

Phase-level Minimality in Romance VOS*

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Abstract

This paper discusses the morphological and syntactic properties in VOS sentences in Iberian Romance languages. In particular, it explores the possibility that VOS structures are derived through movement of the object to a specifier that c-commands the subject, which predicts a minimality configuration between C-T (the nominative Case Probe), the subject (the Goal), and the raised object (the intervener). After considering different alternatives to account for the scenario just described, some pieces of evidence are put forward to argue that the minimality configuration is circumvented if the relevant portion of the subject (a null ϕ -clitic or a little pro; see Torrego 1998 and Belletti 2004) ends up in a position higher than that of the shifted object – namely, T –, a process that is related to Chomsky's (2008) ϕ -inheritance. To the extent that it is tenable, the analysis not only offers a solution to a long-standing problem without resorting to ad hoc locality-modifying devices (e.g. equidistance), but also reinforces Chomsky's (2001, 2007, 2008) recent conception of the cycle, whereby operations wait until a dedicated stage of the derivation (the phase level) is reached to take place.

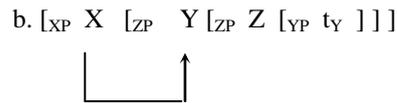
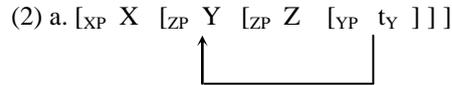
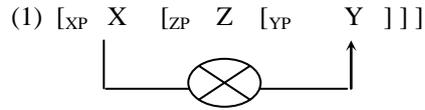
1. Phase Level Evaluation

Chomsky (2001) argues that intervention effects are computed at the phase level, after previous (and possibly counter-cyclic) operations occur.

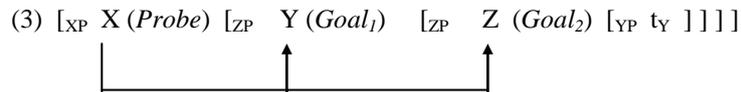
* I would like to thank Ignacio Bosque, José M. Brucart, Noam Chomsky, Francisco Ordóñez, and an anonymous reviewer for comments and discussion. Thanks especially to Cedric Boeckx and Juan Uriagereka for reading different versions of this paper, and for their constant support. I assume the errors.

This research was partially supported by grants from the Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia-FEDER (HUM2006-13295-C02-02) and the Generalitat de Catalunya (2005SGR-00753).

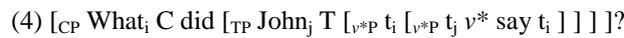
Consequently, an illicit configuration like (1), where X tries to establish a long-distance dependency with Y across a would-be intervener (Z), can be circumvented if Y ends up occupying a position above Z by the end of the relevant cycle, as depicted in (2) (so-called ‘leapfrogging’; see Boeckx 2007, Jeong 2007, and McGinnis 2004 for discussion), therefore becoming accessible to X.



Once Y occupies its derived position in (2), *Agree* (X, Y) can readily take place, ignoring Z. Importantly, Z can no longer be matched by X either, for Chomsky (2001) takes *Agree* to operate under strict *c-command*, *equidistance* (see Chomsky 1993, 1995) being dispensed with: in Chomsky’s phase-cycle framework, the only way for X to interact with Z in (2b) is referred to as *Multiple Agree* (see Hiraiwa 2005), a complex dependency that relates a single Probe (X) to a cluster of Goals (here, Y and Z):



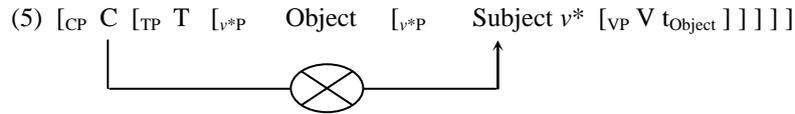
Chomsky (2001) capitalizes on the scenario in (4) to support this phase-based approach to minimality:



