

Agreement restrictions and agreement oddities in Romance

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1. Introduction – Agreement in Romance

Romance languages mostly exhibit uniform agreement patterns: the finite verb shows full agreement with the subject; the modifiers agree with the head of a noun phrase; past participles agree with promoted objects, in those among the Romance languages that display participial agreement. There are however some exceptional cases, i.e. constructions featuring unexpected patterns that are not found elsewhere in Romance. This chapter deals with such constructions.

These constructions have been listed under many different labels: they have been called ‘constraints’ on agreement (for instance by Bonet 1991), agreement ‘restrictions’ (D'Alessandro, Fischer, Hrafnbjargason 2008), ‘eccentric’ agreement (Hale 2002, Bobaljik & Branigan 2006), ‘anti-agreement’ (Ouhalla 1993), ‘exceptional’ agreement (Zwicky 1986), agreement ‘displacement’ (Bright 1957, Harris 1981), agreement ‘mismatch’ (Corbett 1990). In the rest of the paper, we will use the neutral terms ‘restrictions’ for those cases in which the occurrence of one element restricts or limits the occurrence of another, and ‘oddity’ for an unexpected agreement pattern, which is not caused by any element involved, but holds for the construction as a whole.

This chapter is divided into three main parts, the first one concerning agreement restrictions or oddities on pronouns and pronominal clusters, the second one concerning some agreement facts in verb/argument structures, and the third one concerning agreement restrictions/oddities within the DP.

The first and the second part overlap in obvious ways: a pronoun can be an argument, thus restrictions on verb/argument agreement will also concern pronouns, in the case of a pronominal argument. We have decided to keep the two sections separate nevertheless, with the intention of putting a different weight on one aspect or the other: If the pronominal nature is what seems to be central to the restriction, then the phenomenon will be listed under ‘pronominal restrictions’. If it is instead the construction itself which seems to be responsible for bringing in the restriction, and this restriction/oddity also targets full DPs, the phenomenon will be filed under ‘argumental restrictions’.

We tried to provide an overview of the better-known agreement phenomena in Romance. Some of them have been studied for several years. In this case, we reproduced the main theoretical insights on the constructions and the most widely received analyses. Some other phenomena are instead almost unknown, or understudied. We decided to include them as well and report what is known, in the attempt of drawing a picture of agreement restrictions and oddities in Romance as accurate and inclusive as possible.

2. Agreement restrictions with pronouns

This section deals with agreement restrictions involving pronouns. Before moving towards the various constructions, some general remarks are in order. First, pronouns in Romance usually encode number and person information. Gender information is restricted to 3rd person pronouns. Case was lost on full DPs in most Romance languages, with the exception of Romanian, which retains a direct/oblique distinction, and of some southern Italian varieties and again Romanian, which have a dedicated marker for vocative. All Romance languages instead retained case

distinctions on pronouns. Case in fact proves to be a crucial factor in determining some restrictions on pronominal clusters.

This section is concerned with restrictions involving pronouns, with the understanding that the same restrictions do not affect the corresponding full DPs. We start with examining one of the most widely studied restrictions, the so-called PCC (Person Case Constraint), first analysed by Bonet (1991). We then turn to agreement restrictions on courtesy pronouns, which to our knowledge have not been addressed by any study so far. We continue with some PCC-like restrictions in causative constructions, which are much less known and studied. Lastly, we examine a different sort of restrictions, not due to the pronominal nature of the element involved in it, but involving a pronominal element: impersonal *si/se* in Romance. This pronoun, when used impersonally, or as an impersonal passive construction, only allows for a 3rd person internal argument (Cinque 1988, D'Alessandro 2004, 2007).

2.1. *The PCC in Italo-Romance varieties, Italian, Romanian and French dialects*

Almost all the Romance languages do not allow combinations of a 3p dative clitic and a 1/2p accusative clitic.

- (1) *Giorgio gli ti ha presentato.
 Giorgio to.him you has introduced
 'Giorgio introduced you to him'

The restriction holds even if the dative clitic stands for a non-argumental dative (e.g. benefactive/malefactive adjuncts or datives of inalienable possession), or when it is the complement of a preposition as in the following example.

- (2) *Non mi gli posso sedere accanto
 Not me to.him I.can seat near
 'I cannot seat next to him'

The PCC holds even if the 3p dative is reflexive, as in (3)a. Notice that the the same clitic combination is fine if the reflexive clitic stands for the direct object as in (3)b:

- (3) a. *Giorgio ti si è comprato come schiavo.
 Giorgio you for.himself is bought as slave
 'Giorgio bough you as his slave'
- b. Giorgio ti si è presentato come dottore.
 Giorgio to.you himself is introduced as doctor 'Giorgio
 introduced himself to you as a doctor'

Bonet (1991:192) notices that true 1/2p reflexives are more tolerated than inherent reflexives.

- (4) ??A en Pere, me li vaig recomanar (jo mateix) ahir
 To the Pere, me= to.him= I.have recommended (I self) yesterday
 'I recommended myself to him (Pere) yesterday'

Also ethical datives tend to escape the restriction (Perlmutter 1971, Rouveret & Vergaud 1980: 169-171; Bonet 1991:197)

- (5) No me li disguis mentides
 Not to.me= to.him/her= tell.SUBJ lies
 'Don't tell him/her lies (on me)'

The acceptability of combinations of 1/2p clitics is subject to cross-linguistic variation. In some languages, like Spanish or French (Bonet 1991), these combinations are reported to be completely ungrammatical, while in other languages, like Italian, some clusters are in fact very marginal, but still interpretable, at least when both elements are singular (we will see that combinations of plural clitics are generally more degraded than those formed by singular pronouns).

- (6) a. % Mario mi ti ha presentato. 'me to you / you to me'
 b. ?? Mario mi vi ha presentato/i. 'me to you(pl) / you(pl) to me'
 c. ?? Mario ti ci ha presentato/i. 'you to us / us to you'
 d. *? Mario vi ci ha presentati. 'you(pl) to us'
 Mario cl cl has introduced

Romanian exhibits a different pattern, as some of the above combinations are not subject to the PCC (Savescu 2007). In proclisis, Romanian allow combinations including a 2sg accusative clitic, as in (7), and, to a lesser extent, a 1sg accusative clitic as in (8).

- (7) a. Mi te - a prezentat Ion la petrecere.
 1DAT 2ACC has introduced John at party.
 'John has introduced you to me at the party'
 b. I te - au recomandat ieri.
 3DAT 2ACC have.3rd recommended yesterday
 'They have recommended you to him yesterday.'
- (8) a. *Ți m - a prezentat Ion la petrecere.
 2DAT 1ACC has introduced John at party
 'John has introduced me to you at the party.'
 b. %I m - au recomandat ieri.
 3DAT 1ACC have.3rd recommended yesterday.
 'They have recommended me to him yesterday.'

