Agreement, case and locality in the nominal and verbal domains

Edited by

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Chapter 1

Long distance agreement in Spanish dialects

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This paper discusses data from various dialects of Spanish manifesting agreement between an inflected verb and a PP-internal NP in the context of non-paradigmatic SE (e.g., Se vieron a los niños – Eng. 'Children were seen'). An analysis is put forward in terms of Long Distance Agreement (cf. Chomsky 2000; 2001) between T (the locus of nominative Case) and an NP Goal within a KP/PP. It is shown that this derivational possibility is subject to different microparametric layers teasing apart varieties allowing agreement across dative-like Case assigners (in differential object marking) and other prepositions that do not obviously participate in standard Case-agreement dependencies—thus giving rise to a pattern that qualifies as a pseudopassive of sorts.

1 Introduction

It is an old observation that languages of the Spanish type fail to deploy both preposition stranding and pseudopassives, as the examples in (1) and (2) below show (cf. Law 2006 and references therein for discussion).

(1) * Spanish (Campos 1991: 741)
Quién contaron todos con?
who counted all with
'Who did everybody count on?'

(2) * Spanish (Campos 1991: 741)
José es contado con por todos.
José be counted with by everybody
'José is counted on by everybody.'

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Plausibly, the factor responsible for (1) is also behind (2), at least if the key element for both processes to take place is the category P, a locus of parametric variation (cf. Hornstein & Weinberg 1981; Kayne 1984; 1994; Kayne 2005; Abels 2003; and references therein). In more abstract terms, we seem to be dealing with two constraints affecting prepositions and blocking both A and A-bar dependencies, which is what (3) is meant to capture:

(3) In the context Probe » **P** » XP (» = c-command)

ii. … XP cannot move (no P-stranding)

iii. … XP cannot be a Goal (no pseudopassives)

This paper discusses data from certain dialects of Spanish that depart from (3) in the context of passive SE sentences, at least for agreement cases. In particular, it will be shown that Long Distance Agreement (LDA) is possible between T (the locus of Nominative Case; cf. Chomsky 2000; 2001) and a DP Goal within a PP. I will compare the data with previously reported evidence involving the Differential Object Marking preposition *a* (cf. Torrego 1998; López 2012) in order to argue that there are three types of prepositions when it comes to the possibility for external Probes (φ-complete T) to bypass them.

The paper is organized as follows. §2 reviews the agreement options of passive SE sentences. §3 discusses the main properties of two patterns where T can agree with a DP introduced by a preposition; the first pattern covers what RAE-ASALE (2009) dubs the 'hybrid pattern' (agreement across the differential marker *a*), whereas the second pattern involves agreement in the context of more full-fledged prepositions; §4 puts forward a Probe-Goal analysis of the facts (cf. Chomsky 2000; 2001) that makes use of the idea that P can undergo incorporation (cf. Hornstein & Weinberg 1981; Law 2006). §5 contains the main conclusions.

2 Agreement properties of SE sentences in Spanish

Passive/impersonal SE sentences have been the focus of much research (cf. Mendikoetxea 1992; 1999; Raposo & Uriagereka 1996; D'Alessandro 2007; López 2007; among others). If we concentrate on Spanish, it has been noted that the clitic SE can be part of structures where T agrees with the internal argument (IA, henceforth) (so-called Passive SE; see (4)), but it can also be part of structures where agreement fails (so-called Impersonal SE; see (5)), where T shows default agreement and the IA may or may not be headed by a Case marker, which depends on independent factors:

(4) Spanish
Se criticaron los recortes.
SE criticize.3PL the cuts
'Budget cuts were criticized.'

(5) Spanish

a. Se criticó los recortes.
SE criticize.3SG the cuts
'Budget cuts were criticized.'

b. Se criticó a los políticos.
SE criticize-3SG DOM the students
'Politicians were criticized.'

Consider the patterns above. The sentence in (4) contains a φ-defective v that cannot Case-license the IA *los recortes* (Eng. 'the budget cuts'). As argued by both Raposo & Uriagereka (1996), SE may be taken to occupy the external argument position (cf. López 2007), thus behaving like an expletive of sorts (an idea that has been applied to spurious SE in clitic combinations; cf. Kayne 2000: 160; Gallego & Uriagereka 2017). The sentences in (5) are not *bona fide* passives: in such cases, v is presumably φ-complete, and the IA receives accusative Case, which can be differentially marked (as in (5b)) or not (as in (5a)); as expected, T shows defective (3rd person singular) agreement.

The two agreeing patterns of sentences involving SE have also been reported in traditional atlases such as the ALPI (Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica). The following ALPI maps, taken from de Benito (2010), show this:[1]

(6) (de Benito 2010: 8, 14)

a. Se **cortaron treinta pinos**. (Eng. 'Thirty pines were cut.')
Note from the editor: The image is missing while we sort the licensing issues.

b. Se **castigó** a **los ladrones** (Eng. 'Thieves were punished.')
Note from the editor: The image is missing while we sort the licensing issues.

[1] Just to address a question by an anonymous reviewer, although the ALPI also collects information from Portugal, here I am focusing on Spanish data alone.

As a closer look at the data in (4) and (5) reveals, passive and impersonal SE sentences have a common base – they have the same argument structure, the only difference being agreement. In this context, Mendikoetxea (1999: §26.3.2.2) observes that passive SE sentences can manifest full or partial (defective) agreement, as illustrated in (7a) and (7b) respectively (cf. Martín Zorraquino 1979 for discussion):

(7) Spanish

a. En este país se dicen muchas gilipolleces.
in this country SE say.3PL many bullshit
'People say bullshit in this country.'

b. En este país se dice muchas gilipolleces.
in this country SE say.3SG many bullshit
'People say bullshit in this country.'

Although (7a) is clearly better to my ear, the patterns in (7) are both possible, and there is no consistent dialectal tendency, as far as I can tell. The φ-defective configuration has been reported in Old Spanish texts, and it is also present in varieties of present-day European and American Spanish (cf. Mendikoetxea 1999).[2] The φ-complete configuration involves unproblematic local agreement between T and the IA – a situation also displayed in DAT-NOM structures, whose intricacies I put aside here (cf. López 2007; Chomsky 2008).[3]

There are more interesting cross-clausal cases, where agreement takes place at a distance. Thus, matrix T can long-distance agree with the IA of an embedded infinitive. This is well-known in the case of auxiliaries, but the pattern covers semi-auxiliaries and other verbs:

(8) a. [T [SE V_{AUX} [INF XP]]] [AUX = can, should, etc.]
b. [T [SE $V_{SEMIAUX}$ [INF XP]]] [SEMIAUX = try, need, etc.]

[2] RAE-ASALE (2009) discusses a series of factors that may be behind the lack of agreement in such cases (the category of the internal argument, its preverbal/postverbal position, the presence of dative arguments, etc.).

[3] An anonymous reviewer points out that we should not forget about discourse features and their valuation, as these are key in DAT-NOM constructions. It is unclear what the reviewer means here. If he/she is referring to notions like topic or focus, I simply do not assume they are features in the Probe-Goal sense (for discussion, see Chomsky 2001; 2008; Chomsky et al. 2017; Ott & Šimík 2016). The fact that IOs participate in an agreement relation before DOs (or internal arguments more generally) can be accounted for without resorting to any discourse feature.

Consider the following (RAE-ASALE 2009: Chapter 28), where I indicate Probe and Goal (the agreeing elements) with bold letters.

(9) Spanish

a. Se **intentan** [eliminar **ciertas leyes**].
SE tried.3PL eliminate.INF certain laws
'Certain laws are tried to be eliminated.'

b. Se **necesitan** [conocer **sus propiedades**].
SE need.3PL know.INF their properties
'Their properties are needed to be known.'

c. No se **supieron** [usar **esos recursos**].
not SE knew.3PL use.INF those resources
'Those resources were not known to be used.'

d. Se **han** querido [manchar **reputaciones**].
SE have.3PL wanted damage.INF reputations
'Reputations were wanted to be damaged.'

Evidence like that provided by RAE-ASALE (2009) has also been collected by dialectologists working on atlases:

(10) En el huerto se **podían** plantar **rosales**. (Eng. 'Rose bushes can be planted in the garden.') [from de Benito 2010: 13]

Interestingly, LDA situations go beyond SE scenarios, as shown in (11). As before, the φ-Probe on T scans into the embedded clause, displaying a phenomenon we can dub "hyperagreement".[4]

(11) a. Siempre nos **tocaron** [resolver **problemas**].
always to.us be.our.turn.3PL solve problems
'We always had to solve problems.'

b. Nos **faltan** [hacer **dos goles**].
to.us lack.3PL make two goals
'We still have to score two goals.'

[4] Fernández-Serrano (2016) provides a detailed analysis of the data above based on the idea that agreement takes place whenever the embedded clause projects fewer layers of structure (undergoing a restructuring of sorts, but from a phase-theoretic perspective; cf. Gallego 2009), which has morphological and interpretive consequences.

Notice that, in both SE and SE-less cases, agreement is only in number, not person (cf. Etxepare 2006), but there seems to be robust evidence that we are dealing with syntactic LDA.[5] To conclude, consider previously unnoticed situations in which intervention-like effects arise in the context of an auxiliary:

(12) a. ? Me **faltaron** [corregir **esos exámenes**].
to.me lacked.3PL mark those exams
'I couldn't mark those exams.'

b. ?* Me **faltaron** [haber corregido **esos exámenes**].
to.me lacked.3PL have marked those exams
'I couldn't have marked those exams.'

A second piece of evidence comes from clitic climbing (cf. Gallego 2016; Paradís 2016; and references therein). As (13) shows, LDA is worse if a clitic stays in situ:

(13) a. Se **pueden** [leer **esos libros**].
SE can.3PL read those books
'Those books can be read.'

b. Se me **pueden** [leer(?*me) **esos libros**].
SE to.me can.3PL read to.me those books
'Those books can be read to me.'

Let us conclude. This section has reviewed the main properties of SE sentences in Spanish, paying attention to the various agreement patterns they display in the

[5] A reviewer suggests that agreement is also for third person here, but this is not accurate, as this is a default value. If agreement was complete (number and person), then one would expect to find, for instance, SE sentences with 1st or 2nd person agreement; however, as López (2007) points out, this is impossible in Spanish:

(i) Spanish (López 2007: 127)

a. * Se vimos unos lingüistas en el mercado ayer.
SE saw.1PL some linguists in the market yesterday
'Some linguists were seen in the market yesterday.'
(intended meaning: Some of us linguists were seen in the market)

b. * Se visteis unos lingüistas en el mercado ayer.
SE saw.2PL some linguists in the market yesterday
'Some linguists were seen in the market yesterday.'
(intended meaning: Some of you linguists were seen in the market)

different varieties of Spanish. Two main patterns have been identified, following the literature. One features a φ-defective v, which explains the lack of Accusative Case (and thus agreement with T). The other features a φ-complete v, which blocks Agree (T, IA). As we have seen, the alternation between agreeing and non-agreeing options is not subject to any systematic dialectal logic (there is no "isogloss" telling us where agreement stops), so we seem to have a case of optionality – with a tendency towards full agreement, a murky issue that seems to have semantic consequences in biclausal scenarios (cf. Martin & Uriagereka 1998; Fernández-Serrano 2016).

As we have seen, such optionality is frequent whenever the IA is not differentially marked. However, agreement has also been reported in cases where the DO is preceded by a Case marker, a pattern I would like to refer to as hybrid, which I discuss in the following section.

