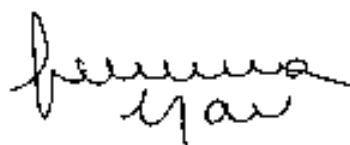


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Agreement and subjects

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- (22) a. 1. *Niente (Gianni) lo ha fatto
Nothing (G.) it-has done
2. ??Niente (??a Gianni) gli è successo
Nothing (to G.) him-has happened
- b. 1. *Nessuno (oggi) l'hanno letto
None (today) it-have-they read
2. Nessuno (??oggi) è arrivato
None (today) has arrived
- c. 1. *Pochi amici (questo anno) li ha invitati
Few friends (this year) them-has invited
2. Pochi amici (??questo anno) mi hanno invitato
Few friends (this year) me-have invited
- d. 1. *Nessun pacco (Gianni) l'ha spedito
No package (G.) it-has sent
2. Nessun pacco (??oggi) è arrivato
No package (today) has arrived
- e. 1. *Ognuno (questa volta) l'hanno accettato
Everyone (this time) him-they-have accepted
2. ?*Ognuno (questa volta) ha passato l'esame
Everyone (this time) has passed the-exam
- f. 1. *Nessuno (questa volta) l'hanno accettato
Nobody (this time) him-they-have accepted
2. Nessuno (??questa volta) ha passato l'esame
Nobody (this time) has passed the-exam
- g. 1. Tutti (??questa volta) li hanno accettati
All (this time) them-they-have accepted
2. Tutti (questa volta) hanno passato l'esame
All (this time) have passed the-exam
- h. 1. ?Chiunque (???in Brasile) lo possono derubbare
Anybody (in Brasil) him-they-can rob
2. Chiunque (?in Brasile) ti può derubbare
Anybody (in Brasil) you-he-can rob

- (22) i. 1. ??Tutti (???domani) li vedrò alla riunione
 All (tomorrow) them-I'll-see at-the meeting
 2. Tutti (domani) andranno alla riunione
 All (tomorrow) will-go to-the meeting
- j. 1. *Qualcuno (pocco fa) l'hanno chiuso nel bagno
 Somebody (just now) him-have locked in-the bathroom
 2. Qualcuno (pocco fa) si è chiuso nel bagno
 Somebody (just now) himself-has locked in-the bathrm.
- k. 1. ?*Tutti gli studenti (oggi) li vedrò in classe
 All the students (today) them-I'll-see in class
 2. Tutti gli studenti (oggi) verranno a vedermi
 All the students (today) will-come to see-me

* * *

Apart from their quantified status, there are other facts that point to the 'different nature' of preverbal subjects in NSLs w.r.t. preverbal subjects in non-NSLs. These concern overt pronouns. Montalbetti (1984) noticed that subject strong pronouns¹² in NSLs are not able to be bound variables. In (23), for instance, *ells* can only be interpreted as bound by *tots els estudiants* 'all the students' in the group reading:

- (23) *Tots els estudiants_i es pensen que ells_i aprovaran*
 All the students think that they will-pass

This fact is known as Montalbetti's Generalization. Although most linguists have not challenged the descriptive accuracy of this generalization, as noticed by Rosselló (1986), it is only true of preverbal subjects. Postverbal strong pronouns are not

¹² For non-subject strong pronouns, Montalbetti's Generalization only would hold when there is no 'weaker' option (such as a definite clitic). See Rigau (1988).

subject to it (at least (24) allows the bound variable reading much more easily):

- (24) *Tots els jugadors_i estan convençuts que guanyaran ells_i*
All the players are persuaded that will-win they
'For any player x, x is persuaded that x will win'

So Montalbetti's generalization would be an epiphenomenon: it is not the nature of the strong pronoun which is to blame for the lack of bound-variable-reading: it is rather its position (and, historically, the often uncritical acceptance that preverbal subjects in NSLs are the same as in non-NSLs is also to blame, I think). What happens with strong pronominal subjects (i.e., the contrast between preverbal and postverbal w.r.t. the possibility of a bound variable reading) also happens with object or oblique strong pronominals all the same (now the contrast being between dislocated and non-dislocated):

