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Subjects, null-subjects and expletives in Romance*

This chapter provides an overview of the status of overt and null subjects in Spanish, Catalan, European Portuguese and Italian. The two main Minimalist approaches to null subjects imply that either: (a) the verbal morphology in null subject languages (NSLs) is pronominal (Barbosa 1995, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998); or (b) a pronominal, which in some circumstances can be null, functions as the subject in these languages, (Sheehan 2006, Roberts 2010 amongst others). Crucially, these two approaches make very different empirical predictions regarding the status of overt subjects in pre- and postverbal position as well as the (non-)existence of null expletives, the exploration of which forms the basis of this chapter. Interestingly, it seems that while an (a)-type approach is more apt for some Romance NSLs, others require a (b)-type analysis. The role of the interfaces with morphology and information structure in licensing null subjects is also discussed.

pro-drop, A-bar, morphology, information structure, inversion, null subjects, dislocation, expletives

1 Introduction

Many of the 'national' Romance languages have been characterised as pro-drop or null subject languages (NSLs) because they allow pronominal subjects to remain implicit/null in the correct information-structure context. Consider, for example, the following examples from Italian, Spanish, European Portuguese (EP) and Catalan, compared with French and English, which are standardly held to be non-NSLs:[1]

1) a. Canti   bene   [Italian]
      sing.2SG   well

[1] The licensing of 1st/2nd person null subjects behaves differently from the licensing of 3rd person null subjects. For discussion of 3rd person null subjects and their need to be linked to a topic antecedent see Frascarelli (2008).

b. Cantas   bien   [Spanish]
       sing.2SG   well

c. Cantas   bem   [EP]
       sing.2SG   well

d. Cantes   bé   [Catalan]
       sing.2SG   well
       'You sing well.'

e. *(Tu)   chantes   bien   [French]
       you   sing.2SG   well

f. *(You) sing well

While this basic property fairly obviously holds at a descriptive level, the correct analysis of null subjects has remained elusive. One of the difficulties involves the apparent role of the interfaces with information structure and morphology in the licensing of Romance null subjects, raising some challenges for modular theories of syntax. Moreover, other surface effects which have been connected to the availability of null subjects such as 'free inversion' and the violation of the that-trace filter also seem to be sensitive to prosodic factors, further complicating the modular view (see Zubizarreta 1998 and Kandybowicz 2006 respectively). In this chapter we review the main analyses of NSLs within Government and Binding (GB) and Minimalism in relation to a number of Romance languages and examine the empirical predictions of these approaches in terms of the distribution and status of null/overt subjects/expletives in these languages.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. Section 2 considers the main analyses of NSLs in GB and Minimalism, making clear how their empirical predictions differ and how they tackle the syntax-morphology interface. Section 3 considers the distribution and status of overt subjects in a number of Romance NSLs and the implications for the Minimalist analyses expounded in section 2. Section 4 briefly considers the status of inversion and the (non-)existence of null expletives in Romance null subject languages. Finally section 5 concludes and raises some issues for future research.

2   Analyses of Romance null subjects

2.1   Null subjects in Government and Binding Theory

In GB Theory, Rizzi's influential analysis of NSLs involves *pro,* an empty pronominal which needs to be both:

2)   a. licensed by X_y^0
      b. identified by binding from features on the local head X_y^0.
                                                  (Rizzi 1982, 1986)

If a given head X_y^0 licenses *pro* then null (expletive) subjects will be available in a position local to X_y^0, but the interpretation of *pro* (as referential or quasi-argumental) will depend on the extent to which *pro* is also identified (by rich agreement morphology on X_y^0). This provides a fine-grained typology of NSLs, based on the properties of finite I in a given language (Rizzi 1986):

3) a. Full NSL: both referential and non-referential *pro* (*pro_ref* and *pro_expl*) are identified – e.g. Italian, Spanish, Greek
   b. Semi NSL Type I: only null non-referential *pro*, i.e. quasi-argumental and non-argumental expletives are identified – e.g. Icelandic, Yiddish
   c. Semi NSL Type II: only null non-argumental *pro*, but not referential or quasi-argumental *pro* is identified – e.g. Dutch, German
   d. Non-NSL: *pro* is not licensed at all – e.g. English, French

The typology in (3) concerns the properties of finite I across languages. The prediction, though, is that even within a given language, heads might potentially differ with respect to their ability to license/identify *pro*. Thus as Rizzi (1986) shows, Italian has different heads which behave like each of the finite 'I's in (3a-d) in their licensing/identification possibilities.
       In finite clauses in Italian *pro* is *licensed* and *identified* as referential by rich agreement on I, as per (3a):

4) a. Ritengo   [che *pro*   sia   simpatico].   [Italian]
       believe.1SG   that   be   nice
       'I believe that (he) is nice.'
   b. Ritengo   [che *pro*   sia   troppo tardi   per   S].
       believe.1SG   that   be   too   late   for   S
       I believe that (it) is too late for S.'
   c. Ritengo [che *pro*   sia   probabile   che   S].
       believe.1SG   that   be   probable   that   S
       'I believe that (it) is likely that S.'
                                       (adapted from Rizzi 1986: 541)

In Italian non-finite Aux-to-Comp complements (discussed by Rizzi 1982: 127-129), *pro* is *licensed* in Italian, but only quasi-argumental *pro* (the subject of weather predicates) can be *identified*:[2]

5) a. *Ritengo   [essere *pro*   simpatico].
       beileve.1SG   be.INF   nice
       'I believe to be (he) nice.'

_____

[2] The subject of weather predicates is taken to be quasi-argumental because, amongst other things, it can control PRO:
(i) It rained after PRO having snowed.

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b. Ritengo   [essere *pro*   troppo tardi   per S].
     believe.1SG   be.INF   too   late   for S
     'I believe to be (it) too late for S.'
  c. Ritengo   [essere *pro*   probabile   che S].
     believe.1SG   be.INF   probable   that S
     'I believe to be (it) likely that S.'
                                            [Italian, adapted from Rizzi 1986: 542]

In Italian small clauses, *pro* is *licensed*, but neither referential nor quasi-argumental *pro* can be *identified*. All that is possible is expletive *pro*, which does not require licensing:

6) a. *Ritengo   [*pro*   simpatico]
       beileve.1SG   nice
    b. *Ritengo   [*pro*   troppo tarde   per S]
       believe.1SG   too   late   for S
    c. Ritengo   [*pro*   probabile   che S]
       believe.1SG   probable   that S
       'I believe it likely that S.' [Italian, adapted from Rizzi 1986: 542]

Finally, Rizzi shows that in Italian Control clauses, introduced by *di* 'of', *pro* is not even licensed (because of the lack of Case) and only PRO (a null subject with very different properties) is possible:[3]

7) a. *pro*$_i$ ritengo   [di PRO$_i$ essere   simpatico].
          believe.1SG   of   be.INF nice
       'I believe that I am nice.'
    b. **pro*$_i$ ritengo   [di *pro*$_j$ essere   simpatico].
          believe.1SG   of   be.INF nice
       'I believe him to be nice.'
    c. *Ritengo   [di *pro* essere   troppo tardi   per S].
       believe.1SG   of   be.INF too   late   for S
       'I believe it to be too late for S.'
    d. *Ritengo   [di *pro* essere   probabile   che S].
       believe.1SG   of   be.INF probable   that S
       'I believe it to be likely that S.'
                                            [Italian, adapted from Rizzi 1986: 541-542]

These facts can be taken as evidence that (i) the availability of null subjects must be relativized to specific heads in a given language and (ii) there are different kinds of null subjects (referential, quasi-argumental and expletive), the

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[3] Note, however, that in French/English *pro* fails to be licensed even in contents where Case is otherwise available, so, while *pro* requires Case (like all DPs), it also requires licensing of a more specific nature.

availability of which in a given language is also relativized to specific contexts. Note that these facts rule out a purely lexical approach to NSLs whereby *pro* is simply made available or not in the lexicon of a given language, as well as macro-parametric accounts where an entire language permits null subjects across the board. Rather, on Rizzi's view, *pro* is universally available in natural languages but its distribution is constrained by (2).

