

# **Empty Categories and Inverse Ellipsis<sup>1</sup>**

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## **Aims:**

- to discuss various mismatches between strong pronouns and R-expressions on the basis of Spanish and Catalan non-finite configurations
- to argue in favor of abandoning a lexical PRO/*pro* distinction:
  - There is only one type of *ec* ( $D_{[u\phi]}$ ) whose status with respect to Binding Theory is derived from the properties of T (Borer's (1989) anaphoric AGR)
- Overt pronouns in Romance finite *pro-drop* and non-finite configurations are the result of post-syntactic Spell-Out of D (adopting 'Late Insertion').
  - motivated by (i) structural Case or, in its absence, (ii) discourse-sensitive *insertion* of morphophonological material
    - ***Inverse Ellipsis***
- R-expressions, in contrast to strong pronouns, cannot be default realizations
  - We offer an explanation couched in terms of phase theory

## **1 Mismatches between strong pronouns and full DPs in Spanish and Catalan**

### **1.1 Spanish**

#### **1.1.1 Complement control – apparent Backward Control vs. emphatic subjects**

In Spanish, full R-expressions/DPs are allowed to surface inside a certain class of control complements (→ apparent Backward Control (BC), see Alexiadou et al. 2010):

- (1) Ayer            **(Juan)** quería    hacer **(Juan/él)** los deberes    **(Juan/él)**.  
Yesterday    (Juan) wanted    to-do (Juan/he) the homework (Juan/he)

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(2) Todos los días (**Juan**) intenta hacer (**Juan/él**) los deberes (**Juan/él**).  
 All the days (Juan) tries to-do (Juan/he) the homework (Juan/he)

(3) Ayer (**Juan**) aprendió a hacer (?**Juan/él**) los deberes (**Juan/él**).  
 Yesterday (Juan) learned to to-do (Juan/he) the homework (Juan/he)

- R-expressions and (emphatic) pronouns are allowed inside the infinitive
- Potential violation of Condition C and B, respectively

However, full DPs become impossible in the VSO order with the following control verbs (which are unambiguously non-restructuring), while (emphatic) pronouns are acceptable:

(4) Ayer (**Juan**) odió hacer (?\***Juan/él**) los deberes (**Juan/él**).  
 Yesterday Juan hated to-do Juan/he the homework Juan/he

(5) Ayer (**Juan**) insistió en hacer (?\***Juan/él**) los deberes (**Juan/él**).  
 Yesterday Juan insisted in to-do Juan/he the homework Juan/he

Also matrix objects and complementizers block full DPs (i.e. apparent BC) (see Ordóñez 2009, Torrego 1996). However, pronouns remain acceptable:

(6) Ayer (**Juan**) me prometió a mí hacer (\***Juan/él**) los deberes.  
 Yesterday (Juan) me promised to-do (\*Juan/he) the homework

(7) (**Juan**) no sabe si firmar (\***Juan/él**) el contrato.  
 (John) not knows whether to-sign (\*Juan/he) the contract

These asymmetries between R-expressions and pronouns are against a uniform analysis of control as movement<sup>2</sup>.

In those configurations (restructuring) that allow R-expressions as well as pronouns (see (1)- (3)), the two elements have different scope properties (see Szabolcsi 2009):

(8) No quería [hacer **solo Juan** los deberes].  
 not wanted to-do only Juan the homework  
 ✓Reading 1: Only Juan doesn't want to do the homework (others want to do them).  
 \* Reading 2: He<sub>i</sub> doesn't want it to be the case that only he<sub>i</sub> (=Juan) does the homework (he wants others to do them as well).

(9) No quería [hacer **solo él** los deberes].  
 Not wanted to-do only he the homework  
 ?✓Reading 1: Only Juan doesn't want to do the homework (others want to do them).

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<sup>2</sup> See Alexiadou et al. (2010) for a raising analysis of BC in the vein of Polinsky & Potsdam (2002) for Spanish.

✓Reading 2: He doesn't want it to be the case that only he<sub>i</sub> (Juan) does the homework. (He wants others to do them too).

