- b. Intonation H*L, H
La a telefonà, la Maria
cl-3sg-fem has phoned the Maria
- c. La Maria la a telefonà
the Maria cl-3sg-fem has telephoned
- d. La a telefonà
cl-3sg-fem has telephoned
'She called'

Correlating the presence of an intonational break with right-dislocation, we conclude that what distinguishes (54a) from (54b) is that the former is an instance of *free inversion* whereas the latter is an instance of *right-dislocation*. Thus, we observe that preverbal nonfocused subjects (cf. (54c)) require the type of agreement found with *right-dislocated subjects* (cf. (54b)), not the type of agreement found with *free inversion*. This kind of agreement is also the one found in the absence of an overt lexical subject (as illustrated in (54d)). This is exactly what the adjunction hypothesis predicts.

The standard hypothesis is not incompatible with these facts, so thus far it fares just as well. However, the following observations appear to pose a bit of a *problem* for it. As observed in Rizzi 1986, Brandi and Cordin 1989, Giupponi 1990, Polletto 1993, subject extraction requires neutral agreement morphology. This is illustrated below:

(55) *Fiorentino*:

- a. Quante ragazze gli è venuto?
how-many girls cl-3sg-masc. is come
'How many girls came?'
- b. *Quante ragazze le sono venute?
how-many girls cl-3pl-fem are come

(56) *Fiorentino*:

- a. La Maria **gli** è venuto, non la Carla
the Maria **cl-3sg-masc. is** come, not the Carla
'MARIA came, not Carla.'
- b. *La Maria l' è venuta non la Carla
the Maria **cl-3sg-fem. is** come, not the Carla

(55) illustrates *wh*-movement and (56) illustrates Focus-movement. These examples show that subject extraction (regardless of how local) *must* take place from the inverted position (see also Rizzi 1986 for standard Italian). According to the analysis *proposed* in the introduction, the inverted position is the one and only A-position occupied by R-expressions. Thus, movement is expected to take place from this position. Under the standard analysis, however, preverbal overt subjects in NSLs do not differ structurally from subjects in non NSLs. Yet, in the latter, there is nothing wrong with local extraction from Spec, AgrSP, so extra machinery is required to deal with (55-56) (see Jaeggli 1984, Rizzi 1986, Brandi&Cordin 1989 for a *proposed* solution to this *problem* within a standard *approach* to the NS parameter).

Note that, from the point of view of the adjunction hypothesis, asking why extraction doesn't take place from the left-dislocated position reduces to the question why the English example (57b) is unacceptable:

- (57) a. Peter, I like him.
- b. *Who do you like him?

or why clitics cannot "double" a moved phrase in ordinary *wh*-constructions in Italian:

- (58) * Chi lo conosci?
who him-(do-you-)know

Vartridou 1991 has claimed that extraction of *d*-linked *wh*-phrases in Greek and Italian can take place from the dislocated position. However, her *proposal* only covers the restricted cases of *d*-linked (or specific/partitive)*wh*-phrases. So even under her *proposal*, the ungrammaticality of (58) is expected. We claim that the unacceptability of the Fiorentino examples (55b) and (56b) is to be accounted for

together with (58): the unmarked case is that the trace of movement is in an A-position. We claim that the A-position filled by subjects in null subject Romance is the inverted position, so the paradigm in (55-56) is what we predict.


Our *proposal* also makes a further prediction: those preverbal expressions that can independently be shown not to dislocate easily (bare QPs) will not be able to cooccur with fully inflected agreement. Since they cannot be dislocated, they are restricted to the post-verbal position or to A'-movement from this position. This prediction is in fact born out. Negative QPs require neutral agreement morphology in Trentino⁴:

(59) *Trentino*:

- a. Nisun vien
- b. *Nisun el vien
- ' Nobody comes'

The obligatoriness of 'neutral' agreement morphology in (59) favors an analysis as in (60), with A'-movement directly from the inverted position:

(60) [CP Nisun [vien t]]



Recall that we have observed that bare QPs do not require focal stress when fronted. (this was noticed by Cinque 1990 with regard to object fronting). We have noticed that, without the phonological clue, constructions with a preverbal QP in Italian are potentially ambiguous between an A'-movement analysis and an A-

⁴ According to Polletto's typological overview, this prediction is borne out in most dialects except in her class (3) dialects. Here are the examples Polletto quotes from Montesover:

- (i) a. Qualcun el vegnarà tardi
 someone he will arrive late
- b. Vegn qualchedun
 comes someone

Here, the correlation between inversion and preverbal QPs lacking descriptive content is not established: (ib) lacks a subject clitic but (ia) has a third person clitic. In a footnote, Polletto observes that, in one of the class (3) dialects, *qualcuno*, 'someone', appears with a clitic, whereas *nessuno*, 'nobody', doesn't. In addition, she notes that in yet another dialect the appearance of the subject clitic depends on the interpretation of the QP. This shows that the facts are not clear cut, and is consistent with Cinque's (1990) observation that *qualcuno* may be able to cooccur with a doubling clitic in standard Italian when it is specific. Incidentally, the Montesover example above contains a bare indefinite, and the context is not precise enough to determine whether the indefinite in this case is specific or not. Thus, as it stands, (ia) is not a counter-example. In order to test our predictions in the different dialects in Polletto's class (3) one would need a more detailed study controlling for specificity and including negative QPs.

movement analysis. The impossibility of the fully inflected clitic in (59) shows that in Trentino such constructions are *not* structurally ambiguous. Otherwise, we would expect the clitic to be optional, contrary to fact. (59) is unambiguously analysed as an instance of subject extraction. This is a *problem* for the idea that preverbal subjects raise to an A-position.

Hence, our predictions are fulfilled in the dialects. In the next section, I will examine a series of arguments in favor of extending the adjunction hypothesis to all of Null Subject Romance - standard Italian, Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese.

2.2.3. Indefinite Subjects

In our discussion of object CLLD we have observed that CLLDed indefinite objects obligatorily take wide scope with respect to clausal negation. All other things being equal, we expect dislocated subjects to behave the same way. Thus, the adjunction hypothesis makes a very strong prediction regarding the interpretation of indefinite nonfocused subjects in the NSLs: it predicts them to take obligatory wide scope with respect to a scope bearing element inside the clause. The standard analysis takes subject initial constructions to be ambiguous between left-dislocation and A-movement of the subject. Thus, it predicts scopal interactions with subjects to be no different from those observed in nonNSLs. In this section I will show that this is not the case. I will show that in the NSLs indefinites take obligatory wide scope with respect to a scope bearing element inside the clause, whereas the non NSLs show scopal ambiguities.

In a context where I am being reminded of the items that are necessary to submit in order to apply to a certain job, the English example (61) and its French counterpart in (62) are fine.

(61) A letter of recommendation is required.

(62) *French:*

Une lettre de recommandation est requise.

a letter of recommendation is required

(63a), (64a), (65a) and (66a) contain a word for word translation of the examples above in Catalan, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, respectively. None of

these are appropriate in the context given. Instead, the inverted subject construction must be used, as in the (b) examples in (63-66).

(63) *Catalan* :

- a. ???Una carta de recomanacio es necessaria.
a letter of recommendation is required
- b. Es necessaria una carta de recomanacio.
is required a letter of recommendation

(64) *Spanish*:

- a. ???Una carta de recomendacion se necesita.
a letter of recommendation is required
- b. Se necesita una carta de recomendacion.
is required a letter of recommendation

(65) *Italian*:

- a. ???Una lettera di raccomandazione é necessaria.
a letter of recommendation is required
- b. É necessaria una lettera di raccomandazione.
is required a letter of recommendation

(66) *Portuguese*:

- a. ???Uma carta de recomendação é necessaria.
a letter of recommendation is required
- b. É necessaria uma carta de recomendação
is required a letter of recommendation

The awkwardness of the noninverted examples is due to the fact that the wide scope reading of the indefinite with respect to the modal is pragmatically unavailable. Once we make it available, these examples are fine. Thus, suppose there is a particular set of letters, and that, out of those, one in particular has been specifically required. I don't know which one is required, but I know you do, so I say to you:

(67) *Portuguese*:

Dizem que uma carta de recomendação é
they-say that a letter of recommendation is
necessária. Qual delas?
required. Which of-them?

'They say that one of the letters of recommendation is required.
Which one?'

(67) is perfect in this context.

Similar remarks can be made with regard to negation. English (68a) and French (68b) are fine when I am being reminded that a letter or recommendation is not required to apply to a particular school:

- (68) a. A letter of recommendation is not required.
b. Une lettre de recommandation n'est pas nécessaire.
A letter of recommendation is not necessary

The Portuguese analogue to (68), (69a), is not *appropriate* at all in this context. Instead, (69b) must be used:

- (69) a. ???Uma carta de recomendação não é necessária.
a letter of recommendation is not necessary
b. Não é necessária uma carta de recomendação.
not is necessary a letter of recommendation

Once again, (69a) is perfectly *appropriate* in a context in which it is presupposed that there is a particular set of letters. (70) asserts that one of them in particular is not required:

- (70) a. Uma carta de recomendação não é necessária. Qual delas?
a letter of recommendation is not required which one

This systematic contrast with English and French remains to be accounted for in any analysis that *proposes* that preverbal subjects are A-moved to the preverbal position. Such an analysis would have to create extra-machinery to distinguish French/English from the other *pro*-drop Romance languages. Under the analysis *proposed* here these facts follow from whatever semantic account is independently required to explain the obligatoriness of wide scope interpretation for dislocated phrases.in general

Similar observations can be made for scope interactions with a quantifier inside the clause. I won't discuss this kind of examples here but I refer the reader to Sola 1992 for discussion.

2.2.4. ne-cliticization

Ne-cliticization is yet another area where differences can be detected between the NSLs and the non NSLs. In our discussion of object CLLD we have already reviewed some of the relevant facts regarding partitive *ne*-cliticization. Partitive *ne* pronominalizes the NP associated with an indefinite quantifier: $ne_i \dots [QP Q e_i]$. As we will see below, the restrictions on the distribution of partitive *ne* do not directly bear on a choice between the standard analysis and the adjunction hypothesis for pre-verbal subjects in the NSLs. However, there is another kind of *ne*-cliticization that pronominalizes certain adnominal complements of underlying objects and is generally referred to in the literature as 'adnominal *ne*' (see Kayne 1975, Couquaux 1982 and Pollock 1986). I will show that there are asymmetries between the NSLs (Italian and Catalan) and French in the distribution of adnominal *ne* cliticization in preverbal subject position. I will argue that these asymmetries follow from the fact that, contrary to French, preverbal subjects in Italian and Catalan are not A-moved to the preverbal position. This conclusion supports the adjunction hypothesis.

This section will be organized as follows. First I will review the most relevant facts regarding partitive *ne*-cliticization. I will conclude that, in view of the fact that partitive *ne*-cliticization is incompatible *both* with A-movement and dislocation, it is not useful as a test for the adjunction hypothesis. Then I will show that, in French, adnominal *ne*-cliticization is compatible with preverbal subject constructions. These kind of constructions were studied by Ruwet 1972, who labels them EN-AVANT. EN-AVANT is impossible in Italian and Catalan nonfocused pre-verbal subject constructions. I will then argue that this is what is predicted under the adjunction hypothesis.

2.2.4.1. Partitive *ne*-cliticization

Recall that the NP associated with an indefinite quantifier is obligatorily pronominalized with the clitic *ne* whenever the quantifier is in the object position. It is obligatorily a zero pronominal (*PRO* in the analysis of Belletti and Rizzi 1981)

whenever the QP is in preverbal subject position or left-dislocated position. Here I repeat the relevant examples from Italian:

- (71) a. *(Ne_i) ho smarrite [quattro t_i] (di quelle lettere).
of-them lost-I four (of those letters)
'I lost four of them'
- b. *(Ne_i) sono andate smarrite quattro t_i
of-them are gone lost four
'Four of them were lost'
- (72) a. Quattro t_i (*ne_i) sono andate smarrite (non distrutte).
four (of-them) are gone lost (not destroyed)
'Four of them were lost'
- b. Quattro t_i credo che (*ne_i) siano andate smarrite (non distrutte).
four think-I that (of-them) have gone lost (not destroyed)
'Four of them I think that they were lost'

Whereas the clitic is obligatory in (71a,b), it is unacceptable in (72a,b). As discussed in Rizzi 1982, the obligatoriness of *ne* is preserved under *wh*-movement (cf. (73c) and Focus-movement (cf. (74)):

- (73) a. Quante pietre hai preso?
how many stones have you taken
- b. *Quante hai preso?
how many have you taken
(Compare **Ho preso tre* 'I have taken three.')
- c. Quante *ne* hai prese?
how many of-them have you taken
(Compare *Ne ho prese tre* 'I have taken three of them')
- (74) a. *Ne* ha invitati molti.
of-them have-I invited many
- b. MOLTI, *ne* ha invitati.
many of them have-I invited

Since, under the standard analysis, (72) is potentially ambiguous between an A-movement analysis and a left-dislocation analysis, and *ne*-cliticization is incompatible with both, the Italian paradigm is indeterminate. French, however,

unambiguously tells us that partitive *ne*-cliticization is incompatible with A-movement. (75) below shows that the presence of the clitic is required when the QP is in object position. (76) shows that the clitic must be absent when the QP is in subject position. (77) shows that *en* is fine when associated with a QP that has been extracted via *wh*-movement:

(75) *Partitive en (French):*

a. Luc connaît beaucoup **de filles**.

Luc knows a lot of girls

b. Luc **en** connaît beaucoup.

Luc cl-of-them knows many

Luc knows many of them

(76) a. Beaucoup de filles sont laides

many of girls are ugly

b. *Beaucoup **en** sont laides

(77) a. Combien de filles connais-tu?

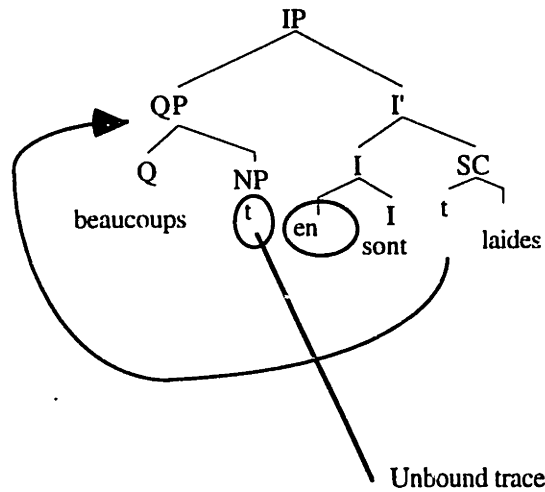
b. Combien **en** connais-tu?

(76b) is unambiguously a case of A-movement. Above we have argued that the restrictions on the distribution of *ne/en* can be accounted for under the *Proper Binding Condition* for traces. In the case of (76b), movement of the whole QP to pre-verbal position will carry along the trace of *en* yielding a violation of the *proper binding condition* (the trace will not be c-commanded by its antecedent) (see Rizzi 1990). This is illustrated below:

(78) a. *Beaucoup **en** sont laides.

many cl-of-them are ugly

b.



Note that when the pre-verbal QP is *wh*-moved or focused, *ne* cliticization is fine, as illustrated in (74b) for Italian, and in (77b) for French. Above we attributed this fact to reconstruction: since A'-movement reconstructs, the trace of *ne/en* will be c-commanded by its antecedent at LF. The contrast between (76b) and (77b) is interesting, since it shows very clearly that there is a difference between A'-movement and A-movement with respect to reconstruction (a conclusion that has been sometimes challenged in the literature). In addition, examples such as (72b) also show that CLLD does not reconstruct, at least not for the purposes of the *Proper Binding Condition* (but see our discussion in section 2.1. where it is pointed out that CLLD must reconstruct for the purposes of Condition C of the binding theory).

In view of the fact that partitive *ne*-cliticization is incompatible with A-movement and dislocation, it is not a useful diagnostic for the putative ambiguity of (72a). However, there is another type of *ne* that directly bears on this issue. This is the case of adnominal *ne*-cliticization.

2.2.4.2. Adnominal *ne*-cliticization

Adnominal *ne*-cliticization *pronominalizes* adnominal 'complements' of a restricted kind, and has been studied by Ruwet 1972, Kayne 1975, Couquaux 1982, Pollock 1986. Here are some examples of this construction.

(80) *Adnominal ne* (Italian):

- a. Maria conosce tre libri **del questo autore**.
 Mary knows three books by this author

- b. Maria **ne** conosce tre libri.
 Maria cl-of-him knows three books
 Maria knows three books by him

(81) *Adnominal en (French):*

- a. Luc a cassé le pied **de cette table**.
 Luc has broken the foot of this table.
- b. Luc **en** a cassé le pied.
 Luc cl-of-it has broken the foot
 Luc has broken the foot of it.

Adnominal *en* has the rather unique *property* of seeming to be capable of being extracted from a subject NP and, hence, being associated with a preverbal position:

(82) *French:*

- a. La préface **de ce livre** est trop flatteuse.
 the preface of this book is too flattering
- b. La préface **en** est trop flatteuse
 the preface cl-of-it is too flattering
 'The preface of it is too flattering'

(82b) is an instance of EN-AVANT in Ruwet's (1972) terms. Curiously, EN-AVANT is not attested in Italian or Catalan in preverbal subject constructions where the subject is not focused. This is illustrated below:

(83) *Italian:*

- a. **Ne** appariranno molti capitoli.
 cl-of-it appeared many chapters
- b. ***Molti** capitoli **ne** appariranno
 'Many chapters cl-of-it appeared'

(84) *Catalan:*

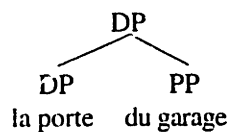
- a. *En* seran editats tres volums.
 cl-of-it will-be edited three volumes.
- b. ***Tres volums** *en* seran editats.
 three volumes cl-of-it will-be edited

Of interest to us here is this contrast between French and Italian/Catalan, but in order to understand this contrast, I will first concentrate on French EN-AVANT.

There are a number of analyses of this phenomenon in the literature (see Rizzi 1990, Couquaux 1981, Pollock 1986). Here I will not give a very precise analyses of EN-AVANT, since this task would take me too far afield. For that reason, I will essentially follow Couquaux 1972, who claims that EN-AVANT is never directly extracted from subject position. Couquaux *proposes* that a restructuring *process* that he calls *SCISSION* detaches *en* from the DP it modifies and allows that DP to raise *without carrying along the EC associated with en*. Without wishing to get into a discussion of the need for restructuring, I will simply assume here that the PP is a kind of adjunct, or in a position such that DP raising will not carry along the trace of *en*:

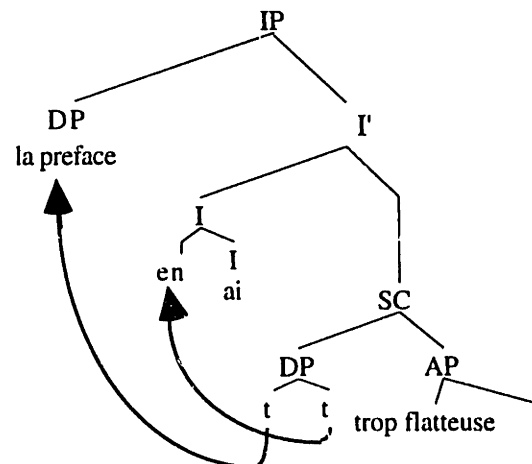
- (85) a. La porte du garage
the door of-the garage

b.



- (86) a. La préface en est trop flatteuse
'The preface cl-of-it is too flattering'

b.



Unlike (78b) in the previous subsection, (86b) doesn't contain an unbound trace. Even though this *proposal* requires argument, it is clear that something like (86b) is required not only to account for the contrast between (78a) and (86a) but

also for another set of examples which are strongly reminiscent of this contrast. These are noted in Milner (1978). Consider the following contrast:

- (87) a. *Ces usines, *dont* tu vois *deux*, *produisent* des saucisses.
 'These factories, of which you see two, *produce* sausage.'
 b. * Ces thèses, *dont* Max a lu *beaucoup*, *traitent* de thermodynamique.
 'These theses, of which Max has read many, deal with
 thermodynamics.'
 (88) a. Ces usines, dont tu vois les cheminées, *produisent* des saucisses.
 'These factories, of which you see the chimneys, *produce* sausage.'
 b. Ces thèses, dont Mac connaît bien les auteurs, *traitent* de
 thermodynamique.
 'These theses, of which Max knows the authors, *produce* sausage.'

Turning to Italian and Catalan, the question now arises of how to rule out (83b) and (84b). We know that adnominal *ne* cliticization is compatible with A' movement in these languages. The examples below illustrate moved objects:

- (89) *Italian:*
 L' AUTORE *ne* conoscevo (non l' editore)!
 the author cl-of it know-1sg. (not the editor)
 (90) *Catalan:*
 TRES CAPITOLS *en* vaig llegir (i no pas quatre)!
 three chapters cl-of-it have-read (and not NEG four)

If the preverbal subject constructions (83b) and (84b) are ambiguous between dislocation and A-movement, then it is not at all clear why these examples are bad, given that their French counterparts are fine. We know that adnominal *ne* cliticization is incompatible with CLLD. This is illustrated in (91):

- (91) *Catalan:*
 * Aquests capitols els n' he llegit.
 those chapters them cl-of-it have read
 (92) *Italian*

Note that it can't be the case that (83b) and (84b) are ruled out by some restriction against the cooccurrence of an object clitic and *ne*. The following Catalan example shows that these two clitics can cooccur:

(93) *Catalan:*

(Els llibres) (del Calaix)

(the books) (from the drawer) t

ja els n' he tret.

already **them** **cl-from-there** have taken

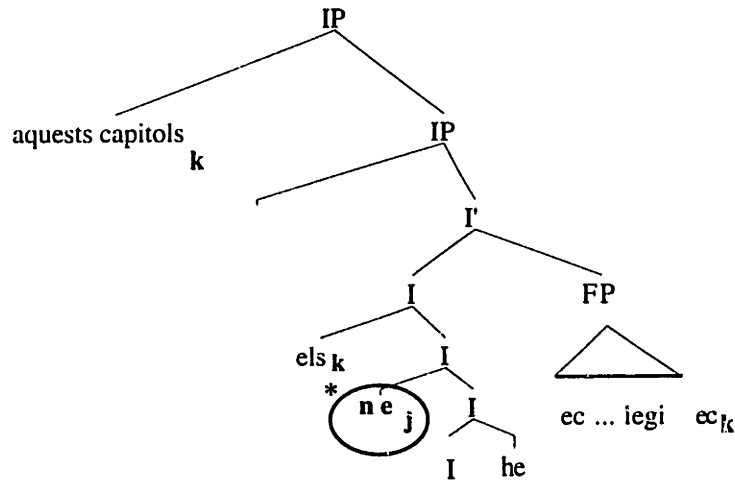
(the books) (from the drawer) I have already taken them from
there

The standard hypothesis takes (83b) and (84b) to be ambiguous between A-movement and dislocation. So it predicts these examples to be acceptable under the A-movement representation. (just like their French counterparts) and unacceptable under the dislocation representation. The adjunction hypothesis, by contrast, takes (83b) and (84b) to be unambiguously analysed as involving dislocation. Thus, it predicts (83b) and (84b) to be ruled out on a par with (91) and (92). Out of the two hypothesis under consideration, the adjunction hypothesis is the one that makes the right predictions.

In what follows I will give a tentative explanation for why adnominal *ne* cliticization is incompatible with dislocation. The same arguments carry out to partitive *ne*. Intuitively, CLLD is incompatible with *ne* cliticization because the empty category the clitic is associated with must be maximal, that is, it can't be modified, so that there is no source for *ne*, as illustrated (94b):

(94) a. * Aquests capítols els n'he llegit

b.



In order for (94b) to be well-formed, *ne_j* would have to be linked to a modifier of the *ec* associated with the clitic *els*.. However, clitics can't be 'modified'. The following paradigm from Portuguese illustrates this:

(95) *Portuguese:*

- a. Não abri a porta da garagem.
not opened-1sg the door of-the garage
- b. Não abri a da garagem.
not opened-1sg the of-the garage
I didnt open the one of the garage.
- c. *Não a abri da garagem.
not cl-3-fem opened of-the garage

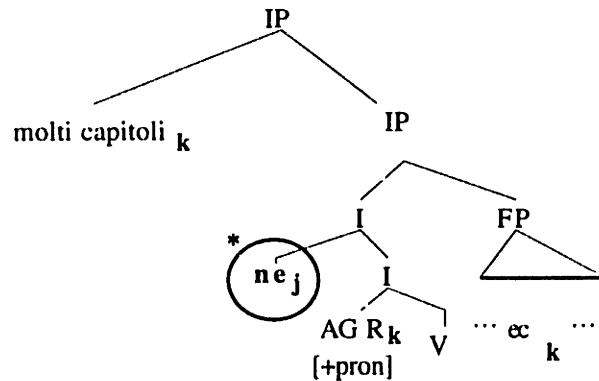
(95c), with a clitic, is impossible. (95b), with a non-clitic *pro*form (a determiner presumably followed by a null NP) is fine. Without attempting to explain why this is so, I simply note that this restriction is also true of *pro*. Thus, (96a) below (with a PP modifying *pro*) contrasts with (96b):

(96) *Portuguese:*

- a. **pro* da garagem está aberta.
of-the garage is open
- b. a da garagem está aberta.
the of-the garage is open
The one of the garage is open.

With this in mind, we can now turn to the contrast between French (86b) and Italian (83b), repeated here as (97a). We hypothesise that (97a) is to be unambiguously analysed as in (97b), where *pro* is the real subject, and the lexical DP is an adjunct. In such a structure, however, there is no source for *ne*, as discussed in connection with object CLLD.

- (97) a. *molti capitoli ne appariranno
b.



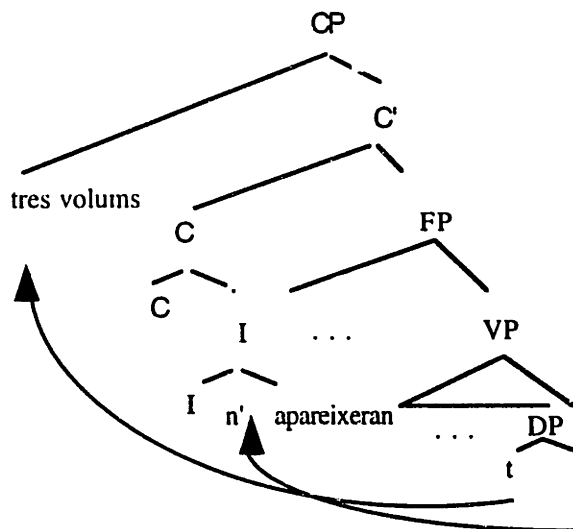
As mentioned above, focus movement of the object is judged to be compatible with adnominal *ne* cliticization in Italian and Catalan. The Catalan example (98a) illustrates subject focalization, and contrasts with the ungrammatical example (84b), repeated here as (98b):

(98) *Catalan*:

- a. TRES volums n' apareixeran
three volumes cl-of-it will-appear!
(i no pas quatre)
(and not NEG four)
THREE volumes appeared (not four)!
- b. *Tres volums en seran editats.
three volumes cl-of-it will-be edited
Three volumes of it will be edited.

(98a) is parallel to the French example in (86), the only difference being in the kind of movement involved: A' movement instead of A movement (note that in this case reconstruction is irrelevant).

(99)



The contrast between (98a) and (98b), in conjunction with French (86), highlights the relevance of *movement vs. base-generation* in characterizing the difference between (nonfocused) preverbal subject constructions in the NSLs and in the non NSLs. In particular, it undermines a treatment of this difference in terms of the A vs A' status of Spec-IP (see Vallduvi 1988, Bonnet 1989, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Contreras 1991 for the idea that Spec-IP is an A' position in the NSLs). As for the standard theory or any variation thereof which assumes A-movement of the

subject to a preverbal position, it has in principle nothing to say about the unacceptability of (98b) when compared to French (86).

To sum up, we have argued in this section that a comparison between the distribution of EN-AVANT in French and Italian/Catalan constitutes evidence that preverbal nonfocused subject constructions in the NSLs are unambiguously analysed as instances of CLLD.

2.2.5. Bound Variable Readings of Overt *Pronouns*

As is well known, preverbal overt *pronouns* in NSLs strongly resist a bound variable interpretation. As noted in Montalbetti (1986), (100) in Spanish cannot be understood as in (101a) which represents the bound variable interpretation of *ellos*, but only as in (101b), which represents the coreferential reading.

(100) Muchos estudiantes piensan que ellos son inteligentes.

many students think that they are intelligent

(101) a. (Many x: x a student) x thinks x is intelligent

b. (Many x: x a student) x thinks that they are intelligent.

Interestingly, there is an asymmetry between pre and post-verbal subject *pronouns*, as noted in Sola 1992⁵. Sola 1992 observes that whereas in (102) *ells* can only be interpreted as linked to *tots els estudiants* in the group reading, (103) is not so restricted, being ambiguous between the group and the distributive interpretation:

(102) *Catalan*:

Tots els estudiants_i es pensen que ells_i aprovaran.

all the students think that they passed

(103) *Catalan*:

Tots els jugadors_i están convençuts que guanyaran ells_i

all the players are persuaded that will-win they

⁵ Sola credits Rosselló (1986) for this observation.

To illustrate a similar point in European Portuguese, (104a) is not acceptable with the *pronoun* bound by *nenhum aluno*, 'no student'. (104b), however, with an inverted *pronominal* subject, is fine ⁶.

(104) *Portuguese*:

- a. *Nenhum aluno_i disse que ele_j falaria com ela
no student said that he would-talk with her
'No student said that he would talk to her
- b. Nenhum aluno_i disse que falaria ele_j com ela.
no student said that would-talk he with her.
No student said that he would talk to her.

Assuming that A-binding applies only to arguments (see Higginbotham 1980), these facts follow from our *proposal*. According to the analysis *proposed* here, preverbal non focused overt subjects are in reality not arguments at all, hence irrelevant for binding relations, so they can't be A bound to the subject variable in the higher clause:

(105) [CPNenhum aluno_i disse [VP t_i que [Ipele [IP falaria *pro*]]]]

The only way to interpret the adjoined *pronoun* is by coreference. When the antecedent is a nonreferring expression, coreference is impossible, and the result is only very marginally interpretable. In the case of (100) and (102), coreference is available, yielding the group reading. The post-verbal *pronoun* in (102) and (104b) is a real argument, so it can be bound by the higher variable, yielding the bound variable interpretation in both cases.

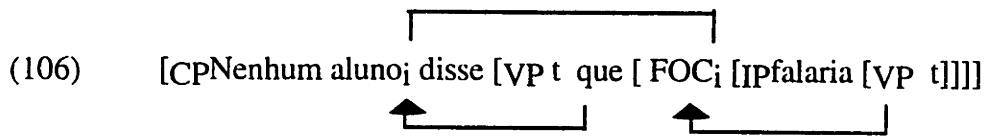
Note that this explanation predicts that focalized preverbal *pronouns* should be capable of being construed as bound variables: even though they are in an A'-position in the syntax, they are linked to an A-position via movement, as schematized below ⁷:

⁶ Definite post-verbal subjects are generally focused in NSR. Thus, (70b) should be glossed as:

(i) No student said that he would be the one to talk to her.

See Vieri (1994), Saccon (1993) and Pinto (1993) for the semantic properties of inverted subjects in Italian.

⁷ (76) raises the interesting question of whether we need an intermediate specifier position between C and IP. Or whether there is indeed no difference between adjuncts and specifiers as proposed recently in Kayne (1993). I won't discuss this problem here.



In fact, this is indeed the case, as illustrated in (107) ⁸:

- (107) Nenhum aluno disse que só ele falaria com ela.
 No student said that only he would-talk with her
 'No x, x a student, x said that only x would talk to her.

Within the standard analysis of preverbal subjects as A-subjects, it is not at all clear how to handle these facts. Montalbetti (1986) *proposed* the following generalization:

- (108) a. An overt *pronoun* cannot be linked to [t].
 b. (61a) applies only if the alternative overt/empty obtains.

Although (108) applies to preverbal *pronouns*, it doesn't hold for inverted *pronouns* or focused preverbal *pronouns*, as we have seen. Moreover, it is also not very clear why (108) should depend on the overt/empty alternation when this alternation is not defined in terms of a real structural distinction. The adjunction hypothesis recognizes this statement but assigns different structural representations to the overt/empty alteration while deriving the restrictions on variable binding interpretation from an independently *proposed* restriction: that A-binding applies only to arguments.

2.2.6. Emphatic *pronouns*

A consequence of the *proposal* developed here is that nothing in principle prevents a dislocated notional subject to be linked by coreference with an inverted *pronoun*, as schematized below:

⁸ The facts discussed in the text are not Montalbetti's (1986). Montalbetti doesn't discuss inverted subjects at all. He observed that the bound variable reading of an overt pronoun is more readily available in some contexts than others. Since the asymmetry between inverted and preverbal pronouns is what is of concern to us here, I won't discuss Montalbetti's facts here.

(109) DP [V *Pron* ...]