3 Agreement across P in Spanish

3.1 Introduction

This section considers two configurations in which agreement between T and the complement of a preposition can take place in Spanish. The first one involves the differential marker *a* (cf. Torrego 1998; López 2012) and the second one involves full-fledged prepositions. Roughly, the relevant abstract patterns are as in (14), where K and P give rise to Case and P projections.[6]

(14) a. [SE **T** (Probe) [$_{VP}$ V … [K **XP** (Goal)]]] [K = differential marker]

b. [SE **T** (Probe) [$_{VP}$ V … [P **XP** (Goal)]]] [P = full-fledged preposition]

After briefly discussing the case of agreement across DOM (namely, (14a)), I turn my attention to (14b), suggesting that P undergoes incorporation, giving rise to a P-stranding-less version of pseudopassives. In terms of parametric tendencies, the second scenario is unexpected, given the properties of Romance languages. This should explain its limited availability, which seems to be largely restricted to American varieties.

[6] The distinction between K and P is equivalent to that between functional or lexical prepositions (see van Riemsdijk 1990 and references therein for discussion).

3.2 Agreement across DOM

We have already seen that SE sentences can be passive (with agreement) and impersonal (without agreement). Above we saw the relevant data in (4) and (5), repeated as (15) and (16):

(15) Spanish
Se criticaron los recortes.
SE criticize.3PL the cuts
'Budget cuts were criticized.'

(16) Spanish

a. Se criticó los recortes.
SE criticize.3SG the cuts
'Budget cuts were criticized.'

b. Se criticó a los políticos.
SE criticize.3SG DOM the students
'Politicians were criticized.'

As noted, if *v* is *φ*-complete (the (15) example), the IA presumably receives accusative Case, which can be coupled with the differential marker *a*, as in (16b). This is precisely the pattern in which agreement is most unlikely to happen – for the same reason agreement does not bypass prepositions more generally. That said, agreement does seem to be possible in some cases, even in the context of DOM; this variant of the pattern in (16b), to which I return below, is called "hybrid" by RAE-ASALE (2009).[7]

The *v* of (16) should be *φ*-complete *v*, therefore *v** in the sense of Chomsky (2001). However, it is not immediately obvious that *bona fide* Accusative Case is assigned in the two examples offered in (16). Consider the contrast in (17), where the accusative clitic *lo* (Eng. 'it') can only be used if the antecedent is animate (*a Trump* – Eng. 'Trump'):[8]

[7] Variation in this domain does not seem to adhere to any clear-cut geographical distinction. For some speakers, agreement is optional, and has no interpretive consequences. Planells (2017) approaches the facts by taking T to agree optionally with SE or the (shifted, for DOM reasons) internal argument – which are responsible for partial and complete agreement respectively. The approach makes use of Chomsky's (1995) *equidistance* (cf. Gallego 2013 for discussion), but the facts could also be handled by the approach to variation put forward in Obata & Epstein (2016), where parameters boil down to SMT-compliant derivations whose order of operations varies.

[8] As an anonymous reviewer rightly points out, there is non-trivial variation concerning the

(17) a. * Los poemas, se **los** recita en clase de literatura.
the poems SE it.ACC.M.PL read.3SG in class of literature
'Poems, we read them in literature class.'

b. ? A Trump, aquí se **lo** ve como a un matón.
DOM Trump here SE it.ACC.M.SG see.3SG like to a thug
'Trump, he is seen as a thug here.'

The asymmetry in (17) looks consistent, so let's assume the following generalization, taking it for granted that only DOM signals Accusative Case assignment:[9]

(18) If the IA is differentially-marked (*a* XP), then SE *v* is *v** (*φ*-complete).

An interesting piece of evidence indicating that Accusative Case may not be at play even in the presence of DOM comes from the observation that leísta varieties of Spanish show a preference for the dative clitic *le* (Eng. 'to him/her') in the presence of SE, as in (19):

(19) a. Non-leísta/American Spanish
Se **lo** critica.
SE CL.ACC criticize.3SG
'He is criticized.'

b. Leísta/European Spanish
Se **{?lo / le}** critica.
SE CL.ACC CL.DAT criticize.3SG
'He is criticized.'

This raises the more general question whether differentially-marked IAs receive true accusative. If the answer is negative, this would explain the restricted availability of *lo*/*la* (only with animates), and the preference for *le* in European Spanish. The tendency to have a *lo* > *le* shift in the context of SE is noted by Ordóñez (2004):

(20) European Spanish

case of clitics in these constructions, even within European varieties of Spanish. Taking into account all the dialectal subtleties that concern clitics is beyond the scope of this paper.

[9] Although (18) is stable across dialects, there are well-known exceptions. In particular, the pattern is more restricted in European Spanish. In non-European varieties, on the other hand, RAE-ASALE (2009: §41.12m) observes that *v** can assign Accusative Case to inanimate IAs in the Andean, Chilean, and River Plate areas (cf. Gallego 2016).

Si hay que fusilar-**lo**, SE **le** fusila.
if there.be.3SG that shoot-CL SE CL shoot-3SG
'If he must be shot, he is shot.' (from P. Preston, *Franco*, cited by Ordóñez 2004)

This accusative-dative connection would naturally align with leísmo, which seems to be present in the only Romance language with consistent DOM: Spanish. Colomina et al. (2017) in fact argue that DOM involves a process of accusative case displacement, assuming that the structure that underlies (21) is (22):

(21) Spanish
Nadie visitó a Trump.
nobody visited.3SG DOM Trump
'Nobody visited Trump.'

(22) [$_{vP}$ nadie v [$_{VP}$ PROVIDE [to Trump [VISIT]]]]

In this context, it is interesting to note that Mexican Spanish, which is not leísta, becomes (obligatorily) leísta if SE is introduced. In fact, as (23) reveals, this type of leísmo is more general than the one present in European varieties, for it applies to both masculine and feminine DPs (as in *bona fide* datives, as emphasized by Colomina et al. 2017).

(23) Mexican Spanish

a. A tu amigo SE **le** ve preocupado.
DOM your friend.M.SG SE him.DAT.M.SG see.3SG worried
'Your friend, he looks worried.'

b. A tu amiga SE **le** ve preocupada.
DOM your friend.F.SG SE her.DAT.F.SG see.3SG worried
'Your friend, she looks worried.'

Gallego (2016) builds on the previous description of the facts to argue that impersonal SE sentences can be divided into two broad dialects:

(24) a. Dialect A: v is φ-defective
b. Dialect B: v is φ-complete

The morphological distinction targeting v implies the following:

(25) a. Leísta Spanish
Dialect A: [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ V [$_{PP}$ a [$DP_{OBLIQUE}$]]]]

b. Non-leísta Spanish
Dialect B: i. [$_{vP}$ $v\varphi$ [$_{VP}$ V [$_{KP}$ a DP_{ACC}]]]

c. Hybrid pattern
Dialect B: ii. [… Tφ … [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ V [$_{KP}$ a DP_{NOM}]]]]

The key distinction between A and B dialects is whether Accusative Case is assigned or displaced. If the latter is the case, some oblique (dative, if some version of Marantz's (1991) Dependent Case approach is at work) assigner takes care of the IA.

The most intriguing pattern is (25c), which is reported by Ordóñez & Treviño (2007). As these authors note, Mexican and Argentinian varieties of Spanish feature what RAE-ASALE (2009) calls the 'hybrid' pattern (cf. Planells 2017 and references therein for discussion).

(26) (Ordóñez & Treviño 2007: 12)

a. Mexican Spanish
Finalmente, se **castigaron** a **los culpables**.
finally SE punished.3PL to the culprits
'Finally, the culprits were punished.'

b. Argentinian Spanish
Se **evacuaron** a más de **120.000 damnificados**.
SE evacuated.3PL to more of 120,000 damaged
'More than 120,000 damaged people were evacuated.'

These data are not expected if the IA is inactive, after receiving accusative Case. In order to account for them, we would need to assume that: (i) the IA is Caseless (otherwise the φ-Probe on T could not match it) and (ii) the Case marker a cannot give rise to a PP or a KP projection. It must in fact be analyzed as an element inserted in the NS → PF wing of the derivation – in other words, as a dissociated morpheme (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993).

Now that we have reviewed agreement across differential markers, in the next section I pay attention to situations where agreement is rampant, and in fact ignores elements that are not mere functional Case markers, but are seemingly full-fledged prepositions.

3.3 Agreement across full-fledged P

We have just discussed data where the φ-Probe on T within SE sentences matches a differentially marked IA. Such cases, though subject to a rather unclear dialectal distribution, fall into place if Spanish *a* can be considered a functional element, not a preposition in its own right. Surprisingly, some American Spanish dialects seem to allow a pattern of agreement that can also ignore prepositions other than *a*. Consider the examples in (27), taken from internet searches:

(27) American Spanish

a. Dijo que se **hablaron** con **las autoridades**.
say that SE talked.3PL with the authorities
'He said that the authorities were talked to.'
http://www.santiagodigital.net/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=13837&Itemid=17

b. En Santiago anoche se **informaron** de **cuatro homicidios**.
in Santiago last night SE informed.3PL of four homicides
'Four homicides were reported last night in Santiago.'
http://www.periodismoglobal.cl/2006/08/la-democracia-de-la-udi.html

c. El comercio online sumó […] 100 millones de transacciones.
the trade online added.3SG 100 millions of transactions
[…] cuando se **llegaron** a **los 74,3 millones de operaciones**.
when SE arrived.3PL to the 74.3 millions of operations
'The online trading added 100 million transactions when 74.3 million operations were reached.'
http://www.elpais.com/articulo/economia/comercio/electronico/volvio/batir/record/2010/elpepueco/20110506elpepueco_7/Tes

d. En realidad se **dependen** de **tantos** **factores** que esto provoca
in reality SE depend.3PL of so.many factors that this provokes
una extrema dificultad
a extreme difficulty
'Actually, one depends on so many factors that it makes things extremely difficult.'
http://diegotenis9.wordpress.com/

Analogous data can be obtained from searches in both the CREA data bank and on Google:

(28) (from CREA: http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html)

a. El Salvador
Sólo se **disponen** de **datos de matrículas** …
just SE dispose.3PL of data of registration
'We just have data on registration …'

b. Costa Rica
Aunque no se **disponen** de **cifras exactas** …
although not SE dispose.3PL of numbers exact
'Although we don't have exact numbers …'

c. Spain
Sí se **saben** de **diversos factores** que influyen …
yes SE know.3PL of diverse factors that influence
'We do know factors that influence …'

(29) a. Mexico
Todavía se **confían** en los milagros.
yet SE trust.3PL in the miracles
'They still believe in miracles.'
http://www.sinembargo.mx/30-03-2014/947521

b. Chile
Cuando se **hablan** de **las supuestas desigualdades**
when SE talk.3PL of the alleged asymmetries
'When they talk about the alleged asymmetries'
http://blog.lanacion.cl/2014/03/11/desigualdades-de-genero-en-el-emprendimiento/

These data have not been described in reference grammars of Spanish (cf. Bosque & Demonte 1999; RAE-ASALE 2009), plausibly because they can be can be regarded as production errors. The data have, however, also been reported by the Syntactic Atlas of Spanish (ASinEs) (see Figure 1).

Furthermore, note that the texts from which I have gathered the examples are not oral, and they are not isolated online hits. The fact that this type of evidence can also be found in the CREA database seems to me enough to regard it as part of the speakers' competence. Therefore, what one could plausibly conclude from these examples is that American dialects of Spanish display a restricted variety of pseudopassives (modulo P-stranding). Let us refer to this process as "P-phasing", merely to indicate that the P undergoes a change of state that allows the φ-Probe on T to match the DP.