One of the key issues with this approach is the question of morphological richness and its connection to identification. In finite clauses, Italian (like to a slightly lesser extent Spanish varieties and EP) has a rich morphological paradigm in that all person/number combinations are differentiated:

8) Rich agreement: Italian present tense paradigm, regular *–are* verb
     Singular   plural
     1st cant**o**   cant**iamo**
     2nd cant**i**   cant**ate**
     3rd cant**a**   cant**ano**

Formally, Rizzi (1986: 543) claims that *pro* can be referential only if it is licensed for both person and number, as is clearly the case with the subjects of finite I, given (8). In (5), on the other hand, non-finite I in Aux-to-Comp contexts is not specified for person, but is abstractly specified for number, and so only a quasi-argumental reading is possible. The difference between (5) and (6) is that, in (6), *pro* is not theta-marked by the licensing head and so no identification at all is possible. In the absence of any identification for person or number only an expletive interpretation is possible. The following table summarises:

Table 1: feature specification of *pro*

Interpretation of *pro*	person	number
Referential *pro*	+	+
Quasi-argumental *pro*	-	+
Expletive *pro*	-	-

A potential weakness with this proposal is that syntactic specification for a given feature and morphological realisation of that feature do not always go hand in hand. Thus Agr in Aux-to-Comp contexts is only abstractly specified for number, as no number inflection is present morphologically. This fact can be considered an advantage or a flaw depending on how modular a view of syntax one wants to maintain. On the plus side, positing syntactic features which only partially overlap with morphological realisation maintains an autonomous syntactic component. On the downside, though, the empirical predictions of such

a model are weaker. What independent evidence is there that Agr in Aux-to-Comp contexts bears a number specification except for the licensing of quasi-argumental *pro*? Another question is why the presence of +person always implies the presence of +number. Why is it not possible for a head to be +person only? Would this be sufficient to license referential *pro*?

Following work by Perlmutter (1971) and Taraldsen (1980), Rizzi (1982), further proposes that several additional surface effects follow from the licensing and identification of referential *pro*:

9) Obligatorily null expletive/quasi-argumental subjects
   (*egli/ciò) sta   piovendo   [Italian]
   it/this   is.3SG   raining
   'It's raining.'

10) Apparent violations of the that-trace filter
    Chi   credi   che   partirà?   [Italian]
    Who   think.2SG   that   will.come.3SG
    'Who do you think (***that**) will come.'

11) Free inversion in simple clauses
    Ha   telefonato   Gianni   [Italian]
    has.3SG   telephoned   Gianni
    'Gianni rang.'

The Rizzian approach to NSLs provides an elegant and explanatory account of (9-11). The obligatory availability of null expletives/quasi-argumental *pro* where referential *pro* is identified follows (a) from the licensing/identification distinction (for *pro* to be identified it must also be licensed) and (b) because (+person, +number) morphology rich enough to identify *pro* as referential will automatically be rich enough to identify quasi-argumental *pro* (as +number). The possibility of free inversion is due, in turn, to the availability of a null expletive which satisfies the subject requirement (the EPP), precluding the need for subject movement to spec IP. The that-trace filter is in turn avoided by extracting the subject from its (governed) post-verbal position (12), something which is also possible in English-type languages with overt expletives (13):

12) Chi_i credi   che   *pro*   partirà t_i?
    Who   think.2SG   that   will.come.3SG
    'Who do you think (***that**) will come.'

13) $What_i$ did you say that there was t_i in the box?

Crucially, Rizzi (1982) further argues that Italian covert movement *is* subject to the that-trace filter, following work on French by Kayne (1981). As such, it is not that the that-trace filter is itself parameterised, but rather that it is avoided in

Italian and other NSLs because of the availability of *pro* and a postverbal A-position.

All in all, then, Rizzi's account of NSLs is highly elegant and in the context of GB theory provides an explanatory account of the properties of Romance NSLs as well as the means for a fine-grained typology of null arguments across and within languages. Questions remain, however, concerning the nature of the syntax-morphology interface, notably the nature of the specifications for +person/number and how/why exactly these serve to license the various kinds of *pro*.

2.2   Null Subjects in Minimalism

In the content of the Minimalist Program (MP) Rizzi's analysis is, however, problematic on conceptual grounds because (i) the availability of an entity such as *pro* which, when it enters the derivation lacks content at both the LF and PF interface is highly suspect; (ii) licensing relies crucially on government, a stipulative language-specific relation which is rejected in Minimalist approaches; and (iii) the mechanism of identification cannot easily be restated in terms of the Minimalist operation Agree (see Holmberg 2005). Agree involves the valuation of *uninterpretable* features [uF] by *interpretable* features [iF] in a Probe-Goal configuration (Chomsky 1993 *et seq.*):

14) $Probe_{[uF]} \ldots Goal_{[iF]}$

Holmberg notes that there are two possible ways to restate Rizzi's (1982, 1986) theory of identification in terms of Agree:

A.   The agreement morphology on I is *interpretable* (see Barbosa 1995, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998).
B.   The agreement morphology on I is *uninterpretable* and valued by *interpretable* Φ-features originating on the null pronominal (see Holmberg 2005, Sheehan 2006, Roberts 2010a).

In simplified terms, either: (a) *pro* does not exist, or (b) *pro* is an 'ordinary' pronoun which simply lacks a PF realisation. The third option, most similar to Rizzi's proposal, whereby *pro* bears only uninterpretable Φ-features, which are valued by interpretable features on I, is not theoretically viable. This is because pronouns are arguably just bundles of Φ-features with a PF representation (Ritter 1995). A null pronoun without interpretable Φ-features would therefore be uninterpretable at both the PF and LF interfaces.
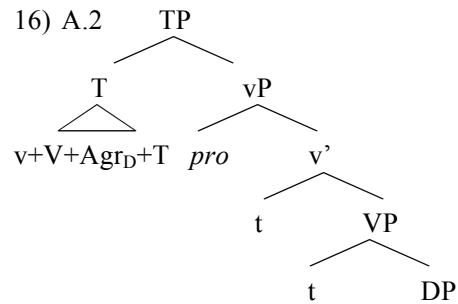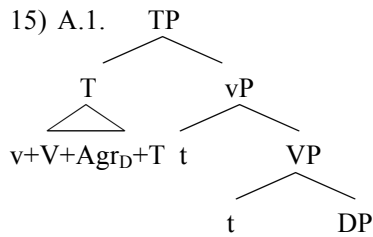
Crucially, A and B (above) assume different things about the syntax-morphology interface and make subtly different empirical predictions. It is the aim of this chapter to examine these in some detail. We first consider these competing analyses before testing them in sections 3 and 4.

2.2.1 Interpretable agreement morphology

Following Jelinek (1984) and Barbosa (1995), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) (henceforth A&A) propose that the verbal agreement morphology (Agr) in a rich agreement language "includes a nominal element ([+D, +interpretable phi-features, potentially +Case])" (A&A 1998: 516). Thus Agr in NSLs like Greek and Spanish has "exactly the same status as pronouns in the English paradigm" (A&A 1998: 516). As such, Agr is stored as a lexical item in the lexicon, of category D. There are two different interpretations of this proposal, however, depending on whether Agr can also absorb theta-roles (see A&A 1998: section 6.3): A.1 (15), and A.2 (16):[4]

A.1 Agr can absorb theta-roles – we don't need *pro* at all.
A.2 Agr *cannot* absorb theta-roles – we still need referential *pro* in thematic positions

15) A.1.

$$\text{TP} \rightarrow [\text{T: } v+V+Agr_D+T, t] \quad [\text{vP} \rightarrow t, [\text{VP} \rightarrow t, \text{DP}]]$$

16) A.2

$$\text{TP} \rightarrow [\text{T: } v+V+Agr_D+T] \quad [\text{vP} \rightarrow pro, [v' \rightarrow t, [\text{VP} \rightarrow t, \text{DP}]]]$$

In both (15) and (16), $v+V+Agr_D$ movement to T serves to satisfy the EPP (subject requirement), precluding the need for an expletive in spec TP because of (17).

