

# Phase Effects in Iberian Romance\*

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**ABSTRACT.** In this paper I present different evidence suggesting that, in Iberian Romance languages, TP – rather than  $v^*P$  – is a *strong phase*, in the sense of Chomsky (2000) and subsequent work. In so doing, I concentrate on phenomena which have constituted the focus of much research during the GB-era: free and obligatory subject inversion, relative clauses, *that*-trace effects, and the EPP. As I will argue, the claim of TP being a phase domain does not necessarily raise a conceptual problem if one entertains a scenario in which phases can be defined in terms of *completeness* or *convergence* (cf. Chomsky (2000; 2001) and Uriagereka (1999)). As a matter of fact, it should be noticed that, more generally, the analysis put forward here explores the possibility that, besides Chomsky's (2000) conceptual motivation (i.e., reduction of computational load), phases may emerge due to interface (or bare output) demands, which, on minimalist grounds, is sound –in fact, this is precisely what one expects if the system is really *dynamic*, for any interface component (e.g., semantics, phonology, morphology, etc.) may impose different criteria to 'calculate' phases.

## 1. Introduction

The Minimalist Program (MP) seeks to reduce substantive principles from virtual conceptual necessity and interface (or bare output) conditions. Focusing on the former, the MP works with the hypothesis that economy considerations play a leading role in core syntactic processes. In recent work, this idea has been embodied by arguing that computational complexity is avoided if languages make one-time selections of *Lexical Items* (LI) and store them in a pre-syntactic domain called *Lexical Array* (LA):

Is it also possible to reduce access to *Lex*, the second component of the domain of L? The obvious proposal is that derivations make a one-time selection of a *lexical array* LA from *Lex*, then map LA to expressions, dispensing with further access to *Lex*. That simplifies computation far more than the preceding steps. If the derivation accesses the lexicon at every point, it must carry along this huge beast, rather like cars that constantly have to replenish their fuel supply. Derivations that map LA to expressions require lexical access only once, thus reducing operative complexity in a way that might well matter for optimal design. Chomsky (2000: 100-101)

In order to reduce the computational burden even more, Chomsky (2001) claims that LAs<sup>1</sup> are accessed *phase by phase*, with subarrays of LIs placed in 'active memory'. Under this scenario, one important question emerges, right from the beginning: what kind of metrics must be invoked when identifying *phases*? This issue has been debated in the recent literature, with no general consensus, so far as I know<sup>2</sup>. In this paper, I would like to argue that Iberian Romance's first-phase domain is not  $v^*P$ , but TP. The intuition behind this claim is simple: T is a *Locus* of parametric variation. If correct, the proposal might signal a way to unify some well-known properties of Null Subject Languages (NSL), such as subject inversion, *that*-trace effects, residual V2, quirky/locative subjects, barrier effects, relative clause formation, clitic climbing, and the so-called EPP.

Before we start, one caveat is in order: my claim here concerning a parametrization of phases might seem stipulative and theoretically worrisome: if phases are domains of computation and *Transfer*, shouldn't they behave alike cross-linguistically? That is, isn't the notion of *phase* itself being corrupted the minute one argues for parametric cuts of this sort? Although it appears to be so, this is not a logical necessity, for note that I am not going to argue that any domain can be a phase, but rather that the Locus of certain first-phase computational operations can minimally differ cross-linguistically. The present proposal shares important points with a parametrization of

‘bounding nodes’ along the lines of Rizzi (1978; 1982), the GB-era claim that SPEC-T is an A’ position (cf. Jaeggli (1982), Goodall (1993; 1999), Masullo (1992), and Uribe-Etxebarria (1992), *i.a.*), and the possibility for T to L-mark the VP (cf. Kayne (1989)) – obviously, technical details differ, but the theoretical connection is still there. Even if such parallelism is accurate, it appears to me that the present formulation will prove to be superior, for it does not restrict its attention to isolated facts, accounting for a bunch of diverse (and at first glance unrelated) linguistic phenomena instead.

The paper is divided as follows: section 2 presents Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2001; 2004a; 2004b) Case system. Section 3 focuses on inversion in interrogative clauses, which –I will argue– provides evidence to support an approach to phases in terms of Case (i.e., morphological) convergence. Section 4 provides a review of previous analyses of preverbal subjects in NSLs (and a brief *excursus* on the EPP); it will be claimed that preverbal subjects are not (Clitic) Left Dislocated topics, but DPs moved to T’s *edge* yielding an effect in the outcome. Finally, section 5 summarizes the main conclusions.

## 2. The Nature of Case

Since the advent of the Principles & Parameters framework (cf. Chomsky (1981)), Case has played a key role in the development of syntactic theory, up to the point that it can be said to be the first step towards Minimalism. In Chomsky’s (2000; 2001) system, Case in nominals is valued and deleted by  $\phi$ -Probes located in T and  $v^*$  respectively<sup>3</sup>. Under such a perspective,  $\phi$ -features and Case are both sides of the same coin, as stated by George & Kornfilt’s (1981) thesis that structural Case is a reflex of agreement:

Structural Case is not a feature of the Probes (T,  $v$ ), but it is assigned a value under agreement, then removed by Spell-out from the narrow syntax. The value assigned depends on the probe: nominative for T, accusative for  $v$  [...] Case itself is not matched, but deleted under matching of  $\phi$ -features. Chomsky (2001: 6)

In Pesetsky & Torrego (2001), an appealing alternative approach to Case is put forward. In particular, these authors claim that what we call ‘Case’ is actually an uninterpretable (i.e., ‘misplaced’, as Boeckx (2003b) puts it) tense feature on D heads<sup>4</sup>.

### (1) *The Nature of Case*

Case is [ $u$ T] on D

[from Pesetsky & Torrego (2001: 361)]

This departure from mainstream analyses (where agreement and case are different names for the same phenomenon) nicely fits with Chomsky’s Probe-Goal relation, since both Case and  $\phi$ -features now find an appropriate feature-mate. In Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2001) system, therefore, feature valuation is always a one-to-one relation.

The [Minimalist Inquiries]/[Derivation by Phase] framework does not view structural case as the uninterpretable counterpart of an otherwise interpretable feature. Instead, it is a *sui generis* feature with a special relation to the  $\phi$ -features: it gets valued only as a by-product of  $\phi$ -feature agreement. Thus, when unvalued  $\phi$ -features of finite T probe, on this approach, and find a suitable goal –for example, a DP with a full set of  $\phi$ -features– the unvalued case features of that DP gets valued as a kind of ‘bonus’. Pesetsky & Torrego (2004b: 10)

Pushing this line of argumentation further, Pesetsky & Torrego (2004a) convincingly argue that prepositions are a species of T (thus accounting for why they are also Case checkers) and that there is a second T head checking accusative Case. Putting all the pieces together, their system is as depicted in (2), where the second T head could correspond to what some scholars have called ‘Aspect’ (cf. Torrego (1998))<sup>5</sup>:

(2) [<sub>CP</sub> C [<sub>TP</sub> T<sub>SUBJECT</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> v\* [<sub>TP</sub> T<sub>OBJECT</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> . . . ] ] ] ] ] ] ]

Capitalizing on robust evidence stemming from Den Besten (1983), who show how some T-like elements move to C (mainly in V2 languages), Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) make the simplest (but still interesting) assumption about the C-T connection:

(3) **Motivation for T-to-C Movement**

C bears an uninterpretable T feature (henceforth [*uT*]) (with the ‘EPP property’).  
[from Pesetsky & Torrego (2001: 360)]

The bottom line of this hypothesis is that Case depends exclusively on T, which has, by assumption, an interpretable [*T*] feature, responsible for valuing D’s [*uT*].

