

OVERT SUBJECTS IN SPANISH CONTROL INFINITIVES AND THE THEORY OF EMPTY CATEGORIES*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Since the Government & Binding framework, phonetically unrealized subjects have been analyzed as syntactically projected empty categories (*ecs*). The different behavior of empty subjects in control infinitives and finite constructions in *pro-drop* languages was captured by postulating the two different types of base-generated *ecs* PRO and *pro* characterized by the features [\pm anaphoric] and [\pm pronominal].

Within the minimalist research agenda, several problems for the traditional theory of *ecs* arise: In GB, the classification of *ecs* as [\pm pronominal] and [\pm anaphoric] elements was crucially linked to the notions of government and governing category. However, these notions have been abandoned in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, Reuland 2011). An alternative approach to PRO can be found in Landau (2000, 2004), who applies Reinhart & Reuland's (1993) classification of nominal expressions by means of the [\pm R(eferential)] feature to the empty subject in control structures. Thus, PRO is a phi-defective [-R] element, licensed by a feature defective $T_{[-R]}$ in a Spec-Head relationship. Within minimalism, however, classifying PRO as [-R] is problematic for the following reason: The Principle of Inclusiveness forces us to assume that PRO and *pro* are separate lexical items (LIs):

- (1) **Principle of Inclusiveness** Chomsky (2000: 113)
No new features are introduced by C_{HL} .

But in fact, base-generated *ecs* are *inherently* feature-less elements – PRO *acquires* anaphoric phi-features by means of being merged with T in control (cf. Borer (1989)) and *pro* acquires non-anaphoric phi-features being merged with T having a 'strong' phi-feature make-up in Romance *pro-drop* languages (see e.g. Jaeggli & Safir (1989) and many more for a discussion). Assuming that PRO is marked as [-R] *in the lexicon* just restates that it depends on a feature-defective functional head *in syntax*. Hence, in minimalism, PRO must be treated as a "primitive lexical formative" (cf. Boeckx et al. (2010: 52)) although it lacks inherent (lexical) feature content *per se*. Furthermore, if PRO and *pro* are treated as separate LIs, the status of an *ec* cannot be determined contextually in syntax anymore as was originally proposed by Chomsky (1981: 321): "If the three empty categories partition a certain

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distribution – in this case, virtually the distribution of NP – then it is reasonable to presume that in fact there is only one basic empty category α ; each occurrence of α has one of three clusters of properties.” Thus, we face a clear tension between the assumptions that *ecs* are separate LIs (forced by the principle (1)) and that they are contextually defined.

Apart from the conceptual concerns, empirical data has been put forward that poses problems for the traditional theory of *ecs* as PRO and *pro*. In finite control constructions (see e.g. Landau (2004)) the empty subject should be *pro* according to its formal licensing (by AGR) but PRO according to its identification by a matrix antecedent. Further problems for the traditional PRO Theorem can be found in languages that allow overt subjects in control infinitives. For example, in Spanish, Italian, and Hungarian, nominative-marked overt pronouns are licit although the verb is not equipped with agreement morphology (see Mensching (2000) and Szabolcsi (2009) for an overview), in contrast to the inflected infinitive in European Portuguese (see e.g. Raposo (1987)).

In this paper, we focus on overt nominative subjects in Spanish control infinitives and how their existence could be explained in a theory that does not recur to the problematic elements PRO and *pro*. The existence of overt subjects in control infinitives in a variety of languages will be taken as evidence for the assumption that the licensing of syntactically active null arguments in control is not as different from that of null arguments in *pro-drop* as formerly assumed. We will therefore sketch an *ec-less* approach to null subjects in the two types of configuration that derives their licensing from the feature make-up of the T heads involved. Thus, it will be argued that in control as well as *pro-drop* it is the T head that is rendered syntactically active and hence does not project a specifier.

This paper is structured as follows: First, we will briefly discuss one minimalist attempt to explain control without PRO – Hornstein’s (1999) Movement Theory of control (MTC). Thereafter, we will outline the basic theoretical assumptions of our approach to null subjects. Furthermore, we will discuss the empirical data from Spanish and how they could be accounted for in the approach outlined. It will be shown that the licensing of empty vs. overt positions in Spanish control infinitives is not an issue of Case theory alone, but the result of the interaction of [\pm R]-marking, Case theory, and pragmatics.

2. THE MOVEMENT THEORY OF CONTROL – AN *EC-LESS* THEORY?

We have argued that base-generated *ecs* are problematic elements in a minimalist architecture. However, if we want to abandon PRO and *pro* from grammar, we have to account for the syntactic activeness of the apparent ‘subject position’. Traditional evidence can be found in constructions involving anaphor binding:

- (2) John said that Mary tried [to kick **herself** / ***himself**].

Since Agree is strictly local, a direct association of the anaphor with the matrix antecedent would violate the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC):

- (3) PIC: (Chomsky 2000: 108)
The domain of H is not accessible to operations outside HP; only H and its ‘edge’ are accessible to such operations.

If PRO is assumed to be present in the embedded Spec,T, Agree can be established locally within the embedded CP.¹

The Movement Theory of Control (MTC; Hornstein (1999) and subsequent work) offers a possible solution to the syntactic activeness of the subject position in control infinitives without recurring to the problematic element PRO. In this theory, the obligatory antecedence relationship between the empty subject and its controller is accounted for by treating the control relationship as the result of movement of a DP from the embedded control clause into the matrix controller position:

(4) ... John T [_{VP} ~~John~~ v [_{VP} tried [_{TP} ~~John~~ to [_{VP} ~~John~~ v-win [_{VP} win]]]]]

Thus, control is analyzed as *theta-feature* driven movement, in contrast to raising, which is always Case (and EPP) driven. NOC, in this theory, cannot be derived from Move since the clause the empty subject is contained in is an island to extraction. Boeckx & Hornstein (2007) propose that the empty subject is the result of a Last Resort *pro*-insertion mechanism, i.e. *pro* is inserted only if movement is blocked since the latter operation is less costly in economy terms.

