(46) vlepo to Jani   na pezi   basket monos tu.
     see   the John.ACC SBJV play.3SG basket alone.NOM
     'I see John playing basketball alone.'

This is a so-called multiple-case-marked A-chain similar to the kind discussed for Niuean in Béjar & Massam (1999: 67).

For backward object control, what we would need first, similarly to what we outlined for the BSC cases, is for the Agree relation to hold within the embedded clause:

(47) $[_{\text{TP/CP}}\ T\varphi_k\ \text{DP}\varphi_k]$

While in the case of subject co-reference the Agree chain ultimately holds between two T heads, the matrix and the embedded one, in the case of object control the embedded T head must enter Agree with the matrix Voice head, and this configuration seems generally illegitimate (cf. Kayne 1989). We believe that part of the reason for this is the different requirements that T and Voice impose. T has been argued to have pronominal phi-features while Voice doesn't: Greek is not a rich object agreement, object-drop language, which can be taken to mean that the phi-features of embedded T are not allowed to enter long-distance agreement with the phi-features of the matrix Voice.

But we have seen that this is exceptionally possible if the embedded clause has a dative or accusative clitic doubling the experiencer and the matrix Voice hosts a dative or accusative clitic; i.e. in cases of 'resumption' crucially involving an experiencer in the downstairs clause. This leads us to formulate the hypothesis in (48) as a condition for BC:[7]

(48)   Backward Agree applies to heads of the same type.

---

[7]An anonymous reviewer suggests two alternative hypotheses to us, (i) and (ii).

(i)   In a chain with multiple case positions, realize the copy with the more marked case (ACC/GEN > NOM).

(ii) In a chain with multiple case positions, realize the higher copy. If both positions are assigned the same case, the lower copy can be realized.

The second hypothesis would capture the fact that BSC is possible when the lower clause contains an experiencer and the higher clause a null *pro* bearing nominative, as was seen in the examples in (15), but it would have to be reformulated in terms of agreement chains if control does not involve movement, as we suggest in §3. (i) can be reformulated as suggesting that only a dependent case in the sense of Marantz (1991) and Baker (2015) must be realized (see Anagnostopoulou & Sevdali 2017 for arguments that Greek GEN is a dependent case).

In the BOC cases at hand, the relationship is between a clitic in the embedded clause and a clitic in the matrix clause. Note that when the downstairs experiencer surfaces as a nominative DP, backward co-reference seems to us to be degraded:[8]

(49) # o Janis **tu** epevale / ton katafere na **efxaristiete o**
      the John.NOM CL.GEN imposed / CL.ACC managed SBJV please.NACT the
      Kostas me tin opera.
      Kostas.NOM with the opera
      'John imposed on Kostas to like the opera/convinced Kostas to like the opera.'

Moreover, note that if the clitic-doubled argument in the embedded clause is not an experiencer, backward coreference is not possible (this is indicated by # in the passive (50a), featuring a clitic-doubled goal, which is well-formed in the non-coreference reading, and by ?? in (50b), featuring an affected argument combined with an unaccusative, which seems to us to admit the coreference reading but to be degraded compared to the experiencer cases mentioned above):

(50) a. # o Janis **tu** epevale / ton katafere na **tu**
          the John.NOM CL.GEN imposed / CL.ACC managed SBJV CL.GEN
          dothi **tu Kosta** to danio.
          give.NACT the Kostas.GEN the loan
          'John imposed on him for a loan to be given to Kostas.'

      b. ?? o Janis **tu** epevale / ton katafere na min **tu**
          the John.NOM CL.GEN imposed / CL.ACC managed SBJV NEG CL.GEN
          pesi **tu Kosta** to vazo.
          fall the Kostas.GEN the vase
          'John imposed on Kostas not to drop the vase.'

This seems to suggest that backward coreference of this type is not only subject to the condition in (48), but requires, in addition, that the embedded clitic-doubled argument encode point of view. Perhaps this is so because only experiencers qualify as subjects at some level of representation, which means that they relate to T (Anagnostopoulou 1999 for Greek; Landau 2010).

