The null subject of *para*-infinitives in spoken Spanish – between OC and NOC

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Introduction: Adjunct control has been a puzzling class within binary classifications of control structures into Obligatory and Nonobligatory Control (see Landau 2013). In this paper, we concentrate on one type of adjunct control– *para*-infinitives – in spoken Spanish. It has been observed that these infinitives allow overt, nominative subjects (see Hernanz 1999). If *overt* [+R(eferential)] subjects are possible, the question is whether [+R] *null* subjects are sanctioned. **Data and methodology:** We extracted sentences containing *para*-infinitives out of the *sgscorpus* (Spanish) (www.sgscorpus.com) – a corpus of spontaneous speech, elicited in a game task – using the syntax annotation in Adli (2011). We conducted a detail analysis, examining whether infinitives exhibit local antecedent control and, if there was no local explicit antecedent, whether they exhibit speaker/hearer/topic or arbitrary control. Furthermore, we examined whether there was an intentional relation between the matrix and embedded events or not. **Preliminary results:** The first results indicate that (obligatory) control by an explicit matrix subject antecedent is by far the most frequent strategy. However, even though considerably less frequent, examples can be found that exhibit arbitrary control, speaker control and superficially very similar structures can exhibit hearer- or topic control. We will examine in how far contextual and interpretative factors determine different types of control relations. **Towards an analysis:** The data suggests that the null subject of *para*-infinitives has a hybrid status with respect to OC and NOC. We argue that referential linking possibilities of null subjects are determined by the (un-)availability of left-peripheral linkers in C in combination with the ϕ-properties of T: apart from projecting internal logophoric coordinates (Bianchi 2003, Landau 2015), *para*-infinitives project external speaker/hearer (S/H) coordinates in the left periphery, differently from complement OC structures. However, differently from finite clauses, and similarly to OC infinitives, *para*-infinitives do not contain (abstract) 'referential' AGR and, thus, S/H-coordinates fail to receive a [±]-value in the syntax so that reference of the D-subject must be fully recovered from discourse via (external) C-linking. Preference for local reference linking in arises as a consequence of economy, which can be overridden by discourse factors.

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