- Only pronouns can have narrow scope over the embedded infinitive
- R-expressions must have wide scope over the matrix clause

***Szabolcsi's Generalization:***

In several languages, overt subjects in OC infinitives can only be morphological pronouns but not full DPs.

This indicates that, in Spanish, R-expressions are only inside control infinitives in the linear PF order but not in syntax

- Pronouns, in contrast, can be phonetic realizations of PRO/*pro*.

*1.1.2 Overt subjects in NOC contexts*

Piera (1987) observes that overt subjects are possible in **subject infinitives** in postverbal position. However, R-expressions are judged as more marginal than pronouns:

- (10) Salir      (**tú/??Julia**) fue un error.  
To-leave you/Julia was an error
- (11) a. Olvidarse (**??Julia**) no es nada raro.  
To-forget-SE Julia not is nothing strange  
b. Olvidarme (**yo**) no es nada raro.  
To-forget-ME I not is nothing strange

Preverbal subjects are generally ruled out (see Piera 1987):

- (12) a. [Telefonar **tú** primero] sería un error.  
To-telephone you first would-be an error  
b. \*[**Tú** telefonar primero] sería un error.  
You to-telephone first would-be an error

In **adjunct infinitives**, however, R-expressions as well as pronouns are licit in postverbal position (see Piera 1987, Rigau 1995):

- (13) Después de actuar **Caballé**, cantó Carreras. (Rigau 1995: 280)  
After of to-act Caballé sang Carreras

Preverbal full DPs are ruled out, but VOS as well as VSO orders are licit:

- (14) Antes de (**\*Juan/\*mi hermano**) hacer (**Juan/mi hermano**) los deberes  
Before of Juan my brother to-do Juan my brother the homework

(**Juan/mi hermano**), ...

Juan my brother

Preverbal subjects are marginally possible, but can only be pronouns (preferably [1.sg]):

- (15) “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)

## 1.2 Catalan

### 1.2.1 Complement control – apparent Backward Control and emphatic subjects

Differently to Spanish, not even restructuring contexts allow the VSO order with full DPs (see Ordóñez 2007, 2009), mirroring restrictions on matrix subjects:<sup>3</sup>

- (16) Ahir (en Joan) volia fer (?\*en Joan) el pastís (en Joan).  
Yesterday the Joan wanted to-do the Joan the cake the Joan

However, inserting a pronoun, the acceptability of (16) improves:

- (17) ?Ahir volia fer jo el pastís.  
Yesterday wanted to-do I the cake

As in Spanish, (emphatic) pronouns are possible with all types of control predicates:

- (18) Li vaig<sub>i</sub> prometre [fer jo<sub>i</sub> el pastís].  
CL PAST-1.sg promise to-do I the cake

- While the VSO order is generally ruled out in Catalan finite and non-finite contexts, (emphatic) pronouns do appear in the VSO order (see Cardinaletti (1999) and Belletti (2005) for Italian)

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<sup>3</sup> Full R-expressions can only appear inside control infinitives in Catalan if (i) the matrix verb is a restructuring one and (ii) the constituent following the DP subject is a non-argumental PP:

- (i) Volien venir (?\*els pares) a Barcelona.  
Wanted-3pl to-come the parents to Barcelona
- (ii) Volien venir (els pares) a dinar. (Solà 2002)  
Wanted-3pl to-come the parents to to-have-lunch
- (iii) Es proposen venir (\*els pares) a dinar. (Solà 2002)  
SE propose-3pl to-come the parents to to-have-lunch

This state-of-affairs reinforces that we are dealing with matrix subjects here.