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[8]Because these facts have not been investigated before, we are relying on our own intuitions. They need to be checked with a large number of speakers via extensive questionnaires, just as Tsakali et al. (2017) did with the BSC constructions. The same applies to the data discussed immediately below.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed an asymmetry in the distribution of backward control in Greek. While the language has been argued to have BSC, it lacks BOC. As we pointed out, Tsakali et al. (2017) have recently argued that BSC in Greek is a side effect of the availability of an agreement chain between a null main subject and an overt embedded subject in all types of subjunctives (*na*-clauses), and to a certain extent in indicatives (*that*-clauses). If this is the correct analysis for BSC, the question still remains whether Greek has BOC. We showed in this paper that BOC configurations are severely limited. We related this limitation to the nature of Backward Agree, which seems to require heads of the same type. In BOC configurations, the phi-features of embedded T are not allowed to enter long-distance agreement with the phi-features of the matrix Voice. Backward co-reference is only possible in case of resumption with a dative/genitive clitic in the matrix clause and a clitic-doubled experiencer in the embedded clause, and crucially depends on the experiencer status of the embedded argument.

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 4

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 ᴘᴘ-internal ɴᴘ 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 ɴᴘ Goal within a ᴋᴘ/ᴘᴘ. 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.3ᴘʟ all   with
     'Who did everybody count on?'

(2) * Spanish (Campos 1991: 741)
     José es contado   con por todos.
     José be counted.3 sᴳ with by   everybody
     'José is counted on by everybody.'

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; 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 politicians

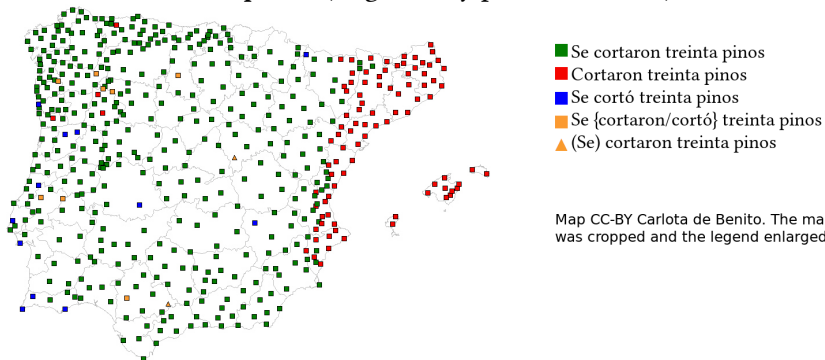   'Politicians were criticized.'

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 data, taken from de Benito (2010), show this:[1]

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

   a. Se **cortaron treinta pinos**. (Eng. 'Thirty pines were cut.')

Map CC-BY Carlota de Benito. The map was cropped and the legend enlarged.

Legend:
- Se cortaron treinta pinos
- Cortaron treinta pinos
- Se cortó treinta pinos
- Se {cortaron/cortó} treinta pinos
- (Se) cortaron treinta pinos

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[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.

b. Se **castigó** a **los ladrones** (Eng. 'Thieves were punished.')

Map CC-BY Carlota de Benito. The map was cropped and the legend enlarged.
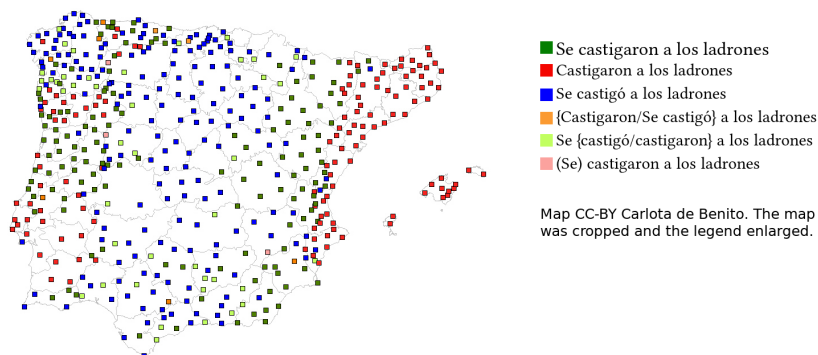
As a closer look at the data in (4) and (5) reveals, passive and impersonal SE sentences have a common base – they have the same argument structure, the only difference being agreement. In this context, Mendikoetxea (1999: §26.3.2.2) observes that passive SE sentences can manifest full or partial (defective) 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

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[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.). I put these issues aside here.

