

Microvariation in Caribbean/non Caribbean Spanish Interrogatives*

(to appear in *probus*)

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Abstract

This paper is a comparative study in the micro-variation of the syntax of interrogatives in Caribbean versus non Caribbean Spanish. In field work done by us, we show that the lack of inversion effects with subjects in Caribbean Spanish only occurs with pronominal elements. We characterize those pronominal subjects as weak pronouns in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) and we assume they land preverbally in Spec AGRS. We argue that inversion involves IP movement to an exploded CP as Kayne and Pollock (2001). The IP that moves to the exploded CP contains preverbal weak pronominals in Caribbean Spanish. Non Caribbean Spanish lacks these weak pronominals and therefore subjects are either in situ (postverbal) or have been topicalized to the CP, previous movement of the whole IP.

1. Introduction.

The obligatory adjacency between wh-word and verb in Spanish interrogatives, as in (1), had been taken to be similar to V-2 type phenomenon (Rizzi 1996), which involves movement of a verbal head to C. However, the phenomenon is not extended to all varieties of Spanish, and we find instances, such as (2) Caribbean Spanish common in Cuba, Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, in which such inversion does not occur:

- (1) ¿Qué comes tú? /*¿Qué tú comes? —Non Caribbean Spanish (NCS)

What eat you/ What eat you?

- (2) *¿Qué comes tú? /¿Qué tú comes?—Caribbean Spanish (CS)

What eat you? What you eat?

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The comparison between these two forms of interrogatives in closely related varieties poses the question of how to characterize the micro-variation in the syntax of interrogatives in general. In this paper, it will be shown that differences between CS and NCS are ultimately reducible to a morphological difference between the type of subjects in these two dialects. Our claim is based on two facts: first, CS is not consistent in its non-inversion pattern, and, second, the morphological character of the subject plays a crucial role in this inconsistency. A third factor that plays a role in the non-inversion pattern is the complexity of wh-words. All our claims are supported by field work done in the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo (UASD), Facultad de Letras.

In order to account for the differences between NCS and CS and the micro-variation internal to CS we rely in three basic theoretical points:

a) Different morphological types of subjects map into different Spec positions in an exploded IP/CP field (Cardinaletti 1997, Cardinaletti 2004, Cardinaletti and Roberts 2002, Cinque 1999, Poletto 2000, Pollock and Poletto 2004)

b) Interrogatives in Romance involve movement of an entire IP to an exploded CP (Kayne and Pollock 2001, Pollock and Poletto (2004)).

c) Complex Wh-words target the same TOP position as Left-dislocated XPs.

The crucial and novel point in our explanation will rely on the combination of a) and b). If the subject is not part of the portion of IP that moves, then inversion effects will occur with simple wh-words. However, when the subject is part of the IP, given its deficient morphological nature, then the subject would be pied piped to the higher CP field, and no inversion effects would obtain. For the case of complex Wh-words, we assume that their licensing takes them to a topic projection higher than the one for simple Wh-words. This higher topic position might be preceded or followed by a topic subject or a complement.

Our approach overcomes some of the most important problems that the V-2 head movement approach poses for the analysis of interrogatives in Spanish.

The structure of the paper will be as follows. In section 2 we will present some arguments against the idea that interrogatives involve V-2 or head movement V-to-C, in agreement with Suñer (1994).¹ In section 3 we discuss the problem that Caribbean Spanish posits for this approach, and present the results of the fieldwork done in Santo Domingo. The facts in Caribbean Spanish motivate our analysis in section 4. This analysis overcomes the shortcomings of analyses and explains how the special behavior of complex Wh-questions can be undertaken from this perspective, following Rizzi (1997).

2. Why V-2 or I-to-C problematic for the syntax of interrogatives in Spanish.

As observed by Rizzi (1996), Spanish contrasts like the one in (3a) and (3b) look very similar to Germanic V-2 cases or to English Subject-Aux inversion (4a)(4b):

(3) a. ¿A quién visitó Juan? (Spanish)

Whom visited Juan

‘Who did Juan visit’

b. *¿A quién Juan visitó?

Whom Juan visited

‘Who did Juan visit’

¹ Suñer (1994) presents arguments against V-to-C based on the fact that adverbs might intervene between the wh-word and the V. However, one has to be careful in evaluating which kind of wh-word allows this intervention of the subject. Complex Wh-words allow intervention as in (i). However, no frequency adverb can appear between the single wh-word like *Qué* and the verb as in (ii) unless it itself is focused, as we will argue below:

- (i) ¿Cuál de estos libros siempre lees?
Which of these book always read-2ps
‘Which of these books do you always read’.
- (ii) *¿Qué siempre/SIEMPRE lees?
What always read-2ps
‘What do you always read’

- (4) a. Who must John visit?
b. *Who John must visit?

Rizzi (1996) explains the fact that some languages do not allow the subject to intervene between a Wh-element and the inflected verb in main questions, as in (3b), by resorting to the Wh-Criterion, a general well-formedness condition on Wh-structures which is responsible for the LF interpretation on Wh-operators:

Wh-criterion. (from Rizzi (1996) I-to-C approach):

- a. A wh-operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with an X [+wh]
b. A X [+wh] must be in a Spec-head configuration with a wh-operator.

Crucially, Rizzi (1996) proposes that among other specifications, the main Infl in a sentence can also be specified as [+wh]. By making the assumption that Infl may carry this [+wh] feature he can account for the functional role of Subject-Aux inversion: in languages with I-to-C movement this movement will carry the [wh] specification high enough to allow satisfaction of the Wh-Criterion.

Assuming that the movement of V-to-C in Spanish must be overt, we can then elegantly capture the obligatory inversion effect in interrogatives like (3b): the [+wh] feature in the Infl head is not in a Spec-head configuration with a Wh-operator since a subject ("Juan") intervenes between the Wh-word ("A *quién*") and the verb ("*visitó*").

However, several serious challenges can be made to the idea that there is overt V-to-C in Spanish. First, the general parallelism with V-2 or subject-Aux inversion phenomena is not always kept. Second, positing overt I-to-C movement in Spanish also leads to a more complex theory of clitic placement, and duplicates the possible analysis of how post verbal subjects are obtained in the syntax of this language. Also, as pointed out by many authors (e.g. Fontana 1994, Suñer 1994), Spanish shows no asymmetry between main and embedded questions, which again challenges a simple V-to-C account. Moreover, the

Spanish inversion construction shows a sensitivity of the complex nature of the wh-word, which is not found in English or other Germanic Languages. Finally, and crucial for the arguments in this paper, non-inversion patterns in Caribbean Spanish are only found with certain pronominal subjects but not with others. This poses a puzzle, since it is then necessary to explain how overt V-to-C could be made sensitive to the morphological nature of the subject in this dialect. We detail all these challenges to the idea that there is overt V-to-C movement in Spanish in the following sections.

2.1. Clitics and V-to-C.

It is well known that Modern Spanish only allows proclisis with finite verbs, as shown in the contrasts in (5). The same pattern is maintained in interrogatives, as in (6). Thus, a clitic might always intervene between the wh-word and the verb itself.

I. Clitics.

(5) a. Juan le escribió

Juan to-him/her-wrote

Juan wrote to-him/her

b. * Juan escribió le

Juan wrote-to-him/her

(6) a. ¿Qué le escribió Juan?

What to-him/her-wrote Juan

b. *¿Qué escribió le Juan?

What wrote-to-him/her Juan

What did Juan write to him/her?

As was observed by Kayne (1994), V-2 languages behave differently with respect to clitics, since no pronominal clitic might intervene between the wh-word and the verb, as exemplified in (7). Thus the parallelism with V-2 breaks down with respect to the syntax of clitic placement. Kayne takes this asymmetry as an argument that Romance does not involve overt V-to-C as in Germanic.

(7) a. Gestern hat sich der Hans ein Buch gekauft. (from Kayne 1994, pg. 43)

Yesterday has cl the Hans a book bought.

