

Agreement, case and locality in the nominal and verbal domains

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Introduction

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1 Opening remarks

The past two decades or so have seen a considerable amount of investigation into the nature of syntactic dependencies involving the operation Agree. In particular, there has been much discussion of the relations between Agree and its morphological realisations (agreement and case), and between Agree and other syntactic dependencies (e.g., movement, binding, control). The chapters in this volume examine a diverse set of cross-linguistic phenomena involving agreement and case from a variety of theoretical perspectives, with a view to elucidating the nature of the abstract operations (in particular, Agree) that underlie them.¹ The phenomena discussed include backward control, passivisation, progressive aspectual constructions, extraction from nominals, possessives, relative clauses and the phasal status of PPs. In this introductory chapter, we provide a brief overview of recent research on Agree, and its involvement in other syntactic dependencies, in order to provide a background for the chapters that follow. We do not aim to give an exhaustive treatment of the theories of Agreement and Case

¹The chapters in this volume derive from a workshop organised by the editors, entitled 'Local and Non-Local Dependencies in the Nominal and Verbal Domains' (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (FCSH), Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 13 November 2015).



here, as there already exist more comprehensive overviews, to which we refer the reader (e.g., Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2008; Polinsky & Preminger 2014).

2 Case and agreement: Their location, interrelation and realisation

Our starting point – because of its relative familiarity – is the treatment of case and agreement in more recent versions of Minimalism (esp. Chomsky 2000; Pesetsky & Torrego 2001; 2007). As in earlier GB and Minimalist approaches (e.g., Chomsky 1980; 1981; 1995), both Case and Agreement (which we capitalise here to distinguish them from the relevant morphological notions) are ‘abstract’ in the sense that, while they do bear a relation to the morphological phenomena of case and agreement, this relation is only indirect. In other words, Case and Agreement within Minimalism are concerned primarily with the distribution of DPs, rather than with morphology (cf. Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2008). The basis of the approach is the operation Agree, which relates a head (a ‘probe’, such as T or ν) bearing uninterpretable (and/or ‘unvalued’) phi-features to a ‘goal’ DP, c-commanded by the probe, that bears counterparts of one or more of those features. This results in deletion at LF of the uninterpretable/unvalued features on the probe, ensuring ‘legibility’ at LF. Thus, in a transitive sentence the functional heads T and ν , both bearing uninterpretable phi-features and Case, initiate Agree with the DPs they most immediately c-command, the subject and direct object respectively:

- (1) [TP Sue T_[u ϕ Nom, EPP] [ν P Sue_[u ϕ , Nom] ν _[u ϕ , Acc] [VP likes cake_[u ϕ , Acc]]]]

The assumption here is that the checking of Case features, which are uninterpretable and hence must be deleted, is dependent on the Agree relation established by the phi-feature sets of the functional head and the DP (cf. the discussions of ‘Person Case Constraint’ effects in Anagnostopoulou 2003; Rezac 2008). That is, under this view case is simply a reflex of phi-feature-checking that appears on nominal constituents. As it is presented in (1), Chomsky’s proposal only directly covers nominative and accusative (reflexes of phi-feature checking on T and ν respectively). As for oblique cases such as dative, it has recently been argued that these are checked by a functional head such as Appl (e.g., Cuervo 2003; Pyllkkänen 2008). More specifically, one possibility is that datives/obliques are simply the reflex of phi-feature agreement between Appl and a DP (see Marchis Moreno & Franco 2017).

An important difference between the model in (1) and previous GB and Minimalist models is that movement to the specifier of TP, previously held to be crucial for feature-checking (Chomsky 1995), is now triggered by a distinct feature (an EPP-feature) on the probe. Thus, Agree need not entail the movement of the goal to the probe's specifier, but merely makes this movement available in principle via the EPP-feature that it licenses (cf. Pesetsky & Torrego 2001, who treat EPP as a 'subfeature' of an uninterpretable feature). The Agree relation is thus intended to account for the distribution of DPs in two senses: a DP must at some point be local enough to an appropriate probe in order for Agree to be established and the relevant uninterpretable features to be checked, and Agree additionally allows for movement of the DP to the probe's specifier if an EPP-feature is present.

One recent debate about Agree has concerned the directionality of the operation; that is, whether Agree must always be 'downward', as in the above presentation (e.g., Chomsky 2000; 2001; Preminger 2013), or whether it may or must operate upwards (e.g., Zeijlstra 2012; Ackema & Neeleman 2018). A further debate has concerned the extent to which Agree is involved in mediating other grammatical dependencies. For example, Reuland (2001), Hicks (2009) and Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd (2011) argue that Agree plays a central role in anaphoric relations (though see Safir 2014 for a dissenting view). Landau (2000) argues that the control relation is mediated by Agree relations between the controller, PRO and one or more functional heads in the clause. This approach can be contrasted with the movement-based approach to control (Hornstein 1999; Hornstein & Polinsky 2010). One piece of evidence favouring an Agree-based approach is the existence of partial and finite control, which had proven problematic for previous approaches (Landau 2013: 65ff.).