Conversely, proclitic combinations are ungrammatical when the 3p dative clitic is reflexive, as in (9), or when 1/2p clitics are plural, as in (10):

- (9) a. *Maria si m-/ te - a luat drept sclav.
 Mary refl 1st/2nd acc has taken as slave
 'Mary has taken me/you to be her slave (for herself).'
- (10) */?? Ni v - a recomandat Maria la petrecere.
 1 DAT.PL 2ACC PL has recommended Mary at party
 'Mary has introduced you.pl to us'.

Combinations of singular enclitics, conversely, are always permitted. This is consistent with the above observation that clusters of plural clitics are more degraded than the others, although Nevins & Savescu (2010) argue for an alternative explanation elaborating on the hypothesis that singular clitics in Romanian do not undergo the PCC – but only in enclisis – because they are not case-syncretic.

Lastly, there are varieties in which the PCC does not hold. This is the case of many southern Italian dialects, as for example the dialect spoken in Arielli, where all the above clitic combinations are in fact allowed:

- (11) a. Giorgə ji t'a prisindatə
 Giorgio to.him you=has introduced
 'Giorgio introduced you to him'
- b. Ni mmi ji pozzə assəttə' m'baccə
 Not me to.him seat near
 'I cannot seat near him'
- c. Giorgə ti z'a 'ccattatə pi sserve
 Giorgio you for.himself.has bought for slave
 'Giorgio bough you as his slave'

The above data mean that the PCC is a constellation of restrictions, some of which are subject to linguistic variation, rather than a single constraint. This said, there is no consensus on the nature of the restriction. Functionalistic accounts observe that PCC combinations correspond to infrequent argument configurations (Haspelmath 2004), but it is not clear to us how to demonstrate that the constraint results from frequency-effects and not the other way around. Moreover, it is rather unclear why the PCC targets combinations of clitic pronouns, while strong pronouns – which are expected to occur with the same low frequency – are unconstrained.

Formal accounts differ in arguing that the constraint is morphological or syntactic in nature.

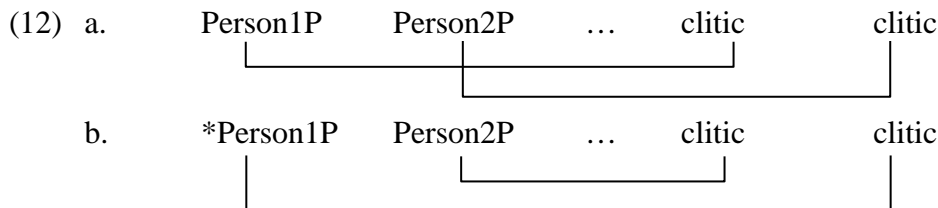
Morphological accounts argue that the constraint does not follow from syntactic principles (ultimately, from Agree-like procedures, Chomsky 2001 ff.), but from an extra-syntactic (say, morphological) filter preventing certain clitic pronouns or agreement affixes from co-occurring (Perlmutter 1971). In this view (see Bonet 1991, 1995 among others), the constraint filters certain feature bundles at the Syntax/PF interface: this hypothesis explains why certain combinations of clitic pronouns or agreement markers are subject to the constraint although the corresponding featural configuration is legible at the syntax/LF interface.

Alternatively, it is argued that the constraint follows from an agreement restriction (*lato sensu*) which occurs as a consequence of a multiple-Agree configuration (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Adger & Harbour 2007; Nevins 2007 among others) or is due to a minimality restriction (Bianchi 2006; Savescu 2007). Anagnostopoulou (2003) argues that the PCC arises as two goals compete to check the same features against a single probe. In a nutshell, let us suppose that both objects have to check against a head endowed with an uninterpretable feature F: if the indirect object checks F, the indirect object cannot enter an Agree relation with the same probe and consequently the derivation ends up crashing. Conversely, if the indirect object does not check the feature F, the sentence is grammatical as the direct object is allowed to enter the agree relation. According to this kind of explanation, the PCC ultimately resides on the featural specification of each element: F clitics trigger the PCC, while non-F clitics (hence, 3p accusative clitics) can occur in any clitic combination.

The fact that the constraint is subject to cross-linguistic variation (see above) may be problematic for accounts suggesting that the restriction follows directly from a basic mechanism of Narrow Syntax. To overcome the objection, we can either argue that cross-linguistic variation depends on the featural specifications of each item (i.e. on whether or not the clitic bears a valued/interpretable feature F) or, following Nevins (2007), one may argue that the agree relation is parameterized: F

stands for a constellation of binary features and, given a specific features (e.g. [participant]), the probe can search for a single value (positive, negative or contrastive) of that specific feature.

Bianchi (2006) departs from a multiple agree analysis and argues instead for an explanation based on Rizzi's Relativized Minimality. She proposes that each clitic pronoun is in a dependency relation with a Person head in the CP layer. Since such Person projections are rigidly ordered in a cartographic-like fashion, the dependency relations in ditransitive construction may either cross each other as in (12) or one may be nested into the other as in (12). In the latter configuration, relativized minimality is violated as the lower clitic enter a dependency with the higher PersonP rather than with the nearest one:



The Romance languages differ further with respect to strategies of PCC-avoidance. In Ibero-Romance, for instance, the PCC is avoided by replacing the dative clitic with a strong pronoun, which, in such cases, is not mandatorily focused (Bonet 1991:204). For instance, in (13a), a PCC environment, the dative clitic can be replaced by a non-focused strong pronoun, while in (13b), where the PCC does not hold, the strong dative pronoun is mandatorily focused (conventionally, focus is represented with capital letters):

- (13) a. **Me** (*le) recomendaron a **él/ÉL** (Spanish)
 (*to.him) recommended.they to him
 'They recommended me to him'
- b. **Lo** recomendaron a *él/ÉL
 it/him recommended.they to him
 'They recommended it/him to him'

In other languages, however, the restriction in (13b) is not attested as 3p strong pronouns can co-occur with another focused element even in combination with a 3p accusative clitic:

- (14) MATTIA I' ha raccomandato a **lui**
 Mattia him has recommended to him
 'Mattia recommended it/him to him'

Another strategy to avoid PCC violations is the substitution of the 3p dative clitic with a locative exponent. This pattern is allowed in Barceloní Catalan (Bonet 1991:209; 2008), French (Rezac 2010), and, marginally, in Italian (Pescarini 2010). In the following Catalan example, for instance, the substitution of the 3p dative clitic *li* with the locative item *hi* seems to overcome the PCC:

- (15) A en Pere **m' hi/*li** va recomanar en Josep (Catalan)
 To the Pere me there/*to.him goes recommend the Josep
 'Josep recommended me to him (Pere)'

Another controversial aspect is the type of feature(s) triggering the constraint. As the name suggests, the PCC is often regarded as a restriction on Person and Case: abstracting away from

cross-linguistic variation, the core restriction is the one preventing clitic combinations in which the accusative pronoun is [+participant].