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.]
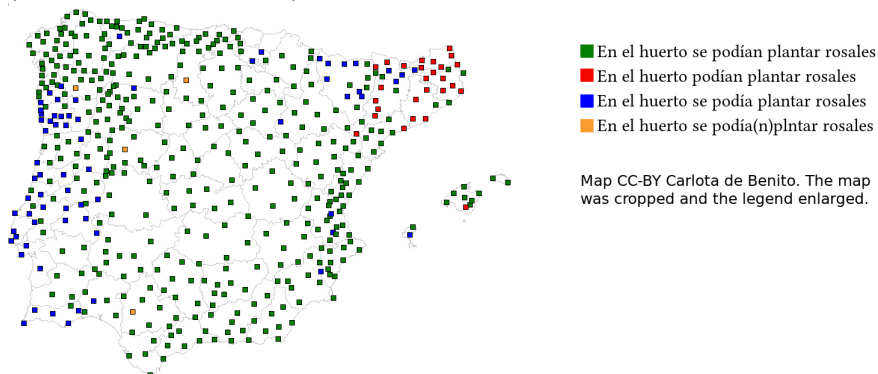   b. [T [SE V$_{SEMIAUX}$ [INF XP]]]   [SEMIAUX = try, need, etc.]

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:

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[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.

(10) En el   huerto se **podían**   plantar **rosales**.
      in the garden SE could.3PL plant   rose.bushes
      'Rose bushes can be planted in the garden.'
      (from de Benito 2010: 13)

En el huerto se podían plantar rosales
En el huerto podían plantar rosales
En el huerto se podía plantar rosales
En el huerto se podía(n)plntar rosales

Map CC-BY Carlota de Benito. The map
was cropped and the legend enlarged.

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.'

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:

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[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.

[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

(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 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

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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)

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.

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.'

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[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).

(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 politicians

        '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]

(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.'

---

[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 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.

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
        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):

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[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).

(21) Spanish

Nadie visitó a Trump.
nobody visited.3SG DOM Trump
'Nobody visited Trump.'

(22) [$_{vP}$ nadie v [$_{VP}$ PROVIDE [(to) Trump [P 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 Case-less (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 $\rightarrow$ 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**.
        said.3SG 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).
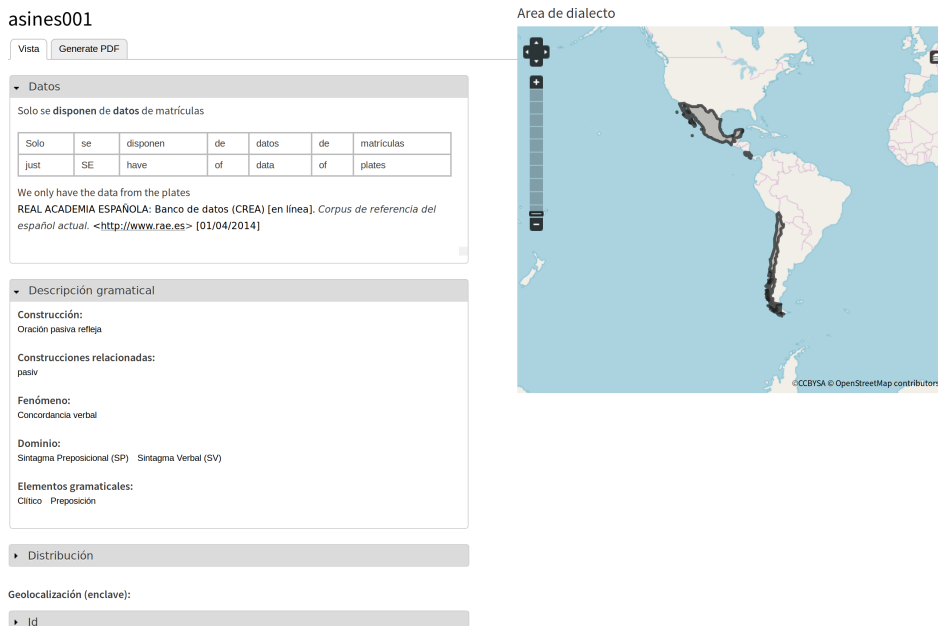

Figure 1: Syntactic Atlas of Spanish. (Gallego 2018)

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.

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 (31), 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.'

---

[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. 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 affects the vP 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

       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] [$_{àP}$ [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 vP), 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 (36) 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 V 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.PL
       '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)   Spanish
       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.'