Under the approaches outlined above, Case and Agreement are both 'narrow-syntactic' phenomena that may or may not have an effect at the PF interface, resulting in morphological case and agreement respectively. This view can usefully be contrasted with an approach that was first proposed by Marantz (1991) and has since had considerable influence (e.g., Harley 1995; Schütze 1997; McFadden 2004; Bobaljik 2008; Baker & Vinokurova 2010; Titov 2012). Marantz argues that generalisations about C/case, such as Burzio's generalisation (Burzio 1986) and certain restrictions on ergative case assignment in languages such as Georgian and Hindi, are about morphological case (m-case), not about Abstract Case. Furthermore, he argues on the basis of Icelandic 'quirky case' (cf. Zaenen et al. 1985) that there is no relation between the positional licensing of DPs and the morphological case that they bear. His overall message is that DP-licensing is

not about case, and hence that Abstract Case should be eliminated from the theory of syntax. Instead, DP-licensing should be handled entirely by the mapping between thematic roles and argument positions, supplemented by the Extended Projection Principle.

Under Marantz's model, m-case, as well as agreement morphemes, are assigned at a level of 'Morphological Structure' (MS) intervening between S-Structure and PF. Thus, in this model both case and agreement are 'post-syntactic' phenomena that do not enter into the licensing of DP/NPs. M-cases are assigned according to a case hierarchy (cf. Yip et al. 1987); at the top of the hierarchy are the 'lexically governed' cases (e.g., 'quirky' and inherent cases), followed by the dependent cases (accusative, ergative), followed by the unmarked cases (nominative or absolutive in clauses; genitive in DP/NP). Finally, there is a 'default' case (e.g., accusative in English) that applies when no other case realisation is possible. Indeed, Marantz emphasises that the provision of a default form when no other form is available is characteristic of morphology; a sentence will never be ungrammatical because no features are assigned to a case affix. Case "merely interprets syntactic structures and does not filter them" (Marantz 1991: 24). Marantz suggests that a similar hierarchy applies in the determination of agreement, but he allows for a relatively flexible relation between case and agreement in order to account for certain case-agreement 'mismatches' that are found in split ergative systems.

Bobaljik (2008) takes up the question of how agreement is determined in the context of Marantz's proposal. His main idea is in a sense the opposite of Chomsky's (2000; 2001), namely that agreement is parasitic on case (cf. Bittner & Hale 1996). Thus, if Marantz's argument that m-case is post-syntactic is correct, then agreement must also be post-syntactic. More specifically, Bobaljik argues that the finite verb (or other head) agrees with the highest 'accessible' NP in its 'domain', where 'accessibility' is defined in terms of the case hierarchy proposed by Marantz (see also McFadden 2004). In the spirit of Moravcsik (1974) (who stated the hierarchy in terms of grammatical functions rather than cases), the unmarked cases (nominative or absolutive in clauses; genitive in DP/NP) are said to be maximally accessible, with the dependent cases (accusative, ergative) being less accessible, and the 'lexically governed' (e.g., 'quirky' and inherent cases) being the least accessible. Among other things, this hierarchy accounts for the fact that, in nominative-accusative languages, if a verb agrees with any DP, it at least agrees with subjects (e.g., Moravcsik 1974; Gilligan 1987), while in ergative-absolutive languages, if a verb agrees with any DP, it at least agrees with absolutive DPs (e.g., Croft 1990). Further evidence comes from mismatches between

case and grammatical function in Icelandic, where it is case, not grammatical function, that turns out to determine the agreement controller (Sigurðsson 1993). Finally, long-distance agreement in languages such as Tsez (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001) suggests that there is no need for a particular grammatical relation with the agreement target beyond locality (i.e., only ‘accessibility’ and ‘domain’ are relevant).

Other ‘post-syntactic’ treatments of case and agreement can be found in Embick & Noyer (2006) and Marchis Moreno (2015; 2018). These authors argue that case and agreement nodes/features are added after syntax in accordance with language-specific requirements, and are never essential to semantic interpretation. One advantage of this type of approach is that it could explain certain mismatches at the syntax-morphology interface that arise with certain word categories that are in complementary distribution, such as denominal relational adjectives and prepositional genitives in Romance. Semantically and syntactically, these are nouns, but morphologically they instantiate different word categories with different case assignment requirements (Marchis Moreno 2018). In the spirit of Embick & Noyer (2006), Marchis Moreno (2015; 2018) argues that the Case features of the underlying nouns in the structure of thematic relational adjectives are relevant only at PF, and that their countability (or lack thereof) in the syntax conditions the choice of Vocabulary Items expressing Case. That is, their underspecification for number triggers deficient Case features on thematic relational adjectives that are valued only at PF, determining the introduction of an Agreement node (AGR) that turns the noun into an adjective through suffixation, instead of introducing the Genitive Case feature, spelled out as the preposition *de* in Romance languages.

