Case and Agreement in Spanish Existential Constructions (and beyond).♦

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ABSTRACT.- Spanish is split in two dialects with respect to agreement in Existential Constructions with *haber*. In Spanish Dialect I (SI) the verb has default agreement (3er person, singular), but in Spanish Dialect (SII), the verb agrees with the internal nominal, despite the fact that the nominal is Accusative. Additionally, nominals marked for [person] are not allowed under *haber*, not even with list-readings. I propose that Spanish existential constructions with *haber* have a vP that accounts for the presence of ACC. The small v has only [number]. This explains the ban on nominals with [person] in these constructions, under the assumption that φ-incomplete heads cannot value the Case of φ-complete nominals. In the dialect where the nominal agrees with the verb (SII), this head has an interpretable [person] feature; given that, T can probe v in this dialect, producing the effect of object-agreement. This is possible because T has only one uninterpretable feature, namely [number], as small v does. With the same mechanism, a higher T associated with a raising verb can also probe v, and then it will agree with the internal nominal too. In SI, small v (which is φ-incomplete) cannot value the φ-features of T, which is φ-complete; therefore, in SI T needs to resort to another strategy to value its φ-features, which will result in a default value.

0. Introduction

In Spanish Existential Constructions (SEC) (1a), the internal nominal (which corresponds to the so called "associate" in English) receives Accusative Case (ACC), as we can see from the presence of the ACC clitic (CL) in (1b):

(1) a. Hay   un hombre   en la habitación
         Is   a man   in the room
         There is a man in the room
     b. Lo   hay
         CL-ACC   is

In addition, Spanish is split in two dialects with respect to SEC. In Spanish Dialect I (SI) the verb has default agreement (3er person, singular):

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(2)　　Hubo　　　　dos hombres　　　en la fiesta　　　　*SI*
　　　　was　　　　　two men　　　　　in the party
　　　　There were two men in the party

But in Spanish Dialect II (SII), the verb agrees with the ACC nominal, even if this is a clitic:[1]

(3) a.　Hubieron　　　dos hombres　　　en la fiesta　　　　*SII*
　　　　were　　　　　two men　　　　　in the party
　　　　There were two men in the party
　　b.　Los　　　　hubieron
　　　　CL-ACC　　were

Given that the nominal [dos hombres] is Accusative, as shown by the cliticization, the data are a direct challenge for theories that link together Agreement and Case (like Chomsky 2000, 2001a,b). In SII, the nominal seems to be in agreement with T, but T cannot be its Case-licensor because T does not value ACC. This means that Chomsky's 2000 account of English Existential constructions cannot be directly extended to Spanish.

In this paper, I will present an analysis of SEC that nevertheless supports the relation between Case and Agreement, as well as the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001a,b), by postulating a small v in SEC. The proposal is compatible with other studies that have proposed that there are several types of small v, with different properties (see Boeckx 2003, Legate's 2003 among others).

I will contend that small v is φ-incomplete. This small v will probe the internal nominal and will check its Case only if the nominal is also φ-incomplete. This proposal predicts that nominals that are φ-complete, for instance proper nouns or some personal pronouns, will be banned from *haber* sentences, given the inability of this φ-incomplete small v to check the Case of φ-complete nominals; I demonstrate that the prediction is borne out—the elements in question are disallowed in SEC even with list readings, in contrast with English.[2]

I will argue that the difference in agreement between the two dialects comes from a difference in the specification of φ-features in the corresponding Tense (T). We will see that as a result of this difference, in SII, the operation Agree can

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[1] I will use SI for the dialect without agreement, and SII for the one with agreement. When there is no indication, the sentence is good or bad in both dialects.

[2] The clitic *lo* in (1b) will be argued not to be specified for [person]. On the other hand, the pronoun in (i), which are unacceptable even in list reading, are specified for [person] (see the discussion in section 3.1):

　(i) *Me/Te/Nos　　　había
　　　Me/Te/Us　　　was
　　　There was me/you/us

value the φ-feature of T using the small v as a goal, but in SI Agree fails to do so, and therefore T in this dialect has to resort to a mechanism of default agreement. Interestingly, the verb is irregular in SI, but it tends to regularize in SII, a fact that will be attributed to the difference in the process of φ-valuation.

This analysis will also allow me to explain a number of additional properties and procedures in Spanish, including some correlations between SI and SII with respect to agreement in temporal existential constructions, raising verbs with *haber* (have, be-existential) and certain issues regarding the syntax of *estar* (be-locative) and *parecer* (seem). I will also suggest that my proposal, if extended to all Spanish small vs, in the relevant respects, explains the syntax of ACC Spanish objects, in particular, it predicts that, if the φ-incompleteness of the small v prevents this category from valuing the Case of direct object (DO) when the DO is φ-complete, then the DO must raise to check its Case with another head (a dative head), which is allowed in a small v with external argument, explaining the presence of the preposition that precedes these objects.

The paper is organized in the following way. In Section 1, I will give arguments in favor of the idea that *haber* is a subject-less verb. In Section 2 I will present the proposal that there is a small v in SEC. In Section 3, I will refine the proposal, by proposing that the small v in *haber*-sentences is φ-incomplete and that, in SII but not in SI, T has an interpretable φ-feature; some consequences of this idea will also be discussed with respect to temporal existential constructions and raising verbs, as well as some dialectal differences in Spanish. In Section 4 I will suggest that the source for the small v is the necessity for Spanish to license Small Clauses with ACC, a fact that is very well attested. In Section 5, I will provide an account of certain peculiarities of the Definiteness Effect in Spanish, using the special type of small v I'm proposing, as well as an explanation for the syntax of ACC objects. Section 6 presents the conclusions.

1. The nominal in a *Haber*-sentence is not its subject

There is a long standing tradition among Spanish grammarians in favor of considering the internal nominal of SEC an object, not a subject—see Fernández-Soriano and Táboas-Baylin (1999: 1754-1759) for a review of traditional grammar analyses of *haber* sentences, and also Suñer 1982a,b, Torrego 1984, Díaz 2004, among others. The main arguments are the post verbal position and the ACC cliticization. However, this position has been challenged occasionally.[3] In this section I will give arguments that the internal

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[3] See Cuervo 1881, Luque Moreno 1978, García Llebra 1983, Nicita 1997, Treviño 2003. This literature uses three types of argument against the idea that the nominal in question is not a subject. First, they characterize the nominal, which is the only argument in the sentence, as the "psychological subject" (as opposed to "grammatical subject"). Second, they show that the

nominal is not a subject. An important question that needs to be addressed first is what I mean by "subject". In the tradition started by Chomsky 1965, "subject" is not a primitive notion, but it is defined structurally, namely, it is whatever is in [Spec, TP]. I will adopt this notion here.

Given that, at first glance, it seems obviously true that the nominal in SEC is not the subject: it is post-verbal, and since Spanish is a SVO language, this could mean that the nominal is not in [Spec, TP]. There could be, however, other reasons why the nominal is post-verbal (and Spanish does accept post-verbal subjects, as it is well known). First, it is possible that the verb raises overtly to a higher position, leaving behind the nominal.[4] Second, the nominal could raise to [Spec, TP] covertly, which would mean that it is a LF-subject. In fact, we will see that in some cases the nominal precedes the verb overtly. In spite of these possibilities, I will claim that the internal nominal in Spanish *haber*-sentences is not a subject in any point in the syntactic derivation. I take this to mean that (i) the nominal is not in [Spec, TP] in overt Syntax, (ii) the nominal is not in [Spec, TP] in LF, and (iii) when the nominal is fronted, still it is not in [Spec, TP] (but in a higher projection).

1.1 The nominal is not in [Spec, TP] in overt Syntax.

In order to show that the internal nominal in *haber*-sentences is not in [Spec, TP], I will compare *haber* with *estar*, a closely related verb that does have a subject.[5] Remember that in English we have two possibilities for existentials:

(4) a. There is a man in the room
    b. A man is in the room

In Spanish, (4a) and (4b) have different verbs, *haber* and *estar*, as illustrated below: [6]

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nominal agrees with the verb (in SII), then, they argue, it has become a true "grammatical subject"). Third, they observe the absolute lack of preposition *a*, which usually appears with some direct objects in Spanish. Obviously, the first argument makes use of a different notion of subject, making it a notion independent of structural considerations, a view from which I depart. I will show in the following section that the nominal in SII does not actually enter in an Agree relation with T, eliminating the second argument. In section 5 I will give some reasons why the third argument is not strong enough.

[4] This is indeed possible in Spanish in some occasions, as we will see in section 1.3, but it cannot be the explanation for the word order in SEC, as will be discussed immediately.

[5] See Section 4 for additional discussion about the relation between *haber* and *estar*. See also Suñer (1982a: 324-336).

[6] There are some claims in the literature (for instance, Díaz 2004: 38) that sentences like (5b) are unacceptable. Although it is possible that (5b) does not fit easily in certain contexts where (5a) is preferable to its *estar* counterpart (5b), there are contexts where (5b)-type sentences are not only possible but fully productive in Spanish. For instance, when we want to introduce a hypothetical individual about whom we are going to tell a joke (or a short story):

(5) a. *Hay* un hombre en el jardín
Be[7] a man in the garden
There is a man in the garden

b. Un hombre *está* en el jardín
A man is in the garden
A man is in the garden

This suggests that the nominal has a status in *estar*-sentences that is different from the status it has in *haber*-sentences. To be more precise, the nominal is in [Spec, TP] with *estar*, but not with *haber*.

One argument that the nominal is not in [Spec, TP] with *haber*-sentences is provided by Díaz 2004. Taking advantage of the fact that extraction from θ-position is much easier than extraction from non-θ-positions, Díaz (2004: 70-71), who is investigating SI, presents this contrast between extraction from *haber* and *estar*:

(6) a. Hay [libros de sintaxis] en mi cuarto SI
There-is books of syntax in my room
There are books about Syntax in my room

b. ¿De qué hay [libros t] en mi cuarto?
Of what there-is books in my room
About what there are books in my room

(7) a. [Los libros de sintaxis] están en mi cuarto.
The books of Syntax are in my room
The books about Syntax are in my room

b. * ¿De qué están [los libros t] en mi cuarto?
Of what there-is books in my room
About what are the books in my room?

[Díaz 2004: 70-71]

In (6) wh-extraction is possible, which means that the nominal is in its θ-

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(i) Un borracho estaba en la cantina cuando...
A drunk guy was in the bar when...

In addition, the individual does not need to be hypothetical:

(ii) Fíjate, un ladrón está en tu ventana y se va a meter a tu casa
Look at, a thief is in your window and (he) is going to enter in your house

(i-ii) show that the *estar*-sentences are able to introduce new individuals into the discourse and that they can take an indefinite subject (as any other verb in Spanish). See Barbosa (1995:35-37) for a discussion of other preverbal indefinite subjects in several Romance languages which need a particular context to be pragmatically acceptable.

[7] I'm translating this form with "be" to leave open the possibility that could be a plural or a singular. The form *hay* is irregular [3p, present] in SI and SII. The ending *-y* is a sort of morphological fossil that blocks agreement in SII. Then, in this sentence, given that the nominal is PLU, *hay* will be [3p, PLU] in SII, but [3p, SING] in SI. I will discuss this in more detail later in the paper.

position. However, in (7), wh-extraction is not possible, which can be accounted for if the nominal is in [Spec, TP]. These data can be replicated in SII, where wh-extraction is possible despite the fact that the nominal is in agreement with the verb (which is normally considered a property of subjects):

(8)   a.   Habían   libros de sintaxis   en mi cuarto.   *SII*
           There-were   books of syntax   in my room
           There were books about Syntax in my room
      b.   ¿De qué   habían   libros   en mi cuarto?   *SII*
           Of what   there-were   books   in my room
           About what there were books in my room

Additional evidence comes from deletion in coordinate structures. In some instances, the Spanish verb can raise over the subject, which stays in [Spec, TP]. If *haber*-sentences were this type of sentence, and its nominal were in [Spec, TP], it should be possible to delete it when a *haber*-sentence is coordinated with another sentence whose postverbal subject is identical to the nominal in the *haber*-sentence. As observed by Suñer 1982a:104), *haber*-sentences fail to allow deletion under identity, even in SII:

(9)   * Habían   y   olían agradablemente   dos docenas de rosas   *SII*
        There-were   and   smelled pleasingly   two dozens of roses
        Two dozens of roses were there and smelled pleasingly
        [Suñer 1982a: 104, with slight changes]

This means that the nominal in the first conjunct (which is a *haber*-sentence) is not in the same position as the nominal in the second conjunct. If in the second conjunct the nominal is in [Spec, TP], it cannot be in [Spec, TP] in the first one. Compare this example with (10):

(10) Irradiaban luz   y   olían agradablemente   dos docenas de rosas
       gave-out light   and   smelled pleasingly   two dozens of roses
       [Suñer 1982a: 121 ff. 95]

In this example, the first verb does have a subject, so it can be deleted under identity in the coordinated structure. Notice that the nominal in *estar*-sentences can undergo deletion under identity, which is evidence that it is in [Spec, TP]:

(11) Las rosas   estaban en la sala   y   olían agradablemente
       The roses   were in the room   and   smelled pleasingly

From these data we conclude that the nominal is not overtly in [Spec, TP] in *haber*-sentences (in constrast to *estar*-sentences), thus the post-verbal position cannot be derived by raising the verb over this position.

1.2 The nominal is not in [Spec, TP] in LF

Regarding the position of the nominal in LF, we have some evidence from control structures. Subject PRO can be interpreted as coreferential with the matrix subject (obtaining *de se* readings), as in (12):

(12) Dos hombres$_i$ creen   PRO$_i$ *estar*   en la luna
     Two men   think   to be   in the moon

This is not possible if the embedded verb is existential *haber* (in SI and SII):

(13) * Dos hombres$_i$ creen   PRO$_i$ *haber*   en el jardín
      Two men   think   to be   in the garden

I take this as evidence that the nominal in *haber*-sentences is not a subject even in LF. As expected, *estar* allows Control (and a *de se* reading). This is evidence that the nominal is a subject with *estar*:

(14) a. Un hombre$_i$ cree   PRO$_i$ *estar*   en el jardín
        A man   think   to be   in the garden
     b. * Un hombre$_i$ cree   PRO$_i$ *haber*   en el jardín
        A man   think   to be   in the garden

1.3 When the nominal is fronted, it is not in [Spec, TP]

Up to this point, we have evidence that the internal nominal in *haber*-sentences cannot be either an overt subject or an LF subject, that is, it does not undergo A-movement outside VP at any point of the derivation. Sometimes, however, we can front the nominal to the left, but this requires contrastive intonation—as in many cases of topicalization—which is represented with capital letters in (15b). Under normal intonation, the sentence is ungrammatical if the nominal is fronted (15a)—as discussed in Torrego (1984:335), Runner (1992:288) and others: [8]

(15) a. ?? Un hombre   había   en el jardín
        A man   was   in the garden
     b.   UN HOMBRE había   en el jardín
        A MAN   was   in the garden
        A MAN there was in the garden

Given that A-movement does not receive contrastive intonation, this fronting cannot be to [Spec, TP]. The same conclusion comes from raising constructions.

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[8] I am assuming that the original place of the nominal is in the Small Clause inside *haber*'s VP, as proposed by Stowell 1981, 1983, Safir 1985, among others, for English existentials. See also section 4.

As observed by Suñer (1982a: 104) and Torrego (1984: 332), in both dialects, if a nominal is fronted in raising constructions with *haber*, it needs contrastive intonation to be fully acceptable—thus, the fronting of the nominal in (16b) cannot be to [Spec, TP]. I take it to be a result of A'-movement:

(16) a. ?? Un hombre   parece   haber en el jardín
        A man   seems   to be in the garden
     b. UN HOMBRE   parece   haber en el jardín
        A man   seems   to be in the garden

As expected, if the nominal stays in situ, no special intonation is required:

(17) Parece   haber   un hombre   en el jardín
     Seems   to be   a man   in the garden
     There seems to be a man in the garden

These data indicate that it is not possible for the nominal to occupy [Spec, TP] in *haber*-sentences. This sharply contrasts with *estar*-sentences:

(18) a. Un hombre   estaba   en el jardín
         A man   was   in the garden
         A man was in the garden
      b. Un hombre   parece   estar   en el jardín
         A man   seems   to be   in the garden
         A man seems to be in the garden

Here the nominal raises to the higher [Spec, TP]. No contrastive intonation is needed.

Furthermore, *haber*, but not *estar*, is subject to the Definiteness Effect (DE)—see Bull 1943, Utley 1954, Luque Moreno 1978, among others: [9]

(19) a. *Hay   el   hombre en el jardín
        Be   the   man   in the garden
        There is a man in the garden
     b. El hombre   está   en el jardín
        The man   is   in the garden
        A man is in the garden

In *haber*-sentences, the DE is preserved even if we front the nominal:

(20) a. * EL HOMBRE   había   en el jardín
        The man   was   in the garden
        THE MAN there was in the garden

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[9] See the last section for additional discussion of the Spanish DE with *haber*-sentences.

   b.   UN HOMBRE   había   en el jardín
        A man   was   in the garden
        A MAN there was in the garden

Given that, when the nominal undergoes A-movement the DE is cancelled (as in English), the preservation of the DE in this fronting indicates that we are not dealing here with A-movement. This confirms that *estar*-sentences are the Spanish counterpart of non-expletive English existentials, but not *haber*-sentences like (20b).

