

# Subjunctive dependents in Iberian Romance: A Reprojection account<sup>1</sup>

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**Resum. Els complements subjuntius a les llengües romàniques ibèriques: una aproximació basada en la Reprojecció.** Aquest treball proposa una anàlisi de les oracions subordinades en subjuntiu de les llengües romàniques ibèriques basat en la proposta de Hornstein i Uriagereka (2002) sobre els quantificadors binaris. La idea central és que la operació de Transferència de Chomsky (2004) es pot associar a l'efecte provocat per aquests elements; més concretament, es defensa la idea que el mode indicatiu, a diferència del subjuntiu, funciona com un quantificador binari i determina l'aplicació de Transferència.

**Paraules clau:** cicle, fase, opacitat, subjuntiu, transferència.

**Abstract. Subjunctive dependents in Iberian Romance: A Reprojection account.** This paper puts forward an analysis of subjunctive dependent clauses in Iberian Romance based on Hornstein and Uriagereka's (2002) treatment of binary quantifiers. The main idea is that Chomsky's (2004) Transfer operation can be associated to the effect of these quantifiers; more specifically, it is argued that indicative mood, contrary to subjunctive mood, operates as a binary quantifier, thus triggering the application of Transfer.

**Key words:** cycle, phase, opacity, subjunctive, transfer.

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## 1. Introduction

Much recent literature has been devoted to explore the interaction between narrow syntax and the interface components. In the context of Phase Theory (Gallego 2010a), it has been argued that Transfer is responsible for sending dedicated syntactic domains to the interfaces, thus reducing computational burden. In Chomsky (2000 and ff.), the motivation for Transfer is the uninterpretable features (uFF) that phase heads C and  $v^*$  are endowed with. Since these features must be deleted at the point where the structure is shipped to the interfaces, they define syntactic landmarks where Transfer must apply. Importantly, for computation to be meaningful (i.e. compositional), Transfer cannot cash out the structure in full: otherwise, long-distance dependencies, and other syntactic processes, would be unaccounted for. Chomsky (2004) formalizes the idea that Transfer only targets a subpart of the derivation by postulating a Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).

- (1) Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2004, p. 108)

In a phase PH, only the complement domain is obligatorily transferred; the edge remains for computational purposes

Proposals differ with respect to the motivation of Transfer. This paper puts forward an approach to Transfer that builds on Hornstein and Uriagereka's (2002) Reprojection. In particular, I assume that T-to-C gives rise to a configuration that involves a counter-cyclic manipulation that forces the system to resort to Transfer. Empirically, I focus on the indicative/subjunctive cut of Iberian Romance (paying particular attention to Spanish and Catalan, for methodological reasons). I argue that indicatives trigger Reprojection (and Transfer), which in turn accounts for their opaque nature.

The paper is divided as follows: section 2 reviews some of the properties of subjunctives, concentrating on its defective tense interpretation; section 3 discusses Transfer, and some of the shortcomings of Chomsky's (2000 and ff.) approach; in section 4, I offer an analysis of subjunctive C as being a clausal counterpart of partitive Case; in section 5, I put forward a reformulation of Transfer that relies on Hornstein and Uriagereka's (2002) Reprojection; section 6 summarizes the main conclusions.

## 2. Subjunctives and defective tense

An often emphasized trait of subjunctive dependents in Romance languages concerns tense, which is parasitic on the matrix predicate's (Kempchinsky 1987, Picallo 1984, Quer 2009).<sup>2</sup>

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2. Laca (2008) claims that (for the most part, matrix) subjunctives are not tense defective. Her observations are consistent with the hypothesis, which I tacitly endorse, that all (morphological) manifestations of

- (2) a. Borges diu [<sub>CP</sub> que {admira/admirà} Quevedo] (Catalan)  
 Borges say-PRES.3.SG that admire-IND.PRES/PST.3.SG Quevedo  
 ‘Borges says that he admires/admired admire Quevedo’
- b. Borges vol [<sub>CP</sub> que {admiri/\*admirés} Quevedo] (Catalan)  
 Borges want-PRES.3.SG that admire-SUB.PRES/PST.3.SG Quevedo  
 ‘Borges wants for him to admire/have admired Quevedo’

The data above show that tense is not interpreted in the embedded verb, but in the matrix one. At first glance, the situation in (2) readily recalls the traditional intuition that  $\phi$ -features are not interpreted in verbs, although these categories do manifest such morphology. In Chomsky’s (2000) Probe-Goal framework, this asymmetry is captured by taking uFF (tense in subjunctives, agreement in verbs) to enter the syntax *unvalued*. If so, then the relevant structure should be as depicted in (3).