However, the postulation of *pro* as the empty subject of NOC infinitives is problematic in the light of our discussion about the legitimacy of *ecs* in a minimalist framework: *pro* in NOC lacks *inherent* features exactly as PRO does in OC. Thus, Boeckx et al. (2010: 53) state: “[...] in a minimalist setting, PRO and NP-traces cannot be associated with the structure [_{NP} ∅], for it is impossible to generate a phrase *without a lexical head* [...]”. Since *pro* is an instance of [_{NP} ∅], lacking inherent lexical content, it should be equally illicit in a Bare Phrase Structure. Furthermore, the postulated Last Resort mechanism is problematic in the light of examples of the following type:

(5) While PRO_{??i/x} exiting, a glass_i fell down.

(6) While PRO_{i/x} exiting, a man_i fell down.

If *pro*-insertion is Last Resort, it is predicted that PRO (i.e. copy) and *pro* are in strict complementary distribution. In Hornstein (1999), adjunct control is treated as obligatory subject control, the empty subject being the result of Sideward Movement, i.e. the copying of a DP out of an unconnected subtree into another one (see Nunes (2001)). However, the difference between (5) and (6) shows that the same syntactic configuration can exhibit subject and arbitrary/logophoric control (see (6)). Williams (1992) and Landau (2000) have shown that adjunct infinitives/gerunds exhibit logophoric rather than arbitrary control. Thus, the antecedent of the empty subject in (5) - (6) is contextually determined. The reason why ‘a glass’ is not an appropriate antecedent in (5) is that [+human] is a prerequisite for logophoric control (see Landau (forthcoming)). Thus, it seems as if it is not structural factors alone that prohibit OC in (5), making the Last Resort mechanism of *pro*-insertion questionable in adjunct control structures.

¹ An anonymous reviewer points out that locality is only preserved if the embedded Spec,v is not a phase. However, even if vP is a strong phase, the anaphoric relationship can be locally established between the anaphor in complement position and PRO in its base-position in Spec,v.

The reasoning up to now suggests that the MTC, while resolving several problems related to PRO in OC cannot do away with the questionable status of *pro* in NOC. We therefore propose that none of the two configurations involves a traditional base-generated *ec* of the type [\pm anaphoric] and [\pm pronominal]. Rather, in the vein of the Agree-based Theory of Control (Landau (2000), (2004), and subsequent work), the empty subject in OC as well as NOC is characterized by a [-R]-marked T head, following the theory of nominal classification of Reinhart & Reuland (1993). Differently from Landau, however, we do not assume that $T_{[-R]}$ licenses [-R] PRO in its Spec. Rather, it is [-R] that renders the T head syntactically ‘active’, i.e. accessible to Probe-Goal relations.

3. TOWARD AN ALTERNATIVE *EC*-LESS APPROACH TO CONTROL

The starting point for this proposal is the observation that the MTC, by treating control in terms of theta-driven movement, does not comply with Chomsky’s (2008) ‘C-I Hypothesis’:

- (7) C-I incorporates a Dual Semantics, with generalized argument structure as one component, the other one being related to discourse and scopal properties. Language seeks to satisfy the duality in the optimal way, EM [external Merge] serving one function and IM [internal Merge] the other, avoiding additional means to express these properties. (Chomsky (2008: 141), see also Gallego (2010: chapter 1) for discussion)

In Chomsky (2008), EM as well as IM are seen as optimal solutions to legibility conditions (the Strong Minimalist Thesis) in that both are designed to serve each a different component of the C-I interface.²

To offer an *ec*-less approach to control that complies with the ‘C-I Hypothesis’, we will modify Williams’ idea (1981), (1991) that nominal expressions have an external [R]-argument that licenses referential use of a theta-role by binding it:

- (8) destroy: (Actor, Theme) city: (R)
 (9) VP
 / \
 V N
 (Th_i) (R_i)

In a minimalist architecture, Williams’ proposal faces problems in that the level of application of theta-binding (D-Structure) is not a licit level of representation. Furthermore, indexes are not valid syntactic objects, given the principle of Inclusiveness in (1).

Embedding Williams’ idea into a minimalist conception, we claim that the satisfaction of argument structure is expressed as a relation of feature valuation. Thus, let us assume that nominal expressions bear a valued [R]-feature. Furthermore, predicates have a list of

² In former minimalist works (see Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001), Merge (EM) was seen as more economical than Move (IM). Thus, only the latter was feature-driven (Chomsky 1995) or associated with an EPP feature (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

unvalued $\theta_{[R:_]}$ features that must be valued by means of EM with LIs having a valued $[R]$ feature:

- (10) a. *wash*: $\theta_{[R:_]}$ John: $[R]$
 v: $\theta_{[R:_]}$ himself: $[R]$
- b. Numeration: $\{(C, 1), (T, 1), (v_{[R:_]}, 1), (wash_{[R:_]}, 1), (John_{[R]}, 1), (himself_{[R]}, 1)\}$
- c. $[_{CP} C [_{TP} John_{[R]} T [_{VP} John_{[R]} v_{[R:_]}-wash [_{VP} himself_{[R]} wash_{[R:_]}]]]$.