1.4 Fronting the verb

We have seen evidence that indicates that the internal nominal does not undergo A-movement in *haber*-sentences, but it does in *estar*-sentences:

(21) a. Un hombre   estaba   en el jardín
         A man   was   in the garden
         A man was in the garden
    b. Había   un hombre   en el jardín
         was   a man   in the garden
         There was a man in the garden

Thus, the nominal is in a preverbal position with *estar*. However the word order of the subject can be altered in Spanish. We can have the nominal in the preverbal or postverbal position with *estar* too:

(22) a. El hombre   estaba   en el jardín
         The man   was   in the garden
    b. Estaba   el hombre   en el jardín
         Was   the man   in the garden

We can account for this if we assume that the verb is in a higher position, leaving behind the subject in (22b).[10] This is quite generally possible in Spanish:

(23) Caminó un hombre en el jardín
       walked   a man   en el jardín
       A man walkedin the garden

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[10] I leave aside the issue of what exactly the position of the verb in these constructions is. I will assume, however, that the verb is in the head of some XP above TP—that, of course, could be C^0, or maybe Top^0 (in the spirit of Bastos 2001). There is, however, some controversy regarding the possibility of T-to-C movement in Spanish (see Goodall 1993, 2002, Suñer 1994, Ordóñez 1997, Barbosa 2001). The alternative is that the subject does not leave its θ-position and that the verb raises to T. For an account in favor of T-to-C, see Pesetsky and Torrego 2000. In any case, in (22b), as in (23), the verb is higher than the subject—and the nominal in question is not an object, but a subject in (22b) as well as in (23) (recall also the impossibility of extraction out of the postverbal nominal with *estar* in (7b))

It is worth-noting, however, that the possibility of fronting the verb, although possible, is not really free in Spanish; these sentences are subject to certain restrictions and they may require special intonation—this is true for (23) as well as (22b). I will not attempt to characterize the proper contexts for this fronting; I only intend to establish that this word order exists, maybe for discourse reasons—for extensive discussion of Spanish word order, see Contreras 1976, 1991, Hernanz and Brucart 1987, Olarrea 1996, Ordóñez 1997, Ordóñez and Treviño 1999, Zubizarreta 1998, Goodall 2002, Zagona 2002, among others. [11]

I propose a scenario like (24) and (25) regarding the difference between *haber* and *estar* with respect to the word order. Here, I assume that the presence of a nominal in [Spec, TP] with *haber* makes the sentence ungrammatical; in addition, in constructions where a nominal raises above *haber*, I assume that the nominal undergoes A'-movement above TP:

(24) a'. * [TP Un hombre   *había*   en el jardín]
               A man   was   in the garden
      a''.   [XP UN HOMBRE   [TP *había*   en el jardín]]
               A man   was   in the garden
      b.   [TP *Había*   un hombre   en el jardín]]
               Was   a man   in the garden

(25) a.   [TP Un hombre   *estaba*   en el jardín]
               A man   was   in the garden
      b.   [XP *Estaba*   [TP un hombre   en el jardín]]
               Was   a man   in the garden

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[11] We must notice, however, that fronting of the nominal with *haber* is fully acceptable if it is a bare plural noun (a plural noun without a determiner):
   (i)   a.   Libros   hay   en el escritorio
                 Books   be   in the desk
                 There are books in the desk
         b.   Hormigas   había   en el jardín
                 ants   was   in the garden
                 There were ants in the garden
In addition, we should take into consideration that bare nouns cannot be preverbal subjects in Spanish, regardless of the verb—Suñer (1982a: 209-217) calls this "the naked noun constraint", see also Pérez Silva 1990, Bosque 1996, among others:
   (ii)   a. *   Hormigas   están   en el jardín
                 ants   are   in the garden
                 Ants are in the garden
         b. *   Hormigas   murieron   en el jardín
                 ants   died   in the garden
                 Ants died in the garden
Given (ii), I conclude that **Hormigas** and **Libros** are not subjects in (i).

From the previous discussion, we can conclude that the nominal of the verb *haber* cannot be the subject. Given that the nominal is not a subject (neither in SI nor in SII), it is not a surprise that it receives ACC, as shown from the cliticization data below:

(26) a. Había   unas mujeres   en la fiesta   *SI*
     Was   some women   in the party
     There were some women in the party
   b. Las   había
     CL-FEM-PLU-ACC   was

(27) a. Habían   unas mujeres   en la fiesta   *SII*
     Were   some women   in the party
     There were some women in the party
   b. Las   habían
     CL-FEM-PLU-ACC   were

Hence, as noted above, Chomsky's solution for English Existential constructions, in which the associate of *there* undergoes Agree and is Case-checked by T (in non ECM-constructions), cannot be directly applied to Spanish. Since T is the head that values the Case of the unique nominal, the expectation is that the nominal will bear NOM and it will agree with T.

For SI, none of these expectations is fulfilled. In this dialect the nominal bears ACC and does not agree with the verb:[12]

(28) a. Había   unos niños   en el parque   *SI*
     was   some kids   in the park
     There were some kids in the park
   b. Los   había
     CL-MAS-PLU-ACC   was

In SII, the nominal also receives ACC, but it agrees with the verb (and the agreement is preserved even when the object is cliticized):

(29) a. Habían   unos niños   en el parque   *SII*
     were   some kids   in the park
     There were some kids in the park

   b. Los   habían
     CL-MAS-PLU-ACC   were

Given this state of affairs, it seems clear that, if we want to maintain Chomsky's Agree/Case system, we must provide a source for the ACC in both

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[12] Notice that if we assume that a null expletive takes care of the φ-features of T, we still need a probe to value the case of the nominal. We will discuss this in the next section.

dialects, and explain why the nominal agrees with the verb in SII but not in SI. We will address these issues in the next section.

2. A small *v* in existentials

In this section I will present the idea that *haber*-sentences in Spanish have a small *v* that is responsible for the ACC Case. Actually, under Chomsky's Agree/Case system, given that we have an ACC object, there is no choice but to postulate a functional head with φ-features and the ability to probe the object, that is, small *v*:

(30) a. Hay   un hombre   en la habitación
         Is   a man   in the room
         There is a man in the room

(31) [TP   T-φ   [vP v-φ   [VP   hay [SC [un hombre] [en la habitación]]]]]

In this system, T and *v* have a set of uninterpretable φ-features (person, number, gender) that are unvalued. They probe into their c-command domain, looking for goals with valued φ-features—a nominal, for instance. Once they match a goal, the goal will value their uninterpretable φ-feature, and, as a reflex of this, the goal will get its uninterpretable Case-feature valued. A probe cannot be left with its φ-feature unvalued, since Spell Out will not be able to delete them, producing a crash. A goal must value its Case-feature, for the same reason. If T is the probe, the goal will be NOM; if *v* is the probe, the goal will be ACC. This combination of Match and (φ and Case) Valuation is called Agree.

Provisionally, let me say that the operation Agree applies as follows in (30) (I will change some details later). The small *v* probes the internal nominal, and it values its φ-features by agreeing with it:[13]

(32) a. Match
         v   *un hombre*
         [φ: __]   ⟶   [φ: 3p, sing]
                                        [Case: ___]
      b. Valuation
         v   *un hombre*
         [φ: 3P, SING]   [φ: 3p, sing]
                                        [Case: ACC]

Given this proposal, some problems immediately arise. First, according to Chomsky 1995 (see also Holmberg and Platzack 1995), *v* has the lexical property of having an External argument and valuing the ACC of the internal one. The small *v* that we are proposing can value the ACC of the nominal but it

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[13] I'm abstracting away from [gender] in this paper.

does not have External argument. But Chomsky's v is only a way to capture Burzio's Generalization (BG). In fact, it is not a very strong one, since it leaves open a door to violate the generalization. Since, for Chomsky, BG is a lexical property of v, nothing prevents other kinds of v could from having different lexical properties. In fact, if the lexical properties [external argument] and [valuing ACC] are assumed not to necessarily correlate, we expect four types of v:

(33) a. [+external argument] and [+valuing ACC]
     b. [+external argument] and [-valuing ACC]
     c. [-external argument] and [+valuing ACC]
     d. [-external argument] and [-valuing ACC]

Notice that at least two of them are attested: (33a) is Chomsky's 2000 *v for transitive verbs, and (33d) is the unaccusative v. In addition, (33b) could be associated with unergative verbs (assuming that there is no cognate object, or that the cognate object does not receive ACC in narrow syntax).[14] If this line of reasoning is correct, the lack of a v like (33c) would be a gap in the paradigm. Of course, (33c) is perfectly suited for Spanish existentials.

In addition, we know that BG is violated in several languages and constructions (See Haider 1985, Yip, Maling and Jackendoff 1987, Marantz 1991, Reuland 2000, Woolford 2003, and many others). In fact, most researchers (including Burzio 2000) consider BG to be an epiphenomenon (see the papers on Reuland 2000).
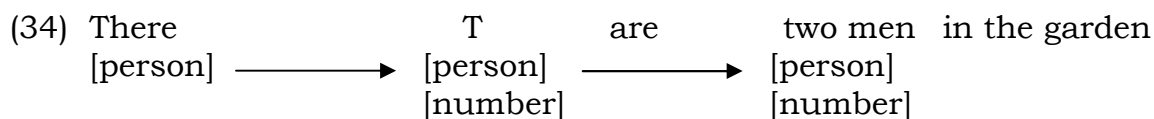It is also worth noting that Marantz 1991 derives BG from his theory of dependent Case: ACC is possible only when there is a second position available. That means that the notion of External role is not relevant, we just need a free position (that could be an expletive or even empty). This allows ACC in existential constructions, with no External role, but with a free position (in [Spec, TP]). Then, regarding BG, the remaining question is how Marantz's system fits in our proposal (we will return to this later).

There is another problem with (31-32): apparently, the φ-features of T remain unvalued, so, under Chomsky's system, the sentence should be ungrammatical. We cannot say that a null expletive EXPL takes care of the φ-features of T because expletives are based-generated in Spec, TP (Chomsky 2000, 2001a,b, Bošković 2002), so T cannot probe EXPL (in addition EXPL is supposed to be φ-incomplete, unable to value the φ-features of T).[15]

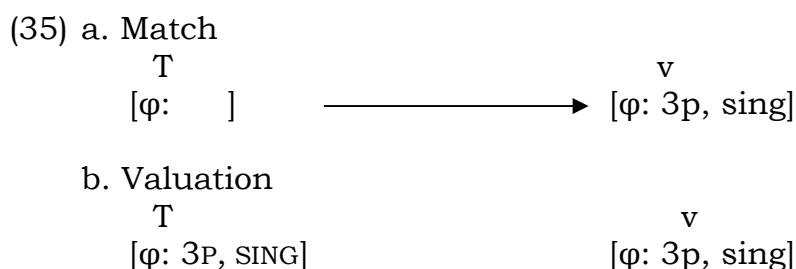[14] Under Hale and Keyser's 1993 framework, a transformation from a combination like [V [N walk]] into [V walk] would take place in the pre-syntactic component (a sort of lexical syntax). In this scenario, an incorporation N-to-V could render the Case feature inactive. Given that, in narrow syntax, we may not have an object position, then we would need something like (33b). However, it could be argued that the process described above happens in syntax, and then unergative constructions are simply transitive constructions. I left this issue open.
[15] This implies that we are not considering the possibility of a full expletive (like *it*). I will return to it in the next section.

According to Chomsky 2000, in English existential sentences, once T has valued its φ-features by probing the nominal, the expletive THERE, which is φ-incomplete, can probe T and value its own [person] feature. This means that valued heads can be goals:

(34) There   T   are   two men   in the garden
      [person] ⟶ [person]   ⟶ [person]
                          [number]   [number]

If any head with valued φ-features may be the goal for a probe with unvalued φ-features, we can value the φ-features of T in sentence (30) using the small v and Agree:

(35) a. Match
         T   v
        [φ:]   ⟶   [φ: 3p, sing]

     b. Valuation
         T   v
        [φ: 3P, SING]   [φ: 3p, sing]

This is possible because the φ-features of v are still there after it undergoes Agree with the nominal, since the deletion procedure applies only at the point of Spell-Out. Although they have been valued already, the φ-features have not been deleted because Spell Out applies just at the end of a strong phase. I assume that the small v in question is not the head of a strong phase, because it does not have an External argument.[16]

Notice that the small v in question does not have any [Case:] to value. At the first sight, this is trivial (v just doesn't have to check Case), but it allows us to make a crucial observation: a head can get its φ-features valued without assigning any Case. This seems to be true for T in SI and SII:[17]

(36)   a. Llueve
          rains
          It rains
       b. [TP   T-φ   [VP   Llueve]

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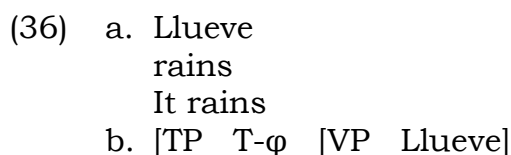
[16] And even if v were to head a strong phase, nothing would change. According to Chomsky 2000, only the edge of a phase is spelled out, not the specifier or the head. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that Spell Out would delete the φ-features of small v before it enters into an Agree-relation with the higher T.

[17] I put aside, for the moment, the possibility of a quasi-argument. I will come back to this in the next section.

In Spanish (SI and SII), T with φ-uninterpretable features can get a default value [3p, SING] if no head with φ-interpretable features is available in its c-command domain. This default value could be implemented via a pronominal subject clitic (SCL) that values the φ-features of T, rendering inactive its ability to value NOM. The morphological manifestation of this subject clitic could be the [3p, SING] suffix that we find in these verbs, in accordance with similar ideas developed in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, Kato 1999, 2000, Picallo 1998, Ticio 2004, Díaz 2004. In principle, this subject clitic could replace the idea of a null expletive as responsible for valuing the φ-features of T, and it also could render unnecessary the idea of default agreement. We will see in the next section, however, that these possibilities can be distinguished from each other, and that they may produce different effects.

Before that, let me emphasize another assumption to be in position to fully assert my proposal. As has been observed (Boeckx 2003), the requirement for a head with uninterpretable φ-features (the probe) to value its features in order to value the Case-feature of the goal is a way to encode the Inverse Case Filter—that is, the requirement for a traditional Case-assigner to discharge its Case to an assignee (Bošković 1997, 2002)—in Chomsky's Case/Agree system. This also gives us a way to derive a weak version of the BG (actually Chomsky 2000 suggests this too), without precluding the possibility of several types of small v (as in (33)).

Assuming that T is always present in a sentence (nothing really new here), if a second φ-head is present, there are only two (grammatical) options:

(37) i.   There is another argument between T and the second φ-head (the External argument), and T values its φ-features by probing this argument.

   ii. There is no other argument between T and the second φ-head, then, either:

      a. T values its φ-features by probing the second head (provided that this head has already valued its own φ-features probing the internal argument), or else

      b. A subject clitic/expletive/default agreement values the φ-features of T.

According to (37i), we need an external argument to value the φ-features of T, since the internal argument is in the domain of another probe. Obviously, this makes the BG an epiphenomenon, since it depends on the necessity of T to value its φ-features, but it can be violated if the φ-features are valued using a goal different than the External argument. This also entails Marantz's 1991 suggestion that an independent "empty" position (in this case, [Spec, T]) can be enough to license the presence of ACC.

According to (37ii) a probe can in turn be visible as a goal for another c-

commanding probe, even if it has no Case feature, presumably violating the Activation Condition (AC)—according to which a goal must have an uninterpretable feature to undergo agreement. Chomsky must have some solution in mind; otherwise, his idea that the expletive probes T in English existentials constructions would violate AC in (34), since T has no Case-feature. Notice, however, that Spell Out has not applied yet, which means that the uninterpretable φ-features of T have not yet been deleted. Since for Chomsky, AC depends on the presence of any uninterpretable feature, T is still active since its φ-features have not been deleted. Since the same is true in (37ii), there is no problem here. There is another possibility. Rather than postulate that uninterpretable Case features render the goal visible for Agree (as in Chomsky 2000, 2001a,b), we could propose that valued Case features make the goal invisible for Agree. In other words, we can have a Deactivation Condition:

(38)   Deactivation Condition
       Elements with valued Case features are invisible for Agree

This has the merit of allowing heads without Case features to be used as goals—as long as they have the proper set of φ-features—without losing the idea that nominals become inactive after Agree/Case checking. This could be in conflict with Multiple Agree systems, however. I will leave the issue open.

Having established the plausibility of (35) in Chomsky's Agree system, in the next section, I turn to the dialectal difference with respect to agreement. I will slightly adjust (35) to account for it.

3. Object Agreement: existentials in SI and SII

In this section, I will present an analysis of the dialectal difference in Spanish with respect to agreement in existential constructions. I will propose that the small v in SEC is φ-incomplete (it does not have [person]). In addition, an interpretable [person] in SII-T will account for the dialectal differences in agreement.

Remember that there are two dialects in Spanish with respect to agreement in existential constructions:

(39)   Hubo   dos hombres   en la fiesta   *SI*
       was   two men   in the party
       There were two men in the party

(40)   Hubieron   dos hombres   en la fiesta   *SII*
       were   two men   in the party
       There were two men in the party

This difference has been attested by several researchers, and it seems to be present in Spanish at least from the XIV century (Kany 1951, Suñer 1982b, Fernández-Soriano and Táboas-Baylin 1999, among many others). In the present times, SI is predominant in Peninsular Spanish (PS), whereas SII is predominant in Latin American Spanish (LAS)—see for instance, Bello (1847:§781) who denounces this agreement as an "almost universal vice". But SII is also present in PS as a non standard variety, and SI is usually imposed as a prescriptive rule in LAS—so, in LAS, it is not hard to find educated speakers with both SI and SII.[18]

Given that the social and geographical distribution of these varieties is complex,[19] I am using SI and SII to refer to the variety without and with agreement, respectively. Keep in mind, however, that SI and SII are really shorthands for a family of dialects that share the corresponding phenomenon. Although I will present some correlations between the difference in (39)-(40) and other properties of SI and SII, nothing prevents the dialects inside SI or SII to have differences in other aspects of their grammars.

Under the current assumptions, the explanation for SII (40) is straightforward: the nominal values the φ-features of v (as a result of which the nominal gets ACC), and v values the φ-features of T. However, sentence (39) shows that in SI T cannot probe its goal, and therefore it gets a default value. Given that in both cases we have v (because there is ACC), the question is what could prevent T from valuing its φ-features by probing v in SI? To answer this question, let's turn to some restrictions on the internal nominal in *haber*-sentences.