An interesting contrast is provided by the work of Preminger (2014), who argues against the ‘post-syntactic’ view of agreement and case, but agrees with Bobaljik that phi-agreement is sensitive to morphological case. Preminger notes that Marantz’s argument for a post-syntactic treatment of case is based on the purported absence of grammatical processes that refer to case. Preminger argues, however, that the distinction between ‘quirky-subject’ and ‘non-quirky-subject’ languages with respect to raising and agreement over experiencers exemplifies such a process. More specifically, he argues that movement to subject position is ‘case-discriminating’ in languages such as English and French, and hence that case must be part of syntax proper. Nevertheless, Preminger makes crucial use of Marantz’s case hierarchy, which he attempts to derive from independently established principles of syntactic structure-building.

A quite different approach to case and agreement is found in the work of

Manzini & Franco (2016), Franco & Manzini (2017) and Manzini et al. (this volume). These authors question the idea of an ‘accessibility hierarchy’ of cases, arguing that such a hierarchy has no special advantage over a pure stipulation of the facts, such as the VIVA (Visibility of Inherent Case to Verbal Agreement) parameter of Anand & Nevins (2006). Furthermore, they argue that it is both unnecessary and unprofitable to define Agree in terms of (un)interpretable and (un)valued features (cf. Brody 1997). Finally, they argue that certain types of case are unsuited to treatment in terms of uninterpretable features, as they actually have inherent semantic content. For example, they propose that ‘oblique’ cases should be analysed in terms of what they call an ‘elementary relator’ with a ‘part/whole’ semantic content. The general approach proposed in these works is adopted in Reeve (2018), which argues that extraction from DP/NP cross-linguistically is dependent on the Agree operation, where Agree relates sets of interpretable features as in the above works. However, Agree is only possible where the language independently shows overt evidence of agreement. This accounts for the observation that languages with left-branch extraction tend to be languages with overt agreement in DP/NP (cf. Ross 1967: 237–238; Horn 1983: 188). (See Menching’s chapter for an alternative analysis of extraction from DP/NP.)

A final prominent issue in research on case and agreement is the analysis of syncretism – the phenomenon whereby two morphosyntactically distinct categories may receive identical morphophonological realisations. Case syncretism has been analysed in terms of implicational hierarchies of the type discussed above with respect to Marantz’s (1991) proposal. Blake (2001) proposes the implicational hierarchy in (2), such that cases on the right are progressively less likely to occur. Caha (2009) modifies Blake’s hierarchy (not taking ergative into account) as in (3), conceived of as an f-sequence in the Nanosyntactic framework. His main reason for adopting this particular hierarchy is that it can account for possible syncretisms between cases, given a constraint blocking non-accidental syncretism between non-adjacent categories (cf. the *ABA constraint of Bobaljik 2012).

(2) (Blake 2001: 156)

NOMINATIVE > ACCUSATIVE / ERGATIVE > GENITIVE > DATIVE > LOCATIVE
> ABLATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL > OTHER

(3) (Caha 2009: 32)

NOM > ACC > LOC1 > GEN/PART > LOC2 > DAT > LOC3 > INS/COM

A related approach is that of Calabrese (2008), who adopts the tenets of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, Embick & Noyer 2006, among oth-

ers). Calabrese is specifically interested in absolute syncretism – i.e., in the fact that certain cases or case oppositions are missing altogether in some languages. He assumes that functional categories are represented by abstract feature clusters in syntax, which are only realised by actual exponents at the PF interface. His key proposal is that there is a markedness hierarchy of cases, not unlike the descriptive hierarchies in (2)–(3). Following [Blake \(2001\)](#), lower cases in the hierarchy are more likely to be blocked. If they are, the corresponding feature cluster cannot surface at PF, but must be readjusted by the morphological component (including the key rule of Impoverishment) yielding surface syncretism.