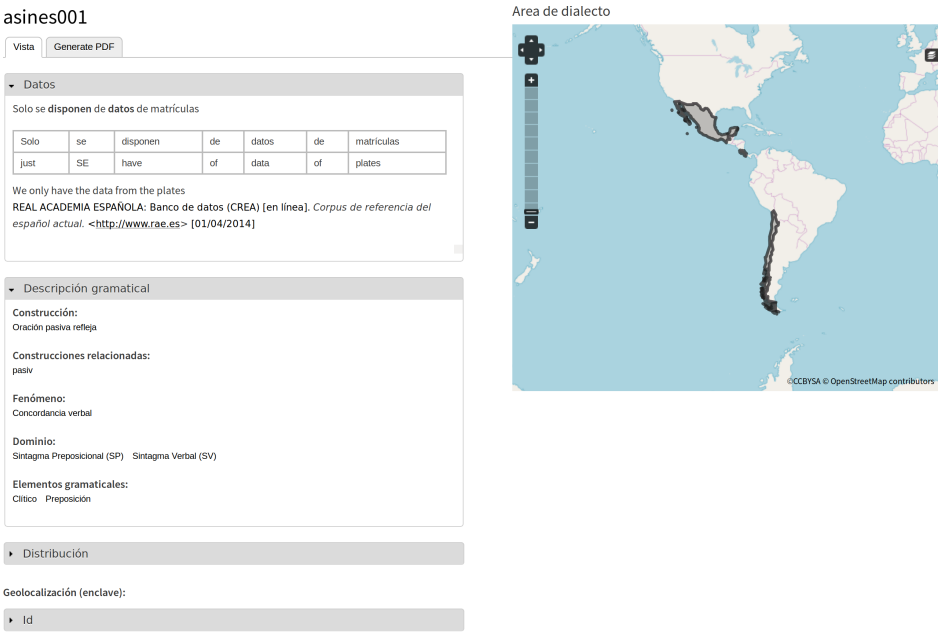

Figure 1: Syntactic Atlas of Spanish. (Gallego 2018)

4 A Probe-Goal analysis of the facts

Some questions arise if, as I have argued, the prepositions in the examples can be bypassed by a φ-Probe. To begin with, one may wonder whether the same phenomenon is found not only with SE passives, but also with periphrastic (BE) passives. The answer is negative, as examples like the following are ruled out by American Spanish speakers who accept the data in (27), (28) and (29):

(30) American Spanish

a. * **Fueron habladas** con **las autoridades**.
be.3PL talked.F.3PL with the authorities
'The authorities were spoken to.'

b. * **Fueron informados** de **cuatro homicidios**.
be.3PL informed.M.3PL of four homicides
'Four homicides were reported.'

The process of P-phasing might further be related to the prepositional-transitive alternation, illustrated in (32), that many prepositional verbs undergo in Spanish

(cf. Demonte 1991; García-Miguel 1995; Gallego 2010; and references therein):[10]

(31) Spanish

a. He pensado (en) la respuesta.
have.1SG thought in the answer
'I thought of the answer.'

b. Hemos discutido (de) ese asunto en la reunión.
have.1PL discussed about that matter in the meeting
'We discussed that matter in the meeting.'

This very point takes us back to a second question posed by the data above. What is the relevant parameter that makes agreement possible across prepositions? I will assume that the T head is morphologically equivalent in all the Spanish dialects under consideration – hence, there is no parametrically 'tweaked' version of T that allows for a deeper search (cf. Chomsky 2001). I will instead argue that it is the status of P that varies, as whatever happens in these dialects it affects the *v*P syntax. There are three specific alternatives to implement the idea that the parameter is anchored to P:

(32) Parametrizing P

a. P is external to the VP (as in Kayne's 2004 analysis of causatives)
b. P is inserted at PF (as a dissociated morpheme)
c. P is reanalyzed with V

The first option is tempting in the case of the hybrid pattern, where the preposition has a clear-cut functional nature – like complementizers, as Kayne (2004) argues. This is in fact the approach that Ordóñez & Treviño (2016) put forward in their analysis of DOM, whose derivation is reproduced in (35) for a sentence like (34):

(33) Spanish
Vimos a María.
saw-1PL DOM María
'We saw María.'

(34) a. ... [$_{vP}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ vimos [$_{DP}$ María]]] DP [+anim, +spec]
Merge of *a*

[10] Plausibly too, the speakers that allow for P-phasing also accept P-stranding in Spanish (cf. Depiante & Thompson 2013; Lemos 2013; and references therein).

b. ... a [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ vimos [$_{DP}$ María]]]
Movement to Spec
c. ... [$_{aP}$ [María]$_i$ a [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ vimos [t]$_i$]]]
Merge of W
d. ... W [$_{aP}$ [María]$_i$ a [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ vimos [t]$_i$]]]
Head raising
e. ... [a$_j$+W] [$_{aP}$ [María]$_i$ t$_j$ [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ vimos [t]$_i$]]]
Remnant movement
f. ... [$_{WP}$ [$_{vP}$ v [$_{VP}$ vimos [t]$_i$]]]$_k$ [a$_j$+W] [$_{aP}$ [María]$_i$ t$_j$ t$_k$

Suppose that, following the logic of these authors' analysis, the differential marker is introduced above the TP (not the *v*P), then there is no obstacle preventing T's *φ*-Probe from matching the IA. It is not obvious, though, that the same idea should be adopted for prepositions that have a semantic flavor, like many of those featured in the examples above. For this very reason, it is not obvious that the analysis in (34) can be phrased in terms of PF insertion: the prepositions in (27), (28) and (29) are not dissociated morphemes. We are left, therefore, with some variant of the reanalysis approach (cf. Hornstein & Weinberg 1981; Kayne 1975; 2004, among many others). Of course, notice that it must be the case that the preposition is not heading an adjunct, since these seem to block agreement at all costs. Hence, the examples in (36) are totally out:

(35) Spanish

a. * Se **trabajaron** en **las reuniones**.
SE work-3PL in the meetings
'People worked in the meetings.'
b. * Se **criticaron** al Presidente por **varias razones**.
SE criticize-3PL DOM-the president for various reasons
'The President was criticized for various reasons.'

Consequently, the V-P reanalysis option seems to be necessary with some prepositions. Accordingly, the process depicted in (37) seems to be relevant for capturing the data in (27), (28) and (29):

(36) a. [SE **T** (*φ*-Probe) [$_{VP}$ V ... [P **XP** (Goal)]]] (P = full-fledged preposition)
b. [SE **T** (*φ*-Probe) [$_{VP}$ [V-P] ... [t **XP** (Goal)]]] (P = full-fledged preposition)

Literally, what (37) is saying is that P is incorporated into P so that the XP Goal is probeable by T and agreement can take place. This raises interesting typological questions of the sort involved in teasing apart satellite-framed and verb-framed languages (cf. Mateu 2012 and references therein). An observation to keep in mind in order to support the Probe-Goal analysis is that, again, agreement is only in number (cf. Etxepare 2006), as the following asymmetries reveal:

(37) * Spanish
Se {pensa-mos/-áis} en {nosotros / vosotros}.
SE think-1PL/2PL in we / you
'We/you are thought about.'

Finally, there is evidence arguing against the existence of a non-referential (indefinite) 3PL pronoun (cf. Suñer 1983; Cabredo Hofherr 2003). These pronouns can be spelled out, and then the non-referential reading is lost. However, these sentences reject the spell-out of a pronoun. So, the following is possible:

(38) Spain
En España, (ellos) se acuestan tarde.
in Spain they SE go.to.bed-3PL late
'In Spain, (they/people) go to bed late.'

But the following is not:

(39) Spanish
En la reunión, **(*ellos)** se hablaron de temas muy importantes.
in the meeting they SE talked-3PL of topics very important
'Very important topics were talked about in the meeting.'

And the same holds if the subject is indefinite, which can also trigger the impersonal reading that the sentences we are considering deploy:

(40) Spanish
En la reunión, **(*algunos)** se hablaron de temas muy importantes.
in the meeting some SE talked-3PL of topics very important
'Very important topics were talked about in the meeting.'

Nonetheless, definiteness does seem to be relevant when it comes to the Goal of the agreement process. Consider the following examples, which indicate that the more indefinite it is, the more possible the agreement dependency becomes:

(41) Spanish

a. ? Se evacuaron a mas de 200.000 damnificados.
SE evacuate-3PL DOM more of 200,000 affected
'More than 200,000 affected were evacuated.'

b. ?? Se castigaron a los culpables.
SE punished-3PL DOM the culprits
'The culprits were punished.'

c. ?* Se castigaron a ellos.
SE punished-3PL DOM them
'They were punished.'

Although I cannot go into the details, all of this suggests that there are deeper layers of analysis around this phenomenon, suggesting that the type of Goal has a role in determining how good agreement is.

5 Conclusions

This paper has discussed new data from Spanish dialects concerning agreement in SE sentences. Although this is a well-known topic in the literature, the previous pages have shown that along with the "hybrid pattern", some dialects of Spanish display a pseudopassive structure of sorts. Needless to say, more careful empirical study is needed, and the factors to control for are the following: (i) the type of verb (non-pronominal, agentive, etc.) that allows pseudopassives, (ii) the preposition that allows agreement, (iii) the type of Goal (DP, NP, bare plural, etc.), and (iv) the source from which the data have been obtained.

I have argued against the possibility that the facts can be considered as typos or oral errors. There are various arguments for rejecting that possibility: the pattern does not appear in isolated online hits (we could add more examples to the data in (27), (28) and (29)), one cannot find analogous examples with adjuncts (see (36)), and similar agreement facts are found with DOM and partitive prepositions, as noted by Treviño (2010) for Mexican Spanish:

(42) Mexican Spanish
Por aquí **pasaron** de **esos** **aviones**.
by here passed-3PL of those planes
'Some of those planes passed by here.'

The descriptive and theoretical consequences of the discussion above are not minor. It forces us not only to reconsider the distinction between different types of prepositions in Spanish (and more generally; cf. Demonte 1987; 1991; 1995; Abels 2003; Cuervo 2003; Pesetsky & Torrego 2004; Romero Morales 2011), but also to sharpen our analysis of how micro- and macroparameters interact. Since the agreement data reported here align with phenomena that concern the V-P connection, we are in a good position to improve our understanding of linguistic variation, typological correlations, and language contact.

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Chapter 2

Subject-verb agreement with Genitive of Quantification in Polish *co* and *który* object relative clauses

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This paper examines subject-verb agreement in Polish object relative clauses (RCs) of two types, namely *co* and *który* relatives, in which the modified head noun (HN) is a Genitive of Quantification phrase (GoQ). When it functions as a subject, this phrase forces default agreement on the verbal predicate. However, whenever it occupies the subject of a RC position, the agreement may vary between default and full agreement, depending on the type of the RC and the grammatical gender of the HN. This study compares subject-verb agreement with GoQ in subject relatives (examined in Łęska 2016) with the patterns found in object RCs, based on the results of a survey of acceptability judgements for *co* and *który* object RCs. The results revealed an asymmetry between subject and object RCs in the possibility of default agreement, indicating that the Case attraction analysis of Polish RCs should be further restricted to apply only to the former.

1 Polish *co* and *który*-relatives

1.1 Introduction

This section is a brief overview of previous research on Polish RCs regarding their distribution, case mismatches between the head noun and the relative operator, and asymmetries in the derivation of *co* and *który*-RCs.