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[18] It is necessary to keep this in mind. That a given speaker can accept both versions of existentials constructions does not mean that the agreement is optional—against some suggestions to the contrary: Contreras (1976: 142), Westphal (1980: 61), Treviño (2003: 179). At best, speakers who accept both are bi-dialectal. Being a native speaker of SII myself, I remember my surprise when I was first introduced to SI as the "correct" dialect. Now, however, I can accept SI *haber*-sentences.

[19] This has received considerable attention in the sociolinguistic literature, where the phenomenon is usually called "the personalization of *haber*" (Silva-Corvalán 2001:30)—see Montes 1982, Obediente 1984, Bentivoglio 1989, Navarro Correa 1991, De Mello 1991, 1994, Domínguez et al. 1998, Díaz-Campos 1999-2000, among others. Notice, however, that this literature generally considers the agreement in SII as evidence that the nominal is a subject and no longer an object, but without discussion of the lack of other subject properties, and no explanation is provided for the presence of the ACC clitic. Some authors explicitly belittle this fact: "La posible realización de este SN como un pronombre correferencial no parece ser un argumento que interese a los hablantes" [The possible realization of this NP as a coreferential pronoun does not seem to be an argument that calls the attention of the speaker] (Domínguez et al. 1998: 33). These opinions, however, must be considered in its real dimension, since they show something very important. The presence of agreement in the data is so pervasive that the researchers are willing to consider the nominal as a subject, putting aside other properties. Then, we can consider that the sociolinguistic explorations confirm that the agreement between the nominal and *haber* is widely spread, despite of the fact that the nominal is an object or even an ACC clitic. This shouldn't be so strange, since agreement with the verb does not need to be a property of subjects, as a minimal cross-linguistic examination immediately shows.

3.1 Restrictions on the internal nominal and an φ-incomplete small v

Nominals that are specified with [person] are not possible inside *haber*-sentences. This entails that there are nominals that do not have [person] feature, precisely the ones that are allowed under *haber*.

There is a long standing tradition, which can be traced back to Benveniste 1966, arguing that the category of Person should be restricted to the participants in the speech act, that is, the First Person and the Second Person; under this perspective, the non-participant, the Third Person, is a non-person. This traditional view has been challenged, however. For instance, relying on data from an extensive cross-linguistic survey, Siewierska 2004 argues that excluding the Third Person "would severely skew our understanding of a number of facets of the category of person" (Siewierska 2004:8), although she acknowledges that the Third Person has a distinct nature from the First Person and the Second Person. In a feature-based system, being non-person would mean that the item in question lacks a [person] feature, that is, it is φ-incomplete. I will adopt the view that some Third Person pronouns and some nominals, have a [person] feature, but I will also assume that a subset of Third Person pronouns and other nominals lacks this feature. This means that some nominals are φ-complete, but others are φ-incomplete (they lack [person]).

I assume the following classification of nominals with respect to [person]—see Harley and Ritter 2002, Adger and Harbour 2003, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2004, among others, for related proposals in relation with other languages:

(41)   Nominals

    participant   non participant

[person:1]   [person:2]   [person:3]   ----
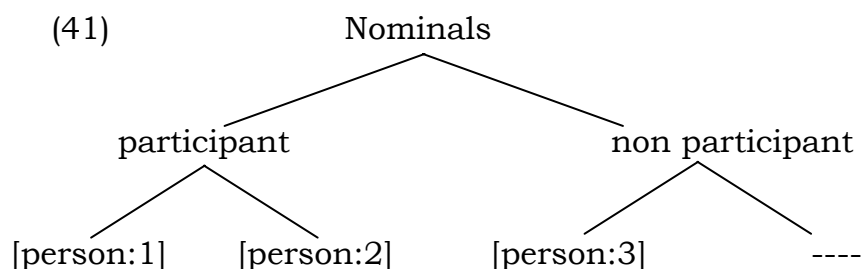
As in the traditional view, if a nominal refers to a participant in the speech act, it will be marked with [person]. Notice that these nominals are very few, in fact, they are the First and Second Person pronouns. Notice further that First and Second Person pronouns are always interpreted as specific and animate. It is natural to assume that this meaning is attached to the [person] feature they uncontroversially hold. In that sense, at least in some languages, non-participant nominals that are specific and animate may also be specified with [person] feature, departing from the traditional view.[20] A language then may

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[20] It is not clear, however, how far we are from a benvenistean position. If we take the idea of

link the feature [person] with the semantic properties of being animate and specific, given that these properties are always connected with nominals that necessarily hold the [person] feature (the participants). Therefore, it can then be expected that the language would grant the feature [person] to all nominals that are both animate and specific, even if they refer to non-participants. This allows an interpretation of the [person] feature that is uniform across participants and non participants: being [person] means being specific and animate, and the particular value of the feature informs the corresponding participation in the speech act. According to this, only nominals that are not specific and animate will be φ-incomplete, that is, they will have no [person] feature. I contend that this is what happens in Spanish.

In that sense, for instance, a proper noun like *John*, which is specific and animate, has an interpretable [person:3] feature. On the other hand, a nominal like *hombres* "men", which is animate but non specific is φ-incomplete, that is, it has no [person] feature. The same would hold, for example, for *azúcar* "sugar", which is both non animate and non specific.

An interesting situation arises with the ACC clitic *lo*. This form is allowed under *haber*-sentences, as we have already observed:

(42) a.   Hay   un hombre en el parque
              is   a man   in the park
              There is a man in the room
      b.   Lo   hay
              CLITIC   is

In this case, *lo* does not need to be specific (although it is animate, since it stands for "a man"). We assume, then, that here *lo* does not have a [person] feature. However, in other cases, as in clitic doubling, *lo* must be specific (as argued by Suñer 1988, among others), therefore, if it is also animate, it must have [person]:

(43)   Lo   vi   a Juan
         CLITIC   saw   to John
         I saw John

Then, we assume two different forms for *lo*: one with [person] (as in (43)) and the other without [person] (as in (42)). Interestingly, in some Spanish dialects,

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"non person" to be related with the value of [person], and not with the category itself, we could reconcile the two positions. If First Person is [person:+1-2] and Second Person is [person:-1+2], Third Person could be [person:-1-2], which leaves room for the so called "Fourth Person" [person:+1+2], a pronoun that refers to both participants, a possibility very well attested among languages. I have no space here to explore all the consequences of this move. For expository reasons, I will continue to use [3p] to refer to non-participants nominals that carry [person].

the ACC clitic with [person], that is, the one that is specific and animate, has a morphological expression (*le*) different from *lo* without [person].[21] This is evidence that Spanish can express morphologically the split between nominals that are animate and specific, and nominals that are not.[22] I claim that it does so by using the feature [person].

In Spanish, specific and animate nominals, that is, [person] nominals, are precisely the kind of nominals that are banned from *haber*-sentences:[23]

(44)   *Me/Te/Nos   había
       Me/Te/Us   was
       There was me/you/us

(45)   a. *Hay   Juan
          Is   John
          There is John
       b. *Has   tú
          are   you
          There is you.

Notice that [person] nominals are not possible here even with list-readings. It is not the case that in (44-45) we have a different reading, these sentences are simply ungrammatical, which is different from English, where the corresponding sentences are accepted with a list-reading (an observation that can be traced back to Milsark 1974). Therefore, this restriction cannot be explained by using the Definiteness Effect.

I propose that the reason for this ban is that small v appears without the feature [person], and just with [number]:[24]

(46) v
          [number]

This means that only objects that are not specified for [person] will be allowed

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[21] See also footnote 22. The dialectal differences with respect to these clitics are more complex. For instance, there are dialects where *le* substitutes *lo* completely. See Fernández-Ordoñez 1999 for a description.

[22] In section 5, I will provide a more detailed explanation for this interpretative difference with respect to the Definiteness Effect (DE) and the Differential Object Marking (DOM).

[23]. Notice that this implies that some specific nominals are allowed under *haber*, if they are inanimate, a claim that can be traced back to Suñer (1982a), although she presents it in a different way, as we will see in section 5. It is also worth noting that in dialects that distinguish between *lo* and *le* (as ACC clitic), *le* is banned from *haber*-sentences, as predicted.

[24] As mentioned, I'm abstracting away from other features, like [gender], since these don't play any role in the system I'm developing here. For other analysis where syntactic heads can be underspecified, see Bejar (2003: 37) and the references there-in.

in the context in question. If an internal nominal is specified for [person], small *v* will be able to probe it and then to value its own [number] feature, but it will not be able to value the [case] feature of the object, given Chomsky's 2000, 2001 suggestion that incomplete φ-features cannot value [case]. Notice that this requirement for probes must be relativized to the features of the goal. Small *v* is still "incomplete" (in the absolute sense) when it probes objects with no [person] feature, but it is complete with respect to the features of the goal. In other words, Chomsky's suggestion should be recast in this way: [25]

> (47) Condition on Case-valuation
>   Only a probe P that matches all φ-features of a goal G can value the [case] feature of G.

So far, this is common to SI and SII. A problem arises here. Now small *v* won't be able to value the φ-features of T because it is φ-incomplete. Here we are looking at the other side of valuation: from the goal to the probe. This situation is not covered by in (47). Let me assume a version of Bejar's (2003:65) Condition on valuation (where *uf*=uninterpretable features):

> (48) Condition on φ-valuation
>   G(oal) values P(robe) if and only if *uf*(G) entails *uf*(P)
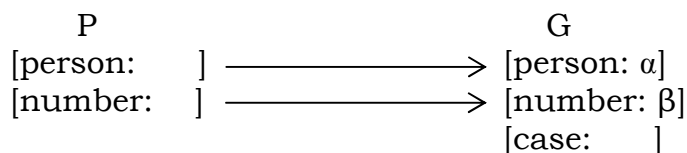>   [Adapted from Bejar (2003:65)]

In other words, the uninterpretable features of the probe P must be a subset of the uninterpretable features of the goal G, in order for the uninterpretable features of the probe to get valued.

This means that there are two process of valuation under Agree: Case-valuation (which must satisfy (47)) and φ-valuation (which must satisfy (48)). In other words, the Agree operation has three steps:[26]

> (49) Agree
>   a. Match
>
>   P   G
>   [person:] ──────────────────▶ [person: α]
>   [number:] ──────────────────▶ [number: β]
>   [case:]
>
>   b. [case]-valuation
>
>   P   G
>   [person:]   [person: α]
>   [number:]   [number: β]
>   - - - - - - - - - ▶ [case: γ]

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[25] Notice that I am assuming that T will not able to value the [case] feature of the nominal. The reason for that is that T needs to probe *v* and cannot escape its interference, failing to probe across *v*. In other words, we are dealing here with a minimality effect, since small *v* is the closest goal to T.

[26] This will be particularly important when we discuss default agreement in the next subsection.

c. φ-valuation

P		G
[person: α]	◄···	[person: α]
[number: β]	◄···	[number: β]
		[case: γ]

Therefore, although (46) allows us to explain the [person] restriction on internal nominals in *haber*-sentences (given (47)), it gives us a new problem, because now we don't have a way to value the φ-features of T (given(48)). Let's put this aside for a moment.

There is another difference between SI and SII. In SII SEC, but not in SI SEC, the T can have a person value that is different from the one in the nominal. In fact, as discussed, the nominal here does not have [person] (it is non specific), but T has:

(50) Habemos   dos estudiantes en la clase   *SII*
     Habéis
     Are-1P-PLU   two students in the class
     Are-2P-PLU
     Lit: We there are two students in the class

It is important to notice that (50) still is an existential sentence. First, it is subject to the Definiteness Effect:

(51) *Habemos   los estudiantes en la clase   *SII*
     Are-1P-PLU   the students in the class

Second, it is still subjectless, in fact, it is impossible to use an overt subject (either preverbal or postverbal):

(52) a. *Nosotros   habemos   dos estudiantes en la clase   *SII*
         We   are-1P-PLU   two students in the class
     b. *Habemos   nosotros   dos estudiantes en la clase   *SII*
         Are-1P-PLU   we   two students in the class

This behavior allows us to confirm that (50) is not the Spanish equivalent of any of these English sentences (where the speaker is a student):[27]

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[27] In fact, Spanish has also these possibilities, using the verb *tener* ("to have") or ser ("to be")—notice that here we have an overt subject:
      (i)   Nosotros   tenemos   dos estudiantes en la clase
            We   have   two students in the class
      (ii) Nosotros   somos   dos estudiantes en la clase
            We   are   two students in the class

(53) a. We have two students in the class
      b. We are two students in the class

(50) is, then, truly an existential sentence. Given that [person] nominals are not allowed under *haber*, the question is where this [1p] and [2p] comes from? The situation is even more puzzling if we take into consideration the fact that this dissociation between the person in T and the person in the nominal agreeing with T is possible with other verbs in both SI and SII. As discussed in Hurtado 1984, Fernández-Soriano 1989, Contreras 1991, Olarrea 1996, Ordoñez and Treviño 1999, Ticio 2004, Ortega-Santos 2004, and others, Spanish (SI and SII) subject nominals can trigger first or second person in T, when they refer to a group that includes the first or the second person:

(54) Los estudiantes   asistimos   a la clase regularmente
                        asististeis
     The students   attended-1P-PLU   the class regularly
                        attended-2P-PLU

     We, the students, attended the class regularly
     You, the students, attended the class regularly

The question is why SI does not allow this dissociation with *haber*. This is the same question regarding why *haber* in SI does not agree with the internal nominal but SII does.

The standard analysis for (54) is to assume that the overt nominal is left-dislocated and that there is a *pro* in [Spec, TP] which is responsible for the features in T (Contreras 1991, Olarrea 1996, among others):

(55) [Los estudiantes [TP *pro*-1p asistimos   a la clase regularmente]]
     The students   attended-1P-PLU the class regularly

We could try to apply this analysis to *haber*-sentences in SII, proposing an internal a *pro* with [1p] or [2p], which is responsible for the features of T, with the overt nominal right dislocated to some position:

(56) [[Habemos   *pro*-1P]   dos estudiantes en la clase]   *SII*
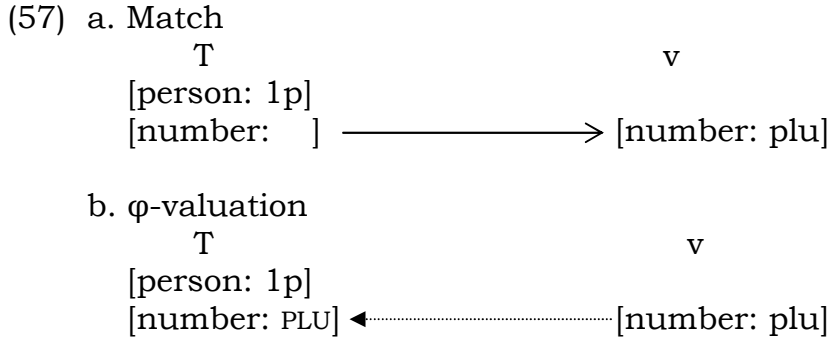   Are-1P-PLU   two students in the class

But if this is correct, we cannot explain (44-45): nominals specified for [person] are not allowed in *haber*-sentences. It seems, thus, that we don't have any element as a candidate to value the φ-features of T in SII SEC.

I think we can solve all these questions at the same time, by proposing an interpretable [person] feature in T. I will discuss this in the next section.

*3. 2 Interpretable [person] in SII T and a repair strategy for SI T*

I propose that in SII the effects just discussed are triggered by an interpretable [person] feature in T. This will solve all the questions.

First in SII, given that the [person] feature in T is interpretable, we don't need to value it (it already has a value). So only the [number] feature needs to probe small v, which is fine because small v has only [number], satisfying (48):

(57) a. Match
            T   v
    [person: 1p]
    [number:] ⟶ [number: plu]

    b. φ-valuation
            T   v
    [person: 1p]
    [number: PLU] ◄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄[number: plu]

Second, given that now the [person] feature is interpretable in SI, it can vary freely, resulting in [1p], [2p] or [3p], without agreeing with the internal nominal (as in (50)). This has the effect that we don't even need to resort to a *pro* to explain mismatches between the φ-features of T and the overt subjects in all sentences in SII (like (54)).

Third, given that in SI T has uninterpretable [person] and [number], the small v won't be able to value the [person] feature (because small v is incomplete, as discussed). This is actually a welcome result for SI, since we want to produce a situation where T in this dialect receives a default value. We have a situation similar to (36), repeated here as (58), where T has no element to value its features:[28]

(58) a. Llueve
        rains
        It rains
    b. [TP T-φ [VP Llueve]
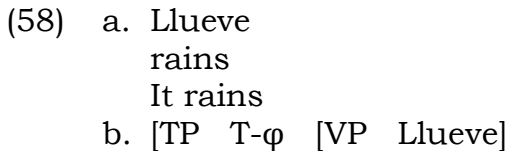
But (58) clearly shows that SI (and also SII, but this is not applicable to *haber*-sentences for the reasons discussed) has a last resort strategy to repair this situation. As briefly pointed out when we discussed (36), there are three possible candidates for this strategy: default agreement, a subject clitic and an expletive. We will discuss each of them now.

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[28] Notice that the internal nominal in SI *haber*-sentences cannot value the features of T, because it has already checked its [case] feature, hence it is no longer active for Agree; furthermore, it is also incomplete, as discussed.

3.2.1 Default agreement

The idea of default agreement has been proposed by several authors to deal with situations like the one just discussed—for a sketch of a theory of default agreement in Chomsky's Agree system, see Bejar (2003: 76-80). A problem that always arises is how to restrict it. If default agreement were allowed to repair all instances of unvalued φ-features we would predict no crashes in the Agree system (when it comes to φ-features) and, possibly, multiple instances of disagreement. However, the idea of default agreement is necessary in the system we are developing here. Minimally, we can define *default agreement* as the presence of a morphological feature in a head that cannot be explained by Agree.