Hence, $\theta_{[R:_]}$ drives EM with an element having a valued $[R]$ -feature. EM of an $[R]$ -marked LI with an $[R:_]$ -marked predicate will make the corresponding argument accessible to reference assignment. $\theta_{[R:_]}$ -valuation (i.e. saturation) is forced by the *Interpretability Condition*:

- (11) LIs have no features other than those interpreted at the interfaces, properties of sound and meaning. (Chomsky's (2000: 113))

If $\theta_{[R:_]}$ is not valued, the corresponding event participant is not made accessible to reference assignment and, hence, cannot be interpreted at the C-I interface, violating (11).³

At this point, the question arises of what the relevant value of $[R]$ is. Reinhart & Reuland (1993) argue that the difference between anaphoric expressions (SELF- and SE-anaphors) on the one hand and pronouns and R-expressions on the other is characterized by means of the features $[-R]$ and $[+R]$, respectively. Thus, we argue that the value of $[R]$ is either $[-]$ or $[+]$, depending on the feature make-up of the expression involved (cf. also Landau (2004)):

- (12) a. defective (phi- and/or tense)-features $\rightarrow [R: -]$
 b. complete (phi- and/or tense)-features $\rightarrow [R: +]$

Hence, a sentence such as (10.c) would be derived as in (13):

- (13) $...[_{TP} John_{[R:+]} T [_{VP} John_{[R:+]} v_{[R:_]} [_{VP} himself_{[R:-]} washed_{[R:_]}]]]$

Here, $[R:-]$ motivates a further Agree operation with a $[R:+]$ antecedent to be assigned a 'referential host'.

One consequence of this approach is that both, EM and IM, are complex operations involving the subcomponents Merge and Agree (valuation). This complies with Pesetsky & Torrego's (P&T; 2006) *Vehicle Requirement on Merge* (VRM):

- (14) If α and β Merge, some feature F of α must probe F on β .

³ Note that this reduction of the Theta-Criterion to the Interpretability Condition only forces all unvalued $\theta_{[R:_]}$ features to be valued but not all $[R]$ features to be associated with some $\theta_{[R:_]}$. Implicit internal arguments, in this approach, would be treated as lexically valued $[R : arb]$ features (see Herbeck in prep).

However, if raising T was marked for [R:-], it could never be assigned a ‘referential host’ since the matrix verb lacks an external argument. A technical implementation for the lack of [R:-] on T in raising but its presence on T in control could be formulated in Chomsky’s (2008) system of “feature inheritance”: Chomsky assumes that T is not inherently specified for phi-features but acquires them from the C-domain. Assuming (12) to hold, T could never inherit phi-features from the C-domain (and hence no [R]-marking) because raising infinitives lack a CP-layer. However, since control infinitives have a (truncated) C-layer, defective phi-features are inherited from C and T will be marked [R:-], valuing $\theta_{[R:-]}$ of v/V.

In NOC, we now face the problem that T, being marked [R:-], cannot be linked to a ‘referential host’ either: The non-finite clause in subject or adjunct position is an island so that Agree cannot be established to an argument in the syntactic environment. We have already seen in the case of examples (5) – (6) that NOC involves logophoric rather than arbitrary control (following Williams 1992, Landau 2000). Thus, the empty subject in NOC resembles an ‘exempt anaphor’ (see Reuland (2011)) rather than a pure pronominal. We argue, adopting Sigurðsson’s (2011) notion of ‘context-linkers’ (CL_n), that [R:-] is linked to the logophoric features of the C-domain:⁶

- (21) **OC:**
 John_[R:+] tried [CP C_{def} [TP T_[R:-]-to [VP V_[R:-] kick [VP Bill_[R:+] kick_[R:-]]]]]
- (22) **NOC:**
 [CP [TP [CP CL_n [TP T_[R:-] to [VP V_[R:-] win [VP win]]]]] would [VP be a pleasure]]
- (23) **Raising:**
 John_[R:+] seems [TP John_[R:+] T-to [VP John_[R:+] V_[R:-]-win [VP win]]].
- (24) **Romance-type pro-drop:**
 Juan dijo [CP que [TP T_[R:+]-durmieron [VP V_[R:-]-durmieron mucho ...

In the next section, we will aim at resolving some apparent problems for the alternative *ec*-less approach outlined so far.

4. AN APPARENT PROBLEM

Until now, we have only discussed instances of control in which the $\theta_{[R:-]}$ feature of v (i.e. the external argument) is valued by T_[R]. A potential problem arises in passive and unaccusative constructions:

- (25) a. ... to fall_[R:-] T_[R:-] b. ... falls_[R:-] John_[R:+]
 (26) a. ... to be kicked_[R:-] T_[R:-] b. ... is kicked_[R:-] John_[R:+]

That is, if EM serves argument structure and T_[R] is the internal argument of the unaccusative

⁶ The idea that PRO is bound by C to establish logophoric control is also expressed in Manzini & Roussou (2000) and Alboiu (2010).

passive verb, it is predicted that T is initially merged in the V-domain, yielding the illicit derivations in (25a) and (26a). However, a potential solution can be found in the following citation from Chomsky (2005: 14; my emphasis):

“External Merge correlates with argument structure, internal Merge with edge properties, scopal or discourse-related (new and old information, topic, etc.). *The correlation is not perfect, at least on the surface, but close enough to suggest that apparent violations should fall under broader principles.* For external Merge, these go beyond argument structure associated with substantive categories, and they presumably include functional categories of the kind coming to light in a variety of inquiries [...]”

That is, EM of T in the V-domain violates selectional restrictions of the T head or, alternatively, general principles of functional projection. Thus, in the case of non-finite unaccusatives/passives, there are two conflicting demands which can only be resolved by merging $T_{[R]}$ above v. Hence, an apparent violation of the ‘C-I Hypothesis’ falls under the general principles of functional projection. Since we assume that EM as well as IM involves Agree, no problem for the valuation of $\theta_{[R:_]}$ of V arises: unaccusatives and passives are weak phases (see Chomsky (2000), (2001)) and hence V is still accessible to Agree with $T_{[R:_]}$.⁷

Another question that arises at this point is how $\theta_{[R:_]}$ of v receives a value from $T_{[R]}$ in active construction – vP should be a strong phase and, thus, should be sent to the interfaces with $\theta_{[R:_]}$ on v unvalued, violating the Principle of Full Interpretation. Thus, v with $\theta_{[R:_]}$ shouldn’t receive an appropriate interpretation at C-I since it has not been made accessible to reference assignment. However, given the PIC in (3), this state of affairs does not lead to a final crash. The head of the phase (i.e. $v_{[R:_]}$) is still accessible to operations from outside the phase and hence valuation of $[R:_]$ can be delayed until merger of the next higher phase head C.