- (3) a. [<sub>TP</sub> INDICATIVE [<sub>TP</sub>... [<sub>CP</sub> C... [<sub>TP</sub> T INDICATIVE [<sub>TP</sub>...]]]]  
 b. [<sub>TP</sub> INDICATIVE [<sub>TP</sub>... [<sub>CP</sub> C... [<sub>TP</sub> T SUBJUNCTIVE [<sub>TP</sub>...]]]]  
 ☑ = valued attribute  
 ☒ = unvalued attribute

A crucial aspect, thus, is that subjunctive tense must be valued by the matrix verb. However, notice that for such a dependency to take place, Transfer must be delayed two times (at the embedded CP and matrix vP). This double procrastination is perhaps clearer in (4), where I highlight the phase borders that skip Transfer.

- (4) [<sub>TP</sub> T... (<sub>vP</sub> v\*... (<sub>CP</sub> C... [<sub>TP</sub> T...]))]
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What (4) underscores is the fact that syntactic boundaries between matrix T and embedded T must be weakened so that the tense-dependency is possible. If the relevant CP and v\*P nodes are bypassed, then it is possible to account not only for the tense dependency in (2), but also for other connectivity effects of subjunctives that were first noted by Torrego and Uriagereka (1992). Consider, for instance, the fact that subjunctive allows for QR in subjunctives more easily than it does with indicatives. In (5), the QP *todo problema* (Eng. ‘every problem’) within the embedded clause can overscope the matrix QP *alguien* (Eng. ‘someone’).

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subjunctive cannot be treated as instances of the same phenomenon.

- (5) a. *Alguien piensa* [<sub>CP</sub> *que ha sido solucionado todo problema*](Spanish)  
 someone think-3.SG that have-3.SG been solved every problem  
 ‘Someone thinks that every problem has been solved’
- b. *Alguien desea* [<sub>CP</sub> *(que) sea solucionado todo problema*](Spanish)  
 someone wish-3.SG (that) be-SUB.3.SG solved every problem  
 ‘Someone wishes every problem to be solved’
- [from Torrego and Uriagereka 1992, p. 26]

The pair in (5) shows that a reading where *todo problema* overscopes *alguien* is only available with subjunctives. I take this to support the hypothesis, explicit in Torrego and Uriagereka (1992), that subjunctive CPs are more transparent. Here I reinterpret transparency as an indication that a given domain is still accessible to computation, which should be a consequence of Transfer not happening. In section 5, I argue that the motivation for Transfer to procrastinate is related to the fact that subjunctive T behaves as a weak quantifier, failing to trigger Hornstein and Uriagereka’s (2002) Rejection.

### 3. Cyclic Transfer: problems for the standard account

Section 1 introduced Transfer, which is triggered by the necessity to value and delete uFF. Different problems for this approach have been noted in the recent literature. Let me briefly consider some of them.

#### 3.1. Inheritance of uFF and inclusiveness

One general concern that could be raised is the uF-inheritance operation itself, which, as defined in Chomsky (2008), transports uFF from phase-heads to non-phase heads (see Gallego 2014 for an alternative). Technically, uF-inheritance violates inclusiveness (Chomsky 1995), since principles of efficient computation require that operations do not add new features to lexical items or to objects constructed from them.<sup>3</sup> The problem that uF-inheritance poses is noted in Chomsky (2008, p. 144), but regarded as a “narrow violation of NTC [...] [that] still satisfies the Strong Minimalist Thesis”.

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3. In this respect, Chomsky (2007, p. 19) points out that uF-inheritance is not countercyclic, or no more than “the (somewhat similar) probe-goal relation that determines structural Case in situ, for example”. Note that Chomsky is thus comparing uF-inheritance to Case assignment (in a view whereby Case is a “reflex of agreement”, being assigned after Probe-Goal dynamics; Chomsky 2001, p. 6, 16).