17) Parameterised mode of EPP-checking: Move/merge XP vs. move/merge X^0. (A&A 1998)[5]

In A.1 (15), roughly equivalent to Jelinek's (1984) account of Walpiri, we also eliminate the need for a referential *pro* in the spec vP as Agr absorbs the relevant theta-role, whereas in A.2 (16), the more conservative position taken by A&A and Barbosa 1995, 2009, referential *pro* remains in spec vP (cf. Jelinek 1984 for

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[4] For various reasons, the inflectional head of the sentence which was referred to as I in the GB era is usually referred to as T in Minimalism. I adopt the Minimalist terminology here, though it is of no real consequence.

[5] A&A actually argue that (17) is a parameter associated with AgrP, rather than TP, with a separate parameter determining the availability of spec TP as a subject position. We simplify matters somewhat here for ease of exposition.

related discussion). These two approaches therefore make different predictions with respect to the status of overt pre- and postverbal subjects. According to A.1, any overt subject will be dislocated in an A-bar position as there is no A-position for overt subjects (with the exception of the pronominal suffix Agr). According to A.2, however, overt subjects can be base-generated or moved to a preverbal A-bar position or remain in a postverbal A-position in spec vP. In the latter case, obligatory verb movement to T will result in the only A-position for overt subjects being postverbal.
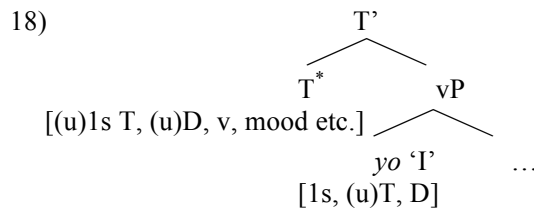
Both A.1 and A.2 thus have the apparent advantage of explaining the general absence of overt expletives in NSLs because verb movement to T serves to satisfy the EPP in both cases (but see section 4 below). It is not clear, however, that they can account for the more fine-grained distinction between the availability of quasi-argumental and referential *pro* in the range of contexts discussed by Rizzi. Nonetheless, their proposal has the advantage of offering an elegant account of the NSP which attributes it to the status of Agr in a given language: whereas in an NSL Agr is an independent lexical entry, in non-NSLs, verbs are stored along with their inflections in the lexicon. Under A.2, which is the approach actually adopted by A&A, the Rizzian connection between free inversion and (expletive) null subjects is also maintained: both arise as surface effects where movement of a verbal complex into the inflectional domain serves to satisfy the EPP.

In terms of the syntax-morphology interface, A&A explicitly state that their analysis is syntactic: what counts for the setting of the NSP are the syntactic effects they discuss, with morphological richness being an additional (optional) morphological surface manifestation of this syntactic parameter.

2.2.2   Uninterpretable agreement morphology

A version of B, whereby the agreement morphology in NSLs bears *uninterpretable* phi-features is explored by Roberts (2010a), Sheehan (2006, 2010) and Saab (2013): the idea being that the uninterpretable Φ-features on T are valued by the interpretable Φ-features of the pronominal/DP subject, as in non-NSLs like English and French. Where the subject is pronominal, though, the idea is that it can then be deleted at PF if certain conditions hold (going back, broadly speaking, to the analysis of Perlmutter 1971). Here I give hybrid version of this account, drawing on the above proposals. Following Roberts (2010a), assume that T bears an *uninterpretable* D feature [uD] in NSLs as the narrow syntactic correlate of rich agreement. Assume, further, that pronouns are just D heads bearing phi- and Case features and that nominative Case is an uninterpretable Tense feature (following Pesetsky & Torrego 2001). If these things hold then pronouns, unlike other arguments will constitute 'defective goals' in Roberts' (2010a) terms: once T has probed and agreed with a pronoun,

the features of said pronoun will constitute a proper subset of the features of T. Consider the following Spanish example by way of illustration:

18)
```
                        T'
                       /  \
                     T*      vP
   [(u)1s T, (u)D, v, mood etc.]  /  \
                          yo 'I'      …
                        [1s, (u)T, D]
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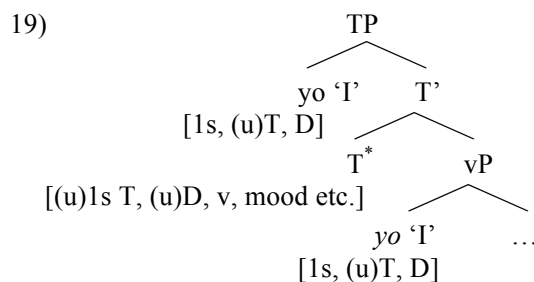
Once T has agreed with the 1sg subject its phi-features and uD feature are valued, as is the subject's [uT] (Case) feature. As such, the valued features of T form a superset of the valued features of the subject. Although LF cares which of these features are interpretable and which are not, PF arguably does not as morphology commonly spells out uninterpretable valued features. There are then two options regarding the EPP in such a system:

      B.1 T lacks an EPP feature – the subject is incorporated into T
      B.2 T bears an EPP feature – the subject raises to spec TP

If T lacks an EPP feature (B.1) then the valued features [1s T, D] on T form a chain at PF with [1s T, D] on the pronoun and the latter is deleted by virtue of being the lowest link in said chain (in the same way that chain reduction happens more generally – see Nunes 1999). This is formally equivalent to cliticisation in Roberts' (2010a) terms, with the subject agreement functioning as a syntactic clitic. Such a system is basically equivalent to A.2 discussed above (i.e. the system proposed by A&A) with the added advantage that it permits the elimination of referential *pro.* In both cases (A.2 and B.1) the postverbal position is the only A-position.

    Alternatively, under B.2, T bears an EPP feature which attracts the subject to its specifier.

19)
```
                        TP
                       /  \
                 yo 'I'      T'
               [1s, (u)T, D]  / \
                            T*     vP
              [(u)1s T, (u)D, v, mood etc.]  / \
                                      yo 'I'     …
                                    [1s, (u)T, D]
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This gives rise to a three-link chain at PF containing the two copies of the subject plus the intermediate verbal inflection. The question here is why it is that this

three-link chain leads to deletion of the highest and lowest copies of the subject and leaves only those features on T to be spelled out. A potential answer to this comes from the fact that the features [1s T, D] form part of a larger bundle of features on T which in the partly fusional morphology of Romance languages must be spelled out by a morpheme which realises also mood and tense features. It is not possible, then to delete the intermediate copy of [1s T, D] as this would result in a combination of features with no morphological exponent in the language. As such, unusually, the intermediate copy in the chain is privileged and both the highest and lowest copies deleted (for economy reasons) (see also Saab 2013 and Nunes 1999 for discussion). An additional prediction of this approach is that where a pronominal subject bears additional focus/topic features it cannot be deleted. This accounts for the special discourse interpretation associated with overt pronouns in null subject languages.

This B.2 approach makes very different predictions regarding the distribution and status of overt subjects in Romance NSLs, and indeed has much in common with Rizzi's original analysis of null subjects. Where the goal is a full DP, encyclopedic features will mean that it fails to be a defective goal, and so will not be deleted. As T still bears an EPP feature (*), by hypothesis, there will be two potential A-positions for such subjects in Romance NSLs: spec TP and spec vP. The default position of overt subjects will be spec TP but spec vP is expected to be available wherever the EPP is satisfied in some other way. As with analysis A.2/B.1, verb movement to T will make spec vP a postverbal position. Crucially, though, while preverbal subjects *can* occupy an A-position (20), it will also be possible for them to occupy an A-bar position, either as a base-generated CLLD topic (21) or via A-bar movement from a preverbal position (see also Camacho 2013).