Paulina Łęska. 2019. Subject-verb agreement with Genitive of Quantification in Polish *co* and *który* object relative clauses. In Ludovico Franco, Mihaela Marchis Moreno & Matthew Reeve (eds.), *Agreement, case and locality in the nominal and verbal domains*, 21–46. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI:??

1.2 The distribution of *co* and *który* relative markers

The two types of RCs under investigation are introduced by different relative markers, namely the relative pronoun *który* and the complementizer *co*. The former is a D-linked relative pronoun which requires a nominal restriction and is used to relativize full nominal heads in so-called 'headed relatives' (Citko 2004). According to Citko, headed relatives can be introduced only by the relative pronoun *który*, which can relativize both animate and inanimate heads. The agreement between the pronoun and the relative clause head is in gender and number (but not case), as in (1):

(1) a. Mężczyzna, **którego** spotkałem wczoraj, jest lekarzem.
man.3SG.M.NOM który.3SG.M.ACC I.met yesterday is doctor
'A man who I met yesterday is a doctor.'

b. Znalazłam książki, **które** wczoraj zgubiłeś.
I.found books.3PL.F.ACC który.3PL.F.ACC yesterday you.lost
'I found the books which you lost yesterday.'

However, Polish headed relatives can also be introduced by the uninflected relative marker *co*. Although this relativization strategy is limited to spoken language, relatives with the uninflected *co* are considered fully grammatical (Buttler et al. 1971). Generally, in non-standard Polish, the marker *co* can occur in the same context as the relative pronoun *który* (example (2)), except for non-restrictive RCs, for which only *który* can be used, as can be seen in (3), illustrating an appositive RC (Borsley 1981; 1984).

(2) a. Mężczyzna, **co** spotkałem go wczoraj, jest lekarzem.
man.3SG.M.NOM COMP I.met him yesterday is doctor
'A man who I met yesterday is a doctor.'

b. Znalazłam książki, **co** wczoraj je zgubiłeś.
I.found books.3PL.F.ACC COMP yesterday them you.lost
'I found the books which you lost yesterday.'

(3) Adam, ***co/którego** znam od lat, mieszka teraz w Anglii.
Adam COMP/who.ACC I.know from years lives now in England
'Adam, whom I have known for years, lives in England right now.'

When it comes to agreement, *co* in headed relatives does not agree in phi-features or case with the head noun. This observation has been used to argue

that *co* in this type of RC has complementizer status. Compare the light headed relative in (4a) to the headed relative in (4b) (Citko 2004).

(4) a. To jest coś, **czego**/*__co__ tutaj wczoraj nie było.
this is something.NOM what.GEN/*COMP here yesterday not was
'This is something that was not here yesterday.'

b. To jest ta książka, **co** jej/*__czego__ tutaj wczoraj nie było.
this is this book COMP her/*what.GEN here yesterday not was
'This is the book that was not here yesterday.'

As opposed to light headed relatives, in which *co* inflects for case and is therefore considered to be a relative pronoun, headed relatives, in which *co* remains uninflected and a resumptive pronoun is used to mark the relativization site, are considered to be introduced by a complementizer. Thus, despite the fact that the form of the uninflected relative marker *co* is homophonous with the nominative/accusative form of the relative pronoun *co*, there is some evidence in support of the complementizer status of *co* in headed RCs. According to Bondaruk (1995), the relative marker *co* can be used in the same context as the complementizer *żeby* in purpose clauses, as in (5a). As can be seen in (5b), *co* followed by the particle *by* can replace the complementizer *żeby*, although sentences like this are mainly restricted to dialectal use (Bondaruk 1995: 35).

(5) a. Kupił pióro, **żeby** nim pisać.
he.bought pen in.order.to with.it.INS write

b. Kupił pióro, **co** by nim pisać.
he.bought pen COMP in.order.to with.it.INS write
'He bought a pen to write with.'

Homophony between *wh*-pronouns and complementizers is common cross-linguistically, since the former are often a source for the development of the latter (Citko 2004: 108). According to Minlos (2012), the main diachronic source of this invariable lexeme in Slavic relative constructions was an inflected pronoun functioning as either an interrogative, an indefinite, or a relative pronoun. This lexeme stems from Common Slavic **čьto* (Russian *что*, BCS – Bosnian / Croatian / Serbian *što*) or **čьso* (Czech, Polish *co*, Slovak *čo*). Table 1 below shows the inflectional paradigms of the Polish relative pronouns *co* and *który*. As for other language families, a detailed account of the asymmetries between relative operators and complementizers is offered in Bacskai-Atkari (2016) for Uralic (Hungarian) and Germanic languages. Diachronic evidence presented in Bacskai-Atkari

(2016) indicates that the Hungarian declarative complementizer *hogy* 'COMP' developed via the relative cycle from an operator, which could function as either an interrogative or relative operator as well as a complementizer, into a lower C^0 head which was then reinterpreted as a higher C^0 head.

Table 1: Case inflection on the relative markers *który* and *co*. Plural gender distinction: virile (masculine personal), non-virile (masc. non-personal, feminine, neuter).

Case	*który*					*co*
	Singular			Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Virile	Non-virile	
Nom./Voc.	który	która	które	**którzy**	**które**	**co**
Acc.	którego	którą	które	**których**	**które**	**co**
Gen.	którego	której	którego	**których**		czego
Dat.	któremu	której	któremu	którym		czemu
Loc.	którym	której	którym	których		czym
Inst.	którym	którą	którym	którymi		czym

1.3 Case mismatches and resumption

Polish *który*-relatives show a mismatch between the cases assigned to the external and the internal head, regardless of the position occupied by the two heads, as can be seen in (6). The head noun *tę kobietę* 'this woman' is assigned accusative case in the matrix clause, being a direct object of the verb *spotkałem* 'I-met', whereas the relative pronoun in the embedded clause bears nominative case, occupying the subject position of the relative clause. Example (6b) shows the opposite situation, in which the external head is a nominative subject and the internal head is an object bearing accusative case. This observation has been used to argue against the raising analysis of *który*-relatives (Borsley 1997), since one chain can be assigned only one Case (Chomsky 1982).[1]

[1]The advocates of the raising analysis, however, assume that the Case features of the relative D^0 heads are checked and erased by the time the noun head gets to the SpecCP position, thus allowing the same noun head to be assigned Case by the matrix D^0 head (Kayne 1994; Bianchi 2000; Citko 2004).

(6) a. Spotkałem tą kobietę, **która** przyszła do ciebie
I.met this.ACC woman.ACC who.NOM came to you
wczoraj.
yesterday
'I met the woman who came to you yesterday.'

b. Ta kobieta, **którą** Jan lubi, przyszła do mnie wczoraj.
this.NOM woman.NOM who.ACC Jan likes came to me yesterday
'The woman who John likes came to me yesterday.'

c. Kobieta, **o której** mówisz, przyszła do mnie wczoraj.
woman.NOM about who.LOC you.speak came to me yesterday
'The woman you speak about came to me yesterday.'

As opposed to *który*-relatives, in which the relativization site is always realized as a gap, *co*-relatives can either use the bare strategy or the resumption strategy. Since the complementizer *co* is not marked for case by the predicate of the relative clause, the relativization site is occupied by a resumptive pronoun which reflects this case marking. Such relative clauses are analysed as being derived via External Merge of the resumptive pronoun, which is bound by a null operator merged in SpecCP (Borer 1984; Chomsky 1977; Lavine 2003; McCloskey 1990; 2002; Merchant 2004; Safir 1986; Shlonsky 1992). This analysis, however, does not account for the bare strategy in which no resumptive pronoun is used. Generally, the resumptive pronoun is obligatory whenever the head noun is the direct or indirect object, whereas it is impossible with subject head nouns, as in (7):

(7) a. mężczyzna, **co** **(*on)** biegnie
man.NOM that he.NOM runs
'the man that is running'

b. mężczyzna, **co** ***(go)** Jan widzi
man.NOM that him.ACC Jan sees
'the man that John sees'

c. mężczyzna, **co** ***(mu)** Jan pokazuje książkę
man.NOM that him.DAT Jan shows book
'the man that John is showing him the book'

However, research on resumption strategies in Slavic *čto*-relatives shows that it is possible to drop the resumptive pronoun in a broader set of contexts. This observation has been made for Croatian *što*-relatives in Gračanin-Yuksek (2013: 29)

and can also be extended to Polish examples. As can be seen in (8a) and (9a), the obligatory resumptive pronouns *ga* and *go* 'him' are marked for accusative case within the relative clause, whereas the subject is marked for nominative, assigned by T^0 of the main clause. In these cases, the resumptive pronouns are obligatory. In (8b) and (9b), on the other hand, both the resumptive pronoun and the relativized object are marked for accusative by the predicates of the embedded and the main clause, respectively. As a result, the pronoun can be absent, which is confirmed by the grammaticality of these two examples (all Croatian examples used in this and the following sections are from Gračanin-Yuksek 2013).

(8) Croatian

a. Čovjek [**što** sam ***(ga)** video] voli Ivu.
man.NOM that AUX him.ACC seen loves Iva
'The man that I saw loves Iva.'

b. Upoznao sam čovjeka [**što** **(ga)** Iva obožava].
met AUX man.ACC that him.ACC Iva adores
'I met the man that Iva adores.'

(9) Polish

a. Mężczyzna, [**co** ***(go)** widziałem], kocha Marię.
man.NOM that him.ACC saw loves Mary
'The man that I saw loves Mary.'

b. Widziałem mężczyznę, [**co** **(go)** Maria kocha].
I.saw man.ACC that him.ACC Mary loves
'I saw the man that Mary loves.

The resumptive pronoun marked for accusative case is also optional when the relativized subject has a syncretic NOM/ACC form, as can be seen in Croatian (10) and Polish (11):

(10) Dijete [**što** sam **(ga)** vidio] voli Ivu.
child.NOM that AUX him.ACC saw loves Iva
'The child that I saw loves Iva.'

(11) Dziecko, [**co** **(je)** widzałem wczoraj], kocha Marię.
child.NOM that him.ACC I.saw yesterday loves Mary
'The child that I saw yesterday loves Mary.'

The examples in (10) and (11), as opposed to the examples in (8a) and (9a), involve a neuter subject *dijete/dziecko* 'child', the form of which is ambiguous between nominative and accusative. The fact that if this noun was assigned case by the predicate of the relative clause, it would appear in the same form, makes it possible to realize the relativization site as a gap. Therefore, it could be posited that it is the morphological form of the head noun, and not the formal identity of case assigned by the main and the embedded predicate, which makes the resumptive pronoun optional. This correlation was formalized as Morphological Case Matching in Gračanin-Yuksek (2013: 30), the definition of which is given in (12) below:

(12) Morphological Case Matching
In a *što*-RC, an RP may be omitted if the head of the RC bears the same morphological case that it would bear if it were case marked by the element that case-marks the RP.

Therefore, case marking on both the external and internal head may be the key issue in the analysis of resumption strategies in *co*-relatives. The next section compares the structures of these two types of RCs and their derivation.

1.4 The structure and derivation of *co*- and *który*-RCs

The two types of RCs discussed here, being introduced by two different relative markers, have usually been analysed as having different structures. The asymmetry between these two types of relatives in Polish and Russian was extensively discussed in Szczegielniak (2005; 2006). In his analysis, he proposes that the head noun in *co* relative clauses not only can but must reconstruct to a position inside the relative clause, whereas the head noun in *który* relative clauses cannot. Some support for reconstruction in Polish, as well as Russian, *co*-relatives comes from examples of idiom splitting. Because only this type of relative allows for reconstruction of the head noun, it can split up idiom chunks, except when the resumption strategy is used; compare (13a-c) from Szczegielniak (2006: 377). A similar observation has been made for Serbian relatives (Mitrović 2012).