### 1.2.2 *Overt subjects in NOC contexts*

In **subject infinitives**, overt subjects are only very restrictedly allowed. Full R-expressions are completely unacceptable and pronouns are marginal and, for those speakers that accept them, preferably first person:

- (19) \*Anar-se'n **en Joan** va ser un error.  
To-go-SE-EN the Joan PAST be an error
- (20) ?Anar-me'n **jo** va ser un error.  
To-go-ME-EN I PAST be an error

Note that Burzio (1986), Cardinaletti (1999) and Belletti (2005) observe a similar state-of-affairs for Italian:

- (21) [Andarci (**noi/IO/\*Giovanni**)] sarebbe un errore. (Burzio 1986)  
'To-go-there (we/I/\*Giovanni) would-be a mistake'
- (22) In una situazione del genere, parlare (<sup>(?)</sup>**io**/<sup>??</sup>**tu**/<sup>??</sup>**lui**/<sup>(?)</sup>**noi**/<sup>??</sup>**voi**/<sup>??</sup>**loro**/**\*Gianni**) sarebbe strano. (Belletti 2005)  
'In a situation of this kind, to speak I/you/he/Gianni would be strange'

Preverbal subjects are generally ruled out:

- (23) [(**\*en Joan/\*ell**) anar-se'n] va ser un error.  
The Joan he to-go-SE-EN PAST be an error

In **adjunct infinitives**, similarly to Spanish, full R-expressions become licit:

- (24) Abans de(**\*en Joan/\*jo**) comprar (<sup>(?)</sup>**\*en Joan**/<sup>(?)</sup>**jo**) pomes (**en Joan/jo**),...  
Before of (the Joan/I) to-buy (the Joan/I) apples (the Joan/I)
- Only the VOS order is licit with full DPs (see also Ordóñez 2007)
  - VSO improves with a pronoun

### 1.2.3 *Catalan finite domains*

As Solà (1992) and Picallo (1998) observe, the (XP)VSO order is ungrammatical in Catalan:

- (25) Fa (**\*en Joan**) els deures.  
Does (the Joan) the homework

However, VSO slightly improves with a pronoun (though it's not fully grammatical):

- (26) Faig (<sup>(?)</sup>**jo**) els deures.  
Make-I I the homework

As Gemma Rigau (p.c.) points out, this contrast becomes more evident in subordinates:

- (27) a. Quan fas ?**tu** els deures,...  
when makes you the homework  
b. Quedem que fare ?**jo** el sopar.  
Meet-we that make-FUT-1sg I the dinner

### 1.3 Interim summary

Strong pronouns have less stricter licensing conditions in syntax than full DPs (see Cardinaletti 1999, 2004 for Italian)

This situation holds for finite contexts (i.e. *pro*/pronoun alternations) as well as for non-finite control contexts (i.e. PRO/‘(emphatic) pronoun’ alternation)

## 2 PRO = *pro*

Beside a raising analysis of control (Hornstein 1999), we argue that **some languages might apply a ‘*pro-drop* strategy’ to subjects in control infinitives.**

- T can have interpretable phi-features in *pro-drop* (Barbosa 1995, 2009a,b):

Non-finite domains, however, have a defective C-T spine (Landau 2004, Boeckx et al. 2010):

- (28)  $T_{\text{compl}}$  iff [+AGR], [+T],  $T_{\text{def}}$  elsewhere (see Landau 2004)

*A priori*, nothing precludes introducing a further binary distinction:

- **$T_{\text{def}}$  can have interpretable or uninterpretable  $\phi$ -features** (see also Barbosa 2009, 2010 for Portuguese)
- T can have a valued D feature in Romance *pro-drop* (Holmberg 2005)

- (29) a.  $C-T = i\phi_{\text{compl}} + iD$  /  $D = u\phi \rightarrow \textit{pro-drop}$   
b.  $C-T = i\phi_{\text{def}} + iD$  /  $D = u\phi \rightarrow \text{(Forward) Control}$   
c.  $C-T = u\phi_{\text{compl}} + uD$  /  $D = i\phi \rightarrow \textit{non-pro-drop}$   
d.  $C-T = u\phi_{\text{def}} + uD$  /  $D = i\phi \rightarrow \text{raising; (BC)}$

However, interpretable features on **T can absorb Case/EPP but not a theta-role.**

Reason: Chomsky’s (2008) ‘Hypothesis of Dual Semantics’<sup>4</sup>

- EM correlates with argument structure
- forces EM of an element with at least the minimal descriptive content to satisfy a theta-role ( $D_{[u\phi]}$ ) in the vP/VP-domain

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<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis states that:

- (i) **Hypothesis of Dual Semantics:** (Chomsky 2008: 141)  
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.