Going back to (3), by the ‘EPP property’ Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) understand a trait of a feature, not a feature itself; thus, if a feature F is endowed with the EPP property, it will trigger overt movement (what Chomsky (2004) dubs *internal-Merge*).

In order to see how this system works, consider the paradigm in (4):

(4) **T-to-C Asymmetry in Matrix Interrogative Clauses**

- a. What did Mary buy?
- b. \*What Mary bought?
- c. \*Who did buy the book? [\*unless *did* is focused]
- d. Who bought the book?

Descriptively speaking, what is going on in (4) is very clear: *do*-insertion is blocked whenever a subject DP undergoes *wh*-movement. Why? According to Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2001), *do*-insertion (which is itself an instance of T-to-C movement, within this system) is barred in these cases because the nominative Case feature of the subject DP (that is, its [*uT*]) can delete C’s [*uT*], rendering *do*-insertion redundant. Graphically<sup>6</sup>:

(5)

- a. [<sub>CP</sub> Who<sub>i[+T]}</sub> C<sub>[+T, EPP] [+Wh, EPP]} [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> T bought the book]]</sub>
- b. \*[<sub>CP</sub> Who<sub>i[+T]}</sub> did<sub>j</sub> C<sub>[+T, EPP] [+Wh, EPP]} [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> T<sub>j</sub> buy the book]]</sub>

Under the facts in (5) we find a core property of the system: economy. As the reader may see, if one movement suffices to value two features (i.e., [*uT*] and [*uWh*]), no extra movements are needed. In (5) the T feature of the subject DP is closer to C than T itself (taking strict c-command to signal closeness), and, in addition, it can also be used to value the [*uWh*] feature: by some principle of computational efficiency like (6), moving the subject DP should be enough to satisfy C’s requirements –and it is indeed.

(6) **Economy Condition**

A head H triggers the minimum number of operations necessary to satisfy the properties (including EPP) of its uninterpretable features.

[from Pesetsky & Torrego (2001: 359)]

On the other hand, when object DPs move, T is always closer to C, so pure T-to-C movement (i.e., *do*-insertion) must occur<sup>7 8</sup>. This accounts for the paradigm in (4).

Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) extend the basics of their proposal to *that*-trace effects. In their system, *that* (just like *do*) is not a complementizer, but a clitic head launched from T. Taking this analysis to be essentially correct, then it follows why subject extraction and *that* are incompatible in English: given that they can both delete C's [*uT*], on economy grounds, only one should do the job.

(7)

- a. [<sub>CP</sub> Who<sub>i</sub><sub>[uF]</sub> did C<sub>[uT, EPP]</sub> [<sub>uWh, EPP]</sub> John say [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> C<sub>[uT, EPP]</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> T called Mary]]]?  
 b. \* [<sub>CP</sub> Who<sub>i</sub><sub>[uF]</sub> did C<sub>[uT, EPP]</sub> [<sub>uWh, EPP]</sub> John say [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> that<sub>j</sub> C<sub>[uT, EPP]</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> T<sub>j</sub> called Mary]]]?

If *that* deletes C's [*uT*] and deletion of uninterpretable features is required for convergence at the interfaces, one might now wonder what to do with *that*-deletion (cf. (8) below): how is C's [*uT*] deleted in those cases? Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) argue that both TP and the DP in SPEC-T<sup>9</sup> are equally able to delete C's [*uT*], since, c-command-wise, both are equally close to C (that is, they are 'equidistant')<sup>10 11</sup>.

(8)

- a. John thinks [<sub>CP</sub> that<sub>j</sub> C<sub>[uT, EPP]</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Mary T<sub>j</sub> is gorgeous ] ]  
 b. John thinks [<sub>CP</sub> Mary<sub>i</sub><sub>[uF]</sub> C<sub>[uT, EPP]</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> T is gorgeous ] ]

Importantly, Romance seems to lack the possibility of using subject DPs to delete C's [*uT*]. Unsurprisingly, then, *that*-trace effects and *que*-deletion are not attested<sup>12</sup>:

- (9) [<sub>CP</sub> Qui<sub>i</sub><sub>[uF]</sub> dius C<sub>[uT, EPP]</sub> [<sub>uWh, EPP]</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> que<sub>j</sub> C<sub>[uT, EPP]</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> truca T<sub>j</sub> la Maria]]]? (Catalan)  
 Who say-2SG that call-3SG the Maria  
 'Who do you say calls Maria?'

- (10) \*En Joan va dir [<sub>CP</sub> la Maria<sub>i</sub><sub>[uF]</sub> C<sub>[uT, EPP]</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> se'n va T anar] ] (Catalan)  
 The Joan AUX-3SG to-say the Maria CL-CL-from-there AUX-3SG to-go  
 'Joan said Maria left'

As will become clear in the next section, I take (11) to be the key to the facts<sup>13</sup>:

(11) **Timing of Deletion of Uninterpretable Features**

An uninterpretable feature [*uF*] marked for deletion (i.e., [~~uF~~]) within a completed phase P, is deleted the moment a new head H is merged to P.

[from Pesetsky & Torrego (2004a: 516)]

In plain English, (11) can be paraphrased as follows: uninterpretable features can enter into checking processes within the phase they have been 'marked for deletion', but not beyond –when a new phase starts, all the features of the previous one become useless for computational purposes. With (11) in mind, the data in (5), (7), and (8) follow straightforwardly: in English, the [*uT*] feature of subject DPs is marked for deletion in the CP-phase, remaining 'alive' within this syntactic domain. As is obvious from (9) and (10), something else is at stake in Romance, an issue I return to in the next section.

Let us recap: here I have presented the main points of Pesetsky & Torrego's (2001) analysis of Case and the C-T interaction. As we have seen, their proposal nicely

accounts for some well-known phenomena in a unitary fashion, with the additional advantage of giving Case Theory a more coherent treatment within a Probe-Goal system.

### 3. Phases and T-to-C Movement in Iberian Romance

As I said at the outset, the first question one must consider in the context of the present discussion is what kind of computational metrics must be invoked to define phases. There is more than one possibility. Consider, for instance, the ones in (12):

(12)

- a. Phases are propositional objects. (cf. Chomsky (2000))
- b. Phases are convergent objects. (cf. Uriagereka (1999))
- c. Phases correspond to transformational rules. (cf. Epstein & Seely (2002))

In the last years, Chomsky has provided both conceptual and interface/output motivations supporting the claim that  $v^*P$  and CP constitute the strong phases: conceptually, phases should constitute small syntactic objects (so that computational load is avoided), whereas, interface-wise, phases tend to manifest easily detectable semantic and phonetic properties indicating a sort of independence. Importantly for my purposes, phases are also intimately related to uninterpretable morphology, such as Case<sup>14</sup>:

What objects constitute phases? They should be as small as possible, to minimize computational load. For reasons mentioned earlier, they should at least include the domains in which uninterpretable features are valued. Chomsky (2005a: 17)

As discussed elsewhere (Chomsky 2001), the size of phases is in part determined by uninterpretable features [...] These observations provide further support for the conclusion that  $v^*P$  and CP are the phases, the locus of determination of structural Case and agreement for object and subject. Chomsky (2005b: 21)

A morphologically based approach to phases has also been pursued by Uriagereka (1999), who claims that preverbal lexical subjects of rich inflectional languages induce islands effects as a consequence of morphological integrity. In this paper I present a proposal that will arrive at the same conclusion through a different path.