20)
```
        TP
       /  \
   Juan    T'
          /  \
         T    vP
             /  \
          Juan   …
```

21)
```
        TopP
       /   \
   Juan    Top'
          /   \
        Top    TP
              /  \
            e̶l̶   T'
                 /  \
                T    …
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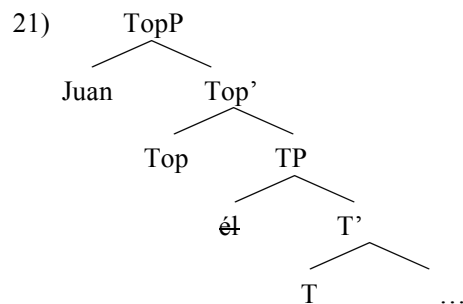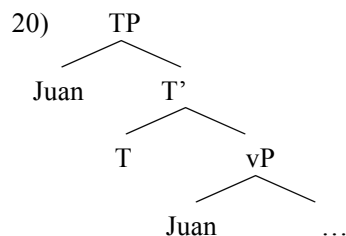
Analysis B also retains a slightly loose account of the link between rich agreement and referential null subjects: the presence of [uD] is taken to be connected to the presence of rich agreement because of acquisition pressures, but, as with A&A's account, it would presumably be possible to detect this feature via the other syntactic effects of the NSP.[6] Moreover, several further questions

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[6] An anonymous reviewer asks me to specify what this implies for languages which

remain. For one, how can this kind of approach deal with the difference between licensing and identification argued to be necessary by Rizzi? Moreover, how can this approach also explain the distribution of null expletive and quasi-argumental subjects?

One possible way to account for the differing distribution of expletive and quasi-argumental null subjects both across within languages, is to posit differing structures for referential, quasi-argumental and expletive pronouns along the following lines (see also Dechaine and Wiltschko 2002):

22) a.   Referential pronouns = $[_{DP}$ D $[_{nP}$ *n* $[_{\Phi P}$ Φ $]]]$
    b.   Quasi-argumental pronouns = $[_{nP}$ *n* $[_{\Phi P}$ Φ $]]$
    c.   Expletive pronouns = $[_{\Phi P}$ Φ $]$ or even some subset of phi-features

If referential pronouns are DPs, they will only be deleted where T bears a [uD] feature. If, in such contexts, T also bear a [u*n*] features then Rizzi's typology and implications can be maintained: quasi-argumental pronouns will only be able to delete where a probe bears a [u*n*] feature, expletives, however, as pure ΦPs will be able to delete even where the probe bears no additional nominal features. The various contexts discussed above for Italian where only expletive null subjects are licensed or where expletive and quasi-argumental but not referential subjects are licensed will equate to the presence of [uD] or [u*n*] features on the probe (with the same questions about independent falsifiability).

The discussion thus far has focused on the mechanism equivalent to *identification* of null subjects: in a sense the [uD] feature 'identifies' a referential null subject in permitting its deletion, [u*n*] does the same for a quasi-argumental and [uΦ] is sufficient to do this for expletive subjects. We still need some mechanism equivalent to licensing in order to explain why, in some languages with agreement morphology, even expletive subjects cannot be deleted (e.g. English, French). Following Roberts & Roussou (2001), Holmberg (2005) and Landau (2007) the *licensing* of null subjects (i.e. the availability of deletion independently of the features of the probe) can be attributed to an additional parameter determining whether a given EPP feature must be satisfied at PF or not:

23) The EPP associated with a head H holds/does not hold at PF

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lack agreement morphology but which nonetheless have null subjects (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Mauritian Creole). Crucially, the null subjects exhibited by these kinds of languages have radically different properties to the null subjects of null subject languages with rich agreement, suggesting that they require an entirely different analysis (see Huang 1989, Adone 1994, Tomioka 2003, Neeleman and Szendrői 2007, Takahashi 2008, Şener and Takahashi 2010, Barbosa 2013 amongst others, but also Duguine 2014 for the opposite view).

Clearly only languages in which finite T has a negative setting for (23) will permit deletion of subject pronouns, regardless of the features of T. In a language like English, therefore, where (23) has a positive setting, even expletives must remain overt even where they agree with T.

3   The status of overt subjects

Recall the different predictions of the Minimalist analyses regarding overt lexical subjects:

Table 1: Predictions of the three analyses regarding overt subjects in NSLs

	A.1	A.2/B.1	B.2
Preverbal subject	A-bar position	A-bar position	A-bar/A-position
Postverbal subject	A-bar position	A-position	A-position

A number of different kinds of tests can be used to tease apart these predictions. I assume that DPs which are base-generated in a left-peripheral A-bar position are clitic left dislocated (CLLD) and thus predicted to share the properties of other CLLD arguments (occurring in virtually any subordinate clause, displaying obligatory connectivity effects, always taking wide scope over TP-internal elements, failing to license parasitic gaps, being impossible with non-referential DPs and being island-sensitive – see Cinque 1990).[7] Of course, the possibility remains, in analyses A.2/B.1 and B.2, that preverbal A-bar subjects may be derived rather than base-generated, a point to which we return below.

The status of overt subjects in Romance NSLs has been the subject of much heated debate and, given the brevity of this chapter, it will not be possible to provide a comprehensive overview of the literature. Instead, we focus on some the most cited and/or compelling arguments in favour of the three distinct positions.

3.1.1   Test 1: adverb placement

A&A give potential evidence for A.1/A.2 from the placement of adverbs in NSLs. They claim that, in NSLs, adverbs can intervene between the verb and the subject, whereas this is not the case in non-NSLs. Compare Spanish with French (a non-NSL):[8]

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[7] Cinque (1990) claims that CLLD is sensitive only to strong and not weak islands, but as López (2009: 6) shows, once indefinites are extracted, a sensitivity to weak islands also emerges.

[8] Note, however, that A&A do not actually cite Spanish examples like this but rather cases where a fronted adverbial competes with the subject for the preverbal position

24) Juan   ya   quiere irse.   [Spanish]
Juan   already   wants go=SELF.CL
'Juan has already left.'

25) Jean   {*déjà}   veux   {déjà} s'en   aller   [French]
Jean   already   wants already SELF.CL=PART= go
'Jean already wants to leave.'

A potential explanation for this contrast is that, in Spanish, all preverbal subjects occupy an A-bar position above spec TP, whereas in French all preverbal subjects occupy spec TP. If it is assumed that adverbs cannot adjoin to the X-bar level, then the contrast in (24)-(25) follows naturally: there is simply no position for the adjunct in French (25).

        It is not so clear, however, that this contrast can be attributed to the NSP per se. While EP patterns with Spanish, Italian, an NSL, patterns with French in this respect:[9]

26) Maria   {*già}   vuole   {già}   andarsene   [Italian]
Maria   already   wants   already go=SELF.CL=PART
'Maria already wants to leave.'

An alternative explanation is that the French/Italian vs. Spanish/Portuguese contrast is due to differences in verb movement in the two groups of languages (Emonds 1978, Pollock 1989, Belletti 1990:39-42, Cinque 1999, Schifano 2013). If the verb raises higher in modern Italian/French than in Spanish/Portuguese then this explains the contrast in adverb placement possibilities. As such, these facts cannot be taken to clearly support any of A.1, A.2/B.1 or B.2.

3.1.2   Test 2: wide/narrow scope of preverbal subjects

A&A also give evidence which seems to support A.1 from the scope of quantificational preverbal subjects, which, they claim, always take wide scope with respect to object quantifiers. Consider the following evidence from Greek:

27) kapios fititis   stihiothetise   kathe   arthro   [Greek]
some student   filed   every   article
'Some (particular) student filed every single article.' (wide scope only)
                                         (A&A 1998: 505)

(see Zubizarreta 1998). They do, however, discuss Greek examples equivalent to (23) to illustrate the same point.

[9] Although, as an anonymous reviewer notes, in operatic registers of Italian, *già* often does occur before the finite verb, as in Spanish.

A&A note that, in this respect, preverbal subjects pattern with CLLD objects in Greek:

28) kapjo   pedi   to   eksetase kathe   kathigitis [Greek]
    Some   child CL.ACC examined   every   professor
    'Some child is such that every professor examined that child.' (wide scope
    only)   (A&A 1998: 505)

This contrasts, interestingly, with the behaviour of postverbal subjects, which,