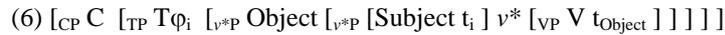
As Chomsky observes, at the point when T is merged, *John* cannot be its Goal, since *what* (which has been raised to SPEC- v^*) is a closer candidate. Crucially, if minimality is evaluated after C is merged (at the phase level), the problem goes away, since *what* has already moved to SPEC-C at that derivational stage.¹

¹ Boeckx (2007) proposes an alternative account whereby *what* does not count as an intervener, since, when in SPEC- v^* , it has already checked its Case, becoming

The just outlined locality theory predicts that, in situations like the one in (5) below, where an object has moved to an outer-SPEC- v^* , the C-T complex will fail to assign nominative Case to the *in situ* subject, unless: a) the object, like in (4), further raises above T (avoiding intervention at the phase level) or else b) the object is somehow bypassed by C-T's ϕ -Probe.²



In this paper I argue that VOS sentences in some Iberian Romance languages, if analyzed as in Ordóñez (1998), raise such a problematic scenario, thus suggesting – it would appear – that (an) *equidistance*-(like device) plays a key role in long-distance nominative Case assignment. Here I will argue against that possibility, proposing a phase-based account whereby VOS structures of the Spanish type resort to a doubling strategy involving a null ϕ -bundle clitic that moves to T in order to handle nominative Case assignment, as argued by Torrego (1998) (see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998, 2001, and Taraldsen 1992 for similar ideas).³ Hence, the relevant configuration to consider is not (5), but (6), where the agreeing part of the subject has raised to T.



To the extent that it is correct, this analysis accounts for the lack of intervention in Romance VOS and supports Chomsky's (2001) hypothesis that only the phase level counts as an evaluation check-point.

2. Object Shift Strategies in Romance

The recent literature on Romance VOS discusses two main strategies to derive the correct word order: VP fronting and Object Shift.⁴

¹ 'inactive' in Chomsky's (2000) sense (see following footnote). With Chomsky (2000, 2001), though, I assume that ϕ -features in DPs never delete and can give rise to *defective intervention effects*, even if they have been assigned Case.

² Chomsky (2001) makes this latter suggestion in the case of Icelandic Object Shift, taking the object to undergo an extra phonological operation (dubbed *Thematization/Extraction* by Chomsky) that removes it from narrow syntax. More radical accounts whereby inactive objects become invisible for minimality purposes are pursued by Broekhuis (2007) and Richards (2004).

³ In some accounts, this ϕ -bundle is treated either as a null *pro* (see Belletti 2005) or as mere person feature (see Uriagereka 1999), which is then taken to be a full-fledged argument. See Ordóñez & Treviño (1999) for more discussion.

⁴ In (7) and (8) I am recasting Belletti's (2004) and Ordóñez's (1998) analyses in Chomsky's (2001) terms. In particular, I am assuming that both the VP and the

(7) $[_{v^*P} [_{VP} V \text{Object}] [_{v^*P} \text{Subject } v^* t_{VP}]]$ VP fronting

(8) $[_{v^*P} \text{Object} [_{v^*P} \text{Subject } v^* [_{VP} V t_{\text{Object}}]]]$ Object Shift

As the binding data in (9) and (10) indicate, there are grounds to believe that both derivations are factually allowed, but appropriately parametrized:

(9) Ayer visitó a cada chico_i su_i mentor. (Spanish)
yesterday visited.3SG to each boy his mentor
'His mentor visited each boy yesterday.'

(10) *Hanno salutato Gianni_i i propri_i genitori. (Italian)
have.3PL greeted Gianni the own parents
'His own parents have greeted Gianni.'