Consider the data in (13), to start with this issue:

(13)

- a. \*Que intel.ligent la Maria és! (Catalan)  
What clever the Maria be-3SG  
'How clever Maria is!'
- b. \*No sé què la Maria va dir. (Catalan)  
Not know-1SG what the Maria AUX-3SG to-say  
'I don't know what Maria said'

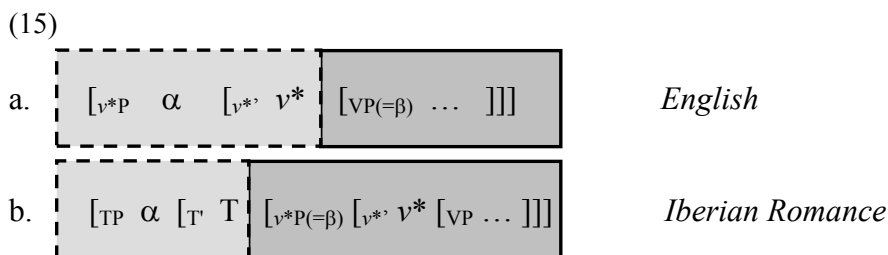
The examples in (13) are all out because inversion does not occur. As (14) shows, their word-by-word English translations are fine:

(14)

- a. How clever Maria is!
- c. I don't know what Maria said.

If we take (11) seriously, every piece of evidence we have seen so far suggests that the Case feature of subject DPs has a longer lifespan in English than in Iberian Romance. Technically, therefore, we need for the [T] feature of subject DPs to ‘die’ at an earlier stage in Iberian Romance. I want to speculate that this has to do with the point at which T (the Locus of nominative Case) is selected: within the first or the second phase.

If my reasoning is right, first phase domains must be as in (15), where  $\alpha$  stands for the *edge domain* of a phase, and  $\beta$  for the *complement domain* (the domain that gets Transferred to the Interface Levels). As (15) shows, I would like to argue that T is within the first phase in Iberian Romance –that way, nominative Case is checked within that phase, rendering subject DPs totally inert by the time the CP phase starts.



Note that under (15), TP becomes a strong phase in Iberian Romance. Let us test this consequence within Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2001) system; more specifically, let us explore the syntax of interrogative sentences. Consider (16) vis-à-vis (17), to begin with:

- (16)
- a. ¿Por qué Isabel no te llama? (Spanish)  
For what Isabel not CL-you call-3SG  
‘Why doesn’t Isabel call you?’
  - b. No te imaginas hasta qué punto Isabel me ha criticado. (Spanish)  
Not CL-you imagine-2SG to what point Isabel CL-me have-3SG criticized  
‘You don’t imagine how much Isabel has criticized me’
  - c. ¿Desde cuándo Isabel habla contigo? (Spanish)  
From when Isabel talk-3SG with-you  
‘Since when does Isabel talk to you?’

- (17)
- a. \*¿Qué Isabel dijo? (Spanish)  
What Isabel said-3SG  
‘What did Isabel say?’
  - b. \*No te imaginas cuánto Isabel me ha criticado. (Spanish)  
Not CL-you imagine-2SG how-much Isabel CL-me have-3SG criticized  
‘You don’t imagine how much Isabel has criticized me’
  - c. \*¿Cuándo Isabel habla contigo? (Spanish)  
When Isabel talk-3SG with-you  
‘When does Isabel talk to you?’

The data in (16) and (17) take us to the realm of obligatory inversion within interrogative clauses in Spanish<sup>15</sup>. What I want to highlight here is that, as the examples in (16) prove, inversion is not always obligatory. In Gallego (2004) I analyzed these data at length, arguing that inversion in interrogative clauses involves T-to-C movement

(*contra* Barbosa (1997; 2001), Bonet (1989), Cardinaletti (2001), Guasti (1996), Ordóñez (1998), Solà (1992), Suñer (1994), and Uriagereka (1999), *i.a.*). The main objections raised in Gallego (2004) to analyses in which there is no T-to-C movement in interrogative clauses had to do with the fact that they adopt either Rizzi's (1996) 'Wh-Criterion' or a notational variant of it<sup>16</sup>; accordingly, for those non-T-to-C approaches to obligatory inversion, [Wh] features must enter in a specific configuration: a SPEC-Head one. Note, in the first place, that this is not a *sine qua non* if Chomsky's (2000) *Agree* is assumed<sup>17</sup>, and, given the system I am adopting here, it is actually problematic for T to be endowed with [Wh] features (as Rizzi (1996) originally claimed): if *did* could check a [Wh] feature in C, the Superiority effect in (18) would not be accounted for: movement of *did* should eliminate Superiority, for it is closer to C than both *who* and *what*.

(18)

- a. [<sub>CP</sub> Who<sub>i</sub> C<sub>[#T, EPP] [#Wh, EPP]] [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> T [<sub>v\*P</sub> t<sub>i</sub> bought what ]]]?  
 b. \* [<sub>CP</sub> What<sub>z</sub> did<sub>j</sub> C<sub>[#T, EPP] [#Wh, EPP]] [<sub>TP</sub> who<sub>i</sub> T<sub>j</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> t<sub>i</sub> buy t<sub>z</sub> ]]]?</sub></sub>

In Gallego (2004) I further reviewed Spanish data from Suñer (1994) and Ordóñez (1998) dealing with adverbs, negation, and auxiliary verb movement, showing that they do not constitute a real problem for a T-to-C movement analysis<sup>18 19</sup>. Now I would like to provide an explanation for why some *wh*-phrases do not obligatorily trigger inversion, thus trying to account for the facts in (16) and (17). I want to argue that the crucial cut is independent from Torrego's (1984) idea about the adjunct vs. argument asymmetry. To my ear, all adjuncts need inversion<sup>20 21</sup>:

(19)

- a. \*¿Cuándo Leticia vino? (Spanish)  
 When Leticia came-3SG  
 'When did Leticia come?'  
 b. \*¿Dónde Leticia cantó? (Spanish)  
 Where Leticia sang-3SG  
 'Where did Leticia sing?'  
 c. \*¿Cómo Leticia estudia? (Spanish)  
 How Leticia study-3SG  
 'How does Leticia study?'

But regardless of (19), some adjuncts discussed by Torrego (1984) do prevent inversion. Importantly, all of them, just like (16a,b,c), pied-pipe a preposition<sup>22</sup>.

(20)

- a. ¿Por qué Sheila llamó a su hermano? (Spanish)  
 For what Sheila called-3SG to her brother  
 'Why did Sheila call her brother?'  
 b. (?)¿En qué medida la Constitución ha contribuido a esto? (Spanish)  
 In what measure the Constitution have-3SG contributed to that  
 'How much has the Constitution contributed to that?'  
 c. (?)¿Con cuánto dinero el Gobierno te ha premiado? (Spanish)  
 With how-much money the Government CL-you have-3SG awarded  
 'With how much money has the Government awarded you?'