- (25) a. *Tots els candidats_i pensen que a ells_i els elegiran*
All the candidates think that to them them-will-choose
'All the candidates think that they (as a group/*bound variable) will be chosen'
- b. *Tots els candidats_i pensen que els elegiran a ells_i*
All the candidates think that them-will-choose to them
'For any candidate x, x thinks x will be chosen'

Another well-known fact points to the idea that preverbal subjects in Romance NSLs are 'different': as convincingly argued for in Rizzi (1982-b) and subsequent work, the 'that'-trace (ECP) effects in these languages are avoided by extracting the subject from the subject inversion position exclusively, not by any strategy like a null C° (as in English) or *que*->*qui* alternation

(as in French), which could suggest that preverbal subjects are not candidates to be Wh-extracted by these strategies.¹⁴

All the preceding observations hold in full of Catalan and, as far as I know, also Spanish (perhaps with some qualifications). The Italian facts we saw are clearly different as far as quantification is concerned: the restrictions we have seen above for quantifier preverbal subjects also hold of Italian in about the same way. But CLLD (or clitic resumed) elements are much more restricted in Italian. So the Italian versions of examples from (18).a) to (18).i). would have the same acceptability only in the preverbal subject version, not in the clitic resumed version, which would be unacceptable (perhaps with a gradation of unacceptability too).

We will try to make sense of these facts in the next section, by considering what is the status and position of preverbal subjects in NSLs.

1.2. On the Nature of the Preverbal Specifier in NSLs

Throughout this thesis, we have assumed that AGRP is the highest FC in the sentence below CP. We have crucially assumed that V-movement to AGR^o takes place in NSLs (in order for the I-subject to receive Case by Chain-government). In the preceding section, we detected a specifier position which can be occupied by some quantified elements (and perhaps even by non-quantified ones). Since this position was adjacent to the verb (so to AGR^o, according to our assumptions), we concluded that this position

¹⁴ One can always argue that these strategies are last resort, or more marked than postverbal subject extraction, and this is why they are not used in Romance NSLs. Kenstowicz (1989) shows that some Arabic dialects being NSLs indeed allow a *que-qui*-like strategy for preverbal subject extraction.

is Spec of AGR. Since this position was not exclusively occupied by subject elements, but also by clitic-resumed elements, we should explain why Spec of AGR is so 'liberal' a position.

There is one first consideration (which we have already stressed throughout this thesis): in NSLs Spec of AGR is not the AGR-identifier and therefore is not required to be filled by an element (which will be coreferential with the I-subject) in order to provide features to AGR. This would allow at least Spec of AGR to be empty, and we argued it is, e.g. in sentences where nothing precedes the finite verb and there is a null or inverted subject. However, the non-AGR-identifier nature of Spec of AGR does not seem to guarantee it can be freely filled with elements not being coindexed with the I-subject and, by transitivity, with AGR°. Whenever Spec of AGR is filled, it seems reasonable that it agrees with its head (as any specifier is basically expected to).

For Catalan and Spanish, at least, we saw that preverbal non-subject elements are allowed in apparently the same Specifier position (i.e., Spec of AGR, we assume) as preverbal subject elements. In addition, there seem to be other elements that apparently can occupy this position in Catalan and Spanish. In these languages, as we already saw in Chapter 4, section 2.1.1., adverbs like 'always', 'never', 'already/yet' and 'still/yet' can precede the verb (and cannot be separated from it), whereas in Italian they cannot:

- (26) a. Sempre/mai /ja /encara està cansat (Catalan)
Always/never/already/still is tired
b. *Sempre/mai /già /ancora è stanco (Italian)
Always/never/already/still is tired

To account for the contrast between Catalan/Spanish and Italian, two options seem workable. One option is to assume that the preverbal Specifier we detected for Catalan and Spanish is

not Spec of AGR, but Spec of some other FC. In other words, in Catalan and Spanish the highest FC below CP is (in finite sentences) not AGRP but another XP (TP, NEGP or EP,¹⁵ for instance). Suppose this FC is more liberal than AGRP in restricting the status of its specifier. Or alternatively that it is a position for quantified elements, either adverbial as in (26) or Argumental. Italian, instead, would have AGRP as the highest FC, then restricting elements in its specifier to DPs resumed by the I-subject.