(13) a. ?? słów, **których** on nie rzucał na wiatr
words which.GEN he not throw on wind

b. słów, **co** on nie rzucał na wiatr
words that he.NOM not throw on wind

c. ?? słów, **co** on **je** nie rzucał na wiatr
words that he.NOM them.ACC not throw on wind
'empty promises that he did not make'

Yet, another asymmetry between *co-* and *który*-relatives can be observed in appositive relative clauses, which are analysed as being separate from the head noun (Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 1990). The fact that *co*-relatives do not allow an appositive reading suggests the presence of head noun reconstruction. Again, when the resumption strategy is used, *co*-relatives pattern with *który*-relatives, as demonstrated in (14) from Szczegielniak (2006: 378):

(14) a. * Maria, **co** Marek pocałował, poszła do domu.
Mary.NOM that Mark kissed went to home

b. Maria, **którą** Marek pocałował, poszła do domu.
Mary.NOM who.ACC Mark kissed went to home

c. Maria, **co ją** Marek pocałował, poszła do domu.
Mary.NOM that her.ACC Mark kissed went to home
'Mary, who Mark kissed, went home.'

The above-mentioned arguments point to obligatory reconstruction in *co*-relatives with no resumptive pronouns, suggesting the movement of the head noun out of the relative (Åfarli 1994; Bhatt 2002; Bianchi 1999; Brame 1968; Vries 2002; Hornstein 2000; Kayne 1994; Safir 1999; Schachter 1973; Vergnaud 1974; Zwart 2000). However, some evidence from binding effects points to the contrary. As was noticed in Gračanin-Yuksek (2013) for Croatian *što*-relatives, and as can also be observed in Polish *co*-relatives, a possessive anaphor contained in the head noun cannot be bound by the subject of the relative clause, as shown in (15). The absence of reconstruction can also be seen in (16), where the possessive pronoun in the head noun can corefer with an element in the relative clause, but not with one in the matrix clause (Croatian examples from Gračanin-Yuksek 2013).

(15) a. Croatian
Jan$_i$ voli svakog svog$_{i/*j}$ psa **što** (ga) je Iva$_j$ dovela ___
Jan loves every self's dog.ACC that him.ACC AUX Iva brought
na izložbu.
on exhibition

b. Polish

Jan$_i$ kocha każdego swojego$_{i/*j}$ psa **co** (go) Iwona$_j$ zabrała
Jan loves every self's dog.ACC that him.ACC Iwona brought
___ na wystawę.
on exhibition

'Jan$_i$ loves every one of his$_{i/*j}$ dogs that Iva/Iwona$_j$ brought to the exhibition.'

(16) a. Croatian
Jan$_i$ voli svakog njegovog$_{j/k/*i}$ psa **što** (ga) je Vid$_j$
Jan loves every his dog.ACC that him.ACC AUX Vid
doveo ___ na izložbu.
brought on exhibition

b. Polish
Jan$_i$ kocha każdego jego$_{j/k/*i}$ psa, **co** (go) Adam$_j$ zabrał
Jan loves every his dog.ACC that him.ACC Adam brought
___ na wystawę.
on exhibition

'Jan$_i$ loves every one of his$_{j/k/*i}$ dogs that Vid/Adam$_j$ brought to the exhibition.'

The lack of reconstruction of the head noun inside the relative, therefore, points to the matching analysis of *co*-relatives, which assumes that they contain both an external head to which the relative is adjoined and an internal one merged in the position of relativization (Bhatt 2002; Sauerland 2002; Hulsey & Sauerland 2006). After the movement of the internal head to SpecCP of the relative clause, it undergoes deletion under identity with the external head (by a process called *relative deletion*; Sauerland 2002). In order to further examine the structure of Polish *co*- and *który*-RCs, I will investigate subject-verb agreement patterns in RCs with Genitive of Quantification head nouns. GoQ phrases, when in subject position, induce obligatory default agreement on the matrix clause predicate. The aim of my study is to check whether default agreement on the verbal predicate inside the RC can also be triggered by a GoQ head noun, which would reveal the properties of agreement between the external head and the predicate inside the RC.

2 Genitive of Quantification as a head noun

2.1 Introduction

This section aims at describing the possible patterns of subject-verb agreement with Genitive of Quantification as a relativized head noun in object and subject positions, and examining how they can account for the structure of Polish *co-* and *który*-relative clauses. Based on agreement patterns, it will be shown that there is an agreement relation established between the external head noun and the relative operator that allows for Case from the HN to be optionally transmitted to the relative. This mechanism, however, applies only when the two match in morphological case and are probed by the T^0 of the matrix clause and the RC respectively. The availability of different agreement patterns inside *co-* and *który*-RCs also suggests that they cannot be derived via raising of the internal head, which would yield only default agreement on the RC predicate, contrary to fact.

2.2 The Genitive of Quantification phenomenon

The Genitive of Quantification phenomenon has been described to a large extent for Slavic languages in Bošković (2006); Franks (1994; 2002); Przepiórkowski (2004); Rutkowski (2002); and Willim (2003), to name but a few. In Polish, genitive case marking is forced on a noun which is modified by a higher numeral or a lower virile numeral, as well as by certain quantifiers such as *wiele* 'many', *kilka* 'a few', *pare* 'a couple of', etc. Such numeral phrases do not induce subject-verb agreement in main clauses, as can be seen in (17), in which the verb obligatorily appears in the 3SG neuter form, regardless of the grammatical gender of the noun.

(17) a. Siedmiu mężczyzn weszło/*weszli do domu.
seven.ACC men.GEN,VIR entered.3SG,NEUT/3PL,VIR into house
'Seven men entered the house.

b. Siedem kobiet weszło/*weszły do domu.
seven.ACC women.GEN,NON-VIR entered.3SG,NEUT/*3PL,NON-VIR into house
'Seven women entered the house.'

The analysis of Polish GoQ structures proposed in Witkoś & Dziubała-Szrejbrowska (2016) follows the idea that probing for phi-features is possible for T only when

nominative case is being checked (Bošković 2006). Additionally, they assume that high numerals in Polish are either accusative or caseless, which prevents T^0 from probing for phi-features whenever they modify subject nominals. As a result, T defaults to 3sg neuter. This assumption is necessary to account for default agreement with GoQ subjects in Polish, which, unlike with Russian GoQ, is obligatory in all contexts. Nevertheless, these agreement patterns are different when the GoQ phrase is a relativized head noun, a situation which is described in the following two sections. It will be shown that default agreement on the predicate inside the RC can be induced by GoQ head nouns only when these are subjects of main clauses and are relativized by *co*- and (non-virile) *który*-RCs.

2.3 Agreement with object GoQ head nouns of *co* and *który* RCs

The aim of this and the following section is to investigate the asymmetry between object and subject *co*- and *który*-RCs in Polish with respect to agreement between a GoQ head noun and the verbal predicate within the RC, starting with object relatives. In order to examine the possible subject-verb agreement patterns within Polish *co* and *który* relative clauses in which the head noun is an object of the main clause, a survey was conducted measuring acceptability judgements by Polish native speakers. The survey employed a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (totally unacceptable) to 7 (totally acceptable) and was completed by 110 students (103 women, 7 men, M_{age} = 21.68, SD = 1.94), of whom 107 were students or graduate students of higher education institutions in Poland (including universities in Warsaw, Poznań, Tricity, Łódź, and Lublin). The questionnaire consisted of 132 sentences, 60 of which were filler sentences. It involved RCs modifying Genitive of Quantification direct and indirect objects. In particular, the relativized subject head noun was used as the direct object marked for accusative case (18a) and the indirect object marked for oblique case, realized either by a preposition (18b) or simply a case suffix (18c). The same conditions were used for both *co*-relatives with either virile (masculine personal) or non-virile (feminine, neuter, masculine impersonal) nouns and *który*-relatives with non-virile nouns.[2] All these types were further divided into default agreement (3sg, neuter) and full agreement (in person, number, and gender) options.

[2] The reason why *który*-relatives with virile head nouns were not examined is that they do not allow optionality between full and default agreement at all, as opposed to the non-virile relative pronoun in the subject position. This could be attributed to the lack of case syncretism of nominative and accusative case forms of the virile relative operator, which is explained in §2.4.

(18) a. Poznałem siedem kobiet, **które**
I.met seven.ACC women.GEN,NON-VIR who.NOM/ACC
weszły/??weszło do domu.
entered.3PL,NON-VIR/3SG,NEUT into house
'I met seven women who entered the house.'

b. Rozmawiałem z siedmioma kobietami, **które**
I.talked with seven.INS women.INS,NON-VIR who.NOM/ACC
weszły/??weszło do domu.
entered.3PL,NON-VIR/3SG,NEUT into house
'I talked to seven women who entered the house.'

c. Przyglądałem się siedmiu kobietom, **które**
I.watched REFL seven.DAT women.DAT,NON-VIR whoNOM/ACC
weszły/??weszło do domu.
entered3PL,NON-VIR/3SG,NEUT into house
'I was looking at seven women who entered the house.'

As can be observed, the GoQ phrase in (18a) displays a heterogeneous pattern in which the quantifier is accusative whereas the noun complement is genitive. The examples in (18b-c), on the other hand, show a homogeneous pattern of GoQ in which both the quantifier and the noun complement appear in an oblique case form. The reason for using these two patterns is to test whether case-marking on the quantifier (accusative vs. oblique) has any bearing on subject-verb agreement with the RC predicate.

Let us first consider the results for *który*-relatives, presented in Figure 1 below. As can be observed, neither of the relativized object head nouns can induce default agreement on the verbal predicate of the RC. There is a significant difference in acceptability judgements between full agreement and default agreement options. The results are as follows: accusative GoQ (default agr: M = 2.56, SE = .13; full agr: M = 6.52, SE = .06), GoQ marked for oblique case realized as a preposition (default agr: M = 2.34, SE = .17; full agr: M = 5.95, SE = .24), GoQ marked for oblique case without preposition (default agr: M = 2.36, SE = .09; full agr: M = 5.57, SE = .38).