Further research, however, has revealed that the PCC might be a constraint on animacy-related features and that person features are involved insofar as they are related to animacy: in particular, 1/2p pronouns are intrinsically animate and, in many Romance languages, the 3p dative clitic has become a [+human] pronoun. In French, Catalan and Italian, for instance, only human referents can be pronominalized by the dative clitic, as in (16a), while the locative clitic is used to reference non-human datives, as in (16b) (Rigau 1982, Bonet 2008).

- (16) a. gli dedico molto tempo ~~a Carlo~~
 to.him I.dedicate much time (to Carlo)
 'I dedicate much time to him (Carlo)'
- b. *gli/ci dedico molto tempo ~~a calcio~~
 to.it I.dedicate much time (to soccer)
 'I dedicate much time to it (soccer)'

The fact that the dative clitic is restricted to human referents is, historically speaking, a puzzle. In fact, third person dative clitics – like third person accusative clitics – derive from the Latin demonstrative *ILLE* 'that', which in origin did not exhibit any animacy-related restriction. This means that the above restriction emerged as soon as the dative determiner *ILLI(S)* became a clitic pronoun, but to the best of my knowledge no proposal has been advanced in the recent literature to explain such an evolution.

The hypothesis that the PCC is an animacy restriction may shed light on the contrast in (16): since the locative clitic is not endowed with an animacy-related feature, it is not subject to the PCC even if it exceptionally stands for a 3p animate.

Not in all the Romance languages, however, 3p dative clitics are restricted to human referents. In Ibero-Romance, for instance, the 3p clitic *le(s)* may stand for an inanimate noun (noticeably, this is allowed in a language which does not display any locative clitic like It. *ci*, Fr. *y*, Cat. *hi*, which are normally used to pronominalize inanimate datives). Even if referencing an animate element, however, 3p datives are subject to the PCC, see (17) (Ormazabal & Romero 2007), although Bonet 2008 pointed out that the ungrammaticality of (17) persists even if the dative clitic is omitted, as in (18). The ungrammaticality of (17) must therefore follow from some orthogonal constraint.

- (17) *te le pongo a ti (de pata) a la mesa
 You to.it I.put a you (as leg) to the table
 'I assemble you as a leg in the table'
- (18) *te pongo a ti (de pata) a la mesa
 You I.put a you (as leg) to the table
 'I assemble you as a leg in the table'

Further evidence for an animacy-based analysis of the PCC comes from Leista Spanish, namely those Ibero-Romance dialects in which the dative clitic *le* (pl. *les*) may stand for human direct objects. In these varieties, the clitic *le* is subject to the PCC even if it stands for the direct object: as shown in (19a), the *le* meaning 'him' cannot combine with a 1/2p dative clitic. In this environment, leista speakers must retreat to the exponent *lo*, as in (19b) (Ormazabal & Romero 2007).

- (19) a. *Te le di
 to.you him give.1sg
 'I give him to you'

- b. Te lo di
to.you it give.1sg
'I give it to you'

Things become even more complicated in dialects of French and Italian where the 3p dative clitic is always expressed by the locative clitic (e.g. Fr. *y* instead of *lui/leur* 'to him/her/them') as a consequence of historical changes that made the etymological 3p dative clitic form fall out of use (Calabrese 1994). The dative/locative syncretism affects the PCC in two opposite ways: it may prevent the PCC, i.e. the 3p dative clitic is free to occur with a 1/2p clitic (Rezac 2011), or the PCC may be extended to the locative clitic, i.e. the dative/locative clitic cannot occur with 1/2p clitics even if having a locative interpretation. For instance, in certain northern Italian dialects like Vicentino the locative clitic *ghe*, which is syncretic with the 3p dative one, is free to combine with 1/2p singular pronouns, while the combinations with plural clitics are – again – more degraded.

- (20) a. ^{??}ne ghe porta Carlo
us there brings Carlo
b. ^{??}ve ghe porta Carlo
you.pl there brings Carlo

2.2. PCC-like effects in causative constructions

In various Romance languages, the causee can occur as either a dative complement or as a PP headed by the preposition *da* (It.), *par* (Fr.), etc. (Kayne 1975). For the sake of consistency, many of the following data are from Italian, but the same holds for other Romance languages.

- (21) a. Micol fa pettinare Giulia a Carlo
Micol make.3.SG comb Giulia to Carlo
'Micol makes Carlo comb Giulia's hair'
b. Micol fa pettinare Giulia da Carlo
Micol make.3.SG comb Giulia by Carlo
'Micol makes Carlo comb Giulia's hair'

Unlike the *a*-causee, the *da*-phrase cannot be resumed by a dative clitic:

- (22) a. A Carlo, Micol gli fa pettinare Giulia
to Carlo Micol to.him make.3.SG comb Giulia
'Micol makes Carlo comb Giulia's hair'
b. *Da Carlo, Micol gli fa pettinare Giulia
by Carlo Micol to.him make.3.SG comb Giulia
'Micol makes Carlo comb Giulia's hair'

What is of interest here is that dative causes, regardless of their clitic or phrasal status, trigger a sort of PCC: in fact, 1/2p clitic pronouns cannot co-occur with the *a*-causee, while they can occur when the cause is introduced by the preposition *da*, see (23a) vs (23b). As in the canonical PCC pattern, 3p clitics, by contrast, are always unconstrained, see (24a) vs (24b).