This approach implies parameterization of the FC hierarchy, which has been advocated for by several authors (mainly Ouhalla (1988)). It implies we have to give up the assumption maintained throughout this thesis that AGR^o is the highest FC below CP (except for infinitives, where NOMP would intervene). I think one should be cautious about parameterization of the FC hierarchy:¹⁶ in the present-day profusion of under-determined alternative hypotheses on FCs, hierarchy parameterization is not an advisable working hypothesis. And in any case, any theory advocating for hierarchy parameterization should carefully address the learnability problem.

In any case, the hypothesis that the highest FC below CP is not AGRP in Catalan and Spanish while it is in Italian does not explain why, even if Italian is more restrictive in only allowing subject elements in this top specifier, it has the same

¹⁵ See Laka (1990) for the postulation of a EP category which contains both negation and affirmation.

¹⁶ Ouhalla (1988) claims that it is not parameterization what triggers different FC hierarchies: it is only variation in the subcategorization framework of FCs, therefore only 'lexical' variation. I cannot see this distinction has any real significance and it seems to me a merely terminological trick. For the child to learn that T^o subcategorizes for AGRP or, conversely, that AGR^o subcategorizes for TP is as difficult as if the alternative options are phrased as a parameter. On the other hand, affixal and highly abstract FCs are not 'lexical' in a reasonable sense.

restrictions as Catalan and Spanish w.r.t. the 'weak'/'strong' and [+human] factors.

Since none of these restrictions is observable in English, we cannot simply assume Italian preverbal subjects are 'true' subjects having the same nature as in English. Rather they are like in Catalan except they are further restricted to be subject elements. So the theory should capture two factors restricting preverbal specifiers:

- restrictions on quantification (holding of Catalan, Spanish and Italian).
- restrictions on subjecthood (holding only of (Northern) Italian).

To account for these facts we will suggest a possible approach. Thus far we have assumed AGR is a FC which projects a full X-bar structure. Our theory relies on the existence of AGR in crucial way: essentially we have derived Burzio's Generalization and the distribution of I-subjects from requirements on the licensing of AGR.

Although many researchers working in the split INFL hypothesis have assumed AGR is one of the components of INFL, some linguists contend that AGR is not a category projecting by itself, but it is rather parasitic on other, semantically 'contentful' FCs.¹⁷ Let us see how this idea could help in our present concerns.

¹⁷ See, for instance, Laka (1990). She contends that the three AGRs in Basque (subject, object and dative AGR) are parasitic on the other FCs (TP and Modal Phrase). In Basque AGR-morphemes are 'sandwiched' between other FC morphemes, suggesting, from a Mirror Principle point of view, they are parasitic on these other FCs. Poletto (1991) proposes a similar idea on the basis of Romance finite and participial morphology, although she does not contend that the AGR FCs are parasitic on the others.

In fact, an alternative approach to the idea that AGR is parasitic, could be to assume that it is not AGR which is parasitic on X (X a FC), but rather that X and AGR are a mixed FC. In other words, we are assuming a partially non-split INFL hypothesis: some of the components of INFL are not split. Specifically, we could restrict the 'splitting' of INFL in the following way: a FC can contain one (and only one) semantically 'contentful' component (T, Mode, Asp, etc.) and (possibly) one of a purely formal component (AGR). AGR can never be the exhaustive component of a FC.¹⁸

With this idea, we could assume the following parameter:

(27) In a FC, the AGR component *imposes/does not impose* selectional restrictions on its specifier.

Suppose the only selectional restriction AGR can impose on its specifier is precisely agreement with itself. In some Italian dialects, (subject) AGR (we will discuss directly which FC subject AGR could be a component of) would have chosen the first value in (27), while Catalan or Spanish would have chosen the second value.¹⁹ The other component of the functional category containing AGR would, in all three languages, impose restrictions on the quantified nature of its specifier. Let us try to ascertain which category could be the host of subject AGR.

Thus far, we are trying to maintain a maximally uniform structure (specifically hierarchy) of the FCs across languages. Between Italian and Catalan/Spanish, the only difference is not structural, but only concerns parameter (27). Can we contend that

¹⁸ This idea somehow reconciles the two notions of agreement, namely as a FC (AGR) and as a process/dependency: the latter would be morphologically instantiated as the former.