- $T_{[\phi]}$  ‘licenses’ EM of a “reference variable”, characterized by fully variable phi-features (Sigurðsson 2008), in Spec,v

(30) **Control:**

**Juan** intentó [<sub>CP</sub> C<sub>def</sub> [<sub>TP</sub>  $T_{[iD, i\phi_{def}]}$ -dormir [<sub>VP</sub>  $D_{[\phi:]}$  v-dormir ...

(31) **Pro-Drop:**

Juan dice [<sub>CP</sub> que [<sub>TP</sub>  $T_{[iD; i\phi_{compl}]}$ -durmieron [<sub>VP</sub>  $D_{[\phi:]}$  v-durmieron ...

- The **differences with respect to Binding Theory are derived from the T head** and not from inherent lexical properties of an *ec*
- T has interpretable defective  $\phi$  (i.e. **anaphoric AGR** (see Borer 1989)) in control → motivates Agree with a matrix antecedent (Landau 2000, 2004)
- T has interpretable complete  $\phi$  in finite *pro-drop* → linking to the context-linkers of C (Sigurðsson 2011)

**Non-pro-drop** arises as a consequence of **unvalued D- and  $\phi$ -features on T** (see e.g. Barbosa 1995, Holmberg 2005). We argue in a similar spirit that **raising T does not have interpretable features**, accounting for the differences between overt subjects in raising and control (see Szabolcsi 2009 for a discussion of scope differences).

### 3 Empty Categories and Inverse Ellipsis: Late Insertion of Pronouns

The empty subject in control is not empty by (lexical) stipulation. Potentially, it can be pronounced as *pro* can. The **question is why the distribution of overt subjects is more restricted in control than in pro-drop**.

- We argue that **insertion of morphophonological content needs a trigger** and the relevant triggers are available to a lower extent in defective domains

**Factors determining Spell-Out of  $D_{[\phi]}$ :**

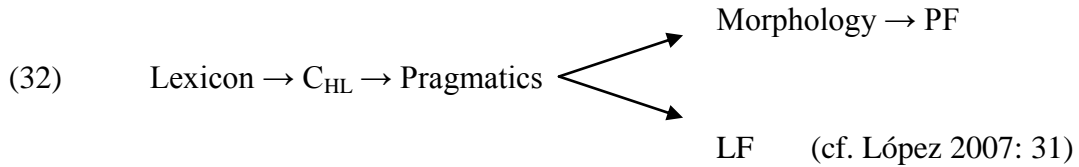
1. Structural [nom] **Case** (cf. the traditional Case Filter)
2. Discourse-sensitive information (adopting Fortuny’s (2008) term:  **$[\pi]$ -features** = [focus], [contrast], [emphasis])

**‘Late Insertion’** of morpho-phonological material as in Distributed Morphology (see Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994 and subsequent work)

- Morpho-syntactic information is not equipped with a morpho-phonological make up before Spell-Out
- The overt/covert alternation of subjects cannot be *lexically* encoded
- Must be the result of the (in-)application of postsyntactic Spell-Out rules

How to encode the dependency of D-pronunciation and  $[\pi]$ ?

- $[\pi]$ -features are not located in the (pre-syntactic) lexicon
- **$[\pi]$  is assigned at the phase edge** (see López 2007, 2009, Gallego 2010):



We thus potentially have the following Spell-Out rules for e.g. a [1p.sg]  $\phi$ -bundle:

- (33)
- a. D = [ $\phi$ : 1p.sg]  $\rightarrow$   $\emptyset$
  - b. D = [ $\phi$ : 1p.sg],  $[\pi]$   $\rightarrow$  /jo/
  - c. D = [ $\phi$ : 1p.sg], **[nom]**  $\rightarrow$  /jo/

However, in *pro-drop* and control, **interpretable  $\phi$ -features absorb [nom] Case** (see e.g. Barbosa 1995, Rosselló 2000)