In effect, I would like to argue here that such constructions exist. Here is an example in Portuguese:

- (110) A Teresa escreveu *ela* o poema, ninguém a ajudou.
the Teresa wrote she the poem, nobody her helped
'Teresa wrote the poem herself, nobody helped her'

Similar examples can be constructed in Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Occitan (see Sola 1992 for an overview). In (111) *ela* is understood as coreferential with the 'subject' *Teresa*, analogously to *herself* in the English translation. Observe that if *Teresa* is the real subject, occupying an A-position, (112) should violate condition B of the binding theory.

Piera 1987, following, Burzio 1986, argues that emphatic *pronouns* are non-arguments adjoined to VP, and concludes that they are anaphors, not '*pronominals*'. In fact, as noted by Sánchez 1993, any non-anaphoric interpretation of these *pronouns* is ruled out:

- (111) *Pedro_i abriu la porta EL_j
Pedro opened the door HE

Nevertheless, in non *pro*-drop languages such as English, emphatic *pronouns* cannot occur in non-argumental positions:

- (112) *John bought (HE) the car (HE).

(112) is ungrammatical even in a clear contrastive context:

- (113) *John bought the car HE, and not Mary.

Moreover, if emphatic *pronouns* are adjuncts, we should expect them to attach to any DP in the sentence, as happens with the English anaphor. However, this is not the case: emphatic *pronouns* cannot be attached to inverted subjects nor can they be associated with objects:

- (114) a. *Apareceu a presidente ELA.
 appeared the president SHE
 b. *Falei com a presidente ELA

This shows that Portuguese is just like English in not allowing an anaphoric *pronoun* to be adjoined to a DP.

Emphatic *pronouns* can be optionally modified by a SELF anaphor, as shown in (115) below:

- (115) A Teresa escreveu ela-própria o poema, ninguém a ajudou.
 the Teresa wrote she-SELF the poem, nobody helped her

The distribution of the complex form is exactly the same as that of the bare *pronoun*, as the examples below indicate:

- (116) a. *Apareceu a presidente *ela-própria*..
 appeared the president SHE
 b. Apareceu *a própria presidente*.
 appeared the SELF presidente
 'The president herself appeared.'
 (117) a. *Falei com a presidente *ela-própria*.
 talked-I with the president SHE
 b. Falei com *a própria presidente*.
 the SELF presidente
 'I talked to the president herself.'

The paradigm above shows very clearly that Portuguese has an equivalent to the English anaphor. However, its form is not that of the nominative *pronoun*. It is rather a real anaphor, *próprio* 'SELF'. Thus, we observe (i) that *pronouns* cannot appear as DP modifiers in general, (ii) that the counterparts to the English adjunct anaphor in the NSLs are NOT the emphatic *pronouns*. These two observations constitute a *problem* for the hypothesis that emphatic *pronouns* are adjuncts.

An additional asymmetry between the behavior of the English anaphor and emphatic *pronouns* is that whereas the English anaphor can be attached as an adjunct to any argument in the sentence, emphatic *pronouns* are obligatorily subject-oriented. Thus, compare the following two examples from Portuguese and English:

- (118) a. A Maria_i falou com a presidente_k ela própria_{i/*k}
 the Maria talked to the president her SELF
 b. Mary talked to the president_i herself_i.

In (118a), the *pronoun* must be linked to the DP *a Maria* only. In English, by contrast, the preferred reading is the one in which the anaphor is linked to the DP 'the president'. A comparison with French yields similar results:

- (119) a. *Jean l'a fait LUI.
 b. Jean l'a fait lui-même
 Jean it-has done HIM-SELF

French is just like English in disallowing (119b): only the complex form, with SELF, is allowed. Moreover, no subject orientation is observed:

- (120) Marie a parlé avec la prof_i elle-même_i.
 M. has talked to the prof(essor) herself

These *properties* of 'emphatic *pronouns*' in *pro-drop* Romance follow immediately as soon as we assign the structure in (120) to all the Romance examples above:

- (121) DP [IP V *Pron* ...]

In (121) the subject DP is a dislocated topic 'doubled' by an argumental 'inverted' *pronominal* subject. This is illustrated in (122):

- (122) [IP_A Maria_i [IP falou com a presidente_k [VP ela própria_{i/*k}]]]
 the Maria talked to the president her SELF

I am assuming that the *pronoun* in (122) is an inverted subject. Like all inverted subject constructions in Portuguese the SVO/SOV orders freely alternate. In effect, (123) is also possible:

- (123) A Maria falou ela-própria com a presidente.

In Chapter 4 I will discuss these alternations, so I invite the reader to disregard this complication. In both cases the inverted *pronoun* is inside the VP.

A prediction that our analysis makes, and is not expected under the standard analysis, is that the QPs that disallow dislocation should not be compatible with emphatic *pronouns*. Recall that we have suggested that QPs are not base-generated in the dislocated position. Even when they appear pre-verbally, they are true arguments that have been extracted from the inverted position. Thus, in this particular case, a trace is occupying the subject position, the position otherwise occupied by the emphatic *pronoun*. The prediction is, then, that these two elements, a trace and an emphatic *pronoun* should be in complementary distribution. Thus, we predict the Portuguese example (124b) below to be bad, in contrast to its English counterpart. This is indeed true.

- (124) Peter decided to ask his lawyer to do that; in fact,
 (a) nobody I know would do it himself.
 (b)*ninguém que eu conheça o faria ele-próprio

Under the the standard analysis it is not at all clear how emphatic *pronouns* should be handled. Since this analysis would claim that every SVO structure in a NSL is ambiguous between A-movement and dislocation, it could potentially handle (123) in the same way we did. It could even account for (124b) by claiming, as we did, that emphatic *pronouns* are not adjunct anaphors.⁹ So even if (124b) were a case of A-movement, (124b) would be ruled out. But in that case, the standard analysis would be acknowledging that subject dislocation is not a 'marked' *process*. None of the examples mentioned require a perceived intonational break between the subject and the rest of the sentence. So all of the arguments for the need of assuming A-movement to the pre-verbal position would be neutralized.

2.2.7. Romanian

Among the Romance *pro*-drop languages, Romanian is the one that most transparently illustrates the adjuncthood of preverbal subjects. In what follows I will use data from D-S 1994, unless mentioned otherwise. First, consider the possible positions of subjects in an indicative clauses :

⁹ Burzio (1986) actually suggests that emphatic pronouns can sometimes be the 'spell-out' of a trace. The status of (124b) shows that this analysis cannot be right.

- (125) a. Stiu că mama a plecat
[I] know that mother has left
'I know that mother has left.'
- b. Stiu că a plecat mama.
[I] know that has left mother
'I know that mother has left.'
- (126) a. Stiu că ar veni și mama.
[I] know that would come *also mother*.
'I know that also mother would come.'
- b. Stiu că mama ar veni și ea.
[I] know that mama would come also her.
- (127) a. Stiu că ieri a plecat mama.
[I] know that yesterday has left mother
- b. Sînt sigura că pe Ion nu l'ai văzut de anul trecut.
[I] am sure that pe Ion [you] not him-have seen since last year
'I am sure that John, I haven't seen him since last year'

(126) illustrates 'free' inversion. The subject can precede or follow the Infl system containing the verb. (107) shows how this correlates with the option of 'doubling' the subject with an emphatic *pronoun*. (127) shows that the position of the preverbal subject can be also occupied by a sentential adverb or a dislocated object.

Note that a subject can never intervene between the particles that precede the verb. In Romanian, these range from the auxiliary *are* 'have' and the conditional *ar*, to object clitics and certain clitic-like aspectual adverbs. To illustrate with a simple example, (128) shows that a subject can never intervene between the auxiliary and the verb:

- (128) a. *Stiu că ar mama. veni
[I] know that would mother come
'I know that also mother would come.'

Now consider what happens in subjunctives. Romanian subjunctives are introduced by a particle, *să*, as illustrated in (129):

- (129) a. Vreau $\check{s}\acute{a}$ vina Ion $\check{m}\acute{i}ne$.
 [I] want $\check{s}\acute{a}$ come John tomorrow
 b. Vreau $\check{s}\acute{a}$ -l examineze Popescu pe Ion.
 [I] want $\check{s}\acute{a}$ -him examine Popescu to John
 'I want that Popescu examine him, John'

This particle has been the topic of much debate in the literature (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Terzi 1993, Rivero 1988) since it appears to have some of the *properties* of a complementizer as well as some of the *properties* of an Infl head. Thus, it can cooccur with the complementizer *ca*, as shown below:

- (130) a. Vreau *ca* $\check{m}\acute{i}ne$ $\check{s}\acute{a}$ vina Ion .
 [I] want that tomorrow $\check{s}\acute{a}$ come John.
 'I want John to come tomorrow'
 b. Doresc *ca* pe Ion $\check{s}\acute{a}$ -l examineze Popescu
 [I] wish that *pe* Ion $\check{s}\acute{a}$ -him examine Popescu

Moreover, a subject cannot appear to its immediate right:

- (131) a. *Vreau *ca* $\check{m}\acute{i}ne$ $\check{s}\acute{a}$ Ion vina

In these two respects $\check{s}\acute{a}$ behaves very much like the auxiliaries mentioned above, even though it differs from them in other aspects not directly relevant here (I will return to these below). What is of interest to us here is the distribution of the complementizer *ca*. Its presence is obligatory in case there is a dislocated element in the front of $\check{s}\acute{a}$: a sentential adverb (compare (130a) with (132a)) or a dislocated object (compare (130b) with (132b)).

- (132) a. *Vreau $\check{m}\acute{i}ne$ $\check{s}\acute{a}$ vina Ion .
 [I] want tomorrow $\check{s}\acute{a}$ come John.
 'I want John to come tomorrow'
 b. *Doresc pe Ion $\check{s}\acute{a}$ -l examineze Popescu
 [I] wish *pe* Ion $\check{s}\acute{a}$ -him examine Popescu

Interestingly, *ca* is also obligatory with a preverbal subject:

- (133) a. Vreau *ca* Ion *șă* *vină*
 [I] want that John *sa* come
 b. *Vreau Ion *șă* *vină*

In the absence of any material in the front of *sa*, *ca* is preferably absent:

- (134) a. ?? *as vrea ca șă* -l examineze Popescu pe Ion.
 b. ?? *as vrea ca șă* plece *și* Ion.

Thus, we observe that preverbal subjects pattern with dislocated elements and sentential adverbs. This by itself doesn't constitute sufficient evidence for the adjuncthood of preverbal subjects. Kayne (1994) *proposes* that there is no structural difference between subjects and adjuncts, or in other words, between adjunction and substitution. Thus, in Kayne's framework of assumptions, we should not be able to distinguish a raised subject from a base-generated adjunct solely in terms of restrictions on the position they occupy in the tree. So in order to *prove* my point, I need to show evidence that such a distinction is empirically motivated.

The question that we have to ask regarding Kayne's *proposal* is whether *ca* can ever be left out when there has been movement to the front of *șă*. If there are indeed such cases, then we must conclude that the relevant distinction here is indeed movement vs. base-generation. Consider the following examples (due to Manuela Ungureanu, p.c.):

- (135) a. *as vrea ca* numai Ion *șă* *vină* la petrecere
 [I] want that only Ion *șă* come to the party
 'I want only John to come to the party'
 b. *as vrea* numai ION *șă* *vină* la petrecere
 [I] want only John *sa* come to the party
 (136) a. Vreau MÎINE *șă* *vină* Ion.
 [I] want tomorrow *șă* come John.
 'I want John to come tomorrow'
 b. Vreau ION *șă* *vină*.

When the fronted constituent is focused *ca* is not required. Moreover, with *Wh*-extraction, *ca* is also absent (in fact, its presence results in unacceptability:

- (137) a. Nu stia unde să plece
 Not know(he) where sa go
 'He doesn't know where to go'
 b. *Nu stia ca unde să plece.

Assuming that Focus fronting involves movement (as argued above for Focus movement in the other Romance languages) then it is not surprising that it patterns with *Wh*-movement, in not requiring the presence of *ca*. Note that with focused elements *ca* is optional though it is ungrammatical in (137b). This can be explained in terms of selection. *Ca* is the complementizer used in declaratives, so it is reasonable to assume that it is [-wh]. Since the matrix verb in (137) selects a [+wh] complement *ca* will simply not be selected, which accounts for the unacceptability of (137b).

There is another aspect in which topics (to use a broad term that includes sentential adverbs, dislocated phrases, and preverbal subjects) are distinct from focused elements in Romanian. Although there can exist several topics per clause, only one focus is allowed (this is also true for CLLD vs. Focus movement in Italian). This is particularly clear in data discussed by Motapanyane (1994).

2.2.7.1. Motapanyane (1994)

Motapanyane uses a test for distinguishing topic from focus which consists in analysing their relative ordering with respect to the question morpheme *oare* used in yes/no questions. In questions that consist of a topic and a focus, the relative order of the two elements with respect to *oare* indicates that there are two distinct hierarchical positions for topic and focus:

- (138) a. **Scrisorile**, *oare* **ieri** le-a primit Ion? (sau azi)
 letters-the Q yesterday them has received John or today
 'As for the letters, was it yesterday that John received them, or today?'
 b. **Ieri**, *oare* **scrisori** le-a primit Ion? (sau colet)
 yesterday Q letters them has received John or parcel
 'Yesterday, was it letters that John received, or a parcel?'

These two positions display the restrictions predicted by Cinque's 1990 analysis of Italian CLLD: multiple topics are possible, as in (139a), but only one constituent may be focused:

- (139) a. **Scrisorile, ieri,** oare le-a primit Ion?
 letters-the yesterday Q them has received John
 'As for the letters, did John receive them yesterday.?'
 b. *Oare **scrisori ieri,** le-a primit Ion?
 Q letters yesterday them has received John
 (sau colet, azi)
 or parcel today

This seems to suggest that Focus-movement targets a unique position, presumably a specifier position of a head with which it bears a checking relation. Taking *oare* to be C, this must be a lower head (*probably* the one containing the auxiliary, but more on this below). Topics must be higher than C, and there can be several of them. We have thus isolated two *properties* that distinguish Focus movement and *Wh*-movement from dislocated items:

(140)

Focus/Wh-movement

Topics/sentential adverbs

- I. ok: V-FOC/*wh*-sa-V
 II. only one per clause

- I. *V-TOP-sa-V
 II. several per clause

These two *properties* can be easily brought together as long as we make the assumption that there is a distinction between adjuncts and specifiers. (as does Cinque 1990). It has often been *proposed* that adjunction to an argument is not allowed (Johnson 19??, Chomsky 1986, McCloskey 1990, Boskovic 1993, Grimshaw 1993). Boskovic 1993 has argued that the restrictions on the occurrence of *ca* in Romanian subjunctives can be explained along those lines. Reconsider the following examples:

- (141) a. Vreau *ca* *mîine* *șă* *vină* Ion .
 [I] want that tomorrow *șă* come John.
 'I want John to come tomorrow'
- (142) a. *Vreau *mîine* *șă* *vină* Ion .
 [I] want tomorrow *șă* come John.
 'I want John to come tomorrow'
- (143) a. Vreau *MÎINE* *șă* *vină* Ion .
 [I] want tomorrow *șă* come John.
 'I want John to come tomorrow'

Take (141). There the complementizer *ca* is followed by the particle *șă*. Let us assume for the present purposes that *șă* is an Infl (below we will be more specific about the status of *șă*). (141a) can be analysed as in (144):

- (144) Vreau [CP*ca* [IP *mîine* [IP [I'*șă* *vina* Ion]]]]

Since IP is not an argument, adjunction is possible. Now assume, with Boskovic, that the absence of *ca* reflects the absence of a CP *projection*, and consider (142), which will be analysed as in (145):

- (145) *Vreau [IP *mîine* [IP *șă* *vina* Ion .]]

In (145) the adverb *mîine* is adjoined to the argument of the verb *vreau*., in violation of the ban against adjunction to arguments. Now take (144). Assuming that when *ca* is absent no CP is *projected*, we get (146) as the structures assigned to (144):

- (146) *Vreau [IP *MÎINE* [I' *șă* *vina* Ion .]]

(146) doesn't involve adjunction to IP, the argument of the verb *vrea*.. The difference in status between (145) and (145) thus crucially depends on a distinction between adjunct and specifier which is formulated in X-bar theoretic terms. As for the root question in (139), it freely allows adjunction to CP, since a root CP is not an argument. Note that when CP is embedded, topics cannot intervene between the verb and *ca*::

(147) * Stiu ieri că a plecat mama.

Turning now to *property II* of (140), it has long been a traditional test for the adjunct/specifier distinction. The facts fit in nicely with the restrictions on the distribution of *ca*, since there is a correlation between free iteration and the impossibility of *ca* deletion. Furthermore, these two *properties* go together with base-generation as opposed to movement. Recall that in the case of a topic object it must be doubled by a clitic (see Cinque 1990 for arguments that CLLD involves base-generation). This is intuitively right if we think of movement as triggered by some checking relation to be established between a phrase and a functional head; and of base-generation in a non-thematic position as being licensed by some relation to be established between this phrase and a phrase marker which is semantically complete (in this case, IP or CP). (see Iatridou 1991 for the idea that the relevant relation is predication, along the lines of Williams 1980).

Having established that the distinction between specifier and adjunct is empirically motivated, I conclude that the (neutral) subject in (148a) below has not been moved to the front of *sa*. If it had been moved, (148b) would be fine, just like (148c).

- (148) a. Vreau *ca* Ion să vină
 [I] want that John *sa* come
 b. *Vreau Ion să vină
 c. Vreau ION să vină.

Moreover, I conclude that the specifier position of *să* is an A'-position, the position that is occupied by *Wh*-phrases or focused constituents. (see D-S for this very same suggestion). This leaves us with one A-position for subjects, namely the 'inverted position', as illustrated in the following example:

- (149) a. Vreau ca pîna mîine să termine Ion cartea asta.
 [I] want that until tomorrow *sa* finish John this book

Even though in the other Romance languages clause structure is less transparent, I have given a number of arguments that a similar generalization holds,

that is, that the real subject position (at least for lexical subjects) is the inverted position.

2.3. Conclusion

I hope to have shown here that the *pro*-drop Romance languages differ from French and English in lacking pre-verbal lexical subjects altogether. In these languages, the true subject position, for overt subjects at least, is the inverted position. The evidence discussed ranged from the distribution of morphological alternations in the subject clitics of the Northern Italian dialects to the interpretation of indefinite preverbal subjects, restrictions on adnominal *ne*-cliticization in subject initial constructions, restrictions on subject *pronoun* variable binding and restrictions on adjunction in Romanian.

This conclusion immediately raises the question whether null subjects also follow the head the verb raises to. In the next chapter I will argue that null subject constructions are best analysed as involving movement of the verb past the position occupied by *pro*.

Chapter 3: The split TP hypothesis

3.0. Introduction

In the previous chapter I have argued that, contrary to appearances, lexical subjects are invariably post-verbal in the Romance NSLs. Another way of putting it is that, as far as overt subjects are concerned, Romance *pro*-drop is V-initial rather than subject initial. As we have shown, this property is not shared by French, a non subject-drop language, so we hypothesize it is intimately linked with the null subject parameter. However, the V-initial character of the Romance NSLs can only be shown on the basis of evidence from constructions with overt subjects. In the case of null subject constructions, it is very hard to tell with precision what position the null subject occupies, since it is not possible to determine the position of an empty category directly and only indirect evidence can be given.

A review of the literature on this issue reveals that opinions are divided. Some authors, Burzio 1986, Rizzi 1987, and more recently Cardinaletti 1995, have argued that *pro* is pre-verbal. Others (Sola 1992, Bonet 1989) have suggested otherwise. One of the main arguments for pre-verbal *pro* has been that 'the pragmatic conditions in which a null subject is used are closer to those of a preverbal lexical subject (old information) than to those of a postverbal lexical subject (new information) (Cardinaletti 1995: p.64).' However, this pragmatic clue falls apart in an analysis of preverbal lexical subjects like the one defended in the previous chapter. According to this analysis pre-verbal neutral lexical subjects are adjuncts bearing a coreference relation with *pro*. Consequently, null subject constructions will necessarily be a subset of preverbal subject constructions. In order to see this, consider the following two sentences:

- (1) a. Telefona.
 (he) calls
 b. Gianni/lui telefona.
 Gianni calls

(1a) is felicitous just in case the empty subject is assigned a referent. That referent can be understood from discourse, or it can be supplied textually, as in

(1b). Structurally, (1a) and (1b) are the same, the only difference being that (1b) has the DP *Gianni /lui* adjoined to (1a). This is schematized below:

- (2) a. [IP (*pro*) telefona (*pro*)]
 b. [IP Gianni/lui [IP (*pro*) telefona (*pro*)]]

In (2) I have left the position of *pro* with respect the verb indeterminate. (2a) is the partial structure assigned to (1a) and (2b) is the partial structure assigned to (1b). Independently from the exact position filled by *pro*, the only difference between (2a) and (2b) is that the speaker has decided to textually specify that *pro*=*Gianni/lui*. Under the appropriate conditions, the referent for *pro* can be inferred from discourse, and so the speaker may decide that this extra piece of information is superfluous, as in (2a). This is why (2a) and (2b) share similar discourse properties. But their similarity doesn't follow from a particular structural position for *pro*. It follows from the fact that they are essentially the same structure. This structure, in turn, is radically different from inverted subject constructions. These do not contain a referential null subject, as shown below:

- (3) Telefona . . . [vp Gianni./lui t]



Independently from whether (3) contains a *pro* expletive (a controversial issue to which we will return later), the DP *Gianni* (or *lui*) is the subject argument. Thus (3) will necessarily be used under different pragmatic conditions from (1a,b).

The empirical observation is that in (3) the inverted subject must be new information. This didn't need to be the case, so we would like to understand why this is so. On the other hand, *pro* in (1) must have an antecedent, hence, be old information. So the real question is whether this property of *pro* follows from a particular position it occupies, in which case it must occupy a different position from *Gianni/lui* in (3); or rather whether this property follows from the fact that *pro* is not pronounced.

Note that 'weak' pronouns, in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1993), cannot bear Focus. In French, for instance, the subject clitic *il* cannot bear Focus and the oblique form *lui* must be used instead. In English, the pronoun *it* cannot be

focused but the pronoun *he* can.(see Higginbotham 1993). Yet, everything indicates that these two latter items occupy the same position. Thus, it appears that lexical choice, rather than position, is what is at stake here.

This doesn't mean that lexical subjects and *pro* occupy the same position. As mentioned above, it is virtually impossible to tell exactly where *pro* is sitting. For this reason, my strategy in this chapter will be to investigate whether the null subject languages behave differently from the nonNSLs in areas of the grammar where there is no subject agreement morphology, and hence a referential null subject is not licensed.

In section 1 I will look at nonfinite constructions with an overt subject, and I will show that the the NSLs are quite systematically V-initial whereas French and English are invariably subject initial. I will argue that what characterizes Romance *pro*-drop as opposed to Romance non-*pro*-drop is that INFL is attracted to an intermediate head between CP and IP.

In section 2 I will argue, on the basis of evidence from Romanian and Spanish, that the specifier position of this intermediate projection is an A'-position.

Section 3 is devoted to the finite control constructions found in Romanian, Salentino and the Balkan languages. I will argue that certain cross linguistic properties of subjunctive clauses are best accounted for once we posit a more articulated structure for TP, which reflects in binary terms the relation among the Event time, the Reference time and the Speech time in Reichenbachian theories of Tense. I suggested that TP should be broken down into a projection of 'Tense relative to the Event time' and a projection of 'Tense relative to the Speech time'. The former roughly corresponds to the standard IP and is selected by the latter. The null subject languages raise Te to Ts overtly, whereas French and English do so at LF.

Finally, I will discuss evidence from Irish that lends support to the view of Tense proposed here.

3.1. Lexical subjects in nonfinite environments

3.1.0. Introduction

In the case of finite clauses it is very hard if not impossible to detect a difference between French and the Null Subject Romance languages with respect to verb raising. In both cases there is evidence for verb raising out of the VP, and that is about it. In nonfinite environments matters are different. Belletti (1990) and Kayne (1990) give abundant evidence that infinitivals raise higher in Italian than in French. D-S defends that infinitivals in Romanian also raise very high (in particular, she argues they raise to C in some cases). I refer the reader to the sources mentioned for specific arguments. Here I wish to concentrate in those constructions that are nonfinite and yet take a lexical subject. As we will see below, these constructions show a very systematic contrast between the Romance NSLs and French or English. Whereas the former are V-initial, the latter are subject initial. In the discussion that follows I will draw rather heavily on data presented in Hernanz (1991), Piera (1987) and Rizzi (1984)

3.1.1. Infinitivals and gerunds: an overview

In this section I will give an overview of infinitival and gerundival clauses with a lexical subject in Romance. The main goal of this section is to set the ground for the following generalization: agreementless clausal structures show a consistent split between null subject Romance and non null subject Romance with respect to word order. Whereas the former is systematically V/AUX initial, the latter is Subject initial.

Infinitival constructions with lexical subjects fall into different classes. The first class consists of those environments in which the infinitival clause has the same distribution as nominal phrases, for instance sentential subjects.

- (4) L'esserci la situazione deteriorata e stato risentito de molti.
 The to-have the situation deteriorated was resented by many.

In (4) the infinitival heads a DP introduced by a determiner. Italian appears to only allow such constructions with an overt determiner, but Spanish doesn't require an overt nominalization, as shown below:

- (5) a. Telefonear tu fue un error.
to-call you was a mistake
- b. *Tú telefonar primero sería un error.
you to call first would be a mistake
- (6) Abrir Julia la puerta y marcharse los invitados fue todo uno.
to open Julia the door and to-leave-SE the guests was all one
- (7) Presentarse Julia a las elecciones fue un error
to-present-SE Julia at the elections was a mistake

The closest French equivalent to the above constructions that I was able to find in the literature (Vinet 1984) shows SV order:

- (8) a. La France battre le Brésil, ce serait inconcevable.
the France to win over the Brazil that woul-be inconceivable
- b. Le frigidaire tomber en panne, on aurait vraiment de l'air fin.
the fridge to break down, we would be ...

A second class of cases where both Spanish and Romanian easily allow lexical subjects of infinitives is in adjunct clauses introduced by a preposition.

- (9) a. Al salir el sol ...
On to come out the sun
Spanish
(Piera 1987)
- b. *Al el sol salir
On the sun to come out
'When the sun comes out ...'
- (10) a. De no aclarar pronto el Gobierno sus intenciones ...
Of not to-make-clear immediately the Government its intentions ...
- b. *Del gobierno no aclarar pronto sus intenciones ...
- (11) a. Al telefonar Julia dieron las doce.
Upon to-call Julia gave the twelve

- b. *Al Julia telefonar dieron las doce.
 Upon Julia to-call gave the twelve
 'When Julia called the clock struck twelve'
- (12) a. De abrir Julia la puerta tendremos que marcharnos
 of to open Julia the door we-will-have to leave-cl-1p. pl
 b. De abrir la puerta Julia tendremos que marcharnos
 of to open the door Julia we-will-have to leave-cl-1p. pl
- (13) a. Am plecat înainte de a ajunge mama. Romanian
 [I] have left before of to arrive mother (Dobrovie-Sorin 1993)
 b. *Am plecat înainte de a mama a ajunge.
- (14) a. Am plecat înainte de a ajunge ea.
 [I] have left before of to arrive she
 b. *Am plecat înainte de a ea ajunge.

In Italian, lexical subjects in nonfinite adverbial constructions are more productive when there is an auxiliary (examples from Chierchia 1984).

- (15) a. Il giudice ha assolto l'imputato per non aver questo commesso il fatto.
 The judge acquitted the prisoner for not to have this-one committed the deed.
 b. *Il giudice ha assolto l'imputato per questo non aver ...
 for this-one not to-have
- (16) a. Essendo lui molti in ritardo, abbiamo deciso di incominciare.
 Being he very late, we decided to begin.
 b. *Lui essendo molti in ritardo, abbiamo deciso di incominciare
 He being very late

AUX-S order can also be found in nonfinite complements to epistemic and declarative verbs (cf. also Raposo's (1987) discussion of inflected infinitives in Portuguese):

- (17) a. Maria ritiene/afferma/suppone essere la situazione insostenibile.
 Maria believes/claims/supposes to-be the situation unbearable.
 b. * la situazione essere insostenibile
 'Maria believes the situation to be unbearable.'

The V-first character of these constructions has been attributed to movement of the auxiliary to Comp (see Rizzi (1984)). Some of the evidence for AUX-to-Comp has come from a comparable word order pattern which invariably alternates with the presence of an overt complementizer even when the verb is finite. This is the case of counterfactual subjunctives in some dialects (cf. 18):

- (18) a. Avesse lui capito al volo, non ci sarebbero stati problemi.
 Had he understood immediately everything would have gone smoothly.
 b. * Si avesse lui capito ...

Note however, that even though (18) shows the already familiar complementarity in the distribution of AUX-Sub order and the presence of an overt C, such complementarity is absent in (15). Moreover, there are speakers who accept (15) but do not accept (18a) (see Chierchia 1984). Thus, these could be distinct phenomena. Setting this variation aside, we note that, in Spanish, (18b) is fine. Consider the following paradigm:

- (19) a. Si (Maria) tuviese (María) dinero, se compraria la casa.
 If (Maria) had-SUBJ (M.) money se would-buy the house
 'If María had the money, she would buy herself the house'
 b. *Maria tuviese dinero
 c. Tuviese Maria dinero

When *si* is missing subject-AUX inversion MUST apply (cf. 19b,c), as in Italian. But the same AUX-S order is optionally found in (19a). It just so happens that Italian doesn't like COMP-AUX-Subj-V order in finite clauses. (we will return below to this), but this is not true of other Null Subject Romance languages.

Rizzi (1984) argues that AUX-to-Comp is needed so that the lexical subject is assigned Case under government. This proposal is of course now two decades old. My point here is to emphasize that the Spanish paradigm (19) shows that AUX-to-Comp is independent from the need to Case mark a subject. In (19a) the subject is case marked, and yet there apparently has not been any movement to Comp, as evidenced by the presence of the overt complementizer.

On the other hand, all of the adverbial clauses quoted from Spanish in (9-12) cooccur with what look like complementizers. In addition, they do not require the presence of an overt Auxiliary.

Yet another pattern shown in Spanish that is not easy to accomodate under Rizzi's analysis is that the preferred order in the Spanish counterparts to Italian AUX-to-COMP constructions is AUX-V-subject:

- (20) a. Habiendo resuelto el juez absolver al acusado, el juicio
 Havind decided the judge to absolve the defendant, the trial
 concluyó sin incidentes
 ended without incidents
- b. Estando dispuesto Juan a ayudarnos, los problemas serán mínimos
 Being ready Juan to help-us, the problems will be minimal
 'Juan being ready to help us, problems will be minimal'

Be that as it may, my main concern here is to highlight the fact that there are other languages that have similar absolute constructions with a lexical subject, and yet display the order S-AUX. This is the case of French (as shown in (21), and English (as shown in (22):

- (21) a. Avendo tuo fratello telefonato, io sono rimasto a casa.
 'Having telephoned your brother, I stayed at home.'
- b. *Tuo fratello avendo telefonato, ...
- (22) a. Ton frère ayant téléphoné, je ne suis pas parti.
- b. *Ayant téléphoné ton frère, ...
- (23) His father being a sailor, John knows all about boats.

The above examples show that AUX initial order is not a general condition for Case assignment to a lexical subject in absolutes. Moreover, they show that there must be a correlation between the Null Subject Parameter and the unavailability of Subject AUX/V order in nonfinite clauses.

3.1.2. Generalized ASP/T raising in null subject Romance Absolutes

3.1.2.0. Introduction

The focus of this section are absolute constructions: adverbial clausal adjuncts that lack a finite INFL node. I will restrict my attention to absolutes with an overt subject. These include absolute small clauses (ASCs) and gerund absolutes. Each of these comes in two varieties.

ASCs essentially consist of a small clause which functions as an adverbial adjunct. The most widely attested variety of ASC consists of a past participle and a subject, as illustrated below for English and Portuguese:

- (24) a. This said, I left.
 b. Dito isto, fui-me embora.
 said this, went-I-CL-1sg away.

These constructions are attested in all of the languages under discussion: French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and English. As shown in (24), English differs from Portuguese in the order of the subject with respect to the verbal predicate: English is subject initial and Portuguese is V initial. As will be shown below, French is like English. Italian and Spanish behave like Portuguese.

The other variety of ASC is present only in Spanish and Portuguese. It consists of a nonverbal predicate (ranging over adjectives, adverbs or PPs) and a subject, in that order. The example below is taken from Hernanz 1991 and illustrates the case where the predicate is an adverb:

- (25) a. Así las cosas, el Gobierno decretó el estado de excepción
 So the things, the Government decreed the state of emergency
 'Things being like that, the Government decreed the state of emergency'

Gerundive absolutes also come in two varieties: with and without an auxiliary verb. The first kind is rather productive in all of the languages under discussion. Some examples have already been mentioned above. I repeat them here below:

- (26) a. Avendo tuo fratello telefonato, io sono rimasto a casa.
 'Having telephoned your brother, I stayed at home.'
 b. *Tuo fratello avendo telefonato, ..
- (27) a. Ton frère ayant téléphoné, je ne suis pas parti.
 b. *Ayant téléphoné ton frère, ...
- (28) His father being a sailor, John knows all about boats.

(26-28) illustrate the typical contrast between the NSLs and the nonNSLs in the order of the subject with respect to AUX.