¹⁹ This would be the marked value. The fact that Italian varies would be due to the low level status of this parameter, the triggering evidence being thin.

AGR has the same host in non-NSLs. We know that in English and non-NSLs in general, the restrictions on the quantified nature of preverbal subjects do not hold as in Italian (recall English can have bare DPs and quantifiers of any nature as preverbal subjects). So this suggests that in non-NSLs like English AGR is not host of the same FC as in Italian or Catalan, for otherwise the same restrictions should hold. In the next section we shall try to find independent evidence pointing to this direction.

1.3. Interrogative Wh-movement

It has been the prevailing hypothesis for at least two decades that Wh-elements move to (Specifier of) COMP in languages where overt Wh-movement takes place. Evidence for this hypothesis in languages such as English is compelling, and so many developments rely on it that any attempt to give it up should seriously consider whether the alternative proposal is not actually a terminological variant on the term COMP, for a good deal of the theory on the nature of COMP relies on precisely Wh-movement.

However, as has often been the case, the theory could have been biased by the fact that English or English-like languages have been the first to be studied in depth. I think English-like languages have two characteristics concerning Wh-phenomena which are far from being universal:

a) Wh-interrogative clauses and relative clauses use very similar strategies: moving a Wh-word. This is not apparently the case in many languages, where Wh-phrases are only used in interrogative clauses: Basque, Irish, Chinese, etc. and even languages as little exotic as colloquial Catalan and other colloquial Romance languages, where headed relatives are uniformly introduced by the complementizer 'that'. This is even

true of colloquial English, where sentences 'The man who(m) I saw'/The man about whom I talked' are not used.

b) The landing site for the moved Wh-element is (likely to be) (specifier of) COMP. There are, however, languages having overt Wh-movement where the landing site is not obviously COMP. Specifically, languages having a Focus position (Basque, Hungarian) move their Wh-elements to that position.²⁰

I will contend that in Romance NSLs interrogative Wh-elements (unlike relative Wh-elements, when used) do not move to Spec of CP, or at least not always. This will become relevant for the argumentation we left unfinished in the preceding section.

I think the hypothesis that interrogative Wh-phrases move to Spec of CP in Romance NSLs is built on the basis two considerations. One is universality: it is obviously the null hypothesis. The other is that word order is not extremely problematic: interrogative Wh-phrases are sentence initial the facts can be accommodated in a relatively easy way. However, we are going to contend that a close look at word order facts poses serious problems for the Wh-to-COMP analysis of interrogative Wh-movement in Romance NSLs and that the universality argument should be relaxed as to allow other possibilities. We will see, on the other hand, that postulating Wh-to-COMP forces the theory to adopt *ad hoc* stipulations that seriously undermine the initial universality argument.

One basic fact that lead to the postulation that the embedding COMP particle ('that') and Wh-elements occupy essentially the same position is their mutual distributional complementarity. Nowadays the theory does not predict such a

²⁰ Ortiz de Urbina (1989) argues that the Focus position is Spec of COMP. Since Basque would have a final C° head (the embedding 'that' particle is affixed to the also head-final V+INFL) but a left-branching Spec of COMP, the word-order predictions are less clear-cut than in head-initial/spec-initial languages, and doubts can be cast on the accuracy of his analysis.

complementary distribution (complementarity being an effect of some non-universal doubly-filled-COMP filter), but it predicts that Wh-in-COMP and C° are adjacent positions.²¹ Romance NSLs, however, provide several kinds of evidence suggesting that the complementizer 'that' and interrogative Wh-phrases are not in such close positions. One argument is based on clause adjuncts, such as CLLD elements and other adverbial adjuncts. These elements, when adjoined to an embedded clause, always occur to the right of the complementizer particle:²²

- (28) Espero (*avui) (*en Joan) que (avui) (en Joan) el veuré
 I-hope (today) (the J.) that (today) (the J.) him-I'll-see
 'I hope that Joan I will see today'

If we consider relative clauses with a Wh-phrase, the facts are parallel in that clause adjuncts follow the Wh-phrase (in this case pre-Wh adjuncts are in fact worse than pre-'that' adjuncts, probably because relative clauses have to be adjacent to the NP they modify):

- (29) La noia (*avui) de qui (avui) hem parlat
 The girl (today) of who (today) have-we talked
 'The girl about whom we talked today'

²¹ Except, perhaps, in exceptional cases like French complex inversion (see Rizzi & Roberts (1989)).