In a series of recent works, [Manzini & Savoia \(2011\)](#), [Manzini & Franco \(2016\)](#) and [Franco & Manzini \(2017\)](#) reject these approaches, arguing that they leave the traditional cases, and the traditional notion of case itself, unanalysed. The latter series of works instead analyses (oblique) case as the inflectional realisation of elementary predicative content (‘includes’/‘is included by’) on a noun. Correspondingly, there is no externally imposed hierarchy ordering the relevant primitives, but rather a conceptual network determined by the primitive predicates we use and the relations they entertain with each other. These authors argue that neither Calabrese’s markedness hierarchies nor Caha’s nanosyntactic functional hierarchies are necessary, because syncretism depends essentially on natural class ([Müller 2007](#)). Seen from this perspective, case hierarchies essentially reduce to a binary split between direct case (reduced to the agreement system; [Chomsky 2001](#)) and oblique case, reducing to part-whole operators. Other so-called cases are analysable into a case core (typically oblique) and some additional structure, yielding something similar to the internally articulated PPs of [Svenonius \(2006\)](#).

Syncretism has also been shown to have effects on other aspects of the grammar. For example, it has been reported to have the property of repairing violations of syntactic constraints; for example, with agreement ([Schütze 2003](#); [Bhatt & Walkow 2013](#)) or case-matching ([Citko 2005](#); [van Craenenbroeck 2012](#); [Hein & Murphy 2016](#)). On the face of it, this property of syncretism appears to pose a challenge to post-syntactic views of morphology such as DM. [Citko \(2005\)](#) and [Asarina \(2011\)](#) attempt to maintain a DM view by appealing to underspecification. However, [Hein & Murphy \(2016\)](#) argue on the basis of Polish data that underspecification approaches cannot account for the repair effect of syncretism on violations of the case-matching requirement in Across-the-Board (ATB) constructions, and that the problem for DM remains.

3 Issues arising in this volume

We will now outline a few issues in the syntax of case and agreement that have become prominent in the literature and are discussed in one or more contributions to the present volume. Our aim here is to identify a number of common issues and perspectives among the chapters, which on the face of it are quite diverse in their content.

The first such issue is the question of what the relation is between A/agreement and C/case. As we have seen, in Chomsky's probe-goal system Case-checking/valuation is dependent on the application of Agree, while in approaches such as Bobaljik (2008) and Preminger (2014), agreement depends on the output of C/case-assignment. In other approaches, such as Baker (2015) and Manzini & Franco (2016), C/case and A/agreement are essentially independent. A number of contributions to this volume could be said to argue in favour of a tight relation between case and agreement. Marchis Moreno's chapter argues that backward object control in Brazilian Portuguese occurs only in the presence of an inflected infinitive, and that this inflection diagnoses the percolation of default nominative case onto embedded T, which must then be assigned to an overt DP in SpecTP. Such an analysis is only feasible if C/case and agreement go hand in hand. Giurgea's chapter argues that the 'person constraint' on *se*-passives in Romanian can be accounted for if a person feature intervenes to block case-assignment by V to its internal argument. Again, this presupposes that person features are of the 'same type' as Case features, in the sense that one can block an operation targeting the other.

Other chapters argue for or suggest that the relation between case and agreement goes in one or the other direction. Łęska's chapter focuses on the nature of 'Case attraction' in Polish relative clauses, arguing that the Agree relation occurring between a numeral quantifier and a relative pronoun may optionally result in transmission of the numeral quantifier's Case onto the relative pronoun. On the other hand, because agreement (full vs. default) on the relative clause predicate depends on whether Case transmission has taken place, Agree must be able to detect the output of Case attraction; in other words, agreement must be parasitic on C/case, as in the work of Marantz (1991) and Preminger (2014). By contrast, Mensching's chapter argues that Agree (in the Chomskyan sense) is crucially involved in licensing extraction from nominals, in that an XP must undergo Agree with D in order to be extracted from DP. In particular, he argues that the argument/adjunct asymmetry in extraction can be accounted for if arguments undergo Agree with D to value Case, while adjuncts cannot. Thus, extraction depends on Case, which depends on Agree(ment). Finally, Manzini, Franco &

Savoia argue that, while the so-called ‘direct cases’ (e.g., nominative, accusative) are parasitic on agreement, as in Chomsky’s work, ‘oblique cases’ (dative, genitive, instrumental) are a different type of phenomenon. They argue that it is problematic to adopt an Agree approach to ‘concord’ within DP (e.g., Carstens 2001), involving one goal (N) checking multiple probes (agreeing determiners and modifiers). Instead, as noted above, they propose that oblique involves an ‘elementary relator’ with a ‘part/whole’ semantic content.