Yesterday Hans has bought a book for himself

b. *Gestern sich hat der Hans ein Buch gekauft

Yesterday cl has Hans bought a book for himself

In order to maintain V-to-C in (6), one could posit that the clitic must have adjoined to the verb and must move with it. As a consequence, proclisis could be carried out with the verb to a higher projection. However, this analysis is at odds with the analysis of enclisis proposed by Rivero (1994), Rivero and Terzi (1995) for imperatives and Kayne (1991) for infinitives. Rivero has concluded that enclisis in imperatives (8a) is the product of the verb obligatorily moving higher than in typical declarative sentences. In the same vein, Kayne (1991) proposes that infinitives in Italian/Spanish move above the typical adjoining position of clitics in order to yield enclisis, as in (9a). Now, if interrogatives in Spanish were the result of V-to-C movement, we would expect them to behave in the same way than imperatives and infinitives do with respect to clitic placement, i.e., allowing enclisis. Yet, this prediction is not borne out, as shown in (10), since Spanish interrogatives require proclisis:

II. Proclisis versus enclisis

(8) a. *cómpralo!* (Spanish (imperatives))

Buy-it!

Buy it!

b. *lo compra (Imperatives)

it-buy!

(9) a. Comprarlo (infinitives)

to buy-it

to buy it

b. *lo comprar

it-to buy

(10) *¿Cuándo comprolo?

When bought-it?

Moreover, if clitics could left adjoin to the verb and move with it, right adjunction and left adjunction to the verb (enclisis and proclisis) should be symmetrical. However, Benincà and Cinque (1993) have shown that the relation between clitic and verb in enclisis is much tighter than in proclisis. For instance, adverbs might intervene between clitic and verb in proclisis but not in enclisis in French (11):

(11) En bien parler (French)

of it-well to speak

To speak well of it

Also, coordination of clitics is possible in proclisis, but not in enclisis, as shown in the Spanish examples in (12):

(12) a. Lo leyó y releyó

he it-read and reread

He read and re-read it

b. *Lee y reléelo

read and re-read-it

read and re-read it

Asymmetries like the ones above lead Kayne (1994) to propose a more restricted theory for the adjunction possibilities of clitics in Romance. In his formulation, Kayne (1994) proposes that a clitic cannot left adjoin to the verb but has to adjoin to a higher inflectional projection. Under this new more restrictive proposal verbs and proclitics do not form a head. Therefore, any overt movement of verbal constituents in interrogatives must involve the movement a maximal projection, as we propose in our analysis below in section 4.

2.2. V-to-C, the position of the post-verbal subject and the duplicity of analysis for post-verbal subjects.

If V crosses over the preverbal subject position on its way to C in interrogatives, postverbal subjects in these type of sentences should be in the same syntactic position as preverbal ones in declaratives. However, there are doubts as to the assumption that subjects in both types of sentences are really in the same position.

First of all, the movement of auxiliary to C should leave the Vpp stranded in Spanish, as it does in V-2 languages, exemplified in (13). However, the results are the opposite, as noted by Kayne, (1994) Ordóñez, (2000) Pollock and Poletto (2004), Zubizarreta (2000), and exemplified in (14).

(13) a. Was hat dein Bruder gekauft? (German)

What has your brother bought?

b. *Was hat gekauft dein Bruder?

What has bought your brother

(14) *¿A quién había la madre de Juan visto? (Spanish)

Who had John's mother seen?

b. ¿A quién había visto la madre de Juan?

Who had seen John's mother

Finally, Spanish allows postverbal subjects with declarative sentences under very specific discourse circumstances, a construction traditionally called “free inversion” as in (15a)(see Ordóñez 2000, Zubizarreta 1998). It is important to observe that the restriction on the distribution of the postverbal subject is the same as the one we discussed before for interrogatives: they do not allow subjects intervening between auxiliary and Vpp , as shown in (15b):

(15) a. . La había visto la madre de Juan.

her- had seen Juan's mother

b. *La había la madre de Juan visto.

her- had Juan's mother seen.

Juan's mother had seen her

The parallelism between “free inversion” and the inversion found in interrogatives suggests that similar processes must be governing the restriction on the distribution of postverbal subjects. However, positing a V-to-C analysis for free inversion encounters the problem that overt realization of the complementizer in free inversion sentences is obligatory (see also Costa 1997):

(16) Me dijeron que la había visto la madre de Juan.

Me-told that her-had seen the mother of Juan

They had told me that they had seen Juan's mother.

2.3. Inversion in Interrogatives in embedded contexts.

As pointed out by Fontana (1994) and Goodall (1993), among others, inversion is obligatory in embedded questions in Spanish, as shown in the parallelism between (17) and (18). However, one of the original motivations for proposing V-to-C in Germanic was related to the fact that V-to-C is not permitted in embedded contexts when an overt or covert complementizer must be necessarily present. This is exemplified in English, which shows V-2 effects with auxiliaries, as in (19), but does not permit them in embedded contexts, as in (20):

(17) a. *¿A quién Juan ha visitado?

Who Juan had visited?

b. ¿A quién ha visitado Juan?

Who had visited Juan

(18) a. *No sabía a quién Juan ha visitado.

'Not know who Juan had visited'

b. No sabía a quién ha visitado Juan

No knew who had visited Juan

He did not know who Juan had visited

(19) a. *Who John had visited?

b. Who had John visited?

- (20) a. I don't know who John had visited.
 b. * I don't know who had John visited.

2.4. The nature of the wh-word affects the inversion nature of the interrogative contrary to Germanic.

Finally Olarrea (1997), Ordóñez & Treviño (1999), Pollock and Poletto (2004), and Zubizarreta (2000) point out that the complexity of Wh-phrases affects inversion in Spanish: more complex Wh-phrases tend to disallow inversion better than simple Wh-words, as shown in the contrasts in (21). No such effect seems to play a role in standard V-to-C, as in the English examples in (22), with a complex wh-word.² Thus, any explanation of inversion effects will have to take into account these differences in both languages:

- (21) a. *¿A quién tu hermana visitó?

Who your sister visited

- b. ¿A cuál de estas chicas tu hermana (la) había visitado en Sicilia?

Which of the girls your sister had visited in Sicily

- (22) a. Which of the girls that we had met has Mario fallen in love with?

- b. *Which of the girls that we had met Mario has fallen in love with?

² It has been pointed out by Torrego (1984) that non argumental Wh- lack inversion more easily than argumental ones. This is clearly the case for wh-word like “Por qué” *why*, which might be considered complex in some respects. It is however, much less obvious with Wh words like “cuándo” when “dónde” *where* “Cómo” *how* as judged by the ungrammaticality of the following sentences (see also Fontana (1993) and Ordóñez and Treviño (1999):

(i) *?¿Dónde tu hermano perdió?

Where your brother lost

(ii) *?¿Cómo tu madre arregló el coche?

How your mother fixed the car

3. Caribbean Spanish

Finally, a further challenge to pure V-to-C in Spanish is the existence of dialects in which the nature of the subject makes a difference with respect to whether subject inversion is found (Suñer 2004). We argue that this is the case of the Caribbean Spanish spoken in the islands of Cuba, Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. In investigating the distribution of subjects in interrogatives in Caribbean Spanish, we have found strong disagreement in the literature with respect to the nature and type of subject constituent that can precede the verb, dating back to the first studies by Henríquez Ureña (1940). Some authors have claimed that the preposed element can only be the second person singular informal pronoun 2 p.s. *tú* (Davis 1971), while others accept the entire series of second person pronouns, singular or plural, formal or informal: *tú, usted, ustedes* (Quirk 1972, Núñez Cedeño 1983). Lantolf (1980) claims that third person pronouns (*él, ella, ellos, ellas*) represent the most powerful constraint against the preposing of subjects in interrogatives, while Lipsky (1977), maintains that preposing is allowed also with all first and third person pronouns (23a, b), and that the only constraint appears to be the presence of proper names as in (23c):

(23) a. ¿Dónde yo he dejado los espejuelos?

where I have left the glasses

“Where have I left my glasses?”

b. ¿Qué ellos trajeron a la fiesta?

what they brought to the party?

“What did they bring to the party?”

c. *¿Qué José quiere?

what José wants?

What does José want?”