- (23) a. *Micol mi= fa pettinare a Carlo
Micol me= makes comb to Carlo
b. Micol mi= fa pettinare da Carlo
Micol me= makes comb by Carlo
'Micol makes Carlo comb my hair'

- (24) a. Micol la= fa pettinare a Carlo
 Micol her= makes comb to Carlo
 b. Micol la= fa pettinare da Carlo
 Micol me= makes comb by Carlo
 'Micol makes Carlo comb her hair'

The restriction in (23) is sometimes referred to as the Fancy Constraint (Postal 1989) and has received far less attention than the canonical PCC. In fact, the link between the PCC and the Fancy Constraint is far from straightforward. Besides the fact that the former, unlike the latter, targets only clitic combinations, they differ with respect to the behaviour of reflexives. In fact, the PCC targets every type of reflexive clitic, including 3p ones, while 3p direct objects are not subject to the PCC, and regardless of whether or not they are reflexives:

- (25) *si= fa visitare da(/*a) Linda
 Him/her-self= makes visit to/*from Linda
 'He/she make Linda visit him/herself'

Moreover, causative environments allow us to observe the behaviour of double dative constructions as several languages allow the co-occurrence of two datives: the causee and the indirect object selected by the lexical verb. Speakers allow sentences in which the causee is clitic and the indirect object is phrasal, as in (26a), while the opposite configuration is rejected (namely, phrasal causee and clitic indirect object, cf. (26b), unless the causee is expressed by a PP as in (26c):

- (26) a. **le** faccio telefonare a Carlo
 to.her I.make phone to Carlo
 'I make her phone Carlo'
 b. ***le** faccio telefonare a Carlo
 to.her I.make phone to Carlo
 'I make Carlo phone her'
 b'. **le** faccio telefonare **da** Carlo
 to.her I.make phone from Carlo
 'I make Carlo phone her'

If both arguments are 3p clitics, the sentence is ungrammatical if both clitics climb, cf. (27a) vs (27b) (Kayne 1975:297):

- (27) a.* Cette nouvelle nous lui a fait telephone
 This news to.us= to.him/her= has made telephone
 'This news made us phone him/her'
 b. Cette nouvelle nous a fait lui telephone
 This news to.us= has made to.him/her= telephone
 'This news made us phone him/her'

Double dative constructions are allowed if and only if the causee is 1/2p and the indirect object is 3p. The acceptability of such combinations is subject to cross-linguistic variation: they are not allowed in Italian and Spanish, while some Italian dialects and French are more liberal (on French, see Strozer 1976:171; Rezac 2010).

Notice that the acceptability does not depend on the linear order of clitics. The following set of examples from French and Italian dialects show that the restriction holds regardless of the linear order of pronouns.

- (28) a. Je= vais **te= le= lui=** faire donner. (French)
 I= go to.you=it= to.him= make give
 b. **Te= ghe= lo=** fasso portare. (Vicentino)
 to.you= to.him= it= I.make bring
 c. **jə tə lu** faccə purtà (S. Valentino, Abruzzo)
 to.him= to.you=it= I.make bring
 'I make you bring it to him'

2.3. Courtesy forms

Courtesy forms are normally used to avoid direct reference to the hearer. In Italian, either 3p feminine pronoun or 2p plural pronouns may be used as courtesy forms. With respect to the PCC, courtesy forms behave like 2p clitics, regardless they apparent 3p morphology:

- (29) *Giorgio glie l' ha presentata.
 Giorgio to.him her(='you') has introduced
 'Giorgio introduced you to him'

Courtesy forms exhibit a rather puzzling pattern of agreement. They normally exhibit grammatical agreement with the inflected verb, but semantic agreement with other constituents such as adjectives or past participles. Hence, if the hearer is masculine, adjectives and participles will display the masculine singular ending regardless of the morphology of the courtesy pronoun:

- (30) Lei è simpatico
 She(=you) is nice-M.SG
 'You are nice'
 (31) Voi siete simpatico
 You.pl are nice-M.SG
 'You have nice'

If the courtesy form is an object clitic, however, the honorific systems of Italian diverge as the 3fsg courtesy form always exhibit grammatical agreement:

- (32) L(a) ho vist-a/*-o spesso qui
 Her(=you) have.1.SG seen-F.SG/*M.SG often here
 'I have often seen you here'
 (33) Vi ho vist-o/-a spesso qui
 You.PL have.1.SG seen-M.SG/F.SG often here
 'I have often seen you here'

To sum up, with respect to the PCC, courtesy forms behave like 2sg pronouns: they in fact cannot co-occur with a dative clitic even if they are morphologically 3p. Furthermore, courtesy form display a puzzling mismatch between grammatical and semantic agreement once the courtesy form agrees with a nominal element (a predicative adjective or the past participle): normally agreement is controlled by the referent save for the clitic *la*, which triggers grammatical feminine agreement (on further grammatical/semantic gender mismatches, see section 4.3).

2.4. Impersonal *si/se* constructions in Italian, Spanish, Romanian

The *se/si* pronoun in Romance has several uses: it can be used as a reflexive (in which case it displays a fully-fledged paradigm), as an inchoative, as an aspectual marker, and as an impersonal ‘subject’, which is what interests us for agreement, in sentences like (34):

- (34) Si vedono molte automobili in questo quartiere
 si see.3.PL many.F.PL cars.F.PL in this neighborhood
 ‘One sees many cars in this neighborhood’

The exact status of *si* in (34) is much debated, but it is not strictly relevant here. What matters is that in these constructions there is quirky agreement between the finite verb and the internal argument (in the case the example, both *le automobili* and *vedono* is plural) which bears Nominative. This construction can only have a 3rd person internal argument (Burzio 1986, Cinque 1988). A 1st or 2nd person pronoun is instead banned.

- (35) * Vi si vedono in televisione
 you.PL si see.3.PL on TV
 ‘One can see you on TV’

Note that there is a parallel construction, in which the internal argument does not agree with the finite verb and carries Accusative case. This construction is illustrated in (36) and does not present the person restriction.

- (36) Lo/ vi si vede
 it.3SG.ACC you.2.PL.ACC. si sees.3.SG
 ‘One sees him/one sees you-pl’

In (36) the internal argument carries Accusative, and the verb is inflected as 3rd person singular. This brought many linguists (most notably, Cinque 1988) to consider *si* as having different status, i.e. argumental or non argumental, in agreeing vs non agreeing constructions respectively. If *si* is argumental, it withdraws the external θ -role and blocks Accusative, thus making it impossible for the object to receive Accusative case. For the Case filter, the object will then need to agree with the inflectional head T. Cinque does not discuss the agreement restriction in detail. If *si* is not argumental, Accusative can be assigned to the object.

A further complication arises when observing the difference between impersonal *si* constructions with unaccusative verbs, which show plural agreement on the predicative adjective or on the past participle, and impersonal *si* constructions with unergative verbs, which show default masculine singular agreement instead.

- (37) Si è arrivati
 si is.3.SG arrived.M.PL
 ‘One has arrived /we have arrived’
 (38) Si è lavorato
 si is.3.SG worked.M.SG
 ‘One has worked/ we have worked’

An easy way to account for the singular/plural alternation on the participle would be to consider *si* as argumental in each of these constructions. In (37), being the verb unaccusative, *si* can be the internal argument. In (38), with an unergative verb, *si* is an external argument. The obvious question is then why we do not see plural agreement on the auxiliary in (37). In sentences with a

bona fide pronominal argument, like for instance *loro*, we see agreement on both the auxiliary and the participle, as illustrated in (39).