A second prominent topic in this volume concerns the extent to which the operation Agree is crucially involved in establishing other grammatical dependencies. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou and Marchis Moreno both argue that backward control (in Greek and Brazilian Portuguese respectively) relies on an Agree relation between a head in the control predicate’s clause and a head in the clause embedded by that predicate. This relation enables the realization of either the higher copy in forward control or the lower copy in backward control. Lorusso argues that agreement in aspectual constructions coincides with the semantic operation of event identification, which is responsible for a number of syntactic and semantic properties of these constructions, as compared with similar constructions lacking agreement. Mensching argues – following the general framework of Chomsky (2000; 2001) – that Agree, and the Case-valuation that goes along with it, are crucially involved in movement dependencies, specifically extraction from nominals. Manzini, Franco & Savoia argue that Agree is also involved in the mediation of thematic dependencies. They focus on what is often called ‘concord’ – agreement in the nominal domain – arguing that this type of agreement is a morphological equivalent of Higginbotham’s (1985) theta-binding relation. Finally, a contrastive perspective is provided by Weingart’s chapter, which argues that null possessive pronominals in Portuguese should not be derived in terms of Agree (pace Hicks 2009) or Move (pace Floripi & Nunes 2009; Rodrigues 2010).

Locality conditions on Agree play an important role in several chapters in this volume. Mensching argues, in common with a number of other authors (e.g., Svenonius 2004; Bošković 2005; Heck 2009; Reeve 2018), that DP is a phase, which means that extraction from DP is blocked unless the moving item first moves to SpecDP. In particular, Mensching argues that this, in conjunction with the proposal that SpecDP is only accessible to items that agree with D, can account for the often-observed argument/adjunct asymmetry in extraction from DP. Gallego argues that PP is a phase (Abels 2003; 2012), and that this normally blocks Agree between a verb and a DP within PP. As well as accounting for the general lack of overt agreement, this can account for the ban on preposition-stranding and pseudopassives in the majority of languages, includ-

ing (most) Spanish (Law 2006). However, Gallego argues that cases of agreement between V and PP's complement in certain dialects of Spanish can be accounted for if P incorporates with the verb (cf. Hornstein & Weinberg 1981; Law 2006). Ackema & Neeleman's chapter can be seen as providing something of a contrast, in that it argues for a relatively reduced role for locality in restricting agreement possibilities. In particular, they argue against Preminger's (2014) claim that the phenomenon of 'omnivorous agreement' is regulated by relativised minimality conditions on Agree. Instead, they argue that it is necessary for both syntactic and morphological accounts of agreement to postulate cross-linguistic distinctions in feature hierarchies; thus, the syntactic account has no special advantage here. Similarly, Weingart's chapter argues that null possessive pronouns in Portuguese are not restricted by locality conditions, as part of her overall argument that they should not be derived in terms of Agree or Move.

Another prominent topic in this volume is the specific nature of the features related by Agree. One issue already touched on here is the question of whether phi-features are uninterpretable features, as in most of the contributions here, or interpretable features, as Manzini, Franco & Savoia argue. They also argue against the idea, developed in particular in Chomsky (2000) and Pesetsky & Torrego (2007), that features should be distinguished in terms of whether they enter the derivation as valued or unvalued. The structure of phi-features is also the central topic of Ackema & Neeleman's chapter, which focuses on distinctions between person and number: in particular, that agreement conflicts between third person and first/second person result in ungrammaticality, while conflicts between singular and plural number do not, but result in a default. Mensching's chapter crucially proposes a particular feature structure for Ds that license extraction from DP, involving an unvalued phi-set that probes the head noun, together with an optional second probe with a case-assigning property, enriched with an unvalued operator feature associated with an EPP-feature.

Finally, the issue of syncretism, discussed at the end of §2, becomes relevant in two chapters in this volume. In their discussion of omnivorous agreement, Ackema & Neeleman note that although feature clashes between the phi-features of the subject and object may prevent the realisation of agreement in such systems, the problem may be averted if the two feature-sets give rise to identical morphophonological realisations. (They give examples from agreement with nominative objects in Icelandic and agreement with the focus in Dutch clefts.) In Łęska's chapter, case syncretism between a relative operator and a numeral quantifier is a precondition for Case transmission from the numeral to the relative operator, resulting in default agreement on the relative clause predicate.

4 Summary of the chapters

We now provide a summary of each chapter in this volume. In the first chapter, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou discuss an asymmetry between backward subject and backward object control in Greek: backward subject control is fully productive, while backward object control is limited. They argue, following Tsakali et al. (2017), that backward control in Greek is derived not through movement, but through the formation of a chain between the phi-features of the controller (and ultimately the head licensing it) and those of a functional head in the matrix clause. While a chain can be formed between matrix T and the embedded subject and T, allowing for backward subject control, chain-formation between a higher Voice/vAppl and the embedded subject is generally impossible, presumably because T has pronominal phi-features while Voice does not. Backward object control is thus normally ruled out in Greek. This restriction, however, can be overridden in cases where an experiencer argument in the embedded clause is doubled by a dative or accusative clitic and matrix Voice also hosts a dative or accusative clitic (i.e., in cases of ‘resumption’). The authors hypothesise that this is due to a condition on Backward Agree requiring it to apply to heads of the same type – T in the case of backward subject control; dative/accusative clitics in the case of backward object control.