In Gallego (2007), it is argued that Romance languages split into two groups, depending on which strategy they adopt to generate VOS: European Portuguese, Galician, and Spanish invoke Object Shift (see Cardinaletti 2001, Costa 2000, 2002 and Ordóñez 1997; 1998), whereas Catalan and Italian do VP fronting (see Belletti 2004). For the sake of clarity, I will refer to these groups as Romance type A and Romance type B, respectively.^{5 6}

Let us suppose, as just said, that both strategies are available. This means that only VOS sentences of the A type pose a problem for Chomsky's (2001) theory (and, in fact, for any locality theory assuming strict c-command metrics), since the relevant dependents stand in a c-command relation – in the

object DP move to an outer-SPEC- v^* , and not to the specifier of an additional functional projection ('FP' for Ordóñez, 'TopicP' for Belletti). Differences are notational.

⁵ In the case of Italian, there is some variation with respect to judgments. See Cardinaletti (2001), where variable binding is argued to be possible, as predicted by Ordóñez's (1998) analysis. Judgments are robust in Spanish and Galician (where variable binding is possible) and European Portuguese and Catalan (where it is not).

⁶ This would be consistent with Costa's (2000) analysis. However, as this author notes, object movement does not feed variable binding in European Portuguese, which he takes to indicate the A-bar nature of this step:

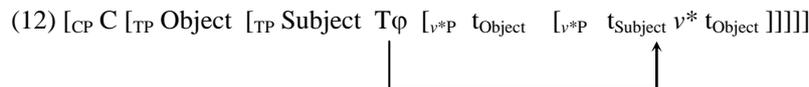
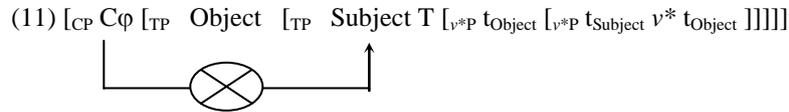
(i) *Viu todos os filmes_i o seu_i realizador. (E. Portuguese)
saw.3SG all the movies the his producer
'Their producer saw all the movies.'

[from Costa 2000:102]

Investigating why Spanish and Galician differ from European Portuguese is beyond the scope of this paper. In any event, what is relevant for the purposes of my discussion paper is that European Portuguese VOS qualifies as A type.

VP fronting case, the object does not c-command the *in situ* subject. Therefore, sentences like (9) should be out due to intervention. The prediction, however, is not borne out.

Chomsky's system provides different technical ways to solve this puzzle. One could, for instance, assume that both object and subject move to T so that the former is 'moved out of the way.' This would require C-to-T ϕ -feature inheritance (see Chomsky 2008): otherwise, ϕ -features would remain in C, bringing the unwanted minimality configuration (i.e. (11)) back to the fore:



In other words, if object and subject raise to T by the end of the CP phase, and C-T's ϕ -Probe operates from T (after ϕ -inheritance, as in (12)), the lack of intervention could be accounted for.

Ura (2000) reports some data from Lango that fits with the scenario just described. In particular, Lango has a passive-like construction where the object gains subject-like properties without actual subject demotion. Ura (2000) dubs this construction *Anti-Impersonal Passive* (AIP), and refers to object movement across the subject as *Long Object Shift* (LOS):

- (13) a. Dako o – jwat – o loca. [Active] (Lango)
 woman.3SG – hit – PERF man
 'The woman hit the man.'
 b. Loca_i dako o – jwat – o t_i [AIP] (Lango)
 man woman.3SG – hit – PERF
 'The woman hit the man.'

[from Ura 2000: 72]

Ura (2000) shows that, like in type A VOS, Lango AIP features A-movement, and argues that object and subject move to T, yielding a multiple SPEC configuration. As Ura (2000) points out, only the subject agrees with the verb in AIPs – again, like in type A VOS. Notice that subject-verb agreement in (14b) is not a problem even if the object occupies the same 'checking area': Chomsky's (2001, 2008) phase level evaluation, coupled with ϕ -feature inheritance, gives us the licit scenario in (12).⁷

⁷ Ura (2000:79 and ff.) analyzes these facts by claiming that the ϕ -feature bundle of Infl is [+multiple], demanding double checking for its deletion. This

