

## DO SUBJECTS HAVE A PLACE IN SPANISH?

JOSÉ CAMACHO  
*Rutgers University*

### 1. Introduction

Overt **preverbal subjects** in Spanish (henceforth PS) have been claimed to be in an adjoined, peripheral layer of the clause (cf. Contreras 1991, Ordóñez and Treviño 1999) and in IP-layer (cf. Goodall 1999, Suñer 2003). Part of the motivation for the different analyses stems from mixed A and A-bar properties they display. In this discussion, several independent questions are conflated: 1) Is there a uniquely determined position for PS in Spanish? 2) Is it uniquely associated with certain content (topichood, A/A-bar etc.)? 3) Are overt and null subjects in the same position? In this paper, I address these three questions, arguing that subjects can appear in several functional projections along the extended verbal projection (cf. Grimshaw 2005). In some cases, the properties of those projections will be determined in the course of the derivation: if a verb raises to a certain projection, it will render this projection active for agreement purposes and trigger movement of the subject to its specifier.

### 2. The status of subjects in Spanish

One prominent line of analysis of the position of PS in Spanish claims that they are, in essence, **clitic left-dislocated (CLLD)** constituents akin to CLLD subjects in Trentino and Fiorentino, or to direct and indirect objects in Spanish, illustrated in (1)a. In this line of analysis, the structure for (1)b would be (1)c, with the subject adjoined to IP (cf. Contreras 1991) or in a left-peripheral projection (following Rizzi 1997). The subject clitic, is either a null pro, as in(1)c, or the inflection morpheme, as proposed by Ordóñez and Treviño (1999) (henceforth, O&T).

- (1) a. *A la hermana de Susana, la vi el otro día*  
to the sister of Susana, CL saw the other day  
“Susana's sister, I saw her the other day.”
- b. *Susana compró unos regalos*  
Susana bought some gifts  
“Susana bought some gifts.”
- c.  $Susana_i [IP\ pro_i [I\ compró [VP\ unos\ regalos\ ]]]$

### 2.1 PS as CLLD constituents

The CLLD analysis of PS rests on several arguments. First, subjects pattern like CLLD objects and indirect objects in VP-ellipsis (cf. O&T): can be focused both can appear when the elided VP is in an island, as in (2), (O&P's (15), underlined text indicates the deleted part).

- (2) *A ti te admitirán en Harvard pero es probable que a tu*  
 to you CL will admit in Harvard but is probable that to your  
*amiga no [la admitirán en Harvard]*  
 friend not CL will admit in Harvard  
 “You’ll be admitted to Harvard, but it is likely that your friend won’t.”

Second, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) (henceforth A&A) argue that PS do not involve local, Spec, head agreement with the verb, since adverbs can intervene (cf. (3)a). They also argue that quantificational and indefinite PS have unambiguous scope, as CLLD elements do. Thus, in (3)b, from A&A, the indefinite subject can only have wide **scope** in Greek, as it does in **Spanish**.

- (3) a. *Pedro ayer, inesperadamente, conoció a su profesor*  
 Pedro yesterday, unexpectedly met to his professor  
 “Yesterday, after many efforts, Pedro met his professor.”  
 b. *Kapios fititis stihiothetise kathe arthro*  
 some student filed every article  
 “Some student filed every article.”  
 c. *Algún/un estudiante archivó todos los artículos*  
 some student filed every the articles  
 “Some student filed every article.”

Finally, A & A argue that if an indefinite PS is in an **A-bar position**, it cannot **reconstruct** (like CLLD items), therefore, it should have scope over a modal or negation, assuming that modals do not raise covertly. This is shown in (4), after A&A's examples. In (4)a, the **modal** can only be deontic, not epistemic, and in (4)b, the only possible interpretation is *many* > *not*:

- (4) a. *Un niño debe presentar el trabajo hasta el final de la semana*  
 A boy must turn.in the work until the end of the week  
 “A boy must turn in the work until the end of the week.”  
 b. *Muchos hombre no se enamoraron de María*  
 Many men not CL fell.in.love of Mary  
 “Many men didn't fall in love with Mary.”