#### 4. A defective C for subjunctives

Above I noted that in order for matrix (indicative) T to interact with embedded (subjunctive) T, Transfer must be delayed. The question is of course why (and how). The scenario we are considering quickly evokes the strong phase / weak phase distinction of Chomsky (2001) (Richards 2004, 2012), which drew a line between transitive vPs (i.e., v\*Ps) and passive / unaccusative vPs.

Chomsky's (2001, p. 12; 2004, p. 124) main argument to postulate such distinction was that only strong phase heads trigger Transfer and have EPP features. If carefully considered, these properties (especially the second one) cannot hold the key to phases: the EPP, if understood as Chomsky's (2008) *edge feature* (EF), is a property of all heads, not just phase heads. This leaves us with lack of Transfer as the unique property of weak phases, but, as Richards (2004, p. 66) correctly observes, this makes little sense, for it renders weak phases irrelevant for computational load reduction, and hence useless—as Richards puts it, if this is so, “[a] weak phase is simply a *non-phase*”.

In order to remove this oddity, Richards (2004, p. 66) collapses weak phases and strong phases. All of them are phases. In this paper I would like to pursue a different route and discard weak phases as phases at all. Let me explain why. On the one hand, even if we endorse Richards' (2004) solution, we still have to account for sentences like (8): if weak phases are phases, then the DP *muchos libros* (Eng. ‘many books’) should escape the VP to receive structural Case from the f-Probe on T.

- (8) Fueron            vendidos            muchos libros            (Spanish)  
       were-3.PL    sold                    many    books  
       ‘Many books were sold’

This problem is shown in (9), which illustrates an unaccusative vP (I use italics to signal transferred material).

- (9)  $[_{CP} C [_{TP} T\phi \text{ fueron } [_{vP} \text{ vendidos-}v_{\text{PHASE}} [_{vP} \text{ } \textit{muchos libros}]]]]$
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If an unaccusative vP was a phase, then *muchos libros* would be forced to move to the vP edge to become ‘probeable’ by T. I thus believe Richards' (2004) option makes wrong empirical predictions (see Richards 2012 for additional discussion). Nonetheless, we still want to be able to handle situations where a given domain is genuinely transparent, presumably due to the procrastination of Transfer. This is actually forced in long-distance agreement situations (LDA), where a downstairs Goal is matched by a Probe located in a higher position, as is the case with subjunctive dependents. We are then back to the

question of how the system can tell if a given domain is a phase or not. As I see things, the system outlined in Chomsky (2000 and ff.) cannot without certain circularity. In fact, the scenarios in (10a, b, c) (where P is a phase head) will all trigger Transfer, as the system is not designed to discriminate  $\phi$ -complete from  $\phi$ -defective Probes: it just sees uFF.

- (10) a. [<sub>[number]</sub> [<sub>[person]</sub> XP]  
 b. [<sub>[number]</sub> XP]  
 c. [<sub>[person]</sub> XP]

To get around this I would like to explore the alternative that phase heads are endowed with [person] (Uriagereka 2006), which I take to involve the presence of [number] too, due to hierarchical factors (Cinque 1999). This appears to be enough to cover weak vPs (unaccusatives, passives, and DAT-NOM predicates; Chomsky 2008). What about CPs? Chomsky himself does not consider the possibility that C has a weak version: he simply regards raising and ECM clauses as bare TPs. I will however assume that both C and v have phasal and non-phasal versions (Fortuny 2008, Gallego 2010a).

As noted in the literature, there is reason to take non-phasal v to lack [person]. Now we should see whether the same holds for non-phasal C. This question becomes tricky in the light of subjunctive dependents in Iberian Romance, for the subject apparently manifests full agreement. Interestingly, comparative evidence from Basque provides the relevant clue. Consider the examples in (11), from Uribe-Etxebarria (1994) and Uriagereka (2006).

