

# Backwards or in situ? Infinitival Overt Subjects in Romance

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19<sup>th</sup> Colloquium on Generative Grammar

UPV-EHU, April 1, 2009

## 1. Objectives.

- Show properties of post-infinitival subjects in main clauses in Romance. I will mostly focus on Spanish.
- Evaluate the backward control proposal for postverbal subjects inside infinitives.
- Propose an alternative based on the formation of verbal complexes in the Germanic Languages (Hinterhölz 2008), and Hungarian and Dutch (Koopman & Szabolsci 2000) and causatives in French (Homer, Ishizuka & Sportiche 2009).
- Understand how these constructions are linked to the Romance languages that have VSO.
- Provide evidence that VSO might involve movement of the subject to a higher projection.

## 2. Introduction: On the position of postverbal subjects in the Infinitival clauses.

—Subjects can appear overtly in infinitival contexts. But there is a parametric distinction:

- (1) a) Antes de comprar (Luis) manzanas (Luis) V (S) XP (S) Spanish  
Before of buying-INF (Luis) the apples (Luis)  
b) \*Abans de comprar (\*en Lluís) pomes (en Lluís) V (\*S) XP S Catalan  
Before of buying-INF (\*Lluís) apples (en Lluís)

The distinction occurs in other infinitival clauses. The following minimal pairs show that V (S) INF (S) XP (S) structures are possible in Spanish but not in Catalan, which only allows V INF XP (S).

- (2) a. Hoy no deben (los estudiantes) leer (los estudiantes) las novelas (los estudiantes)  
Today not should (the students) to read-INF (the students) the novels (the students)
- (3) Avui no deuen (?\*els estudiants) llegir (?\*els estudiants) les novel·les (els estudiants). (Catalan)  
Not should (\*the students) read-INF (\*the students) the novels (the students)  
'The students should not read novels.'

The distinction is obviously related to the differences on the possibility of having V(S) XP (S) orders in Spanish but not in Catalan, which only allows V XP S (Solà 1992, Roselló 2002, Vallduví 2002):

- (4) a) Hoy comprará (Juan) comida (Juan). (Spanish)  
today will buy (Juan) a meal (Juan)  
b) Avui comprarà (\*en Joan) menjar (en Joan) (Catalan)  
Today will buy (\*en Joan) lunch (en Joan)
- (5) a) En Irak resultaron (muchos soldados) heridas (muchos soldados)  
b) En Irak van resultar (\*molts soldats) ferits (molts soldats)  
In Iraq resulted (\*many soldiers) injured (many soldiers)

### 3 The V S INF XP and V INF S XP and Backward Control.

#### 3.1 The V S INF XP order.

V (S) XP and V (S) INF are obtained in a similar fashion. Possible analysis: Subjects in Spanish stay in Spec VP and verb tense moves (Motapayane1995, Ordóñez 1998, Costa 2000, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2001, Cardinaletti 2001)

(6)  $[V_i \quad [_{VP} \text{ SUB } [INF \quad XP]] \text{ In Situ}]$

#### 3.2 The V INF S XP order and Backward control analysis.

Alexiadou et al (to appear) for Greek and Romanian subjunctives which are cases of obligatory control

Traditional Control Construal analysis

(7) Juan<sub>i</sub> quiso [PRO<sub>i</sub> comprar el libro]  
Juan wanted PRO to buy-INF the book

**Backwards control.** Proposal by Polinsky and Potsdam (2002) based on the approach of Control as movement by Hornstein (1999). If control as raising involves movement there are three possible scenarios:

(8) Typology of control and raising according to Polinsky and Potsdam (2007)

Higher copy pronounced	Lower Copy pronounced	Structure
√	*	Forward Control
*	√	Backward Control
√	√	Resumption

—As shown with Adjunct constructions, infinitival verbs must necessarily move above the position of the overt subject. This movement of the infinitive above the embedded subject with the movement of the subject to the matrix clause leads to the two scenarios:

(9) Juan<sub>i</sub> quiso [ comprar<sub>i</sub> Juan—t<sub>i</sub> el libro] Forward Control = S INF XP  
Juan<sub>i</sub> wanted [to buy-INF<sub>j</sub> Juan<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> the book]

(10) Juan<sub>i</sub> quiso [ comprar<sub>i</sub> Juan t<sub>i</sub> el libro] Backward Control= V INF S XP  
Juan<sub>i</sub> wanted [to buy-INF<sub>j</sub> Juan<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> the book]

—According to the analysis there are two subject positions: one in the higher clause and one in the lower one and there is a movement chain.