The other kind of gerundival absolute, without an auxiliary, is only attested in Spanish and Portuguese and is exemplified in (29):

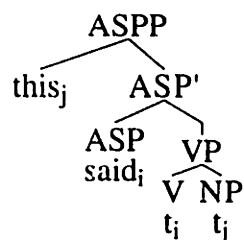
- (29) *Jugando Juan al bridge*, la partida se alargará.
 Playing John to-the bridge, the game will-last-longer
 'With John playing bridge the game will last longer'

The Italian, French and English counterparts to (29) are all bad.

The analysis of absolute constructions that I will propose in this section is largely inspired by Hernanz 1991 and de Miguel 1990. With the exception of gerundive absolutes with 'be' exemplified in (28), all of these constructions typically have a perfective aspectual value, roughly corresponding to the result state of an accomplishment verb. Regarding ASCs, the general claim is that they contain an aspect node. In the case of Participial ASCs, ASPP is projected by the participial affix, which selects a VP, in the manner illustrated below for the English example (30):

(30) a. This said, I left.

b.

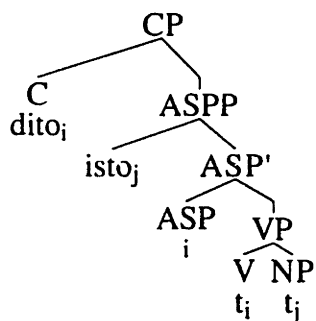


When the language in question is a null subject language, ASP raising to a higher head (C, by hypothesis) yields a V initial construction, as illustrated in (31b) for the Portuguese example (31a):

(31) a. Dito isto, fui-me embora.

said this, went-I-CL-1sg away.

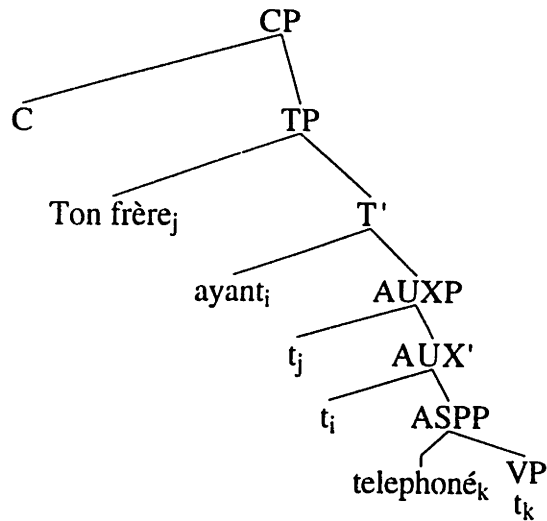
b.



Gerundive absolutes with an auxiliary will be analysed as in (32b) iff the language is not subject-drop. In a NSL like Italian further T raising past TP yields (33b):

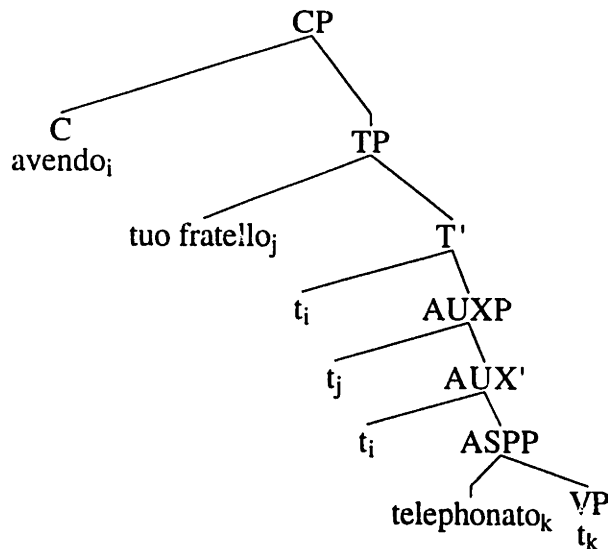
(32) a. Ton frère ayant téléphoné, je ne suis pas parti.

b.



(33) a. Avendo tuo fratello telefonato, io sono rimasto a casa.
'Having telephoned your brother, I stayed at home.'

b.



In the case of the nonverbal ASCs uniquely attested in Spanish and Portuguese, I will adopt the essentials of Hernanz's analysis, who suggests that nonverbal ASCs contain a null aspectual head specified for the feature [+perfective]. I will relate the presence of this null aspectual head to the overt (aspectual) distinction in the copula (*ser* and *estar*) uniquely found in Spanish and Portuguese. I will argue that the absence of this null aspectual head in Italian, English and French not only

accounts for the lack of nonverbal ASCs in these languages but also explains the requirement that gerundive absolutes contain an auxiliary. In other words, I will propose that the derivation of (29) also implicates a [+perfective] null head. Once the requirement for the presence of AUX in (33) is explained on independent grounds, then the phenomenon of AUX-to-Comp in Italian reduces to a generalization that uniquely characterizes Null Subject Romance absolutes and sets them apart from their counterparts in English or French: generalized T/ASP raising higher than TP.

3.1.2.1. Absolute Participial Small Clauses

In this sub-section I will concentrate on adverbial clausal adjuncts formed by a past participle and a subject (see Belletti 1990, Hernanz 1991, de Miguel 1990).

In Italian as well as Spanish and Portuguese, the order of the constituents in participial ASCs is Past Participle DP, as illustrated below:

- (34) *Italian* (Belletti 1990)
- a. Regalato il disco a Maria, Gianni volle subito ascoltarlo
given the record to Mary, G. wanted immediately to listen to it
immediately
- Spanish* (Hernanz 1991)
- b. Leída la sentencia, el juez se retiró
read-ptp the sentence, the judge retired'
'The sentence read, the judge retired'
- Portuguese*
- c. Dito isto, o juiz retirou-se.
'Said this, the judge retired-SE'
'This said, the judge retired'

French and English display the order S-PstPr. Here are some examples¹:

- (35) a. Ceci dit ...
this said

¹English examples due to Martha McGinnis (p.c.).

- (36) a. The movie seen, we went out for dinner.
 b. Our teeth brushed, we went home.
 c. The beer drunk, we went home

So here too, we find the the already familiar divergence between *pro*-drop Romance and non *pro*-drop Romance or English with respect to the position of the subject. In what follows, I will propose an analysis of these constructions.

Belletti 1990 notes that ASCs cannot be embedded under negation:

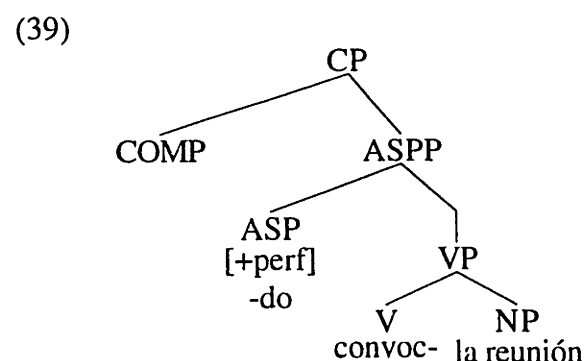
- (37) *Non conosciuta Maria ...

Zanuttinni (1989) has argued that the negative particle in Italian selects TP. With Belletti 1990, Hernanz 1991 and De Miguel (1990), I will take (37) as a sign that participial ASCs do not contain a TP projection that would be selected by the negative head.

De Miguel (1990) proposes to analyse the absolutive clause in italics in (38) as in (39, 40):

- (38) *Convocada la reunión*, los políticos interrumpieron sus vacaciones
 Summoned the meeting, the politicians suspended their holiday'

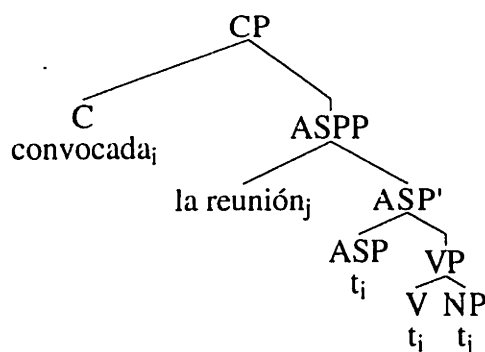
The basic phrase marker looks like this:



The surface subject *la reunión* is generated as object of the transitive verb. V raises to the ASP head to incorporate the aspectual affix *-do* ; once this movement

has taken place, the verb becomes a nominal agreement element (that is, it carries gender and number features but lacks those of person). From the ASP position, the complex $N[V\text{-}do]$ raises in turn to Comp. The NP *la reunión* moves to the first available specifier node, namely the specifier of ASPP. Hence, the resulting structure is (40):

(40)

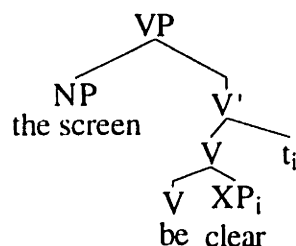


The analysis in (40) presupposes that the agent argument in transitive constructions is not internal to the VP. This view is akin to the framework of Hale & Keyser 1993, who assume that agents are not part of the argument structure of the verb that heads the VP predicated of them. Hale and Keyser discuss the class of 'ergative' verbs, like 'narrow', 'clear' and 'tighten', which have an inchoative use in addition to their transitive use:

- (41) a. The screen cleared
b. I cleared the screen.

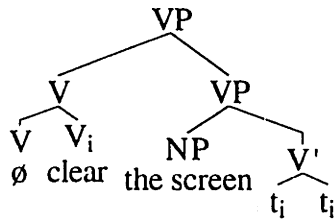
They suggest that the intransitive use of 'clear' is better analysed as in (42):

- (42) a. The screen cleared.
b.



XP in (42b) equals AP, an Adjectival Phrase that assigns a thematic role to the subject. The transitive use of 'clear' is derived from (42) by means of the introduction of a causative verbal head:

(43)



This whole VP takes an 'external' argument, the agent, which is introduced by a predication relation along the lines suggested in Williams 1980. Ergative verbs can be used in participial ASCs, as shown below (example from Harley (p.c.)):

(44) The gravy successfully thinned, Mary added the thyme.

(44) is the agentive use of 'thin', as illustrated by the presence of the subject oriented adverb². In general, participial ASCs require an agentive (causative) reading, as illustrated by the oddness of (45b) when compared to (44) and (45a).

- (45) a. The gravy having thinned by itself ...
 b. *The gravy thinned by itself ...

Thus, in English, only participial passives can be used as ASCs. This appears to be a problem for the analysis proposed by de Miguel, since his analysis doesn't contemplate the implicit agent, and in fact predicts (45b) to be fine. In the next section I will propose a solution for this problem, but before I do that, I will first say a few words about how absolute clauses get temporally interpreted.

²Thanks to Heidi Harley and Alec Marantz (p.c.) for pointing this out to me.

3.1.2.2. The temporal interpretation of absolute clauses

My analysis of the temporal interpretation of absolutive constructions will be inspired by Hornstein's (1990) analysis of temporal adjunct clauses. He assumes a Reichenbachian theory of Tense according to which basic tenses are composed of three points (S, R, and E) and two relations (one fixing the SR relation and another fixing the RE relation). S is the speech time, and is a deictic element that typically designates the moment of speech, anchored by the utterance time, within the discourse. E designates the event time. The relation between E and S is mediated by the Reference time R. For Reichenbach as well as Hornstein, the relationship between S and R is what constitutes the primary tense relation. R is then related to E, but the link between S and E is derivative, depending on the relation between S and R.

In general, temporal adjunct clauses serve to temporally locate the event time specified in the matrix clause. This process is restricted by the requirement that sentences share reference points.

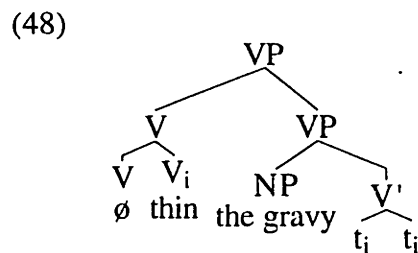
Consider a gerundive ASC, such as the one below:

(46) The gravy having thinned by itself, all I needed to do was add some thyme.

In (46) the event point of the matrix is interpreted as immediately following the 'change of state' denoted by 'thin.' Quite generally, absolutive constructions have this perfective aspectual value to them, denoting a 'resulting state of affairs.' I suggest that absolutive clauses lack an SR relation. This is why they cannot appear by themselves and depend on the SR relation specified in the matrix clause. However, the RE relation must be specified. In the case of (45) the perfective auxiliary 'have' does this job. It specifies the RE relation by placing E before R. By the requirement that sentences share the R points, the event in the matrix will be automatically placed after the event point in the adjunct clause. In the absence of the auxiliary 'have', some other means must be used. Now reconsider the following contrast, which indicates that only participial passives can be used as ASCs:

- (47) a. The gravy successfully thinned, Mary decided to throw in the vegetables.
 b. *The gravy thinned by itself, all I needed to do was add some thyme.

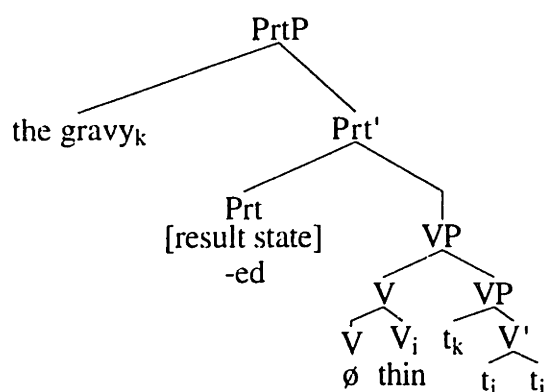
Recall that, according to Hale and Keyser, the transitive use of an ergative verb corresponds to a VP shell that contains a causative affix. This is illustrated below:



Baker, Johnson and Roberts 1989 propose that the passive suffix 'en' is the external argument. De Miguel, on the other hand, proposes that the past participle is a [+perf] aspect marker. It is clear from the ungrammaticality of (47b) that the mere presence of the participle head is not enough to turn a VP into a result state. However, (47) lacks an auxiliary verb, and yet it has a perfective aspectual value. Thus, it appears that, in the particular case of passives, the past participle does two jobs: it absorbs the external theta-role and it adds aspectual information. It is not clear whether these are separate tasks or whether one is derived from the other. Moreover, it seems to me that it would be desirable to assign a uniform meaning to the participial head. After all, we observe that it can attach to any kind of verb, not just transitives. So if this affix is 'nominal', in the sense that it is the external argument, why does it attach to verbs that do not assign an external theta-role, such as unaccusative verbs? Thus, suppose that we assume that, quite generally, what the participial head does is it takes a VP and maps it into a state. In the case of an accomplishment verb such as the one that results from incorporating the causative head in (48), this state will invariably denote a 'result' state. Dowty 1979, following Kenny 1963, suggests that the meaning of an accomplishment verb 'invariably involves the coming about of a particular state of affairs.' Thus, strictly speaking, the external argument doesn't need to be syntactically projected when a VP headed by an accomplishment verb is embedded in a participial head. When this happens, the Past Participle will denote a 'state', but in order for this 'state' to be true of the

internal argument it must have been 'brought about' by an agent (note that this is what is entailed by the meaning of the causative affix). Hence, it seems to me that there two entailments: (i) that the event denoted by the accomplishment verb is complete; that is, E__R; (ii) that an agent is involved in triggering this event. So these constructions will not only contain an implicit agent (see Jaeggli 1986 and Roeper ?? for evidence for the implicit agent in passives).but will also have a perfective aspectual value. (49a) would be analysed as in (49b). (I use the label *Prt* for the Past Participial head):

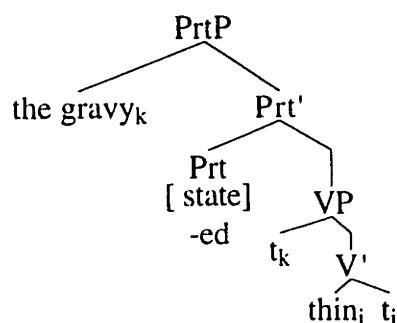
- (49) a. The gravy successfully thinned,
b.



Note that in (49) we have to assume that the verb only raises up to ASP at LF, since the adverb 'successfully' appears between the subject and the verb.

Now we turn to the ungrammatical example (50a).which illustrates the inchoative use of 'thin':

- (50) a. *The gravy thinned (by itself), we ...
b.



In the case of (50b), the ASPP denotes a state but this doesn't suffice to supply the clause with the entailment that there was an interval in time at which the state in question was brought about. Further embedding under perfective 'have', the meaning of which is E__R, will supply the clause with the required perfective interpretation, yielding (48)³.

3.1.2.3. Participial ASCs in the null subject Languages

Assuming that the analysis of English (49) is on the right track, we now turn to its counterpart in a null subject language:

- (51) Desengrossado o molho ...
thinned the gravy ...

(51) involves an extra step: ASF raising to a higher head, C by hypothesis. In the case of English and French this last movement of ASP-to-C does not take place overtly.

There is a further contrast between the NSLs and the nonNSLs with respect to participial ASCs. These constructions are acceptable with unaccusative verbs in the NSLs even though their English or French counterparts are unacceptable

- (52) Arrivata Maria, Gianni tirò un sospiro di sollievo
Arrived Maria, G. took a sigh of relief
'As soon as Mary arrived, Gianni took a sigh of relief.'

- (53) a. *Marie arrivée ...
Marie arrived
b. Mary arrived ...

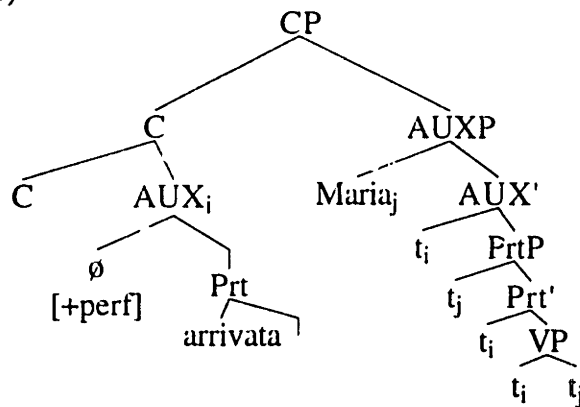
I suggest that the impossibility of (53) is due to Full Interpretation. I have proposed above that absolutives lack an SR relation, so for the adjunct clause to have what is minimally required to be temporally interpreted it must be specified for the RE relation. Since the verb 'arrive' is not an accomplishment verb, embedding it

³I assume that adjectival passives are derived from a VP shell that lacks the causative head (see Levin and Rappaport 1986).

under the past participial affix will not be enough to fix the R,E relation. Keeping with this assumption, the difference between (52) and (53) would be due to the fact that a NSL has the resources to provide an unaccusative participial with the feature [+perfective]. I hypothesize that this is a direct consequence of ASP raising, which is unavailable in a nonNSL.

(52) is equivalent to a gerundive absolute with 'be': *Essendo Maria arrivata* ... 'being Mary arrived...' In Italian, the auxiliary *essere*, like its counterpart *avere* in transitives, combines with a past participle to yield a past tense interpretation (cf. *Maria e arrivata* 'Maria arrived'). I assume that the past participle invariably denotes a 'state' and that the auxiliary *essere* contributes with the point in time in which this state is brought about. I suggest that (52) contains a null head with the semantics of *essere* to which the ASP node raises.. This is illustrated below:

(54)



Now we have to answer the question why French doesn't allow for (54). I propose that, since French doesn't have ASP raising, it will not allow for the possibility of generating a phonologically null AUX node. Assuming that a phonologically null head needs phonological support, such a derivation would crash at the PF.

3.1.2.4. Transitive ASCs in Italian (Belletti 1990)

Belletti (1990) distinguishes ASCs with unaccusatives in Italian from ASCs with transitives and assigns them a different structure. The main reason why she chooses to distinguish these is that she uncovers a number of distinctions between them. For

instance, *ne*-cliticization is allowed with transitive ASCs though not with unaccusative ASCs. Moreover, accusative Case appears to be available in transitive ASCs though not in unaccusative ASCs. She mentions the following examples:

- (55) a. Conosciuta *me* *io hai cominciato as apprezzare il mare
 known me (acc.) *I, you started liking the seaside
 b. Salutata *me* *io si è accorto che c'era molta altra gente
 greeted me (acc.) *I, he realized that there were many more people

The analysis proposed here says nothing about the contrasts in (55). However, these facts are quite specific to Italian: neither Spanish nor Portuguese allow an accusative clitic in these constructions. Belletti's solution is to claim that transitive ASCs are not passives and do not involve raising. I refer the reader to her work for specific arguments. It could be the case that Italian transitive ASCs are not to be analysed as passives. However, as shown in the previous section, English and French ASCs are clear cases of raising; furthermore, Spanish and Portuguese ASCs are not compatible with a nonpassive analysis, since accusative case is not available. Hence, I conclude that the analysis proposed here is adequate for these languages, leaving the possibility open that Italian may explore a different derivation, along the lines proposed in Belletti. In any case, the main point I wish to make in this section also holds of Italian transitive ASCs, namely that the verb in these constructions moves higher in the NSLs than it does in the nonNSLs.

In the next section I will discuss other kinds of absolute constructions in Romance *pro*-drop, French and English and I will argue that the phenomenon of ASP/T raising is a prevailing characteristic of Romance *pro*-drop, as opposed to Romance non-*pro*-drop or English.

3.1.2.5 Non-verbal ASCs in Western Romance: Hernanz (1991)

Hernanz (1991) observes that adjectives can also head ASCs in Spanish:

- (56) a. Limpías las armas...
 Clean the weapons
 'Once the weapons were clean'

- b. Tenso el gesto, el gato nos observaba desde la silla
Tense the posture, the cat us observed from the chair
'In a tense attitude, the cat stared at us from the chair'

Other examples mentioned by Hernanz contain adverbs and PPs:

- (57) a. Así las cosas, el Gobierno decretó el estado de excepción
So the things, the Government decreed the state of emergency
'Things being like that, the Government decreed the state of emergency'
- b. Lejos los buques, la población isleña pudo regresar a sus casas.
Far away the ships, the population insular could return to their houses
'Once the ships were far away, the insular population could return back home'
- (58) a. En malas condiciones las conservas, las intoxicaciones se sucedieron
In bad condition the canned-food, the intoxications se followed
'The canned food being in bad condition, poisoning went on ...'
- b. Bajos mínimos el aeropuerto, es casi imposible aterrizar
Below minimums the airport, it is almost impossible to land.
'The airport being below minimum safety conditions, it is almost impossible to land'
- c. Fuera del alcance de los radares los aviones, las incursiones aéreas
Out of the scope of the radars the planes, the air raids
resultaron devastadoras
resulted devastating
'The planes being beyond the scope of the radars, the air raids were devastating'

All of the examples given contain nonverbal predicates and are quite productive in Spanish as well as Portuguese. Their counterparts in English and French are unacceptable. In Italian, ASCs with adverbial or PP predicates are unattested. Regarding adjectival ASCs matters are less clear. There are some scattered examples, but these constructions are definitely much less productive in Italian than they are in Spanish or Portuguese.

Hernanz observes that the licensing of nonverbal adjectival predicates in ASCs is constrained by the aspectual nature of the predicate, which has to be marked [+perfective]. The criterion she uses to isolate the natural class that is used in ASCs is based on the distribution of the kinds of copula, *ser/estar*, in Spanish: adjectives carrying the feature [-perfective] take *ser* whereas those which have a perfective reading take *estar*. I refer the reader to her paper for the relevant data.

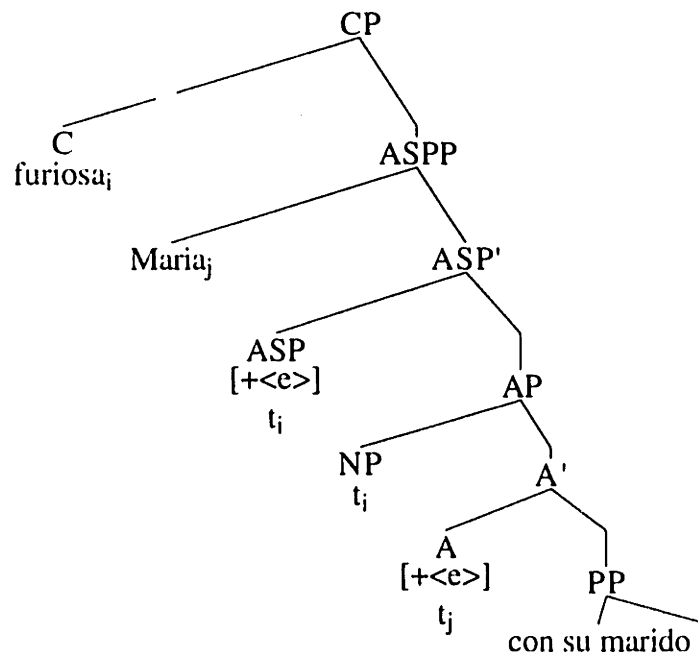
Hernanz suggests that the opposition [+/- perfective] is due to the ability of adjectives to subcategorize for an event argument. [-perfective] adjectives do not select an event argument. [+perfective] adjectives do. Insofar as the latter involve a perfective aspectual value, they can associate with an ASP head, alongside the items displaying an overt aspectual morphology, like past participles. Hernanz proposes the following analysis for the ASC in (60), where it is the event argument <e> selected by the adjective that is the source of ASP:

(59) Furiosa a Maria com o seu marido ...

Furious Maria with her husband

'Maria being

b.



In the sections that follow I will suggest a slight modification to Hernanz's analysis even though I will follow its essentials. But before I do that, I will review another set of absolute clauses: that of gerundive absolutes.

3.1.2.6. Gerundive Absolute Clauses

Gerundive absolutes are quite common across Romance and in English. Here are some examples from French, English, Italian, and Portuguese, respectively:

- (60) Marie étant satisfaite ...
Marie being happy ...
- (61) John being a sailor ...
- (62) Essendo lui molti in ritardo ...
Being he very late ...
- (63) Estando ele atrasado ...
Being he very late ...

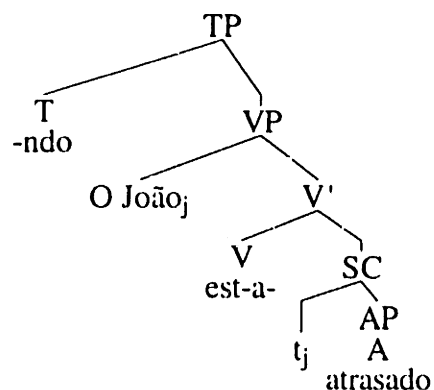
Hernanz makes the perspicuous observation that gerundive absolutes differ from participial absolutes in their behavior with respect to negation. Only the former can be preceded by a negative particle.

-
- (64) Non essendo lui molti in ritardo ...
Not being he very late ...
 - (65) Não estando ele muito atrasado ...
Not being he very late ...

Recall our previous discussion regarding participial ASCs. These could not be preceded by a negative particle, and we followed Belletti (1990) and Zanuttini (1989) in taking this as an indication that participial ASCs do not have a TP node. By the same line of reasoning, we infer that gerunds project a TP node. We propose that the copula heads a VP, which in turn selects a small clause, whose predicate ranges over prepositional phrases, adverbs and adjectives.

- (66) a. Estando o João atrasado...
Being John late ...

(67)

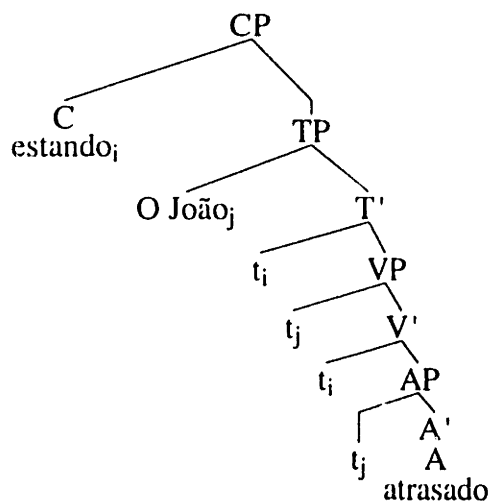


Note that, in this case, the copula need not have a particular aspectual value.
The SC can contain a predicate selected by *ser*:

- (68) a. *Sendo* o João inteligente, poderia fazer o exame por mim.
being John intelligent, he-could do the exam for me
'John being an intelligent person, he could do the exam for me'

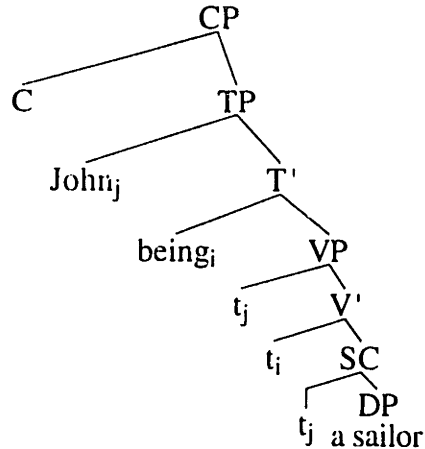
TP is then embedded under a CP node, and the copula raises up to C. The subject raises up to SPEC,TP.

(69)



The English example below is assigned a similar structure, with one difference: the copula doesn't move to C.

- (70) a. John being a sailor, he loves boats
b.



The French example (60) is analysed in the same way as (70). The Italian example (62) is analysed like the Portuguese (69). I will now turn to an interesting divergence between western and eastern Romance, regarding gerundive absolutes.

3.1.2.6.1. Gerundive absolutes without AUX: Spanish and Portuguese vs Italian, French and English.

Another construction that Italian, French and English lack and Portuguese and Spanish make extensive use of are Gerund absolutes without an auxiliary:

- (71) a. Resolviendo el juez absolver al acusado ...
Deciding the judge to absolve the defendant ...
'Having the judge decided to absolve the defendant ...'
b. Jugando Juan al bridge, la partida se alargará.
Playing John to-the bridge, the game will-last-longer
'With John playing bridgem the game will last longer'

(71) contains examples from Spanish, but Portuguese is just the same. Italian, on the other hand, requires the presence of a perfective auxiliary (similarly to English or French).

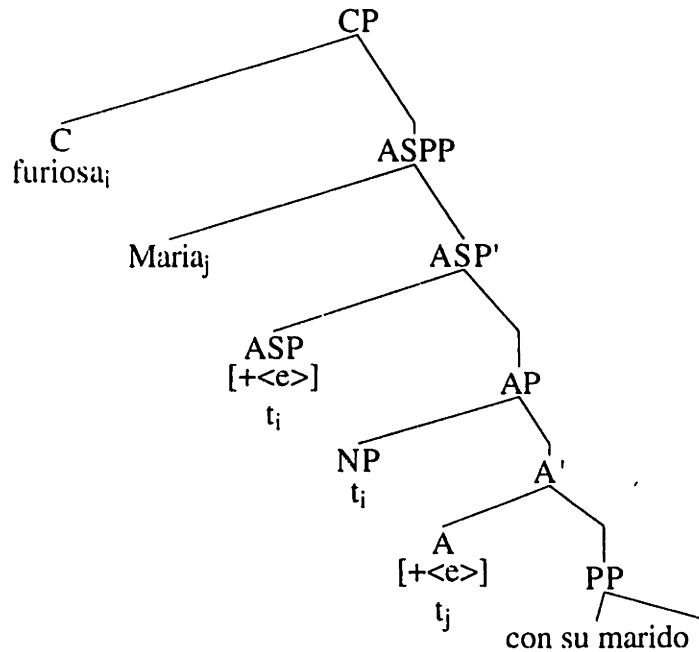
- (72) a. Avendo Mario accettato di aiutarci potremo risolvere il problema
Having Mario accepted to help-us, we can solve the problem
[apud Rizzi 1982]
b. BAD example

I would like to suggest here that the possibility of gerund absolutes and the occurrence of non-verbal ASCs are related. The languages that allow one construction automatically have the other. Languages that lack one, automatically lack the other.

Essentially, we will explore Hernanz's insight regarding the aspectual value of the two kinds of copula in Spanish, *ser* and *estar*, and relate the existence of this aspectual distinction to the possibility of both kinds of absolutes. The generalization is: if a language realizes an aspectual distinction in the copula, it has the means to generate both gerund absolutes and nonverbal ASCs.

Recall Hernanz's analysis of nonverbal ASCs. She assumes that in order for an ASC (without an auxiliary) to be generated, an aspectual head must be projected. She proposes that this head has no phonetic realization. Her analysis is illustrated below:

- (73) a. Furiosa Maria con su marido ...
 Furious Mary with her husband
 b.



Recall also that Hernanz argues that what 'licenses' this head is the event argument selected by the predicate. In effect, none of the individual predicates (in the sense of Carlson (198??) and Kratzer (1988)) can be used in ASCs:

- (74) a. Exausta a Maria ...
 tired the Mary ...
 b. A Maria está/*é exausta.
 (75) a. *Inteligente a Maria ...
 Intelligent the Maria
 b. A Maria *está/é inteligente

As has already been mentioned, nothing prevents an individual level predicate from being used in an absolutive (in English as well) as long as gerundive 'be' is present:

- (76) Sendo a Maria inteligente ...
 Being the Maria intelligent ...

Thus, with respect to those predicates that normally select *ser*, Portuguese and Spanish are no different from Italian or English. According to Hernanz, what licenses the ASC in (73) is the ASP head. This head, in turn, is licensed by association with the event variable. However, if the event variable is in itself the licenser of the ASP head, why is it that Italian lacks these kind of constructions (adverbial predicates and PPs included)? In other words, why is it that a null ASP node is not licensed by the event variable in Italian?