- (11) a. Jonek ez du esan [<sub>CP</sub> Bilbora joango denik] (Basque)  
 Jon-ERG neg AUX say Bilbao-to go-FUT AUX-enik  
 'Jon did not say that he was going to Bilbao'  
 b. Jon [<sub>CP</sub> Mirenek pisua gal zezan] saiatu zen (Basque)  
 Jon-ABS Miren-ERG weight-ABS lose have-SUB.LOC try-PART be-3.SG  
 'Jon tried that Miren lose weight'

As pointed out by these authors, Basque subjunctives trigger the presence of an oblique element, partitive or locative, in C: *-ik* and *-n*. I would like to relate the evidence in (11) to Uriagereka's (1988, p. 43) insight that subjunctive mood in the clausal domain is "a mark of partitive Case". What Uriagereka (1988) suggests is that subjunctive dependents behave like partitive Case marked DPs in unaccusative structures. This is sound with the Basque data if P is regarded as a weak D (see Kayne 1994 for the similarities between D and P).<sup>4</sup> The present approach to subjunctives forces me to assume that both the

4. The idea that subjunctive C is (or contains) a P is not new either, in a sense. Hwang (1997) followed Roberts (1985, 1993) in that subjunctives involve a covert auxiliary. If modals/auxiliaries are analyzed as a

embedded CP and the matrix vP must be defective. I just provided evidence for the former. Auxiliary selection in Basque provides evidence for the latter: subjunctives trigger BE (*zen*) selection.<sup>5</sup>

- (12) a. Jon [<sub>CP</sub> Mirenek pisua gal zezan] saiatu zen (Basque)  
 Jon-ABS Miren-ERG weight-ABS lose have-SUB.LOC try-PART be-3.SG  
 ‘Jon tried that Miren lose weight’  
 b. Jonek [<sub>CP</sub> Miren polita dela] pentsatzen du (Basque)  
 Jon-ERG Miren-ABS pretty be-C think-PART 3-have-3  
 ‘Jon thinks that Miren is pretty’

[from Uriagereka 2006, p. 273]

Summing up, I have argued that the secenario in (4), which allows LDA, requires to recast the strong phase vs. weak phase distinction. I have claimed that weak phases are non-phases, which I have defined as being headed by [person]-less Probes. I have exploited this idea in the light of subjunctive dependents in Iberian Romance, which I analyze as involving an oblique element that can appear at different clausal junctures.

## 5. The proposal: Transfer by Reprojection

This section argues that Transfer is forced by the quantificational nature of non-phase heads in order to avoid a structure tampering situation. This can be seen as a parallel side-effect of phase heads being endowed with a [person] feature, which I take to be a morphological correlate of strong (or binary) quantifiers.<sup>6</sup>

In order to motivate the logic behind this proposal, let me sketch out the essentials of Hornstein and Uriagereka (2002). At the core of their proposal lies Larson and Segal’s (1995) idea that binary quantifiers behave like transitive verbs in the sense that they select ordered arguments: thematic arguments in the case of verbs, a restriction and a scope in the case of quantifiers. A key ingredient of Hornstein and Uriagereka (2002) concerns the distinction between unary and binary quantifiers. To cut it short, a quantifier is binary if it is not symmetric, which amounts to saying that a change in

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species of T (or defective/raising v), and if T is in turn a variety of P (Pesetsky and Torrego 2007), then we have a way to combine the analysis above with Roberts’ (1985, 1993).

5. Notice that, from a wider perspective, the data in (12) recall Torrego’s (1989) cases of unergative predicates becoming unaccusative by introducing an oblique (locative) element: the Spanish adverb *aquí* (Eng. here).

6. An anonymous reviewer is not convinced that tense can be treated as a binary quantifier, and suggests it is treated as a predicate (in Stowell’s 1993 sense). This is in fact the line of action I am adopting, which is consistent with Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria’s (2000) analysis of tense and aspect as a birrelational (binary) predicates.

the order of the arguments affects the truth conditions of a proposition; consider this possibility with (13).

- (13) a. Most Basques are Spaniards  $\leftarrow/\rightarrow$  Most Spaniards are Basques  
 b. Some Basques are Spaniards  $\leftrightarrow$  Some Spaniards are Basques  
 [from Hornstein and Uriagereka 2002, p. 111]

As can be seen, the quantifier *most* in (13a) is not symmetric, but *some* in (13b) is. Assuming this much, Hornstein and Uriagereka (2002) explore whether quantifiers take their arguments in standard syntactic ways—that is, by having them within their projection. To illustrate, consider the derivation of (14), where *most* selects the restriction in its base-position (the N *people*) and then raises to [Spec, TP] to check nominative Case.