Lantolf (1980) claims that proper names are also allowed preverbally, as in (24a), and Toribio (1993) accept a whole range of subject DPs before the verb as in (24b):

(24) a. ¿Por qué Juan lo hizo?

why Juan it-did?

“Why did John do it?” (Lantolf 1980: 115)

b. ¿Cuánto un médico consume en un mes?

how much a doctor uses in one month?

“How much does a doctor use in a month?” (Toribio 1993:26)

In sum, it is uncontroversial that subject preposing in CS is most frequent when the subject is second person singular familiar *tú*. Yet there seems to be a degree of variability in the acceptance of other preposed subject constituents, depending, perhaps, on the dialect of the informant. In general, singular pronouns are more easily accepted than plural pronouns, and second person more than first and third person pronouns, in this order.

It is important to note that most of the examples in the literature with proper nouns or heavy NPs in preverbal position almost always contain heavy or D-linked or complex Wh-phrases (*Por qué, en qué lugar, cuál de los dos libros, etc.*) instead of simple interrogative words (*qué, cómo, dónde, etc.*) as shown in the contrast of (25a-c). Since, comparatively speaking, heavy or D-linked Wh-phrases allow lack of subject inversion more easily in all Spanish dialects, as mentioned before, we will leave these examples to section 4.

(25) a. ¿Por qué vino Juan? / ¿Por qué Juan vino?

why came John? / why John came?

“Why did John come?”

b.*¿Dónde tú vives? / ¿En cuál de esas dos casas tú vives? (contrast in NCS)

where you live? / in which of those two houses you live?

c.*¿Qué tú compraste? / ¿Cuál de esos dos discos de John (contrast in NCS)

what you bought? / which of those two records by John

There are not only discrepancies in the data, but there are different and contrasting accounts for this phenomenon in the literature as well. Davis (1971) attributes the preposing of the pronoun *tú* in *¿Qué tú tienes?* to ‘rhythmic accent’: the question with the pronoun, as opposed to the regular *¿Qué tienes?*, allows an alternating stress pattern that permits both the interrogative word and the verb to be stressed. According to him, other pronouns are not used in this construction because they do not fit the rhythmic pattern. Nevertheless, we have seen other subject pronouns can also be preposed.

One of the most prevailing explanations is one of a morphophonemic nature. Since Quirk (1972) it has been proposed that in CS dialects, the final *-s* that differentiates second and third person singular verb forms (*tienes* vs. *tiene*) is aspirated and, in most cases, lost, with a consequent loss of distinction. The second and third person forms of the verb become homophones. Personal pronouns in interrogatives are then used as unstressed pronominal markers indicators of person. This account faces several problems: First, as noted in Lipsky (1977), there are other dialects (Andalusian and some varieties of South American Spanish) that also aspirate final *-s* but do not show the same lack of inversion in interrogatives. Furthermore, in those dialects in which the final *-s* is lost there is a change of timbre in the preceding vowel which provides a new morphophonemic contrast that renders the presence of the pronoun equally redundant. Finally, even though this account explains the presence of certain personal subject pronouns in Wh-sentences, it cannot explain why their position is preverbal and not postverbal.

Lipsky is the first to characterize the preposed pronominal subjects as clitics when he remarks that “the creation of an extraordinarily close bond between the subject pronoun and the verb may cause the two words to behave as one” (1977: 64). This approach has also been proposed in Contreras (1991) and Benedicto (1993), who among others, claim that the subject pronoun cliticizes onto the verb, recovering the

person and number features which may be lost by the weakening of verbal agreement. However, CS subject pronouns do not demonstrate clitic behavior in that, among other properties that will be discussed later, they can be separated from the verb by negation. See also (Suñer 1994):

(26) a. ¿Qué tú no comes?

what you not-eat?

“What don’t you eat?”

b. *¿Qué no tú comes?

what not you eat?

Finally, Toribio (1993) and Suñer (1994) account for the distribution of subjects in these dialects, specifically Dominican Spanish, assuming that there is parametric variation in the mechanisms of Case assignment: In CS, as in English, the subject moves to [Spec, AgrsP] to receive—or check—Case. This position is an A-bar position in Standard Spanish (the landing site of Wh-movement); in the non-CS varieties, the subject receives Case via government in its base position, [Spec, VP], and not via Spec-head Agreement. This analysis does not differentiate between pronominal subjects and other types of NP subjects and uses mechanisms like government, which are not readily available given recent theoretical developments.

In order to provide a better empirical bases to the theoretical claims made about Caribbean Spanish, we gave a series of questionnaires to a total of 92 subjects in the Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo (UASD). Each questionnaire contained a total of 45 tokens, and it presented the speaker with three grammatical choices for a pair of sentences with and without inversion, as shown in (27). The choices where (A) non inverting the subject was grammatical; (B) inverting the subject was grammatical and; (A) and (B) inverting and non inverting were equally grammatical:

(27)

1. A ¿Qué su hermano quería?	A	B	A y B
B ¿Qué quería su hermano?			

The questions in each questionnaire were scrambled when presented to each subject, and then unscrambled to retrieve their original, logical order. This allowed us to control for individual consistency in the responses, for the evaluation of clear instances of random answers or invalid ones, and, crucially, for the elimination of 'satiation' effects, those in which the grammaticality judgements of the speakers are consistently altered through continuous exposure to ungrammatical sentences, as studied in Snyder (2000). Once adjusted for all these parameters, we ended up with 65 valid questionnaires.

The questionnaires were designed to take into account whether speakers were sensitive to the complexity of the Wh-word and the morphological type of the subject. The types of Wh-questions asked were simple ones like *qué* 'what' to more complex and d-linked ones like *cuál de estos dos cuadros* 'which of these portraits'. The type of subject tested were monomorphemic pronouns like *tú* 'you', lexical NP's as *tu hermano* 'your brother,' and Heavy DPs with a relative clause like *el hombre que vino a arreglar el carro* 'the man who came to fix the car'. The graphic below represents the percentages of NON inversion in interrogatives with simple Wh-words:

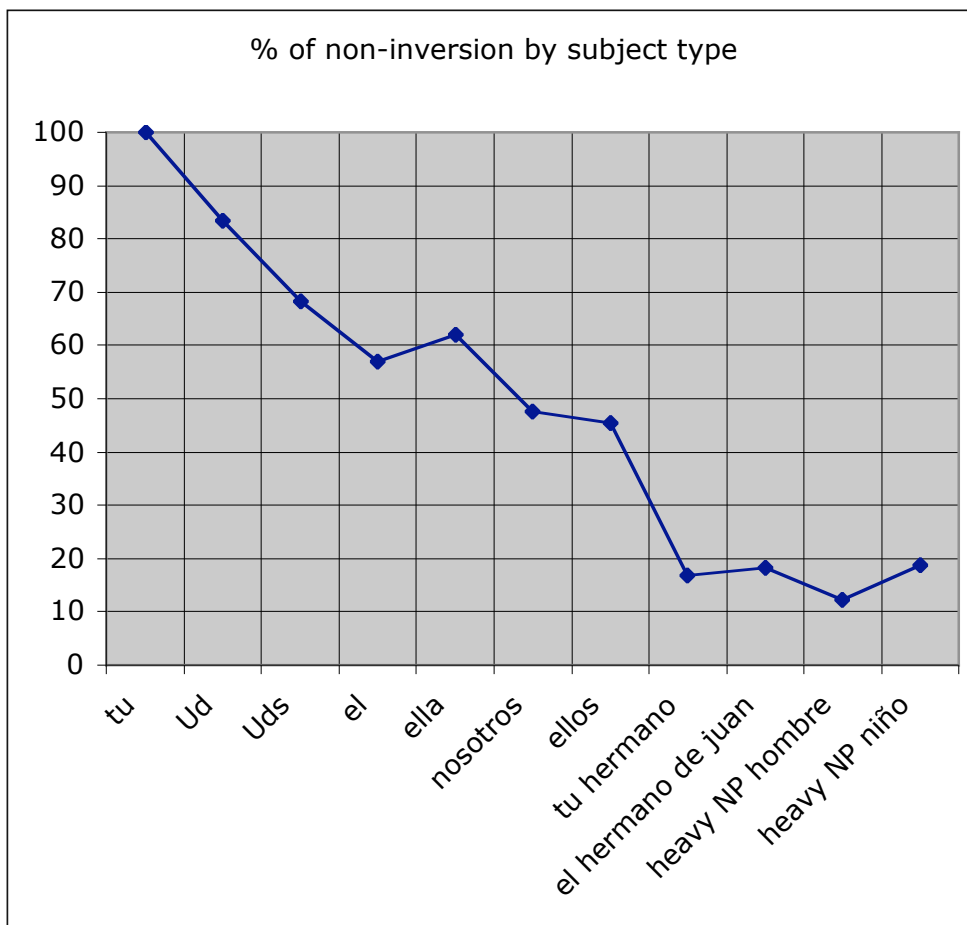


Figure 1

As we can observe, 100% of the speakers allowed non-inversion of the second person pronoun. This absolute number contrasts very sharply with the number of speakers that allow non-inversion with Lexical DPs. Only a very small percentage (15 % -18 %) permit non inversion with lexical DPs. The number decreases sharply as the DPs are made more complex with DP with relative clauses being at the lowest 12%. Another interesting contrast is the fact that speakers find a preference for non-inversion with second person versus first or third person.³