according to A&A, have ambiguous wide/narrow scope in Greek:

29) stihiothetise kapios   fititis   kathe   arthro [Greek]
    filed   some   student   every   article
    a. 'Every article was filed by some student (or other).'
    b. 'Some (particular) student filed every single article.' (A&A 1998: 505)

These facts seem to support A.1, whereby all preverbal subjects are CLLD. A.2
also allows for the possibility that preverbal subjects are A-bar moved from a
postverbal A-position (see Barbosa 1995). Given standard assumptions about A-
bar movement, this means that at least some preverbal subjects would be able to
reconstruct into a postverbal A-position, receiving ambiguous scope as in (29).
The contrasts in question are also obviously problematic for analysis B, which
would allow the possibility of a preverbal A-position for subjects, which would
also permit optional reconstruction (Fox 1999).
      The facts themselves are less than clear in Romance NSLs, where the
quantifiers used seem to affect which scope is preferred. Consider the following
Spanish examples from Suñer (2002):

30) Algún   estudiante sacó   prestado todos los   libros [Spanish]
    Some   student   took   lent   all   the   books
    a. ??'All the books were borrowed by some student.'(narrow scope subject)
    b. 'Some (particular) student borrowed all the books.'   (wide scope subject)

31) Algún   estudiante sacó   prestado   cada   libro [Spanish]
    Some   student   took   lent   each   book
    a. 'Each book was borrowed by some student (or other).' (narrow scope
    subject)
    b. 'Some (particular) student borrowed each book.' (wide scope subject)

Similarly ambiguous examples can be created in Italian (as noted by A&A 1998:
511, fn 22, attributed to Jean-Yves Pollock), and EP (see Sheehan 2006: ch2).
      More clear cut is the behaviour of the indefinite subjects of intransitive
verbs headed by the indefinite article in Spanish, EP, Italian and Catalan, as noted
by Barbosa (1995: 36-37). Whereas in English and French, such preverbal

subjects are ambiguous in their scope, in Romance NSLs they seem to get an obligatorily 'strong' (wide scope) reading:

32) A letter of recommendation is required.

33) Une lettre de recommendation   est   requise.   [French]
    a   letter of recommendation   is   required
   'A letter of recommendation is required.'

34) #Una carta de recomanació és necessari.   [Catalan]
    a letter of reccomendation   is required

35) És necessari   una carta   de recomanació   [Catalan]
    is   required   a letter   of reccomendation
   'A letter of recommendation is required.'
(examples from Barbosa 1995:36-37, also in Spanish, Portuguese and Italian)

Taken in isolation, these contrasts again seem to suggest that all preverbal subjects are CLLD, favouring A.1 over A.2/B.1 or B.2. There are several potential complicating factors, however, which make these data slightly suspect. Firstly, it is well known that indefinites behave differently from other quantifiers. Secondly, while the French example involves a passive, the Catalan examples do not. Thirdly, this effect seems to be restricted to (some) intransitive verbs. In transitive contexts (and indeed with some intransitive verbs), both weak and strong readings are available in preverbal position (see Pinto 1994: 202 on Italian):

36) Un plato le   fue   servido a todos los huéspedes. [Spanish]
    A dish CL.DAT was   served to all   the guests
   'A (single) dish was served to all the guests.'
   'All the guests were served with a (possibly different) dish.'

The interpretation of quantificational subjects in Romance NSLs is therefore puzzling but does not seem to provide conclusive evidence for or against any of A.1, A.2/B.1 or B.2. Further careful comparative research is clearly required in this domain.

3.1.3   Test 3: binding of postverbal subjects

Data from binding is often cited in favour of the view that only the postverbal subject position in Romance NSLs is an A-position. If solid, then this would be strong evidence in favour of A.2/B.1 and against A.1 and B.2. Montalbetti (1986) notes that preverbal overt pronouns in NSLs cannot be bound (see also Rigau 1988 on Catalan), and this is consistent with the fact that they have a special

discourse status. Solà (1992), citing Roselló (1986), further notes, however, that *postverbal* subjects in Catalan behave differently and *can* be bound:[10]

37) Tots els estudiants$_1$ es pensen que ells$_1$aprovaran. [Catalan]
   all the students self= think that they passed
   a. All the students believe that they as a group will pass. (mutually encouraging)
   b. *For all the students it is true that x thinks x will pass. (egotistical)

38) Tots els jugadors$_1$ están convençuts que guanyaran ells$_1$
   all the players are persuaded that will-win they
   a. All the players believe that they as a team will win (football)
   b. For all the players it is true that x thinks x will win. (tennis)
           (Solà 1992: 290)

A similar effect also holds in EP (Barbosa 1995), Spanish and Italian (Sheehan 2006), illustrated here for Italian:

39) *Nessuno$_1$ ha detto che lui$_1$ l'avrebbe fatto [Italian]
   Nobody has said that he it=would.have done
   'Nobody said that he would have done it.'

40) Nessuno$_1$ ha detto che l'avrebbe fatto lui$_1$
   Nobody has said that it=would.have done he
   'Nobody said that he would have done it.'

Further data from preverbal foci suggest, however, that this is actually a difference between topics vs. foci, whereby topics resist binding (see Barbosa 1995, Sheehan 2006):

41) Nadie dijo que tan.sólo él quisiera una manzana [Spanish]
   Nobody said that only he want.subj an apple
   'Nobody said that only he would like an apple.'

42) Nessuno$_1$ ha detto che soltanto lui$_1$ l'avrebbe fatto [Italian]
   Nobody has said that only he it would.have done
   'Nobody said that only he would have done it.'

As such, it appears that the possibility of binding overt pronouns correlates with their information structure as foci, presumably because overt topics signal a change of topic (disjoint reference). As such, these facts may not bear on the issue of an A-position for pronominal subjects, and provide no conclusive evidence either for or against any of A.1, A.2 or B.

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[10] An anonymous reviewer notes that (37) actually sounds ungrammatical to him/her.

3.1.4 Test 4: Non-referential subjects

If all preverbal subjects are CLLD, then the naïve prediction is that non-referential preverbal subjects will not be possible, because CLLD objects, as noted above, cannot be non-referential. In this connection, Solà (1992) notes that bare indefinite/negative quantifiers often cannot be preverbal subjects in Catalan, Spanish or Italian:

43) *Studenti   sono   arrivati   [Italian]
     students   are   arrived
     'Students have arrived.'

44) *Niente   è   successo   [Italian]
     nothing   is   happened
     'Nothing has happened.'

                                                           (Solà 1992: 272)

This effect is limited to certain intransitive verbs, however, and negative quantifiers, at least, can surface preverbally with transitive predicates in Spanish, Italian and EP:

45) Nadie   quiere   ser   político   [Spanish]
     Nobody   wants   be.INF politician
     'Nobody wants to be a politician.'

Examples such as (45) seem to pose a problem for analysis A.1.[11] For analysis A.2, however, the possibility remains that such examples involve A-bar movement of the QP from a postverbal A-position, as Barbosa (1995) proposes, rather than base generation. In fact, Barbosa (1995, 1996, 2009) gives evidence from clitic placement in EP to this effect. A preverbal quantifier, whether a subject or object, triggers proclisis in EP, whereas a preverbal non-quantificational subject (or topic) triggers enclisis in matrix clauses. Matters are more complex in embedded clauses, however, where clitics are generally proclitic. As such, these data are potentially consistent with analysis A.2/B.1. They are also potentially consistent with analysis B.2, according to which the negative subject in (45) might occupy either a preverbal A-position or derived A-bar position, though this would leave the EP clitic facts unexplained.

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[11] Though see A&A (1998), Camacho (2013) for a critique of this argument.

3.1.5 Test 5: floating quantifiers

Data from Cardinaletti (1997) and Sheehan (2006), (citing Rizzi 1982 and Burzio 1986) concerning the distribution of floating quantifiers in Romance NSLs suggests that not all preverbal subjects can be CLLD. Consider the following data from Spanish, which suggests that preverbal subjects allow quantifiers to be stranded in spec vP:

46) a. [**Todos** los   chicos] se han   comprado   un coche [Spanish]