- (14) a. Gwen o – cel – a *pro* [Active] (Lango)
 stone 3SG – hit – 1SG
 ‘The stone hit me’
- b. An_i gwen o – cel – a t_i [AIP] (Lango)
 I stone 3SG – hit – 1SG
 ‘The stone hit me’
- c. *An_i gwen o – celo t_i [AIP] (Lango)
 I stone 3SG – hit
 ‘The stone hit me’

[from Ura 2000: 77]

With this much as background, let us now return to type A VOS in Iberian Romance, taking Spanish as the representative language. Examples like (15), where the VP adverb *rápidamente* ‘quickly’ occupies the rightmost position, could in principle be taken to indicate that subject and object have vacated the v*P (see Chomsky 1995 and Cinque 1999), as entertained in (11)-(12) above:

- (15) ?Repartía las cartas Juan rápidamente. (Spanish)
 dealt.3SG the cards Juan quickly
 ‘Juan quickly dealt the cards.’

Whatever its plausibility, it is highly unlikely for this analysis to be the correct one for type A VOS, as it would require making highly *ad hoc* assumptions: first, V should move to C in simple declarative clauses,⁸ and, second, objects should (optionally) undergo A-movement to T. The second condition is hard to capture if A-movement is triggered by ϕ -features (see Chomsky 2008), but the first one becomes virtually impossible in the light of data like (16):

- (16) Dicen [_{CP} C que repartía las cartas Juan rápidamente] (Spanish)
 say.3PL that dealt.3SG the cards Juan quickly
 ‘They say that Juan dealt the cards quickly.’

implementation cannot be recast in current terms: if the ϕ -features of T did agree with object and subject, then it is not obvious how to account for the fact that only the latter triggers agreement. See Ura (2000:83 and ff.) for similar facts in Imbaburua Quechua, with object and subject receiving Nominative Case, but only the former triggering verb agreement.

⁸ At least, it must move beyond T (or the relevant nominative Case assigning head). Plausibly, such position could be Uriagereka’s (1995a, 1995b) F, but that would require postulating an additional head, thus departing from the simplest scenario.

If *que* ‘that’ occupies the C head, then the verb *repartía* ‘dealt’ cannot be above T.⁹ From this I conclude that, in Iberian Romance type A VOS, object and subject cannot be SPECs of T.

A second way to overcome intervention in type A VOS is Hiraiwa’s (2005) *Multiple Agree*. Under that option, shifted object and *in situ* subject would have to share the same ϕ -specification (for them to be collapsed as a unique Goal). Let us test such a possibility in (17), where subject and object have different number values.

- (17) a. ??Ayer llamaron a cada alumno_i sus_i profesores. (Spanish)
 yesterday called.3PL to each student his teachers
 ‘His teachers called every student yesterday’
- b. ???Ayer llamó a todos los alumnos_i su_i profesor.
 (Spanish)
 yesterday called.3SG to all the students his teacher
 ‘Their teacher called all the students yesterday.’

Deviance in (17a) and (17b) would certainly be consistent with a *Multiple Agree* analysis for type A VOS, as it would follow from C-T’s ϕ -Probe failing to match the object and subject cluster. Nevertheless, it is not immediately obvious that this analysis be tenable either: an *Agree* failure would yield not deviance, but ungrammaticality, as in *Person Case Constraint* (PCC) cases (see Boeckx 2000, 2008).¹⁰

Summarizing, none of the two hypotheses considered in this section (object and subject raising and *Multiple Agree*) seem enough to account for the acceptable status of type A VOS. In the next section I explore a more satisfactory analysis for this structure. Specifically, I claim that type A VOS sentences exploit a well-known strategy of the Case/agreement systems of Romance that circumvents minimality: clitic doubling.

⁹ I am putting aside recomplementation patterns, which presumably involve more than one C head (see Uriagereka 1995a for discussion).

¹⁰ The Italian facts pointed out by Belletti (2004) are as expected under a *Multiple Agree* analysis of Nominative Case assignment in VOS:

- (i) *Hanno salutato ogni ragazzo i sui genitori. (Italian)
 have.3PL greeted every boy the own parents
 ‘His own parents have greeted every boy.’

