Case Assignment, Head Movement, and Clausal Complements
(Abstract)

Clausal complements in Spanish differ from those in English due to a Case-marking difference arising from the V movement related to the Null Subject in V-initial languages. Our account is based on (i) Chomsky's (1989) economy of derivation and representation, (ii) a modular hypothesis of Case-assignment *loci*, and (iii) the universal Case-marking of CP. Evidence for CP Case-marking is given by Plann (1986) for Spanish, Tsai (1993) for Chinese, and Massam (1985) for other languages. We argue that Case-marking differs according to whether a complement is governed by V-head or V-trace. Our hypothesis is that only a strictly adjacent Case-assigner (=one that does not move) can Case-mark a complement on its Specifier, as in English, whose notorious Exceptional Case-Marking (ECM) is but an overt manifestation of the general Case-marking mode. ECM is seen as the result of raising the Spec of a tenseless IP to a Case-marked Spec of CP. In Spanish, by contrast, Case goes on a complement's Head, as CP is governed by a V-trace. On the assumption that CP's must be Case-marked, the differences in occurrence and Case-marking of ***que/that*** follow from our hypothesis about Case-assignment *loci*, while the movement of C ***(that/whether)*** to its Spec, instead of inserting another functional category ***(of)***, follows from economy of representation. Non-ECM verbs differ in that they embed a ***that***-headed clause by means of an abstract operator in an intervening CP layer. Case-marking of CP is amply attested in Spanish, which shows ***de***-insertion before finite and nonfinite CP's, as in: *el deseo/deseoso (*de) que vaya; el deseo/deseoso (*de) ir*, where ***de*** Case-marks ***que***, and the nonfinite ***ir***, the latter V moving through I to C, to make Case-marking explicit. In English, there is ***of***-insertion before gerundive CP's, and CP's with an overt Spec, as in *the decision *(of) where to go, the question *(of) what they deserve, proud/ignorant *(of) how many he owns*, etc,

Our analysis derives a regularized view of ECM, and novel accounts of (1) the distributional contrasts of ***that/que***, with IP movement instead of ***that***-deletion; (2) the obviation and control of subject pronouns in subjunctive and nonfinite CP's, as defined by Binding principles once the pronouns LF-raise (Hestvik 1992); (3) ECM in Spanish small clauses, deriving from head movement of pronouns, as in ***lo*** *creo listo;* (4) preposition stranding differences, due to the movement of functional categories to their Spec in English ; and (5) the ***that***-trace effect, resulting from the conflict of a term that dictates Agreement moving through a Case-marked position in English. Word order contrasts in wh-clauses also fall out under the subsidiary notion that movement of X and X" can be triggered to satisfy proper head government (Torrego 1984). Our account of the facts validates our general framework, which combines a system of down-percolation for Case/Agreement features, the reduction of functional categories to closed sets of lexical ones (Emonds 1985), and Bello's early nineteenth century analysis of C as N.

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