#### Some objections to Backward Control analysis for the V INF S XP orders:

a) Unlike Greek and Romanian subjunctives, subjects in these infinitives need the matrix negation to be licensed. They cannot be licensed by a lower negation. This fact implies that this is a matrix subject and not an embedded subject. Spanish is also a negative concord language and Neg must be present in the higher clause.

(11) a. %tolmise na min fai Kanis to tiri (Greek)  
dared/3sg subj not eat nobody the cheese  
b. \*Kanis tolmise na min fai to tiri  
Nobody dared-3sg subj not eat the cheese

- (12) a. Juan olvidó no tocarse la nariz  
 Juan forgot not to touch his nose  
 b. olvidó no tocarse Juan la nariz  
 forgot not to touch Juan his nose
- (13) a. Nadie olvidó no tocarse la nariz (everybody remembered)  
 Nobody forgotnot to touch his/her nose  
 b. **No** olvidó no tocarse **nadie** la nariz (everybody remembered)  
 Not forgot not to touch nobody his/her nose  
 c. \*?Olvidó no tocarse nadie la nariz  
 forgot not to touch nobody his/her nose

—There is a clear contrast with Raising. The verb *Begin* is ambiguous between raising and control in Tsez, Greek and Spanish.

- (14) Ya que parece **no** tocarse **nadie** la nariz  
 Since it seems not to touch nobody the nose
- (15) Ya que empezó a **no** distinguir **nadie** los colores.  
 since it started to not to distinguish nobody the colors

b) No quirky subjects are permitted in embedded clauses of these backward control examples. In order to do this test one must use 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person since Spanish might fail to make plural agreement with third person nominatives subjects.

- (16) ?Tolmise na tis aresun tis Marias i operes  
 Dared-3sg subj cl/gen please-3pl the-Gen Maria the operas
- (17) Volvió-3sg a gustarle a Maria las operas-pl  
 returned-3sg to to like-cl Maria (IO) the operas (NOM)
- (18) Volvió-3sg a gustarnos las operas  
 returned-3sg to to like-cl 1pp the operas (NOM)
- (19) a.\*Volvimos a gustarnos a nosotros las operas  
 returned-1pl plural to to like-cl to us the operas

c) The locality puzzle. Backward Control is sensitive to LOCALITY in a way that forward control is not. This is unexpected if both involve the same movement but they are distinguished with respect to where the copy is pronounced.

Wh-islands:

- (20) \*?~~Juan~~ no sabe si contestar Juan las cartas. (BC) (Torrego 1996)  
~~Juan~~ not know whether to answer **Juan** the letters
- (21) Juan no sabe si contestar ~~Juan~~ las cartas (FC)

Observe that when the lower copy is substituted with a pronominal and we get resumption, the sentences are perfectly fine:

- (22) Los estudiantes<sub>i</sub> no saben si contestar ellos<sub>i</sub> la carta. (From Torrego 1996)  
 The students not know whether to answer **they** the letter

Backwards control and interference of XP arguments from the controller verb:

- (23) a. El jurado prometió [darles ~~el jurado~~ la libertad a los  
prisioneros] (FC)  
The jury promised to give-cl ~~the jury~~ the liberty to the  
prisoners
- b. ~~El jurado~~ prometió [darles el jurado la libertad a los  
prisioneros] (BC)  
~~The jury~~ promised to give-cl the jury the liberty to the  
prisoners
- (24) a. El jurado les prometió a los familiares [darles ~~el jurado~~ la  
libertad a los prisioneros] (FC)  
The jury promised to the family to give-cl ~~the jury~~ the  
liberty to the prisoners
- b. \*~~El jurado~~ les prometió a los familiares [darles el jurado la  
libertad a los prisioneros] (BC)  
~~The jury~~ promised to the family to give-cl the jury the  
liberty to the prisoners

d) The three possibilities involve BC, FC and Middle Control. Examples with a longer string of modals put the same questions:

—The subject can appear in intermediate positions in a string of modals:

- (25) a. En todo caso debería ~~Juan~~ poder ~~Juan~~ devolverte Juan  
el dinero. BC  
In any case should ~~Juan~~ be able ~~Juan~~ to return ~~Juan~~  
the money.
- b. En todo caso debería Juan poder ~~Juan~~ devolverte ~~Juan~~  
el dinero. FC  
In any case should Juan be able ~~Juan~~ to return ~~Juan~~  
the money.
- c. En todo caso debería ~~Juan~~ poder Juan devolverte ~~Juan~~  
el dinero. MC??  
In any case should ~~Juan~~ be able Juan to return ~~Juan~~  
the money.

e) Structures that do not involve control like causatives and perception verbs show the same patterns.

- (26) Ayer nos hizo leer Juan el libro.  
Yesterday to us make to read Juan the book  
'Yesterday Juan made us read the book.'
- (27) Ayer oyó cantar Pedro *La Traviata*.  
Yesterday heard to sing Pedro *la Traviata*.  
"Yesterday Pedro heard the singing of 'la traviata.'

f) Object control verb shows similar patterns. The controller is the object but the subject might appear after the infinitive and the embedded object.

- (28) Ayer me recomendó leer Juan este libro  
Ayer cl- recomendó to read Juan this book  
Juan recommended me to read this book
- (29) Ayer nos prohibió leer Juan este libro  
Yesterday prohibited to read Juan this book  
Juan prohibited to us to read this book

g) The same locality issues mentioned with *promise* type verbs are found in causatives and object control verbs. **No** argument might intervene between the verb and infinitive when the subject follows the infinitive:

- (30) \*?Ayer nos prohibió a nosotros leer Juan este libro  
 Yesterday prohibited to us to read Juan this book

h) The insertion of subjects after the infinitive (Backward Control of Subjects) is also found with Objects. V IO INF DO and V INF IO DO

- (31) Obligaron a Bush a firmar los acuerdos de paz  
 Obligated-3pp to Bush to sign the peace agreements
- (32) Obligaron a firmar a Bush los acuerdos de paz  
 Obligated-3pp to sign to Bush the peace agreements
- (33) ?Obligó a firmar el Congreso a Bush los acuerdos de paz  
 Obligated to sign the Congress to Bush the peace agreement

How does main the subject end up after the infinitive and before the XP complement if no Backward Control is made available in Spanish? How do we derive the following scenario without Backward Control?

- (34)  $V_1$  [V-INF<sub>2</sub> SUBJ<sub>1</sub> OBJ<sub>2</sub>]

Restructuring:

a) Head Movement. Guasti (1993) proposal that there is head movement of the infinitive to adjoin to the main verb as proposed for causative constructions in Romance. However, this implies right adjunction!.

- (35) V-VINF<sub>2</sub> SUBJ [<sub>1</sub> t OBJ<sub>2</sub>]

b) Cinque's restructuring (1999) proposal. Restructuring involves monoclausal structures. They project into the functional field. Infinitivals must move past the position of the postverbal subject like past participles move past the position of the subject in situ in auxiliary constructions to an agreement head (Belletti 1990)

- (36) Auxiliary > Vpp<sub>1</sub> > > [<sub>VP</sub>SUB t<sub>1</sub> OBJECT]  
 habia (functional projection) comido (vpp) Juan las manzanas.  
 has eaten Juan apples
- (37) MODAL (functional projections) > INF<sub>1</sub> > > [<sub>VP</sub>SUB t<sub>1</sub> OBJECT]  
 wanted to eat Juan the apples

To understand the optionality of movement of the infinitive one can adopt a modification of Cinque's proposal by Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004) and assume that modal **OPTIONALLY** project in the functional field. If modals project as VP's, two VP's would be involved and the lower infinitive could not appear above the postverbal subject.