- Option (33.c) should not exist in Spanish
- Predicts that, **in the absence of structural nominative Case,  $[\pi]$ -features trigger Spell-Out of D**
- The distribution of pronouns in *pro-drop* should be restricted by the (un)availability of discourse-sensitive  $[\pi]$ -features

**The distribution of strong pronouns in *pro-drop* and control is restricted by phase edges as pragmatic interface points.**

In Romance *pro-drop*, there are potentially **three phasal points of transfer**:

- 1. Spec,C  $\rightarrow$  following Rizzi's (1997) tradition
- 2. Spec,T  $\rightarrow$  after overt V-to-T head movement and correlated 'phase sliding' (see Gallego 2010 and Fortuny 2008)
- 3. Spec,v  $\rightarrow$  low focus position (see Belletti 2001, 2004)

Thus, the following options arise for overt pronouns in Spanish-type languages:

- (34)
- a. [CP **Ella** C <sub>$[\pi]$</sub>  [TP T-come [vP **ella** v-~~come~~ [vP pasta ~~come~~]]]].
  - b. [CP C [TP **Ella** T <sub>$[\pi]$</sub> -come [vP ~~ella~~ v-~~come~~ [vP pasta ~~come~~]]]].
  - c. [CP C [TP T-come [vP **ella** v <sub>$[\pi]$</sub> -~~come~~ [vP pasta ~~come~~]]]].
  - d. [CP C [TP T-come [vP pasta [vP **ella** v <sub>$[\pi]$</sub> -~~come~~ [vP ~~pasta~~-~~come~~]]]].

In infinitives, the distribution of overt subjects is more restricted ( $\rightarrow$  no preverbal subjects)

- is due to the fact that **infinitives, being defective domains, have a lower availability of  $[\pi]$ -triggers**:



- (35) a. [CP C<sub>def</sub> [TP T<sub>def</sub>-comer [vP **ella** v<sub>[π]</sub>-~~comer~~ [VP pasta ~~comer~~]]]].  
 b. [CP C<sub>def</sub> [TP T<sub>def</sub>-comer [vP pasta [vP **ella** v<sub>[π]</sub>-~~comer~~ [VP pasta ~~comer~~]]]]].

- **C<sub>def</sub> is not a strong phase** (see Boeckx et al. 2010)  
 → it is **not an interface point**, hence, **no [π]-feature**

- (36) a. ??Luís quiere, **los libros**, leerlos. (Spanish; Gallego 2010)  
 Luis wants the books to read-them  
 b. \*Luís quiere **CERVEZA** beber. (Spanish; Gallego 2010)  
 Luis wants BEER to drink  
 c. \*En Joan va intentar **els llibres** portar-los. (Catalan, López 2007)  
 John tried the books to read.

- [π] is generally not available at the C<sub>def</sub>P edge<sup>5</sup> (→ no topicalization / focus fronting)  
 ➤ T should be defective by inheritance (Chomsky 2008)

**The distribution of strong pronouns is regulated by phases as pragmatic interface points in that [π] is needed to trigger Spell-Out in the absence of [nom] Case:**

#### **Inverse Ellipsis:**

The *ec*/pronoun alternation in control and *pro-drop* is the result of a [π]-conditioned, postsyntactic ‘allomorphy’.

It is the result of context-sensitive *insertion* (vs. deletion) of morphophonological content.

In **English-type languages**, T does not have interpretable phi-features

- Case is not absorbed  
 ➤ Overt Spell-Out is always forced by [Case] (as in (33.c))
- (37) ***Economy of Insertion:***<sup>6</sup>  
 If insertion and non-insertion compete in domain D, non-insertion is favored.
- Since [Case] is not absorbed, (33.a) could never apply in English, since insertion and non-insertion never compete, [Case] unambiguously triggering Spell-Out

<sup>5</sup> Differently from Hungarian, where C<sub>def</sub> can have a full left periphery (Szabolcsi 2009). Interestingly, this correlates with the fact that overt subjects *are* preverbal in OC in this language.