In the same vein, Marchis Moreno focuses on backward object control, providing evidence that such control is possible in Brazilian Portuguese because both the external and internal copies are marked with default nominative case; hence there is no case mismatch and no case competition. Specifically, the paper argues that the inflected infinitive can be regarded as a diagnostic for backward object control patterns, because the percolation of default nominative case from the matrix T to the embedded T requires a local checking relation with an overt DP in the absence of a preposition. The overt realization of the lower copy in backward control is made possible by the loss of the [+person] feature. According to Cyrino (2010), the absence of the [+person] feature both in finite and non-finite domains allows nominative subjects to occupy the Spec of the inflected infinitival T, just as in finite clauses.

The relation between person and case features constitutes the focus of Ion Giurgea’s chapter. He shows that the ‘person constraint’ on *se*-passives in Romanian and other Romance languages can be accounted for on the basis of the intervening person feature associated with the external argument. Giurgea documents the crosslinguistic variation in ‘impersonal’ *se* constructions in Romance and shows that Romanian only allows a *se*-passive construction where the verb

agrees with the internal argument and the accusative cannot be assigned. Building on Cornilescu (1998), Giurgea provides additional evidence that the person constraint on *se*-passives does not exclusively involve [+participant] pronouns (1st or 2nd person), but also affects DPs that require differential object-marking and are high on the person/animacy/definiteness hierarchy. From this, Giurgea derives an intervention-based account of passive *se* according to which the person feature triggered by the external argument (syntactically projected as a null arbitrary PRO in *se*-passives) intervenes in the case-licensing of internal arguments bearing a [Person] feature. By contrast, *by*-phrases do not count as interveners, as they do not have a Case to check.

Ackema & Neeleman's chapter discusses the feature structure of agreement and, in particular, a curious difference between person and number: while both third person and singular number may behave as defaults, third person gives rise to feature clashes that singular does not. The authors argue that this difference can be accounted for if third person has feature content while singular number does not (see also Nevins 2007; 2011). Specifically, third person is characterised by a feature DIST that is shared with second person (which also bears PROX, a feature shared with first person). What allows third person to act as a default is that it can deliver an empty set of referents: this follows if DIST operates on the set of discourse referents, eliminating the speaker and addressee and their 'associates', leaving a subset that only optionally contains referents. As singular number lacks features imposing a cardinality on the output of the person system, it may also deliver an empty set and hence act as a default. Ackema & Neeleman show that this difference in feature content between third person and singular number can account for cases of omnivorous number agreement in languages such as Dutch, Icelandic and Eastern Abruzzese, and they argue that their account also has advantages over a locality-based Agree account (e.g., Preminger 2014) with respect to capturing omnivorous person agreement in languages such as Ojibwe and Kaqchikel. Their contribution thus bears on both the feature makeup of agreement and the morphosyntactic mechanisms that give rise to agreement.

The effects of person and number features on agreement patterns also constitute the main topic of Lorusso's paper, which explores the patterns of agreement with progressive aspect in Apulian dialects. In many of these varieties, the present continuous is expressed through an aspectual inflected construction formed by an inflected stative verb, an optional prepositional element and a lexical verb that either appears in a present indicative form, agreeing in person and number with the matrix verb, or in a non-agreeing infinitival form. Lorusso argues that both constructions involve a locative derivation, but that in the in-

flected construction the preposition selects a full IP, while in the uninflected construction the preposition selects an ‘indefinite CP’ (CP_I in the terms of [Manzini & Savoia 2003](#)). He uses this syntactic difference to account for a number of differences between the two constructions (e.g., placement of frequency adverbs). The inflected construction seems to involve an instance of event identification ([Kratzer 1996](#)) between the auxiliary and the lexical verb, and shows a number of properties in common with restructuring or serial verb constructions (e.g. clitic-climbing). By contrast, the uninflected construction gives rise to a frequentative reading which is not found with genuine progressive constructions ([Chierchia 1995](#)), and shows properties in common with control/aspectual verbs. The author further describes and discusses person splits and number asymmetries that occur in the inflected construction, suggesting an analysis along the lines of [Bobaljik \(2008\)](#) and [Manzini & Savoia \(2007; 2011\)](#).