Remember that the Condition on φ-valuation (48) restricts φ-valuation to instances where the Goal is complete with respect to the Probe. In addition, we are assuming that some nominals (precisely the ones that are allowed under *haber*) are also φ-incomplete (they have only [number], no [person]). The combination of these assumptions predicts that these nominals are not allowed as subjects of any T in SI, because, by hypothesis, T is φ-complete in SI but these nominals are not.[29] Notice that there is no problem with the [case]-feature of these nominals, which can be valued, under the Condition on Case-valuation (47). The problem is the φ-valuation of T.
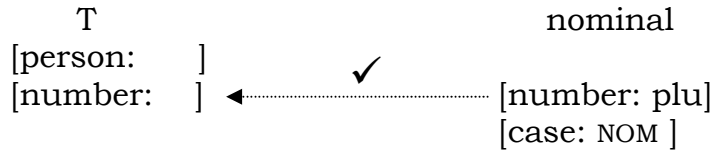
Notice further that we cannot assume that there is an unconstrained mechanism of default agreement that repairs this situation. This will predict a default value in T, which does not happen—these nominals, when possible, agree with T:

(59)   Llegaron   dos policías
       Arrived   two cops
       There arrived two cops

On the other hand, we do have a similar situation with respect to existential constructions: a φ-incomplete v cannot value the φ-features of the φ-complete T in these constructions in SI:

(60) Existential constructions   SI

            T   v
        [person:]
        [number:] ◀┄┄┄┄┄✘┄┄┄┄┄ [number: plu]

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[29] This is not a problem in SII, where T has only one uninterpretable [number], which can be valued by the interpretable [number] of these nominals, under (48).

(61) φ-incomplete subjects

<div style="text-align:center">

T   nominal

</div>

[person:]
[number:] ◄┈┈┈┈┈ ✓ ┈┈┈┈┈ [number: plu]
                                         [case: NOM]

Remember that the Condition on Case-valuation (47) does not prevent the [case]-feature of the nominal from being valued. On the other hand, if we don't allow the nominal to value the [number] feature of T we will create a mismatch between Case and Agreement: the Goal will get a [case]-value, even if it is not able to value any φ-feature of the Probe. We need to allow φ-valuation in this case. I propose the following condition:[30]

(62) If a Goal G receives a [case]-value from a Probe P, it must value all the uninterpretable φ-features that the P is matching.

This allows the valuation of the [number]-feature in T, and leaves the [person]-feature unvalued. Then we could propose a mechanism of default agreement that may repair heads that have incomplete valuation, in other words, if one feature needs to be valued, because of (62), the remaining unvalued features will receive default agreement. In the case under consideration, this means that T will receive default [3p]. This is fine, because [1p] and [2p] nominals are always φ-complete, so default agreement will be unnecessary in those cases. Notice further that this does not affect our discussion about small v and the ban on [person]-nominals in *haber*-sentences; in this situation, the problem was Condition (47), that is, the [case]-value of these nominals. The Condition on φ-valuation (48) is satisfied there.

The situation of existential constructions, that is (60), cannot fall under Condition (62), since here the Condition of φ-valuation (48) applies, because there is no [case]-valuation involved. This means that small v cannot value the [number]-feature of T in (60), under (48), which corresponds to the situation in SI SEC (recall that the [person] feature of T in SI is uninterpretable). Therefore the mechanism of default agreement must be even richer than suggested, being able to repair heads that are totally unvalued, as long as they do not value the [case] of any goal. A general characterization could be that default agreement applies to φ-features that are not involved in [case]-valuation, if they fail to meet Condition (48).

As it is stated, (48) could be in conflict with (62). I will modify (48) in this way (where uf=uninterpretable features):

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[30] Notice that this situation suggests that case-valuation happens under Match, although it produces φ-valuation.
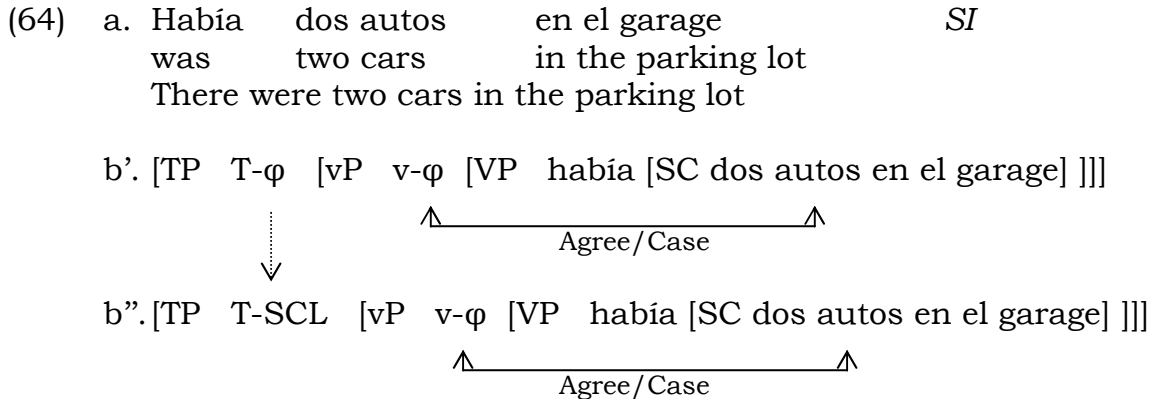
(63) <u>Condition on φ-valuation (modified)</u>
If a Goal G does not receive a [case]-value from a Probe P, G values P if and only if *uf*(G) entails *uf*(P)

The modified version has an additional advantage: it makes (63) the caseless counterpart of (62), strengthening the correlation between Case and Agreement.

3.2.2 Subject clitics

In this section, I will consider one implementation of the default agreement mechanism, which is intended to be the mean of resolving situations where default agreement in T is called for (i.e. no other mechanism for giving default agreement to φ-features of T will be necessary within the analysis). [31] In particular, I will consider the possibility that a subject clitic values the φ-features of T in both (58) and *haber*-sentences in SI. This possibility would be the morphological instantiation of the default agreement mechanism. The morphological manifestation of this clitic is a [3p, SING] suffix, a solution that is in line with several analysis for subject agreement in null subjects languages— see Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, Kato 1999, 2000, Ticio 2004, Díaz 2004, among others. Following this tradition I will call this CL a subject clitic (SCL), although it will be attached to a subjectless T. We can see the process here:

(64) a. Había   dos autos   en el garage   *SI*
         was   two cars   in the parking lot
         There were two cars in the parking lot

   b'. [TP   T-φ   [vP   v-φ [VP   había [SC dos autos en el garage]]]]
                                      Agree/Case

   b". [TP   T-SCL   [vP   v-φ [VP   había [SC dos autos en el garage]]]]
                                      Agree/Case

In (64), the agreement takes place as explained before. What is different is that T receives a SCL with a specified value: [3p, sing] (let me call it *invariable* SCL), which surfaces as a verbal suffix. As a result, T values its φ-features. In other words, since in SI T cannot value its φ-features by probing *v* (i.e. probing *v* would not result in valuation of the φ-features of T in SI given (63)), it does so by using the SCL, a morphological resource. If this is correct, the difference between SI and SII can be stated as the difference between the mechanisms to

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[31] The discussion below is somewhat tentative. If the subject clitic analysis to be developed is not adopted, we can still fall back to the more traditional default agreement mechanism without affecting the analysis developed in this paper.

value the φ-features of T. In SII Agree between T and v is possible, whereas SI must resort to a SCL, because Agree won't be able to value the φ-features of T, given that small v is φ-incomplete. [32]

Let me explain the distribution of the invariable SCL. We don't want this SCL to be freely attached to any verb in SI. This would predict that any sentence can have [3p, SING], which is contrary to the facts. On the other hand, we do have instances of invariant SCL in SII too, as showed by (58). Let me assume that SCL must appear only if T has no other way to value its φ-features. To be more precise, a SCL must be used in SEC with *haber*-sentences, otherwise, the derivation will crash, for the reasons discussed. It is worth noticing that (58) allows a nominal in Spanish to trigger agreement with T, under certain circumstances in both dialects; in this case, the SCL is avoided, since T can establish a relation with the nominal, which gets NOM (no accusative cliticization is possible in this sentence):

(65) a Llovieron   insultos   sobre el árbitro
         rained-PLU   insults   over the referee
         Lit: "Insults rained over the referee"
         (to mean something like "The people insulted the referee a lot")
      b. * Los   llovieron
           CL   rained-PLU

In existential constructions, an additional φ-head is present (the small v). Since, as discussed, v has valued its φ-features already, in SII, T (which has interpretable [person] but uninterpretable [number]) can probe v, valuing its uninterpretable [number]. However, SI requires the presence of SCL because here T also has an uninterpretable [person], which cannot be valued by small v, because small v has no [person], as discussed. If we further assume that this SCL is φ-complete, with a value of [3p, SING], we explain why the [number] feature of T is SING. As just mentioned, if φ-v can value the φ-features of T, no SCL will be necessary. This is precisely what happens in SII. Notice that this amounts to saying that the verbal suffixes in existential *haber*-sentences in SII are not the manifestation of some SCL, but the morphological counterpart of the φ-valuation. There is some evidence that this is indeed the case, which I will discuss in section 3.4.

We may push the SCL analysis tentatively by taking into consideration the claim made by several researchers (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, Kato 1999, 2000, Ticio 2004, among others), that Spanish also has SCLs that license null subjects in non existential sentences. If we add to this picture the Manzini and Savoia's 2002 suggestion that the inflection (that is, the SCL) is also able to receive the external θ role, and that, therefore, there is no *pro*, we

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[32] This conclusion is reinforced by the diachronic fact that these dialects seem to be parallel developments in Spanish, that is, it is not the case that SII comes from SI or vice versa.

have and interesting parallelism between both forms of SCL. [33] The consequences of these suggestions are beyond the goals of this paper. It is important to keep in mind that my analysis does not depend on them. If the suggestions regarding SCL are ultimately proven wrong, that is, if we need a mechanism of default agreement different from SCLs, the system developed here will still work.

3.2.3 Null Expletive/Pleonasm

In this section we will discuss the possibility that a null expletive could be responsible for the default value of T in SI, in order to replace the mechanism of default agreement (what follows is then an alternative to the SCL analysis). Expletives have a long history of discussion in the generative grammar (see Svenonius 2002 and the papers and references there-in for a minimal introduction). Since the scope of this paper will not allow me to do justice to the rich literature on this issue, I won't even attempt to present the main issues. The discussion will be limited to the possibility of using a null expletive as responsible for valuing T in SI.

Picallo 1998—following ideas introduced by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1995, 1998 and Contreras 1996—disregards the possibility of null expletives by proposing that it violates an economy condition, according to which an element can be in the numeration only if it has some effect on the output (Chomsky 1995: 294). Given that a null expletive has no semantic nor phonological import, to introduce it will violate this requirement. Picallo applies this condition to both *there*-type and *it*-types expletives. She does not discuss the idea of quasi-argument *it* for verbs like *to rain* (Chomsky 1981: 323-325), but she does discuss cases of *it*-extraposition (*It is true that John is tall*) in Catalan. Obviously, if a quasi-argument has a semantic import, it can enter the numeration without violating the economy condition. This will mean that verbs like *llover* (to rain) could have a null expression in the subject, which I will call *pleonasm* (following Travis 1984: 216-267) as opposed to *expletive* (this last term will be used for non-quasiarguments). It also has been proposed that *it*-extraposition constructions have a quasi-argument *it* (see Svenonius 2002: 6-7 and the references there-in). If this is correct, Picallo's argument may only be applied to *haber*-sentences.

However, Torrego 1984, who is working in SI, has suggested that *haber*-sentences could have a null quasi argument (that is, a null pleonasm in the terminology I am using here). For Chomsky 1981, the possibility of controling this position (by another quasi argument) is evidence of its status as quasi

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[33] Notice that the invariable SCL for SI SEC will be the only one (with [3p, SING]), but for non existential sentences we need a whole set of SCLs. This is not a disadvantage with respect to the *pro* analysis, since, if we use *pro* to value the φ-features of T, we will also need a whole set of different *pro*s.

argument:

(66) It sometimes rains after snowing
     [Chomsky 1981: 323]

In other words, a pleonastic PRO can be controlled by a pleonastic *it*. Torrego applies this test to show that *haber*-sentences have a null quasi-argument:

(67) a. A veces   hay mosquitos en el jardín   después de llover
         Sometimes be   gnats   in the garden   after raining
         There sometimes are gnats in the garden after raining
     b. *A veces   encendemos   una hoguera después de llover
         Sometimes light   a bonfire   after raining
         We sometimes light a bonfire after raining
     [Torrego 1984:335]

According to Torrego, this contrast shows that there is a quasi-argument with *haber*. This is not so clear, however, and Torrego does not explain her idea in detail. We could say that the pleonastic PRO in (67a) is controlled by the null pleonasm in the higher *hay*-clause. But how does it explain that (67b) is ungrammatical? We could answer this question by suggesting that a pleonastic PRO (a quasi-argument) must be controlled by another quasi-argument; in fact there seems to be additional evidence to this effect (but see the end of the discussion):

(68) a. * Llover es peligroso
         To rain is dangerous
     b. * Haber   un policía en el jardín   es peligroso
         To be   a cop in the garden   is dangerous
     c. Cazar es peligroso
         To hunt is dangerous

In (68a-b) there is no controller for the pleonastic PRO. (68c) shows a case of a non pleonastic PRO, so it does not need to be controlled.[34]

Thus, if *haber* does have a null quasi-argument, we could use it to value the φ-features of T. Assuming that it is φ-complete, it could intervene between T and small *v*, provoking [3p sing]. It could be that it is in [Spec, *v*P]—Radford (1997:400), Nomura 2004, among others, make this suggestion for *there*-type expletives—or it could be adjoined to T, as Chomsky 2001b suggests for overt French pleonasm *il*.

Notice that we don't need to necessarily conclude this. If we grant invariable

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[34] Some questions arise, of course, regarding the nature of this mandatory control. I won't address this issue here.

SCL the ability to control a pleonastic PRO—this will imply that SCL can be the quasi argument of *haber*-sentences, naturally extending similar suggestions by Manzini and Savoia 2002 regarding *pro*—we don't need to propose a pleonasm in [Spec, *v*P]. In fact, the Control facts provided by Torrego 1984 in SI also hold for SII. Since there we already have a candidate for the controller (the interpretable [person] in T), we don't need a pleonasm either. Obviously, these are not arguments against the idea of a pleonasm in [Spec, *v*P], but they do suggest that SCL can do the same job. To the extent that this is correct, up to this moment, we don't have a way to teasing apart an explanation based on SCL from another based on null pleonasms in [Spec, *v*P]—this would mean that they are just terminological variants.[35]

There could be a way, though. If there is a null pleonasm in [Spec, *v*P], this will mean that *v*P is a full transitive clause. However, it behaves differently in several ways. Although some of these differences could be accounted for by resorting to independent reasons,[36] there is at least one that cannot. If *v*P is a full transitive clause, it should be a strong phase,[37] in particular, it should allow additional specifiers. In the system that we are developing here, this is a problem because, under Bošković 2005 version of the Phase Interpretability Condition, a nominal cannot be trapped inside a Spell Out domain without checking its [case] feature, otherwise it cannot check it anymore, then, if in a given domain, the nominal is not able to value its Case, it must move—this enforces successive cyclic A-movement. Given that we are assuming that small *v* is incomplete, that is, that it has only [number] and no [person], it cannot value the [case] feature of a complete nominal, as discussed. Therefore, in Bošković's system, this nominal should be able to move further to check Case

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[35] There is an additional possibility that we need to consider. Suppose that the pleonasm is φ-incomplete, that is, it has only [person] and no [number]; suppose further that it has a [case] feature to check, and that it is generated in [Spec, *v*P]—all of them, very plausible assumptions. From there, it can value the [person] feature of T (in SI), according to Condition (62), but the [number] feature will have a default value, as discussed in the previous subsection. This mechanism is indistinguishable from the situation where the pleonasm is φ-complete, however; in addition, this means that we need both a pleonasm and default agreement. Since we are trying to use the pleonasm to replace the mechanism of default agreement, we don't gain anything from this incomplete pleonasm. To the extent that an interpretable [person] in SI and a SCL in SI can do the job of a pleonasm (that is, controlling a pleonastic PRO), there is no evidence in favor of the pleonastic form. Furthermore, it is not clear if SECs have quasi-arguments, as we will discuss immediately.
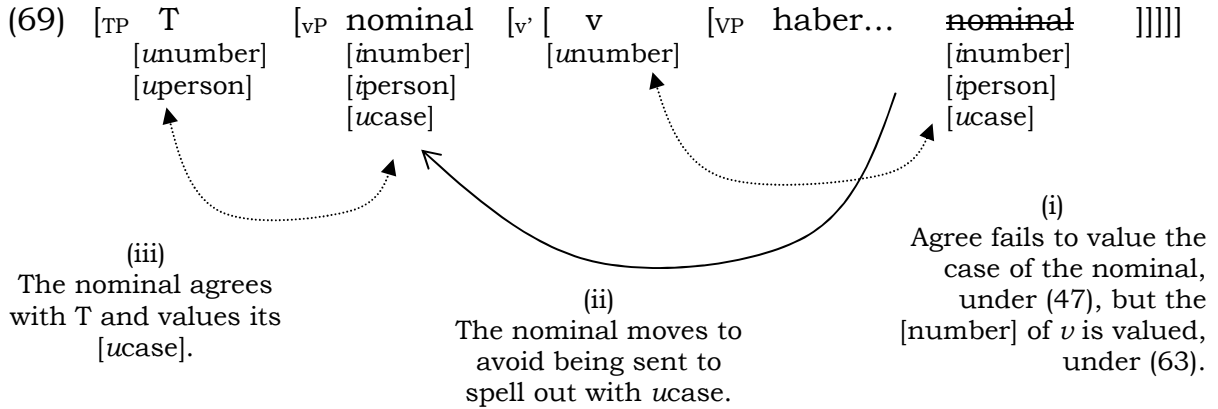
[36] For instance, *haber*-sentences cannot be passivized. This fact could be explained by different conditions (Torrego 1984 suggests that passives require a completely specified agent). In fact, as it is very well know, some verbs that do have two full arguments cannot be passivized either:

    (i) a. Juan   tiene un auto blanco
             John   has   a white car
        b. *Un auto blanco   es tenido   por Juan
            A white car   is had   by John

Whichever is the explanation for this fact, it cannot be used against the idea that there is a full *v*P—interesting *tener* (to have) is closely relate with *haber*, as we will see in section 4.