Among the examples in (20), only the case of *por qué* (Eng. *why*) has been noticed in the literature (cf. Uriagereka (1988; 1999) and Rizzi (2001)), without receiving a principled account. Let us see whether we can do better. Spanish speakers accept both (21a) and (21b), and they actually feel that there is a subtle interpretive difference<sup>23 24</sup>:

- (21)
- a. ¿Por qué Sheila llamó a su hermano? (Spanish)  
 For what Sheila called-3SG to her brother  
 ‘Why did Sheila call her brother?’
- b. ¿Por qué llamó (Sheila) a su hermano (Sheila)? (Spanish)  
 For what called-3SG (Sheila) to her brother (Sheila)  
 ‘Why did Sheila call her brother?’

The semantics in (21b) has no mystery: there is a reason *x*, such that Sheila called her brother for that *x*. The semantics of (21a) is more difficult to grasp, though. It seems that (21a) can mean either ‘Why was it Sheila (and not María, say) who called her brother?’ or else ‘Why was it (true) that Sheila called her brother?’. It appears to me that the second reading is closely related to the interpretation of evidential *cómo* (Eng. *how (come)*) in *¿Cómo Juan hizo eso?* (Eng. *How come Juan did that?*), for it could be roughly translated as follows: ‘How is it (possible) that Juan did that?’. Such interpretations could be taken as evidence to suppose that we are asking about the truth-value of the sentence, and, consequently, that we are moving some complex (modal-like) *wh*-phrase to C (as Jaume Solà (p.c.) suggested to me). Be that as it may, the important thing to note is that the semantics of these expressions is not that of *bona fide* questions, a fact I take to follow from the absence of T-to-C movement (cf. fn. 20 and 21).

Happily, the general pattern in which *wh*-phrases pied-piping prepositions block obligatory T-to-C movement seems to hold even in embedded contexts:

- (22)
- a. \*No te imaginas [<sub>CP</sub> cuánto tu padre me ha ayudado] (Spanish)  
 No CL-you imagine-2SG how-much your father CL-me have-3SG helped  
 ‘You cannot imagine how much your father helped me’
- b. No te imaginas [<sub>CP</sub> hasta qué punto tu padre me ha ayudado] (Spanish)  
 No CL-you imagine-2SG until what point your father CL-me have-3SG helped  
 ‘You cannot imagine how much your father has helped me’

We have seen the data, but an explanation is still needed. Unless some phonological complexity process is relevant (less words vs. more words, presumably involving ‘phonological phrasing’ effects), one wonders what the factor blocking T-to-C movement could be. I think the preposition is the key, so I will pursue this intuition to see where it leads. If we ‘freeze’ the derivation of, say, (16b) by the end of the TP phase, we get (23). At that point both the *wh*-phrase and the subject DP have moved to T’s *edge*.

- (23) [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>PP</sub> hasta qué punto]<sub>[i,T]</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Isabel]<sub>[i,TP]</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> me ha criticado<sub>z</sub>T<sub>[i,T]</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>z</sub> t<sub>j</sub> ] ] ] ] ]

Recall that, in (16b), the embedded C has two uninterpretable features: [*uWh*] and [*uT*], both endowed with the EPP property. [*uWh*] is eliminated by moving the *wh*-phrase *hasta qué punto* to SPEC-C, but, how is [*uT*] deleted? In Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2001) system there are three possibilities which would yield the desired result:



(24)

- a. Moving the subject DP.
- b. Moving the T head.
- c. Moving the *wh*-phrase pied-piping the PP (Ps being a species of T).

As a result of (15), Spanish lacks the first option, so (b) and (c) could in principle work –and, actually, they do. That is, (b) is the unmarked option (T-to-C movement is always possible), and it yields a convergent derivation. As for (c), it can also yield a correct outcome: the *wh*-phrase *hasta qué punto* is closer to C than T and, since it pied-pipes a P, it can value both [*uWh*] and [*uT*] in one fell swoop<sup>25 26</sup>.

For the purposes of this section, we can stop here. In the previous lines, I have argued that Iberian Romance’s first strong phase is TP, not *v*\*P, a domain where Case-convergence obtains. The proposal is consistent with Uriagereka’s (1999) findings, and makes interesting predictions with respect to inversion phenomena. But there is more: if the analysis of relative clauses outlined in Gallego (2005) is tenable, then (15) is also responsible for the fact that, contrary to English, Romance languages cannot attract relative pronouns unless introduced by a preposition<sup>27</sup>.

(25)

- a. \*L’home {qui/el qual} va venir. (Catalan)  
The man {who/the which} AUX-3SG to-come  
‘The man who came’
- b. L’home amb {qui/el qual} vaig parlar. (Catalan)  
The man with {who/the which} AUX-1SG to-talk  
‘The man to whom I talked’

#### 4. Edge Effects and the EPP

Given the nature of the main topics under investigation here, one real empirical and theoretical challenge is to assess the role of preverbal subjects and the EPP in NSLs. The literature on these issues is so vast that I do not know how to start chunking it down, so I will simplify. As a departing point, let us start by considering the examples in (26):

(26)

- a. Sheila baila. *PREVERBAL SUBJECT* (Spanish)  
Sheila dance-3SG  
‘Sheila dances’
- b. Baila Sheila. *POSTVERBAL SUBJECT* (Spanish)  
Dance-3SG Sheila  
‘Sheila dances’

What is the status of preverbal subjects in NSLs? Simplifying somewhat, two main proposals have been put forward in the literature: a) they are (Clitic) Left Dislocated DPs in a Topic Phrase (cf. Ordóñez (1998) and Ordóñez & Treviño (1999), *i.a.*); b) they are non-argumental DPs first-merged in SPEC-T and coindexed with a referential *pro* occupying SPEC-*v*\* (cf. Barbosa (1997), Rosselló (2000), and Solà (1992), *i.a.*).

The first option is clearly wrong, for otherwise there would be no way of differentiating between the minimal pairs in (27) and (28):

- (27)
- a. La Maria ha plorat. (Catalan)  
 The Maria have-3SG cried  
 ‘Maria has cried’
- b. La Maria<sub>i</sub>, t<sub>i</sub> ha plorat. (Catalan)  
 The Maria, have-3SG cried  
 ‘Maria, she has cried’
- (28)
- a. Ningún jugador del Real Madrid merece lo que gana. (Spanish)  
 No player of-the Real Madrid deserve-3SG it that earn-3SG  
 ‘No Real Madrid player deserves what he earns’
- b. \*Ningún jugador del Real Madrid, merece lo que gana. (Spanish)  
 No player of-the Real Madrid, deserve-3SG it that earn-3SG  
 ‘No Real Madrid player, he deserves what he earns’

The second option is not without problems either. First, it states that subject DPs –like expletives- are base generated (i.e., first merged) in SPEC-T, having a  $v^*$ P-internal ‘associate’ which does not trigger definiteness effects; second, it has to assume (at least tacitly) that preverbal DPs receive neither theta-role nor Case value (unless some kind of chain-assignment mechanism is stipulated); third, this account disregards the fact that *external-Merge* is associated with *theta-theory*, not *edge-semantics* (cf. Chomsky (2004)): clearly, preverbal subjects are interpreted as a species of ‘internal topic’ (cf. Rizzi (2004)), which entails a semantics that goes beyond theta affairs.