- (38) [<sub>VP</sub>Modal lexical > SUBJ INF<sub>1</sub> > > [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> OBJECT]]

Both hypotheses need to answer:

- A) The process of restructuring goes beyond the typical modal, causative and perception verbs. It involves also certain type of OBJECT CONTROL VERBS, which are not modal.
- B) Examples of  $V_1$  [V-INF<sub>2</sub> SUBJ<sub>1</sub> OBJ<sub>2</sub>] involve more than pure verbal infinitival heads. Some infinitivals come with a preposition or complementizer:

- (39) a. Ayer olvidó **de** tomar Juan el desayuno  
 Yesterday forgot of having Juan breakfast  
 b. Ayer tuvo **que** tomar Juan el desayuno  
 Yesterday had to having Juan breakfast
- C) The Locality Questions. Objection g) for backward control. Those facts remain a problem for this restructuring hypothesis as well.

Conclusion: We need a Phrasal Movement approach to understand the condition on these structure. The approach has been adopted for Dutch and Hungarian by Koopman and Szabolsci (2000) for German, Dutch by Hinterholz (2005), and for causatives for French by Homer, Ishizuka and Sportiche (2009).

**Generalization: All the Infinitival elements to the left of the SUBJECT in the form  $V_1$   $INF_2$   $SUBJ_1$   $OBJ_2$  are verbal complexes.**

#### 4. Towards an Remnant Movement Analysis of postverbal subjects in infinitives in Spanish

—Verbal complexes contain verbal XP projections that might contain or not other particles, prepositions, and certain predicates;

Dutch Verb Raising:

- (40) Toen Jasmijn de lamp wou **beginnen** **op te poetsen**  
 When Jasmijn the lamp wanted begin up to polish

Behavior of predicates in VR constructions and the insertion of adverbs:

- (41) a. Dat jan de schuur **rood** wil schilderen  
 That Jan the door red wants to paint  
 b. ??Dat jan de schuur **rood** gisteren wil schilderen  
 That jan the door red yesterday wants to paint
- (42) a. Ayer quería pintar de rojo Juan el corral  
 Yesterday wanted **to paint** **red** Juan the barn  
 b. ??Ya que quería pintar ayer de rojo Juan el corral  
 Since wanted **to paint** **yesterday** **red** Juan the barn

The same is observed with infinitivals:

- (43) a. Sin duda mañana deberá poder pintar Juan el corral  
 Without doubt tomorrow **will be able** **to paint** Juan the barn  
 b. ??Sin duda deberá poder mañana pintar Juan el corral  
 Without doubt **will be able** **tomorrow** **to paint** Juan the barn

—Verbal complexes might be formed with a big variety of infinitival, beyond the typical modal examples. They might involve what is considered object control cases.

—The analysis of VR by Hinterhölz (2008):

- a. dat Jan boek vaak lang wil lezen  
that Jan the book often long wants to read
- b. [dat vaak [VP Jan wil [CP.[lang [PRO lezen het boek]]]]]  
that often Jan wants long read the book
- Step 1: Movement of the object out of AspP:  
c. [dat vaak [VP Jan wil [CP **het boek**<sub>i</sub>..[lang [PRO [[ASPP lezen<sub>i</sub> t]]]]]]]  
that often Jan wants the book long read
- Step 2: AspP moves into Spec CP, in the embedded clause  
d. [dat vaak Jan wil [CP ASPP **lezen**<sub>i</sub> [TP het boek..[lang [PRO t]]]]]  
that often Jan wants **read** the book long
- Step 3: TP moves into the spec of Pred P in the matrix Clause  
e. [dat vaak Jan [TP **het boek**<sub>i</sub>..[lang [PRO]]] wil [CP [ASPP lezen]]]  
that often Jan the book long wants to read
- Step 4: Scrambling of the matrix subject and the embedded object  
f. [**dat Jan**<sub>i</sub> **het boek**<sub>j</sub> t<sub>i</sub> vaak [TP..[lang t<sub>j</sub> [PRO]] wil [CP ASPP lezen]]]  
that Jan the book often long want to read