<sup>6</sup> This principle has various predecessors in the literature, such as the Avoid Pronoun Principle (Chomsky 1981), the APS (Bonet 1991), and Minimise α (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999).

#### 4 Strong pronouns vs. R-expressions: Why are they different?

Full DPs, in contrast to strong pronouns, cannot be default realizations.

Cardinaletti & Starke (1999):

- Strong pronouns are full CPs
  - Can be ‘inherently’ (default) Case-marked within their own CP
- Weak pronouns lack C
  - Need structural Case in syntax

Cardinaletti (1999, 2004): R-expressions lack the ability of being (default) Case-marked internally to their own projection.

**Paradox:** Why do full DPs behave like weak pronouns, and not like strong ones, with respect to structural Case marking?

- Surprising since full DPs have the same richness of projection as strong and not as weak pronouns

**Possible solution:** We argue that the obligatory Case-requirement on R-expressions reduces to the **phasal status of DPs**. Pronouns, in contrast, are not strong phases.

- Embick & Marantz (2008): two types of elements in the presyntactic lexicon
  1.  $\sqrt{\text{Roots}}$  ( $\rightarrow$  lexical vocabulary)
  2. Morphosyntactic features ([D], [ $\phi$ ], [Case], etc.)

Until now, we predict the following:

- (38)
- |    |                |   |   |
|----|----------------|---|---|
| a. | Strong pronoun | = | [D] + [ $\phi$ ] + [ $\pi$ ]            |
| b. | Weak pronoun:  | = | [D] + [ $\phi$ ] + [Case]               |
| c. | R-expressions: | = | [D] + [ $\phi$ ] + $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$ |

- **R-expressions** have inherent semantic content  $\rightarrow$  **contain a root**
- **Pronouns** lack *inherent* semantic content and, hence, a root
  - They are an assembly of D- and phi-features<sup>7</sup>

Marantz (2001, 2007): **words can be phases** (n-N, v-V, p-P, etc.).

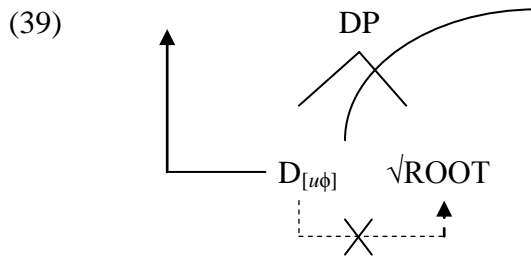
Chomsky (2008): **DPs can be phases**.

**For X to be an argument, to refer, it must be linked to a D** (e.g. Longobardi 1994)

- Consequence: A DP containing a root must provide a value for the variable DP-internally.
- Problem: If D selecting a  $\sqrt{\text{Root}}$  had unvalued features, it could not provide a value for the variable internally to its phase:

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<sup>7</sup> Following Postal's (1969) traditional idea of assimilating pronouns with determiners.



- If DP containing a root is a phase, the complement of its head should be sent to C-I
- If D has unvalued features it cannot assign a value to the root it selects
- Conclusion: DPs containing a root must have a D-head with interpretable features!

If D has interpretable features, T must have uninterpretable ones:

- (40)      **Feature Balance:** (Müller 2004: 4)  
 For every feature specification [ $*F:\alpha$ ], there must be a matching feature specification [ $F:\alpha$ ].

T, having uninterpretable phi-features, cannot absorb [nom] Case.

- DP/R-expression must value structural Case in syntax

What about **strong pronouns**?

- Since they **do not contain a root**, they can value their features against T
- **D can have unvalued features** (as in (30)) and, by (40), T can have valued ones
  - **D can remain Case-less because interpretable features on T absorb Case**
- [ $\pi$ ]-triggered Spell-Out

This analysis implies that **even *pro-drop* languages can apply a non-*pro-drop* strategy for R-expressions and full DPs.**

## 5 Some residual issues

### 5.1 Full R-expressions in adjunct infinitives

Adjunct infinitives allow both R-expressions and pronouns (see (13) and (14)).