I would like to argue that preverbal subjects involve a process of ‘Subject Shift’: if T is indeed a phase head, we expect for DPs landing in its outer SPECs to display *edge-semantics* effects, under Chomsky’s (2001) analysis of surface interpretations arising at phases *edges*. This is expressed by (29) and (30), both taken from Chomsky (2001):

(29) ***Optionality of Operations***

Optional operations can apply only if they have an effect on the outcome: in the present case,  $v^*$  may be assigned an EPP-feature to permit successive-cyclic  $\bar{A}$ -movement or Int[erpretation] (under OS).

(30) The EPP position of a phase *Ph* is assigned Int[erpretation].

[from Chomsky (2001: 33-34)]

Chomsky (2001) applies both (29) and (30) to  $v^*$  in order to account for Object Shift; in this paper I would like to push the same logic to T. For Object Shift, the relevant interpretation seems to be specificity. What is the interpretation in the case of T? According to (27) and (28), I conclude that preverbal subjects receive a topic or categorical interpretation (cf. Raposo & Uriagereka (2002) and Rizzi (2004), *i.a.*), involving a species of Subject Shift. On the other hand, when the subject is postverbal, it is interpreted as a non contrastive focus (cf. Belletti (2004))<sup>28</sup>:

- (31)
- A: ¿Quién se ha ido? (Spanish)  
 Who CL have-3SG left  
 ‘Who left?’
- B: #Juan se ha ido. (Spanish)

- Juan CL have-3SG left  
 ‘Juan (left)’  
 B’: (Se ha ido) Juan. (Spanish)  
 CL have-3SG left Juan  
 ‘(It was) Juan’

We can, therefore, sharpen (30), building on Raposo & Uriagereka (2002):

- (32)  
 a. A DP in the EPP/edge position of T is assigned a *Categorical Interpretation*.  
 b. A DP not in the EPP/edge position of T is assigned a *Thetic Interpretation*.

If (32) is correct, the facts of (33) receive a natural explanation: note that (33a) can get an absolute, attributive or standing reading, paraphrasable as ‘María is a singer’. This is not possible with (33b), which can only receive a non-standing paraphrase, anchored to the *hic et nunc* of the speech act: ‘Now/At this moment, María is singing’.

- (33)  
 a. María canta. CATEGORICAL JUDGEMENT (Spanish)  
 María sing-3SG  
 ‘María sings’ (=María is a singer)  
 b. Canta María. THETIC JUDGEMENT (Spanish)  
 Sing-3SG María  
 ‘María sings’ (=María is singing right now / It is María who sings... and not Isabel)

What about the A/A’ distinction<sup>29</sup> and the EPP? Both topics directly bear on the nature of T, so this proposal must say something about them. Within the GB-literature, an A position was defined either as a potential theta position or as a potential Case position (cf. Chomsky (1981) and Chomsky & Lasnik (1995)). In Chomsky (2005b), these notions are recast through the type of feature that acts as Probe: EPP/edge-Probes create A’ configurations, while  $\phi$ -Probes create A ones. SPEC-T has been said to have A’ properties in Iberian Romance (cf. Bonet (1989), Goodall (1993), Jaeggli (1982), Masullo (1992), Uribe-Etxebarria (1992), Rosselló (2000), Solà (1992), *i.a.*), and that is consistent with the discourse-related semantics we have just seen –in current terms, this means that T has EPP/edge-Probes. Nonetheless, it is also clear that SPEC-T has A properties: as (34), (35), and (36) show, preverbal subjects (which I take to be in SPEC-T), can bind, control and do not show reconstruction effects, typical tests for A-Movement<sup>30</sup>:

- (34) En Joan<sub>i</sub> es pentina a si mateix<sub>i</sub> (Catalan)  
 The Joan CL comb-3SG to himself  
 ‘Joan combs himself’  
 (35) En Joan<sub>i</sub> vol [ PRO<sub>i</sub> sortir amb la Maria ] (Catalan)  
 The Joan want-3SG to-go-out with the Maria  
 ‘Joan wants to go out with Maria’  
 (36)  
 a. [El xicot de la Maria<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub> no l<sub>i</sub>’ha trucada<sub>z</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>z</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ] (Catalan)  
 The boyfriend of the Maria not CL-her-have-3SG called  
 ‘Maria’s boyfriend has not called her’

- b. \*No  $l_i$ 'ha trucada<sub>z</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> el xicot de la Maria<sub>i</sub> t<sub>z</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ] (Catalan)  
 Not CL-her-have-3SG called the boyfriend of the Maria  
 'Maria's boyfriend has not called her'

The conclusion, therefore, is that SPEC-T has both A and A' properties in Iberian Romance (in Chomsky's (2005b) terms, T has both EPP/*edge* and  $\phi$ -Probes)<sup>31</sup>.

One last issue must be assessed: what is the status of the EPP in Iberian Romance? This label was first understood as the universal requirement for SPEC-T to be filled in (cf. Chomsky (1981; 1982)), but within minimalism it has become a morphological prerogative (i.e., a feature) of phase heads to create extra-SPECs<sup>32</sup> (cf. Chomsky (2000)). Notice that if T defines a phase domain in Iberian Romance, as I have claimed in this paper, the minimalist view is consistent with the facts: the EPP would be optional in T<sup>33</sup>. Some authors, however, still claim that the EPP is universal in T, being satisfied either by merging a null indexical (cf. Fernández-Soriano (1999) and Goodall (2000), following an original idea of Torrego (1989)) or else by  $v^*$ -to-T movement (cf. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998))<sup>34</sup>. Let us focus on the latter proposal, for it seems to have received much attention in the literature. Putting aside the plausible phonological nature of verb movement, robust empirical evidence indicates that Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou's (1998) approach cannot be correct. First, if the EPP reduces to the checking of a [person] feature in T (cf. Chomsky (2001)), this account disregards the fact that, as a matter of simple logic, external arguments are potential interveners, blocking *Agree* between T and the  $v^*$ -V complex, as shown in (37):

$$(37) [_{CP} C [_{TP} T_{[i\phi]} [_{v^*P} DP_{[i\phi]} [_{v^*} v^*-V_{i[i\phi]} [_{VP} t_i DP_{[i\phi]} ]]]]]$$

| \_\_\_\_\_ ⊗ \_\_\_\_\_ ↑

Second, it cannot be the case that T's [person] is valued by  $v^*$ -V's [person]: in a system like Chomsky's (2000), that predicts that subjects and objects must always have the same [person] specification. A trivial example like *I love María* would be impossible.

A third argument is provided by Torrego's (2002) analysis of raising structures. As Torrego (2002) notes, *Agree* between matrix T and the subject DP within the embedded clause is blocked by experiencer clitics in Spanish:

- (38)
- a. Juan<sub>i</sub> parece [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> leer mucho] (Spanish)  
 Juan seem-3SG to-read much  
 'Juan seems to read a lot'
- b. \*Juan<sub>i</sub> me parece [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> leer mucho] (Spanish)  
 Juan CL-to-me seem-3SG to-read much  
 'Juan seems to me to read a lot'

As Esther Torrego (p.c.) notes, a null counterpart of *it* (call it *pro<sub>it</sub>*) must merge with T in cases like (39), satisfying the EPP, for otherwise there would be no way to explain the intervention effect<sup>35</sup>.