5. OVERT SUBJECTS IN CONTROL INFINITIVES – A CASE STUDY OF SPANISH

We have seen that the base-generated *ecs pro* and PRO are not necessary if we take the T head to be syntactically active, having interpretable phi-features translated into a $[R:\pm]$ -feature which directly values the $\theta_{[R:_]}$ feature of the predicate. We have already noted that this line of reasoning makes two strong predictions: First, EM as well as IM are both *motivated* by argument and scopal/discourse features respectively. The only formal difference between the two operations lies in the derivational order of application of the subcomponents (EM = Merge + Agree; IM = Agree + Merge). The second prediction will be discussed in this section, namely that treating the apparent empty subject in control as well as *pro-drop* as the result of the syntactic activeness of T without a Spec has as a result that the licensing of the empty subject in the two configurations underlies the same basic licensing mechanisms.⁸ In this section, we will provide some evidence for this assumption examining the existence of overt subjects in control infinitives.

⁷ As Landau p.c. points out, this reasoning is problematic in the light of the assumption that functional application is strictly local. However, this problem could be solved by adopting den Dikken’s (2006) assumption that the functional head v is completely lacking in passive and unaccusative constructions. This way, $T_{[R]}$ is directly merged with V and locality is preserved.

⁸ In contrast to the MTC which treats control and raising as basically having the same underlying mechanism.

5.1. The data: overt subjects in Spanish control infinitives

There has been an ongoing lack of consensus with respect to the exact distribution of overt subjects in Spanish control infinitives (see Suñer (1986), Fernández (1987), Hye-Suk Yoon & Bonet-Farran (1991), Fernández & Anula (1994), Rigau (1995), Torrego (1998), Mensching (2000), Pöll (2007), Sitaridou (2007)). It is uncontroversial that subjects can be realized with nominative Case in postverbal position in OC, NOC and adjunct infinitives:

- (27) Juan_i prometió a su profesor [hacer (**él_i/*_x**) los deberes (**él_i/*_x**)].
 * John promised Mary (he) to do the homework (he)
- (28) Era justo [antes de salir (**yo/tú...**)].
 * It was just before going away I/you... / * It was just before I/you... going away
- (29) María cree que [ganar (**yo/tú...**) sería imposible].
 * Mary believes that (I) winning (I) would be impossible

The difference between (27) vs. (28)/(29) lies in the identification of the overt pronoun: in the former, it is an obligatorily anaphoric element - an emphatic pronoun (see Piera (1987) and also Cardinaletti (1999) for Italian) - and in the latter it has free reference.

The preverbal subject position is more controversial: Suñer (1986), Fernández (1987), and Rigau (1995) claim that preverbal overt subjects are ruled out in peninsular Spanish and specifically develop an analysis that accounts for this ban. According to Suñer (1986), preverbal overt subjects are a regional phenomenon of the Caribbean dialect and not licit in peninsular Spanish. However, a look at the CREA corpus (*Real Academia Española* database) reveals that overt subjects are licit in preverbal position in adjunct infinitives in oral as well as written sources (see Herbeck (in prep) for details):

- (30) “Ella sólo recordó su frase **al yo recordársela**, y eso le causó más tormento.”
 ‘She only remembered her phrase while **I(nom) to-remember-her-it**, and this caused her more torments’. (Novel (Spain). Marías, Javier. *Corazón tan blanco*. Anagrama (Barcelona), 1994. p. 279)
- (31) “El temor se repite **sin yo quererlo**.”
 ‘The fear repeats without **I(nom) to-want-it**.’
 (Novel (Spain). Llongueras, Lluís. *Llongueras tal cual. Anécdotas y recuerdos de una vida*. Planeta, S.A. (Barcelona), 2001)
- (32) “[...] y me dais el pre ... presupuesto que va a ser, **para yo saber** cuánto dinero me va a costar antes de arreglarlo.”
 ‘[...] and me you-give the cost estimate that will be, for **I to-know** how much money me will cost-it before arranging-it.’
 (CREA corpus, oral source (Spain), 22/07/2009)

The fact that preverbal nominative subjects exist also in written sources testifies that they are not a mere performance issue. This is in line with e.g. Hye-Suk Yoon & Bonet-Farran (1991),

Mensching (2000) and Gallego (2010: chapter 3, fn. 11) who note that preverbal subjects are licit in certain contexts. An important observation in this respect is that preverbal overt subjects can only be strong pronouns - full R-expressions and DPs are considered deviant by our informants or only marginally licit with a special focus stress (see (35) taken from Torrego (1998: fn. 3)):

- (33) Era justo antes de yo salir. (conversation, man of 44 years,
‘It was just before (I) to-go out’. Madrid)
- (34) Al yo venirme pa cá, me lavé los dientes. (conversation, woman of 82 years,
‘When I to come here, I brushed my teeth’. Cantábria)
- (35) [Al EL JUEZ leer el veredicto], todo el mundo se levantó.
‘When the judge read the verdict, everyone stood up’.

Furthermore, preverbal subject DPs as well as pronouns are generally ruled out in subject infinitives and OC contexts:

- (36) Juan_i prometió a su profesor [(***él**) hacer los deberes].
* John promised Mary (he) to do the homework (he)
- (37) María cree que [(***yo**) ganar sería imposible].
* Mary believes that [(I) winning (I) would be impossible]

Thus, it seems that adjunct infinitives exceptionally license preverbal subject pronouns.