With Hernanz, we claim that a non-verbal ASCs is well-formed just in case it contains internal aspectual structure, so we accept that the presence of an ASP head is crucial for a nongerundive ASC to be wellformed. However, we will depart from her assumption that it is the event variable that 'selects' the aspect head.

Consider (77):

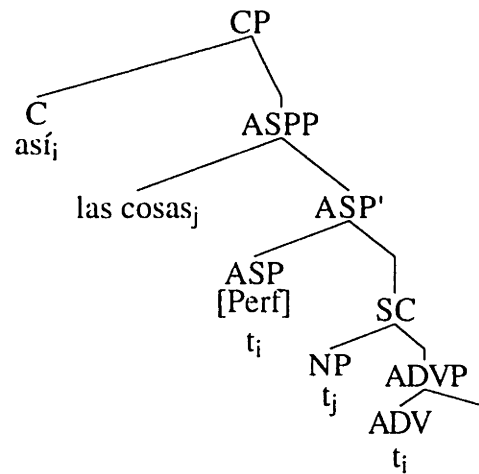
- (77) a. Así las cosas, el Gobierno decretó el estado de excepción
 So the things. the Government decreed the state of emergency
 'Things being like that, the Government decreed the state of emergency'

The ASC in (77) must have acquired temporal reference in some way. Recall that the Italian, English and French counterparts to (77) are all unacceptable. This is not surprising. What is surprising is that (77) should be acceptable. So what we need to say is that both Portuguese and Spanish have a hidden device that provides the nonverbal predicate with some sort of temporal specification. I hypothesize that this device, as Hernanz points out, shows up independently in the copula. Something must be responsible for the process of obligatory selection of a predicate for *estar* vs *ser* in Portuguese and Spanish, anyway, so we will explore this property to explain the contrast between Spanish/Portuguese, on the one hand, and Italian, French and English, on the other.

Hernanz's proposal that the distinction between the two forms of the copula is aspectual is reinforced in Schmitt (1992). In particular, Schmitt (1992) runs several tests that show that '*ser*' in Portuguese behaves as if deprived of internal temporal structure (. . .) It is not a state, nor an event, nor a process. *Estar*, on the other hand, corresponds to the result state of an accomplishment verb. (. . .) Being a result state, *estar* is temporally bound.(p. 421)'

Now in order to relate this distinction between the two copula with the wellformedness of (77), all we need is to claim that Portuguese and Spanish have a null [+perf].aspectual affix. By hypothesis, this affix surfaces as *estar* when it is incorporated with *ser*, but manifests itself in its phonologically empty form whenever it incorporates with an adjectival or verbal head. This is, after all, Hernanz's ASP head in her tree in (67b).

- (78) a. a. Así las cosas,
b.



French, English and Italian lack this aspect head, so they lack the resource to derive (78). Recall from our discussion of participial unaccusative ASCs that Italian has the possibility of raising a past participle to the AUX head but this is only possible with verbal participles of telic verbs: only in this case does *essere* combine with a participle to yield a perfective interpretation. In the case of non-verbal predicates the Italian copula is not inherently marked for [+perfective] aspect, so the RE relation is left unspecified. Note, however, that the mechanism that licenses (78) is essentially the same one that licenses ASCs with unaccusatives in Italian: predicate raising to a [+perf] head, which, by hypothesis, will only be available in a language that has ASP/T/Predicate raising, i.e., in a NSL.

Now we turn to gerund absolutes that lack an auxiliary. The relevant examples are repeated below:

- (79) a. Resolviendo el juez absolver al acusado ...
 Deciding the judge to absolve the defendant ...
 'The judge having decided to absolve the defendant ...'
- b. Jugando Juan al bridge, la partida se alargará.
 Playing John to-the bridge, the game will-last-longer
 'With John playing bridge the game will last longer'
- (80) a. Avendo Mario accettato di aiutarci, potremo risolvere il problema
 Having Mario accepted to help-us, we can solve the problem
 [apud Rizzi 1982]
- b. BAD example
- (81) *John playing bridge, the game will last longer
 'With John playing bridge the game will last longer'

These gerundive clauses are acceptable in Italian as well as English or French (Subject-Aux ordering aside) just in case they contain an auxiliary⁴. Note that (79a,b) all involve the coming about of a certain state of affairs. This can clearly be seen when we compare the entailments of a gerundive absolute with the progressive:

- (82) a. Desenhando a Maria um círculo, podemos ir.
 drawing Maria a circle, we can go
- b. A Maria ria desenhando um círculo.
 'Maria would laugh while drawing a circle.'

⁴ They are also acceptable when introduced by the preposition 'with' as seen by the English gloss to the Portuguese example (68b). However, I suspect that modifiers introduced by 'with' are real PPs and that the gerund in this case is only marked for progressive aspect. Such constructions also exist in Portuguese, but in this case the gerund is not used. Instead an infinitive is used, as shown in the sentence below:

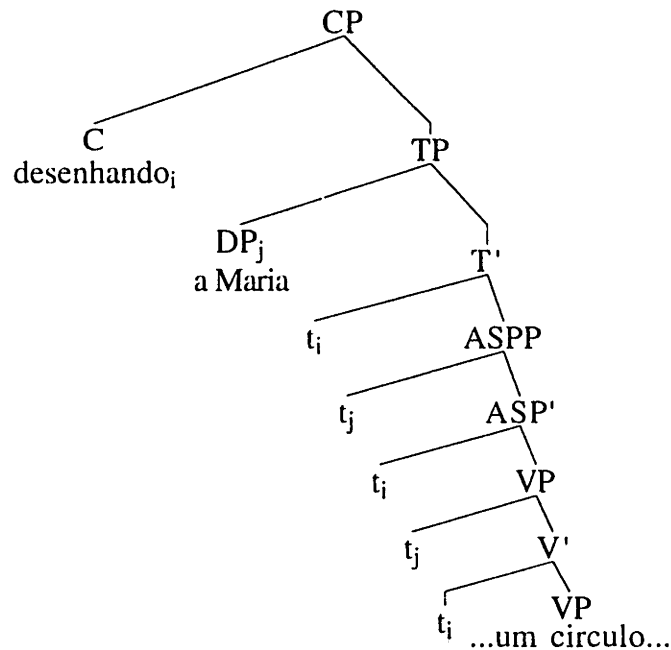
- (i) Com o João a jogar bridge, ninguém perde.
 with the João to-play bridge, noone loses
 'With John playing bridge noone loses'

This suggests that the gerund here is a different creature from the gerund used in absolute constructions. To confirm it, we observe that the infinitive here cannot be modified by sentential negation:

- (ii) *Com o João a não jogar bridge.

The adjunct clause in (82) entails that Maria drew a complete circle. The progressive doesn't have this entailment. Thus, gerundive absolutes have a perfective interpretation, which helps locate the event time of the matrix. This can be easily captured by positing the presence of a null [+perf] head selecting VP:

- (83) a. Desenhando a Maria um círculo, podemos ir.
 drawing Maria a circle, we can go
 b.



The impossibility of deriving (83) in Italian, French or English follows from the lack of the null [+perf] head in these languages. Thus, it appears that positing an abstract aspectual head selecting VP succeeds in explaining the possibility of Gerund Absolute clauses and nonverbal ASCs in Spanish and Portuguese while capturing the *ser/estar* distinction. The fact that Italian lacks an aspectual copula I take as evidence that it lacks this aspectual abstract head, which explains the lack of the two types of absolute clauses in question. This, in turn, reduces the phenomenon of AUX-to-Comp in Italian to the larger phenomenon of generalized INFL raising past IP in Romance *pro*-drop.

3.1.3. Summary of section

In this section I have proposed an analysis of absolutive constructions that relies on the assumption that they are [-finite] clauses lacking an SR relation. They can be TP projections embedded under C; or they can be aspectual phrases embedded under C. The range of language specific absolute clauses actually found depends on the mechanisms available in the language to provide the reduced clause with the perfective aspectual value minimally required for the clause to be temporally interpreted as required by Full Interpretation.

I have suggested that the reason why passive participial ASCs are productive in all of the languages under discussion is that their perfective value comes, so to speak, for free, due to the entailments of the participial form of accomplishment verbs. In addition, I showed that there is a systematic contrast between the NSLs and the nonNSLs: the former have T/ASP raising to C. The latter do not, at least not in the overt syntax. I related this property of the NSLs to the availability of unaccusative participial ASCs. Finally, I argued that the existence of nonverbal ASCs and gerundive absolutes without an auxiliary in Spanish and Portuguese is due to the presence of a null [+perfective] head, which is also responsible for the overt distinction found in the two kinds copula in these languages.

At the beginning of this section examples were given of infinitival constructions which reflected the asymmetry between the NSLs and French that was noted for absolutes: whereas French is subject initial, the NSLs are verb initial. We mentioned the work of Kayne 1990 and Belletti 1990, who have shown that in infinitives the verb moves higher in the NSLs than it does in French. In the following section I will turn to finite environments.

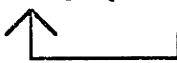
3.2. Finite Clauses

In the first chapter I have argued that finite constructions with an overt subject are V-first (in the sense that the subject doesn't raise to a preverbal A-position). As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, it is very hard to tell with precision whether the V-first nature of the NSLs in constructions with overt subjects also

holds of constructions with a null subject. The main reason for this indeterminacy is that it is quite hard to precisely determine the position filled by an empty category.

However, I will argue in this section that *pro* is somewhere to the right of the inflected verbal form. In other words, I will argue that the inflected verb moves higher than *pro* in overt syntax, as schematized below:

(84) [XP [X [X+inflected V] [*pro* ...t]]]



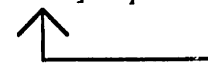
I will argue that XP in (84) can be embedded under an overt C, so X cannot be C. I will be referring to the head to which the verb raises as X, which stands for 'functional head'. The exact nature of the head in question will be the focus of the next section.

This section will be organized as follows. I start by considering evidence from Romanian, Spanish and Catalan that suggests that the specifier position of the head the verb raises to in overt syntax is an A'-position. In particular, it is the landing site for *wh*-movement and Focus movement. In addition, I will observe that this projection can itself be embedded under an overt C, yielding the following structure, where XP stands for the neutral term 'functional projection':

(85) [CP [C C [XP Focus [X' [X [X+inflected V] ...lexical subject ...]]]]

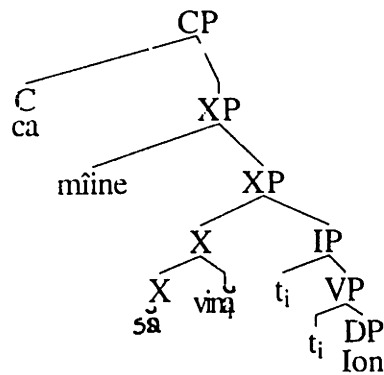
(85) illustrates a structure with an overt subject. However, null subject constructions are also possible with *wh*-/Focus fronting. I will show that the Focus fronting position is not recursive. Hence, there is no room for *pro* to the left of the inflected verb. This entails that the inflected verb has moved across the position filled by *pro*, as illustrated in (86):

(86) [CP [C C [XP Focus [F' [F [F+ infl.V] ...*pro* ... t]]]]



I will argue that this much we can show from available evidence drawn from Romanian, Spanish and Catalan, at least.

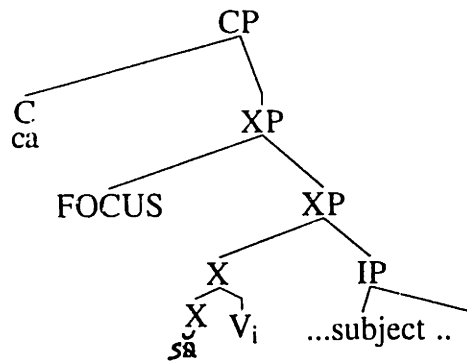
(88)



In (175) the adverb *mîine* is adjoined to the projection headed by *să*, which I will label XP for expository purposes. The nature of this head will be the focus of a later section.

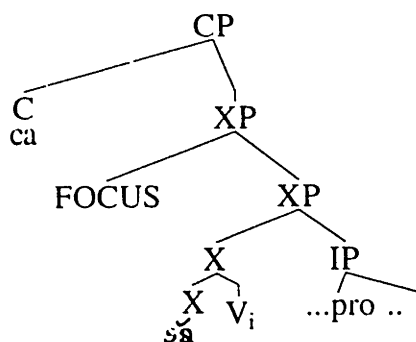
In addition, I will show (i) that the specifier position of *să* is the landing site for A' movement, (ii) that this specifier position is not recursive. This yields the following structure for a construction with an overt subject and a fronted Focus:

(89)



When (89) contains a null subject, there is no position for *pro* to the left of the verb. So the only possible analysis for such constructions is as in (90), with *pro* to the right of the inflected verb:

(90)



3.2.1.1.1. Dobrovie-Sorin 1994

In her discussion of the properties of *să* D-S. shows that, unlike the lexical complementizer *ca*, *să* bears a strong coherence with the verb cluster (the sequence made up of the verb accompanied by pronominal and adverbial clitics). The first piece of evidence she presents is the following contrast:

- (91) a. Vreau *ca* pîna mîine *să* termine Ion cartea asta.
[I] want that until tomorrow *să* finish John this book.
b. *Vreau *ca* pîna mîine *să* Ion termine cartea asta.

Să necessarily precedes the other elements of the verb cluster; the maximal string that may separate it from the verb is Neg-cl-Adv-Aux and these elements are themselves strictly adjacent to the inflected verb.⁵ D-S. takes this to suggest that *sa* itself belongs to the verb cluster. Coordination lends support to this assumption:

- (92) a. Stiu *să* [mama a plecat și Ion a ramas]
[I] know that [mother has left and John has stayed]
b. Vreau (*ca* mîine) [*să* plece mama și *să* ramîna numai Ion]
[I] want (that tomorrow) sa leave mother and sa stay only Ion.
c. *Vreau (*ca* mîine) *să* [plece mama și ramîna Ion]

⁵According to D-S the Aux position is occupied by the perfect auxiliary *fi* 'be' and under Adv we find a restricted class of clitic adverbs: *mai* 'again', *prea* 'too'.

Complementizers such as *ca'* in (92a) (which heads embedded indicatives) or *ca* (which introduces embedded subjunctives) need not be repeated in the second conjunct. *Sa'* must be repeated in the second conjunct. This behavior is typical of certain clitics. Take the following Italian example:

- (93) Lo vedo spesso e *(lo) sento tutti i giorni.
her see-I often and him hear-I every day

It might be argued that the impossibility of omitting a clitic in a second conjunct is due to some surface dependency phenomenon, in which case it won't tell us anything in particular about the syntax. However, this restriction doesn't hold of all clitics. Portuguese, for instance, accepts (94):

- (94) Ela disse que me levaria às dez e traria ___ à meia-noite.
she said that me would-take at ten and bring back at midnight

Since Portuguese has object-drop, I have used a first person pronoun (generally only third person pronouns can be dropped in languages that have object drop). The presence of the two PPs makes sure that (94) is not an instance of VP coordination. (94) is a curious example, since it appears to show that not all clitics need to be repeated in a second conjunct. The form me is very clearly a phonological clitic, since it is an unstressed item and cannot appear by itself. In Barbosa (1993), I have argued that Portuguese clitics are not dominated by the same head containing V. This would account for the contrast with Italian (as well as other contrasts that I am not going to discuss here) as long as we assume that, in the case of Italian clitics, there is incorporation with V. e.g., syntactic cliticization. Once incorporation has taken place, omitting the clitic would entail breaking a morphological unit. This problem wouldn't arise in Portuguese, given that there is no syntactic incorporation, even though the clitic is still a phonologically dependent item.

Additional evidence that incorporation imposes restrictions on coordination comes from a contrast observed between French and Italian. Belletti (1994) mentions the following examples from Italian, where the second conjunct of a coordinated structure is in the scope of negation:

- (95) Non [la prendo adesso e te lo riporto tra due giorni]
 neg [it (cl) take now and to you (cl) it (cl) return in two days]
 'I am not going to take it now and return it to you in two days'

Following our reasoning thus far, (95) suggests that negation and the verbal complex are not incorporated under the same head. If we are right, then the following prediction is made for French, where negation is very clearly a clitic: the French counterpart to (96) should be bad. This prediction is born out:

- (96) *Je ne la prend pas maintenant e la ramène dans quelques jours.

With this in mind, we now turn to the paradigm in (92). We conclude that, even though *că*, *ca* and *să* are phonologically weak, only *să* is a syntactic clitic, e.g., only *să* incorporates with the Infl head containing V.

In spite of this close coherence between *să* and Infl, D-S mentions a number of properties that distinguish *să* from Infl particles and bring it closer to regular complementizers (a) *să* is invariable; (b) *să* can head an embedded clause; (c) its position is leftmost, necessarily preceding clitics and negation. This is illustrated in (97):

- (97) a. Vreau *să* **nu-l** mai întâlnești.
 [I] want *să* not him again meet-you
 b. *vreau **nu** *să-l* mai întâlnești
 c. *vreau **îl** *să* mai întâlnești
 d. vreau **nu-l** *să* mai întâlnești

The order of *să* with respect to negation is particularly striking since it mimics the behavior of complementizers in general, as shown below:

- (98) Stiu *(**nu**) *că* (**nu**) a scris Ion poezia asta.
 [I] know (not) that (not) has written John poem this
 'I know that John hasn't written this poem.'

The sentential negation particle obligatorily follows complementizers and obligatorily precedes the other Infl elements, such as auxiliaries, as illustrated below (D-S p.7):

- (99) a. *N-ar* vrea *să* te supere.
 not-would-he want *să* you bother
 'He wouldn't want to bother you'
 b. **Ar nu* vrea *să* te supere.

Thus, with respect to its position relative to the negation particle, *să* is closer to complementizers than to Infl elements.

Another property that brings *să* closer to complementizers is related to the distribution of complementizers in root clauses: in French, lexical complementizers are necessarily absent in root clauses (other than exclamatives) but sometimes present in subjunctive root clauses:

- (100) a. Que les masques tombent.
 that the masks fall

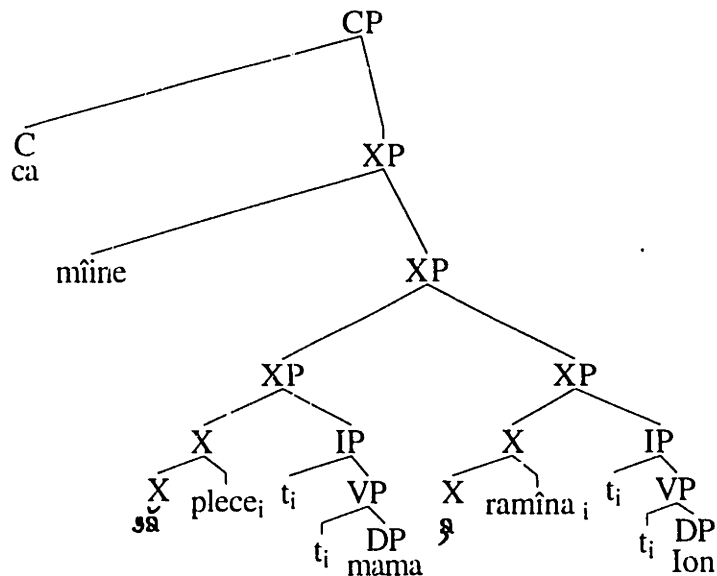
Similarly, *să* introduces root subjunctives in Romanian:

- (101) a. *Să* traiasca Romania
 să live Romania

As D-S points out, the particle *să* shares properties both with complementizers and with Infl elements. On the one hand, we have concluded that *să* and the Infl cluster form a morphological unit. On the other hand, we need to assume that *să* is sufficiently high in the structure to precede all the other elements in the Infl cluster. For this reason, I propose that *să* heads its own projection and selects IP (and perhaps NegP). The verb moves through Infl and incorporates with *să*, in the manner illustrated in (102b) for the embedded conjunct in (102a):

(102) a. Vreau.ca mîine să plece mama și să ramîna Ion

b.



Now consider constructions with a null subject, such as the following example (due to Iona Stefanescu, p.c.):

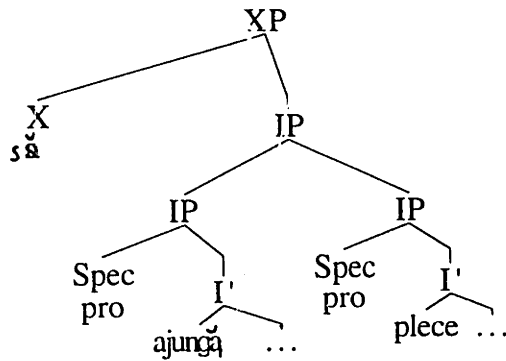
(103) Vreau să plece azi și *(să) ajungă mîine.

Want-I să leave today and să arrive tomorrow

'I want (him, her) to leave today and to arrive tomorrow'

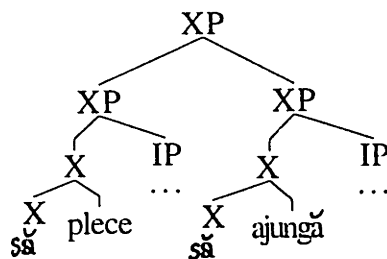
The impossibility of dropping *să* in the second conjunct indicates that *pro* doesn't occupy a specifier position between the particle *să* and the head containing V. If it did, we would have the following configuration:

(104)



In (104) nothing would prevent conjunction at the IP level (recall that conjunction at the clausal level is possible under *ca*, as shown in (102)). Thus, I conclude that here too, *sã* and Infl are contained under the same head, as illustrated in (105).

(105)



If there is no position for *pro* between *sã* and *plece*, now the question arises whether *pro* raises to the specifier position of *sã*. In what follows, I will restrict my attention to embedded questions, where multiple *Wh*-phrases are not possible (as far as I know such cases are only allowed in relative clauses, or in root questions).

For most speakers, *ca* must be omitted when it is adjacent with *sã*:

- (106) a. Vreau (**ca*) *sã* *vină* Ion .
 [I] want (that) *sã* come-3sg-SUBJ John.
 'I want John to come '

However, as was already mentioned in Chapter 2, *ca* is obligatory when sentential adjuncts (adverbs and dislocated DPs) appear to the left of *să*. Thus, observe the following sentences::

- (107) Aș vrea **(ca)* de mine *să* nu îl mai ajuti
la treaba.
(I) would want (that) starting tomorrow *să* not him again help-2sg with
[his] work.
'I would want that starting tomorrow you don't help him again with his
work'
(from D-S 1994, p.94)
- (108) Aș vrea **(ca)* pe Ion *să* -l vezi mâine.
(I) would want (that) *pe* Ion *să* - him see 2sg tomorrow
'I would want you to see John tomorrow'
- (109) Aș vrea **(ca)* Ion *să* și traducă
(I) would want (that) Ion *să* also translate-3sg
'I would want John also to translate.'

(107) contains a sentential adverb, (108) contains a dislocated object and (109) contains a dislocated subject. In all of these cases *ca* cannot be omitted. On the other hand, the presence of *ca* becomes optional when the fronted phrase bears contrastive focus, as illustrated in (110):

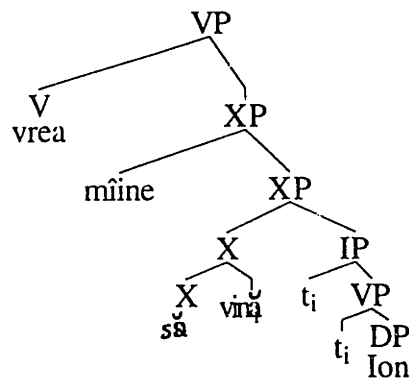
- (110) a. Aș vrea *(ca)* MÂINE *să* vină Ion.
[I] would want (that) tomorrow (focus) *să* come John.
b. Aș vrea *(ca)* ION *să* și traducă
(I) would want (that) Ion (focus) *să* also translate-3sg
'I would want JOHN also to translate.'

We have argued in Chapter 2 that the contrasts between sentential adjuncts and focused elements can be explained by assuming that fronted focus phrases move to the specifier position of *să* whereas sentential adjuncts are adjoined to the XP headed by *să*. We have followed Boskovic 1994, who takes the absence of *ca* to

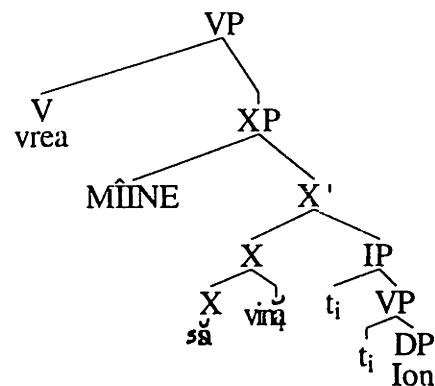
reflect the absence of a CP node. In this view, the examples in (111a,b) will be analysed as in (112a,b), respectively:

- (111) a. *Aş vrea mîine să vină Ion
 [I] want tomorrow să come Ion
 'I want John to come tomorrow'
- b. Aş vrea MÎINE să vină Ion
 [I] want tomorrow(focus) să come-3sg Ion
 'I want John to come TOMORROW'

(112) a.



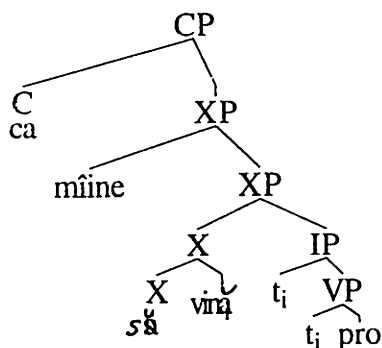
b.



Assuming that adjunction to arguments is not allowed on general grounds (112a) is barred. In (112b), by contrast, the focused phrase is in Spec-XP, so there is no adjunct between the main verb and its argument, XP.

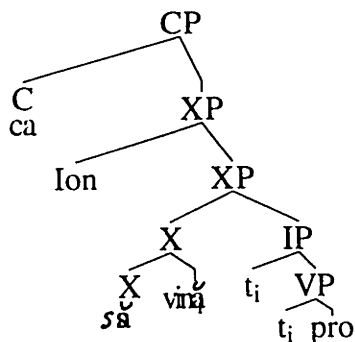
This conclusion entails that the specifier position of să is an A'-position. In effect, a wh-fronted phrase can co-occur with să. Consider (113):

b.



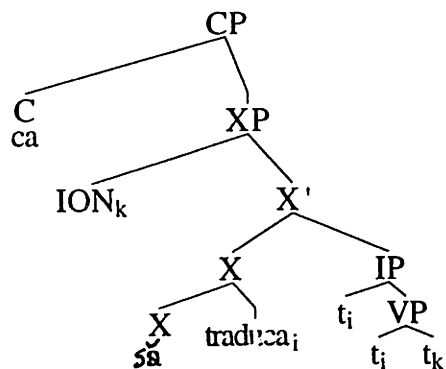
- (118) a. Aș vrea. ca Ion să și3 traduca
(I) would want that Ion (focus) să also translate-3sg

b.



- (119) a. Aș vrea (ca) ION să și3 traduca
(I) would want (that) Ion (focus) sa also translate-3sg
'I would want JOHN also to translate.'

b.



In (118b) the DP *Ion* is dislocated, not moved from argument position. *Pro* is the real subject argument. Here I have *pro* inside the VP, but I will discuss the issue of whether *pro* raises to Spec-IP later on, so I ask the reader to delay this question

until the next chapter. In (119), by contrast, the subject argument *Ion* has been extracted from the inverted position.

3.2.1.2. Extraction in Spanish and Catalan

In this section I will argue that in Spanish and Catalan, similarly to Romanian, the specifier position of the head to which the verb has raised is the landing site of A'-movement. In addition, I will show that this A' position is lower than C. In particular, I will argue that there is evidence from Spanish and Catalan for the following configuration:

(120) [C [χ_P Focused phrase [χ' [χ inflected V]] ... *pro* ...]]

In Spanish and Catalan, a *Wh*-phrase of a certain kind must be adjacent to the verb (the following examples are from Torrego 1984):

- (121) a. **Qué querían** esos dos?
'What did those want?'
b. ***Que esos dos querían?**
- (122) a. **Con quién vendrá** Juan?
'With whom will John come today?'
b. ***Con quién Juan vendrá** hoy?

Subjects are not the only elements that cannot intervene. This is illustrated below:

- (123) a. **Siempre lee** lo mismo María.
always reads the same Maria
b. *?**Qué siempre lee** María.
c. ¿**Qué lee** María siempre?.
- (124) a. ¿**Que le-ha dado** a veces Elena t a Mamen?
'What her-has given sometimes E. to Mamen?'
b. *¿**Que a veces le-ha dado** ...?
c. *¿**Que Elena le-ha dado** a veces ...

Similar examples can be constructed with embedded questions

- (125) *¿ No se **con quien** mañana **hablaré**.
not know with whom tomorrow to-speak

The standard analysis of (121-125) (Torrego 1984) has been formulated in terms of V-to-I-to-C. The *Wh*-phrase is moved to Spec, CP and the verb raises to C in a kind of verb-second effect (see Rizzi's 1991 *Wh*-criterion). However, it is possible to show that such V-second effects happen even when C is overtly filled by a complementizer.

As pointed out in Uribe-Etxebarria 1991, certain adverbs, like *siempre* 'always', also require strict adjacency with the inflected verb when fronted. Other sentential adverbs, like *a veces*. 'at times', 'sometimes', don't. This is illustrated in (126-7):

- (126) a. **Siempre come** Kepa manzanas
Always eats Kepa apples
b. ***Siempre Kepa come** manzanas.
c. Pedro **siempre come** manzanas.
(127) a. Cristina **a veces come** en casa.
C. sometimes eats at home
b. **A veces Cristina come** en casa.

This discrepancy in the behavior of *siempre* and *a veces* can be explained in terms of the position they occupy in the tree: adjunction vs specifier. Assuming that *siempre* is in the specifier position of the head the verb has raised to, and assuming that sentential adverbs like *a veces* as well as preverbal subjects are adjoined to XP, then the difference between these two kinds of adverbs is immediately explained. Note that in (127) the relative positions of the subject and *a veces* can be freely interchanged. Thus, (126a,c) are analysed as in (128a,c) and (127a,b) as in (129a,b), respectively:

- (128) a. [XP **Siempre** [X' [X [**come**]] Kepa manzanas]]
b. [XP Kepa_i [XP **siempre** [X' [X [**come**]] *pro* _i manzanas]]]

- (129) a. [_{XP} Cristina_i [_{xpa} veces [_{XP} [_X come]...*pro*_i ... en casa]]]
 C. sometimes eats at home
 b. [_{xpA} veces [_{xp}Cristina_i [_{XP} [_X come] ...*pro*_i ...]]]

As for (126b), it could only be derived by adjoining *Kepa* to X'.

- (130) * [_{XP} *Siempre* [_{x'} Kepa_i [_{x'} [_X [come]] *pro*_i manzanas]]

We know that (126b) is ill-formed. One way to explain this is by banning base-generated adjunction to X'. Another way of doing this is by trying to derive the impossibility of (base-generated) adjunction to X' from independent principles. I won't attempt to do this here right now, so I will simply assume that adjunction to X' is impossible (see the discussion of Romanian at the end of the previous chapter).

The analysis in (128) claims that *siempre* has been fronted by Focus-movement. Thus, *siempre* appears to belong to the class of elements that do not require phonological stress when fronted by Focus-movement. (recall our discussion of bare QPs in the first chapter). In the case of regular sentential adverbs, phonological stress is required. Consider the following sentences:

- (131) a. MAÑANA viene Pedro
 tomorrow (focus) comes Pedro
 b. *MAÑANA Pedro viene.
 (132). Mañana (Pedro) viene (Pedro)

In (131a) the adverb *mañana* has been fronted by Focus-movement. Strict adjacency with V is required. In (132) the adverb bears no phonological stress and no adjacency is required. I take this to mean that in (132) the adverb is dislocated, that is, base-generated in adjunction to XP, like the non-focused subject. with each it can be freely interchanged. Now compare (130) repeated here as (133), with (132):

- (133) ***Siempre** Kepa come manzanas.

(133) shows that *siempre* cannot be dislocated whereas *mañana* can. This is not surprising in view of the quantificational properties of *siempre* 'always' (see Lewis 19). It might be the case that the impossibility of (133) is related to the fact that *siempre* doesn't require phonological stress when fronted. Recall our discussion of bare quantifiers in the previous chapter. These do not dislocate and do not require phonological stress either when extracted to preverbal position. So phonological stress assignment could eventually be related to the need to disambiguate movement from base-generation, in which case it only applies when both options are available. I will not pursue this matter any further here.

Now note that (128a) can be embedded under an overt complementizer. This is illustrated below:

(134) ¿A quien piensa Teresa que *siempre* dice Josu que *siempre* ve Joserra t en el monte?

Whom thinks T. that always says J. that always sees J in in the mountain?

'Who does Teresa think that Josu always says that Joserra always sees in the mountain?