       all   the   boys   SE have bought   a car
    b. [Los   chicos] se   han   comprado   **todos**   un coche
        the   boys   SE   have   bought   all   a   car
    c. *Se   han   comprado   **todos**   un coche [los   chicos]
         SE   have   bought   all   a car   the   boys
    d. Se   han   comprado   **todos**   un coche
        SE   have   bought   all   a car
       'All the boys bought themselves a car.'

In order for the quantifier to be stranded in spec vP in examples like (46b), preverbal subjects would have to be (at least optionally) derived via A- or A-bar movement from a post-verbal A-position. This is consistent with A.2/B.1 or B.2 but again not A.1. Interestingly, post-verbal subjects do not share this property (46c), while null subjects do (46d). This is taken as evidence by Rizzi (1982) that *pro* occupies a preverbal position, which is consistent only with B.2, if correct.

3.1.6 Test 6: subjects vs. topics

Goodhall (2001) notes that, in Spanish, clauses with fronted topics are islands for extraction, whereas clauses with preverbal subjects are not (at least for many speakers):[12]

47) a. *A quién crees   [que el premio   se   lo   dieron]? [Spanish]
       to whom think.2SG that the prize   CL.DAT CL.ACC gave
       (Lit. 'Who do you think that the prize they gave it to?')
    b. A quién crees   [que Juan   le   dio   el premio]?
       to whom think.2SG   that Juan   CL.DAT gave   the prize
       'Who do you think that Juan gave the prize to?' (Goodhall 2001: 201)

This seems to provide further evidence that not all preverbal subjects can occupy a CLLD position. In Catalan and EP, the same contrast holds:[13]

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[12] Some speakers report this effect to be slightly weaker than that reported by Goodhall but nonetheless find a contrast of the right kind.

48) a. *A qui   creus   que   el premi el   van_donar?   [Catalan]
       to whom think.2SG that   the prize CL.ACC=gave
    b. A qui   creus   que en Joan va_donar   el premi?
       to whom think.2SG   that the Joan gave   the prize
       'Who do you think that Juan gave the prize to?'

49) a. *A quem achas   que   o prémio o   deram no ano passado]?[EP]
       to whom think.2SG that   the prize CL.ACC gave   in.the last year
    b. A quem achas   que   o Rei deu   o prémio no   ano passado?
       to whom think.2SG that the king gave   the prize in.the   last year
       'Who do you think that the King gave the prize to last year?'

Italian, too, displays the same contrast, though the topic island effect is much less robust:

50) a. ?A chi   credi   [che il premio lo   abbiano   dato]? [Italian]
       to whom think.2SG that the prize   CL.ACC have.SUBJ.3PL given
    b. A chi   credi   [que Gianni abbia   dato   il premio]?
       to whom think.2SG   that Gianni has.SUBJ.3SG given the prize
       'Who do you think that Juan gave the prize to?'

These examples provide strong support that not all preverbal subjects can be CLLD, posing a serious problem for A.1. Indeed, assuming that (i) derived preverbal subjects are foci and (ii) there can be only one focus per clause, such examples suggest that at least some preverbal subjects can occupy an A-position in all the Romance NSLs under discussion, favouring analysis B.2.

3.1.7   Test 7: Hortative contexts

Another piece of evidence in favour of the view that not all preverbal subjects can be CLLD, hence against A.1, comes from the position of subjects in hortative constructions in Spanish (see Villa-García 2012). As Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009) show, CLLD elements in Spanish hortative constructions always precede *que*:

51) a. El tenedor, ¡que lo cojan!   [Spanish]
       the fork,   that it take.SUBJ.3PL
       'The fork, let them take it.'

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[13] A reviewer points out that the Spanish example in (47) has clitic doubling of the dative argument, whereas the Catalan example in (48) does not. For the speaker I consulted, however, clitic doubling of datives is strongly dispreferred, whereas it is often preferred in Spanish and is sometimes obligatory (see Cuervo 2003).

b. *¡Que   el tenedor lo cojan!
   that   the fork   it take.SUBJ.3PL   (Villa-García 2012: 152-153)

The pattern is different with subjects, which can either precede or follow *que*, suggesting that preverbal subjects can either be CLLD or not:

52) a. Antonio, ¡que   no   lo   vea!   [Spanish]
       Antonio   that   NEG   it   see.SUBJ.3SG
       'Antonio, may he not see it.'   (Villa-García 2012: 155)
    b. ¡Que Antonio no   lo vea!
       that   Antonio NEG it see.SUBJ.3SG
       'May Antonio not see it.'   (Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2009: 39)

The same effect holds in Italian (Villa- García citing Ledgeway 2005) and, apparently, Catalan. As Villa-García notes, these facts seem to show that not all preverbal subjects can be CLLD in these languages. Depending on the structure of the left periphery, they might also be taken as evidence that some preverbal subjects occupy spec TP. Whether spec TP is an A-position in Romance NSLs, however, is somewhat controversial (see Zubizarreta 1998 and Gallego 2007 for the claim that spec TP is an A-bar position in Spanish).

3.1.8   Test 8: basic word order

Thus far, the various diagnostics discussed strongly militate against an analysis along the lines of A.1 for any of the main Romance NSLs. It is more difficult, however, to decide between A.2/B.1 and B.2, with the possibility remaining that both analyses are correct for a subset of languages. One potential piece of evidence that some preverbal subjects occupy an A-position, hence in favour of B.2, comes from basic word order facts. The three analyses make different predictions concerning the basic word order in NSLs:

    A.1   No 'basic' subject position
    A.2/B.1 VS(O) basic word order (subject base generated in spec vP)
    B.2   SV(O) basic word order

All else being equal, as long as the object does not move and V raises past the subject to the T-domain, A.2/B.1 predicts a basic VS(O) word order whereas B.2 predicts SV(O), because S is attracted past the verb to spec TP. Although it is difficult to determine what the basic order of a language is, the consensus following Chomsky (1971) and Jackendoff (1972) is that basic word order corresponds to 'wide focus' sentences which are felicitous answers to questions

like 'what happened?'.[14] In many transitive/ditransitive contexts in Spanish, EP and Italian, SVO is the word order generally required:

53) a. Cos'   è   successo?   [Italian]
         What   is   happened
         'What happened?'
    b. Gianni ha   dato   un libro a Maria
        Gianni has   given   a book   to Maria
        'Gianni gave a book to Maria.'
    c. *Ha   dato   Gianni   un libro a Maria
        has   given   Gianni a book   to Maria
        'Gianni gave a book to Maria.'
    d. #Ha   dato   un libro a Maria   Gianni
        has   given   a book   to MariaGianni
        'Gianni gave a book to Maria.'

Indeed, Hulk & Pollock 2001: 3) claim that "[t]here is a consensus among both traditional and generative grammarians that the canonical surface word order of the Romance languages is subject-verb-object". If true, this would fall out naturally from a type B.2 analysis, but be mysterious under type A.1 and A.2/B.1 analyses. In fact, as A.1 allows for no subject A-position, it makes unclear predictions about basic word order.

   Things are not actually so clear cut, however. In fact, for all of the languages under discussion, opposing views have been presented regarding the status of SVO order: see Costa and Duarte 2002, Costa 2004 vs. Barbosa 1995, 2009 on EP; Suñer 2002 vs. Leonetti 2008, 2014 on Spanish; Rizzi l997, Cardinaletti l997 vs. Moro l993, Manzini and Savoia 2002 on Italian; and Forcadell 2013 vs. Vallduví 1993 on Catalan. As A&A note, Spanish like Greek allows VSO orders (unlike Italian and Catalan) in certain out of the blue contexts, (see Zubizarreta 1998: chapter 3, Gallego 2013):

54) a. Qué   ha   pasado ?   [Spanish]
         What   has   happened
    b. Juan ha ganado   la   lotería
        Juan haswon   the   lottery
        'Juan won the lottery.'
    b'. ??Ha   ganado Juan   la   lotería
        has   won   Juan   the   lottery

55) a. Qué   pasó   ayer?   [Spanish]
         What   happened   yesterday?
    b. Ayer   ganó   Juan   la   lotería
        Yesterday   won   Juan   the   lottery

'Yesterday Juan won the lottery.'