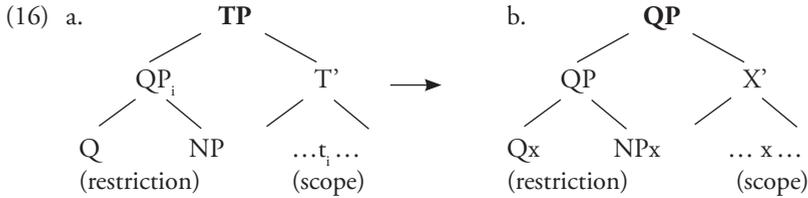
- (14) [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>QP</sub> Most people] T [<sub>v,TP</sub> <Most people> v\* [<sub>VP</sub> voted for Obama]]]

Here the quantificational argument *people* (the restriction) is in a standard syntactic relation with regards to the quantifier *most*—it is its complement. In contrast, the quantificational argument *voted for Obama* (the matrix clause) is not a dependent of the quantifier. Instead, *most children* is the specifier of TP. As Hornstein and Uriagereka (2002) emphasize, this is semantically unexpected if we want basic compositional relations to be expressed in terms of basic syntactic dependencies. In other words, if binary quantifiers truly behave like transitive verbs, then the derivation should give rise to (15), after the QP has checked Case in [Spec, TP].

- (15) [<sub>QP</sub> [<sub>Q</sub> Most people] [ T [<sub>v,TP</sub> <Most people> v\* [<sub>VP</sub> voted for Obama]]]]

Consider (15) more closely. Here *most* does take the TP as its second argument (the scope), tampering with the TP label. Slightly more precisely, such label is replaced by

“QP”. The process is depicted in (16), where I highlight the relevant labels with bold letters.<sup>7</sup>



The question is how Reprojection affects long-distance agreement in (4). It is interesting to note, in this respect, that labels involve ‘tampering’ when affected by Reprojection. Not only will the changed label itself need to overwrite, but also all the dominating formal objects that contain said label within. That must have consequences. Following Hornstein et al. (2007), I assume that derivations involve a restriction on context-sensitive dependencies.

(17) Conservation Condition

A context-sensitive dependency  $\alpha$  must be unambiguous throughout  $\alpha$ 's derivation.

(17) tells us that context-sensitive dependencies across a domain where overwriting is involved are disallowed, thus explaining island effects induced by quantifiers. Crucially, as Hornstein and Uriagereka (2002) argue, these considerations are orthogonal for unary quantifiers, which do not involve Reprojection to start with—therefore, no overwriting emerges in their presence.

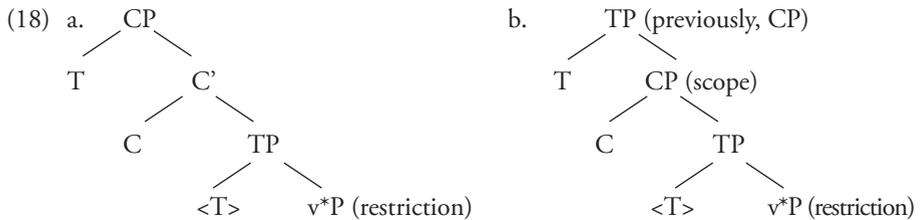
I want to extend Hornstein and Uriagereka's (2002) analysis in order to motivate Transfer, and to account for the indicative vs. subjunctive cut. The gist of my proposal is that Reprojection involves label tampering, so if the derivation is conservative (in accord with (17)), a way of restoring the damage is to forget about the structure. This is, in a nutshell, what Transfer follows from. I thus take seriously the idea that subjunctive T behaves as a unary quantifier and indicative T does as a binary one.