[37] Of course we could stipulate that it is not, but this stipulation is by itself a disadvantage.

with a higher head, for instance T:

(69) [$_{TP}$ T   [$_{vP}$ nominal   [$_{v'}$ [v   [$_{VP}$ haber…   ~~nominal~~   ]]]]]

              [$u$number]   [$i$number]   [$u$number]   [$i$number]

              [$u$person]   [$i$person]   [$i$person]

                             [$u$case]   [$u$case]

(iii)
The nominal agrees
with T and values its
[$u$case].

(ii)
The nominal moves to
avoid being sent to
spell out with *u*case.

(i)
Agree fails to value the
case of the nominal,
under (47), but the
[number] of *v* is valued,
under (63).

This wrongly predicts that φ-complete nominals could be allowed in SEC, and that they could agree with T in both dialects, which is contrary to the facts, as discussed. On the other hand, if there is no [Spec, *v*P], this could mean that this small *v* cannot have additional specifiers (it is not a strong phase, in the sense of Chomsky 2001a). Thus, an φ-complete nominal cannot undergo further movement, and it won't be able to value its [case] feature, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence.[38]

Given this possibility, it is crucial, then, that [Spec, *v*P] is empty. If the small *v* in *haber*-sentences does not have a specifier, we predict that (69) is not possible. Thus, if it is true that *haber*-sentences have a quasi-argument, this should be realized using means different from a null pleonasm. The SII interpretable [person] in T and the SI SCL are very good candidates to achieve this task. If this is correct, the small *v* with *haber*-sentences should not have an external position.

In addition, it is not clear that there is convincing evidence in favor of the quasi-argument in these sentences. First, there are grammatical instances of these verbs where there is no trace of a possible controller for the pleonastic PRO:

(70) a. De llover,   regresaremos a casa
           Of raining, we will come back home
           If it rains, we will come back home.
      b. De haber un policía en el jardín, regresaremos a casa
           Of being   a cop in the garden,   we will come back home
           If there is a cop in the garden, we will come back home.

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[38] See the last section for the suggestion that in normal transitive construction small *v* is also φ-incomplete, which trigger Object-Shift of the φ-complete nominal to check case with another head, presumably, a Dative head. This could explain why Spanish is a Differential Object Marking language.

In this case, it seems that preposition is licensing the infinitival—putting aside how it is able to do that. It is tempting to see this data as showing that this PRO needs Case; however this will leave (67b) unexplained, since there is a preposition in this construction too.

Second, unaccusative constructions also license quasi-argumental PRO:

(71) A veces   vienen mosquitos al jardín   después de llover
     Sometimes arrive   gnats   to-the garden after raining
     There sometimes arrive gnats to the garden after raining

It is difficult to say that unaccusative constructions have a quasi-argument. This casts doubt on the idea that a pleonastic PRO must be controlled. Actually, it suggests exactly the opposite, and represents conflicting evidence with respect to (66), which also has a counterpart in Spanish. Pushing the idea that a pleonastic PRO cannot be controlled, (67b) could be bad because there is somehow an illegal control from the matrix subject; (67a) would be good because there is no controller, since *haber*-sentences would have no subject, that is, no quasi-argument. Of course, we need an alternative explanation for the contrast in (68). If there is no quasi-argument in (68b), the PRO in this construction will be an expletive, then, its ungrammaticality will be explained by the general ban on expletive PRO. (68a), however, cannot be treated in the same way, but now we could suggest that a pleonastic PRO needs (non null) Case, since we have a different reason to explain the ungrammaticality of (67b). In other words, it is possible that we have a quasi-argument with *llover* (to rain) and other similar constructions, but not with *haber*-sentences.

Since the evidence is contradictory, we have no actual conclusion from these data. We need to investigate in more detail the nature of control in these structures to come up with a final conclusion. We don't have the space to do this here, so our findings in this point will be provisional. However, even if we do have a quasi-argument with *haber*-sentences in Spanish, this does not necessarily imply that we must have a null pleonasm, since other mechanism can take care of this requirement (for instance a SCL in SI or an interpretable [person] in SII). For these reasons, let me put aside the possibility of a null pleonasm in SEC. This still leaves the possibility of a null expletive (non-quasi-argumental). For SII there is no reason to have an expletive, since all conditions have been satisfied.[39]

For SI, a way to use an expletive to value the φ-features of T is to base-generate it in [Spec, vP] and give it a [case]-feature to check but with only [person] features (so, φ-incomplete, without [number]). This will trigger the same process that we discussed for a null pleonasm (see footnote 35), causing a

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[39] We are disregarding the possibility of checking EPP, in line with Epstein and Seely 1999, Boeckx 2000, Grohmann et. al. 2000, Bošković 2002, Wurmbrand 2004, among others.

default agreement situation under Condition (62). There are three problems with this analysis. First, since it needs to value the [person] feature of T, the expletive must have an interpretable [person] feature, which is completely inappropriate for an expletive.[40] Second, it violates the economy condition discussed at the beginning of this subsection, as Picallo 1998 explains. Third, it does not represent any advantages over the default agreement mechanism, which is still needed. Therefore, we disregard the possibility of having an expletive in these constructions too.[41]

3.3 Intermediate conclusions

So far, we have seen that, for SII, Agree is enough to explain the situation in SEC. Provided that small v has only uninterpretable [number] and that T has interpretable [person] in addition to uninterpretable [number], T can probe small v, valuing its [number] feature (the only one that needs to be valued here). With this mechanism, I have explained the ban on [person] nominals, the agreement with the verb, and the ACC Case. There is no need for default agreement, subject clitics or expletives/pleonasms in SII SEC. Moreover, if a quasi-argument would ultimately be necessary for independent reasons, this function could be performed by the [person] feature in T, rendering a null pleonasm unnecessary.

I have proposed that in SI T has a complete set of uninterpretable φ-features, which is the only difference with respect to SII. Given this, under Condition (63), the φ-features of T cannot be valued by probing small v (although everything else remains the same); accordingly, T does not agree with the nominal in SI, but always surfaces with [3p, SING]. Since Agree is not responsible for this value, an additional mechanism is necessary.

On one hand, we have seen that, when a φ-feature is not involved in the [case]-valuation of a goal and, in addition, Condition (63) is not met, the φ-feature must get a default value. This makes default agreement a plausible mechanism to explain the situation in SI SEC, with no need for SCL or expletive/pleonasm. On the other hand, it is possible that *haber*-sentences could have a quasi-argument, which could also give us a [3p, SING] value under Agree; the evidence in favor of this is not conclusive, however.

If we admit the existence of a quasi-argument in SEC, a mechanism of default agreement will not be able to satisfy this requirement, because the system needs an additional element in narrow Syntax to function as the quasi-

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[40] Of course, we could use Pesetsky and Torrego's 2004 suggestion that interpretable features are not always valued features. Under this view, the expletive could have an uninterpretable but valued [person].

[41] Or, alternatively, that the expletive is adjoined to T, as Chomsky 2001b suggests for French. It is not easy to say how this is different from a SCL (even in French).

argument. If we use a pleonasm in [Spec, *v*P], a wrong prediction arises: this will mean that *v*P has a specifier, that is the possibility of an escape-hatch to allow φ-complete nominals to move in order to enter into an Agree relation with a higher head, just as in other transitive constructions—see Section 5 for more discussion on this with respect of differential object marking. Hence, we disregard this possibility. This leaves the complete SCL as the only possibility to carry on the quasi-argument in SI SEC. As mentioned, this hinges on the possibility of a quasi-argument, thus, if this is ultimately proved to be wrong, a SCL will be only a morphological mechanism to instantiate default agreement. In SII the system has an element to perform as quasi-argument, namely, the interpretable [person] in T, thus nothing changes there.

A final question I want to address here is what happens with T in non existential constructions in SII. There are two possibilities. It has a [person] feature that is interpretable (as in SEC) or not. Suppose that it has not, that is, that T in SII non existential constructions has both uninterpretable [person] and [number]. The first question to address is why we cannot use this T, which has complete uninterpretable φ-features, in SEC too. If we could, we would predict that the agreement in SEC is optional in SII. The T with all uninterpretable φ-features will give us a default value (as in SI), and the T with interpretable [person] will give us agreement with the nominal. But we have already seen that this is unlikely (see footnote 18). If we say that the T with two uninterpretable features is banned from SII SEC because there will be no way to value its [person] feature (given that *v* has no [person]), under the assumption that there is no default agreement, SCL or pleonasm/expletive in SII, we will face the problem that one of these mechanisms must be present in SII too (to explain (58)). I conclude, then, that SII has a unique T with an interpretable [person] and an uninterpretable [number]. [42]

There is a potential problem with this conclusion. Given that in non SEC there is a subject and there is no restriction regarding the [person] value of the subject, we can ask how the [case] feature of the subject is valued, since in SII, T seems to be incomplete (an then, presumably, unable to value the [case] feature of its subject). However, it is not true that T in SII is "incomplete;" it has its full set of φ-features; it just happens that one of them is interpretable. Therefore, it will be able to match all the relevant features of the goal, valuing its case. [43] This is different from small *v*, which is truly incomplete, even with

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[42] It is worth noticing that, if the agreement proves to be actually optional, the idea of two Ts, one with interpretable [person] and the other without it, will be a viable solution. If the agreement is optional in SII, but ungrammatical in SI, this will mean that the only difference between SI and SII is that, in addition to the normal T with full uninterpretable φ-features, SII has a T with an interpretable [person] feature.

[43] This means that Match is an operation that involves the category as a whole, not feature by feature—but the φ-valuation itself can be feature by feature. Here it is worth mentioning that there are proposals that the so called EPP property can be satisfied only under Match, without valuation (Boeckx 2003). Given that under the Inverse Case Filter Hypothesis (Bošković 1997,

respect to a potential goal with full φ-features, since it lacks [person]. This allows me to retain the conclusion that there is a unique T for all sentences in SII.

3.4 The tendency of haber *to regularize in SII*

I will suggest in this subsection that the process of valuing the φ-features of T with an invariable SCL or with default agreement (in SI) may leave a morphological form different than the one that results from valuing by Agree (in SII). Remember that in Spanish (both dialects) it is possible to have a mismatch between the overt subject and the features in T:

(72) Los estudiantes   hemos asistido   a la clase regularmente
                         habéis asistido
       The students   have-1P-PLU attended   the class regularly
                        have-2P-PLU attended
      We, the students, have attended the class regularly
      You, the students, have attended the class regularly

For SII (but not for SI, as discussed), this situation can be replicated with existential *haber*-constructions. For illustration, I repeat here (50) as (73):

(73) Habemos   dos estudiantes en la clase   *SII*
     Habéis
     Are-1P-PLU   two students in the class
     Are-2P-PLU
     Lit: We there are two students in the class

Surprisingly, in the first person plural, the morphological form of the verb is *habemos* and not the expected *hemos* (compare (72) with (73))—see Fernández-Soriano and Táboas-Baylin (1999: 1758) for discussion about this data. Interestingly, the form *habemos* is the regular form, whereas *hemos* is the normal irregular form that happens in any other occurrence of the verb *haber* in first person plural (for instance, as an auxiliary in (72)). In other words, in (73) the verb *haber* has been regularized (the irregular form *hemos* is ungrammatical in these constructions). I suggest that this very strange fact is a consequence of the already mentioned distinction between the strategy of valuing the φ-features of T by using default agreement or an SCL, which gives us the form *hemos,* or the strategy of using Agree, which gives us the form *habemos.*

2002) the EPP property and the necessity of checking Nominative are the same (to be more precise, the EPP in T is deduced from the later requirement), we can extend Boeckx's idea by saying that Match is enough to value Nominative. This is not the place to explore all the consequences of this suggestion.

In (72), the presence of personal SCLs could explain the apparent disagreement; in fact, dialects that do not have these SCLs—as Puerto Rican Spanish—do not show this phenomenon (see Ticio 2004 for an analysis in this direction). We already discussed what happens in (72). The overt subject is a topicalized element adjoined to TP.[44] The morphological merging of a [1P, PLU] SCL with *haber* renders the irregular form *hemos*.

As already discussed, in (73), which is possible only in SII, the operation Agree values the φ-features of T. T can get valued only by probing *v*. An invariable SCL (or default agreement) is not necessary in SII SEC. Since this time no relevant morphological operation will occur (because there is no SCL or default agreement), but just the pure morphological interpretation of T's φ-values set by Agree, *haber* surfaces in its regular form.[45] This explanation, however, is not totally conclusive, because the regularization does not affect the whole paradigm.

Contrary to what happens in the present tense discussed in (73), in the preterite tense, SII haber-sentences do no regularize the verb:[46]

(74) Hubimos   dos estudiantes en la clase
      Hubieron
      Were-1p-PLU   two students in the class
      Were-3p-PLU

It is worth noticing, however, that some dialects of SII—remember that SI and SII are just shorthands for different families of dialects—show another case of regularization. As mentioned in footnote 7, in the two dialects the present form of *haber* (*hay*) does not show agreement morphology.[47] Fernández-Soriano

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[44] This is just a way to simplify an analysis that is more or less standard in the literature, according to which these sentences are Clitic Left-Dislocated structures (CLD)—see Olarrea 1996, Ordoñez and Treviño 1999, Ticio 2004. In fact, following Contreras 1991 and others, Olarrea 1996 claims that that all instances of Spanish overt preverbal subjects are CLD structures. Similar claims have been made for other null subject languages—see Belletti 1990, Barbosa 1995, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou1998.

[45] I must say that I don't claim that all regular/irregular differences among verbs should be analyzed like this. SCLs are perfectly compatible with regular verbs (in fact, in (72) the second person is regular). I suggest that what causes the regularization is that this is a sort of "new process" (the probing of *v* by T), that forces the morphological component to reanalyze the inflection.

[46] In order to be regular, the verbal forms of *haber* should be *habimos* (1p-PLU) and *habieron* (3p-PLU), that is, using the unmodified root *hab-*.

[47] I'm going to call **hay** an *exceptional* form, as oppose to *normal*. The familiar regular/irregular distinction does not fit so well here, since some normal forms of *haber* are also irregular. The form **hay** can only appear in the [3p] present tense (singular or plural) of existential constructions; it's an *exceptional* form of **haber**. The *normal* form in third person singular present should be *ha* (as it appears in the auxiliary position of all verbs):

(1999: 133) suggests that this is because the morpheme –**y** (a remnant from an old locative clitic) blocks the presence of agreeing morphemes. This locative clitic can be found in French (**y**) and Catalan (**hi**), and it could be related to Italian expletive **ci** (Fernández-Soriano 1999:133). In these languages, the clitic is productive, but **hay** is the only form that has this element in Spanish. That means that this is a morphological fossil, with no role in the construction, except blocking the morphological presence of the agreement. The exceptional form **hay** has these morphological components (roughly speaking):

(75) a. SINGULAR *hay*
ha -PRESENT-3PERSON-SINGULAR   -MORPHOLOGICAL FOSSIL
ha   ø   y

b. PLURAL *hay*
ha -PRESENT-3PERSON-PLURAL   -MORPHOLOGICAL FOSSIL
ha   ø   y

Note that the normal forms for third person present with *haber* are (see also footnote 47):

(76) a. SINGULAR **ha**
ha -PRESENT-3PERSON-SINGULAR
ha   ø

b. PLURAL **han**
ha -PRESENT-3PERSON-PLURAL
ha   n

(i) Normal form (auxiliary in personal constructions, both dialects)
Juan **ha** caminado
John has walked
(ii) Exceptional form (impersonal constructions, present tense, both dialects)
Hay   un hombre   en el jardín
Be-PRES-3p-SIN a man   in the garden
There is a man in the garden
If *haber* were *normal* in impersonal constructions (present tense), (ii) would be:
(iii) *__Ha__*   un hombre   en el jardín
Be PRES-3p-SIN   a man   in the garden
There is a man in the garden
As auxiliary or in the imperfect tense in SEC, however, HABER is *regular* (and not just *normal*) in both dialects:
(iv) Personal constructions (regular, as auxiliar)
Juan **había** muerto
John had died
(v) Impersonal constructions (also regular)
Había   un hombre   en el jardín
Be-3p-SING   a man   in the garden
There is a man in the garden

Notice, however, that strictly speaking, these are not regular forms (but they are normal in the sense that they do not receive *-y*), since true regular forms should be formed by using an unmodified root (in this case *hab-*) and the present suffix; since the [1p] present suffix is a zero morpheme, a true regular form should surface as *habe*, with the theme vowel *-e,* following the model of *comer* ("to eat"), *come* ("I eat"), which is a true regular verb.

However, in some dialects of SII, the exceptional form *hay* [áj] becomes *haen* [áen] or *hayn* [ájan], that is, it allows the plural *-n* to be suffixed to the verb, unblocking the effect of *-y*, as reported by Kany (1951: 257) for rural Argentinean, Lapesa (1980: § 133) for Substandard Venezuelan, Montes (1982: 384) for Colombian Antioqueño—see also Fernández-Soriano and Táboas-Baylin (1999: 1758). As in the case of *hemos > habemos*, I want to suggest that this process of normalization is triggered by the fact that T is valuing its φ-features by probing *v*, without intervention of any SCL or default agreement process. If this line of reasoning is correct, it suggests that T indeed probes *v* in SII, and that an invariable SCL is responsible for the lack of agreement in SI. However, as mentioned, this regularization does not affect the whole paradigm, then, this conclusion should be taken with some reservation.