- (39) Loro sono arrivati
 they.3.PL are.3.PL arrived.M.PL
 ‘They arrived’

This leaves us with a dilemma: if impersonal *si* is argumental, why do agreement paradigms like those just seen arise? If it is not, what is it then exactly? And, for the purposes of the present chapter: why does *si* trigger agreement restrictions on Nominative objects and only partial agreement on the auxiliary?

Different answers have been provided to these questions through the years. Cinque (1988), as summarized above, has proposed a different argumental status for the two *si*’s in the two constructions. In one case *si* is a quasi- argument, which cannot absorb Accusative; hence, Accusative is assigned normally to the internal argument. In the object-agreeing constructions, instead, *si* is an argument which creates a semi-passive construction by absorbing the external theta role and blocking Accusative assignment, hence not allowing Burzio’s generalization to take place. Given that Accusative cannot be assigned to the internal argument, this must take Nominative. The agreement restriction is due to the arbitrary nature of *si*.

According to D’Alessandro (2004, 2007), *si* does not have two different statuses, nor does it absorb or blocks Case in any way. *Si* is a 3rd person pronoun, bearing a 3rd person feature as well as an unvalued number. This pronoun incorporates on the T head, hence valuing the verb as 3rd person. The constructions where agreement takes place between T and the internal argument are similar to Icelandic quirky dative constructions: *si* is in any case an external argument, but T is not a fully transitive head. *Si* is 3rd person, and it is incorporated on T; T agrees with the internal argument to get its features valued. At this point, a condition on multiple agreement applies (the condition proposed by Anagnostopoulou 2003 and discussed in 2.1. for the PCC) , licensing only the internal argument hosting the same person feature as *si* (namely, 3rd). A different feature specification would cause a feature mismatch on the T head, with consequent derivation crash.

The inclusive reading that emerges in sentences like (37) or (38), is due to a semantic/pragmatic feature, parasitic on person, which is directly linked to the Speech Act projection. The inclusive reading (i.e. the ‘we’ reading) is shown to be determined by event boundedness, and to be available with all verb classes (contra Cinque 1988).

The same multiple agreement restriction holds, as mentioned, in Icelandic quirky dative constructions as well as in Spanish *olvidarse* constructions, which cannot have an inner argument different from a 3rd person one. Thus, the agreement restriction arises according to D’Alessandro because of the syntactic structure in which *si* occurs, not because of its different status. The two constructions, with and without object agreement, are structurally different in that one denotes a bounded event and one does not. In the case in which we have a bounded event, an inner aspectual head is present in the v field.

The mismatch between the singular auxiliary and the plural participle illustrated in (37) is again due to the fact that *si* is 3rd person pronoun which incorporates on T, valuing it as 3rd person singular. Number remains unvalued, and it is marked as default at lexical insertion as a Match of two unvalued features. In unaccusatives, the past participle probes *si*, which is merged as an internal argument, because of the fact that *v* is not a phase head in unaccusatives. The plural value is assigned to the participle by [arb] feature, which once again gets valued by the referents of the Speech Act. The construction has in fact always an inclusive reading, as also noted by Cinque (1988).

3. Agreement restrictions with arguments

3.1. Anti-agreement effects with postverbal and/or dislocated subjects in Tuscan and Ligurian

A number of Romance dialects, most notably those spoken in central Italy, have been reported to display a curious agreement effect. This effect, which we will call here anti-agreement as it reminds of a similar phenomenon found in Arabic and Berber, consists in the lack of agreement with subjects in postverbal position (Corbett 1979, Brandi & Cordin 1989, Fassi Fehri 1993, Saccon 1993).

This agreement pattern is discussed Saccon (1993) and Cardinaletti (1997) from a formal syntactic point of view. Cardinaletti reports, for the variety of Anconetano, sentences like (37), where we see full agreement between the subject and the finite verb only if the subject is preverbal.

- (40)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|--------|---------|--------|------------------|
| a. Questo, | | lo | fa | sempre | i bambini |
| b. *Questo, | i bambini | lo | fa | sempre | |
| c. Questo, | i bambini | lo | fanno | sempre | |
| this-ACC | the children | it-ACC | does/do | always | the children-NOM |

In (40), we see that full agreement takes place in the case in which the subject is in its canonical preverbal position. If the subject *i bambini* is in postverbal position, the finite verb will show a default 3rd singular ending. Saccon and Cardinaletti both analyze this construction along the same lines, namely by arguing that full agreement only takes place when the subject is VP-internal or in canonical Spec, TP position. When the subject is extraposed, the verb agrees with a *pro* which forms a chain with the overt subject for case assignment.

Recently these data have been brought to the centre of syntactic debate by Noam Chomsky who, in a series of talks about labeling, as well as in a paper (Chomsky 2013) has mentioned anti-agreement as attributable to a labeling issue. Chomsky mentions Rizzi's observation regarding the fact that in an XP YP configuration (i.e. when the subject is in Spec, TP in traditional terms) agreement must always be full. For further speculations on this, see D'Alessandro (2013).

3.2. Inflected infinitives in Portuguese and Sardinian

Romance languages display head movement of the finite verb to T, the head hosting tense and agreement.¹

Infinitives are not inflected for number and person in Romance. This means that they are generally assumed not to move to T. There are however some well-known exceptions: European Portuguese (EP), and to some extent Brazilian Portuguese, Galician and Sardinian all have inflected infinitives, of the form illustrated in (41) for EP:

- (41)
- | | | |
|----|----------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | (para) eu falar | (for) I to-speak-1.SG |
| b. | (para) tu falares | (for) you to-speak-2.SG |
| c. | (para) ela falar | (for) she to-speak-3.SG |
| d. | (para) nós falarmos | (for) we to-speak-1.PL |
| e. | (para) vocês falarem | (for) you to-speak-2.PL |

¹ In previous stages of generative syntax, this head was split into an I/T head and an AgrS head, the former encoding tense/aspectual information, the second proper ϕ -agreement information. Before then, I or Infl was considered to host an agreement feature (Agr) and a tense feature (T), the latter assigning Nominative to the subject under government (later, simply in a specifier-head configuration).