7. Hornstein and Uriagereka (2002) relate the process in (16) to Quantifier Induced Islands such as (iii). Consider, in particular, the context-sensitive dependency between *nobody* and *a red cent* in all the examples below:

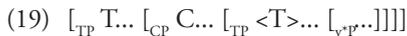
- (i) [<sub>CP</sub> What did [<sub>TP</sub> nobody give [every child t]]?]
- (ii) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Nobody gave [two children a red cent]]]
- (iii) \*<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Nobody gave [every child a red cent]]]

All other things being equal, the dependency above holds between the context ‘sister of T’ (for *nobody*) and ‘sister of (the trace of) *gave*’ (for *a red cent*).

All this would be compatible with the idea, held by many authors (Adger and Quer 1997, Giannakidou 1994, 1995, Laka 1990, Tsoulas 1994, 1995, and Uribe-Etxebarria 1994), that subjunctive behaves like weak quantifiers, polarity Ds (NPIs), or indefinites. With this much as background, I assume that T selects the v\*P as its first argument (the restriction), and the entire clause as its second argument (the scope). How T gets its first argument is easy: first-Merge. The issue is how it gets the second one. In Gallego (2010a) it is argued that T-to-C movement motivates such scope argument taking step. Most importantly, what happens after T-to-C takes place will depend on T's nature: if T is strong (binary), it will trigger Reprojection; if it is weak (unary), it will not.



As (18) shows, after T moves to C, the former is able to take the CP as its second argument, turning it into a complex specifier. Before I go ahead, some aspects of such derivation must be clarified. First of all, if Transfer targets the structure that has been tampered with, then it will affect the former CP, leaving the specifier of T as the new edge, as (19) shows.



Second, the whole process must be restricted so that it affects only indicative clauses. Ideally, this must be related to the reshaping effect of binary quantifiers, which is absent in unary ones. That could be achieved if subjunctive T is unary and, as such, it does not take a second argument.

Up to now, we have considered Reprojection from an X-bar based perspective, but the same outcome obtains if we apply Chomsky's (2008, 2013) label-free proposal. In those works, labels are not projected, but determined by a labeling algorithm (LA) that renders syntactic objects interpretable at the interfaces.<sup>8</sup> The first formulation of the LA was (20).

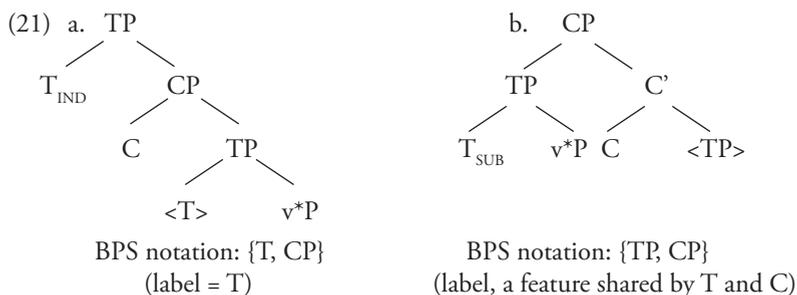
- (20) Labeling Algorithm  
a. In  $\{H, \alpha\}$ , H an LI, H is the label

8. Note that this tacitly assumes that (compositional) interpretation is endocentric.

- b. If  $\alpha$  is internally merged to  $\beta$ , forming  $\{\alpha, \beta\}$ , then the label of  $\beta$  is the label of  $\{\alpha, \beta\}$   
[from Chomsky 2008, p. 145]

Chomsky (2013, p. 43) argues that LA operates under Minimal Search (MS), a third factor principle whose effects apply in other computational operations. MS locates the most accessible element within a given domain D, where ‘most accessible’ stands for a minimal unit —an LI ( $X^{\min}$ ). Therefore, MS operates unproblematically in  $\{H, XP\}$  structures (where H is the label), but it does not in  $\{XP, YP\}$ , where the search yields an ambiguous result.

Interestingly enough, Chomsky (2008) notes that head movement should involve a situation very similar to Hornstein and Uriagereka’s (2002) Reprojection. Capitalizing on that correlation between head movement and the LA, I argue that subjunctives do not feature T-to-C movement, and therefore Reprojection cannot take place. This entails that, if complementizers are the spell-out of T in C (Gallego 2010a), then *que* (Eng. ‘that’) in subjunctives is either the spell-out of C itself, or else qualifies as an XP.<sup>9</sup> Since I take *que* to always be the spell-out of T (Gallego 2010a), I adopt the latter, more radical, approach. To be precise, I assume that, in subjunctive environments, there is not T-to-C, but TP-to-C movement. Consequently, the derivation of indicative and subjunctive dependents would be as schematized below.