[from Belletti 2004:48]

I interpret the effect in (i) as follows: variable binding forces an (otherwise illicit) Object Shift-based derivation, where the object blocks nominative Case assignment.

3. A Doubling Analysis

The analysis I want to put forward for VOS builds on the observation that, much like objects, subjects can resort to a doubling strategy whereby a complex DP splits into two parts, as shown in (18):

- (18) Juan cuidará a las niñas él. (Spanish)
 Juan take-care-FUT.3SG to the children he
 ‘Juan will look after the children himself.’

Building on the ample literature on doubling (see Torrego 1995, Uriagereka 1995b, 2005, and references therein), Belletti (2005) discusses cases like this at length, arguing that *Juan* and *él* start off within the same DP, just like a clitic and its double do. According to Belletti, the moving element (in (18), *Juan*) checks nominative Case. I will essentially assume the gist of this analysis here, and, crucially, I will additionally follow Belletti (2005:17-18) in that postverbal subjects more generally resort to the doubling strategy too:¹¹

- (19) [_{CP} C [_{TP} *pro*_i T parlerò [_{y*P} [_{DP} *t*_i [_D D io] *v**]]]] (Italian)
 speak-FUT.1SG I
 ‘I myself will speak.’

Belletti’s (2005) analysis of postverbal subjects can be seen as an implementation of Torrego’s (1998) claim that, in clitic doubling languages, a subject φ -bundle (a D element, according to Torrego) moves to T so that this head is provided with the features necessary to assign nominative Case at a distance.¹²

¹¹ Ignacio Bosque suggests a secondary predication analysis for (18) through personal communication. As he notes, this example is similar to *I’ll do it myself* cases, where *myself* would be a predicate. Bosque’s suggestion is favored by two facts: first, English lacks clitic doubling, but features secondary predication; and second, the postverbal pronoun can be reinforced by *solo* ‘alone’ and *mismo* ‘self’, which are clearly predicative:

- (i) Juan cuidará a las niñas él solo / mismo. (Spanish)
 Juan take-care-FUT.3SG to the children he alone same
 ‘Juan will look after the children alone / himself.’

Tempting as this possibility may be, I will not pursue it (see Sánchez López 1996 for a more comprehensive study), since, as Ignacio Bosque further observes, a predication analysis would not be able to explain the asymmetry in (ii):

- (i) Todos llegaron {cansados / *ellos} (Spanish)
 all-MASC-PL arrived.3PL tired-MASC-PL / they-MASC-PL
 ‘They arrived tired / all.’

¹² To be precise, Torrego (1998: 217) proposes “that the agreement features of the D of the [subject] doubling structure, in combination with T, license the nominative Case of the subject.” Torrego’s (1998) idea is that this null D (represented here as

Let us go back, once more, to type A VOS. As advanced, I want to argue that this structure involves doubling of the *in situ* subject. Hence, sentences like (9) above ought to be analyzed as in (20), with a null subject ϕ -bundle moving to T:^{13 14}

- (20) [_{CP} Ayer [_{TP} T ϕ _j visitó [_{v*P} a cada chico_i [_{v*P} [_{DP} su mentor [_D t_j]] v*
yesterday visited.3SG to each boy his mentor
t_i]]]]] (Spanish)
'His mentor visited each boy yesterday.'

Under this analysis, it is the ϕ -bundle that checks nominative Case (in current terms, it is the Goal). Therefore, it is the ϕ -bundle that controls for subject-verb agreement. Evidence in favor of this prediction can be drawn from partial agreement effects: in (21), the *in situ* subject agrees with the verb in number, not person:¹⁵

- (21) Ayer visitamos a cada chico los profesores. (Spanish)
yesterday visited.1PL to each boy the teachers
'We the teachers visited each boy yesterday.'

Subject-verb person mismatch in (21) indicates that the *in situ* subject does not participate in *Agree* with C-T – the hypothesized ϕ -bundle does instead.

ϕ) is needed to assign Case in the same way object clitics are needed to assign accusative and dative.