³ As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, it is possible that this difference in the type of pronouns reveals a process of language change, which can be interpreted in Kroch's (1994) theory of internalized diglossia (multiple co-existent grammars) in which the change for non inversion is more frequent in second person

Finally, these questionnaires confirm our observation that complex Wh-words allow non inversion more readily than simple ones. Below we show the contrasts between *¿Cuál de esos dos carros?* ‘which of these two cars’ and *¿Qué?:*

(28)

Questions	% of non inversion simple versus complex questions
<i>¿Cuál de esos dos carros el novio de Juana había comprado?</i> Which of these two cars Juana’s boyfriend had bought	47%
<i>¿Qué tu hermano quería?</i> What your brother liked	16%

In conclusion, the questionnaire clearly shows that there is a comparative difference between pronominal elements and DPs with respect to the possibilities of non-inversion of subjects. It also demonstrates that the complexity of the Wh-word affects the possibility of having subjects in preverbal position. We find that these differences are important, and we assume that they are in the need of explanation for any theory dealing with inversion in interrogatives in Caribbean Spanish.

One might wonder why the differences are not absolute, and why some speakers still allow non-inversion with DPs. In dealing with experimental questionnaires, we have to take into account other extra linguistic and performance factors affecting the decision of the speaker completing the questionnaire⁴. It is possible that this non inversion property of Caribbean is extending from the pronominal system to the DP system for some speakers (a clear minority). We notice that those speakers are consistent in their answers.

than other pronouns. We leave aside this point for further inquiry in the changing grammar of Caribbean Spanish. Therefore, for the rest of the paper we will limit our discussion with reference to second person.

In order to confirm such a hypothesis our results would have to be implemented with spontaneous recollection of data. For the purposes of this article, we will not deal with this rather interesting question. We will rather focus on the significant difference between pronouns and DPs in general⁵, and we will limit our discussion to second person “*tú*”.

In this paper, we link the special behavior and properties of pronominal subjects in CS to their special morphological status. We propose that pronouns in CS, contrary to NCS, can be deficient elements, in the terminology of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) and Kato (1999). This will lead us to the clue as to why they are more difficult to invert even if they are not clitics. We will combine this hypothesis with the one already put forward by Kayne & Pollock (2001), Pollock and Poletto (2004): Interrogatives in Romance might involve movement of the IP to an exploded CP, as in Rizzi (1997).

3.2. Caribbean Spanish and the special morphological status of its subjects.

As we showed in the previous section, one of the keys to the differences between CS and NCS is the morphological status of pronominal subjects. In this paper we have gathered enough evidence to assume that subject pronouns in Caribbean Spanish in some contexts are not strong pronouns, as they are in NCS, but qualify as weak pronouns, as proposed by Cardinaletti & Starke (1999) and Kato (1999). These authors propose a tripartite typology of pronouns based on the idea that the traditional partition into two classes, strong and deficient pronouns, is descriptively insufficient. There are actually two types of deficient pronouns: ‘weak’ pronouns and ‘clitics’. Both types of deficient pronouns are distinguished by the simple

⁴ For instance, it is possible that some speakers decided to follow the logic of the non inversion of the second person and extended it to the other type of subjects

⁵ Another interesting question that we leave aside is the origins of this non inversion with second person. One is tempted to link it to the contact of African languages with Spanish in the Caribbean Area or possibly creolization (Bikerton 1981, 1999). If that is the case, one should find consistent non inversion across all type of subjects, which we do not find. This does not preclude the possibility that this was the case in earlier stages of the language, which would confirm a language contact origin of the phenomenon at hand.

fact that clitics are uniformly best analyzed as heads, while weak pronouns are uniformly best analyzed as maximal projections, and, in this sense, similar to strong pronouns.

Weak pronouns are syntactically, semantically and prosodically distinct from strong pronouns. Cardinaletti (1997) argues that Italian possesses realized weak subject pronouns, the ones corresponding to the *egli* ('he')/*esso* ('it') series used mostly in written registered. These weak subjects do not allow modification (29a), cannot be coordinated (29b), and cannot occur in the postverbal position (29c), as opposed to the strong pronouns and full DPs in (30):

(29) a. **Solo egli ha dichiarato la propria disponibilità*

'Only he has declared his own availability'

b. **Egli e suo fratello hanno dichiarato la propria disponibilità*

"He and his brother have declared their own availability"

c. * *ha aderito Egli*

'He has adhered'

(30) a. [*Solo lui/ Gianni*] *ha dichiarato la propria disponibilità*

'Only he / Gianni has declared his own availability'

b. *Lui/Gianni e suo fratello hanno dichiarato la propria disponibilità.*

"He and his brother have declared their own availability"

c. *Lui/Gianni ha aderito*

'He / Gianni has adhered'

Similarly, the pronouns that in CS only appear in preverbal position cannot be modified (31a) or coordinated (31b), as opposed to postverbal pronouns (32):

(31) a. *¿Qué sólo/tú mismo/solo comes? (CS)

what only you/ your self eat

“What do only you eat?”

b. *¿Qué tú y él comieron? (CS)

what you and he eat

‘What do you and he eat?’

(32) a. ¿Qué comes sólo tú/tú mismo? (CS)

what eats only you

“What do only you eat?”

b. ¿Qué comieron tú y él? (CS)

what ate you and he

‘What did you and he eat?’

There are further similarities between CS preverbal pronouns and Italian weak subjects: neither of them can be focused (33a), nor can they precede a left-dislocated constituent (33b):

(33) a. *¿Qué TÚ quieres? (CS)

‘What do YOU want’

b. *¿Tú ,esa carta la echaste al correo? (CS)

‘you that letter it dropped in-the mail’

‘You that letter dropped in the mail?’

This set of properties differentiates CS weak subjects from DPs or strong ones. At this point, this proposal simply states that in the context of interrogatives, pronominal elements that appear preverbally

have to be weak pronouns in CS. This does not imply that there are no strong pronouns counterparts in this variety. We claim that interrogatives in CS disambiguate between the strong and the weak counterpart of the pronouns in CS. Thus weak “tú” has a homophone “strong “tú” in the same way that Kato (1999) has shown that strong and weak form are quasi-homophonous in many instances in Brazilian Portuguese.

These weak pronoun subjects of CS also differ from object clitics with respect to a different set of properties: weak subjects can have word stress, they have to appear before negation (34a), and therefore they do not cluster with other clitics since negation might intervene (34b) and are not doubled by XP (34c,d):

(34) ¿Qué tú no comes? /*¿Qué no tú comes? (CS)

what you not eat? what not you eat

‘What don’t you eat?’

b. ¿Qué tú te pones? ¿Qué tú no te pones? (CS)

what you put-on? what you not put-on?

‘What aren’t you putting on?’

c. *¿Qué él quiere tu hermano?/*¿Qué él tu hermano quiere? (CS)

what he wants your brother what he your brother wants?

d. *¿Qué tú tú quieres? (CS)

‘what you you want?’