- (39)
- a. Parece [<sub>TP</sub> *pro<sub>it</sub>* llover] (Spanish)  
 Seem-3SG to-rain  
 'It seems to be raining'
- b. \*Me parece [<sub>TP</sub> *pro<sub>it</sub>* llover] (Spanish)

CL-to-me seem-3SG to-rain  
 ‘It seems to me to be raining’

However, (39) does not conclusively prove that matrix T must merge something as its SPEC: it just shows that *Agree* is blocked by the experiencer clitic. Interestingly enough, indirect evidence from Cecchetto (2000) indicates that matrix T does satisfy the EPP by means of a *bona fide* SPEC. In particular, in his analysis of Clitic Left Dislocation, Cecchetto (2000) argues that those dependents reconstruct into a position below preverbal subjects, but above postverbal ones (an outer-SPEC-*v*\*, I assume). Such a reconstruction pattern is supported by (40), which shows that the subject DP, *Juan*, can bind the clitic pronoun *le* only when in preverbal position.

- (40)
- a. [<sub>CP</sub> [Los libros que *le<sub>z</sub>* diste]<sub>j</sub>, [<sub>TP</sub> Juan<sub>z</sub> no los<sub>j</sub> ha leído [<sub>v\*P</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> t<sub>z</sub> t<sub>j</sub>]]]]] (Spanish)  
 The books that CL-to-him gave-2SG Juan not CL-them have-3SG read  
 ‘The books you gave him, Juan has not read them’
- b. \* [<sub>CP</sub> [Los libros que *le<sub>z</sub>* diste]<sub>j</sub>, [<sub>TP</sub> no los<sub>j</sub> ha leído [<sub>v\*P</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [<sub>v\*P</sub> Juan<sub>z</sub> t<sub>j</sub>]]]]] (Spanish)  
 The books that CL-to-him gave-2SG not CL-them have-3SG read Juan  
 ‘The books you gave him, Juan has not read them’

Yet the crucial empirical test is (41): the Principle-C effect of this structure indicates, under Cecchetto’s (2000) analysis, that a covert subject (a little *pro*) has undergone *internal-Merge* from SPEC-*v*\* to SPEC-T, checking the EPP<sup>36</sup>.

- (41) \* [<sub>CP</sub> [Los libros de María]<sub>i</sub>, *pro<sub>j</sub>* los<sub>i</sub> ha leído t<sub>i</sub> ] (Spanish)  
 The books of María, CL-them have-3SG read  
 ‘María’s books, she has read them’

But even if this conclusion is correct, a minimalist wants to know why. A plausible rationale can be drawn from the very nature of T. Much recent research (cf. Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000), Hale & Keyser (2002), Pesetsky & Torrego (2004a), Svenonius (2004), *i.a.*) has argued that tense heads and prepositions belong to the same syntactic species: they are birelational predicates. Thus, if T is really a species of P, it should come as no surprise that it needs to fill in its SPEC to take its second argument. Given that such a requirement is something imposed by the SEM component, it is independent from parameters by definition, and hence universal<sup>37</sup>.

## 5. Conclusions

In this paper I have tried to rephrase the GB-era claim that SPEC-T (then called SPEC-INFL) is an A’ position in Iberian Romance, arguing that TP is a *strong phase*. For this to be possible, I have assumed, with Uriagereka (1999), that phases are derivational domains of morphological convergence; to be precise, I have shown different evidence suggesting that subject DPs check their Case within the first phase in Iberian Romance, a fact that determines their derivational fate, rendering them inert for computational business within the CP, contrary to what happens in English<sup>38</sup>. From this very derivational imbalance, many things follow: free inversion of subjects (which move to T’s *edge* in order to yield an *edge-semantics* effect), obligatory inversion in interrogative clauses, and the lack of *that*-trace effects and *que/che*-deletion, among others.

This said, one last question must be addressed, on learnability grounds: what is the triggering factor of such a derivational imbalance? I think one of the most obvious differences between Romance and English holds the key:  $v^*$ -to-T movement. Granted, this possibility raises many questions, specially so the moment head movement does not count as a *bona fide* syntactic operation (cf. Boeckx & Stjepanović (2001) and Chomsky (2001)). If my intuition is correct, however, (some instances of) head movement must be truly syntactic. A plausible way out of the technical problems this operation poses would be to argue that both  $v^*$ -to-T and T-to-C movements trigger massive (re)projections of the verb (cf. Donati (2004) and Hornstein & Uriagereka (2002)) upon merger with T and C. There are grounds to believe that this possibility (or a close variant of it) is worth pursuing: it captures the intuition that clauses are interpreted as the projection of their verb, with C and T being its ‘extended projections’, in Grimshaw’s (1991) sense.

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<sup>1</sup> As Chomsky (2001) notes, LAs must be regarded as *Numerations* if one LI is selected more than once.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chomsky (2000; 2001; 2005b), Epstein & Seely (2002), Uriagereka (1999), and references therein.

<sup>3</sup> This approach to Case is modified in Chomsky (2004; 2005b), where it is claimed that  $\phi$ -features are generated in C, the strong phase head, not T.

<sup>4</sup> Svenonius (2002) for closely related ideas on Case.

<sup>5</sup> The role of T<sub>OBJECT</sub> is not directly relevant for anything I have to say here, so I will generally ignore it.

<sup>6</sup> In this paper I will assume the mainstream view according to which matrix interrogative C bears an uninterpretable [Wh] feature endowed with the EPP property. Cf. Chomsky (2005b) for different ideas.

<sup>7</sup> At first glance, there is a non-trivial drawback to this proposal: how can it be the case that C's [ $uT$ ] be valued by the subject's [ $uT$ ], if both features are unvalued? In order to solve this tension, Pesetsky & Torrego (2004b) suggest that all instances of T features form a sort of abstract syntactic dependency (technically, *Agreement* is regarded as *Feature Sharing*; cf. Frampton & Gutmann (2000)) so that an unvalued link is not 'alone' when valuing another unvalued feature appearing upstairs in the tree: the chain works 'together', as a whole, in valuation. Another way out is Hiraiwa's (2001) *Multiple Agree*.

<sup>8</sup> The analysis of *do*-insertion in (5) might be threatened by Chomsky's (1986) vacuous movement analysis, whereby *wh*-subjects remain in SPEC-T. By considering the distribution of expressions like *the hell*, which,

as noted by Pesetsky (1987), are only found in *wh*-phrases overtly moving to SPEC-C, Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) argue that *wh*-subjects are not *in situ*:

- (i) What *the hell*<sub>i</sub> did Sue give *t*<sub>i</sub> to whom?
- (ii) \*What<sub>i</sub> did Sue give *t*<sub>i</sub> to whom *the hell*?
- (iii) Who *the hell*<sub>i</sub> *t*<sub>i</sub> bought what?

[from Pesetsky & Torrego (2001: 405 fn. 9)]

<sup>9</sup> Although I say TP here, it is actually the T head that can move to C, being spelled-out as *that*. Cf. Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) for details about ‘equidistance’ between TP and SPEC-T.

<sup>10</sup> Another possibility would be for C to delete its [*uT*] feature by mere *Agree*. I assume that this is what happens in matrix declarative clauses, for instance.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Chomsky (1993; 1995; 2000; 2001) and Hiraiwa (2001) on ‘equidistance’.