When it comes to *co*-relatives, it also appears that optionality in agreement is impossible when the head noun occupies the main clause object position. The results for all responses are as follows: accusative GoQ object (default agr: M = 1.98, SE = .13; full agr: M = 2.55, SE = .11), GoQ marked for oblique case realized as a preposition (default agr: M = 1.84, SE = .08; full agr: M = 2.59, SE = .16), GoQ

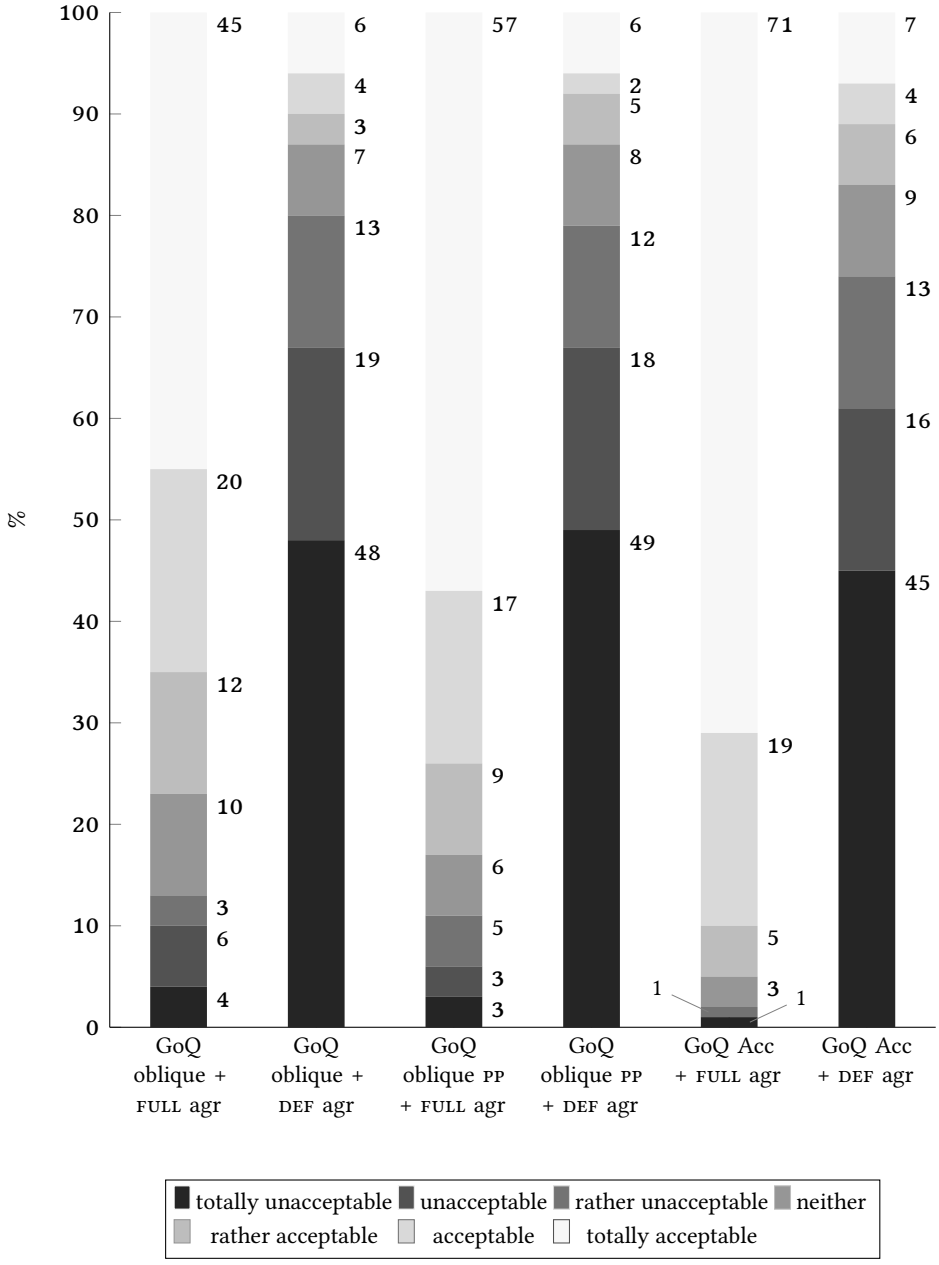


Figure 1: Acceptability judgements for ***który***-relatives with non-virile head nouns modified by GoQ in main clause object position (accusative GoQ, oblique prepositional phrase (PP) GoQ, and oblique GoQ without preposition : default vs. full agreement).

marked for oblique case without preposition (default agr: M = 1.81, SE = .06; full agr: M = 2.43, SE = .11).[3]

Due to the speaker variation regarding the acceptability of *co*-relatives, it seems necessary to look separately at the individual responses of the participants who accept *co*-relatives in general. Therefore, these responses were selected, of which the mean rating for *co*-relatives was more than 4 (n = 10, which constitutes only 9% of all the responses). The results presented in Figure 3 below clearly show that there is a significant difference in acceptability between default and full agreement in *co*-relatives with both virile and non-virile head nouns.

Additionally, a two way ANOVA test was applied, which showed a significant main effect of relative clause type (6 types: 3 types of *co*-relatives and 3 types of *który*-relatives) ($F(5,72) = 90.442$, $p = .000$) and a significant main effect of agreement (full vs. default) ($F(1,72) = 484.176$, $p = .000$).

Altogether, these results clearly demonstrate that default agreement with the GoQ in object relatives, either *który*- (19a) or *co*-relatives (19b), is banned.

(19) a. Poznałem siedem kobiet, **które**
I.met seven.ACC women.GEN,NON-VIR who.NOM/ACC
weszły/??weszło do domu.
entered.3PL,NON-VIR/3SG,NEUT into house

b. Poznałem siedem kobiet, **co**
I.met seven.ACC women.GEN,NON-VIR COMP
weszły/??weszło do domu.
entered.3PL,NON-VIR/3SG,NEUT into house
'I met seven women who entered the house.'

Despite the statistical difference in acceptability between *który*- and *co*-relatives, the main effect of agreement indicates that both these types of RCs show a strong preference for full agreement on the verb. Let us now turn to subject RCs, in which these patterns are quite different and more complex.

[3]It is important to note that the use of invariable *co* as a relative marker is not the primary relativization strategy in Polish and may be considered totally unacceptable by some speakers, as can be seen in the diagram in Figure 2 presenting the results of the questionnaire. Furthermore, this strategy is limited to spoken language, which may have influenced the judgements of written sentences used in the questionnaire.

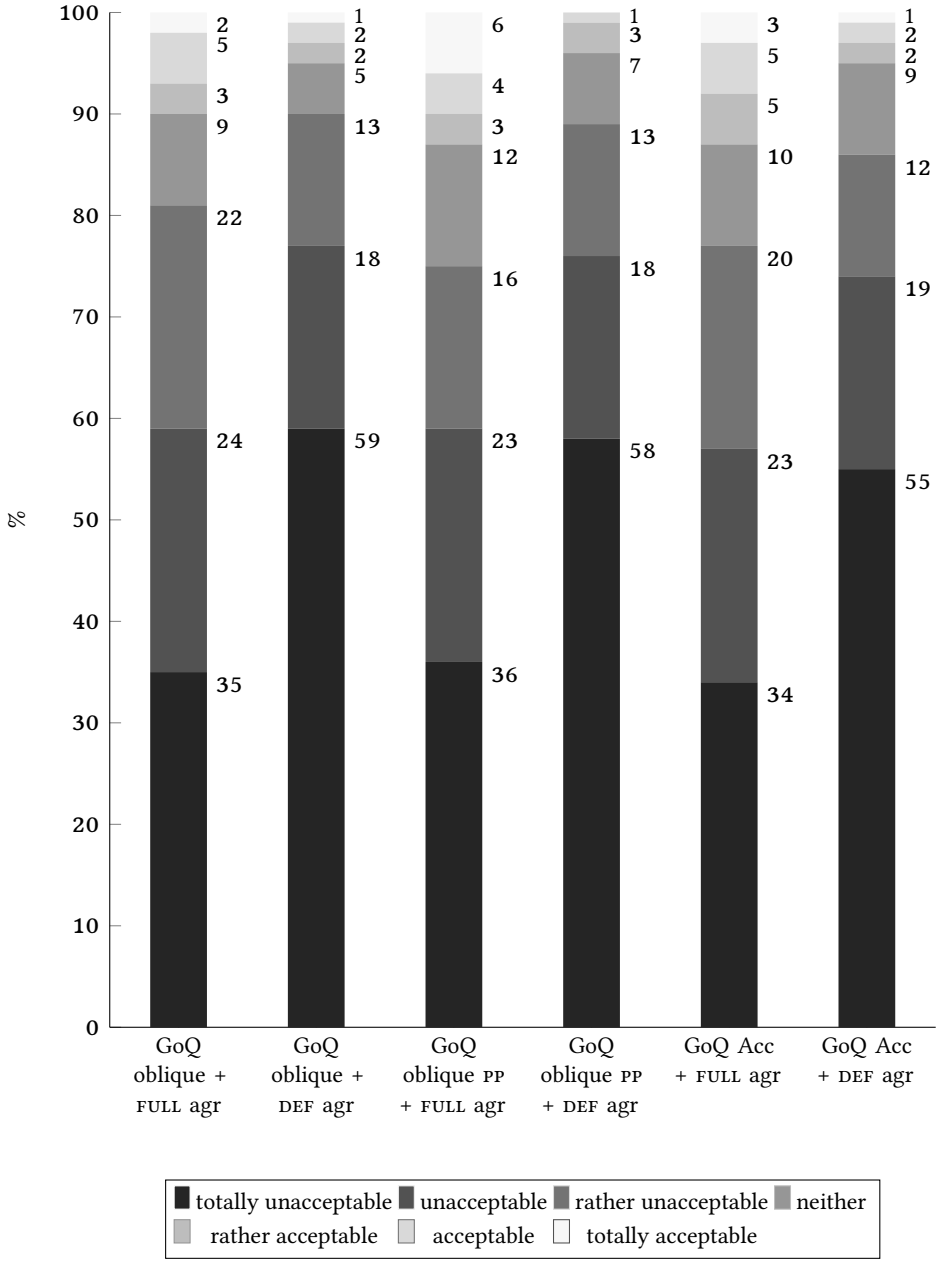


Figure 2: Acceptability judgements for *co*-relatives with virile and non-virile head nouns modified by GoQ in main clause object position (Accusative GoQ, oblique prepositional phrase (PP) GoQ, and oblique GoQ without preposition : default vs. full agreement).

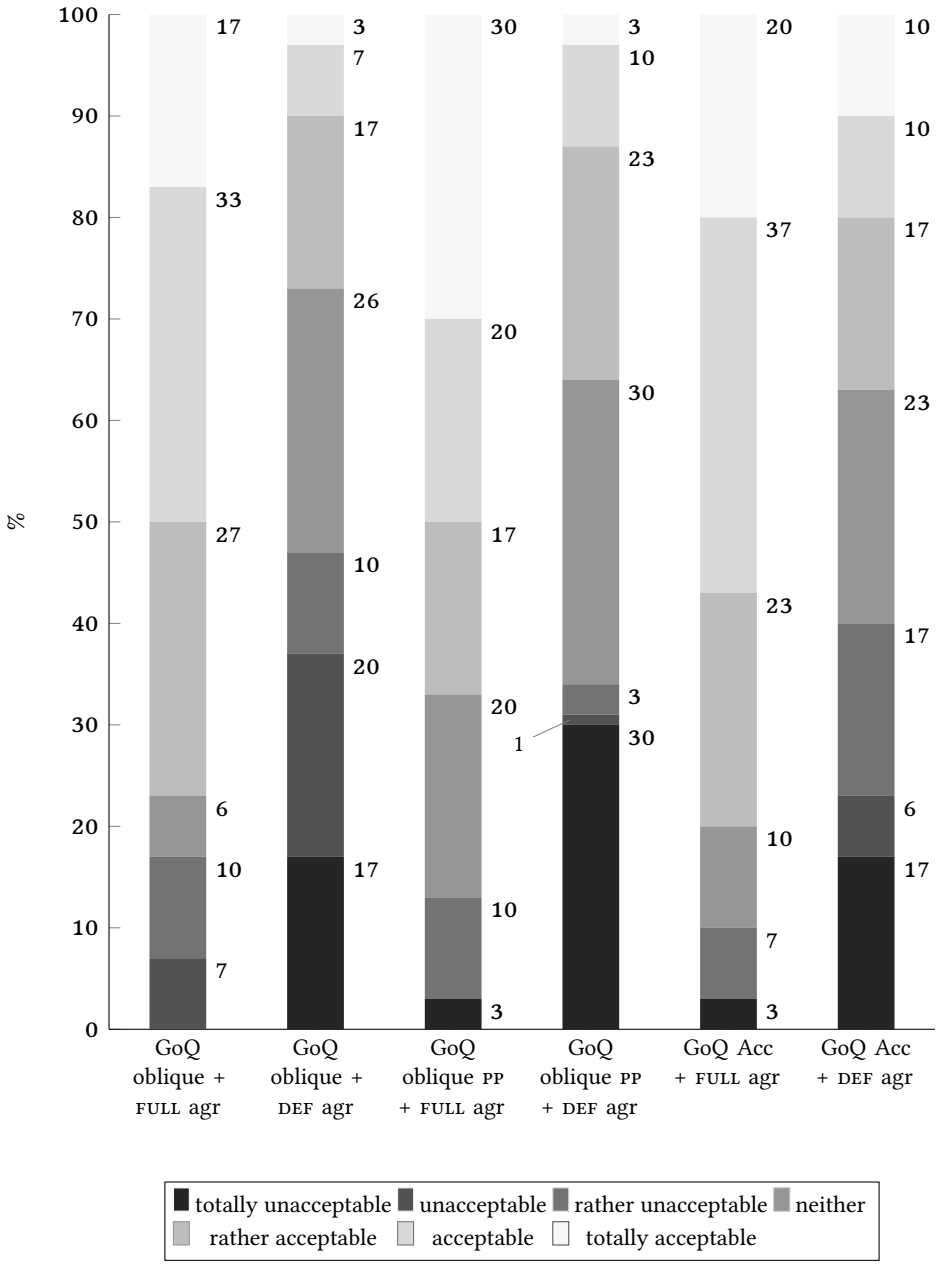


Figure 3: Acceptability judgements of participants who accept *co*-relatives in general: full vs. default agreement.