Furthermore, Caribbean weak subjects resist inversion. This is clearly shown in examples in which the subject is between the verb and complements as in (35a) , or the subject between the verb and the infinitive, as in (35b)⁶.

⁶ This possibility is not allowed in other Romance Languages like Catalan (Vallduví 2002) or French (Kayne and Pollock 2000) and Italian (Belletti 2000).

(35) a. *¿Cuándo comiste tú manzanas? (CS)

when ate you apples?

“When did you eat apples?”

b. *¿Qué quieres tú comprar? (CS)

what want you to eat?

What do you want to buy?

Caribbean Spanish subjects also differ from the clitics in Northern Italian Dialects (NID), as described by Poletto (2000). In those languages, any subject clitic which encodes person obligatorily inverts, as in (36). Moreover, Poletto (2000:29) points out that there are two subcases of clitics that might fail to invert: one of them is subject clitics that appear after negation, such as the case of some Venetian dialects. The second case are clitics that Poletto calls “invariable” or “deictic” clitics. These invariable and deictic clitics never encode person features, contrary to the second person *tú* of CS. Therefore, we cannot claim that CS *tú* is either deictic or invariable clitic nor a clitic of the Venetian type, since *tú* appears before the negation. Therefore, CS pronouns do not belong to the two types described by Poletto (2000) above and the question remains as to why they do not invert.

(36) a. Quand as-tu mangé des pommes? (French)

when have-you eaten apples

‘When did you eat apples?’

b. *Quand tu as mangé des pommes?

When you have eaten apples

c. Quant (*i) mangni-tu ? (Poletto 2000: 60)

How much i eat + you

How much are you going to eat?

Also, Poletto (2000) also mentions that person clitics in NIDs cannot appear in coordinate structures with different verbs, as in (37a). This is radically different from CS, as shown by the grammaticality of (37b).⁷

(37) a. *Ti magni patate e bevi vin. (Venetian)

‘Cl_{subj}eat potatoes and drink wine

You eat potatoes and drink wine”

b. ¿Qué tú lavaste y planchaste? (CS)

What you washed and ironed?

What did you washed and ironed?

Finally, subject clitics are never possible with non-finite verbs, pre-verbally or post-verbally, in contexts which otherwise would allow lexical DPs. This is true for French, as shown by the contrast in (38a-b), and it is true for Northern Italian dialects (Poletto, personal communication). However, we observe that subject pronouns in CS are perfectly fine in those same contexts as in (38a) , contrary to lexical DPs as in (38c).

(38) a. Tú habiendo resuelto el problema / Es tarde para tú salir (CS)

you having resolved the problem is late for you leave

⁷ Subject pronouns in French can also be coordinated, as in CS, as in (i):

(i) *Il mangera de la viande et boira du bon vin.* (Kayne 1975)

Cl_{subj}will eat of the meat et will dring of the wine

‘He will eat meat and drink wine’

However, pronominal subjects in French do invert and cannot appear in non-finite contexts as we will see in (38b) . Thus we conclude from the coordination test proves that the position of subject pronoun *tú* in Spanish and the subject clitic in French are high enough to be licensed in these contexts. Person clitics in Northern Italian dialects, on the contrary, are always lower. The differences between French subject clitics and CS could be due to the fact that French pronouns are compatible with the feature +ground (Pollock and Polletto 2004), but not CS ones.

“You having solved the problem / It is late for you to leave”

b. *Tu ayant resolu le problème / Jean ayant resolu le problème

you having solved the problem J. having solved the problem (from Kayne and Pollock 2001)

c. *Juan habiendo resuelto el problema / Habiendo resuelto el problema Juan. (CS)

J. having solved the problem having solved the problem Juan

“Juan having solved the problem”

In conclusion, the facts until now point to the idea that preverbal pronouns in Caribbean Spanish are deficient; however, they do not behave like subject clitics of the type discussed by Poletto (2000) for NID. They look more like weak pronouns of the type discussed in Italian, *egli, esso, essi*. There is, however, an important difference of register between the two sets of pronouns in CS and Italian. The use of weak pronouns in Italian is restricted to a written or literary register while CS pronouns are used in the oral and written register as well⁸. Since Italian weak pronouns are used in this written register, it is harder to find examples in the contexts of questions. However, a search through the Internet has given hundreds of outputs of weak pronouns in questions in indicative, which require subject inversion. In those cases, the pronoun appears before the verb like in CS, as in the following examples:

(39) Nostante io ora sappia cosa **essi** vogliono dire. [http:// newsgroup.tiscali.it/browse/n/it.cultura](http://newsgroup.tiscali.it/browse/n/it.cultura).

filosofia.moderato

“nevertheless I now know what they want to say”

“Nevertheless, I know now what they want to say”

⁸ The non inversion in Caribbean Spanish in Dominican Republic is not a stigmatized feature of the language. Most speakers are not conscious of it and only when they enter in contact with other dialects of Spanish, they encounter the differences.

(40) É quello che si pensa degli embrioni umani a determinare che cosa **essi** sono o chi **essi** sono...

is that that one thinks about human embryos and to determine what they are and who they are.

<http://www.cesil.com/ottobre01/italiano/7pessita.htm>

(41) Tutti sanno **a chi essi** appartengono.

Everybody knows to whom they belong

<http://www.erasmo.it/liberale/testi/1901.htm>

Cardinaletti (1997, 2004) has given good evidence based on Italian that weak pronouns occupy a specifier position lower than the one occupied by regular preverbal subjects. Cardinaletti (2004) assumes that there are two subject positions, one in which agreement features are satisfied, and another which must account for the preverbal subject position. Weak subjects must end up in AgrS, which is the inflectional projection which hosts the finite verb in Italian and French. A weak subject must be moved before Spell-Out to this Case-related position and cannot postpone movement after Spell-Out. On the other hand, strong subjects or lexical DPs are in a higher inflectional projection called subject P (see Kato 1999 and Cardinaletti 2004 for further evidence in favor of this distinction). The two projections need not be adjacent: other projections could intervene, such as projections for parentheticals, projections for adverbial modifiers or for quantified subjects.

Further evidence for the idea that CS subjects are weak elements and appear lower in the inflectional structure comes from the different distribution of these elements and lexical DPs with respect to the adverb *ya* ('already'). Weak pronominal subjects usually follow *ya* (42a), while lexical DPs usually precede it (42b)⁹:

⁹ In NCS Spanish the order in (42) is only possible with focusing of *ya*. This is the same emphasis that might be obtained with other adverbs, such as *siempre*.

- (i) *YA tú has metido la pata*
already you have put the leg
'Already you have stuck your foot in your mouth.'
- (ii) *SIEMPRE tu me llevas la contraria.*
'Always you go against me.'

(42) a. Ya tú sabes / Ya yo sé (CS)

already you know / already I know

“I already know. / You already know.”

b. Juan ya sabe / Tu hermano ya sabe (CS)

Juan already knows / Your brother already knows

The difference in distribution between lexical DPs and pronouns can be explained if we assume that the adverbial “ya” is considered a weak element as well. “Ya” is the only monosyllabic adverbial that can appear without stress in positions in which other adverbs might not be able to occur without focus. For instance, in interrogatives, this adverb can occur between interrogative words and the verb, as in (43). On the other hand, other frequency adverbs cannot occur in that position, except when they also receive focus, as shown in (44a-b)

(43) a. ¿A quién ya has besado? (CS and NCS)

Who already have kissed

‘who have you already kissed.

b. ¿Quién ya se ha despedido de sus familiares? (CS and NCS)

Who already has said good bye to his family

(44) a. ¿A quién (*siempre/?SIEMPRE) besas? (CS and NCS)

Who always kisses

Who do you always kiss

It is also possible that the subject gets focalized with some adverbs. For instance (i) is fine in Spanish. However this does not seem to work with *ya*.

(i) *Eres siempre tú el que me llevas la contraria .*

“(It) is always you who are against me.”