¹³ Let me point out that, contrary to Belletti's (2005) proposal, what moves to T in (20) is a ϕ -bundle, not a little *pro* (be it expletive or not). A different (though related) question is whether the 'big DP' analysis I am assuming should contain *pro* together with the ϕ -bundle, as Belletti (2005) contends. For reasons of space, I cannot go into this issue here (see Uriagereka 1995b, 1999 for discussion).

Regardless of this, I hasten to add that the analysis I am adopting does not take nominal morphology on verbs to be interpretable (i.e., 'a pronoun'; in this sense, I agree with Holmberg 2005): all I am assuming is that subjects, like objects, can involve a (null) clitic that raises to an inflectional head for case reasons. With Torrego (1998:216), I endorse the fairly standard idea that "[a]greement and clitics are, essentially, manifestations of the same phenomenon."

¹⁴ The same analysis (details aside) is put forward by Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2001) to account for VSO (not VOS) sentences.

¹⁵ As a reviewer observes, the same (person) agreement pattern is found in VSO and SVO. This must indicate that the doubling process is generally available, and not restricted to VOS contexts. Interestingly enough, such a possibility fits with the fact that, at least in Italian, partial agreement is ruled out:

- (i) I professori { *lavoriamo/*lavorate/lavorano } molto. (Italian)
the teachers work.1/2/3PL a-lot
'We/You/They the teachers work a lot.'

Somewhat unexpectedly, Catalan aligns with Spanish in this respect, so sentences like (i) are fine. At this point I fail to see what this asymmetry tells us, or whether it has more important consequences. I leave this issue for future research.

To capture this fact, I assume that C-T attracts a partial ϕ -bundle (containing just person) up to T, plausibly as a part of the ϕ -inheritance process proposed by Chomsky (2008).

It is not easy to run additional tests that could help us confirm the validity of (20), for doubling is generally available in the Romance languages that give rise to type A VOS. We need to find contexts where doubling is barred; under the reasonable assumption that only DPs and pronouns can trigger doubling, this means we have to find evidence where D-less elements play the subject role. Take bare singulars,¹⁶ which, although governed by different kinds of restrictions (see Bosque 1996 for ample discussion), can be subjects in some well-defined (in Romance, necessarily postverbal) environments, as the following examples indicate:

- (22) a. *Entra gente.* (Spanish)
 come-in.3SG people
 ‘People are coming in.’
 b. *Falta café.* (Spanish)
 lack.3SG coffee
 ‘There is no coffee.’
 c. *Cae agua.* (Spanish)
 fall.3SG water
 ‘Water is falling.’

[from Bosque 1996:29,59]

The key thing to note about the data in (22) is that the verbs are all unaccusative. No transitive structure seems to be able to display a bare singular subject. Bosque (1996:29), in fact, notes that unergatives (hidden transitives, according to Hale & Kayser 2002) are ruled out in these cases:

- (23) a. **Molesta gente.* (Spanish)
 bother.3SG people
 ‘People bother.’
 b. **Perjudica humo.* (Spanish)
 damage.3SG smoke
 ‘Smoke damages.’

[from Bosque 1996:29]

I know of no comprehensive account for the data in (23) – apart from approaches that capitalize on the semantic nature of the verbs (see Bosque 1996 for references). Now, notice that the same effect is found in the unreported data in (24), which display overt object taking transitive predicates.

¹⁶ The same could hold for bare plurals, which I put aside, as I want to focus on elements that can hardly involve inflectional (i.e., ϕ -related) layers.

- (24) a. Ha llenado el auditorio *(la) gente. (Spanish)
 have.3SG filled the auditorium the people
 ‘People have filled in the auditorium.’
- b. Inundó el pabellón *(el) agua. (Spanish)
 flooded.3SG the pavilion the water
 ‘Water flooded the pavilion.’