In postverbal position, R-expressions as well as pronouns are licensed in adjunct and subject infinitives but not in OC:

- (38) *Pro*_i le prometió a su profesor [hacer (***Juan**_i) los deberes (***Juan**_i)].
‘He promised his teacher to do (John) the homework (John)’.
- (39) Era justo [antes de salir (**Juan**)].
‘It was just before going out John/the woman’.
- (40) [[Ganar (**Juan**)] sería imposible].
‘To-win John would be impossible’.

The ungrammaticality of (38) is evidence for the assumption that overt subjects in OC are not a case of Backward Control in Spanish, i.e. we are not dealing with a pronounced lower copy (see Polinsky & Potsdam (2002) for a discussion of this phenomenon).

Finally, we can observe a microparametric variation between Spanish and Italian in the case of the licensing of overt postverbal subjects in subject infinitives:

- (41) [Andarci (**noi**/ ***Giovanni**)] sarebbe un errore. Burzio (1986: 104f)
Go-there (we/ ***Giovanni**) would-be a mistake
‘To go there [we / ***Giovanni**] would be a mistake’

- (42) [Irse (**él/Juan**) a casa] sería un error.
 Go-cl (he/John) to home would-be an error
 ‘To go (he/John) home would be a mistake.’

Italian, in contrast to Spanish, does not allow overt subjects to be full R-expressions, not even in postverbal position in NOC infinitives.

5.2. The analysis: overt subjects in control infinitives in an *ec*-less approach

5.2.1. *The distribution and licensing of overt subjects in infinitives*

In section 3, we argued that apparent empty subjects in control and *pro-drop* are the result of a syntactically active $T_{[R:\pm]}$ head which directly values the $[R:_]$ -feature of v/V by means of feature sharing. This analysis has the consequence that, first, the null argument in control basically underlies the same licensing mechanism as in *pro-drop* and, second, that overt preverbal subjects are necessarily in a high discourse-related position above TP since Spec,T is absorbed.⁹

This analysis can directly explain the ungrammaticality of (36) and (37) with a preverbal subject in OC and subject infinitives: Spec,T is absorbed and infinitives have a reduced left periphery and, thus, the subject can neither be base-generated in Spec,v and be raised to Spec,Top nor can it be directly merged in Spec,Top in contrast to finite clauses:

- (43) Non-finite: $[CP C_{def} [TP T_{[R:-]} [vP V_{[R:_]}] \dots]$
 Finite: $[ForceP \dots [TopP \acute{E}l_{[R:+]} Top^0 \dots [FinP Fin^0 [TP T_{[R:+]} [vP V_{[R:_]}] \dots]]]$

The question arises why preverbal subjects are possible in Spanish adjunct infinitives. Rigau (1995) argues that the introducing P functions as a tense operator which triggers overt T-to-C movement. Since the verb appears in a position higher than Spec,T by Spell-Out, preverbal subjects are ruled out:

- (44) $[PP a- [DP -I [CP tomar [TP \acute{e}l tomar [vP \acute{e}l tomar la palabra \dots]$
 ... at the take he the word

We will adopt the basic idea of Rigau’s (1995) proposal with a slight modification to make preverbal subjects licit in adjunct infinitives:

We have seen in (12) that $[R:-]$ on T is the result of a defective feature make up of T, inherited from C. For adjunct infinitives, we would like to argue that T is in fact ambiguous between a defective and a complete feature make up, following Chomsky’s (2008) “feature inheritance” mechanism:¹⁰ While Rigau (1995) argues that the preposition is merged outside

⁹ It is not self-evident that preverbal subjects appear in a left-dislocated position. This problem is faced by approaches in the vein of Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) (see Ordóñez & Treviño (1999), Suñer (2003), Gallego (2010), among others, for a discussion). If subjects are ambiguous between an A- and A’-position in *pro-drop*, this would mean that T can optionally have a $[R:+]$ -feature in our approach (see Herbeck (in prep) for a discussion).

¹⁰ The same idea can be implemented in Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2006) approach of “feature sharing”.

the C-domain, taking the CP as its complement, Fernández (1987) argues that P is a complementizer (see also Gallego 2010). We contend that both positions are true for adjunct infinitives: If P functions as a C element, it will download its tense feature to T, equipping T with a [+T] feature (see also P&T (2004) for the assumption that P is a tense-like element). If, however, P is merged outside the C-domain, C_{def} will download its defective tense features onto T, resulting in a [R:-] marking:

(45) ... [PP después de [CP C_{def} [TP T_[R:-]-cantar [VP V_[R:-]-cantar [VP cantar]]]]

(46) ... [CP después de [TP yo T-cantar [VP yo_[R:+] V_[R:-]-cantar [VP cantar]]]]

With respect to the phi-feature make up of T, Chomsky (1981) notes that NOC infinitives (in contrast to OC ones) display default phi-features, evidenced by the following contrast between Italian and Spanish (see also Terzi 1997):

(47) E difficile [PRO essere sempre allegri]. (It. non-finite T = plural (default))
'It is difficult to be always happy-pl.'

(48) Es difícil [PRO estar siempre contento]. (Sp. non-finite T = singular (default))
'It is difficult to be always happy-sg.'

We argue that the tense features as assigned by P plus the default phi-features in NOC infinitives account for the non-defective feature make up of T in adjunct infinitives. Although the feature make up of T is complete, it is not 'strong' enough to identify the external argument so that phi-features are uninterpretable and hence, no [R]-marking is present. Since [R:-] is lacking, overt pronouns are licit. Adjunct infinitives thus have a dual nature conditioned by the introducing preposition: if P is merged in C (Fernández (1987)) it will equip T with a non-defective feature make up. The result will be pronominalization. If P is merged outside C, the defective features of C will be downloaded to T, resulting in [R:-]. [R:-] will be related to the context-linkers of the C-domain (Sigurðsson (2011)) and we get logophoric control.