## 2.2 PS as A-constituents

Goodall (1999) observes that the properties of PS and CLLD phrases do not completely overlap. For example, topics can be bare, but PS cannot. If PS are CLLD phrases (and topics), this is surprising. However, the impossibility of having **bare NP subjects** must be independent of whether PS are topics, since even **topic subjects** cannot be bare (cf. (5)).

- (5) \**Niños, con Marta, no juegan nunca en el parque*  
 children, with Marta, not play never in the park

Zubizarreta (1993, 1998) points out that CLLD phrases reconstruct, whereas as Suñer (2003) suggests, PS do not, contrary to A&A's claim. In (6)a (Suñer's example), the DP (*Lea*) inside the PS can be coreferential with the clitic, whereas that same coindexing is impossible when the subject is postverbal. If the subject is an A-position, leaving no trace when moved, it cannot reconstruct in (6)a, so there will no Principle C violation. In (6)b, on the other hand, the DP inside the subject is lower than the coindexed clitic, hence Principle C is violated.

- (6) a. [*El primer novio de Lea<sub>i</sub>*] *la<sub>i</sub> besó en la calle*  
 the first boyfriend of Lea CL kissed in the street  
 "Lea's first boyfriend kissed her in the street."  
 b. \**La<sub>i</sub> besó en la calle [el primer novio de Lea<sub>i</sub>]*  
 CL kissed in the street the first boyfriend of Lea

Along the same lines, a postverbal subject can be coreferential with a DP inside a CLLD constituent (cf. (7)), but if the subject is null (by assumption, preverbal), coindexing with a CLLD item is impossible. If the CLLD phrase reconstructs, to a Clitic Phrase position lower than the preverbal subject but higher than the postverbal one (as seen in b), these contrasts follow.

- (7) a. [*La primera página de las novelas de Cortázar<sub>i</sub>*] *siempre*  
 the first page of the novels of Cortazar always  
*la escribía él<sub>i</sub> en ayunas*  
 CL wrote he before.breakfast  
 "The first page of Cortazar's novels, he always wrote before breakfast."  
 b. [<sub>CP</sub>  $f_i$  ... [<sub>CLP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> **la ...de Cortázar<sub>i</sub>**]  $la_i$  [*escribía él<sub>i</sub> ...*]]]

- c. \*[*La primera página de las novelas de Cortázar*]<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub> *siempre*  
 the first page of the novels of Cortazar always  
*la escribía en ayunas*  
 CL wrote before.breakfast  
 “The first page of Cortazar's novels, he always wrote before  
 breakfast.”
- d. [<sub>CP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub>* ... [<sub>IP</sub> **pro**<sub>i</sub> [<sub>CLP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> **la ...de Cortázar**]<sub>i</sub> *la*<sub>i</sub> [*escribía él<sub>i</sub>* ...]]]]
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These data suggest differences in distribution for PS and CLLD, and different positions for them (A and A-bar respectively). On the other hand, A&A attributed the lack of scope interaction between PS/CLLD items and lower quantifiers (cf. (4) above) to the fact that they can't reconstruct, and assumed that this is a function of their A-bar status. Notice, however, that in their own account, CLLD items are base-generated in the left-periphery, hence have nowhere to reconstruct to, regardless of what their A/A-bar status is. Thus, it seems that lack of ambiguity for quantifiers cannot be taken as an argument for an A-bar position of PS/CLLD items. One alternative consistent with both Suárez and A&A's conclusions would be to argue that CLLD items are base-generated in a high Clitic Phrase, from which they can move to the left-periphery and to which they reconstruct. Since this position is higher than that of objects, and presumably higher than NegP, we predict the lack of ambiguity between quantified CLLDs and lower quantifiers.