²² Occitan seems to be an exception to this generalization:

Pensi aquel libre que lo trobaràn pas jamai
 I-think that book that it-will-they-find not never
 'I think that, that book, they will never find'

Occitan seems to have some kind of topic raising of an A-movement-like nature which gives other surprising results. So I think it is an independent problem.

If we shift to interrogative Wh-phrases, however, the facts are reversed: adjuncts and dislocated elements can precede (at least in colloquial speech) the Wh-element but cannot follow it at all:²³

- (30) No sé (en Joan) quan (*en Joan) el veuré
Not know-I (the J.) when (the J.) him-will-I-see
'I don't know when I will see Joan'

It is reasonable to assume that clause adjuncts cannot be adjoined to CP in general: this is what (28) and (29) suggest.²⁴ Adjunction to IP, instead, seems to be allowed quite freely in many languages. If so, in (30) *en Joan* would not be adjoined to CP, but rather to IP.

There are some ways out of this problem if we want to maintain the Wh-to-COMP hypothesis for (30). One could be the following:

a) Interrogative CPs, unlike relative or [-WH] CPs, allow adjunction.

b) The fact that the adjuncts cannot follow the Wh-element in (30) could be due to V+INFL movement to C°. So the prediction would be that IP adjuncts should follow the verb.

As for the assumption in a), I do not know of any interesting way to derive it. In addition this assumption does not receive support from other languages: English, French or

²³ We already discussed some of these facts in Chapter 4, 2.1.1.

²⁴ This is also a necessary assumption for V-second languages: free adjunction to CP in main clauses would break the V-2 appearance of the language, contrary to fact. This restriction is not likely to be universal, however (recall what we said about Occitan). It could rather follow from parametric options affecting the nature of CPs. Once a language forbids this adjunction, however, it seems to be a strong prohibition.

German interrogative CPs do not allow adjunction (at least when embedded). As for b), we will see below that a V-to-COMP account of the adjacency requirement between interrogative Wh-phrases and the verb is problematic in Romance languages.

Another possibility would be to exploit CP-recursion. We could assume, with Chomsky (1986-a), that adjunction to Arguments is forbidden. If the embedded CP is an Argument of the main verb, then adjunction to it is forbidden. Suppose, however, that:

a) there is CP-recursion: a CP can optionally subcategorize for another CP: [_{CP} C* [_{CP} IP]].

b) when there is CP recursion, the 'that' particle and the relative Wh-phrases have to occupy the upper CP, while interrogative Wh-phrases have to (or may) occupy the lower CP.

c) the lower CP is not, strictly speaking, an Argument of the main verb, but rather a subconstituent of it, so adjunction to the lower CP is allowed.

The assumptions in a) and b) would hold only of Romance NSLs, for the asymmetry between (28)/(29) and (30) is not found in English, French or German. So, in addition to the unclear nature of these assumptions, we should ask why they are only relevant for some languages. I honestly do not see any interesting way of deriving b) and even less of restricting a) (and b)) to (Romance) NSLs. But even if these possibilities were workable, there are further problems for the interrogative Wh-to-COMP hypothesis.

One is INFL-to-COMP movement. A recurrent pattern across languages where interrogative WH-to-COMP seems to hold without problems is that there is an asymmetry between root and embedded clauses: in interrogative main clauses V+INFL-to-C* movement is obligatory while in embedded clauses it is forbidden (or at least not obligatory). In Catalan or Spanish, however, interrogative Wh-phrases are obligatorily adjacent to the verb in both main and

embedded sentences. In Italian, adjacency is also required except for subjunctive embedded clauses:

Catalan (same for Spanish):

- (31) a. Què (*avui) faràs?
What (today) will-you-do
b. No sé què (*en Joan) farà
Not know-I what (the J.) will-do

Italian:

- (32) a. Cosa (*oggi) farai?
What (today) will-you-do
b. Non so cosa (??Gianni) farà
Not know-I what (G.) will-do
c. Non so che cosa (Gianni) abbia fatto
Not know-I what (G.) have-SUBJ done