This suggests that the specifier position filled by *siempre* is not Spec-CP. Similar remarks hold of focused fronted arguments as discussed by Bonet 1990 for Catalan and Torrego 1984 for Spanish. In embedded environments, we observe that, like *siempre*, fronted focused constituents bearing phonological stress appear to the right of a complementizer (examples from Catalan taken from Bonet 1990)⁶:

(135) La Mariona diu que LES SABATES ha ficat a l'armari en Xavier
Mariona says that THE SHOES has put in the closet Xavier

⁶ Bonet also mentions examples where a *Wh*-word follows the complementizer in Catalan:

(35) La Roser diu **que qué** vol en Pau.
Roser says that what wants Pau

(36) La Roser va contestar **que per que** ho volia fer.
Roser answered that why it (she)-wanted to-do

Since the status of *que-Wh* is unclear until much more is said about the semantics and syntax of these constructions, I won't make too much of these examples.

Bonet notes that only one constituent is allowed in this position. A similar point is made in Laka 1990. The latter concentrates mainly on fronted negative phrases and notes that their landing site is the same as the landing site of Focus-movement. Then she proceeds to show that this position is available to only one constituent. Firstly, preverbal negative quantifiers also require strict adjacency with V, as illustrated in (136):

- (136) a. * Ningú *probablement* ha vist aquesta pel·lícula
 nobody probably has seen that movie
 b. *Probablement* ningú ha vist aquesta pel·lícula

Secondly, any kind of constituent can be fronted. (137) below illustrates a fronted object (note that, once again, phonological stress is not required):

- (137) Nada quiere Maria
 nothing loves Maria

Thirdly, multiple fronting is disallowed:

- (138) a. *Nadie en mingun lugar juega
 'Nobody plays in any place'
 b. *A nadie nadie le hace caso
 'To nobody does anybody pay attention'

Finally negative fronting is possible in embedded environments including relative clauses:

- (139) a. Creo [que [nadie ha venido]]
 'I think that nobody came'
 b. La mujer que nunca canta.
 'The woman that never sings'

In Bonet's terms, the landing site for all of these elements is Spec-IP. Laka (1990) proposes that they move to the specifier position of an intermediate projection between C and IP labelled Sigma Phrase. Uriagereka 1992 posits a Focus Phrase between CP and IP. I will leave a more detailed study of the nature of this projection for later. For the moment, my main interest is to show that the specifier position of the head to which the verb raises in these languages is an A'-position, not the standard A-position associated with Spec-IP. Since this position is not recursive, this entails that in (140a) below the verb has moved past the position occupied by *pro*, as schematized in (140bb):

- (140) a. La Mariona diu que LES SABATES ha ficat a l'armari
 Mariona says that THE SHOES has put in the closet
 b. [χ P LES SABATES [χ' [V] *pro*]]

In view of the discussion concerning absolutive constructions, where there is clear evidence for verb raising past IP, it is reasonable to hypothesize that X in (140) is not I, but rather some intermediate head between CP and IP. Assuming that this is right, two questions arise:

- I. In absolutive constructions inflection raises past IP always, independently from whether a phrase has been fronted or not. (140), however, raises the following question: Does V raising past IP occur just in case fronting has taken place?

- II. Among the Romance languages, Romanian, Spanish and Catalan are the only ones that invariably require strict adjacency between a fronted phrase and V. Can it be shown that finite V raising past IP holds of all the other Romance languages, including Portuguese and Italian?

Unfortunately, it is not easy to find direct evidence to answer these two questions with precision. In the next section I will address question II. I will argue that it is possible to account for the differences with respect to extraction between Romanian, Spanish and Catalan vs. Portuguese and Italian, while maintaining that the verb moves higher than IP in all of Null Subject Romance.

3.2.1.2.1. Extraction in Portuguese and Italian vs. Romanian, Castilian Spanish and Catalan

Among the Romance NSLs, Romanian, Spanish and Catalan are the only ones that show no asymmetry between root and embedded environments with respect to the adjacency requirement between the inflected verb and a fronted *Wh*. Thus, compare (141-142) with the Portuguese and the Italian examples in (143-144):

- | | | | |
|-------|----|--|------------|
| (141) | a. | ¿Què (* en Joan) farà (en Joan)? | Catalan |
| | | what (the Joan) will-do (the Joan) | |
| | b. | ¿No sé què (*en Joan) farà (en Joan) | |
| | | not know what (the Joan) will-do (the Joan) | |
| (142) | a. | *Unde (*Ion) s'a dus (Ion)? | Romanian |
| | | 'Where has gone Ion?' | |
| | b. | Nu ne-a spus unde (*Ion) s'a dus (Ion). | |
| | | 'They didn't tell us where has gone Ion' | |
| (143) | a. | *Quando (* a Maria) veio (a Maria)? | Portuguese |
| | | When (the Maria) came (the Maria) | |
| | b. | Não sei quando (a Maria) vem (a Maria). | |
| | | Not know (I) when the Maria comes | |
| (144) | a. | Chi (*Maria) ama (Maria)? | Italian |
| | | Who (Maria) loves (Maria) | |
| | b. | No so che cosa (?? Gianni) farà (Gianni). | |
| | | Not know what thing (Gianni) will-do | |
| | c. | Non so che cosa (Gianni) abbia fatto (Gianni). | |
| | | Not know what thing (Giannia) has-SUBJ done | |

In Portuguese there is an asymmetry between root and embedded questions. The latter do not require adjacency between *Wh* and *V*. Similar remarks apply to Italian, with one caveat. Only when the mood in the embedded clause is subjunctive is adjacency required. I will have little to say about this mood dependency here, so I will mainly concentrate on Italian subjunctive embedded questions.

One way to account for this split in the Romance NSLs could be to argue that in Spanish Focus/*Wh* fronting is what triggers Infl raising to this intermediate head between CP and IP. In this case, one could maintain that, in the absence of constituent fronting, the verb doesn't raise to this intermediate projection in Spanish. Hence, one could eventually argue that in Spanish the verb moves higher in embedded questions than it does in Italian embedded subjunctive questions or Portuguese embedded questions. However, I would like to argue in the next section that there is another way of dealing with these contrasts.

3.2.1.2.2. Island effects or the lack thereof

In her 1984 paper on extraction, Torrego gave evidence that her variety of Spanish didn't have the same kind of island effects that are observed in English:

(145) ¿Quién no sabes **cuánto** pesa?

Spanish

'Who don't you know how much weighs'

(146) ¿Quién no sabes **qué** es en esta empresa?

who not know-you what is in this firm

'Who don't you know what position he holds in this firm?'

In (145-6) the subject of the emdedded clause has crossed over a fronted *Wh.*, and yet these examples are fine. The following examples are from Catalan:

(147) A qui no saps **què** han regalat?

Catalan

'To whom don't you know what they have given?'

(148) Qui no sabps **què** ha portat?

'Who don't you know what brought?'

The relevance of these facts for the discussion at hand is that, as pointed out in Uriagereka 1990, their counterparts in Portuguese, Galician and Italian are bad (or at least have the deviant flavour of standard *Wh*-island violations):

(149) a. ??A quem não sabes o que deram?

Portuguese

'To whom don't you know what they have given?'

b. ?? A quen non sabes (o) que dixen?

Galician

'To whom don't you know what they have said?'

c. ?? A chi non sai che cosa ho detto?

Italian

'To whom don't you know what I have said?'

Rizzi 1978 suggested that the *Wh*-island constraint operating in English can be violated in Italian in relative clause formation:

(150) La nuova idea di Giorgio, de cui immagino che cosa pensi, ...
the new idea of Giorgio of which imagine-I what thing think-you,
'Giorgio's new idea, of which I imagine what you think, ...'

Rizzi suggested that the fact that (149c) is not an option in Italian might be related to the fact that multiple questions in this language are not fully acceptable either, as shown in (151):

(152) ??Non so ancora chi ha fatto che cosa
not know-I yet who has done what thing
'I do not yet know who did what.'

However, Uriagereka points out that in Galician multiple questions are allowed, and yet Galician doesn't allow (149b):

(153) Non sei ainda quen fixo (o) que
not know-I yet who did what
'I do not yet know who did what.'

Similar remarks apply to Portuguese. (154) below shows that multiple questions are possible in this language even though (149a) is bad:

- (154) Não sei ainda quem fez o quê.
 not know-I yet who did what
 'I do not yet know who did what.'

In view of these facts, Uriagereka concludes that something else other than multiple *Wh* must be responsible for the contrast between the deviance of the examples in (149) and the acceptability of their counterparts in Spanish and Catalan. Romanian appears to behave like Spanish and Catalan (Ioana Stefanescu, p.c.) and not like Italian, Portuguese and Galician. Recall that in the last section we observed that these two groups of languages show a different pattern of behavior in another aspect related to extraction. Whereas Spanish, Romanian and Catalan invariably require adjacency between a fronted phrase and the verb in questions, Portuguese, Galician and Italian display a root/embedded asymmetry with respect to this adjacency requirement. In what follows I would like to explore the possibility that these facts are related.

3.2.1.2.3. The *Wh*-criterion (Rizzi 1991)

Rizzi 1991, building on work by May 1985 and Chomsky 1988, has proposed a general well-formedness condition on *Wh*-structures, which is also ultimately responsible for the SS distribution and LF interpretation of *Wh* operators. He proposes that, at an appropriate level of representation, interrogative operators must be in a Spec-head relation with a clausal head bearing a [+*wh*] feature. This well-formedness condition is schematized below:

(155) The *Wh* Criterion:

- A. A *Wh* Operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with X^0
+Wh
- B. An X^0 must be in a Spec-head configuration with a *Wh* Operator
+Wh

Since the head of a clause is typically C, (155) simply expresses the fact that at the appropriate level of representation, interrogative operators must be in Spec-CP. Rizzi suggested that there are two ways of licensing a [+Wh] feature on the head of

a clausal constituent. The occurrence of *Wh* in an embedded Comp is determined by lexical selection. This is exemplified below:

(156) I wonder [_C [_{+Wh} Mary has seen who]]

(155) triggers movement of the *Wh*-operator to the specifier of the head marked +*Wh*, yielding the English example (157):

(157) I wonder who Mary saw.

Rizzi proposes that, in main clauses, where lexical selection doesn't apply, the locus for the *Wh*-feature is the main inflection, as shown in (158):

(158) [C [Mary has seen who]]
+Wh

As Rizzi points out, if we make the assumption that Infl can carry *Wh*, the functional role of subject AUX inversion becomes clear: this instance of residual Infl to C movement moves the *Wh* specification high enough to allow satisfaction of the *Wh* Criterion. Infl carrying *Wh* is moved to C, the *Wh* operator is moved to its Spec, and the configuration required by the *Wh* Criterion is met:

(159) [who has [Mary t seen t]]
+Wh

Rizzi suggests that, apart from lexical selection and free licensing in main Infl, there is yet another option concerning the licensing of the +Wh feature on the head of a clausal constituent. He assumes that a wh-operator can endow a clausal head of the Wh feature under agreement in the following fashion:

$$(160) \quad Wh Op \quad X^0 \quad ==> \quad Wh Op \quad X^0 \\ +wh$$

Rizzi distinguishes agreement as a static configuration, in which a spec and a head are each independently endowed with a given feature, from the kind of

dynamic agreement illustrated in (160), in which the specifier is able to endow the head with the relevant feature specification.

Rizzi's proposal raises a number of interesting questions for the languages that I have been considering. I have argued in section I of this chapter that the NSLs are characterized by moving inflection higher than Spec-IP in nonfinite environments. In addition, I have discussed evidence for the following configuration in Romanian, Spanish and Catalan:

(161) [CP C [XP Focus- [X' [X [X+ infl.V] t]]]
 [-Wh]



Now take (161) and consider a main verb that selects an embedded question, such as 'wonder'. Unless there is some independent principle that requires embedded questions to be CPs, nothing prevents (161) from being generated, where the matrix V takes a bare XP as an argument, not a CP projection:

(162) V [XP Wh Op [X' [X [X+ infl.V] t]]
 [+Wh]

(162) has everything it takes for (i) the selectional restrictions of the main verb to be satisfied; (ii) the *Wh*-Criterion to be satisfied.

I would like to propose here that Romanian, Spanish and Catalan have (162). Dobrovie-Sorin (1993) has suggested that fronted *wh*-phrases in Romanian do not occupy the Spec,CP position. This would help explain why Romanian has certain forms of clitic-doubling and lacks empty operators. According to Dobrovie-Sorin the lack of empty operators in Romanian is reflected in the fact that it lacks clefts, infinitival relatives and tough-movement. Here I won't go so far as proposing the same for Spanish, since that would require a study of extraction in Spanish that is beyond the scope of the present study.. However, I note that Spanish also lacks clefts. This one feature opposes Spanish from Portuguese and Italian and brings it closer to Romanian. Let us now suppose that, in Spanish and Catalan as well as Romanian, embedded questions do not project at the CP level, but are rather bare XPs, that is, projections of an intermediate head higher than IP (I will focus on the

nature of this head in the next chapter). Portuguese and Italian embedded questions, by hypothesis, are just like English, i.e., they are CP projections.

In order to see what consequences this assumption has for multiple extraction, I will first have to introduce yet another aspect of Romance syntax, namely the interaction between VOS order and extraction, as discussed in Ordóñez 1995.

3.2.1.2.4. Extraction and VOS, VSO alternations (Ordóñez 1995)

In Spanish and Portuguese VOS order and VSO order are both possible, as illustrated in the following examples (Spanish examples taken from Ordóñez 1995):

- (163) a. Espero que te devuelva Juan il libro.

Spanish

hope-I that to-you return Juan the book

- b. Espero que te devuelva il libro Juan.

- (164) a. Espero que te devolva o João o livro.

Portuguese

- b. Espero que te devolva o livro o João.

Similar alternations are also found in Romanian. All speakers agree that the intonational patterns found with each construction are different. VSO structures are divided into two distinct intonational contours VS*O. VOS structures can correspond to a single intonational contour. This different intonational patterns are amenable to explanation in purely prosodic terms. However, Ordóñez 1995 has discussed evidence that suggests that the difference between these two patterns is syntactic. In particular, he has argued that the object asymmetrically c-commands the subject in (163-4b), whereas the subject asymmetrically c-commands the object in (163-4a). The evidence he discusses ranges over Quantifier binding asymmetries to Condition C effects. I refer the reader to his paper for specific arguments. The general gist of his proposal is that the asymmetries he discovers between V-S-Compl order and V-Compl-S order are due to the fact that the complement in the V-Compl-S order is scrambled to the left of the VP. The subject remains inside the VP in both cases. In the V-S-Compl order the complement remains inside the VP. The two patterns are schematized below:

- (165) a. $V_i \text{ Compl}_k [\text{vp } S \text{ } t_i \text{ } t_k]$
 b. $V_i [\text{vp } S \text{ } t_i \text{ Compl}]$

Ordóñez shows that there is a systematic parallel between the asymmetries he discusses for Spanish and the same ones described in scrambling languages (e.g. German). Assuming that he is right, we now combine his proposal with our suggestion that embedded questions in Spanish are bare XPs.

Consider (145a), repeated here as (166):

- (166) a. ¿Quién no sabes **cuánto** pesa? Spanish
'Who don't you know how much weighs'

Now suppose that the input to extraction is the following:

- (167) no INFL [_{VP}sabes [_{XP} [_{X'} [_X pesa _k] ...cuanto _i [_{VP} quien _{t_k} _{t_i}]]]
+wh

I assume that the matrix Infl is specified for the feature +*Wh*.. Now we move *quién* to the matrix CP, as required by the strict cycle (here I am assuming that matrix clauses are CPs, not bare XPs, but this question is not crucial for the discussion at hand, since the Wh criterion will always require the matrix wh-phrase and Infl to be in a Spec-head relation).

- (168) quien [no I+sabes [vp t [xp [x' [x pesa_i]...cuanto_k[vp t t_i t_k]]]]
+wh



Since the embedded verb doesn't have a +wh feature, the movement in (168) doesn't violate minimality. It doesn't violate subjacency either. Here I will assume Chomsky's (1986) theory of barriers, but the same results can be achieved in Lasnik and Saito's 1992 one barrier system. Since XP is L-marked, no barriers are crossed. Then *cuanto* moves to Spec-XP, thereby endowing the embedded X head with the +Wh-feature:

- (169) [quien [no I+sabes [vp t [_{XP} cuanto_k [X' [X pesa_i] .t k.[vp t t_j t_k]]]]]
+wh +wh

Now we turn to Portuguese. Assuming that embedded questions in Portuguese are CPs, (170a) would be analysed as in (170b):

- (170) a. ?? Quem não sabes quanto pesa?
 b. INFL[_{vpsaves} [_{CP}[_{C'}[_C+Wh] [_{xP}[_x pesa _k].quanto]_i [_{vp} quem t_k
 +wh
 t_i]]]]]]

Even though CP is L-marked, XP isn't. Thus, XP is a blocking category for both traces, which turns the embedded CP into a barrier. In order for *quem* to move to the matrix Spec-CP, it has to cross two barriers, XP and CP, a subjacency violation. Now suppose *quem* uses SPEC-XP as an intermediate landing site.

- (171) [CP Quem [no sabes[CP quanto[C'[C +wh] [XP t [X' pesa [t t]]]]]]]



The problem with (171) is that the movement of *quando* crosses over the trace of *quem* in Spec-XP, a superiority violation. That such a crossing is illicit can be shown by the ungrammaticality of the following Spanish examples, which are the exact inverse of (145-148):

- (172) *¿Cuánto no sabes **quién** pesa?

'How much don't you know who weighs?'

- (173) *¿Qué no sabes **quién** es en esta empresa?

Spanish

'What don't you know who is in this firm?'

- (174) *¿Què no saps **amb qui** escriu?

Catalan

'What don't you know with whom s/he wrote?'

- (175) *¿Què no entens **qui** compra?
 'What don't you understand who buys?'

The examples above are quoted by Torrego 1984, who observes that *Wh*-islands in Spanish can only be violated iff the trace of the higher *Wh*-phrase is higher than the trace of the lower *Wh*.. Assuming that embedded questions in Spanish and Catalan are not CPs but bare XPs, thus, appears to successfully explain the contrast between these languages and Portuguese, Galician and Italian with respect to extraction across *Wh*-islands. Furthermore, it has the potential to explain the contrasts noted above with respect to the adjacency requirement between a fronted phrase and the verb. Reconsider the following paradigm:

- | | | |
|-------|---|------------|
| (176) | a. *Qué en Joan farà ?
what (the Joan) will-do (the Joan)
b. *No sé què en Joan farà.
not know what the Joan will-do | Catalan |
| (177) | a. *Quando a Maria veio ?
When the Maria came
b. Não sei quando a Maria veio.
Not know-I when the Maria came. | Portuguese |

Let us first concentrate on the (b) examples. Assuming that Catalan embedded questions are bare XPs, then the only way to derive (176) would be by allowing the DP *en Joan* to be adjoined to X', in the manner illustrated below:

- (178) *No sé [XP què [X' [*en Joan] [X' [X farà] [pro t ... t]]]
 not know what (the Joan) will-do (the Joan)

However, as has already been pointed out, it appears that adjunction to X' is not a possibility⁷. In the case of (177b), however, adjunction to XP is a possible option, since, by hypothesis, Portuguese embedded questions are CPs:

⁷A potential problem for the idea that embedded questions are not CPs in Catalan is the following. Sola 1992 notes that even though a dislocated phrase cannot intervene between a *Wh*-phrase and the verb in Catalan, it can precede a *Wh*-phrase and appear between the matrix verb and the *Wh*-phrase:

(i) No sé (en Joan) quan (*en Joan) el veuré

(179) Não sei [CP quando[C'[C +wh] [a Maria[XP [X' vem [pro ...]]]

Focusing on root questions, it is not clear whether they always have to be CPs in all of these languages. Independently from the status of root clauses as CPs or not, the *Wh*-criterion as it is stated by Rizzi will always require the matrix Infl bearing a *Wh* feature to be in a Spec-head agreement relation with a fronted *wh*-phrase. This entails that in root clauses adjacency between a *wh*-phrase and V will be required in all of the varieties of Romance under consideration. As noted, this is in fact what happens (cf. 177a). There is one caveat, however. Torrego also observes that some *Wh*-phrases do not require inversion. These include *en qué medida* 'in what way', *por qué* 'why', *cuándo* 'when', and *cómo* 'how':

- (180) a. ¿**En qué medida** la constitución **ha contribuido** a eso?
'In what way has the Constitution contributed to that?'
b. ¿**Por qué** Juan **quiere** salir antes de los demás?
'Why does John want to leave before the others?'
c. ¿**Cuándo** Juan **consiguió** por fin abrir la puerta ayer?
'When did John finally get to open the door yesterday?'
d. ¿**Cómo** Juan **ha conseguido** meter allí a su hijo?
'How has John managed to get his son in there?'

Rizzi (1989) suggests that the *Wh* version of a sentential adverb can be directly base-generated in Spec-CP (from which it can be moved to a higher Spec-CP in cases of *Wh*-extraction). His claim applies exclusively to 'why', which exhibits a peculiar behavior in French. Stylistic Inversion in French is triggered by a complement and a VP adverb and not by *pourquoi* 'why'.

Not know-I (the J.) when (the J.) him-will-I-see
'Joan, I don't know when I'll see him.'

If the embedded clause is a bare XP, this goes against our claim that adjunction to an argument is not allowed (see our discussion of Romanian in the last Chapter, and the discussion in the next section). The Spanish speakers I have consulted do not like the Spanish counterpart to (1) with the dislocated phrase intervening between the main verb and the *Wh*-phrase. They only accept such a construction when a very heavy pause separates the dislocated phrase from the rest of the sentence, like a parenthetical. I have no explanation for Sola's judgements, and I predict no adjunction to be possible in this case.

- (181) a. De quoi a parlé Jean
 'Of what spoke Jean'
 b. Comment a parlé Jean?
 'How spoke Jean'
 c. *? Pourquoi a parlé Jean
 'Why spoke Jean'
- (182) Pourquoi Jean a-t-il parlé?

If, as Kayne (1986) argues, the possibility of Stylistic Inversion is somehow parasitic on the presence of a well-formed operator-variable chain, the deviance of (181c) follows: the *Wh* sentential adverb that is base-generated in Spec-CP does not bind a variable. Stylistic inversion with *pourquoi* is thus excluded on a par with the cases of other unmoved operators:

- (183) *Je ne sais pas si a parlé Jean
 'I don't know whether spoke Jean'

Interestingly the complementizer *si* 'whether' in Spanish doesn't require inversion either:

- (184) No sé si Juan **llegará** por fin a tiempo o no.
 'I don't know whether John will arrive on time or not'

Note that, in Torrego's terms, lack of inversion entails lack of verb raising past INFL. In our terms, it means that adjunction to XP is possible. In effect, the behavior of adverbs and dislocated items is entirely parallel to that of subjects in *si* questions:

- (185) a. No sé si, *a Juan*, lo vere mañana.
 'I don't know if, John, (I) will see him tomorrow'
 b. * No sé cuándo *a Juan* lo veré.
- (186) a. No sé si *mañana* vere a Juan.
 'I don't know if, tomorrow, (I) will see John'
 b. * No sé con quién *mañana* hablare.

We have argued that the impossibility of (185b), (186b) is due to the fact that the selected phrases *cuándo* and *con quién* move to Spec-XP. Assuming that adjunction to X' is not allowed, no adjunct can intervene between Spec-XP and the head X containing the verb.

Turning now to the (a) examples in (185, 186), which contain the complementizer *si*, we have the following structure, with the adverb adjoined to XP:

(187) [C si [XP mañana [X' [X [veré]] [Juan]]]]

Let us now return to the paradigm in (180). Generalizing Rizzi's suggestion for *pourquoi* 'why' to all of the adjuncts in (180), we could suggest that the adjunct itself is base-generated in Spec,CP::

(188) [CP En qué medida [C' [C] [XP la constitución [XP [X' [X[ha]]] ...]]]]
+wh

'In what way has the Constitution contributed to that?'

In the light of Rizzi's proposal that in root questions the matrix Infl bears the Wh-feature, the question now arises of how the clausal head is marked as [+Wh].in (188). One possibility would be to assume that the wh-phrase can endow the C head with the wh-feature, by dynamic agreement.

(189) [CP En qué medida [C' [C +Wh] [XP la constitución [XP [X' [X [ha]]]]]]]

'In what way has the Constitution contributed to that?'

(189) works, but I am not sure it is a satisfactory solution since it doesn't work for French (182); if C can be endowed with the Wh-feature without the main inflection raising up to it, we cannot understand why subject-clitic inversion is required in French (182). Moreover, the Portuguese counterparts to (180b,c,d) are all bad. Once the possibility of dynamic agreement in root questions is allowed in, we lose a way of barr equivalent constructions in Portuguese. For these reasons, I reject (189). Along the lines of Depréz's (1990) analysis of French Complex

Inversion, I propose that we treat the examples in (180) as genuine cases of adjunction, the adjunct Wh being adjoined to an XP containing a [+Wh] Infl:

(190) [XP En qué medida [XP la constitución [XP [X' [X [ha]] [...]]]]
+wh

'In what way has the Constitution contributed to that?'

In (190) the Wh-phrase has not been moved. I tentatively suggest we view the Wh-criterion as a configuration that results from a movement operation. When a Wh-phrase is base-generated in a position that has scope over the whole clause, as by hypothesis happens with these adjuncts, no Spec-head agreement relation is strictly necessary: the clausal head is marked with the [+Wh] feature and the Wh-phrase is in a scope position, so it seems to me that (190) has everything it takes for it to be interpreted as a question.

Not that (190) is merely an option, coexisting with a derivation with the adjunct originating in a lower position and subsequently moving, in which case a subject cannot intervene. Each of these options is expected to have different interpretative properties. In the movement case, reconstruction into the position filled by the trace is predicted to be possible, whereas in (190) it shouldn't be possible, given that there is no trace. In effect, Uribe-Etxebarria has observed that examples of short distance extraction of adjuncts 'reveal a contrast with respect to the possible source of the extraction of the Wh-phrase, which is in turn dependent on the location of the embedded subject. She discusses the following examples:

- (191) a. Me pregunto cómo ha mandado Juan a su hijo a ese colegio privado.
(I) wonder how sent J. his son to that school private
'I wonder how John sent his child to that private school'
- b. Me pregunto cómo Juan ha mandado a su hijo a ese colegio privado.
'I wonder how come John sent his child to that private school'

According to U-E, in (191a) *cómo* can be interpreted either as requesting information on a VP-adjunct or on an IP-adjunct. In the case of (191b), the VP-adjunct reading disappears; it is presupposed that Juan sent his child to that private school and the question reflects a 'surprised reaction', roughly as in the English

(190) raises the question of what happens in embedded questions. Note that if embedded questions in Spanish are bare XPs, embedding (190) under V will violate the ban against adjunction to an argument:

With respect to this problem, I note that most of the examples with adjuncts and no inversion that are mentioned by Torrego do not include the matrix verb 'saber', which is the verb she uses to illustrate the cases of obligatory inversion discussed above. She mentions examples with the verb *explicar* 'explain':

U-E's example in (191b) contains the verb 'perguntar' which is notorious for having the rather unique characteristic of allowing a Wh-phrase following *que*, as illustrated below:

131

I hypothesize that the possibility of embedding (191) under these verbs might be due to the fact that, unlike 'saber', they do not take bare XPs (headed by an X marked [+wh] as their arguments, but rather a CP, whose head can be null. In any case, this speculation would need to be supported by a more detailed study that is far beyond the scope of the present paper.

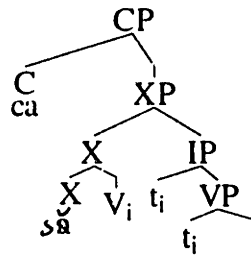
The purpose of the discussion in this section is to show that the differences between Romanian, Spanish and Catalan, on the one hand, and Portuguese and Italian, on the other, can be handled without positing any variation in terms of verb movement; i.e., we can keep with the assumption that inflection uniformly raises to X^0 in all of the NS Romance languages while handling these facts. In the next section I will concentrate on the nature of X^0 .

3.2.2. The nature of the intermediate projection between CP and IP

3.2.2.1. Control in Salentino and Tense interpretation (Calabrese 1992)

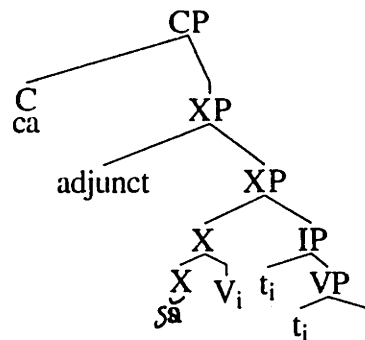
In section (3.2) I have argued that the particle $\check{s}a$ in Romanian subjunctives is the overt manifestation of an intermediate head that is lower than CP and higher than IP. We have reviewed D-S's discussion that $\check{s}a$ has 'mixed' properties: it shares some of the properties of Infl elements while also exhibiting some other characteristics that are generally associated with complementizers. Unlike *ca* and English 'that', $\check{s}a$ bears a strong coherence with inflection and doesn't allow any material to intervene between it and the other elements in the verb cluster. We reviewed coordination data that indicates that *sa* is part of the Infl cluster, forming a morphological unit with it. On the other hand, we also reviewed evidence that a number of properties distinguish $\check{s}a$ from Infl particles: (a) $\check{s}a$ is invariable; (b) $\check{s}a$ can head an embedded clause; (c) its position is leftmost, necessarily preceding clitics and negation. In section 3.2.1.1. we have argued that this set of properties is best accounted for by assuming that *sa* heads its own projection which is higher than IP and that the inflected verb raises to it, in the manner illustrated below:

(194)



We have argued that Spec-XP is the landing site for A'-movement. Any base-generated sentential adjuncts are adjoined to XP, below C, in the following way:

(195)



One of the most salient properties of Romanian *sa* subjunctives is that they are used in 'obligatory control' constructions and raising constructions, i.e. in those structures where English or the other Romance languages use infinitives. D-S gives the following examples (p. 112):

(196) a. Ion a încercat *sa*-l pedepseasca pe Mihai.
 John has tried *sa*-him punish-SUBJ-he to Mihai
 'John tried to punish M.'

b. I-am cerut *sa* recite o poezie.
 him-have-I asked *sa* recite-SUBJ- he a poem
 'I have asked him to recite a poem.'

(197) Ion vrea *sa* plece dvreme mîine.
 John wants *sa* leave-SUBJ-he early tomorrow
 'John wants to leave tomorrow/' 'John wants him to leave tomorrow'

- (198) a. Toti baietii s-au nimerit *șǎ* fie bolnavi.
 All boys-the happened *șǎ* be-SUBJ-they ill.
 'All the boys hapened to be ill'
- b. Copii tai par *șǎ* fie foarte obositi
 children your seem *șǎ* be-SUBJ-they very tired
 'Your children seem to be very tired.'

(196, 197) illustrate control structures and (198) contains examples of raising.

(197) illustates the lack of the obviation effects generally observed in Romance with subjunctives embedded under verbs of volition. Thus, contrast the coreference possibilities in (199) with those in (200):

- (199) Jeani veut qu'il*_{i/j} parte tôt demain matin
 John wants that he leave early tomorrow morning
 'John wants him to leave tomorrow'/ *'John wants to leave tomorrow'
- (200) Ion vrea *șǎ* plece dvreme mîine.
 John wants *șǎ* leave-SUBJ-he early tomorrow
 'John wants to leave tomorrow'/ 'John wants him to leave tomorrow'

This usage of the subjunctive in control and raising structures is a characteristic feature of the Balkan languages, as is well known (see Rivero 1987, 1988, forthcoming), Kempchinsky (1989), Terzi (1990), among many others). However, there is at least one dialect in Southern Italy, namely Salentino, that is distinguished from the other southern dialects by using subjunctives instead of infinitives in control structures. This dialect has been studied by Calabrese (1992). In this section I will review Calabrese's work on Salentino and I will examine some interesting interactions between these kind of constructions and tense interpretation.

The examples in (201) below illustrate what a typical control structure looks like in Salentino:

- (201) a. Lu Karlu ole *ku* bbene krai
 the Karlu want-3s that come 3s. tomorrow
 "Karlu wants to come tomorrow"

- b. Lu Karlu 'e pirswasu lu Maryu *ku* bbene
the Karlu have-3s persuaded the Maryu that come-3s
"Karlu persuaded Maryu to come."
- c. Kriřu *ka* addžu raadžone
believe-1a that have-1s reason
"I believe to be right"

In (201) all of the embedded clauses are finite and inflected for person and number. According to Calabrese, Salentino does have infinitives, but they are restricted to occur as complements of the following classes of verbs:

- (202)
- a. Modal verbs/ Aspectual verbs
 - b. Verbs of perception
 - c. Causative verbs

Salentino differs from the Balkan languages in lacking subject raising structures with the subjunctive.