Finally, Suárez (2003) shows that lexical subjects and strong pronouns (*él*, *ella* “he, she”) can be separated from the verb by a parenthetical, whereas expletive *ello* “it” in Dominican Spanish cannot (cf. (8)a-b), suggesting that *ello* is structurally closer to the verb than strong pronouns and lexical NPs, as in (8)c, following Cardenaletti and Starke (1999).

- (8) a. *Juan/Él, a mi parecer, es muy simpático*  
 Juan/he, according to me is very nice  
 “Juan/He, according to me, is very nice.”
- b. *Ello (\*a mi parecer) no sería malo estudiar*  
 it according to me, not would.be bad to study  
 “It (according to me) wouldn't hurt to study.”
- c. [<sub>YP</sub> {*Juan/él*} [<sub>XPParenth.</sub> [<sub>ZP</sub> {*ello*} V ]]]

To summarize existing data, PS pattern with CLLD items in deletion contexts and cannot take narrow scope with respect to other quantifiers, but their behavior diverges with respect to reconstruction. Finally, expletives seem to have a different position than strong pronouns (and lexical PS).

### 3. *New data*

#### 3.1 *Ellipsis and modals*

Recall that one of O&T's arguments for treating PS as CLLD elements stems from their similar behavior as remnants in ellipsis contexts (cf. (2) above). However, with an epistemic modal, CLLD phrases and PS diverge in those contexts: with the PS in (9)a, the missing part's interpretation cannot include the modal. With the CLLD phrase in (9)b, the epistemic modal can be part of the missing constituent. If PS is a CLLD item, this is unexpected.

- (9) a. *Los médicos pueden haber salido, pero Pedro dice*  
 the doctors can have left, but Pedro says  
*que las enfermeras no [han salido]*  
 that the nurses not have left  
 “Doctors may have left, but Pedro says that nurses haven't (left)”  
 “\*Doctors may have left, but Pedro says nurses may not.”
- b. *A los médicos les puede haber dado permiso, pero Pedro*  
 to the doctors CL can have given permission, but Pedro  
*dice que a las enfermeras no [pueden haber dado permiso]*  
 says that to the nurses not can have given permission  
 “Doctors may have been granted permission, but Pedro says that  
 nurses may not (have been granted permission).”

If the deletion target remains constant in both cases (IP), these data suggest first, that the epistemic modal verb raises higher with an overt PS than with a null subject and second, that subjects and CLLD items do not occupy the same position (see below for further details).

#### 3.2 *Epistemic modals and PS subjects*

Preverbal, non-quantified subjects are ungrammatical with a CLLD constituent and an epistemic modal (cf. (10)a), as opposed to postverbal subjects (cf. (10)b) and to PS without the CLLD constituent (cf. (13)a). This constraint resembles the one observed by A&A (cf. (4) above), but in this case the subject need not be quantified. As seen in (11), without a CLLD item, there is no word order asymmetry. A summary of the data appears in (12).

- (10) **Background:** Full-time doctors have little time to devote to each individual patient, and sometimes, patients suffer on account of this, but in this hospital, all patients seem to be very well tended to...

- a. #*Sí, a los pacientes, los médicos residentes los deben*  
 yes, to the patients, the doctors resident CL must  
*atender, por eso están tan bien*  
 attend, for that are so good  
 “Yes, patients must be taken care of by resident doctors, that's why they are so well cared for.”
- b. *Sí, a los pacientes los deben atender los médicos*  
 yes, to the patients, CL must attend the doctors  
*residentes, por eso están tan bien*  
 resident, for that are so good  
 “Yes, patients must be taken care of by resident doctors, that's why they are so well cared for.”
- (11) **Background:** Full-time doctors have little time to devote to each individual patient, and sometimes, patients suffer on account of this, but in this hospital, all patients seem to be very well tended to
- a. *Sí, aquí los médicos residentes deben atender a*  
 yes, here the doctors resident must attend to  
*los pacientes, por eso están tan bien*  
 the patients, for that are so good  
 “Yes, resident doctors must take care of patients here, that's why they are so well cared for.”
- b. *Sí, aquí deben atender a los pacientes los médicos*  
 yes, here must attend to the patients the doctors  
*residentes, por eso están tan bien*  
 resident, for that are so good  
 “Yes, resident doctors must take care of patients here, that's why they are so well cared for.”
- (12) a. ✓ CLLD-modal-postverbal subject  
 b. \* CLLD-PS-modal  
 c. ✓ PS-modal  
 d. ✓ Modal-postverbal subject