The tight link between case and agreement proposed in Chomsky’s (2000; 2001) probe-goal system is the focus of [Mensching’s](#) contribution. He reopens a topic that has been debated ever since [Ross’s](#) (1967) dissertation: how to constrain extraction from nominals. The empirical focus is on PP-extraction from DP in French, and specifically on the question of why certain types of *de*-PPs can be extracted from DP, while other types of *de*-PP, along with adjunct PPs, cannot. For example, if a DP contains both a Possessor *de*-PP and an Agent *de*-PP, only the Possessor can be extracted. His solution is based on [Kolliakou’s](#) (1999) proposal that extraction is restricted by the semantics of the *de*-PP, which has the consequence that if there are two *de*-PPs, only one can be an argument; the other must be an adjunct. The argument/adjunct distinction in extraction is then accounted for in terms of case-valuation: DP-internal arguments have their case feature valued as genitive under Agree with D, while DP-internal adjuncts do not enter into case-valuation. Given the idea that SpecDP is an ‘escape hatch’ for movement that only accommodates XPs that enter an Agree relation with D, only arguments will be able to move to SpecDP and hence out of DP. [Mensching’s](#) paper can thus be seen as an argument in favour of the probe-goal theory of Case and Agree in terms of its ability to constrain extraction.

The topic of possessives is also discussed in [Weingart’s](#) paper, but from a very different perspective. [Weingart](#) shows, on the basis of a full set of clear diagnostics, that null (and simple) possessive pronouns in Portuguese have apparently contradictory properties that argue against analyses in terms of Agree (e.g., [Hicks 2009](#)) or Move (e.g., [Floripi & Nunes 2009](#); [Rodrigues 2010](#)), or in terms of an operation on predicates (e.g., [Reinhart 2006](#)). Specifically, null possessives appear to have something in between a bound variable and an indexical interpre-

tation. Weingart thus suggests that they should be classified as logophoric *pro*, and outlines a syntactic proposal, based on the semantic analysis of Partee (1997), to account for their restriction to relational nouns.

Łęska's paper analyses the patterns of subject-verb agreement resulting from the interaction of Genitive of Quantification (GoQ) and relativisation in Polish. She shows that relative clauses modifying GoQ head nouns show distinct agreement patterns depending on whether the head noun is a subject or an object. When it is a subject, GoQ forces default agreement on the relative clause predicate (cf. Łęska 2016), but when it is an object, agreement may vary between default and full agreement, depending on the type of relative clause (introduced by *który* vs. *co*) and the gender of the head noun. Łęska argues that the option of default agreement is due to 'Case attraction' (Bader & Bayer 2006): provided the morphological form of the relative pronoun is compatible with the case required by the numeral, the Case feature of the quantifier may be shared with the relative pronoun (or null operator), resulting in default agreement on the relative clause predicate. Because such extension is only seen when the head noun is a subject, however, the mechanism of case attraction must be restricted so that it does not overgenerate.

Gallego's chapter focuses on dialects of Spanish that exhibit long-distance agreement between T and a DP inside a PP. Given the standard assumption that phi-probes cannot probe inside a PP in Spanish, which is held to be responsible for the ban on preposition-stranding and pseudopassives (cf. Law 2006), the existence of such long-distance agreement is unexpected. Gallego compares this phenomenon with similar evidence concerning the differential object marker *a* (e.g., Torrego 1998; López 2012), arguing that there are three types of prepositions: P is merged external to TP; P is inserted at PF; P is reanalysed with V. While the differential object marker *a* is plausibly of the first type, allowing T to probe the DP object directly, this and the second option are less plausible for prepositions with a more 'semantic' flavour. Gallego thus suggests that such prepositions may reanalyse or incorporate with the verb, allowing the DP to be probed by T. His findings have implications for the typology of prepositions in Spanish, and more generally for the interaction of micro- and macro-parameters.

Almost all of the authors discussing the tight relation between case and agreement acknowledge that oblique case represents a distinct phenomenon, with no syntactic theory offering a satisfactory analysis. Manzini, Franco & Savoia attempt to fill this gap, offering an overview of oblique case and a set of phenomena discussed in the typological literature under the label of 'Suffixaufnahme'. The theoretical focus of the contribution is on the Minimalist operation Agree

and the notion of case, specifically oblique case. The authors question the necessity of referring to [interpretable] and [valued] features in the formulation of Agree. They suggest that a more primitive syntactic notion underlies the descriptive label ‘oblique’, specifically that of an elementary relator with a part/whole content. Thus, a DP embedded under a genitive case morpheme or adposition is interpreted as a possessor or ‘whole’ with respect to a local superordinate DP (the possessum or ‘part’). They argue that case/agreement-stacking in languages such as Lardil (also discussed in Łęska’s chapter) corresponds crosslinguistically to the presence of a partial copy of this second argument within the phrasal projection of the relator.