2.4 Agreement with subject GoQ head nouns of *co*- and *który*-RCs.

The study reported in Łęska (2016) shows that when a numeral (GoQ) subject head noun is relativized, the relativization site also being the subject position, agreement with the verbal predicate inside the RC can be either default or full agreement.[4] These two agreement options, however, depend on the grammatical gender of the head noun in combination with the RC type. In that study, *co*- and *który*-relatives were examined, the former with virile and non-virile, and the latter with non-virile GoQ head nouns. For each condition, two agreement options were compared, namely default vs. full agreement. As regards *który*-relatives, default agreement with the verbal predicate within the relative is possible only with non-virile subjects, in which case full agreement is still preferred. Virile subjects, on the other hand, allow only full agreement, as can be seen in (20).

(20) a. Siedmiu mężczyzn, **którzy** weszli/*weszło do
seven.ACC men.GEN,VIR who.NOM entered.3PL,VIR/*3SG,NEUT into
domu, okradło nas.
house robbed.3SG,NEUT us
'Seven men who entered the house robbed us.'

b. Siedem kobiet, **które**
seven.ACC women.GEN,NON-VIR who.NOM/ACC
weszły/%weszło do domu, okradło nas.
entered.3PL,NON-VIR/3SG,NEUT into house robbed.3SG,NEUT us
'Seven women who entered the house robbed us.'

When it comes to *co*-relatives, the asymmetry between virile and non-virile head nouns disappears. Thus, default and full agreement are equally possible regardless of the grammatical gender of the head noun, with a preference for full agreement, as shown in (21).

(21) a. Siedmiu mężczyzn, **co** weszli/%weszło do domu,
seven.ACC men.GEN COMP entered.3PL,VIR/3SG,NEUT into house
okradło nas.
robbed.3SG,NEUT us

b. Siedem kobiet, **co** weszły/%weszło do
seven.ACC women.GEN COMP entered.3PL,NON-VIR/3SG,NEUT into
domu, okradło nas.
house robbed.3SG,NEUT us

[4] The Genitive of Quantification used in the study involved numeral phrases only.

The asymmetry between the two types of RCs is attributed to the differing properties of the relative markers *co* and *który*. In contrast to the relative pronoun *który*, the invariable relative marker *co* does not share number and gender features with the subject nominal and it does not inflect for case. In this configuration, which involves subject relativization, no resumptive pronoun is present in a *co*-relative, and the relativization site is realized as a gap. Since the relative operator is null, no agreement in phi-features with the head noun can be observed. In *który*-relatives, on the other hand, the relative pronoun must agree in phi-features with the head noun, which indicates that feature sharing between the two has taken place. Crucially, the two relative pronouns *którzy*.NOM-VIR in (17a) and *które*.NOM/ACC-NON-VIR in (17b) differ not only in gender, but also in case marking. To observe case agreement between the relative pronoun and the GoQ phrase, it is possible to use it as an interrogative pronoun in *wh*-questions. As can be seen in (22), the pronoun agrees in phi-features, number, and case with the subject noun. Example (23) shows that the case form of the pronoun must be compatible with the case form of the higher numeral.

(22) a. **Którzy** mężczyźni przyszli wczoraj?
which.NOM men.NOM came.3PL,VIR yesterday

b. **Które** kobiety przyszły wczoraj?
which.NOM/ACC women.NOM came.3PL,NON-VIR yesterday

(23) a. **Których/*którzy** pięciu mężczyzn przyszło wczoraj?
which.ACC/GEN//*NOM five.ACC men.GEN came.3SG,NEUT yesterday

b. **Których/które** pięć kobiet przyszło wczoraj?
which.GEN//NOM/ACC five.ACC women.GEN came.3SG,NEUT yesterday

Since the nominal is modified by the numeral, the nominative form of a **virile** *wh*-pronoun is incompatible with the numeral phrase and, instead, the accusative/genitive form is used, as in (23a). In the case of a **non-virile** *wh*-pronoun, both nominative/accusative and genitive forms are grammatical, as in (23b). This indicates that the case marking on the *wh*-pronoun is accusative rather than nominative for both virile and non-virile pronouns when they modify accusative-marked higher numerals. This difference is crucial for the analysis of subject-verb agreement patterns inside *który*-relatives, where subject-verb agreement options depend on the gender feature of the head noun, namely virile vs. non-virile. Note that this feature alone does not influence verbal agreement in main clauses, in which both virile and non-virile quantified subjects force default agreement – see (17) above. Therefore, the reason for the differences in agreement patterns in RCs

cannot be the gender of the head noun itself, but must rather be the fact that the non-virile head noun will appear with the non-virile *wh*-pronoun *które*, which has a syncretic nominative/accusative form, unlike the virile *wh*-pronoun *którzy*, which is nominative. This correlation between case syncretism of *wh*-pronouns and subject-verb agreement in RCs will be captured in terms of a Case attraction analysis in the next section.

2.5 The Case attraction analysis

2.5.1 Introduction

As proposed in Łęska (2016), a possible explanation for the subject-verb agreement patterns discussed above could come from the phenomenon of Case attraction, whereby the relative operator appears with the case morphology of the external head, as opposed to the case governed by the internal case probe of the RC. Case attraction is attested in a number of languages, such as Persian (Aghaei 2006), Latin (Bianchi 1999), Ancient Greek (Bianchi 1999), Old and Middle High German (Pittner 1995), and German (Bader & Bayer 2006). According to Bader & Bayer (2006), the head NP and the relative operator share number and person features, but the feature sharing is erroneously extended to Case features, resulting in case attraction effects. This mechanism is generally optional and is only possible when the matrix case probe is more oblique than the case probe of the relative, in line with the following Case hierarchy from Pittner (1995: 200–202); see also Grosu (1994: 122): GEN > DAT > ACC > NOM (Georgi & Salzmann (2014): 349). Another account of Case attraction is provided in Bianchi (1999) along the lines of the raising analysis of RCs. According to Bianchi (1999), after movement to SpecCP, the relative HN together with its modifiers is governed by the external D^0, which provides it with Case. Thus, assuming that the checked Case can be optionally erased, as proposed in Chomsky (1995: 279–282), the HN can receive another Case under government (Bianchi 1999: 95). Therefore, Case attraction, as in Latin (24) or Ancient Greek (25) (examples cited in Bianchi 1999: 94–95), can be taken as evidence for this hypothesis.

(24) Latin

notante	iudice	quo	nosti	ACC ⟶ ABL
judging.ABL	judge.ABL	who.ABL	(you) know	

'judging the judge whom you know'

(25) Ancient Greek

ἀνδρες ἀξιοι της ἐλευθερίας ής κέκτησθε ACC ⟶ GEN
men worthy the.GEN freedom.GEN which.GEN you.possess
'men worthy of the freedom that you enjoy'

In what follows, I will account for the asymmetries between *co* and *który* relatives, as well as between the subject and object relatives described in the previous sections. To this end, I will implement a Case attraction mechanism making use of some additional assumptions.

2.5.2 Case attraction in subject relative clauses

As suggested in Łęska (2016), the derivation of Polish *który*-subject relatives along the lines of the Case attraction analysis could proceed in the following steps. 1) In both virile (26) and non-virile (27), the relative pronoun undergoes Agree with the T probe, checking structural Nominative Case, and then moves to SpecCP. 2) Next, the external head QP is Merged, bearing Accusative Case, which blocks the Agree relation with the *matrix* T probe, resulting in default agreement on the *matrix* verbal predicate. Assuming that default agreement is a result of exceptional non-Nominative marking on the subject QP, the same non-Nominative marking on the relative operator should be the source for default agreement within the RC. 3) Thus, when the head QP enters into an agreement relation (or feature sharing; Bader & Bayer 2006) with the relative pronoun in order to check phi-features, the Accusative Case feature of the HN, or, more specifically, of the higher numeral, is optionally transmitted onto the non-virile relative pronoun, as in (27), but not the virile one, as in (26). This is due to the fact that the former, but not the latter, is syncretic for nominative and accusative, as will be explained in more detail in §2.5.4 (diagrams in (26) and (27) from Łęska 2016: 129).

(26) siedmiu mężczyzn, **którzy** weszli do domu
seven.ACC men.GEN **who.NOM** entered.3PL,VIR into house
Siedmiu mężczyzn [$_{CP}$ **którzy**$_{NOM}$ ⟨~~siedmiu mężczyzn~~⟩ C [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP}$ t$_{którzy}$
agree$^{??}$ +~~ACC~~ NOM
⟨~~siedmiu mężczyzn~~⟩…]]]

(27) siedem kobiet, **które** weszły/weszło do
seven.ACC women.GEN who.NOM/ACC entered.3PL,NON-VIR/3SG,NEUT into
domu
house
Siedem kobiet [$_{CP}$ **które**$_{\mathbf{NOM/ACC}}$ ⟨~~siedem kobiet~~⟩ C [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP}$
agree$^{??}$ +ACC

$t_{\text{które}\langle\text{~~siedem kobiet~~}\rangle}\cdots]]]$

Some evidence for (case) feature sharing, or more generally, communication between the external HN and the relative operator, comes from case matching effects in resumption (28).

(28) Polish

a. Mężczyzna, [**co** ***(go)** widziałem], kocha Marię
man.NOM that him.ACC I.saw loves Mary
'The man that I saw loves Mary.'

b. Widziałem mężczyznę, [**co** **(go)** Maria kocha].
I.saw man.ACC that him.ACC Mary loves
'I saw the man that Mary loves.

In (28a), the resumptive pronoun is obligatory, since it is an accusative object whereas the HN is nominative. However, when the same accusative object is inside a RC which modifies an accusative object HN, resumption is optional. This brings up the question of how the choice between the resumption and gap strategies is made before the external HN is merged and before case matching between the two takes place, the answer to which is outside the scope of the present paper.