Putting aside, (32).c) for the moment, we have to account for the adjacency requirement. There are, to my knowledge, two alternative possibilities. One is assuming that adjacency is due to V+INFL movement to C°. Since, except for Italian subjunctive interrogatives,²⁵ there is no main/embedded contrast, whatever explanation we have for this contrast should be qualified to cover Spanish, Catalan and Italian indicative interrogative embedded clauses.²⁶ There is an additional problem: V+INFL to COMP predicts there will be V-subject inversion. This is not the case in Italian or Catalan: the order Wh- V subject object is not

²⁵ Subjunctive in standard Italian is more profusely used than in any other Romance language. However, colloquial Italian tends to dispense with subjunctive altogether and so, I presume, with possibility ((32).c).

²⁶ Rizzi (1991-a) assumes that in Spanish INFL-to-COMP obligatory movement in embedded interrogatives is due to the fact that, in this type of languages, the [+Wh] feature, which must appear in an embedded [+Wh] C°, is always generated in INFL, as it is, in his hypothesis, in root sentences in all languages.

allowed. It is certainly allowed in Spanish, but, as we suggested in Chapter 1, this fact is not exclusive of interrogative constructions: VSO order is amply used in a variety of contexts. We argued that this is due to the fact that Spanish allows the I-subject to left-adjoin to VP.

Rizzi (1991-a) proposes a solution that accounts for the adjacency requirement in terms of V-INFL to COMP, and for the non-existence of the (WH-) V S O word order in terms of Case theory. He assumes that AGR can assign Nominative by agreement (when the subject is in the specifier of the head containing AGR) or by government (when the subject is in its government domain). To account for the apparent absence of VSO word order, he assumes that:

- INFL to COMP movement destroys the context for Nominative assignment under agreement, since now AGR is in C° and stands in a relation of government with the subject.

- Italian or Catalan do not choose the parametric option of assigning Nominative under government, unlike English or German.

In this context, only *pro* or a postverbal subject (which is independently assigned Case by T°) is possible:

- (33) a. Cosa ha *pro* fatto?
 What has (he) done
 b. Cosa ha fatto Gianni?
 What has done G.

Thus the order Wh- V S O does exist but only with null subjects. In English, instead, AGR can assign Nominative both by agreement and by government, so INFL to COMP creates overt verb-subject order with no problem.

I think this theory, appealing as it may be, is unclear in one respect: it is not clear at all that (head) movement should be conceived as destroying a category's capabilities: in the

traditional spirit of trace theory, traces are full copies of their antecedents except for phonological content, so the trace of INFL (or AGR) should in principle be able to do the same job as its antecedent. Roberts (1991-a) (who follows Rizzi in this respect) argues that this is true only as far as Baker's Government Transparency Corollary allows it, and Nominative case assignment by agreement does not involve government. The adequacy of this position could be tested in independent constructions. Perhaps the main problem for this theory could be it is too powerful: since Case assignment by government is a parametric option (so English INFL in COMP can assign Nominative by government to the subject in Spec of INFL, in addition to Nominative by agreement), then potential problematic cases could always be neutralized by assuming that government is a legitimate alternative to agreement in precisely these cases.²⁷ I will not pursue the issue here.²⁸

²⁷ So, for instance, in Chomsky's (1992) proposal, object AGR would have the object in its specifier and, since there is no overt AGR material to its right (in any Spec-head-complement language I know of), this material has likely been carried along by V-movement. So, in the spirit of Rizzi's theory, object AGR always would have to assign Case by government, which, in this case, would void the theory of its initial variation-predicting interest. But this is only a speculation on a not necessarily consistent Case, for Chomsky's object agreement and Rizzi's Relativized Minimality are rather incompatible.

²⁸ Another problem with Rizzi's proposal concerns his characterization of the facts: he simply assumes that (main) Wh-clauses in Romance NSLs involve either a null subject or an inverted subject. In fact, while the former possibility is always an available option, the second is far from being the unmarked strategy: the most natural way of translating 'What has John done?' is by resorting to left- or right- dislocation of the subject:

- (i) Gianni cosa ha fatto?
G. what has done
- (ii) Cosa ha fatto, Gianni?
What has done G.