3.4 Temporal existential constructions

In this subsection I will present data from the so called "temporal existential constructions" (TEC) (Rigau 2001) which seem to have a behavior to similar SEC, but also present some interesting differences. Some verbs that indicate elapsed time can also combine with a nominal, in particular, *hacer* (lit. "to make") and *ir (para)* (lit. "to go (for)"):[48]

(77) Hace   un mes   que Juan murió
makes   a month   that John died
It has been a month since John died.

(78) Va   (para) un mes   que Juan murió
Goes   (for)   a month   that John died
Two months have passed since John died.

As expected, in SI no agreement surfaces between the nominal and the verb, which is an indication that the impersonal SCL is present here also. In some dialects of SII (in particular in some SII substandard varieties), the agreement

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[48] Interestingly, *haber* had this usage in Old Spanish, and in fact this usage survives in some fixed forms in Modern Spanish (Rigau 2001: 308-309):
    (i) Tiempo   ha.
        Time   have-3p-sing
        Long ago

is possible:[49]

(79) Hacen   dos meses   que Juan murió   *SII (substandard)*
     make   two months   that John died
     John died a month ago.

(80) Van   (para) dos meses   que Juan murió   *SII*
     Go   (for)   two months   that John died
     It has been two months since John died.

There are, however, two types of temporal-existential verbs, as reported by Fernández-Soriano and Táboas-Baylin (1999: 1748-1751), among others. The first one—TEC1, exemplified in (77)-(80)—takes a nominal that expresses time with a proposition that expresses an event. [50] The second one (TEC2) is a sort of temporal adjunct that behaves like a preposition:

(81) Juan vino   hace   dos años
     John came   makes   two years
     John came two years ago

Only TEC1 can trigger agreement in some dialects of SII. TEC2 never triggers agreement in any dialect:

(82) *Llegó hacen   dos horas   *SI and SII*
     came   make-PLU   two hours
     He came two hours ago
     [Fernández-Soriano and Táboas-Baylin 1999: 1750]

Only TEC1 allows cliticization of the object (at least for SI):

(83) a. Hace   veinte años   que nos casamos   *SI*
        makes   twenty years   that we married
        It has been twenty years since we married
     b. Los   hace
        CL-ACC   makes
        [Fernández-Soriano and Táboas-Baylin 1999: 1750]

This is not possible with TEC2:

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[49] At least in Peruvian Spanish, (79) is substandard (it is a stigmatized form), whereas (80) is standard. We will come back to this point.

[50] It could also be a deverbal nominal (Fernández-Soriano and Táboas-Baylin (1999: 1749):

     (i) Hace   veinte años   de tu venida
          Makes   twenty years   of your arrival
          You came twenty years ago.

(84)   a. Nos vimos   hace   un mes
             Us saw   makes   a month
             We saw each other one month ago
      b. *Nos vimos   lo   hace
             Us saw   CL-ACC   makes

Fernández-Soriano and Táboas-Baylin (1999: 1750) interpret this contrast as evidence that in TEC2 the form *hace* is no longer a verb, but maybe a preposition (see also Rigau 2001: 318). However, this is not so clear, since it allows some inflection, for instance, simple future tense morphology: [51]

(85)   Nos vimos   hará   un mes
       Us saw   make-FUT   a month
       We saw each other probably one month ago.

This inflection is, however, severely limited in TEC2. No past or perfect tense is possible:

(86)   a. *Nos vimos habrá   hecho   un mes
             Us saw   have-FUT   made(PARTICIPLE)   a month
             We saw each other probably one month ago.
      b. *Nos vimos hizo   un mes
             Us saw   made   a month
             We saw each other one month ago.

These possibilities are available for TCE1.

(87)   a. El lunes   habrá   hecho un mes   que Juan murió
             The Monday have-FUT made   a month   that John died
             On next Monday, it will be a month since John died
      b. El lunes   hizo   un mes   que Juan murió
             The Monday made   a month   that John died
             On past Monday, it was a month since John died

Let's accept the suggestion that *hace* in TEC2 is a preposition. Putting aside the issue of how a verb is transformed into a preposition, the presence of inflectional morphology in TEC2, although limited, could be interpreted as the presence of valued features in the forms *hace* or *hará*, that is, there is no uninterpretable φ-features, and the forms are not able to check structural Case.

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[51] It is true that this is the so called "future" verbal suffix. This seems to be in contradiction with the fact that the matrix verb is in the past. However, it is a very well known fact about the Spanish "future" verbal suffix that it is very often only a marker of modality (as the translation shows). The real future in Spanish is usually formed with the periphrasis *ir a* ("go to"):
    (i) Voy a   ir   al cine mañana
         I-go to   go   to the movies tomorrow
         I'm going to go to the movies tomorrow

This could be a problem for its internal nominal, since there will be no φ-head to value its [case] feature. However, the nominal is an argument of *hace*, and it receives a thematic interpretation from it (temporal, we could say). So it meets the requirement for inherent Case assignment. Let's assume that this is what happens in TEC2.

On the other hand, TEC1 behaves like *haber*-sentences, except for the restrictions on its nominal (it must be a nominal compatible with the thematic interpretation that the verb assigns). It allows cliticization of its object, and agrees with it, in some dialects of SII. Then, I propose that there is also a small *v* in this kind of TEC, and that in the relevant dialects, T also probes *v*. Given that the same mechanism can apply here, this reinforces that idea that a small *v* with φ-features, which is probed by T, is responsible for Case and agreement in *haber*-sentences. In addition, for SI dialects which do not allow agreement in TEC, we can also adopt the proposal that there is an SCL or a process of default agreement, as explained.

An interesting question arises here with respect to the SII dialects that do not allow agreement in TEC 1 of the first type (these are in fact the Standard SII dialects). The question is why, if the probing of *v* by T is available in SII, these dialects do not make use of it in TEC 1.

We must take into consideration the fact that SCL/default agreement is also available in SII. The presence or absence of impersonal SCL could depend on an idiosyncratic option, according to the verb. In fact, there is some evidence that this is indeed the case. For instance, in Standard Peruvian Spanish (which is typically SII), there are two different TEC verbs that behave differently with respect to agreement. The verb *hacer* (lit. "to make") does not allow agreement in this dialect, but the verb *ir* (lit. "to go") does:

(88) *Hacen   dos años   que Juan murió   *Standard Peruvian*
make-PLU   two years   that John died   *Spanish*
John died two years ago.

(89) Van   ya   dos años que Juan murió   *Standard Peruvian*
go-PLU already two years that John died   *Spanish*
It has already been two years since John died.

The question is what could be this idiosyncratic characteristic of the verb that prevents the agreement here. We can make use of the inherent Case property of TEC2. The thematic situation is the same in TEC1, and inherent Case is indeed an idiosyncratic property. So, for some dialects of SII, the TEC1 verb *hacer* assigns inherent Case to its internal argument. Under the assumption that inherent Case deactivates the φ-features of the nominal (Chomsky 2000: fn 88, Stepanov 2002), T cannot value its φ-features using Agree, thus an SCL

or a mechanism of default agreement must be used, as in SI *haber*-sentences. Other verbs of the same dialect (for instance (89)) do not have inherent Case to assign, so they allow agreement.

An interesting situation arises here. Given that the form *hace* in some SII dialects can assign inherent Case, and given that nominals with inherent Case cannot feed Agree, we predict that small v is not possible there, since it won't be able to value its φ-feature. Under the assumption that ACC clitics are possible only under Agree with small v,[52] no clitics should be allowed for these constructions. The initial data seems to confirm this prediction. SII Speakers that cannot accept agreement in *hace*-sentences also have resistance to accept the clitic:

(90) a. Hace   dos horas   que espero   *Some SII dialects*
       Makes   two hours   that I wait
       It has been two hours since I'm waiting
    b. ?? Las   hace
         CL-fem-plu   makes

The same speakers accept the clitic and agreement with other TEC1 verbs:

(91) a. Van   dos horas   que espero   *Some SII dialects*
       Go   two hours   that I wait
       It has been two hours since I'm waiting
    b. Las   van
       CL-fem-plu   makes

The situation is not so clear, however. The judgments are not as steady as we would expect. But there are intervening factors. First, the sequence *Las hace* is actually ambiguous; it can also mean "S/he makes them", and under this reading it is a perfectly normal sentence—notice that no ambiguity arises in *haber*-sentences or with other cases like (91). In addition, the agreeing *hace* is identified as substandard, and it is heavily stigmatized; so it is not implausible to suggest that the speakers are trying to suppress the agreement, but fail to suppress the clitic.

A more rigorous collection of data is needed before we can draw firm conclusions regarding *hace*-sentences, in order to properly classify the speakers of relevant dialects and identify the intervening factors. I will leave this for future research. However, the discussion of TEC shows a possible

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[52] In fact, it has been proposed (see, for example, Franco 1993) that ACC and DAT clitics are the φ-features in the head responsible for case-valuation (small v, in our case). However, I would like to remain agnostic between the idea that clitics are agreement features on v or that they undergo movement from the based-generated position. See Zagona (2002: 184-194) and the references there-in for discussion on this topic with respect to Spanish clitics.

scenario where we can observe two mechanisms to value the φ-features of T, as in *haber*-sentences: (i) by probing *v,* and (ii) by default agreement or the insertion of a SCL. Given the idiosyncratic differences among TEC verbs with respect to the possibility of inherent Case assignment, it is possible that, even inside SII, sometimes the agreement gets suppressed together with the cliticization. In fact, it has been reported that the same happens in some dialects with at least a subset of *haber*-sentences. We will discuss this in the next subsection.

3.5 More dialectal differences

Treviño 2003 reports a dialect that, at least for a subset of *haber*-sentences (the locative ones, that is, the ones that can be paraphrased by *estar*), does not allow either agreement or cliticization of the internal nominal.[53] According to Treviño 2003, in Spanish, there are three types of *haber*-sentences: locational (paraphrased by *estar* "to be (locative)"), unbounded (paraphrased by *existir* "to exist") and contingent (paraphrased by *tener* "to have (possessive)"):[54]

(92) Hay   una víbora   detrás del sofá   *locational*
      Is   a snake   behind the sofa
      There is a snake behind the sofa
      PARAPHRASE: Detrás del sofa   está/*existe/*tiene   una víbora
                   Behind the sofa   is/*exist/*has   a snake

(93) Hay   tréboles de cuatro hojas   *unbounded*
      Be-plu   clubs of four leafs
      There are clubs of four leafs
      PARAPHRASE: Existen/*están/*tienen   tréboles de cuatro hojas
                   Exist/*is/*has   clubs of four leafs

(94) Hay   monarquía   en Suecia   *contingent*
      Is   monarchy   in Sweden
      There is monarchy in Sweden
      PARAPHRASE: Suecia   tiene/*existe/*está   monarquía
                   Sweden   has/*exist/*is   monarchy
      [Treviño 2003: 179-180]

In all SII dialects, included the one reported by Treviño (let me call it SII-T), unbounded and contingent *haber*-sentences can replace its object with an ACC clitic and they show agreement, as discussed. In SII-T, however, a locational

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[53] Unfortunately, the author does not provide any external characterization of this dialect. Actually, she seems to imply that this behavior is common of all Spanish, or at least all SII. This is, however, not true, as the discussion until now has shown.

[54] For comparable distinctions in English, see Hornstein, Rosen, and Uriagereka 2000, and Felber 2002.

haber-sentence "bars or strongly disfavors verb-agreement and object-clitics" (Treviño 2003: 180).

This is a behavior that resembles the one we just saw with TEC1 in some dialects. If this is correct, the existence of SII-T represents evidence in favor of the system I'm developing here. That is, we can suggest that inherent Case is involved here too (actually Treviño suggests Partitive Case as a possible explanation). We will address this later; first let me raise a note of caution.

Although Treviño claims to "have gathered a considerable body of data" (2003: 178), she actually presents few examples of agreement violation in locational *haber*-sentences. She also warns us that in general the agreement facts in her data "are quite complex and not as steady in their behavior, as far as native speakers' performance and judgments are concerned" (2003: 184),[55] but she nevertheless thinks that, with respect to locational *haber*-sentences, "agreement on the verb is felt alien" (2003: 184) by the speakers of SII-T.

With respect to the clitic, it could be the case that some interfering factors are conspiring to obtain the same result. For instance, in both SI and SII, the cliticization of bare nominals renders some differences in the judgments:

(95) a. ¿Quieres   helado?
      Want   ice cream
      Do you want ice cream?
  b. % Lo   quiero
        CL   want
        I want it
  c. (Sí)   quiero
     yes   want
     Yes, I want

The same is true for existential constructions:[56]

(96) a. Hay   helado?
      is   ice cream-MAS
      Is there ice cream?
  b. % Lo hay
        CL is
  c. (Sí)   hay
     yes   is
     Yes, there is

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[55] Interestingly, this is similar to the situation with *hace*-sentences in the previous subsection.
[56] Notice that this is a case of "contingent" *haber*, so the effects of SII-T do not apply here. Besides, the variability in the judgments seems to be cross-dialectal.

Given that we are dealing here with a general property of Direct Objects for all verbs (and not only for existential constructions), in this case it is difficult to assume that there is no small v if the clitic is not licensed (in other words, we do have structural Case here). A better alternative will be that the clitic needs something additional to be properly licensed; it could be a high degree of specificity, as has been proposed in the literature (for instance, see Suñer 1988), or topicality (Leonetti 2003). In any case, there may be abstract agreement between v and the object, even when the later is a bare noun. In fact, the object in *haber*-sentences cannot be doubled by a clitic:

(97) a. Hay   un niño   en el parque
        Is   a kid   in the park
        There is a kid in the park
    b. * Lo   hay   un niño   en el parque
        CL   was   a kid   in the park
        There were some kids in the park

This is compatible with the fact that that doubling structures usually need higher specificity and that objects in *haber*-sentences have a low degree of specificity. This is relevant because several of Treviño's examples are with bare objects. However, she also shows examples of contingent and unbounded *haber*-sentences with bare nominals that do allow cliticization, which represents a contrast with locational *haber*-sentences. Then, there is no reason to doubt the existence of SII-T.

In addition, there is another difference with respect to cliticization between locational *haber*-sentences and other types, which is not directly addressed by Treviño 2003. More importantly, this seems to be true of SI and SII. Locational existential sentences do not allow cliticization of the nominal alone, that is, they cannot cliticize only the object, stranding the locative phrase—as observed by Díaz (2004: 36):

(98) a. Hay   una niña   en el parque   *locational*
        Is   a kid-FEM   in the park
        There is a kid in the park
    b. ?? La   hay   en el parque
        CL-FEM   was   in the park
        There were some kids in the park
    c.   La   hay
        CL-FEM   is

This is not the case for other *haber*-sentences: [57]

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[57] Many researches presents cases where the clitic is licensed in some questions with a locative phrase; for instance:
     (i)   —¿Hay   estaciones de metro   en esta zona de la ciudad?

(99) a. Hay   monarquía   en Suecia   *contingent*
         Is   monarchy-FEM   in Sweden
         There is monarchy in Sweden
     b. La   hay   en Suecia
         CL-FEM   is   in Sweden
         [Treviño 2003: 180]

At first sight, this is unexpected in our current framework. Why should there be a difference with respect to cliticization? What is the source for the contrast between (98b) and (99b)? However, this could turn out to be evidence for the presence of small *v* in these constructions. The questions we haven't addressed yet are deeper and more important: Why is there a small v in existential constructions? What is the source for its presence? We will deal with these questions in Section 4.

Now let me address the question regarding how the idea of inherent Case assignment could help us here, as previously suggested. The only problematic case is locational *haber*-sentences. Here, the agreement disappears together with cliticization. The others cases are normal instances of SII SEC.

At first glance, the inherent Case assignment is problematic because there is no obvious thematic relation between *haber* and its internal nominal. In fact, the internal nominal seems to be in a thematic relation with the preposition. It is standardly assumed that existential constructions include a Small Clause SC (Stowell 1981, 1983, Safir 1985). Let's accept Stowell 1983's idea that SC is an XP with the nominal in its Specifier and the predicative phrase in its Complement (for discussion of SC structure, see the papers in Cardinaletti and Guasti 1995). If so, a SC is identical to a *v*P structure (in fact, Koopman and Sportiche's 1988 formulation of the Internal Subject Hypothesis proposes that the subject forms a Small Clause with the VP). For locational *haber*-sentences, the predicate will be a Prepositional Phrase (PP):

        Be there   subway stations   in this area of the city
        Are there subway stations in this area of the city
      —No las hay en esta zona   pero   las   hay   muy cerca
        No CL be   in this area   but   CL   be   very close
        Not in this area, but close
      [Torrego 1984: 333]

However, in such cases, the *haber*-sentence is not locational. In (i), for instance, we cannot paraphrase the verb with *estar* but we must use *existir* (to exist):

      (ii)   —¿Existen/*Están   estaciones de metro   en esta zona de la ciudad?
              Exist / Be-LOCAT   subway stations   in this area of the city
              Lit: Do subway stations exist in this area of the city?

This means that the presence of a locative phrase does not mean that the *haber* sentences is truly locational.

(100)   XP

        /\
(nominal) X'
           /\
          X   PP
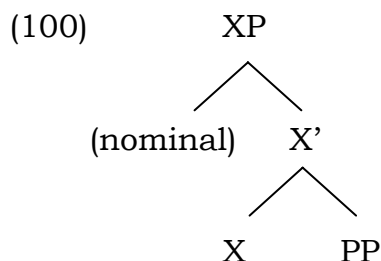
Notice that the nominal is the external argument of the PP, and then, it will receive a θ-role (the *locatum* as opposed to the *location*, which will be the internal argument of PP). If we assume that X is involved in the assignment of the external θ role—naturally extending standard assumptions regarding *v*P—we have a potential inherent Case assigner.[58]

Since inherent Case is a lexical property, it could be an idiosyncratic property of X in SII-T—it does not need to be a general property of X in all of Spanish. Once the corresponding nominal has inherent Case, it will be frozen for Agree, as discussed above. This means that it cannot value φ-features of any head, T or *v*. Then, neither agreement nor clitics will be possible.