These data argue against a unified treatment for preverbal subjects and CLLD elements as occupying the same structural position, on the one hand, and, on the other, as uniformly treating PS as A-bar elements.

### 3.3 Subject *Adjacency effects*

In addition to the adjacency effects seen in (8)b above, preverbal **negative quantifier subjects** must be adjacent to the verb (cf. (13)a-b), by contrast to lexical subjects, postverbal quantifiers, and CLLD items (cf. (14)a-c)).

- (13) a. *Nadie pudo avanzar 3 metros*  
no-one could advance 3 meters  
“No one could advance 3 meters.”
- b. \**Nadie casi pudo avanzar 3 metros*  
no-one almost could advance 3 meters
- c. \**Ninguno de ellos casi pudo avanzar 3 metros*  
none of them almost could advance 3 meters
- (14) a. *La tortuga casi pudo avanzar 3 metros*  
the turtle almost could advance 3 meters  
“The turtle could almost advance 3 meters.”
- b. *Casi no pudo avanzar 3 metros nadie*  
almost not could advance 3 meters no-one  
“No one could almost advance 3 meters.”
- c. *A ninguno de los culpables, casi lo descubrieron*  
to none of the guilty almost CL discovered  
“None of the guilty, were almost discovered.”

(14)b does not become grammatical with a restricted quantifier, unlike CLLD phrases (cf. (13)c vs. (14)c, and Cinque 1990 and Goodall 1999), and other adverbs, but not other quantifiers, show the same intervention effects (cf. (15)) vs. (16)). These contrasts suggest, first, that negative quantifier subjects occupy a different position than lexical subjects ((13)b vs. (14)a)), and second, that PS occupy a different position than CLLD phrases (cf. (13)c vs. (14)c)).<sup>1</sup> Finally, **parentheticals** do not induce ungrammaticality in the way adverbs do, as seen in the contrast between (13)b above and (17), suggesting that negative quantifiers and **Dominican expletives** have different structural positions.

- (15) a. *Juan constantemente viaja a Portugal*  
Juan constantly travels to Portugal  
“Juan constantly travels to Portugal.”
- b. \**Nadie constantemente viaja a Portugal*  
No-one constantly travels to Portugal

<sup>1</sup> The CLLD phrase in (13)c is interpreted as focused, showing that CLLD phrases have no unique interpretation.

- (16) a. *Todos (ellos) casi pudieron avanzar 3 metros*  
 all them almost could advance 3 meters  
 “All (of them) could advance 3 meters.”  
 b. *Algunos casi pudieron avanzar 3 metros*  
 some almost could advance 3 meters  
 “Some could almost advance 3 meters.”
- (17) *Ninguno, a mi parecer, pudo avanzar 3 metros*  
 no-one, according to me, could advance 3 meters  
 “No one, according to me, could advance 3 meters.”

All of these data suggests different preverbal subject positions depending on subject-type of subject (cf. (8)), verb position (cf. modals in (12)), and on locality constraints (cf. Dominican *ello* in (8)b, negative quantifiers in (13)).

#### 4. *Extended target positions for subjects*

The assumptions of the analysis are presented in (18), most notably, 2) a given functional projection may be inert until it is activated by adjoining a head to it or filling its specifier, and 3) certain projections may agree locally only in certain derivational contexts.