For some speakers, though, it seems that VSO orders are only fully felicitous in Spanish where some other XP surfaces preverbally (Zubizarreta 1998, Sheehan 2010).[15] If this is the case then such orders do not provide very strong evidence against a type B.2 and in favour of a type A.2/B.1 analysis. For those speakers who allow VSO orders without any preverbal XP, however, such orders might be taken as evidence for an analysis along the lines of A.2/B.1. There appears to be variation across varieties in this respect. It is a much-discussed fact that Italian and Catalan, unlike Spanish, do not appear to permit VSO orders with DP objects (see Belletti & Shlonsky 1995; Gallego 2013). EP does allow VSO orders but not, it seems, in out of the blue contexts (Costa 2004).

Intransitive predicates paint a very different picture. In all of Catalan, Spanish, Italian and EP at least some intransitive verbs permit VS as well as SV order in out of the blue contexts (see Pinto 1994, 1997; Adger 1996; Zubizarreta 1998; Sheehan 2006, Corr 2012 amongst others), Consider the following from EP:

56) a. O que   é que   foi?   [EP]
       the what is that was?
        'What happened?'
    b. Chegou   a   avó.
       arrived   the grandmother
    c. A   avó   chegou.
       the grandmother arrived
        'Grandmother arrived'   (Corr 2012: 16)

There is microparametric variation across these languages with respect to which predicates permit inversion of this kind, in all cases, though, it seems that inversion of the subject gives rise to a special 'deictic' interpretation (see Pinto 1994, 1997). Thus while (56c) simply states that grandmother has arrived *somewhere*, (56b) implies that she has arrived *at the place where the speaker is*. Crucially, this distinction does not track the unaccusative/unergative distinction. There are unaccusative verbs which typically disallow inversion in Spanish (change of state verbs like 'to blush') and unergatives which typically allow it ('to call', 'to contribute'). According to Pinto (1994, 1997), in such contexts, it is a covert PP which satisfies the EPP in such contexts, permitting subject inversion. As predicted, where an equivalent overt PP remains postverbal, the subject must generally raise in Italian and EP, and to a lesser extent Spanish (see Sheehan 2006, Corr 2012):

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[15] Interestingly, the addition of *que* 'that' to (54b') renders it much more acceptable. See Extepare (2008); Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2013) on the status of quotative *que*.

23

57) Entrou   o Nuno   (*no cinema).
    Enter.PST.3SG   the Nuno   in.the cinema

As such, even 'free inversion' cannot be taken as strong evidence for a type
A.2/B.1 analysis, as the distribution of postverbal subjects is actually fairly
constrained. It is also not immediately accounted for by a type B.2 analysis,
however, though the possibility remains that it instantiates a kind of locative
inversion, whereby movement of a deictic PP mitigates the need for subject
movement to spec TP (see Pinto 1994, 1997). We return to this issue in section 4.

3.1.9   Test 9: disambiguation

In Romance NSLs, it is generally accepted that overt pronouns are usually used
only for emphasis (Rigau 1988). The majority of overt pronouns, then, serve a
special discourse function as A-bar foci or topics (including switch reference
topics). Nevertheless it has been claimed that some overt pronouns do function as
true A-subjects in Romance NSLs (see also section 3.1.3).
        Cardinaletti (1997) has shown that where verb forms are ambiguous in
Italian, pro-drop is limited to certain persons. In the present subjunctive of Italian,
1^{st}, 2^{nd} and 3^{rd} person singular verb endings are all syncretic. Whereas 1^{st} and 3^{rd}
person permit pro-drop, 2^{nd} person requires an overt pronoun:

58) Che   possa   riuscirci   non   è   chiaro   [Italian]
    that   can.SUBJ manage=there   not   is   clear
    'It isn't clear that I/*you/he can manage it.'

59) Che tu   possa   riuscirci   non   è   chiaro   [Italian]
    that you   can.SUBJ manage=there   not   is   clear
    'It isn't clear that you can manage it.'

Interestingly, this effect seems to hold not only in out of the blue contexts but
even where there is a contextually salient 2SG antecedent (Luigi Rizzi, p.c.):

60) So   che   hai   provato ma non è facile che *(tu)
    know:1s   that   have.2SG tried   but not is easy   that you
    possa   riuscir=ci   [Italian]
    can   succeed=there
    'I know that you've tried but it's not going to be easy for you to succeed.'

The overt preverbal subject *tu* in (60) does not function as a topic or a focus, but
rather serves to add essential morphological information to the underspecified
verb form.

Cole (2000) argues that a similar effect holds more generally of Romance NSLs, wherever morphological ambiguity of this kind arises. Consider, for example, the contrast between (61) and (62):

61) María y   yo   llegamos   a casa. Encontré las   llaves…
    Maria and I   arrived.1PL   at home found.1SG the   keys…
62) María y   yo llegamos   a casa. *(Yo\ella) tenía   las llaves…
    Maria and I   arrived.1PL   at home   had.1SG/3SG the keys
                                                      [Spanish, Cole 2000]

In both (61) and (62), the 1SG pronoun *yo* is equally contextually salient. However, in (62), as opposed to (61) the following verb is morphologically ambiguous, requiring an overt subject to be used. Cole claims where agreement identification fails, NSLs have recourse to discourse pro-drop strategies (i.e. they look for a single salient discourse topic), and where these fail, require an overt subject. In such contexts, then, the overt preverbal pronoun seems to serve purely a disambiguating function rather than behaving like an A-bar topic or focus.

These facts raise some issues for the Minimalist analyses discussed in section 2. According to A.1 and A.2/B.1, it is not possible for an overt preverbal subject to occupy an A-position, making examples like (60) potentially problematic. Analysis B.2, however, leaves open the possibility that deletion might fail in certain contexts leaving an overt pronoun in spec TP. The mechanism whereby deletion fails, of course, needs to be specified. Does the probe lack person features in such contexts or is the [uD] feature missing only in part of the paradigm?

3.1.10   Test 10: parasitic gaps

Thus far, then, the diagnostics clearly disfavour A.1 and some arguably show a preference for B.2 over A.2/B.1 across the Romance NSLs under discussion. The data from parasitic gaps, however, suggests that while B.2 is the correct account for some NSLs (Italian), some (minimally revised) version of A.2/B.1 may be the correct account for others (Spanish, EP and perhaps Catalan). Consider the predictions of the three approaches vis-à-vis the licensing of parasitic gaps. According to standard assumptions, parasitic gaps are only licensed where an A-bar moved XP c-commands a parasitic gap but its trace does not (Kayne 1983). Putting to one side the correct analysis of parasitic gaps (but see Nunes 1999), based on this description, the three approaches make the following predictions:

A.1   preverbal subjects will *not* license parasitic gaps as they are
            always base-generated
A.2/B.1   preverbal subjects may license parasitic gaps as they can be A-
            bar moved from a low postverbal A-position

B.2   preverbal subjects will *not* license parasitic gaps as A-bar
           subjects are moved through a preverbal A-position which c-
           commands the adverbial.

To our knowledge, these predictions have not previously been tested in Romance
NSLs.
        Now consider the following facts from Spanish, Example (63) shows that
an in-situ object does not license a parasitic gap:

63) *Archivaste el documento   sin   abrir.   [Spanish]
    Filed.2SG   the document   without open.INF

Example (64) shows that a wh-moved object *does* license a parasitic gap:

64) Que documento archivaste   sin   abrir?   [Spanish]
    What document filed.2SG   without open.INF
    'What document did you file without opening.'

Now consider the preverbal subject of a passive. The fact that (65)-(66) are
acceptable suggests that preverbal subjects can be derived via A-bar movement
from a post-verbal position without having to move through spec TP, as predicted
by A.2/B.1:

65) ?El document   fue archivado   sin   abrir.   [Spanish]
    The document   was filed   without open.INF
    'The document was filed without opening.'

66) ?Ningún   documento   fue   archivado sin   abrir.
    No   document   was   filed   without open.INF
    'No document was filed without opening.'

Interestingly, while EP and perhaps Catalan seems to pattern like Spanish in this
respect, Italian seems to behave differently, with preverbal subjects failing to
license parasitic gaps:

67) *Hai   archiviato   il documento   senza   aprire. [Italian]
    have.2SG   filed   the document   without open.INF