As can be seen, the scenario in (21a) is very similar to that in (18b). Here the label is “C” at a derivational point  $D_0$ , and becomes “T” at a derivational point  $D_1$ . Since the LA cannot apply directly in the case of (21b), Chomsky (2013) argues that the label is obtained by some feature shared by T and C.

For consistency, my proposal should hold in scenarios where *bona fide* quantifiers move. That is, the fact that *most people* triggers Reprojection while *many people* does not

9. Perhaps this would be related to the old observation that, in Spanish, complementizer deletion is possible with subjunctive clauses, not indicative ones. Torrego and Uriagereka (2002) and references therein.

must follow, if I am right, not from an inherent distinction between *most* and *many*. I therefore propose the following syntax for weak and strong quantifiers.

- (22) a. [ $n^*$  [QP NP]]  
 b. [ $n^*$  [Q NP]]

With Chomsky (2007), I assume that DPs are introduced by a light category  $n^*$ . Notice that, in this analysis, the D or Q element is not the head of the entire construction,  $n^*$  is. Crucially, I take weak quantifiers to be phrases or adjoined-like elements whereas strong quantifiers are *bona fide* heads.<sup>10</sup> The possibility that weak quantifiers are phrases perhaps indicates that they involve a covert element, behaving like an adjective of sorts, as has been noted in the literature (Zamparelli 2000).<sup>11</sup>

- (23) a. Your friends are {many / three / few / etc.}  
 b. \*Your friends are {most / all / every / etc.}

Before taking stock, I would like to consider how the overall account can tackle a well-known property of subjunctive dependents in Romance: obviation. It is illustrated in (24), where we see examples from Galician and Portuguese where the possibility for the embedded subject to correfer with the matrix one is restricted by the mood inflection of the embedded verb (Kempchinsky 1987, Picallo 1984).

- (24) a. Xan desexaba [<sub>CP</sub> (que) falara no senado] (Galician)  
 Xan wished-3.SG that talked-SUB.3.SG in-the senate  
 ‘Xan wished that he talked at the Senate’  
 b. O Jose deseja [<sub>CP</sub> (que) compre uma motocicleta] (Portuguese)  
 the Jose wish-3.SG that bought-SUB.3.SG a motorbike  
 ‘Jose wishes that he buys a motorbike’

10. This seems to be what Chomsky has in mind when he notes that “indefinite nominals [...] like “author” or “many authors” [...] [t]he label [...] cannot be “many,” which is not an LI but an XP, so in both cases the label of the phrase must be the label of “author.”” (p. 25)

11. An analysis along these lines is actually suggested in Herburger (2000, p. 38), who takes weak quantifiers to be heads adjoined to the NP:

- (i) [<sub>DP</sub> D NP] strong NPs  
 (ii) [<sub>NP</sub> D NP] weak NPs

As an anonymous reviewer points out, more evidence in support for this kind of approach can be found in Kayne (2011).

The DPs *Xan* and *O Jose* cannot be the antecedent of the null *pro* in the embedded clauses in (24). If subjunctives count as weak (non-) phases, we can make use of Uriagereka's (1988) explanation for local obviation and apply it to account for (24a). According to this author, a case of local obviation like (25) follows from the fact that subjects and objects bear a different Case specification (nominative and accusative).

(25) John<sub>[CASE:NOM]</sub> likes him<sub>[CASE:ACC]</sub>

Uriagereka's (1988) analysis of local obviation allows us to explain long-distance obviation in a straightforward fashion. For this to be tenable, one must of course assume that the embedded subject receives abstract accusative Case, despite the fact that it shows full (number and person) agreement with the verb. From this perspective, subjunctive dependents are the counterpart of English ECMs, modulo raising, as depicted in (26):<sup>12</sup>

(26) [<sub>VP</sub> v... [<sub>VP</sub> V... [<sub>CP</sub> C Subject<sub>ACC</sub> [<sub>TP</sub>...]]]]