- (18) 1. *Agree* can be local (*local agree*, in Spec, head configuration) or unbound (*unbound agree*).
2. A projection becomes active for agreement (*agreement-active*) by adjoining a head to it or filling its specifier.
3. An *agreement-active* projection may require *local agree*.

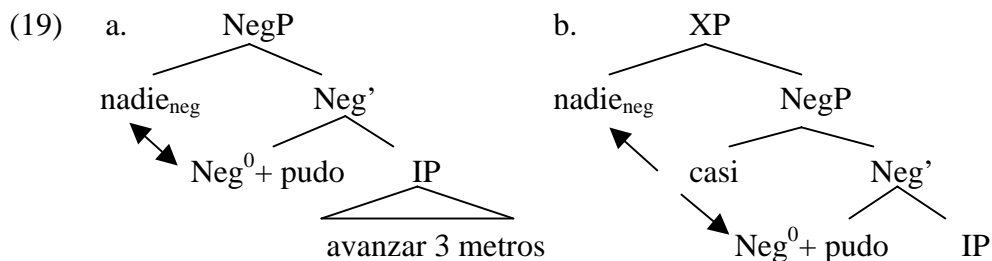
##### 4.1 *Adjacency effects*

The adverb intervention cases described above (cf. (13)-(14), partially repeated below) derive from (18), with one further assumption. The quantifiers involved in (13) are NPIs and as such, they must be licensed by negation in the specifier of a neg-related projection (Haegeman and Zanuttini's *Neg-criterion*), which is then not overtly realized as a head (due to some version of the doubly-filled COMP filter). In the case of post-verbal NPIs, they are licensed long-distance by negation. Within the assumptions in (21) the *Neg-criterion* is a manifestation of *agree*, movement of preverbal NPIs to the Spec of the relevant negative projection will render this projection *agreement-active*, and will also require *local agree*.

The contrast in (13) follows from the fact that *casi* blocks Spec, head (local) agreement with the quantifier, leaving the NPI's negative feature

unchecked, as in (19). Since the feature checked is negative, one expects other non-negative quantifiers not to show the same pattern, as shown in (16) above.

- (13) a. *Nadie pudo avanzar 3 metros*  
 no-one could advance 3 meters  
 “No one could advance 3 meters.”  
 b. \**Nadie casi pudo avanzar 3 metros*  
 no-one almost could advance 3 meters



Extending this analysis to the Dominican expletive cases in (8) above, which must be adjacent to the verb, would entail that weak pronouns and expletives are required to undergo *local agree* with the verb, a configuration that does not obtain when the parenthetical intervenes. However, the adjacency requirement for weak pronouns and expletives may not be syntactic but morpho-phonological: first, parentheticals do not block neg-agreement with NPIs (cf. (17) above). Second, the nature of the parenthetical seems to suggest that it is not selected, but rather adjoined, raising questions as to why it would block a syntactic configuration. On the other hand, if the requirement is morphological (i.e., weak pronouns, as **clitics**, require a certain type of host), the structural configuration of the parenthetical will no longer be relevant, only the fact that it linearly intervenes between the clitic and its host. Thus, although these data have been argued to be evidence in favor of different positions for the subject, a view I support in this paper, it is very likely that they derive from a different type of constraint.

#### 4.2 Modals

Recall that modals cannot be interpreted in the deleted portion of an ellipsis when there is a preverbal subject, but they can when there is a CLLD phrase (cf. (9) above). I argued that the modal raises higher with a PS than it does with a CLLD phrase. If we assume that the missing material in the second conjunct is interpreted by copying structure from the first conjunct, and that the copied structure is IP, then, the result would be (20), where the copied portion is inside the dash-box. In this structure, the lexical PS must be higher than IP (an

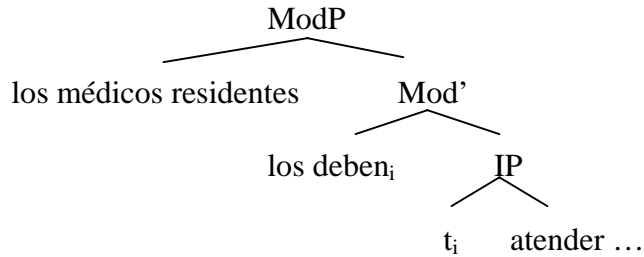
observation consistent with O&T's conclusions), otherwise the deleted material would include the first subject.