Case transmission in step 3 seems to be possible due to the syncretism of the accusative and nominative forms of the non-virile pronoun, which matches in case marking with the accusative form of the higher numeral in the HN, and therefore Case transmission necessarily applies only in this context. Case transmission could be implemented by the Case stacking mechanism (Vogel 2001), which will be explained in more detail in the next sections. 4) Finally, after Accusative Case is stacked onto the relative operator/pronoun, the verbal predicate inside the RC is realised in the default form. This would indicate that the Case checking established in step 1 should be suppressed until step 3; that is, probing for Case in a RC should be delayed. Then, if Case attraction takes place, default agreement is observed due to the accusative-marked subject relative operator. If it does not take place, the nominative-marked subject relative operator induces full agreement on the verb. This solution faces some problems which are discussed in §2.5.4.

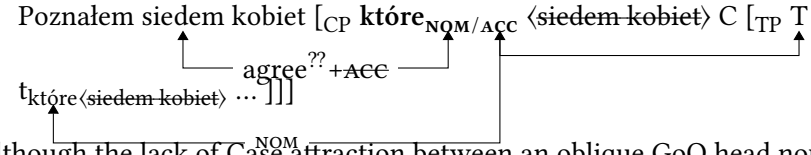
2.5.3 Case attraction in object relative clauses

The same process of case transmission does not occur with the object RCs examined in this paper, not even in the case of accusative objects in which the GoQ

NOM

displays the heterogeneous pattern with an accusative quantifier and a genitive noun complement, as in (29). Therefore, case matching between the head noun and the relative pronoun is not enough to enable Case transmission between the HN and the relative operator.

(29) Poznałem µlsiedem µlkobiet **które**
I.met.+ACC seven.ACC women.GEN,NON-VIR who.NOM/ACC
weszły/??weszło do domu.
entered.3PL,NON-VIR/3SG,NEUT into house



Although the lack of Case attraction between an oblique GoQ head noun and a subject relative operator/pronoun is expected, since the quantifier is no longer marked for accusative case (see (18b-c) above), the absence of this mechanism is surprising with accusative object head nouns. With oblique GoQ, oblique case transmitted onto the relative pronoun would make the pronoun incompatible with the subject-internal GoQ head, resulting in, for example, **którym.DAT siedem.ACC kobiet.GEN* 'which ⟨seven women⟩'. With accusative GoQ, on the other hand, application of the same mechanism would not yield incompatibility of forms, yet Case transmission is not observed. One possible explanation for this effect could be that, since it is the inherent Accusative Case of the quantifier that forces default agreement, structural Accusative Case assigned to the object HN inside the matrix clause prevents Case transmission of the inherent Accusative Case from the quantifier to the relative pronoun.

2.5.4 Case attraction and Case stacking

A mechanism that could be at work for subject relatives in contexts which allow Case transmission (as suggested in Łęska 2016) is Case stacking (Vogel 2001).[5] Case stacking has been reported in e.g. Lardil ((30) from Richards 2013, cited in Manzini et al. this volume). In (30), the DP *marunngan-ku* 'boy-GEN-INS' is inflected for two cases, being the possessor of the instrumental nominal *maarnku* 'spear-INS'. Furthermore, not only case suffixes, but also phi-feature inflection

[5]One of the problems with the Case stacking analysis is, however, that it is not clear how the relative pronoun can still be active to undergo any Case-agreement relation with the external head after being Case checked with the probe within the RC (Georgi & Salzmann 2014: 352).

can be stacked, as the following example from Punjabi shows ((31) from Manzini et al. 2015: 316).

(30) Lardil
Ngada latha karnjin-i marun-ngan-ku maarn-ku
I spear wallaby-ACC boy-GEN-INS spear-INS
'I speared the wallaby with the boy's spear.'

(31) Punjabi (Manzini et al. 2015: 316)
muɳḍ- e- d- i/-ĩã kita:b / kitabb-a
boy -MSG- GEN- FSG/-FPL book.ABS.FSG / book-ABS.FPL
'the book/the books of the boy'

In Punjabi, masculine singular nouns followed by a postposition are sensitive to the direct/oblique case distinction as far as phi-feature inflection is concerned. Thus, the inflection on the noun *muɳḍ-* 'boy' is as follows: the suffix *-e* stands for masculine (oblique), next to it we find the genitive suffix *d-*, and, on top of that, the noun inflects for the phi-features of the head noun (*i/-ĩã*). However, since the subject-verb agreement patterns in Polish RCs depend strongly on the presence or absence of Accusative Case on the HN, as was argued for GoQ structures in Bošković (2006) and Witkoś & Dziubała-Szrejbrowska 2016 (see §2.2), Case stacking will be of more interest for the present analysis.

Trying to apply Case attraction and Case stacking to RC structures, Łęska (2016) states that whenever Case attraction is possible and the Case of the external head noun is stacked on the relative pronoun, the second/transmitted Case is realized on the pronoun; that is, Accusative. As the evidence from Case attraction languages shows, this mechanism is only possible when the Case on the external head is more oblique than the Case checked on the internal head/relative operator. As a result, the relative operator is marked for the more oblique case. Assuming Case feature decomposition (Assmann 2013; Georgi & Salzmann 2014), this could be executed in the following way: when the two sets of features are stacked, they fuse into the Case which constitutes a superset of features; i.e. is more oblique (for fusion of Case features under stacking, see Assmann et al. 2014).

Additionally, it seems that the morphological case form of the relative pronoun determines the accessibility of Case attraction in Polish. Whereas the non-virile pronoun has a syncretic nominative/accusative form, the nominative form of the virile pronoun is not syncretic, being incompatible with the relativized numeral phrase, as was seen in (23). A similar analysis of inverse (Case) attraction was

adapted for Croatian *što*-relatives in Gračanin-Yuksek (2013), which is based on morphological case forms, as opposed to abstract Case features. Thus, it is the matching of the morphological case forms of the internal and external heads, and not the abstract Case checked by them, that enables dropping of the resumptive pronoun within *što*-relatives (see §1.3). Likewise, syncretism of case forms can rescue the derivation of Polish free relatives (Assmann 2014). As can be seen in (32a-b), Polish free relatives require strict case matching. Nevertheless, when the morphological form of the relative pronoun is syncretic, matching the Case features of both probes, the sentence is grammatical (32c) (Assmann 2014: 3).

(32) a. Jan lubi.ACC **kogokolwiek.ACC** Maria lubi.ACC.
John likes whoever Maria likes

b. Jan ufa.DAT ***komukolwiek.DAT/*kogokolwiek.ACC** wpuścił.ACC do
John trusts whoever let to
domu.
home
'John trusts whoever he let into the house.'

c. Jan unika.GEN **kogokolwiek.ACC/GEN** wczoraj obraził.ACC
John avoids whoever yesterday offended
'John avoids whoever he offended yesterday.'

Therefore, the conclusion can be drawn that Case attraction in Polish *który*-relatives is possible only if the morphological form of the relative pronoun is compatible with the case marking on the external head noun, which in this case is accusative GoQ.

In Polish subject *co*-relatives, the relativization site is realized as a gap due to the lack of subject resumption. Since the null operator does not have any morphological form, the relative operator for both virile and non-virile head nouns can undergo Case attraction (Łęska 2016). Yet this mechanism applies only to subject GoQ head nouns ((33) from Łęska 2016: 131), as opposed to object head nouns (34), which patterns with the observation made for *który*-relatives. Therefore, it could be concluded that default agreement with the predicate of the RC is not possible with object GoQ head nouns in general, following from the assumption that the Accusative Case of the quantifier on the external head noun can be transmitted only from subject GoQ.

(33) siedmiu mężczyzn, **co** weszli/weszło do domu
seven.ACC men.GEN COMP entered.3PL,VIR/3SG,NEUT into house
Siedmiu mężczyzn [$_{CP}$ **Op$_{NOM}$**⟨~~siedmiu mężczyzn~~⟩ **co** [$_{TP}$ T [$_{vP}$ t$_{Op}$
agree$^{??}$+ACC
NOM

-⟨~~siedmiu mężczyzn~~⟩…]]]

(34) Spotkałem siedmiu mężczyzn, **co** weszli/*weszło do
I.met seven.ACC men.GEN COMP entered.3PL,VIR/3SG,NEUT into
domu.
house

Spotkałem siedmiu mężczyzn [$_{CP}$ **Op$_{NOM}$**⟨~~siedmiu mężczyzn~~⟩ **co** [$_{TP}$ T
agree$^{??}$+~~ACC~~ NOM
[$_{vP}$ t$_{Op}$ -⟨~~siedmiu mężczyzn~~⟩…]]]

All in all, if Case attraction constitutes an attractive explanation for the agreement facts discussed here, it must be structurally restricted for Polish relatives so that it does not overgenerate. Since accusative GoQ in *object position* cannot induce default agreement, as the present study has revealed, Case attraction and Case stacking must be further restricted by the structural position of the head noun, such that only a subject HN can transmit Accusative Case onto the subject relative pronoun. This can be explained by the fact that an object GoQ phrase is marked for structural Accusative and, thus, transmission of inherent Accusative Case from the higher numeral in the HN is blocked. That is, for Case attraction to be possible, both the relative operator and the external head need to be probed by the same type of probe, namely the internal and external T^0. This, on the other hand, would make Case attraction undetectable in all other environments, limiting it to the situation in which a non-nominative subject of the matrix clause undergoes subject relativization. In fact, Case attraction is not otherwise observed with Polish relatives.

Importantly, if the same kind of feature sharing involving Accusative Case took place between the internal, and not external, head noun and the relative pronoun/operator, default agreement would be observed for both types of RC modifying any object QP, which, as this study has shown, is impossible. One problem mentioned in Łęska (2016) with regard to this analysis involves the point in the derivation at which subject-verb agreement is established. Since Case attraction occurs after the movement of the relative operator to SpecCP, for default agreement to be possible, the agreement relation needs to be suppressed and established after the mechanism of Case attraction applies, which requires lookahead and goes against the Earliness Principle (Pesetsky 1989). Yet another solution applying the Case attraction mechanism could be to stipulate that the Case value of the relative pronoun is overwritten at PF (Bianchi 2000: 68–69; Spyropoulos 2011) or that Case values in general are assigned at PF (Alexiadou & Varlokosta 2007; Assmann 2014). As a consequence, however, default verbal

agreement would also be the result of a post-syntactic operation. This and other issues could be resolved after closer examination of case matching restrictions and resumption strategies in Polish relatives, which would constitute interesting topics for future research.

3 Conclusion

The subject-verb agreement patterns found in Polish *co-* and *który*-relatives modifying subject head nouns suggest that movement of the head noun out of the RC in Polish should not be involved in the derivation of these structures, since they both allow optionality of agreement in certain contexts. The only asymmetry arises with respect to the context in which such optionality may occur. That is, whereas subject *co*-relatives allow either full or default agreement regardless of the grammatical gender of their head nouns, subject *który*-relatives show the same pattern only when the case forms of the relative pronoun and the numeral head noun are compatible, which is the case with non-virile nominals. The asymmetry between Polish virile and non-virile head nouns can be attributed to the accusative-nominative syncretism, which is uniformly found among the non-virile relative pronoun *który* and higher numerals. Because its morphological case form is always compatible with the numeral case form, the Accusative Case feature of the external numeral phrase can be erroneously extended to the relative pronoun (or null operator), resulting in default agreement on the verbal predicate within the relative. This, however, is impossible for numeral phrases containing virile nouns, due to the unambiguously nominative form of the virile relative pronoun. The same optionality in agreement is not available for object GoQ head nouns in either *co-* or *który*-relatives and regardless of the grammatical gender of the head noun. This result suggests that Case attraction can apply only when the external head noun is an accusative-marked GoQ subject.

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