<sup>12</sup> As first noted by Torrego (1983; 1984), the Spanish complementizer *que* can be deleted if the verb is inflected in subjunctive mood (and conditional or modal-future tense too). I Gallego (2004; 2006) I analyze those cases as involving direct verb movement to C.

<sup>13</sup> As I said (cf. fn. 7), using an unvalued feature to delete another one does not seem natural at first glance, but even from Chomsky’s perspective that should not be a problem, for, once valued, unvalued features cannot be distinguished from valued ones. Chomsky (2001: 5) is clear in this respect:

The natural principle is that the uninterpretable features, and only these, enter the derivation without values, and are distinguished from interpretable features by virtue of this property. Their values are determined by *Agree* [...] *After application of Agree, the distinction is lost*. <Emphasis added: AJG>

<sup>14</sup> As Chomsky himself notes (cf. Chomsky (2004: 127)), this connection between phases and uninterpretable morphology not only suggests that there might be a more abstract notion of ‘phase’ (based on feature valuation rather than category size), but also underscores a remarkable asymmetry between the A and A’ systems: A properties (i.e. Case/Agreement) are always handled within a phase, unlike A’ ones.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Goodall (1993), Torrego (1984), Uriagereka (1999), Uribe-Etxebarria (1992), and references therein.

<sup>16</sup> The second objection to those non-T-to-C movement accounts was that some of them assumed no CP projection in matrix interrogative clauses. Under current assumptions, this cannot be maintained.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Boeckx (2003a; 2003b; 2004) for relevant discussion.

<sup>18</sup> It is important to note that if my approach to interrogative clauses was correct, then *v*\*-to-T movement must be syntactic (*contra* Chomsky (2001)): if it was phonological, once in T, the verb should not be able to continue its way up to C, since the first operation would have rendered it ‘out of sight’, assuming that operations like extraposition are phonological (cf. Chomsky (2001)).

<sup>19</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the main facts regarding obligatory inversion in interrogative clauses hold in Catalan, European Portuguese, French, Galician, Italian, and Spanish (cf. Barbosa (2001), Boeckx (2002), Cardinaletti (2001), Costa (2000), Rizzi (1996; 2001), and Uriagereka (1999)). There are cases, however, in which there is no T-to-C movement, depending on whether the subject is a weak pronoun or whether the verb is inflected in subjunctive mood. The same is true in Spanish, as (i) and (ii) show:

- (i) (?)Eso depende de cómo uno lo haga. (Spanish)  
That depend-3SG of how one CL-it do-SUBJ-3SG  
‘That depends on how one do things’
- (ii) (?)Ahora bien, cómo eso deba codificarse es un asunto muy diferente. (Spanish)  
Now well, how that must-SUBJ-3SG to-encode be-3SG a matter very different  
‘However, how this must be encoded is a completely different matter’

<sup>20</sup> When adjuncts do not trigger inversion, a semantic import obtains. Consider the following data:

- (i) Pero, a ver: ¿cuándo Juan ha dicho eso? (Nunca lo ha dicho...) (Spanish)  
But, to to-see: when Juan have-3SG said that? (Never CL-it have-3SG said...)  
‘So, tell me: When has Juan said that? He never did so...’
- (ii) Pero, a ver: ¿dónde Juan es capaz de hacer esas cosas? (En ningún sitio...) (Spanish)  
But, to to-see: where Juan be-3SG able of to-do those things? (In no place...)  
‘So, let us see: where would Juan be able to do such things? (Nowhere whatsoever...)’

The judgements are subtle, but the general pattern seems clear to me: (i) and (ii) are rhetorical questions. In (i), the speaker does not expect an answer; actually, the speaker seems to be questioning the truth value of a previous assertion. I will assume that in these cases C’s [*uT*] is valued by *Agree*, without T-to-C movement, and that, as a consequence, an interpretive difference obtains. Interestingly enough, this scenario is similar (though not identical) to the one Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) defend in the case of the interrogative vs. exclamative sentences: whereas the former delete C’s [*uT*] by T-to-C movement (e.g., *What book did you buy?*), the latter do it by moving the DP subject (e.g., *What an impressive book you bought!*).

Another *wh*-phrase not triggering obligatory inversion is *cómo* (Eng. *how (come)*). Importantly, this element does not have a manner interpretation under the intended reading, but rather one whose paraphrase is something like ‘how is it possible that...’. As expected, the interrogative sentences in which this element appears are not true questions.

- (iii) No me lo creo, ¿cómo Juan te dice esas cosas? (Spanish)  
 Not CL-me CL-it believe-1SG, how Juan CL-to-you say-3SG those things?  
 ‘I cannot believe it: how come Juan tells you those things?’

<sup>21</sup> Ricardo Etxepare (p.c.) makes me note that (i), but not (ii), is fine:

- (i) ¿Qué libros Juan no ha leído? (Spanish)  
 What books Juan not have-3SG read  
 ‘What books han’t Juan read?’
- (ii) \*¿Qué libros Juan (sí) ha leído? (Spanish)  
 What books Juan (yes) have-3SG read  
 ‘What books has Juan read (indeed)?’

(i) seems to me to have a semantics similar to that of the examples in the previous footnote, with a presupposition of sorts (i.e., it is not a *bona fide* question). So, in (i), the speaker knows that Juan has read all the books he can reasonably think of. (iii) helps settle a context for that interpretation to arise:

- (iii) Pero, a ver, ¿qué libros Juan no ha leído? Si es que los ha leído todos. (Spanish)  
 But, to to-see, what books Juan not have-3SG read? If be-3SG that CL-them have-3SG read all  
 ‘But, come on, ¿what books hasn’t Juan read? He has read them all.

<sup>22</sup> Two comments are in order regarding the data in (20). First, even if a true interrogative interpretation is possible, the rhetoric reading is also sensible, due to non-inversion. Second, for reasons that I do not understand, prepositions do not behave uniformly with respect to inversion: light ones, like the Spanish dative Case marker *a* of direct and indirect objects does not prevent inversion in my idiolect, a fact that might indicate that it is not the label of the DPs in which it appears (cf. Torrego (1995; 1998) on this issue):

- (i) ??/\*¿A quién Luis ha llamado? (Spanish)  
 To whom Luis have-3SG called  
 ‘Who has Luis called?’

Again, (i) would improve if the appropriate discourse factors are met (in particular, the subject DP *Luis* must be focused); consider the scenario of (ii):

- (ii) No, no, que lo que yo te preguntaba es que a quién Luis (y no Juan) ha llamado. (Spanish)  
 No, no, that CL-it that I CL-you asked-1SG be-3SG that to who L (and not J) have-3SG called  
 ‘No, no, what I was asking you is whom Luis (and not Juan) has called’

The matters are murky, but the main picture remains intact: inversion is required unless discourse related factors (e.g., presupposition, focus, and the like) interfere. Curiously, but not unexpectedly, some Spanish dialects, like Río de la Plata’s, prevent inversion even with *a*-marked direct objects:

- (iii) ¿A quién Juan conoció en Buenos Aires? (R.P. Spanish)  
 To whom Juan knew-3SG in Buenos Aires  
 ‘Who did Juan meet at Buenos Aires?’
- (iv) \*¿Qué Juan vio en Buenos Aires? (R.P. Spanish)  
 What Juan saw-3SG in Buenos Aires  
 ‘What did Juan see at Buenos Aires?’