(ii) **Eres ya tú quien ganó el premio literario.*

“(It) is already you who won the literary prize.”

b. ¿Quién (*nunca/?NUNCA) se despide cuando parte? (CS and NCS)

Who never/NEVER says good bye when he leaves

From this perspective, the adverb “*ya*” might be taken to be parallel to other adverbials that also show this weak behavior, as shown by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) for the Greek adverb “*sigá*” or “*bien*” in French. One way in which we might understand the contrast between the special distribution of weak subjects with respect to weak adverbs like “*ya*” is to assume that weak adverbs adjoin to weak pronouns or to a higher inflectional projection. This order is due to the fact that weak adverbs, contrary to weak pronouns, do not need to check any agreement or case features.¹⁰ Therefore, the adverb would be able to adjoin to the weak pronoun itself, or adjoin to a higher Spec above the one hosting weak subjects. The relative position of these elements is then as follows:

(45) [Weak adverbial *ya* [Weak Pronoun *tú* [*habías vivido*]]]
 already you had lived.

As we have seen for CS, only weak elements might be able to intervene between the verb and Wh-words. Therefore, we predict that the weak adverbial and the weak pronoun might be able to both appear in interrogatives in Caribbean Spanish. This prediction is borne out as shown in the following examples:

(46) ¿A cuántos *ya* tú *habías* saludado? (CS)
 How many already you had greeted?

¹⁰ ‘Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) are not explicit about the feature adverbs check. In note 83 they point out that weak elements of diverse categories occur in distinct positions. In this paper we will just assume that the position of the weak adverbs is higher than the one of weak pronouns. Maybe this is due to the fact that weak adverbs lack referential features.

(47) ¿A quién ya tú habías reconocido? (CS)

Who already you had recognized

(48) ¿Dónde ya tú habías vivido? (CS)

Where already you had lived

Where have you lived already

As we have pointed out before, other adverbials are not able to appear between Wh-word and verb in CS and NCS. As we expect, the corresponding examples with weak pronouns are also ungrammatical:

(49) a.¿Cuántos tú (*?siempre) recibes (siempre)? (CS)

How many you always receive?

(50) ¿A quién tú (*?apenas) ves (apenas)? (CS)

Who you hardly see?

(51) ¿A quién (*?apenas) tú ves (apenas)? (CS)

Who hardly you see?

In conclusion, in this section we have shown that the existence of a weak adverb “ya” (“already”) gives further evidence to the idea that subjects in Caribbean Spanish can be weak elements. Their particular distribution with respect to these adverbs can be explained if a) weak pronouns are lower than lexical DPs and b) weak adverbs adjoin to an outer Spec position of weak pronouns. The possible intervention of weak pronouns and adverbs between the Wh-word and the verb further suggests that these two elements are lower in the inflectional projection, unlike preverbal lexical subject DPs. Therefore, this distinction in their

position in the IP field should be crucial to explain why lexical subject DPs cannot appear preverbally in interrogatives with simple wh-words.¹¹

4. IP Preposing in Interrogatives in Spanish

According to our analysis, the difference between (52a-b) versus (52c), must be linked to the special distribution of weak pronouns:

(52) a. ¿Dónde yo he dejado los espejuelos? (CS)

where I have left the glasses

“Where have I left my glasses?”

b. ¿Qué tú trajiste a la fiesta? (CS)

What you bring to the party

What did you bring to the party?

c. *¿Qué José quiere? (CS)

what José wants

“What does José want?”

¹¹ As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, it would be interesting to see whether there is a direct link between the appearance of weak pronouns in Caribbean Spanish and loss of pro-drop properties as has been shown by Kato (1999) for Brazilian Portuguese. In our questionnaire we had second person questions with no overt subject, which were judged as grammatical (examples 43). This shows that Caribbean Spanish is not totally parallel to Brazilian Portuguese in this respect, and contrary to what has been suggested by Toribio (1993). As we will see later our theory does not have anything to say about the loss of pro-drop and the emergence of weak pronominals. *pro* or weak pronouns are both taken as part of the IP to a higher CP projection. One might obtain the connection by adopting Kato’s (1999) theory in which agreement is pronominal in NCS but it is losing its pronominal character in CS and a weak pronominal emerges. See also Ordóñez and Treviño (1999) for the view that agreement in Spanish has a clitic character.

Cardinaletti (1997) already proposed that these pronouns are lower than lexical XPs. The adverb facts discussed above pointed to the same conclusion. In order to better understand the link between the lack of inversion and the distribution of weak subjects, we should re-visit the analysis of inversion in interrogatives in general. In section 2 we have already pointed out that pure head movement as in (53) would be at odds in capturing the different behavior between the different morphological properties of subjects in CS.

(53) $[_{CP} \textit{Qué quiere C}^0 [_{IP} \textit{José I....?}]]$

It has been pointed out by Suñer (1994) that this hypothesis is problematic for CS. The only way in which I-to-C might be compatible with CS data is if subject pronouns are clitics in that dialect. As clitics, they would adjoin to the verb and move along with it, as in (54):

(54) $\acute{ı}[_{CP} \textit{Qué tu- quieres} [_{IP} \textit{....?}]]$

However, we have already shown that CS preverbal subject pronouns do not behave like clitics. If they are not clitics, but XPs as we claim, it remains a puzzle as to why I-to-C should be sensitive to the morphological makeup of the subject (weak vs. strong subjects).

The second option is Suñer (1994), based on Toribio's idea that there is no V-to-C in Spanish, and that inversion might be triggered by the blocking effect that subjects have when a Wh-word has moved over them. CS is somehow exempt from such blocking, due to the loss of its pro-drop properties. However, this analysis fails to distinguish between lexical DPs and pronouns, as pointed out by the results of our field work in the Dominican Republic. Also, a theory that would propose a weak C^0 or dynamic agreement alla Rizzi (1996) would face the problem of making such feature sensitive to the morphological properties of the subject.

Instead, we would like to propose that the CS data gives evidence for an IP-preposing analysis for inversion in interrogatives in Romance, and therefore gives further support to the line of research compatible with the antisymmetry approach which has been pursued for French by Kayne and Pollock (2001), and for French and NID by Pollock, Munaro and Poletto (1997) and Pollock and Poletto (2004). According to this line of research, inversion of the verb is obtained by movement of a remnant IP above the position in which the subject lands. This movement of the IP takes it to a Spec of an exploded CP as in Rizzi (1997). For instance Kayne and Pollock (2001) study in particular the cases of stylistic inversion in French such as (55):

(55) Qu'a acheté Jean?

What has eaten Jean

'What did Jean eat?

The authors give evidence in support of the idea that, contrary to appearances, the subject *Jean* is in a topic-like position. The evidence is based on the fact that the subject in this construction shows a definiteness effect first discussed by Cornulier (1974), as in (56). As they discuss, this definiteness effect is very similar to the one found in cases of dislocation of a quantifier in French in (57):

(56) *Quel gâteau a mangé quelqu'un?

What cake has eaten someone?

(57) *Quelqu'un, il a critiqué mon article

Someone, cl-has criticized my paper

According to their analysis, the derivation of a sentence with stylistic inversion will proceed by movement of a Wh-word to an operator position above the IP in the exploded CP, as in Pollock and Poletto (2004), shown in (58):

(58) a. Qu'a acheté Jean?

What has bought Jean

b. Input: [_{IP} Jean a acheté que]

Movement of the wh-word que to an operator position =>

[_{OP1} Que OP1⁰ [Jean a acheté t]]

This movement is followed by movement of the subject to a topic-like position above this place for the operator:

(59) Movement of the subject to Top P =>

[_{TP} Jean Top⁰ [[Que Op1⁰ [_{IP} t a acheté]]]]

This will be followed by IP preposing to a higher inflectional projection (GroundP in Pollock and Poletto 2004) or the more abstract GP in Kayne and Pollock (2001):

(60) Remnant IP Movement to Ground P =>

[_{Ground P} [_{IP} t a acheté] Ground⁰ [_{TopicP} Jean Top⁰ [_{OP1} que OP1⁰]]]]

Pollock and Poletto (2004) justify this movement in terms of a ground feature.¹² This ground feature might also be checked by some pronominal clitics in languages with subject inversion. This IP preposing is immediately followed by movement of the Wh-word in OP1 to a higher operator position OP2, yielding the final output in (62):

¹² In some cases the movement of the IP might check a force feature. This is the analysis given for French clitic subject inversion in Pollock and Poletto (2004)

(61) Final wh movement of que to OP 2 =>

[_{OP2} Que OP2⁰ [_{Ground P} [_{IP} t a acheté] Ground [_{TopicP} Jean Top [OP1 Op0]]]]

The syntax of two operator positions is justified by the existence of some languages in which there is Wh-doubling, like Bellunese, according to Munaro and Obenauer (1999):

(62) Cossa ha lo fat che?