Causative constructions in French according to Homer et al. (2009)

- (44) a. [VP faire [TP [VP Max lire le livre]]]  
To make Max to read the book
- Step 1: Movement of the TP above *faire*:  
b. [TP [VP **Max lire le livre**]<sub>i</sub>] [VP faire t<sub>i</sub>]  
Max to read the book to make
- Step 2: Movement of the subject and object out of the TP:  
c. [**Le livre**<sub>1</sub> **a Max**<sub>2</sub> [TP [VP t<sub>1</sub> [VP lire t<sub>2</sub>]]]<sub>i</sub>] [VP faire ]]  
the book to Max read to make
- Step 3: Movement of the VP *to read* above the licensing position of subject and object:  
d. [<sub>VP lire t<sub>2</sub></sub>]<sub>i</sub> [le livre<sub>1</sub> a Max<sub>2</sub> [TP [VP t<sub>1</sub> ]]<sub>i</sub>] [VP faire ]]  
to read the book to Max to make
- Step 4: Movement of the VP *faire* above CP which is a phase head and Spell Out is triggered:  
e. [<sub>VP faire</sub> ]]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP lire t<sub>2</sub></sub>]<sub>i</sub> [Le livre<sub>1</sub> a Max<sub>2</sub> [TP [VP t<sub>1</sub> ]]<sub>i</sub> ]]  
to make to read the book to Max

For both Verbal complexes involve XP movement and reordering of elements to obtain the final Spell Out. The verb is not a head but XP VP or Asp P:.

- (45) a. [VP Juan [querer [CP PRO [VP comprar el libro]]]  
Juan to want PRO to buy the book
- Step 1: Movement of the verb *to want* above VP:  
b. [TP **querer**<sub>i</sub> [Juan V<sub>i</sub> [TP PRO [VP comprar el libro]]]]]  
to want Juan to buy the book
- Step 2: Movement of the TP above *wanted*:  
c. [TP **PRO [VP comprar el libro]** ]]<sub>i</sub> [TP querer<sub>i</sub> [VP Juan V ]]  
to buy the book wanted Juan
- Step 3: Scrambling of the object out of TP + movement of the main subject Juan to its licensing position above the scrambled object:  
d. [**Juan**<sub>i</sub> **el libro**<sub>2</sub> [TP PRO [VP comprar t<sub>2</sub>]] ]]<sub>i</sub> [TP querer<sub>i</sub> [VP t<sub>1</sub> ]]  
Juan the book to buy to want
- Step 4: Movement of the VP containing *to buy* above the licensing position of subject

and object:

- e. [<sub>VP</sub> comprar t<sub>i</sub>] Juan el libro [<sub>TP</sub> PRO] [<sub>TP</sub> querer<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t  
to buy Juan the book wanted

Step 5: Movement of TP querer to Spec CP and final Spell Out:

- f. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> querer<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t [<sub>VP</sub> comprar t<sub>i</sub>]]] Juan el libro [<sub>CP</sub> PRO t<sub>i</sub>]  
wanted to buy Juan the book

Crucial Properties of the analysis:

- The XP that follows the subject in the **V INF S XP** has been scrambled out of its TP and does not form a constituent with the infinitive. This is Step 3 for Homer et al (2009) and step 3 for this analysis. The movement of the object in these languages has been masked by subsequent remnant movements of the TP and Subject.
- Subjects have a licensing position above the position of the scrambled XP in Spanish. Postverbal subject are MOVED. They are not in situ
- Infinitives and Predicates in these verbal complexes are in a VP projection voided of any arguments: VP for Homer et al (2009) and Asp P for Hinterhölz (2008) Koopman and Szabolsci (2000).