In line with Gallego (2010a), I assume so and regard full agreement as a morphological consequence of the subject being sandwiched in the context of C and T. Iberian Romance varieties, then, contrary to English, do not feature raising-to-object, but long-distance agreement between matrix v-V and the embedded subject, which suffices for obviation to take place.

This analysis predicts that, if the embedded subject cannot be matched by matrix v-V (if it is quirky), then obviation will fail. This is indeed what happens in (27b).

- (27) a. En Joani voldria [<sub>CP</sub> que ell{\*i/k} admirés l' Ayrton Senna] (Catalan)  
 the Joan want-COND.3.SG that he admire-SUB.PST.3.SG the Ayrton Senna  
 'Joan would want that he admired Ayrton Senna'
- b. En Joani voldria [<sub>CP</sub> que a ell{i/k} li agradés l' Ayrton Senna] (Catalan)  
 the Joan want-COND.3.SG that to him CL-3.SG liked.3.SG the Ayrton Senna  
 'Juan would want that he liked Ayrton Senna'

12. The main difference between Iberian Romance and English is that the former lacks raising-to-object (putting aside perception verbs, causatives, and pseudo-relatives). Also, it seems that raising is necessary for obviation to occur, except for *wish*-like dependents, as Richard Kayne (personal communication) points out.

(i) Jack<sub>i</sub> believed {\*him<sub>i</sub>/himself<sub>i</sub>} [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> to be immoral]

(ii) \*He<sub>i</sub> wishes [<sub>TP</sub> he<sub>i</sub> would leave]

The facts receive additional support from ditransitive verbs selecting a subjunctive dependent. If binding/obviation is determined by Agree (Gallego 2010b), one would expect for obviation to fail in cases where two DPs co-agree. I submit that this is what happens in (28), where both the object *Ana* and the subject *pro* agree with matrix *v*.

- (28) a. Convencí                    a Ana<sub>i</sub> [<sub>pp</sub> de que pro<sub>i</sub> viniese]                    (Spanish)  
       convince-PST.1.SG to Ana    of that she come-SUB.PST.3.SG  
       ‘I convinced Ana to leave’
- b. Invité                    a Ana<sub>i</sub> [<sub>pp</sub> a que pro<sub>i</sub> viniese]                    (Spanish)  
       invite-PST.1.SG to Ana    to that she come-SUB.PST.3.SG  
       ‘I invited Ana to come’

## 6. Conclusions

In this paper I have explored an alternative to Chomsky’s (2000 and ff.) conception of Transfer that does not capitalize on the role of uFF. My analysis is similar, to some extent, to Epstein et als. (2012)’s, but it has the advantage of relating Transfer to a phenomenon that is independently necessary: quantification. If I am correct, the fact that languages involve quantificational dependencies and Transfer is not a coincidence. In the previous pages, I have argued that binary quantification is mandatory with indicatives, but not subjunctives, which therefore behave like weak quantifiers, as argued for by different authors.

The proposal is thought-provoking, but it also raises questions. As we have seen, the idea outlined in section 5 has the interesting consequence of unifying Reprojection and Transfer, but for things to be rounded up it should also extend to focus (another quantificational phenomenon). So, at least in principle, this analysis predicts that focal mapping should be different in indicatives and subjunctives. I believe this is borne out, at least in the case of so-called contrastive focus, as Torrego and Uriagereka (1992, p. 20) already noted.

- (29) a. Juan dijo [<sub>CP</sub> que muchas cosas había visto <muchas cosas>] (Spanish)  
       Juan say- PST.3.SG that many things had-3.SG seen  
       ‘Juan said that he had seen MANY THINGS’
- b. \*Juan quería [<sub>CP</sub> que muchas cosas viera <muchas cosas>] (Spanish)  
       Juan want- PST.3.SG that many things see-SUBJ-3.SG  
       ‘Juan wanted that he saw MANY THINGS’

From a cartographic perspective, the asymmetry in (29) could follow from the fact that subjunctives lack the relevant focus-oriented projection. Be that as it may, I regard the contrast above as a consequence of the quantificational nature of subjunctive T, which, being weak, fails to trigger focal mapping (and Reprojection). This and other connections among the dynamics of derivations, word order, and quantification remain to be investigated.

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