Question: How can R-expressions receive Case in adjuncts, being non-finite domains?

Rigau (1995):

- T in adjunct infinitives has fully equipped (abstract) AGR, i.e. is [+AGR, -T]
- The **introducing P equips T with a tense value**, making it [+AGR, +T]

(41) [CP de [TP T<sub>compl</sub> [vP v ...] (full R-expressions)

- P in C can value the tense features of T
- Having ‘complete’ features, it can potentially license [nom] Case assignment

The crucial role of the introducing preposition can explain why R-expressions are unacceptable (Catalan and Italian) or marginal (Spanish) in subject infinitives, where no P is merged in the C domain.

## 5.2 Apparent BC: Spanish vs. Catalan

Apparent BC is available to a larger extent in Spanish than in Catalan.

This is not surprising since Spanish has a wider freedom with respect to word order in finite configurations:

(42) Todos los días compra **Juan** el diario.  
 Every day buys Juan the newspaper  
 (Spanish (XP)VSO; Zubizarreta 1998: 100)

(43) <sup>(??)</sup>\*Fullejava **en Joan** el diari.  
 was browsing Joan the newspaper  
 (Catalan \*VSO; Picallo 1998: 229)

Hence, the prohibition against apparent BC in Catalan in the VSO order follows from general constraints on Case assignment:

(44) Quiere hacer **Juan** [~~hacer~~ los deberes]. (V-V-S-O ✓ in Spanish)

(45) \*Vol fer **en Joan** [~~fer~~ els deures]. (V-V-S-O \* in Catalan)

(46) ✓ **En Joan<sub>i</sub>** vol fer<sub>j</sub> en Joan<sub>i</sub> [~~fer<sub>j</sub>~~ els deures]. (S-V-V-O ✓ in Catalan)

If Spanish allows *in situ* Case checking (see Ordóñez 1998, Zubizarreta 1998), the acceptability of apparent BC in restructuring contexts is expected:

- The formation of a verbal complex can be effected above the matrix *in situ* subject (see Ordóñez 2009, Gallego 2011 for different implementations of a similar proposal)
- López (2009): subjects always raise to Spec,T in Catalan – a further step of subject movement above the verbal complex is needed (see (46))

### 5.3 Why is [1p] different?

Belletti (2005) observes that overt pronominal subjects in subject infinitives are preferably [1p] (see (21) and (22)).

- the nature of the control relation itself is responsible for this preference:
  - NOC involves ‘arbitrary’ control, which can have an “inclusive” interpretation

One could also speculate from the following perspective:

- **NOC** does not involve arbitrary but **logophoric control** (see Landau 2000)
- Huang (2000): logophoricity usually refers to an internal protagonist of a ‘narration’ – to the *non*-speaker – and *not* to an external speaker
- Since [1p] encodes the external speaker, overt subjects can be seen as an ‘anti-logophoricity’ effect
  - Overt pronouns are inserted if the implicit logophoric centre cannot be recovered in discourse – shifting towards the external speaker

**In the absence of structural nominative [Case], discourse-sensitive properties become crucial triggers for Spell-Out of subjects.**

## 6 Conclusions

- We have argued that Spanish and Catalan can apply a ‘pro-drop-strategy’ to the subject in control infinitives:
  - There is no *lexical* PRO/*pro* distinction
    - It is T that determines the status of an *ec* (Borer 1989)
  - Null subjects have the minimal descriptive content ( $D_{[\iota\phi]}$ ) to satisfy a theta-role
  - The overt/covert alternation in control and *pro-drop* arises in the absence of structural nominative Case
    - $T_{[\iota\phi]}$  absorbs [nom]
    - $[\pi]$  triggers Spell-Out at the phase edges (= pragmatic interface points)
  - R-expressions, on the other hand, rely on a ‘non-*pro-drop* strategy’, being in the need of structural Case – they cannot be default realizations
- The data presented here indicates that an alternative Agree-based strategy for obligatory control (Landau 2000, 2004) is independently needed, *at least in parallel* with a control as raising analysis

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