Having an inverted subject ('Cosa ha fatto Gianni', without an intonational dislocation pattern for Gianni) is possible but it is rather used to convey a special interpretation: 'What has JOHN done?'.

The main problem with Rizzi's proposal is, I think, that it does not say anything w.r.t. the clause-adjunct problem we presented above. The clause-adjunct word order and the lack of VSO word order in interrogatives suggest there is not verb movement to COMP, but rather that interrogative WH-phrases land in a lower position: the specifier of the FC whose maximal projection allows clause adjuncts. Now the question is: could this Specifier be the same which hosts preverbal subjects (and the other phrases we showed can appear in the same position in Catalan and Spanish)?

1.4. A parameter for the FC Hierarchy

In section 1.2., we ended by suggesting that:

- AGR is the host of some functional category.
- FCs can contain two hosts: a semantically contentful category and an AGR.
- the contentful host in the FC containing (subject) AGR in English and non-NSLs cannot be one imposing restrictions on quantified specifiers (as any quantified DP can be in the spec of that category in English).

- in (some) Romance NSLs, the contentful host must impose restrictions, based on the 'strong'/'weak' and [\pm human] nature of the quantifier, of the kind we saw above. The AGR host imposes agreement in Italian, but not in Catalan and Spanish.

What category is the contentful mate of AGR in Romance NSLs? If we compare (most) Romance NSLs with Germanic languages and French, there is an outstanding difference concerning the negative particle: in the latter this particle is apparently in a lower position than the finite inflected verb. It is instead preverbal in (most) Romance NSLs: apparently it is not above the inflected verb, but rather attached to the clitic+V+INFL head. This suggests that, if NegP is a FC, its position with respect

to other FCs is parameterized. Let us tentatively assume the following:

a) the hierarchy of FCs is minimally parameterized. The two options are:

(34) a. ModalP Σ P TP

b. Σ P ModalP TP

where Σ stands for Negation/Affirmation (see Laka (1990))

b) subject AGR is a FC-mate of the highest XP (ModalP or Σ P) in (34).

c) Modal^o does not impose any restriction on its specifier. Σ^o imposes restrictions on the quantifier properties of its specifier.

d) non-NSLs use Spec of AGR (i.e. Spec of the FC containing AGR) as the AGR-identifier. The reason is the following: in non-NSLs the I-subject is restricted to be [+anaphoric]. Therefore the only means for the Argument becoming subject to be a quantifier (and possibly a 'strong' quantifier) is to choose the ModalP FC as the host of AGR (option (34).a)), so that the AGR-identifier can be a quantifier of any type.

e) Option (34).b) is the unmarked option. It implies that Spec of (the FC containing) AGR is restricted in its quantification possibilities. Since NSLs can have quantified I-subjects (they are [-anaphoric]), Spec of (the FC containing) AGR can be restricted for quantification and no problem of affability arises. So the unmarked option (34) is chosen.

The suggestion in d) that non-NSLs have to choose (34).a) (at least as a preferred option) is, I think, of historical interest: Languages loosing the Null Subject status quickly develop postverbal negation (this is what happened in the passage

from Old French to Modern French, and from Old English to Middle English:

(35) Idealized data:

- a. Old French: Je ne mange
 I not eat
- b. Modern French: Je (ne) mange pas
 I (not) eat not
- c. Old English: I no come
- d. Middle English: I (no) come nought

These changes are contemporary of the loss of the Null Subject status. Since they are rather spectacular changes (they are not trivial reanalysis processes), it is plausible that they were forced by UG. Our suggestion is that a non-NSL has to take the unmarked option of lowering Σ P and promoting ModalP as the top FC in order to make the top FC an appropriate host for subject-AGR, as explained in d) above. The reason why subject-AGR has to be the host of the top FC is probably that this is the only way for left dislocated or *pro*-resumed DPs to be easily reanalysed as AGR-identifiers when the language loses the Null Subject ability.