Thus, we have seen that preverbal subjects are generally blocked in OC and NOC because of two interrelating factors: (i) T is [R:-] and, therefore, does not project a Spec and (ii) infinitives have a reduced left-peripheral activity, blocking topicalization. Adjunct infinitives are an exception to (i) in Spanish since the introducing P in C downloads its tense features to T.

Let us now turn to postverbal subjects and how they are analyzed in an *ec*-less approach: we have seen that overt subjects are licit in postverbal position in OC and NOC configurations. We argue in these cases that the subject is merged either in Spec,V and moved to Spec,v (see Gallego (2010)) or in Spec,v and moved to a low focus position between v and T (see Belletti (2001), (2005)):

(49) [CP [TP topic reading T [VP focus reading v [VP EA [V' V IA]]]] Gallego (2010)

(50) ... [TP [_{FocP} FOC [VP EA v [VP V ...]]] Belletti (2001)

In the approaches of López (2009) and Gallego (2010), semantic effects of the discourse type arise through Internal Merge at the Phase Edge. In Belletti's (2001) cartographic approach, there is an independent focus projection between vP and TP. Postverbal subjects in infinitives do not pose a problem in either of the two approaches: the subject can be hosted in either Spec,v or Spec,Foc and, thus, no conflict with the absorbed Spec of T_[R:-] arises:

(51) ... [TP T_[R:-] [_{FocP} Juan_[R:+] [_{vP} Juan_[R:+] V_[R:-]] ...

A potential problem arises in (51) with respect to the mismatch between [R:-] on T in NOC and [R:+] on the pronoun or R-expression/DP: T_[R:-] should value v_[R:-] as [-], entering a logophoric relationship with CL_n while [R:+] on the R-expression should value the same feature as [+]. However, we argue that the mismatch can be resolved with the following assumptions: in the numeration, two elements compete for the valuation of the same [R:-] feature of v. If the R-expression/pronoun is merged first (as in (52)), it will value the [R:-] feature of v. T_[R:-] in this case does not value the same feature since nothing motivates it. Hence, the external argument will have pronominal characteristics. The elements v-EA-T will be connected with the context-linkers of the C-domain as in Sigurðsson's (2011) theory:

(52) NOC: ... [CP CL_n [TP T_[R:-] [_{vP} él_[R:+] V_[R:-]] ...

Thus, [+R] 'él' will value [R:-] of v. Because of locality reasons, T_[R:-] couldn't value [R:-] and hence an anaphoric/logophoric reading of 'él' is impossible in NOC - T_[R:-] cannot fulfill the argument functions of v_[R:-] because 'él' is a closer potential Goal with an [R] feature. 'él_[R:+]' will be linked to the context linkers CL_n so we get contextually determined coreference.

The second possible derivation, namely the one in which T_[R:-] is merged before the pronoun to value θ_[R:-] of v is ruled out since there is no position in which the R-expression/pronoun could be merged – Spec,T is absorbed and there is a reduced left-peripheral activity in infinitives. Thus, the only possible derivation for NOC with an overt subject is (52) and an anaphoric or logophoric reading of the pronoun is ruled out.

In OC, the situation is different. Here it seems to be the case that the value of the pronoun [R:+] is overwritten by [R:-] of T:

(53) a. Juan_[R:+] intentó [CP C_{def} [TP T_[R:-]-cantar [_{vP} él_[R:+] V_[R:-]]-cantar [VP cantar ...

b. Juan_[R:+] intento T_[R:-] cantar él_[R:-] ...

Thus, what we have said about (52) is not enough to rule out a [R:-]-marking of 'él' in NOC: we have to account for why the [-R] value of T can (and must) overwrite [+R] of 'él' in (53) yielding an anaphoric reading of the morphological pronoun but why this is impossible in (52), as depicted in (54):

(54) ... [CP CL_n [TP T_[R:-] [_{vP} él_[R:-] V_[R:-]] ...

Descriptively speaking, (54) with $T_{[R:-]}$ forcing a $[R:-]$ value on ‘él’ in NOC is ruled out because the following generalization seems to hold:

- (55) For $X_{[R:\pm]}$ agreeing with $Y_{[R:\pm]}$, $[R:\pm]$ of $X \neq [R:\pm]$ of Y , X and $Y = [R:-]$ iff $[R:-]$ can be linked to a higher $[R:+]$ element by means of an A-chain.

We argue that (55) derives from the principle (56):

- (56) *General condition on A-chains:* (Reinhart & Reuland (1993))
A maximal A-chain $(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n)$ contains exactly one link – α_1 – which is both +R and specified for Case.

Taking into account (55), derivation (53) with the pronoun being $[-R]$ is licit (and even obligatory) because the highest c-commanding link in the Agree-relationship involves a +R element – namely the matrix antecedent. (54), on the other hand, is blocked because the highest link in the A-chain is $[-R]$ (=T) violating (56) and, hence, (55).

Thus, the $[R:+]$ value of an element can only be overwritten as $[R:-]$ in case that the two elements form an A-chain with a higher $[R:+]$ element (see (55)). If no chain with a higher $[R:+]$ -element can be formed, $[R]$ -values remain the same. In OC, overwriting $[R:+]$ as $[R:-]$ is not only possible but obligatory, because of the compulsory Agree relation between the subject and T and subsequent Agree with a matrix antecedent. In NOC, Agree between the subject and T is compulsory, but no chain with a higher $[R:+]$ element can be formed so that $[R]$ -values are not changed, complying with (55).

This way, the difference between overt pronouns in OC and NOC with respect to their behavior as anaphoric or pronominal elements (although they are morphologically pronouns) can be derived from general principles.