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Chapter 2

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?’

Spanish

- (2) * Spanish ([Campos 1991: 741](#))

José es contado con por todos.

José be counted with by everybody

‘José is counted on by everybody.’

Spanish



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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. [Kayne2005](#); [Hornstein & Weinberg 1981](#); [Kayne 1984; 1994](#); [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. [López 2007](#); [Mendikoetxea 1992; 1999](#); [Raposo & Uriagereka 1996](#); [D’Alessandro 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. Kayne2000; Gallego2017). 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.

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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.’)
 - b. Se castigó a los ladrones. (Eng. ‘Thieves were punished.’)

this
 is the
 source
 for both
 maps?

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):

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

(7) Spanish

- En este país se dicen muchas gilipolleces.
in this country SE say-3PL many bullshit
'People say bullshit in this country.'
- 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_{SEMI-AUX} [INF XP]]] [SEMI-AUX = 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.'

²RAE-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.).

³An 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.

- 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.'

Notice that, in both SE and SE-less cases, agreement is only in number, not person (cf. **Etxepare2005**), 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:

⁴Fernández-Serrano2016 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.

⁵A 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:

do you
mean
Etxepare
2006?

- (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 optionality – with a tendency towards full agreement, a murky issue that seems

(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)

Lopez is the source for a–b?

to have semantic consequences in biclausal scenarios (cf. Martin1998; 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.

Don't know about Martin & Uriagereka 1998

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.’

⁶The 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 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

- (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.'

⁷Variation 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.

⁸As 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. [ColominaEtAl2017](#) in fact argue that DOM involves a process of accusative case displacement, assuming that the structure that underlies (21) is (22):

bib entry
missing

⁹Although (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 [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 ColominaEtAl2017).

- (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* φ [_{VP} V [_{KP} *a* DP_{ACC}]]]_↑
- c. Hybrid pattern
 Dialect B: ii. [... T φ ... [_{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 (1997). 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 12,000 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 \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.
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
in Santiago last night SE informed-3PL
cuatro homicidios.
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
the trade online added-3SG 100 millions of transactions
transacciones. [...] cuando se **llegaron** a
when SE arrived-3PL to the 74.3
los 74,3 millones de operaciones.
milions 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
una extrema dificultad
provokes 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 1999; RAE-ASALE 2009), plausibly because they can be regarded as production errors. The data have, however, also been reported by the Syntactic Atlas of Spanish (ASinEs) (see Figure ??).

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.

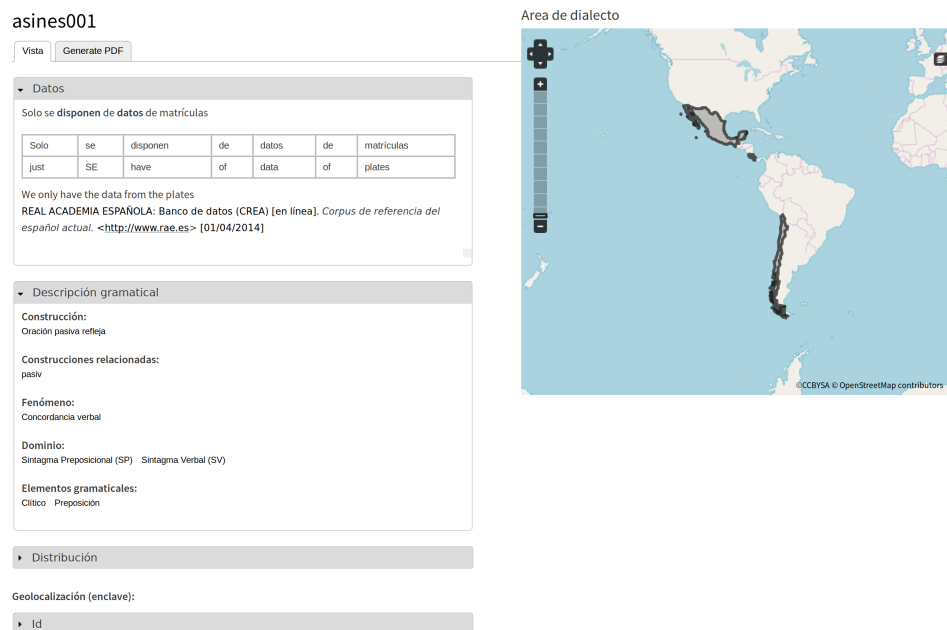


Figure 1: Syntactic Atlas of Spanish. (Gallego 2018)

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 Ordóñez2017 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*

¹⁰Plausibly 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 *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 (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 the culprits
'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. Demonte1995; Demonte 1987; 1991; 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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