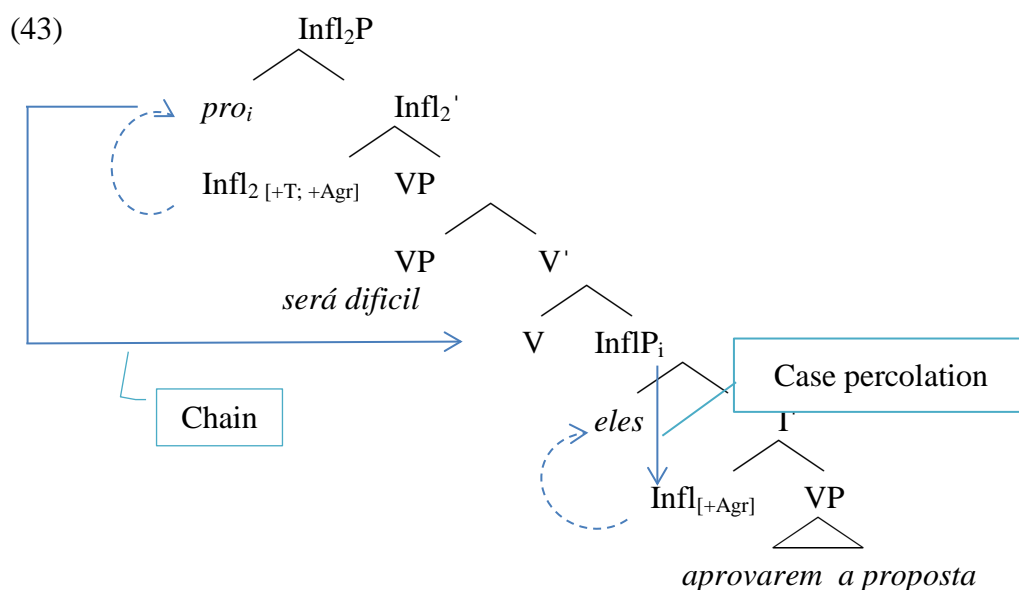
- f. (para) elas falarem (for) they to-speak-3.PL
(from Madeira 1994:180)

Inflected infinitives can occur with overt as well as null referential subjects, and are mainly licensed in embedded clauses (Raposo 1987, Madeira 1994, Ambar 1994, Sitaridou 2002, Mensching 2000), in infinitival subject clauses, or in adjuncts headed by a preposition. The following example, taken from Raposo's (1987) influential work, exemplifies some of the context of appearance of inflected infinitives in EP.

- (42) a. Será difícil [eles aprovarem a proposta].
be.FUT.3.SG difficult they.3.PL approve.INF.3.PL the proposal
'It will be difficult for them to approve the proposal.'
b. * Será difícil [eles aprovar__ a proposta].

(adapted from Raposo 1987:86)

Raposo's analysis accounts for the presence of inflection on an infinitive (which does not have Tense) by adopting a model whereby tense and agreement are separate features on Infl, and by proposing that they can be specified independently. A head specified as [+T] is usually able to assign Nominative. A head specified as [+Agr] can assign case, when T is not finite, only in the case in which Agr is itself marked for case. Take for example (42). Its structure is as in (43):



In (43), the subject infinitive [*eles aprovar a proposta*] is extraposed and coindexed with *pro* in Spec, Infl₂. Since Infl₂ is specified as [+T], it can assign Nominative case to *pro*. The case of *pro* is then "passed" to the InflP with which it forms a CHAIN. From InflP, Nominative percolates down to its head Infl, and hence to +Agr. At this point, this Infl head with no +T can assign Nominative to *eles* in its specifier.

The basic idea of having Nominative assigned by non-inflected T in some languages, or in some specific constructions, is adopted also by Mensching (2000) and Ledgeway (2000), for Sardinian and some southern Italian dialects respectively. Whether a [-T] head can or cannot assign Nominative is considered to be a parameter.

Inflected infinitives, as we saw, are mainly restricted to embedded clauses. Not all verb types can license an inflected infinitive, however. Madeira (1994) provides a list of possible contexts for inflected infinitives in Portuguese, which are licensed as: complements to declarative/epistemic predicates, complements to factive predicates, complements to perception verbs, complements to causative predicates. Finally, as we have seen in the case of (42), they can appear in infinitival subject clauses, and in adjunct clauses introduced by a preposition. Finally, observe that overt subjects can be licensed in some contexts by infinitives in Romance. We will not address this issue here as it is not directly relevant for agreement facts, given that we do not see inflection. The reader is referred to Ledgeway (2000) and Mensching (2000) for an overview of these constructions.

3.3. Agreement mismatch marking and omnivorous agreement in Abruzzese

Finite verbs in Romance do not show gender agreement. The variety spoken in Ripatransone (Ascoli Piceno), however, does. This variety has a fully-fledged paradigm for masculine and feminine finite verbs, as exemplified in (44).

- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------|
| (44) a. I' ridu | ('I laugh'-M.SG) | b. ìa ride | ('I laugh'-F.SG) | (Ripano) |
| tu ridu | ('you laugh'-M.SG) | tu ride | ('you laugh'-F.SG) | |
| issu ridu | ('he laughs'-M.SG) | esse ride ... | | |
| noja ridemi | | noja ridema | | |
| voja rideti | | voja rideta | | |
| issi ridi | | essa ride | | |
| | | | | |
| c. i'so risu | ('I have laughed'-M.SG) | d. ìa so rise | ('I have laughed'-F.SG) | |
| tu sci risu | | tu si rise | | |
| issu e risu | | esse e rise | | |
| noja semi risi | | noja sema risa | | |
| voja seti risi | | voja seta risa | | |
- (Rossi 2008:3)

Interestingly, Ripano also displays agreement mismatch marking in transitive constructions: if the argument of the verb have different gender or number specification, the finite verb (and often the auxiliary) will exhibit a special agreement mismatch marker, namely -ə :

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------|----------------|---------------------|
| (45) a. Babbu | dicə | le | vərità | (Ripano) |
| dad-m.sg | says-3rd.sg.n | the-f.sg | truth-f.sg | |
| 'Dad says the truth' | | | | (Mancini 1988: 107) |
| b. So | magnatə | lu | pani' | |
| am | eaten-n | the-m.sg | breadroll-m.sg | |
| 'I(fem) have eaten the breadroll' | | | | |

These patterns have not been largely studied. D'Alessandro (2013) proposes that these mismatches are due to the fact that *v* in this variety is a complex probe, which is made up of two probes SHARING their features (Ouali 2008). Each of the two *v*'s targets one argument. Given the requirement on uniformity of agreement, of the sort proposed by Anagnostopoulou (2003) and already discussed for the PCC. The two *v*'s will have to show the same agreement ending. If this uniformity is not granted, because the two arguments have different featural specification, the agreement ending of the verb will be a mismatch marker.