5.2.2. Pre- vs. postverbal subjects: the role of Case and the syntax-pragmatics interface

Considering the Spanish data in section 5.1, the following questions remain to be answered: (i) why does Italian behave differently from Spanish with respect to postverbal subjects in subject infinitives, (ii) why do preverbal subjects in adjunct infinitives behave differently from postverbal ones with respect to the possibility of pronouns vs. full DPs and R-expressions, and (iii) how does the overt subject receive Case? Let us deal with each problem in turn.

The overt subject in adjunct, subject and OC infinitives is marked for nominative Case. However, in the traditional literature, non-finite INFL fails to assign nominative Case, PRO being a Case-less empty category. For Italian, Cardinaletti (1999) and Belletti (2005) assume that overt pronouns in control infinitives receive default nominative Case. Evidence for this assumption is the impossibility of full R-expressions and DPs in control infinitives as in (41), repeated here as (57):

- (57) [Andarci (**noi**/ ***Giovanni**)] sarebbe un errore. Burzio (1986: 104f)
Go-there (we/ *Giovanni) would-be a mistake
‘To go there [we / *Giovanni] would be a mistake’

Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) assume that strong pronouns can receive default Case because they are inherently Case-marked and, hence, do not need to be licensed by structural nominative Case. That nominative is the default Case in Italian and Spanish can be shown, for example, if a pronoun appears in isolation. In this case, it surfaces as nominative, in contrast to English where we have a default accusative marking (cf. Belletti (2005: 21)):

(58) Italian: Chi ha detto questo?
Io. (nominative)

(59) English: Who has said that?
Me. (accusative)

(60) Spanish: Quién dijo esto?
Yo. (nominative)

R-expressions are ruled out in (57) because they are not inherently Case-marked. In Spanish, we now face the problem that R-expressions *are* licit in NOC infinitives in postverbal position, as in (42) repeated here as (61):

(61) [Irse (**él/Juan**) a casa] sería un error.
Go-cl (he/John) to home would-be an error
'To go (he/John) home would be a mistake.'

Thus, we cannot argue that overt subjects in Spanish infinitives receive default nominative Case since then an explanation for Italian (57) is lost.

Following an idea of Cardinaletti (1999), we would like to argue that the difference between (57) and (61) correlates with a difference in word-order between Italian and Spanish: Belletti (2001) and Ordóñez (1998) relate the existence of VSO in Spanish and its absence in Italian to the existence vs. absence of a 'middle-field' position NeutP that hosts postverbal subjects in Spanish but not in Italian. However, Cardinaletti (1999) argues that this position is present in both languages, the difference being related to the Case properties of this functional head in finite clauses:

(62) [CP C [TP T [NeutP Neut [vP V ...

Since Italian Neut cannot assign structural nominative Case in Italian, the subject has to be raised to Spec,T (cf. Cardinaletti (1999: 82)). In Spanish finite clauses, Neut can check structural nominative Case in Spec,Neut and, hence, the subject does not have to be raised, making VSO possible. According to Cardinaletti (1999), Spec,Neut is also the position of overt subjects in Italian infinitives, explaining why they can only be strong pronouns but not R-expressions.

However, it is not obvious that the postulation of an extra-functional head is necessary. López (2006), (2009) argues for finite clauses in Spanish that T can assign regular structural Case to subjects in Spec,v. We argue that the same reasoning accounts for the difference between postverbal subjects in control infinitives in Italian and Spanish: while non-finite T can assign regular structural nominative Case to subjects in Spec,v in Spanish, Italian non-

finite T lacks this property, ruling out full R-expressions. In Italian, regular structural nominative Case would have to be checked in Spec,T but, since this position is not available, full R-expressions are always ruled out in control:

(63) $[_{CP} C_{def} [_{TP} T_{[R:-]} \text{ andar-ci } [_{vP} \text{ noi } v \dots]$

(64) $[_{CP} C_{def} [_{TP} T_{[R:-]} \text{ ir-se } [_{vP} \text{ Juan/él } v \dots]$

Thus, the reason why postverbal subjects can only be pronouns in Italian is that non-finite T cannot assign structural Case to subjects in Spec,v (following Cardinaletti's basic idea). Spanish non-finite T, on the other hand, can assign structural nominative Case to Spec,v, licensing full R-expressions and DPs in NOC. This analysis entails that non-finite T has no EPP property in Spanish but, crucially, retains the property of optionally valuing structural nominative Case in Spec,v.

We have seen in (38) that postverbal subjects in OC (contrary to NOC) cannot be full R-expressions. While Cardinaletti (1999) explains the ban on R-expressions in OC in Italian by means of default Case marking, we cannot argue this way since we would have to assume two different non-finite T heads in the lexicon of Spanish - one optionally valuing structural Case (NOC) and another one which lacks this property (OC). This is certainly an unwelcome result since we would have to encode the difference between OC and NOC in the lexicon. Thus, we would like to argue that the impossibility of R-expressions is not due to lack of structural Case marking in OC but, rather, to a violation of Principle C (see also Piera 1987): an R-expression cannot be construed as a bound variable in Spanish (in contrast to pronouns, whose [R:+] value can be overridden by an anaphoric relationship in the case of emphatic pronouns (see above)). Some evidence in favor of this assumption is the observation that full DPs *are* in fact possible in Spanish OC infinitives in so-called Inverse Partial Control constructions:

(65) No sabemos si firmar **los lingüistas** la carta Rodrigues (2007)
 '(We) don't know whether to sign the linguists the letter'

Here, the DP 'los lingüistas' is construed as a [R:-] element (forced by (55)) in case that the reference set of the DP is included in the reference set of the matrix antecedent. Thus, a full DP is structurally licensed in Spec,v in Spanish non-finite clauses with the restriction that its reference set must be included in the reference set of the matrix controller.