I take the data in (23) and (24) to instantiate the illegitimate scenario of VOS predicted by the analysis outlined here: defective intervention emerges the minute the doubling strategy is unavailable. In the specific cases of (24), the objects *el auditorio* ‘the auditorium’ and *el pabellón* ‘the pavilion’ block nominative Case assignment to the bare singular subjects *gente* ‘people’ and *agua* ‘water’.¹⁷

4. Two Predictions

In this section I want to address a couple of predictions made by the doubling analysis in (20). The first one concerns negative quantifiers, which can be subjects in VOS sentences (see (25)), but fail to be doubled by a(n overt) clitic in object position (see (26)):

¹⁷ Ignacio Bosque (p.c.) makes me note that bare singulars have been claimed to require an extra licensing condition, based on linear adjacency, even in the case of unaccusative predicates. This is shown in the data in (i), provided by Bosque:

- (i) Entraba agua en el salón por el tejado. (Spanish)
 came-in-3SG water in the leaving-room through the ceiling
 ‘Water was getting into the leaving room through the ceiling.’
- (ii) *Entraba en el salón agua por el tejado. (Spanish)
 came-in.3SG in the leaving-room water through the ceiling
 ‘Water was getting into the leaving room through the ceiling.’

The problem posed by the contrast in (i)-(ii) is that the PP *en el salón* ‘in the leaving room’ should not block *Agree* between C-T and the D-less *agua* ‘water’ – differently put, the preposition *en* should preclude *Match*. Moreover, (iii) is perfectly fine to my ear:

- (iii) Nos faltó ayer café (para estudiar). (Spanish)
 CL-to.us lacked.3SG yesterday coffee to study-INF
 ‘We didn’t find coffee yesterday to study.’

To make things even worse, the absence of asymmetry in (iv) and (v) indicates that, if adjacency plays any role, it does not apply in the case of bare plurals:

- (iv) Entraron estudiantes en el bar. (Spanish)
 came-in.3PL students in the bar
 ‘Students came into the bar.’
- (v) Entraron en el bar estudiantes. (Spanish)
 came-in.3PL in the bar students
 ‘Students came into the bar.’

Providing an account of these contrasts is beyond the scope of this paper.

(25) Ayer no visitó a cada chico ninguno de sus mentores. (Spanish)
 yesterday not visited.3SG to each boy any of his mentors
 ‘None of his mentors visited each boy yesterday.’

(26) No (*lo) vi a ninguno de sus mentores. (Spanish)
 not CL-him saw.1SG to any of his mentors
 ‘I saw none of his mentors.’

Though problematic at first glance, it must be noted that the comparison between (25) and (26) presupposes a complete parallelism between subject and object doubling. However, there is ample evidence that subject doubling aligns with indirect object (or applicative) doubling, not direct object doubling, in that both types of clitics are typically regarded as mere agreement markers (see Ormazabal & Romero 2007 and references therein). If this is so, it is expected that negative indirect objects, like the subject in (25), can be doubled; (27) confirms this prediction:

(27) No le di tanto dinero a ningún chico. (Spanish)
 not CL-him gave.1SG so-much money to any child
 ‘I didn’t give so much money to any child.’

Additional evidence for this parallelism between subjects and indirect objects comes from Italian dialects displaying overt subject clitics. As noted by Rizzi (1986:396), Fiorentino provides the key example: in (28), the subject *Nessuno* ‘nobody’ is doubled by a clitic.

(28) Nessuno l’ha detto nulla. (Fiorentino)
 nobody CL-he have.3SG said anything
 ‘Nobody (he) said anything.’

Consequently, these data indicate that the pair in (25) and (26) is not a real problem for the present account.

The second issue I want to comment on concerns the possibility that D-less elements are licensed in VSO sentences: since there is no potential intervener, there should be no problem for such structures to be generated. Examples like (29) indicate that this prediction is wrong:

(29) Inundó *(el) agua el pabellón. (Spanish)
 flooded.3SG the water the pavilion
 ‘Water flooded the pavilion.’

Why is (29) ruled out? In order to answer this question, I will crucially adopt Ordóñez’s (2005) analysis of VSO, according to which the subject has

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