The same complex *v* structure is found, according to D'Alessandro, in neighbouring dialects. In particular, the dialect spoken in Arielli shows omnivorous number (D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010,

D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010, D'Alessandro 2013): the finite verb (and the auxiliary) will agree with whichever argument is plural. Plural agreement is thus selected in case plural appears on any argument of a transitive (or even a ditransitive) verb, as exemplified in

- (46) a. Giuwannə a pittatə nu murə (Ariellese)
 John-SG has-3.SG/PL painted-PP.SG a wall-M.SG
 'John has painted a wall' [sg SUBJ-sg OBJ]
- b. Giuwannə a pittitə ddu murə
 John-SG has-3.SG painted-PP.PL two walls-M.PL
 'John has painted two walls' [sgSUBJ-plOBJ]
- c. Giuwannə e Mmarijə a pittitə nu murə
 John and Mary-PL have-3.SG/PL painted-PP.PL a wall-M.SG
 'John and Mary have painted a wall' [pl SUBJ– sg OBJ]
- d. Giuwannə e Mmarijə a pittitə ddu murə
 John and Mary-PL have-3.SG/PL painted-PP.PL two walls-M.PL
 'John and Mary have painted two walls' [pl SUBJ-pl OBJ]
 (D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010:45)

Also in this case, like for Ripano, the complex *v* targets both arguments. If one of the two arguments is specified as plural, the agreement ending inserted in this case will be plural.

4. Agreement restrictions within the DP

4.1. Agreement asymmetries

In various Romance languages, DP-internal agreement is asymmetric: agreement is mandatory with postnominal modifiers, while prenominal ones lack agreement.

Rhaeto-Romance varieties, for instance, exhibit a pattern of partial agreement which Haiman & Benincà (1992: 219-222) term 'Ladin lazy agreement rule'. In some Central Ladin varieties only the element in DP-final position exhibits feminine plural morphology, expressed by the suffix *-es*. The leftmost elements of the DP, by contrast, never display feminine plural endings. As exemplified in the following examples from a dialect spoken in the Fassa Valley (Rasom 2008):

- (47) La cès-es
 the.F.SG house-F.PL
 'The houses'

With adjectives, the possible patterns are as follows: with a prenominal adjective, the plural ending occurs only on the noun; with a postnominal adjective, the plural ending occurs either on the adjective or on both the noun and the adjective.

- (48) a. La pìcola cès-es
 the small house-PL
 'the houses, which are all small'
- b. La cèsa pìcol-es.
 the house small-PL
 'those houses that are small'
- c. La cès-es pìcol-es.
 the hous-PL small-PL

‘the houses, which are all small’

Notice that the latter sentence, where the adjective and the noun agree in number, has the same individual-level interpretation of the first sentence, the one with the prenominal adjective. This led Rasom (2006) to argue that the differences between (48) and (48) in terms of agreement morphology and interpretation follow from two different syntactic sources of adjectives (Cinque 2010): attributive As are generated as reduced relative clauses above appositive As. Furthermore, she argues that Number is encoded in a dedicated projection close to the noun and that number features spread within the DP:

(49) [DP ... [Reduced Relative Clause A ... [AP A ... [Num {pl}] [NP N

The hypothesis goes that, in Ladin, number spreads downwards, i.e. an adjective will exhibit number inflection if the noun moves above it. The problematic example is therefore (48), in which the noun preceding the adjective does not display pl. *-es*. According to Rasom, the exceptionality of this pattern depends on the clausal nature of attributive As. With attributive As, the noun acts as the antecedent of the (reduced) relative clause, while the A occupies a predicative position inside the clause. As such, the NP is not required to move to spec-NumP (and, consequently, to exhibit number morphology), while the adjective is free to agree in number under clausal agreement, which is not subject to the same restriction of DP-internal agreement/concord.

Another pattern of lazy agreement is shown in Ibero-Romance with feminine nouns (e.g. *agua* ‘water’) which, when singular, select for a masculine article (arguably, the phenomenon originated from a dissimilation rule as it normally happens before words beginning with *a*).

(50) a. el/*la agua (standard Spanish)

In some dialects, however, the lack of agreement has been extended to other prenominal modifiers:

(51) a. el nuevo arma secreta (dialects of Spanish)
 the.M new.M weapon.F secret.F
 b. el mismo agua parecerá fría
 the.M same.M water.F will.seem cold.F

Cardinaletti and Giusti (2011, in press) deal with another asymmetric pattern displayed by some Italo-Romance dialects. It regards three nominal modifiers: the partitive article *del* ‘of the’, the distal demonstrative *quel* (‘that’) and the adjective *bel* ‘nice’. In Italian, as well as in several Italo-Romance varieties, their endings coincide with the form of the definite article. Like the definite article, the endings of *del*, *bel*, *quel* are subject to context-determined allomorphy (e.g. m.sg *dello*, *bello*, *quello* occur before words beginning with sC; *del*, *bel*, *quel* before other Cs; *del*’, *bell*’, *quell*’ before Vs)

(52)

		M.SG	F.SG	M.PL	F.PL
a.	Partitive article	de-l/lo	de-lla	de-i/gli	de-lle
b.	Adjective	be-l/llo	be-lla	be-i/gli	be-lle
c.	Demonstrative	que-l/llo	que-lla	que-i/gli	que-lle

Furthermore, in Anconetano (a central Italian dialect), the plural ending *-i* can be dropped giving rise to the forms *de*’, *be*’, *que*’. When *dei/quei* and *bei* co-occur, the possible patterns of *i*-dropping are the following: a) both *i*’s occur, b) the higher is dropped; c) both are dropped. Otherwise, if only

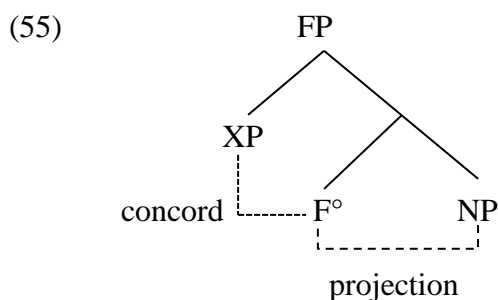
the intermediate *i* is dropped, the sequence becomes ungrammatical, see (d). Descriptively, *-i* can spread only bottom-up.

- (53) a. *dei bei fioli*
 b. *de' bei fioli*
 c. *de' be' fioli*
 d. **dei be' fioli*
 some nice boys
 'some nice boys'

- (54) a. *quei bei fioli*
 b. *que' bei fioli*
 c. *que' be' fioli*
 d. **quei be' fioli*
 those nice boys
 'those nice boys'

To account for bottom-up effects, Cardinaletti and Giusti argue that DP-internal agreement follows from a peculiar feature sharing mechanism (Giusti 2008) due to the combination of two basic operations: *projection* (bottom-up feature sharing across the functional spine of the DP) and *concord* (i.e. feature sharing between a head and its specifier).