2. Infinitives

Now let us consider infinitives. For infinitives and gerunds we assumed that there is a resp. nominal/adverbial FC between CP and AGRP. We have proposed in the preceding sections that AGRP is actually Σ +AGR phrase; from now on we will use Σ P or AGRP depending on the issue at stake. Non-finite sentences in NSLs do not allow preverbal subjects in general (except in Aux-to-Comp constructions). Not even the dislocated or clitic resumed elements we considered in section 2. are easily allowed in non-

interrogative controlled infinitives (the dislocated element can adjoin to the main clause, as in (36).b)):

- (36) a. Espero (???a tots aquests) veure'ls aviat
I-hope to all these to-see-them soon
'All these people, I hope to see soon'
- b. A tots aquests espero veure'ls aviat
To all these I-hope to-see-them soon
= a.

So, for some reason, the preverbal specifier (which would be Spec of NOMP) is not available for clitic- or *pro*-resumed elements nor is dislocation available. For dislocation, we could assume NOMP does not allow adjuncts. As for Specifiers, let us consider all the possibilities.

In the case of control, we assumed that Spec of AGR is filled with PRO, (whose head raises to NOM^o in NSLs like Catalan or Italian). So this Specifier is not available for other material. Suppose Spec of NOMP is not available either because it is of another nature and does not licence the occurrence of pronoun resumed elements.

If non-controlled infinitives do not have PRO in Spec of EP (which is, we assumed, AGR-less), this position should be available. In fact, Infinitives with Overt Subjects can have a post-VP subject (as we saw in Chapter 4) or an immediately postverbal subject. The Structures would be as follows: in (37).a) the overt subject is an I-subject; in (37).b) the overt subject is in Spec of Σ and is resumed by the *pro* I-subject:

- (37) a. En [NOM° arribar] [ΣP [Σ' a casa en Joan]]
 In to-arrive home the J.
 'When Joan arrives/d home'
- b. En [NOM° arribar] [ΣP en Joan_i [Σ' a casa pro_i]]
 In to-arrive the J. to house
 'When Joan arrives/d home'

Clitic resumed elements cannot appear in Spec of ΣP probably because they would not c-commanded their clitic, which is attached to NOM°.

So in conclusion, infinitival Spec of Σ in NSLs is in principle available for pronoun resumed elements, as it should be other things being equal, but there are some restrictions:

- in control structures, Spec of Σ is occupied by PRO.
- in other non-finite structures it can be filled only by an element resumed by the I-subject *pro*: the other (clitic resumed) elements cannot be resumed by a clitic which appears in a higher position.

Infinitival Spec of AGR in non-NSLs is never available for an overt DP in control or raising, because it is occupied resp. by PRO or a null anaphor. It is in ECM and 'for' infinitives. In other cases it is conceivably available, but infinitives with overt subjects (i.e., infinitives not being either controlled or raising) are not attested in non-NSLs except for ECM. The only case of non-finite clauses having non-ECM-Case-marked overt subjects are gerunds. In the case of gerunds, they either use an alternative means of case marking (genitive, ECM) or they are adverbial:

- (38) a. John's loving Mary so much is a drag
 b. I'd prefer John hating Mary a bit
 c. Roddy accepted Elaine's dirty proposals, he being a confessed debauchee.

3. Summary

In this Chapter we have argued that:

a) Preverbal subjects in NSLs do not have the same status as preverbal subjects in non-NSLs. This is expected under our previous theory (which predicts only the latter to be AGR-identifiers, while the former will be *pro*/pronoun resumed elements). We have seen that preverbal subjects in NSLs are restricted for quantification and, in some of the languages (Catalan, Spanish) their position is not exclusive of subject elements.

b) The reason for the restrictions on quantification must lie on some (not accounted for) restrictions imposed by the head. We have argued that this head, although being the host of AGR, is not exhaustively AGR. It also contains a 'meaningful' FC, which is subject to parametric variation (EP being the unmarked option taken by NSLs). Since Spec of EP is an appropriate host for interrogative *Wh*-elements, this is the place these elements move to. Both word order phenomena and lack of Subject-Aux inversion point to that direction.

Although our discussion is too brief to be conclusive, I think the ideas advanced are worth exploring quite independently of the precise and intricate theoretical assumptions in the previous chapters: in my opinion, the null hypothesis that Romance NSLs minimally differ from English (which has often been the departing point of study for many linguistic phenomena) should be taken more carefully, even if we aim at universal grammar.

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