What have you done what

What have you done?

Pollock and Poletto (2004) claim that the second wh-word “che” has been moved since it is sensitive to wh-islands according to Munaro (1999) and also it requires the “emarginazione” or right dislocation of complements that follow. Thus, the two Wh-words are moved and occupy the two operator projections at the end of the derivation. *Cossa* occupies the Op2 projection and *che* occupies the Op1 projection.

In order to solve the Caribbean Spanish puzzle, we will assume along with this whole line of research that a) all inversions involves movement of IP; b) CP is much more structured than previously thought, as in Rizzi (1997), and c) weak pronouns in CS cannot escape IP before moving to Ground P and therefore they move along in preverbal position with the verb. Thus, we adopt the following structure of the CP in Spanish:

(63) [Op 2 [Force [Ground P [Top P [Op1]]]]]

If a question contains a lexical subject, the derivation will be equivalent for CS and NCS. Let's take an example like (64) There will be a first movement of the Wh-question to Op 1:

(64) ¿Qué quiere José?

Input= [José quiere qué]¹³

Movement of wh-question to OP1=>

[Op 1 Qué [IP José quiere t]

The second step would involve movement of the subject out of the IP. However, Spanish, contrary to French, presents definiteness effects in a subset of cases with post-verbal subjects. Definiteness effects occur in VOS , but disappear in VSO orders, as shown in the contrast in (65). This is the contrast found in Ambar and Pollock (2002) for European Portuguese in (66):

(65) a. ??¿En qué fiesta comió curry alguien?¹⁴

In which party ate curry someone?

In which party someone ate curry?

b. ¿En qué fiesta comió alguien curry?

In which party ate someone curry?

(66) a. *Em que festa comeu caril alguém? (from Ambar and Pollock 2002)

b. Em que festa comeu alguém caril?

Therefore, the derivation of the position of postverbal subjects in Spanish interrogatives presents more alternatives than the one analyzed for French by Kayne and Pollock (2001), or for Italian, as analyzed by Pollock and Poletto (2004) and Belletti (2000).

¹³ As we will discuss below the preverbal position of the subject in the IP is not crucial for the derivation at this point.

¹⁴ This tendency among speakers is to understand this “alguien” as specific, which renders it strange in the context of a question. Observe that focused “alguien” makes the sentence more acceptable:

i. En qué fiesta comió curry ALGUIEN?
In which party ate curry someone?

The definiteness effect in final subject sentences like (65a) confirms that the derivation should be parallel to the one of French Stylistic inversion or the parallel Portuguese example in (66a). (65b), on the other hand corresponds to the VSO order, and it shows that subjects in Spanish, contrary to Catalan, French and Italian can remain lower than the position in which the verb ends up as has been shown by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001), Contreras (1991) and Ordóñez (2000).

We will start our proposed analysis with the *Wh-VOS* order in (67a). This order will be derived by first movement of the *wh* question to OP1. It will be followed by topicalization of the subject as represented in (67):

(67) a. Movement of the subject to Top P =>

....[_{Top P} José Top⁰ [_{OP1} En qué fiesta OP1⁰ [_{IP} comió curry t]]]

The IP moves to Ground P above the position of the subject yielding (68):

(68) Preposing of IP above TopP =>

[_{Ground P} [_{IP} comió curry] G⁰ [_{Top P} José [_{Op1} En qué fiesta OP1⁰]]]

The final step involves movement of the *wh*-word to the Op2 position yielding the final output (69):

(69) [_{Op2} En qué fiesta[[_{IP} comió curry] [José [Op 1]]]

Definiteness effects on postverbal subjects disappears in the VSO order, when subjects remain internal to the IP in a Spec position between the final landing site of the verb and the rest of the complements. The Spec IP position remains empty or occupied by a “pro”.

(70) [_{IP} Comió [_{VP} José [_{VP} curry]]]

Given this structure of the IP, the second derivation of this sentence will proceed in a parallel way, but without the movement of the subject out to the Comp area as previously:

(71) [_{IP} comió [José [curry en qué fiesta]]]

ate José curry in which party

Movement of “en qué fiesta” to Op1 =>

[_{OP1} En qué fiesta OP1⁰ [_{IP} comió José curry]]

Movement of IP to Ground P=>

[_{GroundP} [_{IP} comió José curry] Ground⁰ [_{OP1} En qué fiesta OP1⁰]]

Second Movement of “en qué fiesta” to OP2 and final output=>

[_{OP2P} En qué fiesta OP2⁰ [_{GroundP} [_{IP} comió José curry] Ground⁰ [_{OP1} OP1⁰]]]

Turning now to the CS puzzle, the crucial step that distinguishes CS from NCS must involve the position of the weak pronoun in the IP. Thus, weak pronouns end up pre-verbally in [Spec, AgrS] above the final agreement position of the verb. As we have discussed before in the context of the distribution of adverbs, this position is lower than the final position where preverbal lexical DPs land in regular declaratives in both dialects¹⁵. Thus, weak pronouns must be part of the preposed IP to the Comp Field, as post-verbal subjects were taken along in VSO orders in Portuguese, Spanish and Romanian:

(72) Input: [_{IP} tú quieres qué]

Movement of “qué” to Op1 =>

[_{Op1} Qué OP⁰ [_{IP} tú quieres]]

Movement of IP to Ground P=>

[_{Ground P} [_{IP} tú quieres] Ground⁰ [_{Op1} Qué Op1]]

Second movement of Qué to Op2 =>

[_{Op2} Qué OP2⁰ [_{GroundP} [_{IP} tú quieres] Ground⁰ [Op1]]

Further evidence that the movement in inversion involves IP movement which can pied-pipe the weak pronoun in CS is given by the fact that the weak adverb *ya* can also be contained in the IP projection, as in examples (46) to (48), which we repeat here as (73) . We propose that this example has the analysis in (74):

(73) ¿A quién ya tú has saludado?(CS)

to-whom already you have greeted

(74) [_{IP} ya [_{tú has saludado} a quién]]

movement of “a quién” to Op1=>

[_{Op1} a quién OP1⁰ [_{IP} ya [_{tú has saludado}]]]

Preposing of IP =>

[_{GroundP} [_{IP} ya [_{tú has saludado}] Ground⁰] [_{Op1} a quién Op1⁰]]]

Movement of “a quién” to Op2 and final output=>

[_{Op2} a quién OP2⁰ [_{GroundP} [_{IP} ya [_{tú has saludado}] Ground⁰]

Given the weak character of the pronoun and the adverb, we can account for why they are preposed.

This analysis crucially relies on the idea that, while weak pronouns and adverbs end up preverbal and can be carried along, preverbal lexical DP's are never carried in these varieties:

(75) *¿Qué el hermano de Juan come?

The asymmetry between preverbal lexical DPs and weak pronouns is captured if the landing site for both types of elements is different. Lexical DPs and strong pronouns in Spanish have two possibilities.

¹⁵ This higher position could be SubjP, Cardinaletti (2004), FinP (Poletto2000) or Topic P.

Either they remain low below the final landing site of the verb, yielding the VSO order, or they target a higher topic position in the Comp field¹⁶. The targeting of this higher Comp position has been shown to be the case for French subject inversion, according to Kayne and Pollock (2001). The same effect has been shown for Italian embedded questions in Pollock and Poletto (2004). Caribbean Spanish represent a third option in which weak pronominal subjects must move preverbally to [Spec ,AGRSP], but cannot be topicalized (see Cardinaletti 2004), and cannot remain in [Spec ,VP] as in the VSO orders in Spanish. The obligatoriness of the movement to [Spec ,AgrSP] is shown by the fact that weak pronouns are ungrammatical otherwise in the internal subject positions below tense ,as shown in the following examples:

(76) *¿Cuándo comiste tú curry? (CS)

When ate you curry

When did you eat curry?