Consequences:

- a) Movement of the XP that follows the subject in the V INF S XP out of the TP can only occur when TP is tense defective. Scrambling is Local Movement and cannot cross over finite clauses. Neither Spanish, French or Dutch have long distance scrambling; therefore, we predict NO verbal complexes with a string of more than one verb that shows tensed specifications:

- (46) a. \*?Ayer **les hizo<sub>i</sub> [que comprasen** Juan<sub>i</sub> el libro]  
Yesterday to them made that buy-3pp Juan the book  
b. Ayer **les hizo<sub>i</sub> comprar** Juan<sub>i</sub> el libro  
yesterday to them made to buy-INF Juan the book

- b) More evidence of the movement of XP in V INF S XP is that CP filled with wh-words block such movements as we saw previously. Thus this scrambling out of non tensed CP is blocked by filled CP, which suggest that Spec CP might be the escape hatch for these movements.

- (47) \*?No sabe si contestar Juan las cartas. (from Torrego 1996)  
Not know whether to answer Juan the letters

- (48) ?\*No sabe a quién regalar tu hermana este libro  
Not know to who to give your sister this book

- c) This scrambling movement might also explain why there is degradation when the subject is followed with a determinerless DP's. They are harder to scrambled than definite DP's. The same occurs with bare predicates:

- (49) a. Nos proposuso leer Juan las novelas.  
to us proposed to read Juan the novels  
b. ??Nos proposuso leer Juan novelas.  
to us proposed to read Juan novels

- (50) \*?No quiso comerla Juan cruda  
did not want to eat it Juan raw  
No quiso Juan comerla cruda  
did not want Juan to eat-it raw

- d) The XP that follow the subject might be a whole CP or a TP with a string of infinitives. Under this analysis, the kind of XP that might appear after the subject

must be similar to what in Germanic constitutes the extraposed elements after verb final.

- (51) Dijo Juan [CP que iba a llegar tarde]  
said Juan that will arrive late
- (52) Debería Juan [poder salir de su casa]  
should Juan to be able to leave his house

For some speakers intermediate cases might be degraded. This means that a TP with a string of infinitive pied pipes all the other infinitives for extraposition. A subpart of string of infinitives might lead to degradation:

- (53) ?Debería poder Juan [salir de su casa]  
should be able Juan to leave his home

e) Since INF that follows the subject in V S INF do not form a unit. The INF has been scrambled out and no clitic movement can take placement.

- (54) a. ?\*Me lo debería Juan poder decir (Clitic Climbing)  
to me it should Juan be able to say  
b. Debería Juan poder decírmelo (No clitic climbing)  
should Juan be able to tell me/tome
- (55) a. ?\*Te lo quiere Juan comprar (Clitic Climbing)  
to you it-wants Juan to buy  
b. Quiere Juan comprártelo (No clitic climbing)  
wants Juan to buy-it-to you

- **Subjects have a licensing position above the position of the scrambled object in Spanish. Postverbal subject are MOVED. They are not in situ.**

## 5. On the high position of subject in VSO structures and V INF O

### 5.1. Leftward movement of quantifiers and the position of the subject.

- (56) Jean a [tout] mangé [\*tout]. (Kayne 1975)  
Jean has all eaten [\*all]  
'Jean has eaten everything.'

- (57) Juan se lo había (\*todo) comido todo.  
Juan CL CL had all eaten all

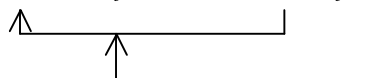
—One possible conclusion is that non focalized quantifier *tout* moves overtly in French but not in Spanish.

—Rizzi (1996) and Nicolis (2001) propose an alternative. The quantifier moves in both languages obligatorily, but Past Participles in Italian and Spanish move further to the left than French. The movement of the quantifier gets masked in Spanish.