Salentino also has two complementizers with specialized use. Salentino's counterpart to *sa*, *ku*, has the distributional properties mentioned by Dobrovie-Sorin for *sa*: it must be cliticized to the verb of the clause it introduces. Therefore it must always be string adjacent to the verb, and may be separated from it only by another clitic:

- (203)
- a. Oyyu *ku* **bbene** lu Maryu krai
want *ku* come the M, tomorrow
'I want Maryu to come tomorrow.'
 - b. *Oyyu *ku* lu Maryu **bbene** krai
want *ku* the Maryu come tomorrow
 - c. *Oyyu *ku* krai **bbene** lu Maryu
 ku tomorrow come
 - d. Oyyu lu Maryu *ku* **bbene** krai
the Maryu *ku* come tomorrow

The subject may appear in post-verbal position as in (203a) or immediately preceding *ku* as in (203d) but it cannot intervene between *ku* and the verb. According to Calabrese, an adverb like *krai* can precede *ku*, if pronounced with a strong intonational break before *ku*:

(204) Oyyu // *krai* // *ku* bbene la Lia

The pattern in (203-4) is already familiar to us. Salentino *ku* displays the same strong coherence with the inflected verb that was observed for Romanian *sa*. The complementizer *ka*, by contrast, doesn't have these properties: sentential adverbs can appear between it and the verb (cf. 205a), but can not precede it (205b). The same applies to subjects (which in our analysis are sentential adjuncts) (cf. (206a,b)).

(205) a. addžu tittu **ka** **krai** ene la fia
have-1s said that tomorrow come-3s the Lia
"I said that L. comes tomorrow"

b. addžu tittu **krai** **ka** ene la fia

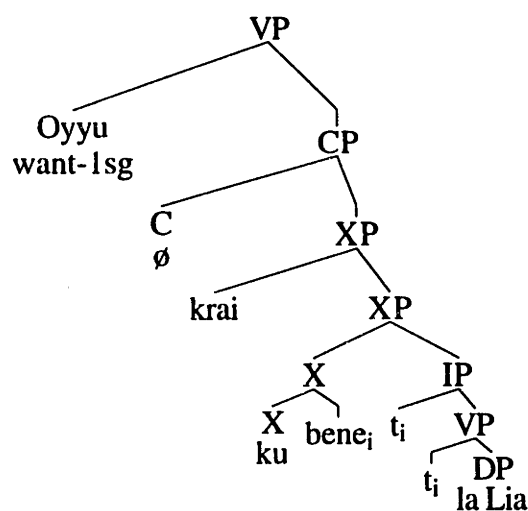
(206) a. addžu tittu **ka** la fia ene krai
b. *addžu tittu la fia **ka** ene krai

In view of the similarities between the distributional properties Romanian *sa* and *ku* in Salentino, we hypothesize that *ku* occupies the same position as Romanian *sa*, which, as we have seen, is lower than the one occupied by the complementizers *că*[̣] and *ca*. There is one notorious difference between Romanian and Salentino, however. Recall that the Romanian counterparts to (203d) and (204) were bad (sentential adjuncts could only appear to the left of *șă* in case *ca* was present). In Salentino *ka* and *ku* can never cooccur. I hypothesize that this contrast is due to the fact that Romanian has two counterparts to 'regular' complementizers namely *că*[̣] and *că*[̇]. The latter is used in indicatives and the former selects *sa* constructions. *ka* is the Salentino counterpart to *că*[̣]. Salentino's counterpart to *ca* is a null C (that is, a node that lacks phonological content)⁸.

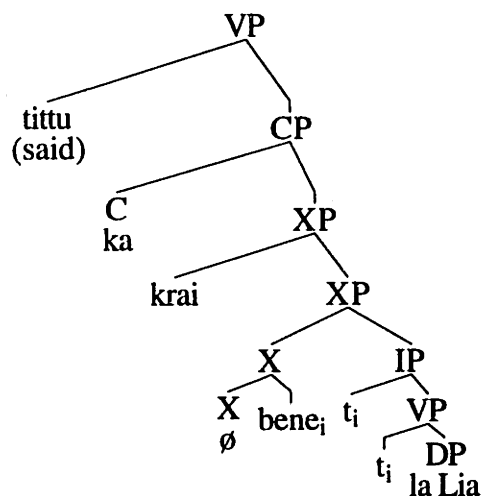
⁸In this respect, Salentino is closer to Greek as described in Terzi 1990. In Greek volitional verbs only take subjunctive complements, not infinitival complements. These subjunctive complements

We propose to analyse (204) as in (207) and (203a) as in (208):

(207)



(208)



The analysis proposed here is indirectly reinforced by the behavior of *ka* and *ku* in purpose clauses. Purpose *ku*-clauses in Salentino may be introduced by the phrase /in motu/ 'in order', as we can see in (209):

- (209) a. Addžu fatte ste kose[in motu] a Maria *ku* se sarva
have-1s done these things in order the M. *ku* refl.save-3s

are introduced by the particle *na* (the Greek counterpart to *sa**). Indicative complements are introduced by the complementizer 'oti'. These two items are in complementary distribution, just like Romanian *ca**/*sa** and Salentino *ka*/*ku*, and unlike Romanian *ca*,*sa**.

"I did these things so that Mary could be saved"

A purpose clause may also be introduced by the phrase /in motu *ka*/ as we can see in (210):

- (210) a. Addžu fatte ste kose in motu *ka* a Maria se sarva
have-1s done these things in order that the M. refl.save-3s
"I did these things so that Mary could be saved"

In (209) the subject can intervene between the subordinating phrase 'in motu' and *ku*. In (210), by contrast, nothing can break the sequence /in motu *ka*/. This indirectly reinforces the analysis proposed above, which takes *ka* to be the subordinating element, located higher in the structure, and *ku* to be more closely connected with the inflectional system.

3.2.2.2. *Ku* and Tense interpretation

Calabrese compares the distribution of *ka* vs *ku* and concludes that what distinguishes these two items is the presence vs absence of deictic tense. According to Calabrese, *ku* is typically used to introduce clauses embedded under verbs of ordering, desiring, warning; in short, verbs which express an attitude towards, or an attempt to bring about, an event which is yet to come. The following sentences illustrate this:

- (211) a. Lu Karlu ole *ku* bbene krai
the Karlu want-3sg that come-3sg tomorrow
'Karlu wants to come tomorrow'
b. Lu Karlu 'e pirswasu lu Maryu *ku* bbene
the Karlu have -3sg persuaded the Maryu that come-3sg
'Karlu persuaded Maryu to come'

Calabrese also makes the interesting observation that *ku* clauses appear to violate the requirement that the tense of an embedded subjunctive agree with the tense of the matrix clause. This requirement is illustrated below for Italian:

- (212) a. Voglio che Maria vada lì prima
 want-pres.-1s that M. go-subj.-pres.-3s. there earlier
 'I want Maria to go there earlier'
- b. Avrei voluto che Maria andasse lì prima
 want-cond.past-1s that M. go-subj.-past.-3s. there earlier
 'I would have wanted Maria to go there earlier'
- c. *Avrei voluto che Maria vada lì prima

In (212c) the tense in the matrix clause is past and the embedded tense is present. This sequence is ungrammatical. I illustrate the tense sequences below:

- (213) Romance 'standard' subjunctives

<u>Matrix</u>	<u>Embedded</u>
present	present
present	*past
past	*present
past	past

As we can see in (214b), the Salentino counterpart to (212c) is fine:

- (214) a. Oyyu la Maria ku bbae ddai mprima
 want-1s-(pres.) the Maria that come-3s.pres there before
 "I want Maria to go there before"
- b. Ia ululu la Maria ku bbae/ia jjiuta ddai mprima
 want-cond.past-1s that M. go-subj.-3s. (pres/perf)there earlier
 'I wanted Maria to have gone there before'

The examples in (214) contain *ku*-clauses. (214b) shows that a matrix past tense does not require a past tense in the clause introduced by *ku*. Calabrese claims that there can only be aspectual distinctions in *ku*-clauses: only the present or the perfect may be used in these cases. Calabrese observes that the verb *sperare* can take a *ka*-clause or a *ku*-clause. When the subjunctive embedded under *sperare* is

introduced by *ka* tense concord must apply. Consider (215a) below, and compare it with (215b):

- (215) a. **Sta sperava ka la Lia spittja lu estitu kkyu mprima*
 hope-1s-imperf. that the Lia finish-3s-pres. the dress earlier
 b. *Sta sperava ka la Lia spittjava lu estitu kkyu mprima*
 hope-1s-imperf. that the Lia finish-3s-imperf. the dress earlier
 'I was hoping that L. would finish the dress earlier.'

As is well known, the phenomenon of morphological tense concord doesn't always occur in indicatives. There are in principle at least two ways of temporally interpreting an embedded indicative clause. One is by anchoring the speech time of the embedded clause on the utterance time; the other is by anchoring the speech time of the embedded clause on the event time of the matrix. Consider the following English examples (example by Hornstein p.120-121):

- (216) a. John heard that Mary is pregnant.
 b. John heard that Mary was pregnant.

In (216a) the event time of the embedded clause is temporally interpreted relative to the utterance time. (216b) is ambiguous. Under one reading of (216b), Mary is still pregnant at the moment of utterance; under the other reading Mary is no longer pregnant. This latter reading is often referred to as an instance of the Sequence of Tense phenomenon (SOT) whereby the embedded clause is evaluated with respect to the event time of the matrix. The SOT rule is represented below:

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 (217) & E_1, R_S & E_1, R_S_1 \\
 & \text{SOT} & \\
 & \implies & | \\
 & S_2, R, E & S_2, R, E_2
 \end{array}$$

The overt past tense morphology is the morphological reflex of this dependency between the S point of the embedded clause and the event time of the matrix. However, the embedded tense is still the present tense.

Now returning to subjunctives, we observe that, generally, they do not occur as main clauses and, when they do, they invariably express an attitude of the speaker towards an event that is yet to come. Following various proposals in the literature (Chierchia 1981, Calabrese 1993, Hornstein 1991) I assume that subjunctives lack a Speech point. Hence the temporal interpretation of an embedded subjunctive will always be dependent on the temporal interpretation of the matrix clause.

As was noted above, regular Romance subjunctives obligatorily show tense concord. *Ku* clauses do not. Note, however, that this doesn't mean that a *ku*-clause does not depend on the matrix event time for its temporal interpretation. In the example (214b) above the embedded clause is temporally evaluated with respect to the matrix event time, not the utterance time. Hence, the SOT must apply in these cases too, even though this is not reflected in the morphology.

Lack of tense concord appears to be a characteristic of subjunctive complements of verbs of volition in the languages that use control subjunctives instead of infinitives. Greek is another example of such a language. (see Terzi 1990). Putting aside some superficial differences, Greek subjunctives are quite similar to Romanian *sa* subjunctives and Salentino *ku*-clauses. They can be used as control structures with verbs of volition and they are like *ku*-clauses in that they allow the sequence Past-Present, which is disallowed in Italian subjunctives. However, there are certain combinations that are ruled out. These are [+Present]-Past], [+Past]-[+Past]. This is illustrated below⁹:

- (218) a. O Yiannis theli/elpizi na doulevo/*douleva mazi sou
 'John wants/hopes PRT I-work/*worked with you

⁹ However, a past subjunctive is required when the main verb is conditional. Thus, compare ((1b) with 98) below:

- (98) O Yiannis tha ithele na douleva mazi tou.
 John will wanted PRT I-worked with him
 'John would want that I worked with him'

The past tense in the embedded clause in (98) is not a real past tense, so the SOT has applied, together with some sort of tense concord. Here I will have little to say about (98) vs (91).

- b. *O Yoannis thelise/ithele na doulepses/douleves mazi
 mou.
 John wanted-PERF/IMP PRT you-worked-PERF/IMP with
 me

Terzi summarizes the tense sequences that Greek permits for the subjunctive complement of a volitional predicate:

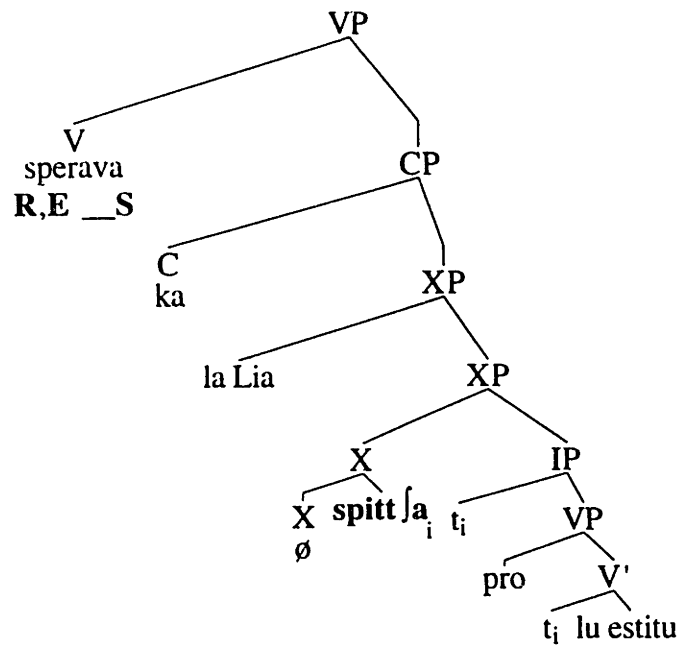
(219)

<u>Matrix Ind.</u>	<u>Embedded Subj.</u>
present	present
present	*past
past	present
past	*past

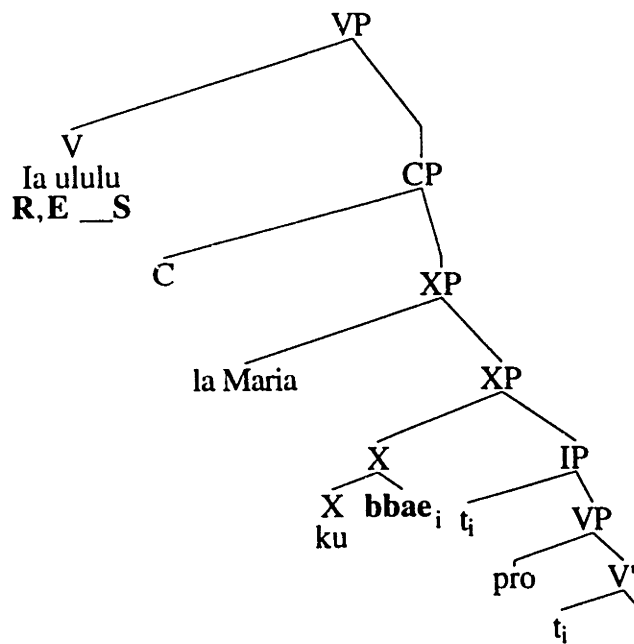
The facts regarding Greek are interesting, since they appear to indicate that we need a stronger statement: it is not that tense concord need not apply in these cases; in effect, it can't apply, as evidenced by the impossibility of the sequence [+past], [+past].

If the structures we assigned above to *ku* and *ka* structures are right, then the Salentino examples (215a) and (214b) will be analysed as in (220) and (221), respectively:

(220) *



(221)



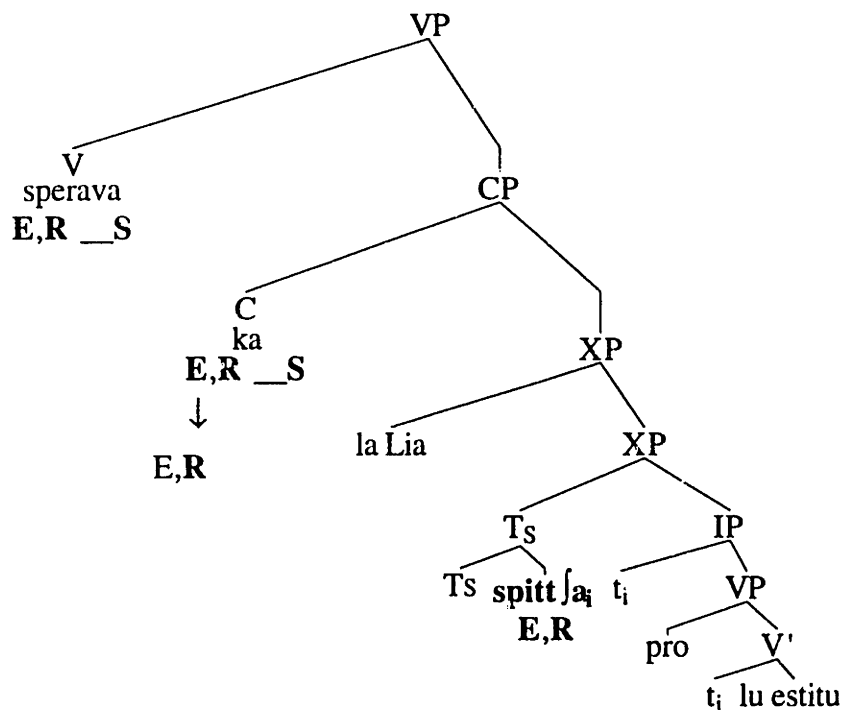
(220) is ungrammatical and becomes acceptable when the tense morphology in the embedded clause is past tense morphology. But note that in order for (220) to crash in virtue of the morphological shape of the tense morpheme, it must be the case that the structure has specific instructions as to what kind of features must be spelled out. In the case of (221), we know that, at LF, the embedded clause is

temporally evaluated with regard to the event time of the matrix. However, this is not reflected in the morphology at all. Thus, it is reasonable to hypothesize that (190) lacks the specific instructions that yield past tense morphology at SPELL-OUT.

I propose that these morphological contrasts result from the interaction between C and the head X. Suppose X =tense relative to the Speech Time; that is, it is the locus for the SR specification. I will refer to this tense head as Ts, in contrast to Te, short for tense relative to the event time. Te corresponds to the RE specification located in the lower head that I have been referring to as the head of IP.

I assume that in subjunctives R,E is unordered unless they are specified for aspect. In addition, I assume that the complementizer *ka* and regular overt complementizers in C have semantic content. Informally put, I suggest that they act as a bridge between the matrix event time and the embedded Ts node, rendering the matrix temporal specification 'accessible' to the embedded clause. Schematically:

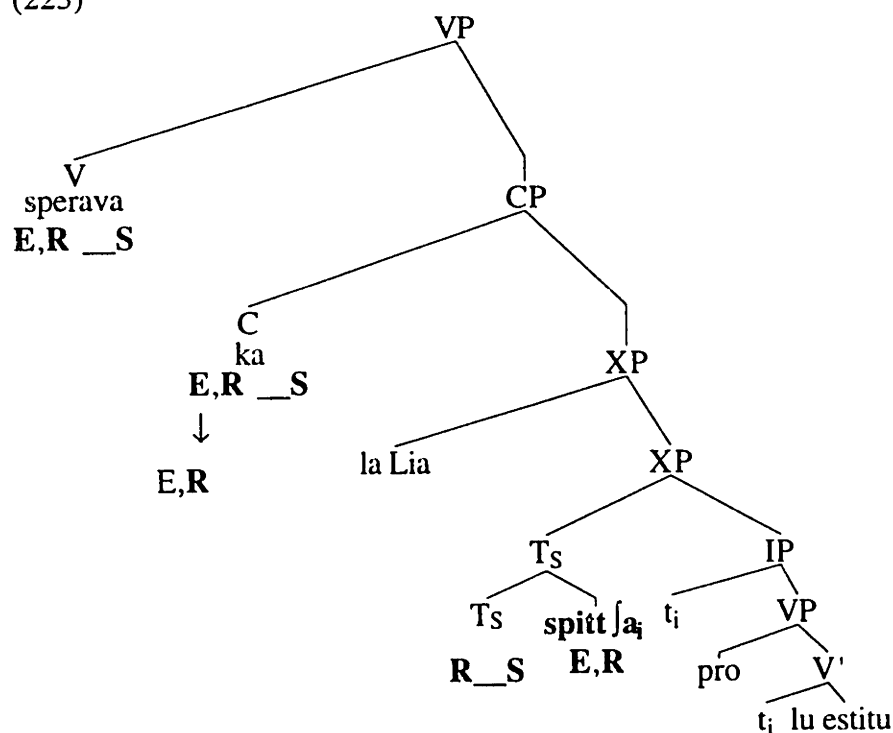
(222)



This view of subordination is akin to Portner's 1993 semantics of subordination. Portner works in the framework of Situation Semantics, a rather sophisticated system that is far too complex for me to adopt. To the extent that I

was capable of understanding him, Portner claims that morphemes which subordinate propositions abstract over the reference situation. Thus, we could think of the role of the subordinating complementizer in C as a lambda abstractor, which associates the embedded R point with the matrix event point. This process automatically places the R point of the embedded clause before the speech point, yielding the following temporal specification for the Ts node: E,R__S:.

(223)



The Ts node in (223) is fully specified for the past tense. But this tense specification is incompatible with the morphology on the verb *spitt/a*, present tense morphology, and (223) is ruled out.

Now I turn to (221). At this point it is relevant to observe that all of the finite control structures we have discussed (Romanian *sa* subjunctives, Greek *na* subjunctives, Salentino *ku*-clauses) share a characteristic feature: they are invariably introduced by an overt complementizer-like particle that is cliticized onto the inflected verb. Above we have argued that the clitic nature of this particle is best captured once we assume that it heads the intermediate projection that we now have labelled Ts, to which the inflected verb has raised in overt syntax. Another property

shared by these complementizer-like particles is that they are invariably found in root subjunctives. Before I develop an analysis of (221), I will first discuss these constructions.

3.2.2.3. Root subjunctives

All of the languages that lack infinitival control constructions and use subjunctives instead have one characteristic feature in common: the presence of an overt particle cliticized onto the embedded subjunctive verbal cluster. They may vary as to whether they allow a complementizer to precede this particle. Greek and Salentino do not allow the subjunctive particle to cooccur with a complementizer. As amply discussed in Terzi 1990, both Romanian and Albanian have a subjunctive specific complementizer which precedes the subjunctive particle. However, all of these languages converge when it comes to root subjunctives: these are invariably introduced by the subjunctive particle. This is illustrated below.

- (224) a. *Ku te e[^]a nu korpu!*
 that to.you come.subj.3s a stroke
 'May you have a stroke!'
- b. *Ță traiasca Romania!*
 [~]sa live Romania
 'Long live Romania!'
- c. *Të rrojë Shqiperia!*
 PRT lives Albania
 'Long live Albania'
- d. *Na zisi i Elada!*
 PRT lives Greece
 'Long live Greece'

In Romance, root subjunctives are generally introduced by a complementizer, whereas indicatives aren't. Here is an example from French (from Dobrovie-Sorin 1994):

- (225) a. Que les masques tombent!
 that the masks fall
 'Let the masks fall!'
 b. Qu'elle entre!
 that she come-in
 'Let her in'

Note that (224) contrast with (225) with respect to the order of the subject with respect to the verb. In (224) the verb precedes the subject and in (225) the subject precedes the verb. Interestingly, Portuguese (and this is true of the other null subject Romance languages too) root subjunctives disallow the order C-Subj-Inflected verb. Consider the following Portuguese examples:

- (226) a. Que caiam as máscaras!
 that fall-SUBJ the masks
 b. As máscaras que caiam!
 (227) Que as máscaras caiam.
 that the masks fall-SUBJ-3pl
 *' Let the masks fall'
 ??'(I wish that) the masks would fall.'

There is a subtle contrast between (226a,b) and (227). (226a,b) are understood as orders, attempts to bring about an event that is yet to come. (227) doesn't have this reading. It rather expresses a desire on the part of the speaker. This is the reading one gets when the subjunctive is embedded under a verb of desire:

- (228) Quem me dera que as máscaras caiam!
 'I wish that the masks fell!'

This is even clearer in the following example, which is an imperative:

- (229) a. Ela que entre primeiro.
 she that come in first
 'Let her in first.'

- b. Que entre ela primeiro.
That come in she first
'Let her in first.'
- c. * Que ela entre primeiro.

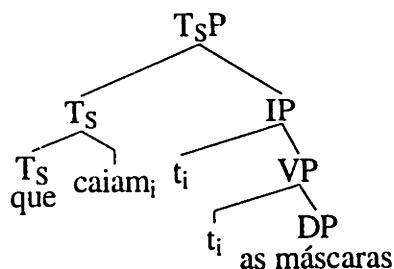
To my ears, (229c) is unacceptable as an order. I propose to analyse (227c) as a case of subordination under an ellided verb of desire. (226a,b) and (229a,b) cannot be so analysed, however, given that they cannot appear as embedded clauses and still retain their elocutionary force.

Now compare the paradigm in (226-229) with the French example (225). It reflects the word order contrasts we have been insisting upon throughout this thesis. Whereas French is subject initial, Portuguese is V initial.

Root subjunctives in Portuguese are surprisingly similar to root subjunctives in (224). In (229) the complementizer *que* mimics the behavior of the subjunctive particles in (224): no material can intervene between it and inflection. This behavior is only observed in root subjunctives. (227c), which has the subject intervening between the complementizer and negation, is not a real root subjunctive, but rather an instance of subordination.

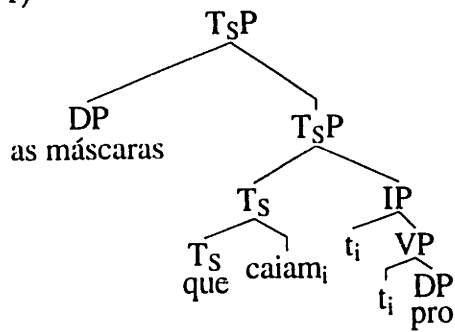
We analyse the Portuguese example (226a) as in (230):

(230)



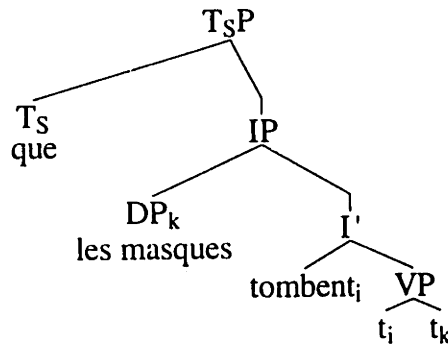
(226b) is analysed as in (231), with the DP 'as máscaras' adjoined to TP, and pro the real subject:

(231)



The French example, by contrast, is analysed with the complementizer in TS as well, but with no I raising to TS:

(232)



Our hypothesis that I-raising to TS applies in the null subject languages though not in the nonnullsubject languages captures these data rather easily. (I will return in chapter 3 to the issue of the exact position filled by *pro*). Assuming that the representations above are right, we are led to the conclusion that Ts can not only be filled by a particle but also by a regular complementizer. To some extent, this is a welcome result in view of the diachronic evidence discussed by both Calabrese and Dobrovie-Sorin that traces back the origin of *ku* and *sa* to complementizers.

Thus, we reach the conclusion that TS is filled by an overt complementizer or complementizer-like particle in the following two situations:

- (i) Root subjunctives across the board;
- (ii) Embedded subjunctives lacking tense concord in the few languages that have regular complementizers plus specialized particles.

Now what do these two constructions have in common? One thing is clear: root subjunctives are not specified for an SR relation at all. They do not have one of their own and they do not inherit one from the matrix event, since there is none. Regarding (ii), we want these constructions to also lack a Ts specification altogether, so that tense concord doesn't have a chance to apply. At this point the following observation becomes relevant: subjunctives are not the only constructions that lack a speech point and can be used as root clauses. Hornstein 1991 suggests that infinitives also lack a speech point and there are indeed instances of root infinitives, as illustrated below:

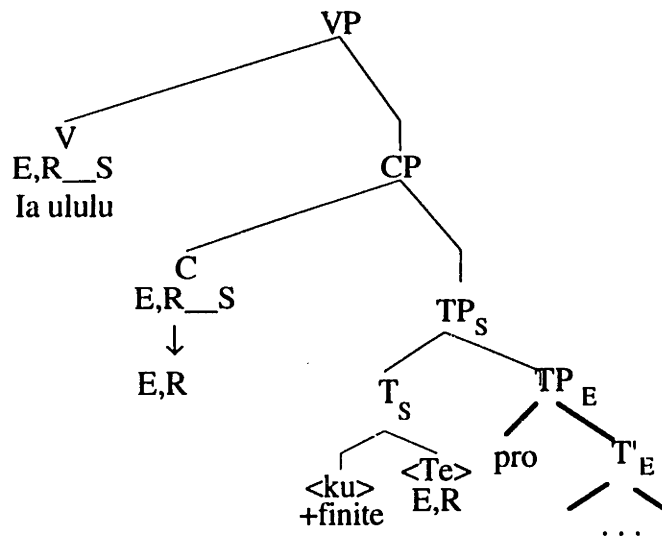
- (233) Oh encontrá-la eu!
 Oh to meet her I
 'Oh to meet her!'

Root infinitives, unlike root subjunctives, do not tolerate an overt complementizer. Thus, there appears to be a connection between the appearance of an overt complementizer in Ts and finiteness. This observation, in turn, suggests that selection is involved. Let us assume that the locus of the finite specification is Te. In addition, let us assume that Salentino *ku* and Romanian *sa* select a finite Te. I will illustrate my point with a tree for the Salentino sentence below:

- (234) Ia ululu la Maria *ku* bbae ddai

I propose that *ku* fills a Ts node that is literally only specified for finiteness. In other words, *ku* is comparable to an expletive. If we take *ku* as the spell out of the feature [+finite] we get the following representation:

(235)



(235) contains a 'contentless' T_s node and C is null. At LF R will still be associated with the event time of the matrix; the embedded clause is interpreted as contemporary with the event time of the matrix, thus prior to the speech time. Since there are no RS specifications relevant for the morphology, there is no morphological tense concord.

There is a difference between (235) and (223) with respect to obviation effects. We turn to this problem next.

3.2.2.4. Obviation

Reconsider the following contrasts between Salentino and Portuguese:

- (236) a. Lu Karlu_i ole *ku* bbene pro _{i/j} krai
 the Karlu want-3s that come 3s. tomorrow
 "Karlu wants to come tomorrow"
 "Karlu wants that he come tomorrow"

- (237) O Carlos quer que venha amanhã
 the Carlos wants that come tomorrow
 *'Carlos wants to come tomorrow
 'Carlos wants him to come tomorrow'

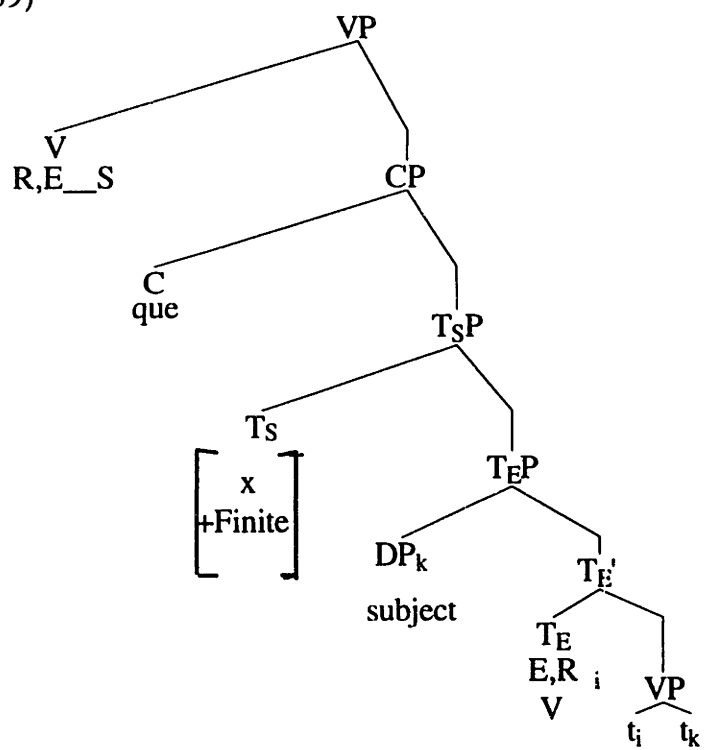
Terzi 1990 argues extensively that (143) is structurally ambiguous. Under one of its representations it has a PRO subject; under the other representation it has a pro subject. If I am right in arguing that (143) is to be represented as in (90) and (198) has the representation in (199) then her proposal is incompatible with mine. I am forced to say that in the two readings of (143) the subject is always pro. The only difference is that in (90) the MCFC in which pro must be free is the lower clause, whereas in (93) the MCFC for the embedded subject pronoun is extended so as to include the matrix clause.

Even though tense concord is a characteristic of 'standard' embedded subjunctives in Romance, obviation is not. Whether or not a subjunctive construction displays obviation effects depends on the matrix verb and on a number of other rather complex factors (see Meireles and Raposos 1984, Picallo 1985, Rizzi 1989 and Terzi 1990 for discussion). To illustrate with a simple example, the following sentence obligatorily obeys tense concord while not showing obviation:

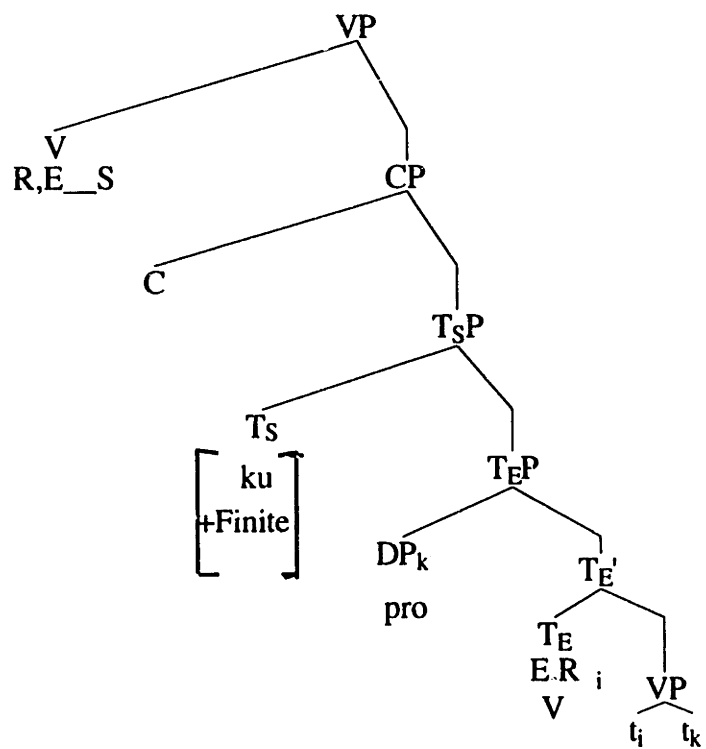
- (238) O Carlos teme que não possa/*pudesse ir.
 the C. fears that not can-PRES-SUBJ- 3sg/*can-PAST-SUBJ-3sg go
 'Carlos fears he won't be able to see her.'