The last question to be answered is why preverbal subjects in adjunct infinitives underlie stronger restrictions than postverbal ones: in preverbal position, pronouns are strongly preferred (R-expressions or DPs are only possible with a special focus intonation). We argue that the marginality of full R-expressions and DPs can be explained by means of Lipski's (1991) observation that preverbal overt subjects in infinitives are not fully integrated into the grammar of peninsular Spanish speakers. However, we depart from Lipski (1991) in that we assume that no rule operating at a "para-grammatical level" (*ibid.* 211) is necessary to account for the data. We have shown that preverbal subjects are structurally licit in adjunct infinitives since the preposition can function as a complementizer, downloading its tense features to T. In this case, T will not be equipped with an [R:-]-feature. On the other hand, if P is merged above C, T will be marked [R:-] by means of feature inheritance from C. In this

case, $T_{[R:-]}$ enters an Agree relationship with the context-linkers of C, resulting in logophoric control. Since T lacks [R:-] if P is in C, the relevant $\theta_{[R:-]}$ feature of the predicate will remain unvalued leading to uninterpretability at C-I. There are two possible ways to ‘rescue’ the derivation: first, an overt subject can be merged in Spec,v receiving regular structural nominative Case. However, this subject cannot be moved further to Spec,T, non-finite T lacking the EPP property. The result is that a full DP or R-expression is licensed in post- but not in preverbal position. We argue that a second possible solution lies in the option of directly merging a pronoun ‘Last Resort’ with T. Since structural Case cannot be directly assigned to this position in Spanish, the preverbal subject will be inherently marked with default Case. This explains the ban on (or strong marginality of) full R-expressions and DPs in this position.

We would further like to hypothesize that this option exists in Spanish because Spec,T is a point of pragmatic transfer in this language (see Gallego (2010) for a technical implementation of this idea by means of Phase Sliding). We have already noted, following Williams (1992) and Landau (2000), that adjunct infinitives involve logophoric control. However, T lacking [R:-] cannot be linked to the logophoric features of the C-domain. The ‘Last Resort’ insertion of the preverbal subject can thus be seen as an ‘anti-logophoricity’ effect, which applies either in case that the implicit logophoric centre cannot be recovered in discourse or in case a discourse antecedent needs to be obviated (examples from the CREA corpus, RAE database):

- (66) “¿Por qué? Pues porque, **al yo relatar** los hechos, sabía ...”
 ‘Why? Well...because, when I-to-tell the the facts, I knew...’
- (67) “Francesco soltó una carcajada, y en ese momento tuve la impresión de que hasta entonces había estado bromeando conmigo, y **al yo hacer** cálculos del tipo...”
 ‘Francesco laughed, and in that moment I had the impression that until then he-had been joking with me, and when I-to-make calculations of the type...’

In (67), the preverbal pronoun ‘yo’ (“I”) shifts reference away from the antecedent ‘Francesco’ and, thus, we have a case of obviation. In (66), however, no obviation can be observed but, rather, ‘yo’ serves as an introducing topic and, hence, shifts away from the logophoric centre, which is commonly an internal protagonist and not the external speaker (see Huang (2000: 172)).

Thus, the fact that full R-expressions or DPs are illicit (or very marginal) in preverbal position is due to the observation that this position is not fully grammaticalized in the peninsular Spanish grammar: non-finite T lacks an EPP feature and hence the pronoun can only be directly merged with T, receiving default nominative Case (in contrast to postverbal subjects which receive regular structural Case). This ‘Last Resort’ insertion mechanism applies for reasons of disambiguation (non-recoverability of the implicit logophoric centre) or obviation (shifting away from the discourse topic). We conjecture that this mechanism is only licit at the Phase Edge, Spec,T being a point of pragmatic transfer in Spanish.

For dialects of Spanish in which full R-expressions and DPs are possible in preverbal position (as in Caribbean Spanish, see Suñer 1986), it seems that non-finite (and non-[R]-marked) T has acquired an EPP property making IM of the subject in Spec,v to Spec,T possible. Thus, the preverbal position is fully grammaticalized in these varieties.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have proposed an alternative *ec*-less approach to control that complies with Chomsky's (2005), (2008) 'C-I Hypothesis', based on Pesetsky & Torrego's (2006) VRM. Thus, we have pursued the idea that EM as well as IM is motivated by syntactic features reflecting Dual Semantics. One problem that such an approach faces, as Gallego (2010: 64) notes, is that "in the case of arguments, it is not obvious that they must share some features (e.g. theta-features) [...]". We have sketched a potential solution to this problem by proposing a minimalist implementation of Williams' (1981), (1991) notion of the [R]-argument: What an argument shares with a predicate is its referential value. An argument must be made accessible to reference assignment to be interpretable at C-I. We have further argued that an integration of Reinhart & Reuland's (1993) and Landau's (2004) theories can account for the difference between anaphoric and non-anaphoric expressions and, hence between control and *pro-drop*. One consequence of this approach is that the licensing of syntactically active null arguments in the two configurations is not as different as assumed by the MTC – both are licensed by a T-head which is rendered syntactically active by means of having a valued [R: ±]-feature which directly shares its referential value with $\theta_{[R: \pm]}$ of v/V, making the relevant argument accessible to reference assignment at C-I. Some empirical evidence for this conjecture has been put forward in the form of the existence of overt subjects in control infinitives in a variety of languages (Szabolcsi (2009)). We have examined the particular case of Spanish and have shown that the licensing and distribution of overt subjects in this language can be explained without recourse to the problematic concepts of PRO and *pro*. Another consequence of our approach is that the licensing of empty vs. overt subjects is not a mere issue of Case theory, but of a complex interplay between lexicon, morphology, syntax, and pragmatics.

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