Bottom up agreement is therefore due to the combination of projection along the structure of the DP and concord between a functional head F° and the modifier hosted in its specifier.



Moreover, Cardinaletti & Giusti argue that *de-*, *be-*, *que-* are inflection-less elements: their “endings” are therefore the spell-out of the head F° whose ϕ features are projected from below.

Not all the asymmetries attested in Romance, however, are consistent with bottom-up effects. Asturian, for instance, exhibits a mixed pattern in which gender spreads to prenominal elements while mass/count agreement spreads postnominally: prenominal adjectives always display masculine/feminine agreement (e.g. *-u/a*), while postnominal ones exhibit mass/count agreement (e.g. *-o/u*):

- (56) a. *duru fierru ferruñosu* MASC, COUNT
 b. *duru fierro ferruñoso* MASC, MASS
 hard iron rusty
 'hard rusty iron'

- (57) a. *guapa manzana Madura* FEM, COUNT
 b. *guapa manzana maduro* FEM, MASS
 good apple ripe

‘good ripe apple’

This shows that gender features spread bottom-up, while mass/count features seem to spread top-down.

Another case of top-down agreement is exhibited by a number of southern Italian dialects, where prenominal modifiers (determiners and some adjectives) show overt agreement endings, while the endings of the noun and its postnominal modifiers are subject to centralization (namely, *-a/e/i/o/u > -ə*):

- (58) a. ‘**o** bell**u** cior**ə**
 the nice flower
 b. ‘**o** cior**ə** bell**ə**
 the flower nice

The fact that both bottom-up and top-down asymmetries are found in Romance (sometimes in the same language, as in the case of Asturian) led to the postulation of different types of feature sharing operations such as agree vs projection/concord. Furthermore, on the basis of these data, different ‘layers’ of agreement may be postulated (see also Ackema & Neeleman 2012), i.e. a syntactic mechanism responsible for postnominal concord, usually via Spec-Head agreement (Guasti & Rizzi 2002), and a post-syntactic one wherein agreement is obtained by means of output constraints (see Samek-Lodovici 2002 on clausal agreement; Bonet, Lloret and Mascaró (to appear); Bonet and Mascaró 2011; Bonet 2013).

4.2. Gender agreement restrictions in conjoint DPs in French

Sleeman & Ihsane (2013) deal with gender agreement in French with nouns displaying a conflict between grammatical and semantic gender (namely, sex) such as *enfant* ‘child’, *professeur* ‘teacher, professor’, *sentinelle* ‘sentinel’, etc. These nouns may reference either masculine or feminine individuals. In the latter case, grammatical gender always controls agreement inside the strict DP, while semantic gender may control agreement outside the strict DP. Take for instance a noun like *professeur* ‘teacher, professor’, which triggers masculine agreement even if refers to a female as in (59a).

- (59) a. le bon professeur
 the.M good.M teacher.M

However, DP-external agreement, as in the case of a predicative adjective, must be feminine, i.e. it must agree with the semantic sex rather than with the grammatical one:

- (60) Mon ancien professeur de français était toujours content
 my.M former.M professor of French was always satisfied-F

 de mon travail.
 of my work
 ‘My former French teacher was always satisfied with my work.

The authors argue that grammatical gender is a grammatical uninterpretable feature (Zamparelli 2008 a.o.) which is encoded separately from semantic gender. On the separation between semantic and grammatical gender there are several possible views. Kramer 2009 argues for a morphological

analysis in which nouns are due to the combination of a nominalizing head *n* with a category-neutral root $\sqrt{}$ (Marantz 1997, 2001). Semantic gender is encoded by *n* and, if *n* lacks gender, the agreeing gender is the grammatical one, encoded on the root. Sleeman and Ihsane, conversely, adopt a syntactic view in which the extended DP contains a Gender projection encoding semantic gender, while grammatical gender is encoded by the NP.

Gen contains an interpretable and unvalued feature, see (61a), and acts as a probe searching for a valued gender feature *à la* Pesetsky and Torrego (2007). Nouns like *enfant* ‘child’, *professeur* ‘teacher, professor’, etc. bear a default gender feature – whose value is neither positive or negative, but underspecified, say γ), which is copied on Gen° and D° , see (61b):

- (61) a. $[\text{D}^\circ \{u: 0f\}]$ $[\text{Gen}^\circ \{u: 0f\}]$ $[\text{N}^\circ \{u: \pm f\}]$
 b. $[\text{D}^\circ \textit{le} \{u: \gamma f\}]$ $[\text{Gen}^\circ \{u: \gamma f\}]$ $[\text{N}^\circ \textit{professeur} \{u: \gamma f\}]$

However, this is Sleeman and Ihsane’s hypothesis, default features do not suffice for reference and, when involved in extra-DP agreement pattern such as (60), Gen° receives an interpretable value according to the sex of the referent:

- (62) $[\text{D}^\circ \textit{le} \{u: \gamma f\}]$ $[\text{Gen}^\circ \{i: +f\}]$ $[\text{N}^\circ \textit{professeur} \{u: \gamma f\}]$

Conclusions

In this chapter we have dealt with a series of *prima facie* irregularities regarding the realization of agreement endings and the distribution of pronominal elements.

Two sections are devoted to clausal agreement: one focusing on mutual exclusion patterns between pronouns and the other addressing patterns of agreement between a verbal and one or more nominal forms. The last section has taken into consideration DP agreement.

In the first section we summarize data and analyses concerning the distribution of (clitic) pronouns. In fact, Romance clitics cannot occur freely as their combinations are subject to systematic gaps. Besides the canonical PCC (which is subject to a certain degree of cross-linguistic variation), we observed the behaviour of clitic combinations in causative construction, the syntax of honorific systems, and the agreement possibilities of the impersonal *si/se*.

The second section deals with verbal agreement: we focused on languages lacking agreement on finite forms (as central Italian dialects) and, conversely, languages showing Person agreement in non-finite forms (e.g. European Portuguese and Sardinian). Lastly, we have mentioned cases of varieties like Ripano, in which verbal morphology exhibits gender agreement.

The third section is about DP agreement/concord. We noticed that the Romance languages show both top-down and bottom-up effects, i.e. either pronominal or postnominal modifiers may fail to agree with the noun on a language-specific basis. We submitted the hypothesis that this might be due to the existence of various kind of feature-sharing operations within the DP, possibly applying in different stages of the derivation. Lastly, we observed patterns of DP-external agreement in cases of a mismatch between semantic and grammatical gender.

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