Given that inherent Case blocks Agree, one could ask if in all instances of SI *haber*-sentences (with a default value) we have inherent Case. However, we cannot use the idea that inherent Case blocks Agree to explain the differences between SI and SII with respect to agreement discussed above. If a nominal receives inherent Case, we predict default values in T and no clitics, but although T in SI existential constructions has a default value, such constructions do allow clitics, as discussed.

3.6 A prediction with respect to raising verbs

Another prediction is made, given the idea that T probes small *v*. If a defective T (in Chomsky's 2000 sense) is on top of the small *v* in *haber*-sentences, the φ-features of a higher non-defective T could be valued by *v* in SII but not in SI. This prediction is borne out. The nominal agrees with the finite verb in SII (this sentence is ungrammatical in SI):

---

[58] Some issues arise with respect to symmetry with other inherent case configurations. Here the assigner does not c-command the assignee. If we accept that c-command by the assigner is necessary for inherent case assignment, we could still implement the idea just described by incorporating X into the verb *haber*. This will create a c-command relation. In fact, this gives us another possibility to implement the assignment of inherent case. If X incorporates into *haber*, it could give the ability to assign inherent case to the resulting element *haber*+X; in this case, *haber*+X will be the inherent case assigner, under standard c-command. I will leave this issue open. It is worth noting, however, that Lasnik (1999: 86-87), following Saito and Hoshi's 1994 analysis of Japanese light verb constructions, makes a similar suggestion. According to Lasnik, in English, the predicate of the small clause in existential constructions raises to V^0 (and then to $AgrO^0$) to assign inherent case (partitive case) to the internal nominal.

(101) Parecen   haber   dos hombres   en el jardín   *SII*
      seem-PLU   to be   two men   in the garden
      There seem to be two men in the garden

On the other hand, in SI, T is not valued by Agree, as discussed, and then it receives [3p, SING]:

(102) Parece   haber   dos hombres   en el jardín   *SI*
      seems-SING   to be   two men   in the garden
      There seem to be two men in the garden

This is illustrated here (using a SCL for SI):[59]

(103)   SII
    [T-φ *Parecen* [TP T-def [vP v-φ [VP *haber dos hombres en el jardín*]]]]
           Agree   Agree

(104)   SI
    [T-SCL *Parece* [TP T-def [vP v-φ [VP *haber dos hombres en el jardín*]]]]
                                          Agree

This contrast between the two dialects—noticed by Suñer (1982a: 101) but left unexplained[60]—is straightforwardly accounted for under the assumption that T can probe small *v*. Notice in addition that, as in matrix *haber*-sentences, agreement is maintained with clitics in SII; on the other hand, SI also allows ACC clitic, but no agreement surfaces, as predicted: [61]

(105) Parecen   haber-los   *SII*
       seem-PLU   to be-CL-ACC-PLU

(106) Parece   haber-los   *SI*
       seem-SING   to be-CL-ACC-PLU

---

[59] Notice that I'm abstracting away from the role of T-def (defective T) here. There are two alternatives. On one hand, it could be that T-def is defective because it has no φ-features (at least in Spanish); in this case, it is completely outside of the Agree system. On the other hand, it could be that it is defective in the sense that its φ-features are not able to value Case (after all, the φ-features do surface in some languages, like Brazilian Portuguese), but still are able to participate in Agree; if the later is true, in (103), T-def could probe v-φ and then serve as a goal for the higher T-φ. I will leave this issue open, however.

[60] Suñer only suggests that this could happen because the nominal in SII is a sort of "hybrid" construction with some subject characteristics, but she does not elaborate on this idea.

[61] Notice that here there is no source for ACC other than the small *v* of *haber*. *Parecer* (to seem) does not license ACC.

Before turning to some explorations regarding the reasons why we have small v in *haber*-sentences, let me briefly comment on a hypothesis that has been proposed with respect to Case in SEC. Demonte 1989: 165-167, Treviño 2003, Rigau 1994 (for Catalan), among others, have suggested that the nominal in SEC receives Partitive Case from the verb, following ideas presented by Belletti 1988, and Lasnik 1992, 1995, 1999.[62] My proposal can be seen as a way to implement the Partitive Case Hypothesis inside the Agree system, although with different technical details, since my analysis assumes that the nominal checks Case in a lower position, without relation with T (in contrast to Chomsky's analysis of existential constructions).

4. A possible source for small *v* in Existential Constructions

Existential constructions in Spanish are not the only type of sentences that exhibit ACC in an unexpected place. In fact, verbs that include a Small Clause (SC) reveal the presence of ACC (as can be inferred from the cliticization).

(107) a. Juan es un buen abogado
         John is a good lawyer
     b. Juan lo es
         John CL-ACC is

(108) a. Juan está muy ocupado
         John is very busy
     b. Juan lo está
         John CL-ACC is

There is, however, a very important difference between this cliticization and the one we are discussing regarding ACC objects. The clitic does not "replace" the nominal in (108-109). I will assume a structure with an internal SC for these sentences. Then, the nominal starts in the SC and raises to [Spec, TP]:[63]

(109) a. [TP [VP [SC [nominal] [predicate]]]]
     b. [TP [nominal]$_i$ [VP [SC t$_i$ [predicate]]]]

---

[62] See also Bošković 1997, 2002, 2005, Epstein and Seely 1999, Martin 1992, among others, for arguments in favor of the Partitive Case Hypothesis. For discussion of its limitations, see Chomsky (1995: 288), Vikner (1995: 171-176), Vainikka and Maling 1996, Hornstein 2000, among others.

[63] In Chomsky's 2000 system, this happens to satisfy the EPP. However, it has been argued that there is no EPP. There are alternatives explanations for raising of subjects. See Epstein and Seely 1999, Boeckx 2000, Grohmann et. al. 2000, Bošković 2002, 2005, Wurmbrand 2004, among others. Note also that if we assume that overt preverbal subjects are Left-Dislocated structures (Contreras 1991, Barbosa 1995, Olarrea 1996, among others), there is no need to resort to the EPP (the φ-features of T will be canceled by personal SCLs).

Given this, it seems reasonable to assume that the predicate has been "replaced" in these cases. This is confirmed by the fact that no agreement arises in these contexts: the ACC clitic appears always in the invariant form *lo*, which I assume is φ-less. Forms with φ–features are ungrammatical, which indicates that there is no agreement with the nominal:

(110) a. María   es   una buena abogada
           Mary   is   a good lawyer-FEM
       b. María   lo   es
           Mary   CL-ACC   is
       c. *María   la   es
           Mary   CL-FEM-ACC   is

(111) a. María   está   muy ocupada
           Mary   is   very busy-FEM
       b. María   lo   está
           Mary   CL-ACC   is
       c. *María   la   está
           Mary   CL-FEM-ACC   is

However, not all predicates allow replacement by the clitic. Typically, in locative sentences, cliticization of the predicate is disfavored (Díaz 2004: 34):[64]

(112) a. La reunión   es   en Roma
          The meeting is   in Rome
       b. ?? La reunión   lo   es
          The meeting   CL-ACC   is

Interestingly, as also noted by Díaz (2004: 34), the cliticization is possible with these sentences if the whole SC is replaced:

(113) a. La reunión   es   en Roma
          The party   is   in the street
       b. Lo   es
          CL-ACC   is

As should be obvious by now, this is exactly the pattern that we found in locational *haber*-sentences, as discussed in the previous section. Here I repeat (98) as (114):

(114) a. Hay   una niña   en el parque   *locational*
         Is   a kid-FEM   in the park
         There is a kid in the park

---

[64] See also Fernández-Lebans 1999 for a description of other patterns of cliticization with these sentences.

b. ?? La　　　hay　en el parque
　　CL-FEM　was　in the park
　　There were some kids in the park

c. 　La　　　hay
　　CL-FEM　is

Díaz (2004: 36), however, concludes that this comparison is not enough to relate the SCs with these verbs, given that the clitic is invariant with *ser* and *estar*. Given this conclusion, it is difficult for her to give an explanation for the origin of the ACC Case in existential constructions, which she acknowledges (2004: 68-72). I want to propose, following a long tradition, that the relation between *haber* (be-existential), *ser* (be) and *estar* (be-locative) is deeper than just the presence of the small clause.

A relation between verbs that instantiate *have* and *be* has been proposed by Freeze 1992,[65] who shows that these verbs are related, suggesting a unique deep structure for all of them in the relevant respects. Also, Kayne 1993 uses Freeze's account (combined with ideas from Szabolcsi 1983) to explain several properties of the possessive. For similar ideas in the context of Romance languages see also Guéron 1995, Longa, Lorenzo and Rigau 1998, among others.

A comparison between Spanish and English is extremely revealing in this respect. We can trace a very complex scenario here. In table (115) we intend to represent some of the basic properties that relate the verbs in question, without the intention of being exhaustive. As we can see, given the set of properties associated with **be** and **have**, Spanish has a distinction finer-grained than English: [66]

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[65] This follows an idea that can be traced back to Benveniste 1966b.

[66] The actual state of affairs is even more complex than what can be inferred from the Spanish data (see Freeze 1992 for extensive discussion and a cross-linguistic survey). For instance, in addition to the copula *sein* (equivalent to Spanish *estar*), German has two other existential verbs: *hot* (similar to existential English *be*) and *gibt* (roughly, *give*)—see Czinglar 2001, Haeberli 2002, among others, for discussion. Czinglar 2001 proposes that these German verbs are also related; to put it in very simple terms (risking to oversimplify her explanation), she suggests that the "existential" meaning derives from the "possessive" one. On independent grounds, Harley 1996 has suggested that *give* has an internal *have* as part of its structure (which, in turn, will have a *be*, according to Freeze 1992's account). Boeckx 1998 has suggested that Harley's account could help explain German existentials. Of course, these issues need to be considered more carefully if I were to extend the current proposal beyond Spanish.

(115)

Properties	Spanish	English
a. Passive	Ser	Be
b. Individual-level predicates		
c. Locative (for events)		
d. Progressive	Estar	
e. Stage-level predicates		
f. Locative (for individuals)		
g. Existential	Haber	
h. Auxiliary		Have
i. Possessor	Tener	

The following sentences exemplify the cases in table (115):

(116) a. El ratón era perseguido por el gato   PASSIVE
The mouse was chased by the cat

    b. El gato era inteligente   INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL
The cat was intelligent

    c. La clase es en este edificio   LOCATIVE (EVENTS)
The class is in this building

    d. El gato estaba persiguiendo al ratón   PROGRESSIVE
The cat was chasing the mouse

    e. El gato estaba cansado   STAGE-LEVEL
The cat was tired

    f. El gato estaba en la casa   LOCATIVE (INDIVIDUALS)
The cat was in the house

    g. Había   un gato   en la casa   EXISTENTIAL
was   a cat   in the house
There was a cat in the house

    h. El gato ha muerto   PERFECT
The cat has died

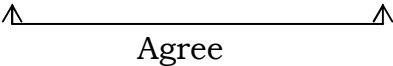   i. El gato tiene un collar   POSSESSOR
The cat has a collar

It is quite possible that each one of the "properties" in (115) has a different surface syntactic configuration and that such "properties" can be grouped in a different fashion in different languages. To account for all these properties is beyond the scope of this paper. However, I want to highlight the correlation between Locative and Existential (both expressed by *be* in English):
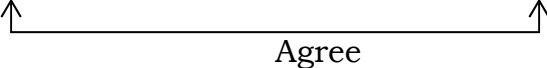
(117)

Properties	Spanish	English
Loc-events (116c)	Ser	
Loc-indiv (116f)	Estar	Be
Existential (116g)	Haber	

If indeed these verbs have an underlying common structure, as the relevant literature seems to suggest, then we may have an explanation for the apparently strange small v in Spanish existential constructions. It comes from the same small v that is necessary to license SC with these verbs. The difference between the two small vs is that with *haber*, the head v has φ-features, whereas with *estar/ser* it doesn't.

This difference has a very important consequence for case-valuation. The v with *haber* is able to value ACC Case because it is able to establish an Agree relation with the nominal, given that it has φ-features. This means that the small v in *haber*-sentences is licensing both the nominal and the SC.[67] In *ser/estar*, however, the small v can only license the SC, because it does not have φ-features. The [case]-features of the nominal must be valued by T; therefore, with *ser/estar*, the nominal will get NOM, whereas with *haber* it will get ACC. This is illustrated below:

(118) [TP T-φ [vP v-φ [VP *haber* [SC [nominal] [predicate]]]]]

Agree

(119) [TP T-φ [vP v [VP *ser/estar* [SC [nominal] [predicate]]]]]

Agree

Recall that in (118), T-φ values its φ-features by probing v-φ (in SII) or by getting a default value (in SI), and that, since v is φ-less in (119), it does not interfere with the relation between the nominal and T-φ.[68]

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[67] It is not clear what the exact mechanism for this SC-licensing is. It seems plausible to assume that small v has an additional set of features (let's call them Predicate-features) that can establish an Agree relation with the head of the SC—a PredP category, as it is sometimes proposed (Bowers 1993). I will put the details of this proposal aside, merely assuming that small v is needed to license a SC. The reader should bear this assumption in mind.

[68] Interestingly, copular verbs *ser* and *estar* (both "be") are not the only Spanish verbs that license this invariant clitic *lo*. The clitic also appears with *parecer* ("seem") and sometimes with *semejar* ("be similar to")—see Fernández-Leborans (1999: 2361).

If this is correct, the family of verbs *ser, estar, haber* share something special: they all require a small *v* to license its internal SC. [69] In the case of *ser* and *estar*, this small v is φ-less, so the nominal will need to value its Case by undergoing Agree with T, receiving NOM. In the case of *haber*, this small *v* has φ-features, so the nominal can receive ACC—and T either probes small *v* (SII) or receives a default value (SI), as discussed.

In this section, we have shown that the idea of a special small *v* (a small *v* without external argument) is not an *ad hoc* device for explaining the properties of *haber*-sentences, but that its presence may be motivated by the need to license the internal SC that all verbs of this class have.

It is of course not clear why a SC needs to be licensed in this way. But we could be dealing here with a general property of embedded clauses. Even full embedded clauses can trigger the presence of ACC clitic:

(120) a. Juan dijo   que volverá
         John said   that come-FUT
         John said he Hill come
      b. Juan lo   dijo
         John CL-ACC said

A deeper exploration of these issues is needed, which I will leave for future research.

In the following section, I will present additional facts that may provide further support for another aspect of the system I'm developing here, namely, the idea that small *v* is φ-incomplete. They are related to the complex behavior of the Definiteness Effect (DE) in Spanish, and the even more complex syntax and semantics of the Spanish Differential Object Marking (DOM). Given the intricate nature of these facts, and the limited scope of this paper, I confine myself to presenting some preliminary observations and offering some speculative suggestions that may eventually lead to an integrated solution with further research.

5. Some Speculations: DE and DOM

There are (at least) two Spanish configurations where we can confirm a Definiteness Effect (DE): *haber*-sentences and unmarked direct objects (direct objects without preposition).

Like English *there-be* sentences, Spanish *haber*-sentences display a DE.

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[69] Of course other verbs can license SCs too; for instance *considerar* ("to consider"). But these are regular transitive verbs (they have external arguments), with a full small *v* (which can also license the SC). As expected, the clitics agree with the corresponding nominal with these verbs.

However, they do not allow nominals specified for [person], as we discussed in Section 3.1:

(121) a.   Había   un hombre en la habitación
           was   a man   in the room
           There was a man in the room
      b. * Había   Juan   en la habitación
           was   the man   in the room
           * There was the man in the room

(122) a.   Lo/La   había
           CL-MAS/CL-FEM   was
      b.   *Me/Te/Nos   había
           Me/Te/Us   was
           There was me/you/us

What is particularly interesting—and here we are dealing with a difference between the Spanish DE and the English DE—is that proper nouns and First and Second pronouns are not allowed even under list-readings with *haber*, in contrast to English existential constructions (see section 3.1). To obtain a list-reading with [person] nominals, Spanish must use *estar*:

(123) a. Está/*Hay   Juan
         Is   John
         There is John
      b. Estás/*Has   tú
         are   you
         There is you.

A very similar effect is present with Spanish unmarked objects. In Spanish, animate Direct Objects (DO) normally need to be marked by the preposition **a** "to", which is the dative preposition (see Demonte 1987, Pensado 1995, Brugé and Brugger 1996, Torrego 1998, Martin 1999, Laca 2001, Aissen 2003, , among many others). This preposition, however, is not present if the animate object is non specific:

(124) a.   Mató   una mujer   UNMARKED ANIMATE OBJECT
           killed   a woman   (non specific)
           He killed a woman
      b. * Mató   María
           killed   Mary
           He killed Mary

(125) a. Mató   a   una mujer   MARKED ANIMATE OBJECT
          killed PREP   a woman   (specific)
          He killed a woman
     b. Mató   a   Mary
          killed PREP   Mary
          He killed Mary

Allow me to use the features [animate] and [specific] to describe this situation. We have these possibilities:[70]

(126)

Marked Object	[+animate] [+specific]
Unmarked Object	[+animate] [-specific]
	[-animate] [+specific]
	[-animate] [-specific]

This means that Spanish presents a case of Differential Object Marking (DOM), a phenomenon that has been observed in a number of languages—see Bossong 1991, Aissen 2003 and references there-in. Among Romance languages, Spanish shares DOM with Rumanian,[71] but we also find DOM in languages as diverse as Hindi and Turkish. Let me illustrate the phenomenon with respect to Turkish (whose parallelism with Spanish was observed by Brugé & Brugger 1996).

Turkish is not exactly like Spanish in the relevant respect because it does not have the animacy constraint. However, what is important for us is that the accusative suffix *–yı* is dropped if the object is non specific (just like the Spanish preposition **a** is dropped with non specific animate objects):[72]

(127) a. Bir   araba-ø   isti-yor-um   UNMARKED OBJECT
          a   car-UNMARKED ACC want-PRES-1SG
          I want a car (*non specific*)

---

[70] This generalization is very similar to the one presented by Heusinger and Kaiser (2003: 53), and it shares also its limitations, as we will see below.