*¿A quién quieres tú ver?

Who want you see

Who do you want to see?

*¿A quién escribes tú cartas?

Who write you letters

Do do you write letters to?

*¿A quién consideras tú inteligente?

Who consider you intelligent

Who do you consider intelligent

¹⁶ For a different view that subject are not part of the Comp field see (Cardinaletti 2004) . Cardinaletti's approach is still compatible with these views if we assume that the landing site for subject in Spanish is still higher than the landing site for weak pronouns.

(78) [**pro lo+X compraron en Barcelona**]

pro it -bought in Barcelona

they bought it in Barcelona

[_{Op2} Dónde OP2 [_{Ground P} [**pro [lo+X compraron]** [_{Op1}]]]?

Where pro it bought ?

Where did they buy it?

Another consequence of this analysis is that it can accommodate the fact that subjects cannot break up the Auxiliary Vpp sequence. This sequence is taken as a whole with the IP, and the subject has moved out independently out of the IP¹⁷:

(79) [_{Op1}⁰ Qué OP2⁰ [_{Ground P} [_{IP} habían comprado] Ground⁰ [_{Top P} [los niños]]]]

The lack of intervention of the subject between auxiliary *have* and *Vpp* correlates with the fact that Spanish, contrary to Italian and NID, does not permit the independent movement of the past participle to the Comp field, as has been proposed by Pollock and Poletto (2004) for sentences with subject clitic inversion:

(80) Ou est-il allé?

[_{Op1} Où [_{Force P} [est] [_{Ground P} il [_{Topic P} [allé]]?

Where is-he gone?

‘Where did he go?’

¹⁷ There is also the subject internal position that yields VSO order with simple verb forms. Observe that internal position ends up after the past participle yielding the order Aux-Vpp-S:

(i) Ayer habían (*los niños) comprado (los niños) el libro
Yesterday had (the boys) bought (the boys) the book

This analysis also captures the parallelism between free inversion, which yields VOS in declaratives, and inversion in interrogatives¹⁸: in both constructions the subject has moved out of IP to the Comp field and it is followed by preposing of the IP¹⁹:

(81) a. Ayer comió curry Juan.

[Ayer [_{GroundP} [_{IP}comió curry] Ground⁰ [_{FocP} [Juan] Foc]]]
 yesterday ate curry Juan

b. ¿Cuándo comió curry Juan?

[_{OP2} Cuándo OP2⁰ [_{GroundP} [_{IP} comió curry] Ground⁰ [_{TopP} [Juan] ...Top
 When ate curry Juan?

Since both constructions involve preposing of IP, we therefore expect, that the same restrictions apply to both of them, such as the impossibility of getting any subject between auxiliary *have* and *Vpp* as we had mentioned before.

Since both structures involve IP- preposing, and this movement is not contingent upon the presence or absence of a subcategorizing verb such as “*wonder*” “*not know*”, we also account for the lack of asymmetry between embedded and root questions, as Kayne and Pollock (2001) do for French Stylistic Inversion²⁰:

(82) [_{OP2} Cuándo [[_{IP} comió curry] [_{TopP} [Juan] ...Top
 when bought curry Juan?

¹⁸ Here we are just considering the free inversion that takes the subject after the complement of the VP. For the inversion that has the subject preceding the complement we have just assumed that the subject it is internal to the IP in a Spec position.

¹⁹ The only difference is that the subject lands in different CP position (focus in free inversion or topic in interrogatives). However the fact that both involve IP preposing explains the similarities.

²⁰ This is not what Pollock and Poletto (2004) propose for subject inversion in Italian. They propose that IP preposing is sensitive to such difference for Italian but not for French.

(83) No sabía cuándo comió curry Juan

No sabía [_{OP2} Cuándo [[_{IP} comió curry] [_{TopP} [Juan] ...Top

I didn't know when ate curry Juan

Finally, as we mention in the introduction, many linguists have pointed out that the distinction between D-linked and non-D-linked Wh-words allows additional possibilities for inserting a subject between the Wh-word and the verb (see Olarrea 1997, Ordóñez and Treviño 1998, Zubizarreta 2001) for Spanish, and Pollock and Poletto(2004)). Thus, they do not trigger the inversion effect mentioned before with simple Wh-words:

(84) a. ¿En qué época del año tu hermano salió libre?

What time of the year your brother got out free?

b. ¿A cuál de estos actores el director les prometió la fama?

To which of these actors the director promised the fame

As pointed out by Ordóñez and Treviño (1998) other non subject XP's might intervene between verb and the Wh-word:

(85) a. ¿En qué época del año a ti te dejaron libre?

In which time of the year to you will let-3pp free

What time of the year are they going to let you free?

b. ¿ De cuál de estos profesores al director se le van a quejar?

From which of these professor to the director cl- go-3pp to complain?

Which of these proffessors are they complaing about to the director?

c. ¿Cuál de estos papeles a vosotros os van a proponer para la próxima película?

Which of these roles to you cl-go-3pp to propose for the next movie?

Which of these roles are they going to propose you for the next movie?

d. ¿A cuál de estas chicas a Pedro le parece que debe promocionar en su próxima película?

Which of these girls to Pedro seems that he has to promote in his next movie?

Which of these girls is Pedro likely to promote in his next movie?

The examples clearly show that the position these Wh-words are targeting is above the position of subjects, DO and IO preverbal XPs. This position must be topic-like. In a parallel Italian construction involving complex negative quantifiers, Rizzi (1997) has proposed that the preposing of a complex negative quantifier can involve topicalization. Rizzi observes the contrast between (86) and (87) to support his conclusion.

(86) a. Nessuno di questi ragazzi lo conosco veramente bene

No one of these boys cl- I know very well.

b. *Nessuno l'ho visto.

No one cl-have seen

The same effects are found in Spanish.

(87) a. A ninguno de estos chicos , María lo conoce bien

To none of these boys, María knows very well.

b. *A nadie lo he visto

To nobody cl-have seen

The parallelism between complex negative quantifiers and complex Wh-words suggest a uniform analysis in terms of final movement to Topic P. Therefore, we would like to suggest that complex Wh-phrases might be topicalized, and that since TopP is recursive, as has been clearly shown by Rizzi, it comes

as no surprise that other Topic P phrases follow the complex Wh-word.²¹ According to our analysis, complex Wh-words target OP2, and then they further move to a higher topic like position, which might be followed by other topic-like positions, as schematized in the analysis of (88):

(88) ¿En qué época del año a ti te dejaron libre?

[_{Top P} En qué época del año [_{Top P} a ti [_{Op2} [_{Ground P} [_{IP}te dejaron libre] [_{Topic P} [Op1

To conclude, we have shown that the IP-preposing analysis, with a structure of CP as in Rizzi (1997), not only gives a new a more adequate analysis of the CS facts, but it can also overcome some of the problems posed by a V-to-C analysis of interrogatives. Our analysis can accommodate the position of clitics in interrogatives, and the non insertion of subjects between Wh-word and auxiliary *have*. Finally, a more structured CP, in which complex Wh-words move further in the CP structure can account for the distinction in the possibilities of inserting material between the Wh-phrase and the verb.

Conclusion

This paper gives further support for the line of research in recent years which claims that inversion effects are better understood as a consequence of movement of an entire IP to an exploded CP. The interplay of this movement with other discourse related position, such as topic or focus, can accommodate parametric differences in the types of questions in different varieties of Romance, such as French, Portuguese, NID, and Italian. This paper has shown that this view also succeeds to capture differences between CS and NCS in this respect. Our analysis has also relied on the crucial idea that pronominal subjects in CS are Weak Pronominal in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), and on the idea from Cardinaletti (1997) that weak pronouns are preverbal. Thus, IP takes along preverbal weak pronouns and

²¹ An alternative analysis could involve the further movement of a complex wh to a higher force P below which some other topic P might be generated. We will not pursue this alternative in this paper.

certain type of weak adverbials. Our work has crucially relied on field work in the Dominican Republic in order to clarify the already controversial status of the inversion of subjects in CS.

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