- (20) a. [<sub>ModP</sub> los médicos [<sub>Mod</sub> no pueden<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> [haber salido]]<sub>i</sub> ] ]  
           &...[<sub>XP</sub> las enfermeras   ▲ ] ]
- b. [<sub>CLLDP</sub> a los médicos [<sub>ModP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> [les puede]] ] ] ]  
           & ...[<sub>XP</sub> a las enfermeras   ▼ ] ]

Within the assumptions of (18), this means that in (20)a, ModP is *agreement-active*, since the modal has raised to Mod<sup>0</sup> and the PS to Spec, ModP. This triggers *local agree* with the lexical PS. Why doesn't the CLLD phrase attract the modal in (9)b? One possible answer is that it is not in ModP, but higher, as depicted in (20)b, hence ModP is not *agreement-active*. If the subject and the CLLD phrase are in the same projection, there is no obvious explanation for the observed interpretive contrast.

The second observation regarding modals was the contrast between ungrammatical CLLD-PS-modal order (cf. (10)a) and grammatical CLLD-modal-subject order (cf. (10)b). PS-modal and CLLD-PS-non-modal orders are also grammatical (cf.(11)). The analysis just developed for would yield the partial derivation in (21) for (10)a: the lexical PS appears in the specifier of ModP, forcing the modal to move to the Mod<sup>0</sup>. For the CLLD-modal order in (10)b, the CLLD phrase appears in CLLDP, higher than ModP, hence ModP is not rendered *agreement-active* and the modal does not raise to Mod<sup>0</sup>. If this is correct, the ungrammaticality of (10)a can be seen in a different light: something blocks the CLLD phrase from merging with the structure in(21). I will propose that in that structure, the CLLD phrase cannot merge with ModP because ModP changes by virtue of becoming *agreement active*. Specifically, an *agreement-active* ModP becomes selected (or L-related), and an L-related projection cannot merge with a non-L-related projection within the same strong phase. These two generalizations are formalized in (22)-(23).

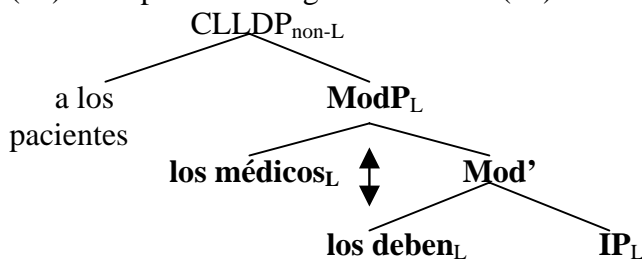
- (21) Partial merge for ((10)a



- (22) An *agreement-active projection* can become L-related/selected if its head is a selecting/L-relating head.
- (23) *Phase Consistency Condition (PCC)*
- a. Projections within a strong phase must be *L-consistent*.
  - b. Two projections are *L-consistent* if they are both L-related or both non-L-related.

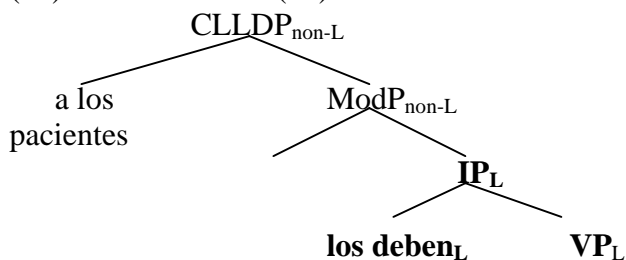
The PCC predicts that arguments will stack-up in the same strong phase, and context-related projections (focus, topic, etc.) will only be possible at strong-phase edges, as suggested by Rizzi (1997) for the *left-periphery*, and by Ndayiragije (1999) and Belletti (2003) for the VP-phase. (22) allows for a strong phase to be extended: if the strong phase is composed of L-related categories, movement from within it may extend L-relatedness beyond that strong phase. This extension mechanism can be extended to other cases, such as A-scrambling (which extends the binding properties of scrambled elements, cf. McGinnis 1999), or clitic-climbing in restructuring contexts (where the clitic can climb out of the lower phase only if the lower verb incorporates to the higher one, rendering it L-related). These two principles rule out further merger of the CLLD phrase with ModP in (20), as shown in (24).