[71] In Spanish and Rumanian, DOM seems to be very robust. But DOM can also be found in substandard varieties of Italian (Southern Dialects in particular), Gallego, Portuguese and French (see Pensado 1995: 14-16).

[72] I thank Serkan Sener and Nilufer Sener for the Turkish data.

b. araba-yı   isti-yor-um   MARKED OBJECT
car-MARKED ACC   want-PRES-1SG
I want the car *or*
I want a car (*specific*)

Furthermore, with Turkish existential sentences, the internal DP cannot have the suffix *–yı*. As in English and Spanish, in this case, the internal DP has a non specific reading:

(128) a.   Buranda bir araba-ø   var
            Here   a   car-UNMARKED ACC exist
            There is a car here
     b. * Buranda araba- yı   var
            Here   car-MARKED ACC   exist
            There is the car here

In other words, it seems that there is a correspondence between being a marked object and some particular interpretation, which I will refer to as INT. In addition, the unmarked object receives the complement of INT (= INT'). For Turkish, INT is [+specific] and therefore INT' will be [-specific]. For Spanish, the situation is a little more complex:

(129)

Marked Object	INT	[+animate] [+specific]	a
Unmarked Object	INT'	[+animate] [-specific]	b
		[-animate] [+specific]	c
		[-animate] [-specific]	d

Remember that we observed a symmetrical distinction—see the discussion in section 3.1—with respect to the restrictions on the internal nominal of *haber* sentences, which I will now express as following:

(130) The nominal of *haber* always receives INT' and never INT.

This means that its object will always be unmarked (without preposition ***a***), which is, of course, true.[73] There is nothing particularly new here. But, by

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[73] In principle, this removes the possibility of using the lack of preposition to suggest that we

combining (129c) and (130), we can make an additional prediction:

(131) Objects [-animate] but [+specific] are allowed with *haber*.

This is unexpected, since English *there-be* sentences are not supposed to allow [+specific] nominals. Contrary to this, in Spanish, the prediction in (131) is borne out. Although the facts have been noticed for a long time, the claim in (131) has never been stated in this way (as far I know). In fact, some researchers have used the data in question to argue that there is no Definiteness Effect in Spanish existential constructions. For example, Suñer (1982a:70) denounces what she calls "the myth of Definiteness Restriction in *hay* sentences".[74]

Consider these sentences, where the definite article (*el*=the) is allowed in *haber*-environments:

(132) …y allí no hay *el problema* de…
        …and there, there-isn't *the problem* of…
        [Suñer 1982a:70]

Given usual characterizations of the DE (Milsark 1974, Safir 1985), we expect that the definite article will be banned from *haber*-sentences if the DE holds in Spanish. But these nominals are [-animate]. If we use [+animate] and [+specific] objects, the resulting sentence becomes ungrammatical:

(133) *…y allí no hay **el estudiante** de…
        …and there there-isn't **the student** of…

In fact, Suñer (1982a: 82) notes that *haber*-sentences are degraded with specific and animate objects, but she doesn't attach any significance to this fact, arguing that this is a side effect from the requirement of preposition with this kind of object in Spanish. I claim that this is not a "side effect", but the main effect we need to explain, given the generalizations in (129) and (130).[75]

Although more discussion is needed, in particular regarding the specificity—see Leonetti 2003 and Heusinger and Kaiser 2003 for an extensive discussion of this issue—we can postulate the following generalization:

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are not dealing here with an ACC object, which has been proposed occasionally (see, for instance García Llebra 1983, Groat 1999). See however the discussion below.

[74] Remember that *hay* is the Present form of existential *haber*, which Suñer takes as the representative of the verb.

[75] Given that Suñer (1982) does not relate existential constructions to the DOM, she must stipulate that the preposition is banned from *haber*-sentences.

(134) If a nominal is allowed in *haber*-sentences, then it will be allowed as an unmarked object with any other transitive verb.

Unfortunately, the generalization has at least one strong exception.[76] Some quantifiers are allowed under *haber* but they require the preposition **a**:

(135) a   No   hay   nadie   en casa
          Not   is   nobody   in house
          There is nobody at home
      b   No   maté   *(a)   nadie
          Not   killed   (to)   nobody
          I didn't kill anybody

Another potential problem is that some [+animate, +specific] objects (which needs the preposition) can be placed in relative clauses with *haber* (but they are not allowed in the non relative structure):

(136) a   *Hay   los ladrones   en la esquina
          Be   the thieves   in the corner
          There are the thieves in the corner
      b   No   maté   *(a)   los ladrones
          Not   killed   (to)   the thieves
          I didn't kill the thieves
      c   Los ladrones que   hay   en la esquina
          The thieves   that   be   in the corner
          The thieves that are in the corner

However, the relativization also eliminates the preposition:

(137)   Los ladrones   que   mataron
        The thieves   that they   killed

Before throwing away (134), let me suggest that we may still have a hope of retaining it. First, there may be an independent reason for the presence of the preposition with *nadie* in (135). The phenomenon may be relatable to the raising of Negative Quantifiers in Icelandic (Svenonius 2000). Second, at least some *there-be* sentences cancel the DE under relativization—the so called "amount relatives" (Carlson 1977):

(138)   The papers that there were on the desk

These are, of course, highly speculative suggestions. Acknowledging that, let me put aside these problems, in the hope that a fully worked out analysis of specificity (or the topicality, as suggested by Leonetti 2003) will explain them.

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[76] See Nicita 1997 to some discussion of other potential problems for this generalization.

If (134) is correct, the DE in existential sentences and the DE with unmarked animated objects are the same phenomenon, at least for Spanish (and Turkish, *mutatis mutandi*). Then, we may entertain the idea that what unifies both DEs is a grammatical property that is common to both of them, which in turn correlates with (129).

Haber-sentences must have a *v*P, as discussed in the previous sections. But it is not a standard *v*P (it does not have external argument). This small *v* is a φ-incomplete small *v,* in the sense that it has [number]-features, but not [person]-features. This excludes any nominal that is marked with [person] as the internal nominal of *haber*. If the nominal is specified for person, small *v* will be able to probe it, valuing its own [number] feature, but it will not be able to value the [case] feature of the object, given Chomsky's (2000, 2001) suggestion that incomplete φ-features cannot value [case], as discussed above.

Recall that [person] nominals, as well as proper nouns are banned from *haber*-sentences even under list-readings:
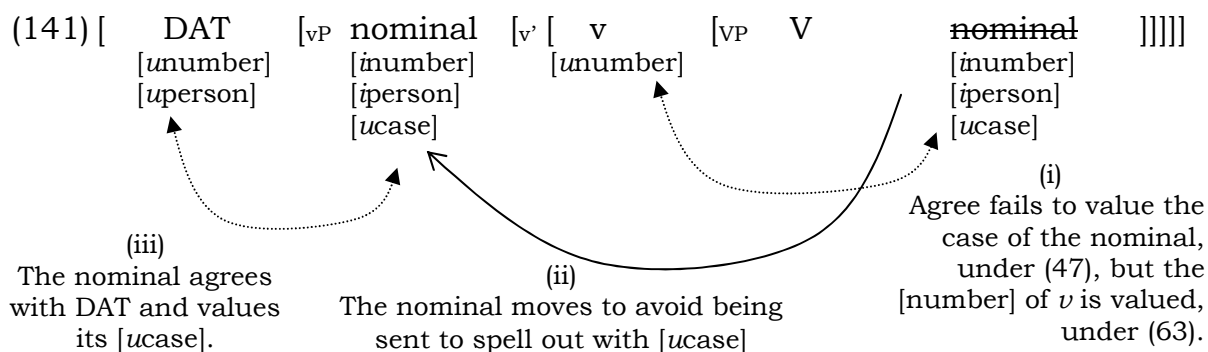
(139) a. Está/*Hay Juan
         Is   John
         There is John
      b. Estás/*Has tú
         are   you
         There is you.

Interestingly, this restriction survives in *haber*-relatives, beside the fact that this context deactivates the DE (to form a relative here, we need *estar*):

(140) a. Juan, quien *hay/está   en la esquina
         John,   who   is   in the corner
      b. Tú,   que   *has/estás   en la esquina
         You,   that   are   in the corner

Let me further assume the *v*P that we find with normal transitive constructions, that is, with verbs other than *haber*, also lacks the [person]-feature, just like its *haber*-counterpart, which, in fact, produces the same result, namely, the DE restriction over [person] objects. Only nominals that are not specified for [person] will be able to check Case against this *v*. If a nominal is specified for [person], the small *v* will be able to probe it and to value its own [number] feature (so no φ-features will remain unvalued); however, it will be incapable of valuing the Case feature of the nominal, given the standard assumption that φ-incomplete heads are not capable of valuing Case (Chomsky 2000). Therefore, under Bošković 2005 version of the PIC, if the nominal stays in situ, it won't be able to check Case, because it will be spelled out. Thus, it is forced to move, to avoid being sent to Spell Out without checking Case. Recall that we ruled this

movement out for nominals with *haber*-sentences (see the discussion about (69)), under the assumption that their *v*P does not have a specifier, given that it does not have external argument, i.e. [Spec, *v*P]. However, normal transitive constructions do have an external argument, i.e. [Spec, *v*P], thus movement to [Spec, *v*P] will be possible. If we further assume that there is an additional Dative head that can value the case feature of the shifted-object, we have an explanation regarding why the object carries a DAT marker, namely, the preposition:[77]

(141) [DAT   [$_{vP}$ nominal   [$_{v'}$ [v   [$_{VP}$ V   ~~nominal~~   ]]]]]

     [*u*number]   [*i*number]   [*u*number]   [*i*number]

     [*u*person]   [*i*person]   [*i*person]

               [*u*case]   [*u*case]

(i) Agree fails to value the case of the nominal, under (47), but the [number] of *v* is valued, under (63).

(iii) The nominal agrees with DAT and values its [*u*case].

(ii) The nominal moves to avoid being sent to spell out with [*u*case]
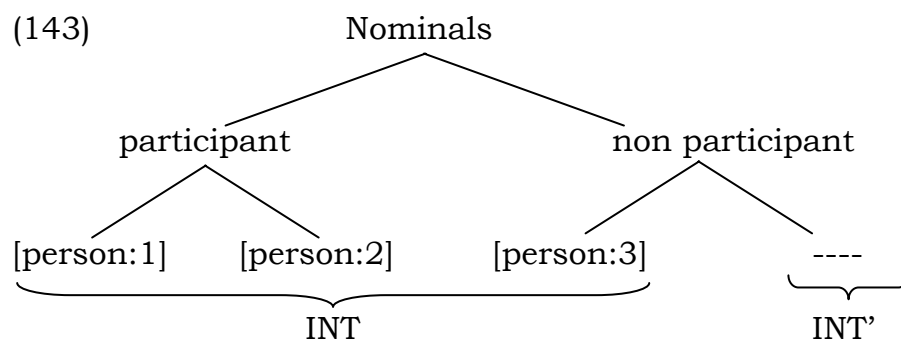
This idea is in line with standard explanations of the phenomenon. For instance, according to Torrego 1998, an accusative a-DP (a Direct Object marked with **a**) undergoes overt raising to the Specifier of vP. She assumes that *v* has a D feature that attract the marked DO, and that the dative preposition **a** has also a D feature to check with v. Furthermore, she proposes that marked DOs have an inherent Case (on top of the structural one). What I'm adding to the picture is a motivation for the need for the second head (the DAT head) to check case.

If we further assume, as we did for *haber*-sentences, that there is a mapping like (142), we can easily account for the animacy and specificity constraint in both *haber*-sentences and regular accusative verbs:

(142)   [specified person]   ↔   INT
        [non specified person]   ↔   INT'

Recall that I assume the following classification of nominals with respect to [person]—see the discussion about (41):

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[77] One possibility is that the DAT head has both structural Case and inherent Case—this will imply that the marked object is a sort of "quirky object". The structural Case is checked under Agree, and the preposition will be the morphological manifestation of the inherent Case.

(143)

```
                        Nominals
                       /        \
                      /          \
              participant        non participant
              /      \            /        \
             /        \          /          \
     [person:1]   [person:2]  [person:3]    ----
         _____/       \___/
                    INT                       INT'
```

Among the many questions that these speculations raise, there is one that I should not avoid here. The small v proposed for *haber*-sentences does not have external argument. This is appropriate because *haber* has no subject, as discussed, and no possibility for specifier. What about other transitive verbs? Although it is not impossible to suggest that this is a different kind of vP—and therefore, that in these cases we have full vPs with a position for the external argument, but with the same lack of [person],[78] as just discussed—let me push the speculation further.

Suppose that the similarities between *haber*'s small v and the small v with regular transitive verbs are more than just the lack of [person]-feature, in particular, suppose that for all transitive verbs the small v does not have a position for an external argument either. In order to satisfy the θ-Criterion, suppose further that there is a subject clitic (SCL) that can satisfy not only the φ-features of T, but can also receive the external theta role from the verb; under this view, there cannot be small *pro* (as suggested by Manzini and Savoia 2002), since its role is taken over by the SCL, and then we do not need a position for it. Additionally, to account for the presence of overt preverbal subjects, let's assume that they are based-generated in the left periphery (Contreras 1991, Barbosa 1995, Olarrea 1996, among others), and that they are clitic-doubled by the SCL (sharing the θ-role); therefore, we don't need a θ-position for them in the vP domain. To the extent that these assumptions are theoretically plausible and empirically adequate,[79] we will have no use for a position normally reserved for an external argument. This amounts to saying that vP is a non interpretative projection with both *haber* and regular transitive verbs, in the sense that it bears no relation to the external θ-role.[80]

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[78] In fact, we need to allow for the vP to have a specifier, otherwise the nominal could not escape the vP. On the other hand, if the *haber*-vP does not have specifier, then this also accounts for the fact that the nominal cannot escape the vP and enter in an Agree relation with T, as discussed in the last part of section 3.2.3.

[79] I leave open what happens with postverbal subjects.

[80] Recall, however, that we still need to allow for the small v in regular transitive constructions to have a derived specifier as the position for object-shift, given our previous analysis in (141). Under this view, even if small v with transitive verbs does not have a base-generated specifier, it can allow the creation of a specifier as a position available for object-shift.

To follow all the consequences of this line of reasoning is far beyond the scope of this paper. However, I hope that these speculations regarding the relation between DE and DOM in Spanish have shown that my proposal for a small v in *haber*-sentences is not an ad hoc device that only explains the presence of ACC and agreement in *haber*-constructions, but also a plausible way to capture deeper properties of ACC constructions in Spanish.

6. Conclusions

I have given an explanation for a dialectal split in Spanish with respect to agreement in Existential Constructions with *haber*. In the SI dialect the verb has default value (3er person, singular), but in the SII dialect, the verb agrees with the internal nominal, despite the fact that the nominal is accusative, as shown by the cliticization data. This state of affairs seems to be a direct challenge for theories that link Agreement with Case, since, in SII, the nominal seems to be in agreement with T, but T cannot be its Case-licensor because T does not value ACC. However, I have presented an analysis of the phenomenon in question that preserves the relation between Case and Agreement and supports the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001a,b).

I contend that Spanish existential constructions with *haber* have a small vP which accounts for the presence of ACC (in both dialects). Additionally, there is a ban on nominals with [person], the underlying assumption being that only [1p], [2p] and some [3p] nominals are marked for [person]. Spanish Existentials Constructions with [person] nominals, contrary to their English counterparts, cannot have a presentational (or "list") reading (they are simply ungrammatical). Interestingly, in SII, *haber* can be inflected for [1p] or [2p] even when the internal nominal is [3p]; furthermore, in these cases, it is not possible to use an explicit subject (that is, these sentences are still existential). If we postulate a *pro* with a [person] value ([1p] or [2p]) as responsible for the valuation of T in SII, we would expect that it could be replaced by a lexical pronoun (as any other instance of *pro* in Spanish), which is contrary to the facts. In addition, *pro* would violate the ban on [person]-marked nominals in Spanish Existential constructions.

I have shown that we can solve all these problems by postulating: (A) a small v with only [number] and no [person], for Existential constructions in both dialects, and (B), for SII, a T with an interpretable [person] feature, in addition to its uninterpretable [number]. According to (A), if small v has only [number], the ban on nominals with [person] is explained, given Chomsky's suggestion that only complete probes can value the [case] feature of the goal. Nominals with [person] won't be able to value their [case] feature. If the nominal does not have [person], the probe v will be complete with respect to its goal, then it will be able to value its [case] feature. In SII, given that T has only one

uninterpretable feature, namely [number], it can probe v, producing the effect of object-agreement—this is possible because the φ-features of v are still present, since the deletion procedure applies only at the point of Spell-Out and this vP is not a phase (since the small v does not have an external argument). (B) correctly predicts that in SII *haber*-sentences, the verb can be inflected in all persons, even if no nominal has the proper value. In addition, in SI, where both φ-features ([person] and [number]) in T are uninterpretable, small v is incomplete with respect to T, thus unable to value its features, and then T must use some additional mechanism to obtain a default value—most likely, by using a SCL. Further predictions have been borne out with respect to raising verbs as well as several other differences between SI and SII.

I suggested that the origin for this small v is the need to license Small Clauses in verbs that belong to the family of *haber-ser-estar* (all of them instances of English BE). In addition, I speculated that the same mechanism is behind the phenomenon of Differential Object Marking in Spanish, which can helps us to understand the peculiarities of the Definiteness Effect in Spanish.

As mentioned, the analysis supports the relation between Case and Agreement, and the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000). Additionally, given that it shows evidence that the case of the internal nominal in existential constructions is valued in a lower position (not by T), it provides a way of encoding the insight of the Partitive Case Hypothesis (Belleti 1988, Lasnik 1992) in the Agree system (although with different technical details).

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