It has often been observed (Raposo 1989, Terzi 1990) that a modal may change the coreference possibilities of an embedded subject pronoun and a matrix subject in embedded subjunctives. This appears to indicate that tense interpretation is surely relevant for the computation of binding domains (see Hornstein 1991 for the specific proposal that modals are tensed). Even though this is a rather complex matter that is well beyond the scope of the present discussion, here I will suggest a possible line of approach to this problem. Let us reconsider the two relevant configurations. (239) represents French and (240) represents a Salentino *ku*-clause:

(239)



(240)



The difference between (239) and (240) is that (239) has an unfilled Ts node, so is in some sense incomplete as far as the content of that node is concerned. In order for Ts to be fully specified, it needs to wait until the derivation reaches the nearest available coordinate for R. Unless the embedded CP contains a tensed element, such as an auxiliary verb or a modal, the nearest accessible tense coordinate is provided by the event point of the matrix clause. Assuming that the definition of MCFC relative to a TsP is dependent upon a value for Ts, then the MCFC for the subject pronoun in (239) must include the matrix TsP.

In the case of (240) the *ku*-clause is not a Ts projection, so the S point is irrelevant. In this case, the notion 'accessible tense' applies vacuously. Relative to a +finite Te projection, the *ku*-clause constitutes a MCFC in itself and the pronoun is free to corefer with the higher subject.

This account of obviation is of course rather programmatic and relies on a theory of binding domains that is yet to be precisely formulated, a task that obviously is beyond the scope of this thesis.

3.2.3. Summary

In this section I have argued that certain cross linguistic properties of subjunctive clauses are best accounted for once we posit a more articulated structure for TP, which reflects the two basic relations assumed in Reichenbachian theories of Tense. I suggested that TP is broken into a projection of Tense relative to the event and a projection of tense relative to the speech time. The former roughly corresponds to the standard IP and is selected by the latter. Root clauses are bare TsPs. Embedded clauses are CPs. I followed a 'naive' version Portner's theory of subordination, who proposes that the subordinating morphemes in C abstract over the reference situation.

In addition, I proposed that the null subject languages raise Te to Ts overtly, whereas the nonnullsubject languages do so at LF. We proposed to analyse the finite control structures of Romanian, Salentino and Greek, as +finite Te projections rather than TsP projections.

A language that shows overt morphological evidence for a split TP is Irish. I will discuss this evidence next.

3.3. Tense morphemes in Irish

Duffield (1993) points out that verbs in Modern Irish have associated with them two different types of morphology, either of which can be construed as expressing Tense information. In a very gross simplification, in past time contexts, [+PAST] is usually expressed by the preverbal element *do*, realized as *-r* when preceded by a complementizer. This is shown by the examples in (241). Other tense information (for example the future tense) must be expressed in certain verb forms by as a verbal suffix, occupying a position between the verb-stem and any agreement suffix (242). As the examples in (243) show, both types of tense morphology may appear simultaneously:

- (241) a. *d'ith sé é*
PAST eat he it
'He ate it'
- b. *dúirt sí gu-r ith sé é*
said she COMP-PAST eat he it
"She said that he ate it."
- (242) a. *cuir-eann sé*
put-PRES(HAB) he
"He puts (habitual)"
- b. *cuir-f-inn*
put-FUT-1sg
"I will put"
- (243) a. *d'ól-adh sé*
PAST-drink-HAB he
"He used to drink."
- b. *d'ol-f-ainn*
PAST-drink-FUT-1sg
"I would drink."

Example (243b) is somewhat misleading. In some verbal paradigms, there is a suffixal distinction between the conditional and the future tense. This is illustrated below (example from McCloskey (199?), p.4):

- (244) galar a gcreideann daoine go dtiocfaidh siad slán as
disease COMPbelieve people go come [FUT] they safe from-it
"A disease that people think they will survive."
- (245) galar ar chreid daoine go dtiocfadh siad slán as
disease COMP+PAST believe people go come [COND] they safe from-it
"A disease that people thought they would survive."

(242) and (243) show that the future form and the conditional form are close to identical but not identical. Carnie (p.c) reports that verbal tense paradigms fall into the following categories: present, past, future, conditional and past habitual. The citation form is often the past tense, minus the particle *-r*. Even though this is obviously an oversimplification of the facts, one very clear regularity emerges: the preverbal particle *-r* and its allomorphs marks a past/nonpast distinction, and is located immediately to the right of the complementizers and immediately to the left of the raised verbal form. All other tense distinctions appear as suffixes to the verb, and before agreement morphology.

Here I wish to concentrate on this PAST/NONPAST distinction on the complementizer. What does it stand for? It can't be MOOD, since it appears to characterize completed events, as in (178), as well as events that are yet to be realized (cf. 180b, 182). Could it be that it characterizes some primitive of tense, which could combine with other tenses to yield a complex tense?

Let us assume the following Reichbachian list of meanings for tenses (sic from Portner (1993)):

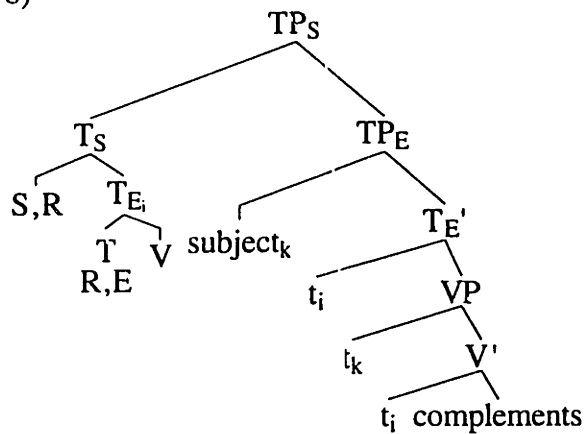
- (246) past R precedes S (R__S)
will/would R precedes E (R__E)
no will/would R=E

Now suppose that Irish cuts (246) out as in (247):

- (247) a. +Preverbal morpheme (R__S)
 -Preverbal morpheme (R=S)
 b. Fut/Cond morphemes (R__E)
 Present morpheme (R=E)

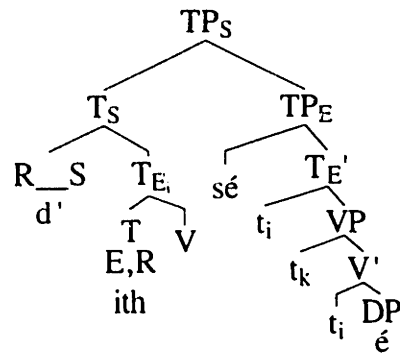
This covers the tense distinctions in Irish with the exception of the pasthabitual (perhaps the past combined with an aspectual distinction). Now what is interesting about the location of the Past morpheme is: it appears next to the complementizer. Now let us assume that the preverbal morpheme is T_s . This has the consequence that the preverbal morpheme embeds the lower tenses located in T_e . The verb moves through I, and then incorporates with the higher tense morpheme:

(248)



Now let us work through particular examples. (241a) is straightforwardly analysed as in (249):

(249)



Now consider (242b). Future morphology stands for R__E. This, coupled with -PAST gives the following tense specification S,R__E. Now take the conditional. The lower morpheme is R__E. The past morpheme is R__S. This combination yields the following possible tense interpretations: R__E__S; R__S,E; R__E,S. All of them are compatible with the meaning of the conditional.

Thus, Irish constitutes evidence in favor of our proposal.

3.3.1. Te raising to Ts, VSO languages and null subject languages

In the tree in (190) VSO order is derived by means of Te raising to Ts and subject raising to Te. This is the same kind of movement that I have proposed for the NS Romance languages. Yet, the null subject Romance languages are not VSO in their unmarked order. This problem is interconnected with the positioning of the subject in Null Subject Romance and with the relation there is between these and standard VSO languages. I address this problem in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Subject-drop, Agreement and Inversion

4.0. Introduction

In the previous chapter I have argued that T_S attracts T_E in overt syntax in the *pro*-drop Romance languages as well as in a VSO language such as Irish. However, these languages differ considerably with respect to the position occupied by overt subjects. None of the NS Romance languages have VSO as the unmarked order. VSO order coexists with VOS order, and each option depends on pragmatic factors (see Calabrese 1990 for a review of the different possibilities in Italian, and Contreras 1991 for Spanish).

The main reason why V first structures are somewhat marked is that postverbal subjects are invariably focused (or perhaps more precisely, they must constitute 'new information'). This property is responsible for the impression of markedness generally associated with VSO and VOS constructions as opposed to SVO structures, where the subject is the topic.

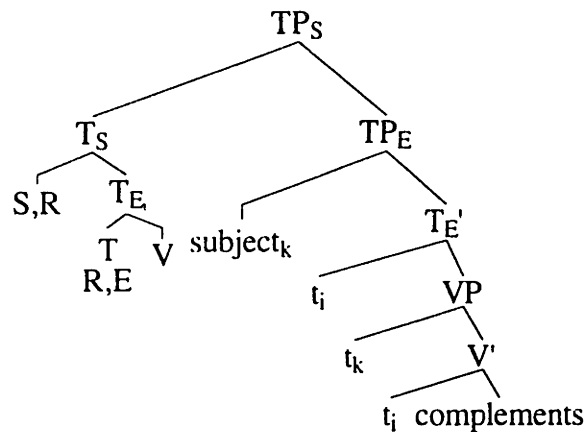
Standard VSO languages, such as Irish or standard Arabic, have VSO as their unmarked order, and Irish at least displays a rather rigid pattern of word order, very much unlike Romance *pro*-drop. Arabic is quite heterogeneous in this respect. Egyptian Arabic appears to differ from Standard Arabic, not only in terms of subject agreement patterns, but also with respect to freedom of word order Demirdache (p.c.).

In spite of these differences between Romance *pro*-drop and standard VSO languages, scholars of these two groups of languages have often participated in similar debates. In the case of standard Arabic, for instance, there has been a long debate regarding the position of preverbal subjects. Fassi-Fehri (1982) diverges from Fassi-Fehri (1993) in exactly this point. In his earlier work, Fassi-Fehri defends a view similar to mine: preverbal subjects are either fronted focus, or topics. In his later work he suggests otherwise. Demirdache 1989 and Khalaily (1994) defend the former view for Standard Arabic (more references, Doron (1995)).

Among the Celtic family, subjects in Breton have also been the topic of much debate. Stump (1982, 1989) argues that affirmative subject-initial sentences in Breton are ordinary subject-verb sentences and not topicalized verb-subject sentences. Borsley and Stephens (1989) argue that it is impossible to prevent a topicalization analysis of preverbal subjects in affirmative sentences.

In this chapter I will argue that the differences in the word order patterns between Irish and Romance *pro*-drop when T is finite are due to agreement. I will argue that Irish lacks AGRP and is not *pro*-drop. The alternations between the analytic and synthetic forms of the verb will be attributed to the fact that pronouns raise to SPEC,TP_E and then incorporate with the verb T_S, in the phonology. I will argue that the T_E nominal features are strong in Irish, so subjects must raise in the overt syntax. The result of verb movement through T_E to T_S and subject raising to Spec,TP_E will be VSO order. This is illustrated in (1) below:

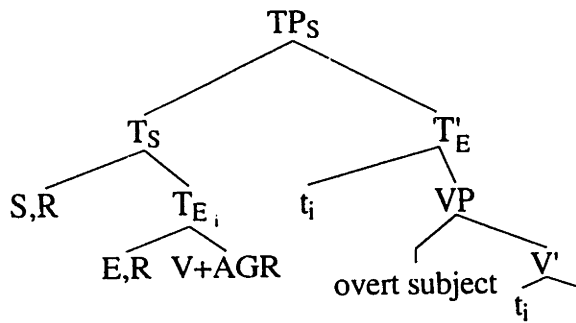
(1)



Romance *pro*-drop is just like Irish with respect to T_E-raising, but differs from Irish with respect to subject agreement morphology. I will suggest that subject agreement in null subject Romance is a clitic on V. It consists of a bundle of phi-features, and a Nominative Case feature, but it lacks a D feature. The verb moves through I to T_S, with the nominal agreement features incorporated. These check the Nominative Case feature under incorporation with T_E, and check the EPP. Since the N features of T_E are all checked with the exception of the D feature, there are in principle two options open:

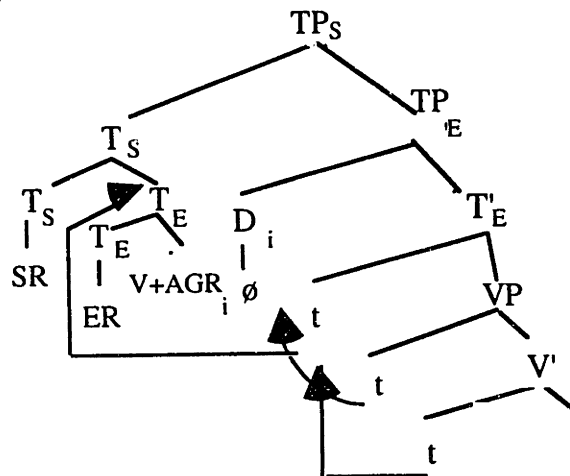
- a) A lexical DP bearing default morphological case is generated in argument position and stays inside the VP in overt syntax. Its D feature raises at LF. This yields the inverted subject constructions typical of null subject Romance, as exemplified in (3).

(2) *Inverted subject constructions:*



- b) A null D is generated in argument position and raises to Spec-IP, where it checks the D feature and is locally bound by the agreement features in T_S. I will suggest that LF raising is not available to Ds lacking phonetic content.

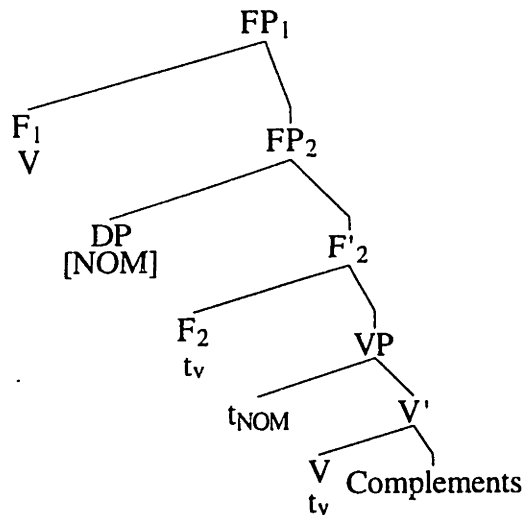
(3) *Null-subject constructions:*



4.1. Irish clause structure (McCloskey 1994)

In this section I will heavily rely on work by McCloskey (1994, forthcoming) and Carnie (1995). McCloskey (1994) has proposed the following structure for Irish finite clauses, where both FP1 and FP2 are Infl projections, below C:

(4)



McCloskey suggests that FP_1 stands for TP and FP_2 for AGRP. His reasoning is based on the observation that the lower specifier position is linked to Case assignment. This position does not necessarily need to be filled. When a DP can be assigned Case in situ by a preposition, it remains there and Spec- FP_2 is simply empty. Take the following two examples:

- (5)
- a. Neartaigh ar a ghlór.
strengthened on his voice
"His voice strengthened"
 - b. Neartaigh a ghlór
strengthened his voice
"his voice strengthened."

McCloskey shows quite clearly that in (5a) the internal argument remains within VP because of the availability of the Case-assigner P. In (5b) the internal argument has undergone obligatory raising to the canonical subject position and is assigned nominative Case. Similarity for the alternation seen in (6):

- (6)
- a. Rinne sin leannán dínn
made that couple of us
"That made us lovers."
 - b. Rinne leannán dín
made couple of us
"We became lovers."

and also for the Perfect Passive:

- (6) a. Tá sé críochnaithe t againn
is it [NOM] finished by-us
"It has been finished by us."
b. *Tá críochnaithe sé againn.
is finished it by-us
"It has been finished by us"

The paradigm in (6-7) shows that movement driven by Case considerations is obligatory and overt in Irish.

McCloskey also shows that the position to which subjects raise must be higher than VP, given that subjects appear to the left of certain VP adverbs. The following example illustrates this:

- (7) Ní dhéanfaidh mo mhac ariamh ar" COP [PRES] a leithéid
NEG do [FUT] my son ever again its like
"My son will never again do such a thing."

He follows Duffield 1991, who has presented evidence that the Tense projection properly contains the projection implicated in subject verb agreement. Drawing on work by Groat 1994, he suggests that TP is the projection where the EPP is checked. Because Irish lacks expletives, and the position where subjects get structural case doesn't always need to be filled, McCloskey concludes that one can still maintain, essentially along the lines of Chomsky (1993) that in Irish Spec,TP doesn't need to be filled in the overt syntax (in other words, Irish doesn't have the EPP). This is what yields VSO order. Now consider (8) below:

- (8) D' éirigh go maith leofa
TENSE rise PAST well with them
"They did well."

In order to motivate raising of subjects to Spec-AgrP, McCloskey has to assume that the feature that is being checked by the head $F_2 = \text{AgrP}$ is a strong feature in the sense of Chomsky (1993). However, as he points out, (8) raises the question of what becomes of the strong features on F_2 in such cases. His answer is that they are not present and so the question of their being checked doesn't even

arise. The verb in such cases appears in the 'analytic' form (see McCloskey and Hale 1984). This form of the verb is specified for Tense (and also Mood in some cases), but not for any agreement features. The verbal form in question is not a 3rd person singular form; it may appear with any kind of subject at all.(as exemplified in (9)). A "synthetic" form of the same verb, which is specified for person and number features is shown in (10):

- (9) a. D' éirigh Ciarán
 PAST rose
 b. D' éirigh na girseachaí
 PAST rose the girls
 c. D' éirigh mé
 PAST rose I
 d. D' éirigh muid
 PAST rose we
- (10) D'éiríodar *pro*
 PAST rise PASR[AGR:P3]

According to M., there is no nominative in (8) or (9). Since the presence of agreement is not required to license a subject in (8), (9), (contrary to (10), M. concludes that in this case no AgrP is projected.

To sum up, in Irish, AgrP is only projected when needed. When it is projected the Agr features are always strong. T is the head responsible for the EPP. Since the NP features in T in Irish are always weak, subject raising to Spec-TP only takes place at LF. This is why Irish is VSO on the surface.

4.1.1. Some modifications to (McCloskey 1994): Irish lacks Agr

In this section I wish to concentrate on the need to project AgrP at all in Irish. Note that the absence of agreement features in Irish is not restricted to those constructions where the subject remains in situ, like (8). Quite generally, there is a complementary distribution between agreement and a nonpronominal subject.in Irish. Agreement morphology only appears overtly whenever the subject is pronominal.(cf. 10). McCloskey assumes that (10) contains a null subject, *pro*, based on arguments given in McCloskey and Hale (1984). However, if the agreement morphology we see in cases such as (10) above is an incorporated

pronoun, then one can maintain that the verbal form is literally only marked for Tense throughout the whole paradigm. When a pronoun incorporates, it gives the illusion that the verb is inflected for agreement, when in reality it isn't. (references Taraldsen???)

In what follows I will review McCloskey and Hale's (1984) arguments that Irish is a *pro*-drop language, and I will argue that it is not.

Verbal paradigms in Irish consist of two kinds of forms for which the traditional terms 'analytic' and 'synthetic' are used. Each verbal paradigm consists of one analytic form and a set, possibly null, of synthetic forms. The synthetic form encodes information about tense and mood, as well as the person and number of the subject. The analytic form encodes only information about tense and mood, but not about the person-number characteristics of its subject. Consider the paradigm mentioned by McCloskey and Hale which represents the Conditional of the verb cuir 'put' in the Ulster dialect.

(11)	S1	chuirfinn		P1	chuirfimis	
	S2	chuifeá		P2	chuirfeadh	sibh
						you (PL)
	MS3	chuirdeadh	sé			
			he			
	FS3	chuirdeadh	sí	P3	chuirfeadh	siad
			she			they

The analytic form in this paradigm is *chuirfeadh*. According to M&H, 'verbal paradigms in Irish typically have this gapped look to them. Synthetic forms do not exist for all person-number combinations. When they do not exist the paradigm is filled out through the use of the analytic form for the tense in question. (p. 489)' The analytic form is used:

- (i) with independent pronouns when the appropriate synthetic form is not available.
- (ii) with a lexically specified subject;
- (iii) with a subject trace, even in those cases where the binder of the trace is a pronoun with person-number features for which the verb in question has a synthetic form.

The use of the synthetic form is absolutely incompatible with the independent phonological expression of the subject. This is an important observation, since no such restriction is observed in standard *pro*-drop languages.

Here I will not review the complete set of arguments M&H give for the *pro*-drop nature of Irish. I start by noting that the strict complementary distribution between morphological agreement inflection and the presence of an overt pronoun is by itself intriguing from the point of view of a *pro*-drop language. Even in those Northern Italian dialects that have subject clitics, where we find lack of number agreement with a postverbal nonpronominal subject or a subject trace, agreement is obligatory with an inverted pronoun. Brandi & Cordin (1987) mention the following paradigm for Fiorentino and Trentino (p.138):

(12)

<u>Fiorentino</u>	<u>Trentino</u>
e vengo io	vegno mi
tu viene te	te vegni ti
e viene lui/lei	ven elo/ela
si vien noi	vegnim noi
vu' venite voi	vegní voi
e vien loro	ven lori/lore

The forms that are of interest to us are first and second person singular and plural, where the verb itself is inflected, in contrast with third person (the clitic form *e* in Fiorentino is irrelevant (not an agreement head), so the reader is encouraged to disregard it for the moment). Arabic displays a similar pattern (see Fassi-Fehri 1989).

The fact that Irish has a strict complementary distribution between synthetic forms and overt pronouns stands out as exceptional among the *pro*-drop languages.

Another rather unique property is the fact that synthetic forms can cooccur with emphatic particles. This data is mentioned in M&H. Consider the following examples:

(13) An gcuirfeá **féin** isteah ar an phost sin?

- Q put (CONDIT S2) REFLEX in on that job
 'Would you yourself apply for that job?'
 (14) Chuireadar **seo** isteah ar an phost.
 put (PAST P3) DEMON in on the job
 'These ones applied for the job'
 (15) nach bhfacamar **-inne**
 COMP+NEG see (PAST P1)
 'that WE did not see'

The element *féin* can attach to a pronoun to make a new element which can either have a reflexive or emphatic interpretation.

The element *-seo* attaches to third person pronouns to derive a demonstrative pronoun. Finally, *-inne* attaches to basic pronouns to derive corresponding contrastively stressed forms.

In the particular case of the examples cited, we have 'synthetic' verbal forms. If such forms are analysed as pure agreement markers with a *pro* subject, we have the following structure for the pronominal subject in (90):

- (16) An gcuirfeá [DP *pro* - **féin**] isteah ar an phost sin?
 Q put (CONDIT S2) REFLEX in on that job
 'Would you yourself apply for that job?'

Cases such as (16) are unattested in *pro*-drop Romance. *Pro* can never be modified by a SELF anaphor. Consider the following Portuguese example, which would be equivalent to (16):

- (17) a. *Vou [*pro*-própria]
 I-go *pro* SELF
 b. Vou [eu-própria]
 I-go I myself

Própria can only modify an overt pronoun, not *pro*. Moreover, as already observed in Chapter I, the overt postverbal pronouns ARE the stressed pronouns.

For this reason, it seems to me that the Irish synthetic forms of the verb are best analysed as being the result of pronominal incorporation onto the verb, which is ONLY inflected for Tense and Mood:

- (18) An gcuirfeá - féin isteah ar an phost sin?
 Q put (CONDIT S2) REFLEX in on that job
 Would you yourself apply for that job?

This process of incorporation must be taken to take place at PF for it appears to be insensitive to the Coordinate Structure constraint. As pointed out in M&H, when two pronouns are coordinated, they must show up in their stressed form, with an enclitic particle:

- (19) a. dá mbeinn - s e agus tusa ann
 if be (CONDIT S1) CONTRST and you there
 if you and I were there

Note that the person number marking found on the verb encodes the person-number features only of the left conjunct, rather than those of the whole conjunct. But this is what is expected if the verb lacks any agreement morphology and the overt morphology we see is simply due to phonologic merging with the first pronoun, under adjacency (see Aoun et al 19) for a discussion of similar facts in Arabic and a different analysis).

Note that this phenomenon of first conjunct agreement is by no means uncommon in natural languages. In Romance we can often observe first conjunct agreement too, but it coexists with 'regular' agreement:

- (20) a. Vou eu e a Maria
 Go-1S I and Maria
 b. Vamos eu e a Maria

(20b) is not allowed in Irish. For this reason, I propose that Irish phonologically incorporates pronouns in some contexts, which results in the traditionally called 'synthetic' forms.

Note that nothing should prevent phonological incorporation from taking place from other syntactic positions, not just from subject position. In effect, M&H show abundant evidence that similar (phonological merging) effects are found in any syntactic position in the language which is linked with person number morphology on a lexical category. I take this as unquestionable evidence that Irish 'synthetic' form is not inflected for agreement, but is rather the surface realization of the 'analytic' form in combination with a pronoun.

If I am right, then the argument for the existence of agreement morphology *ever* in Irish is somewhat weakened. However, absence of agreement morphology is not necessarily an indicator of absence of an Agreement Projection. AGRP could be abstract in Irish. In order to answer the question whether we have any evidence that AgrP in Irish is projected, we can ask another question, namely, is there any evidence that Irish subjects are assigned nominative Case? If there is, a case could be made for the need for an abstract SAgrP. In the next section I will argue, essentially following Carnie 1995, that there is no evidence for Nominative Case marking in Irish.

4. 1.2. Carnie (1995)

Carnie (1995) observes that there is a very puzzling feature about Irish morphology. In Irish, the subject of nominal clauses shows up with what appears to be accusative Case. Contrast (21a) with (21b). The form of the nominative pronoun is different in each case.

- (21) a. Is dochtúir é
 C doctor **him.acc**
 'He is a doctor.
 b. Chuir sé an ríomhaire sa réaltlong
 Put.past **he** the computer in the starship
 'He put the computer in the starship.'

Carnie argues that, in the case of third person pronouns, phonological shape is misleading. Overt phonological case marking in Modern Irish is only seen on third person pronouns. For all other NPs, there is no morphological case difference between nominative and accusative case. Nominative case pronouns are simply the accusative forms preceded by <s>, (/s/)

- (22) sé 'he' é 'him'
 sí 'she' í 'her'
 siad 'they' iad 'them'

Carnie credits Hale (p.c.) for the suggestion that this marking is not necessarily a reflex of syntactic case. He points out that the <s> forms are never found anywhere else except to the immediate right of the tensed verb (this fact is also

noted in Christíán Bros (1960) and M&H 1984). If we assume that the pronouns in Irish do not show an overt morphological realization of their structural case, then the <s> form could just be the result of adjacency with the tensed verb. Under such an analysis, the lack of <s> in (22a) is straightforwardly explained: the pronoun there is not adjacent to tense morphology.

I will adopt here Carnie's suggestion with a slight modification. Carnie proposes that even though pronouns lack morphological realization of structural Case, nominative case is assigned in the specifier position of an agreement phrase. I propose that we dispense with SAgrP in Irish altogether.

With this in mind, I will now return to a discussion of the Salient and Putative unaccusatives examined in McCloskey (1994).

4.2.3. Salient and Putative unaccusatives revisited

Reconsider the following paradigm from McCloskey (1994):

- (23) a. Neartaigh ar a ghlór.
 strengthened on his voice
 "His voice strengthened"
 b. Neartaigh a ghlór
 strengthened his voice
 "His voice strengthened."

Recall that, according to McCloskey, AgrP is not projected in (23a) but is projected in (23b). Furthermore, McCloskey also shows that certain adverbs can appear to the right of a raised subject. Consider the examples mentioned by M.:

- (24) Níor shaothraigh Eoghan ariamh pingin
 V S adv O
 neg earned Owen ever penny
 'Eogan never earned ever a penny.'

This position of the adverb in (24) is evidence that the subject has raised out of the VP, so we need a functional projection above the VP whose specifier is filled by the subject. The only candidate is TP_E. We know the verb shows tense morphology, and it must move through this position. In chapter 3 we argued the verb raises to T_S.

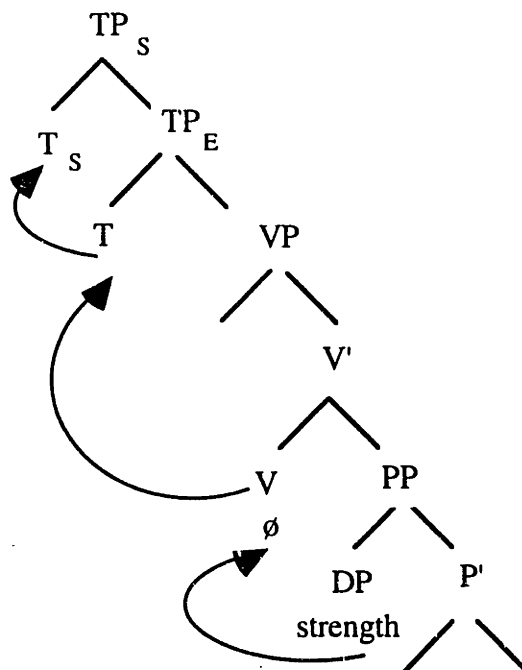
Now if I interpret McCloskey well (I may be misreading him though), he suggests that (23a) and (23b) are related derivationally. But suppose they are not. Suppose we assume a theory of Lexical Relational Structure as developed in Hale and Keyser (1993). Inspired by their work, one can propose an analysis of the alternation in (24) in the following terms.

Consider (24a), repeated here below

- (25) Neartaigh ar a ghlór.
 strengthened on his voice
 "His voice strengthened"

Suppose we analyse (25) as in (26):

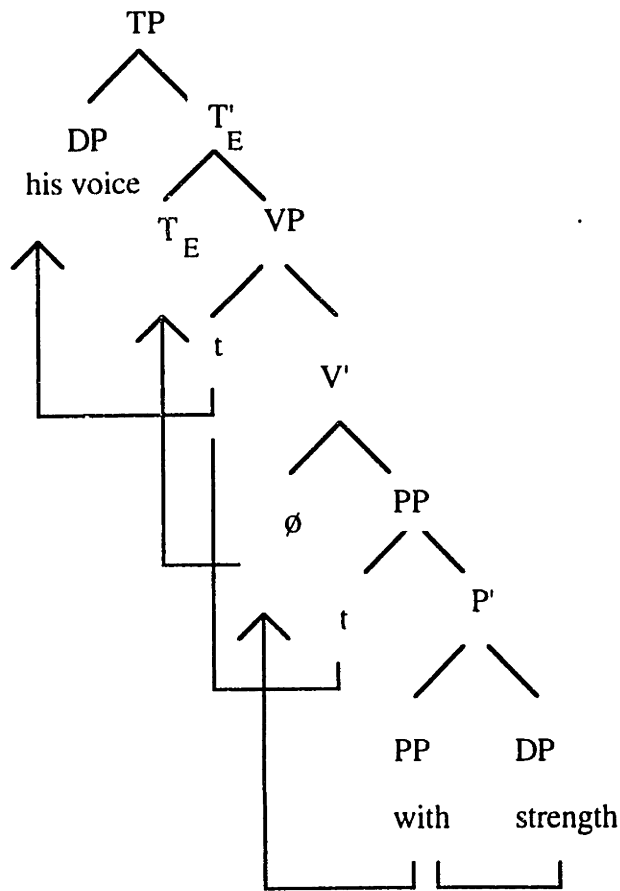
(26)



Following H&K we assume that a preposition establishes a relation between two DPs, in this case 'strength' and 'his voice'. Then a light verb selects this PP to form a VP, which will be directly selected by T_E. The noun 'strength' incorporates with the light verb to form a complex V, which incorporates with T and moves further. I will return below to a possible modification of this structure, but for the present purposes the main idea is to show how (23a) contrasts with (23b). In the case of (23b), we simply reverse the relation established between the two DPs.

Now we are going to say that 'his voice has strength in it', or better, 'his voice is with strength'. We will have the following structure:

(27)



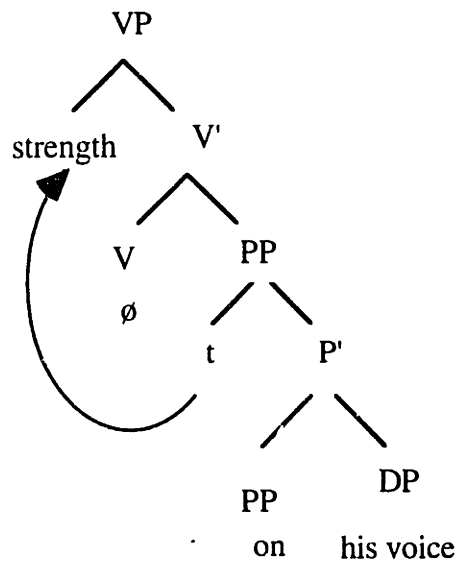
The DP 'strength' is now licensed for Case via incorporation with the preposition. 'His voice' has to raise to SPEC,TP.