68) ?Quale documento   hai   archiviato   senza   aprire?
    which document   have.2SG   filed   without open.INF
    'Which document did you file without opening.'

69) *Il documento   è stato   archiviato senza (prima) aprire.
    The document   is been   filed   without first   open.INF

70) *Nessun documento è stato archiviato senza (prima) aprire.
No document   is been filed   without first   open.INF

The implication of these facts seems to be that in Spanish, Catalan and EP, preverbal subjects can be moved directly from a postverbal A-position without transiting through spec TP, whereas in Italian they cannot. This is consistent with the claim that in Italian preverbal subjects always need to raise to/through a preverbal A-position (as in analysis B.2), whereas in the other languages, they do not (as in analysis A.2/B.1).

      A problem remains for the facts discussed in sections 3.1.6-3.1.8, however, which seem to suggest that preverbal subjects *can* occupy a preverbal A-position also in Spanish, Catalan and EP. One possible way of resolving this problem is to revise analysis A.2 slightly so that subjects can, but need not raise to spec TP to satisfy the EPP. If Spanish, EP and Catalan permit the EPP to be satisfied by *either* a head *or* phrase, a DP subject in spec vP, whether overt or null is actually equidistant from T with its head complex V+v+Agr$_D$. It is plausible then, that either movement of V+v+Agr$_D$ to T or movement of DP to spec TP can satisfy the EPP in Spanish, Catalan and EP. Where the DP raises, the verb also raises to T for purely morphological reasons and the result is an SVO order with a preverbal A-subject. Where the subject fails to raise, however, V+v+Agr$_D$ movement serves to satisfy the EPP and the result is also grammatical. The equidistance of V+v+Agr$_D$ and spec-vP from T makes both options available. In these terms, Italian would differ from these languages in requiring the EPP to be satisfied by an XP (see Alexiadou 2006 on further differences between Italian and Spanish). Although this analysis of Spanish, EP and Catalan may seem unparsimonious, something along these lines seems to be necessitated by the diagnostics discussed above. Of course such an account raises many questions which cannot be addressed here for reasons of space, notably regarding the status of postverbal narrowly focused subjects. We return briefly to issues of word order in section 4.

3.2   Summary of results

Although there are gaps in the data and certain inconsistencies arise across the ten tests discussed above, the data seem to show overwhelmingly that an analysis along the lines of A.1 cannot be correct: preverbal subjects are not all CLLD in Romance NSLs. Analyses A.2 and B fare better. In Italian the data, particularly from parasitic gaps, seem to suggest that B is correct, as derived preverbal subjects appear to raise obligatorily to/through spec TP. In Spanish, EP and Catalan matters are more complex. It seems that subjects *can* occupy a preverbal A-position, but can also raise directly from a post-verbal A-position to a preverbal A-bar position, licensing parasitic gaps, at least for some speakers. This suggests that a revised version of A.2 is necessary for these languages whereby the EPP can be satisfied by either XP or head-movement.

4   On inversion and expletive *pro* in Romance

When discussing subject-verb inversion in Romance NSLs, it is important to control for information structure. As discussed in section 3.1.8, the basic word order in many Romance languages seems to be SVO with transitives (with some apparent exceptions in Spanish). With intransitives, VS is often possible in out-of-the-blue contexts, but there is semantic evidence that such orders involve a kind of locative inversion with a covert PP. Where the subject is narrowly focused (in answer to 'who did Y?' questions), however, inverted V(O)S orders become more generally possible in Romance NSLs, and there is a question of how this relates to the analyses under discussion. Unfortunately, a discussion of this marked inversion is beyond the scope of this chapter (see Sheehan 2010).

A crucial remaining question concerns the (non-)existence of covert *expletives* in Romance NSLs. Expletive *pro* formed a crucial part of Rizzi's (1982, 1986) classic analysis but has become suspect in the Minimalist context. As A&A note, expletive *pro* has no PF interpretation and the apparent lack of definiteness effects in VS(O) orders in NSLs suggests that it also lacks an LF interpretation. A.1 and A.2/B.1 are thus apparently attractive in avoiding the need for null expletives. [16] Interestingly, though, while the standard wisdom is certainly that Romance null subject languages lack definiteness effects of the English type, in certain controlled contexts, a kind of definiteness effect occurs. First consider existential constructions, as discussed by Leonetti (2008) and Fischer (2013). Spanish displays a definiteness effect in such contexts and Leonetti (2008) argues convincingly that where a locative PP is included inside VP, the effect is also observed in Italian and to some extent in Catalan:

71) ??C'è   la   statua di Michelangelo in Piazza della Signoria
    LOC=is   the   statue of Michelangelo in Piazza della Signoria
                                     [Italian, Fischer 2013: 13]

A similar effect can be observed with unaccusative verbs in some Romance languages. While it is true that the inverted subjects of unaccusatives fail to display a straightforward definiteness effect in Romance null subject languages (Fischer 2013), this is as expected if this inversion is triggered by locative inversion, which is not subject to definiteness effects (see Pinto 1994, 1997 on Romance and Freeze 1992 on the connection between locatives and existentials).

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[16] What have been called 'overt expletives' are attested in some Romance varieties (cf. Toribio 1996, Hinzelin and Kaiser 2006 on Caribbean Spanish; Carrilho 2005 on colloquial EP; Uriagereka 1995 on Galician; Maiden & Parry 1997 on Corsican, Sicilian, Neapolitan and Campanian; and Kaiser 2006b, for an overview). In most cases, however, restrictions on the distribution of overt expletives in Romance NSLs make them look more like discourse particles than true expletives, but see Hinzelin & Kaiser (to appear) on Occitan varieties on the Francoprovençal border.

In out-of-the-blue utterances, however, with unaccusative verbs and overt postverbal PPs, a definiteness effect is attested in EP and Italian, though not, apparently, in Spanish. In such contexts only indefinite subjects seem to be possible in a postverbal position (Sheehan 2006, 2010, Corr 2012):

72) a.　O　　　que　　　　　é　　　que　　aconteceu?　　　　　[EP]
　　　　The　　　what　　　　is　　　that　　happened
　　　　'What happened?'
　　b.　Chegou alguém　ao colégio
　　　　Arrived someone　　　to-the school
　　　　'Someone arrived at school.'
　　b'.　*Chegou　　　o João　　　　ao colégio
　　　　Arrived　　　the João　　　to-the school
　　　　'João arrived at school.'

This follows if, where an overt PP remains postverbal, the subject must raise to spec TP all else being equal. The contrast between (72b) and (72b') suggests that a null expletive can satisfy the EPP in such contexts, permitting indefinite subjects to remain low. The fact that Spanish seems to lack this effect (Corr 2012) whereas Italian appears to have something similar (Belletti 1988) suggests that further parameterisation is required here, particularly given the differences between existential and unaccusative contexts.

5　Conclusions

This chapter has examined the behavior of some Romance NSLs in the context of GB and the Minimalist Program, arguing that they fall into at least two groups. Though the data are complex and many questions remain, it would appear that Spanish behaves like a variant of a type A.2/B.1 language in which either XP or X-movement can satisfy the EPP. Italian, on the other hand, appears to be a type B.2 language in which some XP must always satisfy the EPP and null subjects are simply deleted. Interestingly, many of the analyses of NSLs face the same issue concerning the syntax-morphology interface. While it is recognized that rich agreement morphology seems to be involved in the licensing of null subjects in these languages (see especially 3.1.9), there is only ever a loose connection between the syntactic feature which is responsible for null subjects and its surface morphological manifestation. It is hoped that future research will serve to (i) resolve the issues surrounding some of the diagnostics discussed above and (ii) discover new diagnostics which illustrate more clearly how the various Romance NSLs should be syntactically distinguished.

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