- (58) [verb have [ all<sub>j</sub> [ VPP eaten t<sub>j</sub> (French)



- (59) [verb have eaten<sub>i</sub> [ all<sub>j</sub> [ VPP t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> (Spanish)



- (60) Juan se lo había comido todo.  
Juan to him it had eaten everything

—Further tests that show that quantifier *todo* is moved to the left. Is the position with respect to manner adverbs that mark the left edge of the VP such as well *bien, mal, claro*. Recall *todo* must not be focalized!

- (61) Leftward movement of *todo* in Spanish:  
[verb .....*Todo*... .. [[*bien/mal*. [VP.....]]]]

- (62) a. Por no hacer  $\uparrow$  todo bien EL...  
For not doing all well HE  
For not doing  
b. \*?Por no hacer bien todo EL...  
For not doing well all HE

The alternative order is also possible, with focus on *todo*:

- (63) a. Pedro lo hace bien TODO.  
Pedro it makes well EVERYTHING  
Pedro makes everything well.

—Subject quantifiers must precede object quantifier *todo*

- (64) a. Mis compañeros lo hacen ambos todo bien.  
My classmates it do both all well  
b. \*?Mis compañeros lo hacen todo ambos bien.  
My classmates it do all both well  
'My classmates both do everything well.'

—Similarly to what we see with non quantifier subjects:

- (65) a) Ayer lo hizo/encontró Juan todo bien.  
Yesterday it did Juan all well  
b) \*?Ayer lo hizo/encontró todo Juan bien.  
Yesterday it did/found all Juan well  
“Yesterday Juan did/found everything well”

## 5.2 The special behavior of pronominal elements and the AUXILIARY *have* plus Past Participle.

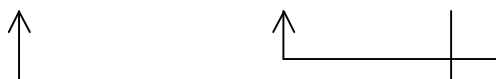
- (66) \*Ayer no nos había tu hermana dicho la verdad.  
Yesterday not to us had your sister said the truth.

— Spanish clearly differs from Icelandic (TEC) :

- (67) Það hafa jólasveinar borðað búaðing.  
There have many trolls eaten pudding

—Recall analysis by Jonas and Bobaljik (1996). Subjects are moved out of the VP to a higher projection. Spanish masks that movement by the movement of the past participle.

- (68) a. [<sub>SubjP</sub> subject [<sub>VP</sub> Past participle  $t_i$ ]] (Icelandic)  
 $\uparrow$   
b. { *Have* [Past participle [<sub>SubjP</sub> subject [<sub>VP</sub>  $t$   $t_i$ ]]] (Spanish)





- (79) a. Ayer nos prohibió **Juan** a nosotros leer este libro. (**Object Control**)  
 Yesterday to us prohibited Juan to us to read this book  
 b. \*?Ayer nos prohibió a nosotros **Juan** leer este libro  
 Yesterday to us-prohibited to us Juan to read this book

This implies that subjects are always licensed in a position higher than the other arguments. This can be also observed with verbs with Small Clauses:

- (80) a. **Consideran intolerable** los jueces la acción de la policia  
 Considered intolerable the judges the action of the police  
 b. **Consideran** los jueces [intolerable la acción de la policia].  
 Considered the judges intolerable the action by the police  
 c. \*?**Consideran** la acción de la policia los jueces [intolerable].  
 Considered the action by the police the judges intolerable

## 7. Conclusions.

- Spanish shows evidence of XP movement of predicates to form verbal complexes.
- Many other cases of backward control should be re-examined in terms of a remnant movement approach.
- The examples with IO that appear after the object control verb V IO<sub>1</sub> INF DO<sub>2</sub>/V INF IO<sub>1</sub> DO<sub>2</sub> should be analyzed in similar fashion with remnant movements.
- Subjects are never in situ. The VSO orders involve movement of the subject to higher projections above the final position of the object.
- Languages like Catalan or Italian that do not have this higher position for subject do not have the possibility of having these options. Thus, there is a clear link between V S X P order and V INF S X P are connected under this perspective.

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