- (24) Impossible merge of CLLD in (10)a



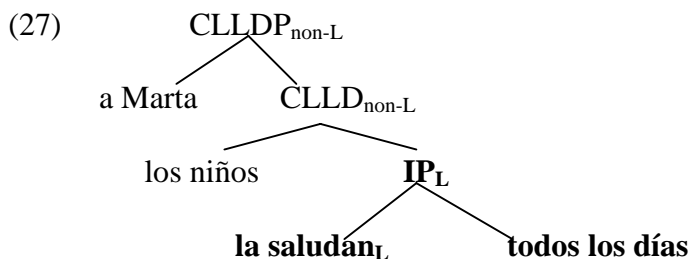
For the case of the CLLD-modal order in (10)a, no such problem arises, as shown in and (25) below (bold font indicates L-related projections).

- (25) Structure for (10)b



When the verb is not modal (cf. (26)), the order CLLD-PS-V is possible. In such cases, the verb only raises to I, the left-peripheral projections are non-L-related, and a CLLD and a PS can merge in the periphery, as in (30). Note that the crucial difference between (24) and (27) is the presence of a dedicated ModP phrase. In both cases the PS merges in the left-periphery, but only in former case does it render the projection *agreement-active* and attracts the modal to it, blocking further merger of left-peripheral material.

- (26) a. *A Marta, los niños la saludan todos los días*  
 to Marta, the children CL greet every the days  
 “Marta, children greet her everyday.”  
 b. *A los pacientes, los libros, se los traen sus familiares*  
 to the patients, the books CL CL bring their relatives  
 “Patients, books, their relatives bring them.”



The typology of possible and impossible left-peripheral configurations is presented in (28): either a single, left-peripheral, L-related position, derivationally determined by the position of the verb, or a set of possibly recursive, non-L-related positions when no verb movement takes place.

- (28) a.  $\checkmark$  V in I, recursive (or non-recursive) left-peripheral positions  
 $[\text{CLLDP}_{(-L)} \text{DP}_{(-L)} [\text{IP}_{(L)} \text{PS}_{(L)} \mathbf{I}]]$   
 b.  $\ast$  V in left periphery, recursive left-peripheral positions  
 $\ast[\text{CLLDP}_{(-L)} \text{DP}_{(-L)} [\text{XP}_{(L)} \text{DP}_{(L)} [\text{X}' \text{V}+\text{X} \text{IP}_L ]]]$   
 c.  $\checkmark$  V in left-periphery, non-recursive left-peripheral positions  
 $[\text{XP}_{(L)} \text{PS}_{(L)} [\text{X}' \text{V}+\text{X} \text{IP}]]$

#### 4.3 The role of *person*

(29) is argued by O&T to show that the binding/referential properties of the subject are located in inflection, not in the DP. Descriptively, a 3<sup>rd</sup> person, plural subject *los estudiantes* “the students” can appear with 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural inflection on the verb. In such cases, a clitic in an adjunct clause can only match the verb's inflection, not the DP's person settings (cf. (29)).