The analysis just proposed faces the same problem McCloskey had to face: how come the N feature of T is strong in (23b) (where DP raising takes place in the syntax), though not in (23a) (where no raising takes place)?

The answer to this question can be provided within Chomsky's recent framework (class lectures 1994). In this framework, what really derives movement is 'feature-movement'. Thus, it is enough that the N-features themselves find themselves in a checking relation with T or V.

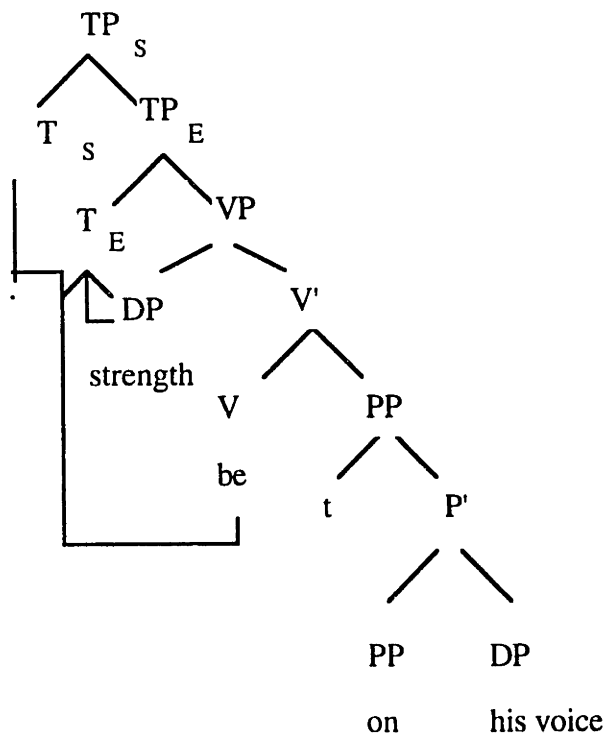
Now reconsider (23a). Suppose we assume that the VP embedded under Tense has the following structure:

(28)



When the VP is embedded under T_E , [$v \emptyset$] moves to T_E , and the DP 'strength' incorporates with T_E . In this way, its features will be checked, along with the N features of T.

(29)



Structurally (23a) and (23b) are identical. What varies is the way in which features are checked: via head movement, or via DP movement. Thus, we can

safely assume that the D features of T are always strong in Irish. In other words, Irish does have the EPP.

The analysis of Putative and Salient unaccusatives sketched here relies on the assumption that all of these verbs are derived via incorporation of a nominal into V, and are selected by a PP. This is the hypothesis, which needs to be verified against the available data. McCloskey mentions the following list of verbs that participate in the Putative/Salient unaccusative alternation:

(31)

<i>laghdaid</i>	decrease	<i>brostaigh</i>	quicken
<i>mhéadaigh</i>	increase	<i>meathnaigh</i>	widen
<i>breisigh</i>	increase	<i>moilligh</i>	delay
<i>lagaigh</i>	weaken	<i>tít</i>	fall/decrease
<i>neartaigh</i>	strengthen	<i>claochlaigh</i>	deteriorate
<i>treisigh</i>	strengthen	<i>feabhsaigh</i>	improve
<i>géaraigh</i>	sharpen	<i>tromaigh</i>	become heavy
<i>maolaigh</i>	become blunt	<i>ciúnaigh</i>	become quiet

On the surface, and judging from the English glosses, these verbs appear to be derived from adjectives rather than from nominals. Take the last two, 'become heavy', 'become quiet'. In fact, these are the "ergatives verbs" studied in Hale & Keyser (1993), and they propose an adjectival basis for them. However, I don't think that this is reason to abandon our proposal. It might be the case that adjectives are in reality hidden nominals selected by an abstract preposition, in which case expressions such as 'become quiet' would be equivalent to 'come to be with quietness'

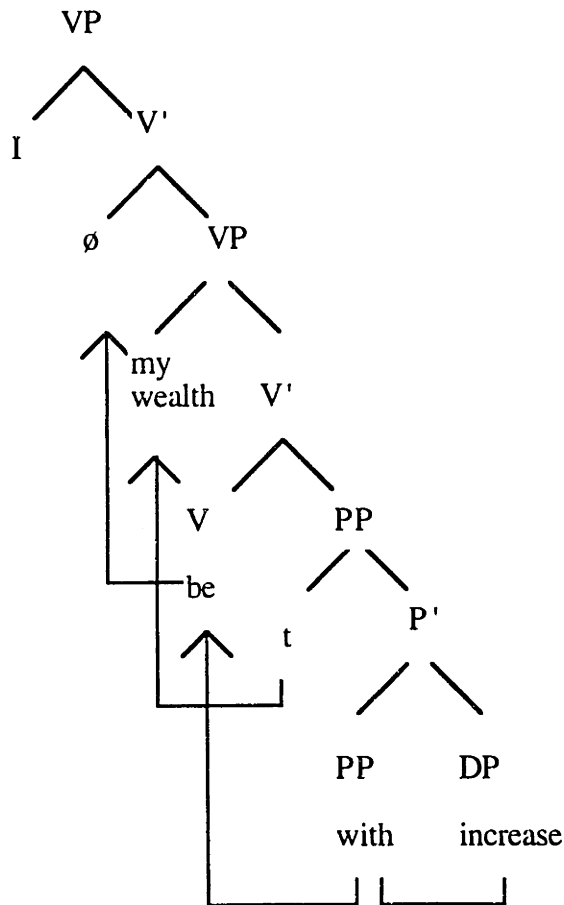
As McCloskey notes, all the verbs mentioned in (31) have a transitive use. Consider the following paradigm:

- (32)
- a. *Mhéadaigh ar mo shaibhreas*
increased on my wealth
"My wealth increased."
 - b. *Mhéadaigh mo shaibhreas*
increased my health
'My health increased.'
 - c. *Mhéadaigh mé mo shaibhreas*

increased I my health
 "I increased.my health"

H&K theory of transitivity works beautifully here. We could assume that (32c) is derived from (32b) via adding a causative head as a sister to a VP of the form in (33).

(33)



Alternatively, one could assume, with Koizumi 1992, Kratzer forthcoming, Bobaljik 1995, Harley 1995, that the head that introduces the agent selects a functional projection responsible for accusative Case assignment. I will leave the matter open for the moment.

4.1.4. Summary of section

In this section I have argued that Irish lacks subject agreement. Subjects move to Spec-TP_E, where they get checked for structural case. T_E is the locus for the RE

tense relationship. The verb moves through T_E to T_S where the RS tense relationship is provided.

4.2. Diachronic evidence for a c-command relation between agreement and pro in Spec- T_E

4.2.0. Introduction

In the two previous chapters I have argued the null subject Romance languages and French differ with respect to T_e raising to T_s . The former raise T_e overtly whereas the latter do so only at LF, by hypothesis. However, on the basis of what was argued above for Irish, T_e raising to T_s cannot be a sufficient condition for subject drop.

My arguments for overt T_e raising to T_s in Null Subject Romance as opposed to French or English were based on an observational evidence regarding word order patterns, but I haven't attempted to explain why the Null Subject Parameter is related to this kind of V-to- T_E raising. In this section I will propose that a NSL is a language that combines two properties: T_e raising to T_s and a sufficiently rich bundle of features for subject agreement in T_e . I will argue that the reason why these two properties are interconnected is that a condition for subject drop in languages that do not have other forms of argument drop, like Chinese-type definite object drop (see Huang 1985), is that a sufficiently rich agreement inflection c-command the empty subject in Spec- T_E . In other words, the following configuration is required for a definite referential null subject to be null:

$$(34) \quad [T_e + AGR_i] \quad [T_{Pe} \quad \overset{\uparrow}{ec_i} \quad [T' \quad [VP \quad \dots \quad t_i \quad \dots \quad]]]$$

I will suggest that this c-command requirement is to be subsumed under a broader theory of cliticization. In general, clitics must c-command the *ec* they are associated with. This is an empirical observation that stands for itself independently from whether we decide to have a movement analysis or a base-generation analysis of cliticization. If we take agreement in the NSLs to be 'clitic-like' then it is reasonable to assume that it will behave like other clitics, in which case something like (35) holds:

$$(35) \quad [cl_i \quad [\quad ec_i \quad]]$$

In this section I will discuss diachronic evidence that supports the idea that (35) is a necessary configuration for licensing a null subject -- in languages that do not have definite object drop. I will give an overview of previous studies of the evolution of French and the northern Italian dialects with subject clitics: Adams 1987, Vanelli 1987, Roberts 1991a, Poletto 1993. The diachronic studies show that, in their medieval stage, these (non standard *pro*-drop) Romance languages show a correlation between VS order and the possibility of dropping a subject: whenever VS order is available, subject drop is possible. I will take this observation to support (35). In the second part of this section I will discuss inverted subject constructions.

4. 2. 1. Old French (Adams 1987)

According to Adams (1987), Old French (OF) of the 12th and 13th centuries shows a form of subject drop and inversion that has distinct characteristics from modern Romance subject drop.

First of all, null subjects typically occur only in main clauses, seldom in complement clauses. This is shown in (17):

- (36) a. Si firent ____ grant joie la nuit.
 So made (they) great joy that night.
- b. Einsī corure ____i par mer thant que il; vindrent à Cademelée.
 Thus ran (they) by sea until they came to Cadmée
- c. Et se feroient ____ i si durement des espées que
 And each other struck (they) so hard with swords that
 çou estoit grans merveille que il; ne s'entr'ocioient.
 it was a great marvel that they not each other kill

As argued by Adams, pragmatic factors cannot explain this distribution. In (17b,c) the subject is the same in the upper and lower clause. Purely pragmatic or functional considerations would lead us to expect the reverse order of empty and lexical subjects than that which actually occurs. Verbal inflection cannot account for the main/subordinate clause asymmetry either, since inflection was rich in OF and usually distinguished all six persons.

Adams proceeds on to argue that OF shows the Germanic type of inversion but not the Romance type. It is limited to main clauses and preposes only the inflected verb or auxiliary yielding the order VSO:

- (37) a. Or li doint Dex santé.
Now to-him give God-NOM santé
b. Einsint aama la damoisele Lancelot
Thus loved the young lady Lancelot-ACC

Similar data are also discussed in Cardinaletti & Roberts (1993). A survey of Medieval Romance texts done by Benincà 1983, 1990, Vanelli 1987 and Beninca, Renzi and Vanelli 1985 shows that the N. Italian, Franco-Provençal and Swiss Romande dialects all show in their medieval phase V2 effects and prodrop in main clauses and consistent SVO order in complement clauses. These dialects lost V2 effects by the end of the 15th century. As we saw in chapter 1, these dialects still require overt subject clitics even though they have distinct properties from modern French. According to Poletto's review of the evolution of subject clitics in the northern Italian dialects, this loss of V2 effects was accompanied by a progressive division of pronominal subjects into two groups: the tonic paradigm and the clitic paradigm. The clitic series is derived from the nominative pronouns (which were tonic before), and the tonic series derives from the oblique pronominal forms. In this period there is a progressive modification of nominative pronouns, which become morphologically reduced. During the Renaissance period, a different pattern of subject drop emerged in the dialects (we will return to this below) whereas French lost subject drop.

Thus, there appears to be a correlation between V2 effects and the possibility of subject drop. Before I proceed, I would like to concentrate on the arguably V2 character of medieval Romance.

As mentioned by Poletto 1993, the medieval northern Italian dialects are not entirely like the standard V2 languages. She mentions the following examples:

- (38) a. Gestern hat Hans Blumen gekauft
b. *Gestern Hans hat Blumen gekauft.
(Poletto 1993: p.145)

- (39) Or mi e vui comunament semenemo questa braida de furment.

(19) shows that German is literally V2, that is, the verb appears in second position. (20) shows that medieval Romance from Northern Italy isn't V2 in this sense (the verb is in third position in (20)).

Benincà 1990 has argued that the difference between (19) and (20) reduces to the presence of a higher position, which she calls 'the dislocated position (DSP).' This position is higher than CP, to the head of which the verb has raised.

Note that even in German it is possible to realize this position, as illustrated below:

(40) Den Hans, en habe ich gesehen.

* Dem Hans, das Buch, (dem) (das) habe ich gegeben

Poletto notes that this position is not recursive in German, even though it appears to be recursive in medieval Romance. Besides recursivity, there is another distinction between German and medieval Romance: in the latter, the verb can appear in first position; this is not true of modern German. I refer the reader to Poletto 1993, Benincà 1983, 1990, Vanelli 1987 and Beninca, Renzi and Vanelli 1985, for the relevant examples. But then, medieval Romance is not like German, that is, it is not V2. What is intriguing about V2 is that sentential adverbs must be immediately followed by the verb whenever they are fronted. This is the one characteristic that is lacking in medieval Romance, even setting dislocated topics aside.

For these two reasons -- lack of parallelism in the behavior of sentential adverbs; occurrences of V1 -- I do not think that it is completely accurate to claim that Old French is V2. What medieval Romance has and modern eastern Romance lacks is exemplified in (41) and the other Old French examples quoted above, namely:

1. the possibility of compl.-V-S order in root clauses;
2. a root embedded/asymmetry in the occurrence of this order.

I will not dwell here on whether the matrix verb raises to C in medieval French or why there is a root/embedded clause asymmetry. For my present purposes it suffices to observe the correlation discovered by the authors mentioned, which can be described as in (41):

(41) There is a connection between VS order and subject drop.

This correlation is detected synchronically. Where XP-V-S order is possible, null subjects are also possible (this is the case of root environments in Old French, and the clear asymmetry between these and embedded environments with respect to both properties). It is also detected in the evolution of French: when XP-V-S order is lost, null subjects are also lost. The northern Italian dialects with subject clitics showed a similar pattern to medieval French in their medieval period. During the Renaissance period they show an interesting pattern that will be briefly discussed below.

4.2.2. The evolution of the dialects of Northern Italy

As discussed in chapter 2, some modern northern Italian dialects invariably require a subject clitic, which has different properties from French subject clitics. In their medieval stage, French and the northern Italian dialects were very much alike. Then they gradually started to diverge: French, towards loss of residual *pro*-drop; and the dialects, towards progressive weakening of subject pronouns. During the Renaissance period the situation regarding subject drop in these dialects appears to be reversed. Null subjects are more frequent in embedded clauses than in matrix clauses. In particular, they occur in embedded clauses introduced by *si* 'if', a *wh*-operator, or in subjunctive clauses. Poletto refers to all of these contexts as *+operator*. Although some of the characteristics of this intermediate period are not very clear, and likely to be clouded by the limitations of dealing with written texts only, one pattern is clear: inversion and third person subject drop go together.

Thus, there is a curious asymmetry between two kinds of expletive pronominal subjects. The expletive subject pronoun of a raising verb (the equivalent to English 'it') can be dropped anywhere.

(42) E' certo che ... veneziano
it-is certain that ...

The expletive subject found in the counterparts to English 'there'-insertion sentences can only be omitted in embedded clauses introduced by an operator, *si*, or in subjunctives. As noted by Poletto, this difference between these two kinds of expletives is also attested among the different persons of the verb. The third person singular and plural can only occur in the embedded environments

mentioned, whereas the first person singular and plural and the second person plural may be null even in root environments. In root environments, the third person is always realized as a clitic:

- (43) a. Dirè a Ser Zuan che __ la guarda ben Paduan (Poletto: p.160)
 tell (?) Ser Zuan che (egli) la guarda bene
 b. El m'ha lagò le cavale (...) e si __andò in là Paduan (Poletto: p.159)

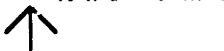
The following chart taken from Poletto 1993 summarizes the relevant facts (the symbol '+Op' stands for a wh-operator, or a subjunctive operator).

(44)

	MATRIX	EMBEDDED -OP	EMBEDDED +OP
expletive -theta	+	+	+
1. sing	+	+	+
2. sing	/	/	/
1. plur	+	+	+
2. plur	+	+	+
3. sing	-	-	+
3. plu	-	-	+
expletive	-	-	+
+postverb subj			

We will set aside the issue of the embedded root asymmetry, and concentrate on the patterns observed. We see that raising verbs follow the pattern of 1st and 2nd person pronouns. These can be dropped everywhere. Third person singular pronouns can be dropped only in those contexts where the lexical subject is allowed post-verbally. This means that a correlation between inversion and third person drop is consistently maintained.

As a first approximation, this diachronic evidence suggests that the following configuration is required for a subject to be null:

- (45) [V+AGR_i]_k [ec_i ... t_k ...]]
- 

Rizzi 1982 proposes that agreement in the null-subject languages is "clitic-like". If Rizzi's proposal is to be taken literally, then the configuration in (45) is in fact quite plausible. Even though there is little consensus in the literature regarding the nature of pronominal cliticization -- whether it involves movement or base-generation of an agreement head linked to an *ec* in argument position -- one issue that everyone agrees upon is that a clitic must c-command the *ec* it is associated with (either by movement or by means of any other form of construal defined representationally). Thus, it seems reasonable that the relation between the subject agreement features and the *ec* they are associated with be one of c-command. This is essentially the approach I will take in what follows.

4.3. Clitic-like agreement

Assuming that agreement is a "clitic-like" element, we have to distinguish this kind of clitic from the Irish clitics that form the synthetic paradigm. As discussed in the previous chapter, the latter can be modified by emphatic particles and they are in complementary distribution with lexical subjects.

In addition, we also need to distinguish this kind of clitic from the subject clitics found in the Northern Italian dialects. These are generally preverbal and possess a degree of variation that suffixal agreement inflection lacks. Recall from chapter 1 that they vary in form depending on whether the inverted subject is lexical or a referential *pro*. I repeat here the paradigm for Fiorentino and Trentino (from Brandi & Cordin 1987)

(46)	F	T	
	(E) parlo	parlo	I speak
	Tu parli	Te parli	you speak
	E parla	El parla	he speaks
	La parla	La parla	she speaks
	Si parla	Parlem	we speak
	Vu parlate	Parlé	you speak
	E parlano	I parla	they (masc.) speak
	Le parlano	Le parla	they (fem.) speak

Interestingly, these dialects also have suffixal clitics under certain circumstances, namely in yes/no questions and wh-questions. These look more

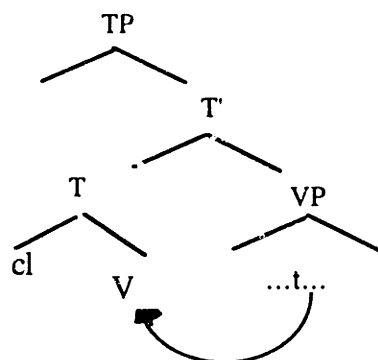
like agreement morphemes; yet, they do not form part of the verbal conjugation, like standard forms of agreement. Here are the two paradigms:

(47)

magno	(cosa)	màgnoi?
te magni	"	màgnitó?
el/la magna	"	màgnelo/màgnela?
magnemo	"	magnémo (i)?
magnè	"	magnèò?
li/le magna	"	màgneli/màgnelo?

In Barbosa 1993 I argue that prefixal clitics (objects or subjects) are bundles of agreement features under T (or agreement heads heading their own projection). In addition, I defend the view that head-to-head movement proceeds via right-adjunction. In the case of verb raising to a head (T, by assumption) containing a clitic, the following configuration results:

(48)

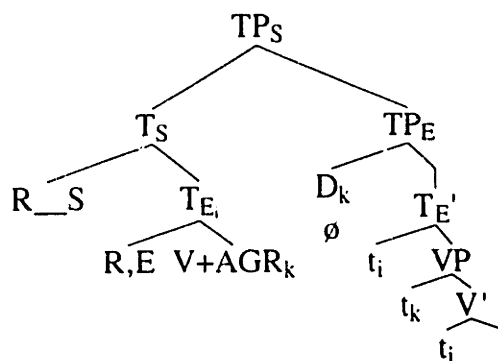


The clitic itself doesn't move.(contra Kayne 1975 and 1991, but see Jaeggli 1982 and Sportiche 1992, Borer 1983, etc. for the view of clitics as agreement heads). It is directly base-generated under T. This class of clitic includes the northern Italian subject clitics and the object clitics in most of Romance.

In (49) cliticization is a syntactic process, taking place under head to head movement (of the verb to T containing the clitic). In the case of the other Romance *pro*-drop languages, which have 'rich' subject agreement morphology, I suggest that the verb comes from the lexicon already with the nominal features incorporated in it. This would yield the analysis in (49) for the example (50):

(50) Telefonaram.
 Called-3pl

(51)



The ec in (51) needs to be projected as a specifier since arguments are introduced structurally in the framework I am assuming, that of Hale & Keyser (1993). I assume that the ec minimally contains a D feature, which triggers raising to Spec-TP_E. The verb comes from the lexicon already inflected for tense and checks its features against T_E and T_S. The suffixal agreement marker on V has a nominative Case feature and phi-features. By assumption, it lacks the D feature borne by the ec.

This process is different from the dialects, where a clitic head has independent existence as a head in the syntactic projection. I will not decide here between whether the subject clitic in the dialects projects an agreement phrase or whether it is base-generated under T_E. In any case, the already inflected verb will have to agree with the clitic. In the case of the suffixal agreement inflection of Italian this agreement process doesn't obtain: the verb is already a complex form composed of a nominal part and a verbal part.

The main reason why we have to assume that nominative case is assigned to the agreement morpheme is the following. According to Poletto's review of the evolution of subject clitics in the northern Italian dialects, loss of V2 effects was accompanied by a progressive division of pronominal subjects into two groups: the tonic paradigm and the clitic paradigm. The clitic series is derived from the nominative pronouns (which were tonic before), and the tonic series derives from the oblique pronominal forms. In this period there is a progressive modification of nominative pronouns, which become morphologically reduced. The subject clitics are reduced nominative pronouns. The overt pronouns are derived from the oblique pronominal forms.

Now a very peculiar property of Italian subject pronouns is that they surface in their oblique form in some persons. Consider the following sentences (from Cardinaletti & Starke 1994):

- (52) a. **É lei** che è bella
it-is she that is beautiful
b. arriverà **lei/lui**
comes she/he
c. **Loro** sono troppo alte.
they are very tall
d. Sono arrivati **loro**
- (53) a. Non dirò mai **loro** tutto.
not I-will-say never them everything
b. Gianni mi ha presentato **a loro/ a lei/ a lui**
G. me has presented to them/ to her/ to him

As shown in (52,3) the form of the subject pronouns is the oblique form. They are not marked nominative. Their nominative counterparts are archaic and no longer used by most speakers.¹

¹Cardinaletti reports that her dialect still uses the nominative form of the pronoun, *esse/at*:

- (i) a. *Esse* sono troppo alte
3.pl.fm.nom are too tall/high

The nominative forms have a number of properties that distinguish them from the oblique forms. They cannot be coordinated, they cannot be modified, they can refer to inanimate objects (the oblique forms cannot), they cannot be dislocated and they cannot appear in the inverted subject position. All of these features are shared by French subject clitics.

I suspect that *esse/a* are not the old nominative pronominal forms for the following reason. The form of the third person clitics in the dialects is etimologically akin to the Portuguese /French/Spanish nominative pronouns:

- (ii) Portuguese: *ele/ela/eles/elas*
Spanish: *el/ella/ellos/ellas*
French: *il/elle/ils/elles*
Fiorentino: *El /La parla*

The forms *essa/e* is more akin to the demonstrative in Portuguese: *esse/essa*.

Note that (i) is a problem for our analysis of preverbal subjects as being dislocated. *esse/a* cannot be dislocated. A possible way to account for this is to say that, since these pronouns cannot bear stress, and inverted pronouns must be focused, they must A'-move in the overt syntax, just like the quantifiers that also cannot be dislocated.

Because nominative case doesn't appear to be available for the inverted subject, I conclude that nominative is being assigned to agreement. This brings us directly to the issue of the inverted subject constructions.

4.4. Inverted subjects constructions

I start by noting that inverted subjects in Romance are always focused, and thus extremely sensitive to well-formedness constraints imposed on Focus/Presupposition structure. Their degree of acceptability depends in a large degree on information structure and pragmatics. Calabrese 1993, Vallduví 1990, Pinto 1994 have studied the interactions between information structure and the positioning of subjects in Italian and Catalan. I refer the reader to their work.

Even though information structure plays a considerable role in determining where and when a subject can appear post-verbally, we believe that the fact that post-verbal subjects are necessarily focused should be accounted for in the syntax. We have already gone half way towards explaining this. We have said that agreement absorbs nominative case under incorporation with T. Our arguments for this claim came from an observation of the case morphology shown on inverted third person pronouns in Italian. In Portuguese and Spanish the case of subject pronouns is nominative. However, nominative is the default case: the case that appears in conjoined DPs and the case that appears in dislocated DPs:

- (54) a. **Eles** viram-na.
 they saw her
 b. Viram-na **eles**.
 Saw her they
 c. **A eles** já não os vejo há anos.
 to them/they already not them see-I there-is years
 'I haven't seen them for years'
 d. **Eles e a Maria** compraram um carro a meias.
 they and the Maria bought-3pl a car together
 'They and Mary bought a car together'

In some languages, default case is the accusative form. This is the case of French, Italian and English:

- (55) a. Lui, il est malade.
 him, he is sick
 b. Lui et Marie l'avaient fait bien avant nous.
 He and Mary it had done well before us
(56) a. Lui, QUESTO ha detto

he, this has said

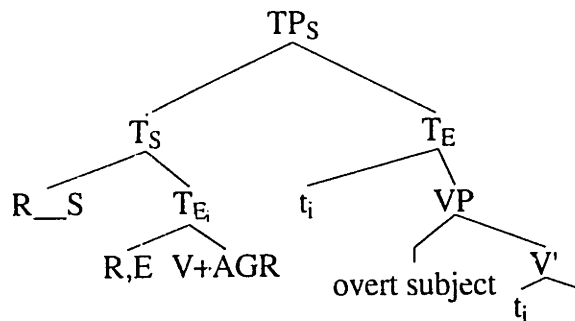
'Him, he said this'

- b. Lui e la ragazza del bar sono gli unici ad apprezzare tutto questo.

Thus, I propose that inverted subjects are marked with default morphological case. In addition, I follow a number of proposals according to which the inverted subject remains in its base-position, inside the VP (see Uribe-Etxebarria 1990, Bonet 1990, Ordóñez 1993, Sola 1992, among many others).

Regarding the position of the subject with respect to the object, there is considerable variation among Romance. In the next section I will discuss evidence presented in Ordóñez 1993 that SOV order is derived via object scrambling to the left of VP, so I can maintain here that the subject remains in its base position in overt syntax. The following tree illustrates a structure with an overt subject:

(57)



The verb moves through T_E to T_S with the nominal agreement features incorporated. As before, these check the Case feature under incorporation with T_E , and check the EPP. The D feature of the overt subject raises at LF. This LF movement could potentially explain the focused nature of the subject. Note, however, that this kind of movement cannot be the same that has been proposed by Chomsky (1991) for 'there'-insertion contexts. One fundamental difference between inversion constructions in the northern Italian dialects and French is that the latter show an indefiniteness effect that is absent from the former.

Consider the following contrasts:

- (58) a. E' venuta Maria (I)
is come Maria
b. *There arrived Mary
c. *Il est venu Marie

- it is come Marie
- (59) a. Gl'è venuto la Maria (F)
it is come the Maria
- b. E' vegnú la Maria (T)
is come the Maria

(58a) illustrates an inversion construction in standard Italian. The inverted subject doesn't need to be an indefinite. (58b,c) illustrate English and French 'there'-insertion. The subject cannot be definite. (59a,b) are examples from Fiorentino and Trentino. They share with French the lack of agreement in gender and number with the inverted subject. Yet, the inverted subject can be definite.

I suggest that a theory of the indefiniteness effect such as the one proposed in Abusch 1991 can potentially be used to explain these facts. She argues that indefinites in 'there'-insertion contexts are interpreted as part of the predicate, and are not DPs. In the case of post-verbal definite subjects in Null Subject Romance, I am proposing that it is the D feature that raises, given that the agreement affix itself lacks the D feature. Since this kind of LF movement is impossible in French and English, in virtue of the fact that the overt pronoun in Spec,TP already has a D feature, (58b,c) cannot be derived.

Regarding the question why such an LF movement is unavailable to *pro*, I suggest that a DP lacking a phonetic matrix cannot move at LF. To corroborate this idea is Cardinaletti's discussion of 'weak' pronouns, which are not tolerated in post-verbal position either (see footnote 1 in this Chapter)

4.4.1. VOS order

I have argued in the previous section that overt subjects in the NSLs remain in their base position. However, their relative position with respect to complements varies considerably from language to language. Italian (as well as Catalan) inverted subjects preferably follow complements. In Spanish and Portuguese, both orders, V-S-Compl and V-Compl-S, are attested. The following Spanish examples are from Ordóñez (1995):

- (60) a. Espero que te devuelva Juan el libro.
I-hope that to-you return John the book
- b. Espero que te devuelva el libro Juan.

Similar alternations are also found in Portuguese and Romanian. All speakers agree that the intonational patterns found with each construction are different. VSO structures are divided into two distinct intonational contours VS*O. VOS structures can correspond to a single intonational contour. In Portuguese as well as in Spanish, a subject pronoun must bear heavy stress when preceded by the object. When it is preceded by the verb it doesn't need to be stressed:

- (61) a. Amanhã compra ela o pão.
 buys she the bread
 b. Amanhã compra o pão ELA.

These intonation patterns are amenable to explanation under an appropriate theory of phonological phrasing. However, Ordóñez (1995) discusses evidence that suggests that the subject asymmetrically c-commands the object in (60a), whereas the object asymmetrically c-commands the subject in (60b).

The evidence he discusses ranges from quantifier binding asymmetries to condition C effects. The general gist of his proposal is that the asymmetries he discovers between V S Compl order and V Compl S order are due to the fact that the complement in the V Compl S order is scrambled to the left of the VP. He shows that there is a parallel between the asymmetries he discusses for Spanish and the same ones described in scrambling languages (e.g. German) with the S Compl V and Compl S V alternations. I will not review all of his arguments here, but I will concentrate on a set of facts that unambiguously show that the object c-commands the subject in (62).

4.4.1.1. Superiority effects in Spanish

In Chapter 3 I have discussed evidence provided by Torrego (1984) that Spanish has superiority effects. I repeat her data here:

- (62) a. Quién no sabes cuánto pesa? Spanish
 'Who don't you know how much weighs'
 b. *Cuánto no sabes quién pesa?
 'How much don't you know who weighs?'
 (63) a. Quién no sabes qué es en esta empresa?
 who not know-2sg what is in this firm
 'Who don't you know what position occupies in this firm?'
 'Who don't you know what position occupies in this firm?'

- b. **Qué no sabes quién es en esta empresa?*
 what not know-2sg who is in this firm
 'What position don't you know who occupies in this firm?'

The (a) examples above display wh-island violations. In (62) the phrase *cuánto* 'how much' is selected by the verb *pesa* 'weigh'. The subject can be extracted across the fronted complement. However, the (b) examples show that the inverse is impossible: an object cannot be extracted across the subject.

An account of the examples above in terms of superiority is at odds with another set of data discussed in Jaeggli (1985). Compare the Spanish example (64b) with its English counterpart:

- (64) a. *¿Quién compró qué?*
 Who bought what
 b. *¿Qué compró quién?*
 What did who buy
- (65) a. Who bought what?
 b. *What did who buy?

In (64b), a complement-wh can cross over a hierarchically superior subject. Thus, (64a) appears to show that Spanish lacks superiority effects. (62b) and (63b) indicate otherwise. This is a paradox.

One asymmetry noted by Ordóñez between VOS and VSO orders regards multiple wh in situ. The post-verbal wh-subject must precede the post-verbal wh-complement as can be shown by the contrasts in (66) and (67):

- (66) a. *¿Que le compró quién a quién?*
 what cl-bought who (S) for whom (IO)
 b. **¿Qué le compró a quién quién?*
- (67) a. *¿Qué dijo quién de quién?*
 what said who (S) about who (Compl)
 b. **¿Qué dijo de quién quién?*

Ordóñez's account for the particular contrast between the (a) and (b) examples in (66) and (67) doesn't rely on superiority. He entertains the hypothesis that these might be superiority violations but he immediately rejects it based on the

acceptability of (64b) above. However, his very own analysis can make sense of this apparent inconsistencies. Marantz (p.c.) has suggested to me these data cease to be incompatible if the object in (65b) has a way to A-move out of the VP first, prior to wh-extraction. In this case it would move out of the c-command domain of the subject, avoiding superiority. Thus, if Ordóñez is right and there is an intermediate A-position for the object above the subject, (65b) can be derived without violating superiority. Spanish does have superiority effects, but has a way of circumventing them in cases such as (65b). I will thus adopt Ordóñez suggestion that Romance has scrambling of objects, and that this process is the one responsible for surface VOS order.

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