[from Salanova (2002: 9)]

To repeat, (iii) is out in my idiolect without any previous context. Apparently, the preposition *a* in Río de la Plata Spanish can provide its label to the DP and block obligatory inversion.

<sup>23</sup> (21) raises a non-trivial question: where are subjects in Spanish interrogative sentences? If the verb has moved to C, there are two possible landing sites: SPEC-T and SPEC-v\*. Ordóñez (1998) addresses this issue, noting that subjects do not allow floating quantifiers, contrary to what happens in declarative sentences:

- (i) Aquellos turistas vienen todos de Francia. (Spanish)  
 Those tourists come-3PL all from France  
 ‘Those tourists came all from France’
- (ii) \*¿De dónde vienen aquellos turistas todos? (Spanish)  
 Of where come-3PL those tourists all?  
 ‘Where do those tourists come all from?’

Ordóñez (1998) capitalizes on these data to claim that, in interrogative clauses, there is no T-to-C movement and that subjects do not occupy SPEC-T. Given the system I have assumed, there is no principled reason for things to be that way: subject DPs can in principle move to SPEC-T. I thus conclude that both positions can be occupied, but informational factors may yield more or less severe deviance. Actually, (ii) is probably deviant due to informational conflicts: there are two foci (the *wh*-phrase and the floating quantifier).

<sup>24</sup> As (21b) shows, the postverbal subject can occupy two positions, presumably SPEC-v\* and SPEC-T, as just argued (cf. previous fn.). Note that when the subject appears in the rightmost position, it receives a focus reading, as José M. Brucart (p.c.) correctly notes:

- (i) ¿Por qué llamó a su hermano Sheila? (... en lugar de María) (Spanish)  
 For what called-3SG to her brother Sheila? (... in place of María)

‘Why did Sheila (and not María) call her brother?’

This possibility is not unexpected under the analysis of postverbal subjects I put forward in the next section.

<sup>25</sup> I suspect that this implementation can also shed some light with respect to the fact that some complex DPs noted in Ordóñez (1998) and Ordóñez & Treviño (1999) do not trigger inversion: *cuál de tus amigas* (Eng. *which one of your friends*), *cuántos de esos libros* (Eng. *how many of those books*), etc. I want to argue that the key for those DPs to prevent T-to-C movement is the preposition they all contain, which, plausibly, is the head of the structure (i.e., the label). Cf. Gallego (2006) for a more fine grained analysis.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Rizzi (2001) for a different account.

<sup>27</sup> A reviewer asks whether there is any relation between the data in (25) and the *que-qui* alternation of French (cf. Rizzi (1990: § 2.5.)). I think the answer is negative: French behaves like Iberian varieties with respect to (25), but still shows this complementizer alternation. Under Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2001) system, *qui* must be the form taken by T when subjects are extracted. The question is why. Plausibly, subject raising prevents  $\phi$ -inheritance to T (cf. Chomsky (2005b)): that would explain why agreement morphology is spelled-out in C.

<sup>28</sup> Belletti (2004) argues that postverbal subjects move to a Focus projection within  $v^*$ ’s periphery in which they meet a *Criterion*. Building on data from Uriagereka (1988), in Gallego (2006) I argue that Belletti’s (2004) analysis cannot be correct: if *Criterion* positions trigger “freezing” effects (cf. Rizzi (2004)), it would be impossible to sub-extract from postverbal subjects. It is not.

- (i) (?)<sub>i</sub>De qué conferenciantes<sub>i</sub> te parece que me van a impresionar [las propuestas  $t_i$ ] (Spanish)  
Of what speakers CL-to-you seem-3SG that CL-to-me go-3PL to to-impress the proposals  
‘Which speakers does it seem to you that the proposals by will impress me?’
- (ii) \*<sub>i</sub>De qué conferenciantes<sub>i</sub> te parece que [las propuestas  $t_i$ ] me van a impresionar? (Spanish)  
Of what speakers CL-to-you seem-3SG that the proposals CL-to-me go-3PL to to-impress  
‘Which speakers does it seem to you that the proposals by will impress me?’

[from Uriagereka (1988: 118)]

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Uriagereka (1999) for much relevant discussion. The distinction was first related to theta-positions (simply put, A-positions were dedicated to arguments –‘A’ from ‘argumental’, hence the name), which was unproblematic as long as subjects were directly generated in SPEC-T (before the advent of the *VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis*). Later on the definition had to be modified, since subjects in SPEC-T also show A properties like binding and control; the trick was to relate theta-role assignment to Case through the notion of ‘visibility’: a DP was said to be ‘visible’ to receive a theta-role if its Case had been checked (cf. Boeckx (2001)). Case, then, was viewed as another test to see whether a position is A or A’. As Uribe-Etxebarria (1992) correctly notes, the problem is that some languages do not need to move subject DPs to SPEC-T to get their Case checked (e.g., Spanish). In those languages, therefore, SPEC-T would qualify as an A’-position.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Suñer (2003) for more evidence supporting the A status of SPEC-T in Spanish.

<sup>31</sup> In Gallego (2006) I try to derive this fact from verb movement.

<sup>32</sup> The scenario also changes in Chomsky (2005b), where all Lexical Items that can undergo Merge are assumed to bear EPP-features (there called *edge-features*).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Picallo (1998), Rosselló (2000), and Solà (1992; 2002) for evidence suggesting that Romance languages do not have the EPP. As I try to show, this view cannot be maintained.

<sup>34</sup> A problem for an analysis along the lines of Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) is that it takes it that verbal morphology stands for a (clitic) pronoun, thus being interpretable; as Holmberg (2005) shows, this view cannot be correct on both empirical and theoretical grounds. Such a view has an obvious link to those analysis of doubling clitics as agreement markers (cf. Solà (2002) and references therein). As Torrego (1995: 228) points out, it is quite doubtful that even the latter analysis is on track, not to mention the former: “to equate AgrO to the doubling clitic leaves us in the dark as to why there is not a marked nominative in which AgrS surfaces as a clitic.” Cf. Torrego (1998) for further discussion.

<sup>35</sup> The same conclusion can be drawn from (i), which presumably involves a null counterpart of *there* (call it *pro<sub>there</sub>*). In this case, the problem is that *Me* (Eng. *me*) blocks *Agree* between matrix T and *pro<sub>there</sub>*.

- (i) (\*Me) parecen [<sub>TP</sub> *pro<sub>there</sub>* haber sido arrestados muchos hombres] (Spanish)  
CL-to-me seem-3PL to-have been arrested many men  
‘There seem to me to have been arrested many men’

<sup>36</sup> If correct, this provides evidence against Picallo (1998), who argues that a null *pro* cannot be postulated because it has no effect on the interface components. This must be qualified: it is true that *pro* has no PF effect, but it does feed the LF component (a claim also made by Belletti (2004)), as the binding facts show.

<sup>37</sup> This analysis cuts many corners, of course. So, for instance, in this paper I do not have anything interesting to say about the obvious connection that the EPP shares with both the A/A’ distinction and the mechanics of successive cyclic movement: does it always target every projection? Or just in the case of A’ movement? Cf. Boeckx (2001; 2003a) and Chomsky (2001; 2005b) on this.

<sup>38</sup> Although I have focused on Catalan and Spanish, the hypothesis put forward here extends to European Portuguese and Galician, for they also show what I have called ‘phase effects’ on T. Cf. Gallego (2006).