- (29) *Los estudiantes salimos /salisteis /salieron del edificio*  
 the students(3pl.) exited(1pl.)/exited(2pl.)/exited(3pl.) of.the building  
 “We/you/they, the students, left from there.”
- (30) a. *Los amigos<sub>i</sub> salimos después de que nos<sub>i</sub> acusara*  
 the friends(3pl.) exited(1pl.) after of that CL(1pl.) accused  
 “We, the friends, left after s/he accused us.”  
 b. *\*Los amigos<sub>i</sub> salimos después de que los<sub>i</sub> acusara*  
 the friends(3pl.) exited(1pl.) after of that CL(3pl.) accused

Note, however, that both controlled and non-controlled infinitival verbs that do not show overt person marking display the same distributional pattern than that observed for (30): in , the clitic attached to the infinitival can be 1<sup>st</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person, even though the controller *los amigos* “the friends” is 3<sup>rd</sup> person. If inflectional morphology always hosts coreferential properties, we would not expect the clitic to be able to be coreferential with *los amigos* in (31), much less showing variable 1<sup>st</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person. The same patterns hold for non-control infinitivals, as seen in (32).

- (31) a. *Permitió a los amigos [presentar-se al examen]*  
 allowed to the friends attend-CL(3p) to.the exam  
 “S/he allowed his/her friends to take the test.”  
 b. *Permitió a los amigos [presentar-nos al examen]*  
 allowed to the friends attend-CL(1pl.) to.the exam  
 “S/he allowed us, his/her friends to take the test.”
- (32) a. *Presentar-se los amigos al examen sería un error*  
 attend.CL(3) the friends to.the exam would.be a mistake  
 “For the friends to take the exam would be a mistake.”  
 b. *Presentar-nos los amigos al examen sería un error*  
 attend.CL(1pl.) the students to.the exam would.be a mistake  
 “(For us the students) to take the exam would be a mistake.”

As an alternative to O&P’s analysis, I will build on Poletto’s (2000) functional structure in (33). She proposes that the subject in Italian crosses a number of functional projections from vP to TopicP, including SpeakerP, HearerP, NumP, NegP and TopP.

- (33) [TopP Subj DP<sub>i</sub> [NegP [NumP t<sub>i</sub> [Numinfl V<sub>j</sub> ] [HearerPt<sub>i</sub> [HearerPt<sub>j</sub> [SpeakerPt<sub>j</sub> [TP]]]]]]]]

The proposal for (31) is outlined in (34). In (34)a, the **speaker-oriented projection** is absent (by economy of structure), and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person PRO is in IP. Conceptually, the lack of a speaker-oriented projection follows from the fact that the infinitival subject in (31)a does not include the speaker. In (31)b, on the other hand, PRO is in the speaker-oriented projection, which binds the clitic. For finite-verbs (cf. (30)), the structure in (38a) has pro in the specifier of SpeakerP for 1<sup>st</sup> person coreference, for Peninsular Spanish 2<sup>nd</sup> person (cf. (38b)), the subject is in HearerP and for 3<sup>rd</sup> person (cf. (38c)), in IP.

- (34) a. Permitió a los amigos [<sub>IP</sub>PRO(3) presentar-se(3) al examen]  
 b. Permitió a los amigos [<sub>SpkrP</sub>PRO(1pl.) presentar-nos(1pl.) al examen]
- (35) a. [Los amigos] [<sub>SpkrP</sub> pro(1pl.) salimos(1pl.)]  
 b. [Los amigos] [<sub>HearerP</sub> pro(2pl.) salisteis(2pl.)]  
 c. [Los amigos] [<sub>IP</sub> pro(3pl.) salieron(3pl.)]

### 5. Conclusions

I have argued for a number of positions for subjects in Spanish, some left-peripheral (lexical subjects), some within IP (pro, expletives). For the former, I have argued that subjects do not occupy the same position as CLLD elements, and that the L or non-L-related nature of subject positions is derivationally determined by verb movement. The principles that derive their distributions include *agreement-active*, (a given functional projection may be inert for agreement until activated by movement of a head to it or filling of its specifier) and the *Phase Consistency Condition* (all categories within a phase are consistent with respect to being selected or non-selected).

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