Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Agreement and optionality: evidence from Spanish variation

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PhD Thesis

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Abstract

This dissertation deals with the syntax of number agreement. It focuses on two phenomena of variation in Spanish: number unagreement (NU), understood as lack of agreement in a monoclausal configuration, and hyper-agreement (HA), a cross-clausal agreement relationship that ignores the conventional syntactic boundaries. Both phenomena pose a theoretical challenge for the explanation of agreement relations within Chomsky's (2000, et seq.) Probe-Goal framework and, more generally, for the theory of variation, since they are exponents of "true optionality". The main goal of the dissertation is to provide a model of Agree that explains the locality violations that these phenomena seem to commit and correctly capture their optional nature.

Chapter 2 reviews the suitability of a Probe-Goal framework within Phase Theory. It is argued that a system based on the simultaneity of AGREE and TRANSFER is not flexible enough. Instead, the Phase Preservation Hypothesis (PPH) is defended, which maintains that transferred material must remain in syntax, enabling long distance agreement (LDA). The PPH is combined with a strictly derivational system by which the relative timing of operations has an impact on the derivation of phasal-domains prior to TRANSFER. These tenets are the base for a model, by which variation is encoded in the three components of grammar: (i) the Lexicon; (ii) the syntax; and (iii), the syntax-interfaces connections. (i) is responsible for crosslinguistic variation, while intraspeaker variation stems from (ii) and (iii).

Chapter 3 provides a characterization of the contexts of NU: DAT-NOM structures (DNS) and SE-sentences. A proposal based on intervention effects is put forward to account for the fact that some Spanish speakers alternate between a complete agreement pattern and a NU-pattern (in DNS) and between a partial, only in number, agreeing pattern and a NU-pattern (in SE-sentences). The analysis is extended to Icelandic *quirky subject* structures. It is suggested that intervention depends on two factors: the order of operations (cf. (ii)) and how AGREE responds to the shape of the intervener. More specifically, the notion of *improper Goal* (cf. (i)) is put forward to define those elements that cannot fully value all the features of the Probe, thus they act as partial interveners for AGREE. Given this circumstance of partial valuation, two repair mechanisms are proposed: *split repair* (cf. (ii)) and *default repair* (cf. (iii)), which bring about the optional patterns attested.

Chapter 4 explores agreement patterns in biclausal configurations. Spanish HA is compared to previous descriptions of LDA crossliguistically. It is concluded that HA is an instance of *bona fide* long distance AGREE. Such proposal differs from those accounts that maintain that LDA is the result of local AGREE-steps. In addition, an intervention-based analysis is applied to the biclausal contexts, unifying the treatment of number agreement. More specifically, it is suggested that clausal dependents are Goals for AGREE due to the presence of a D-head endowed with φ-features. The transparency or opacity of the embedded domain is both derived from those features and the structural relationship that it establishes with the matrix clause.

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Symbols

○——○	AGREE
●——●	AGREE (without Case assignment)
⟶	AGREE (with Case assignment)
⇢	movement
i., ii., iii. / ①, ②, ③	sequential operations
●, ●, ...	simultaneous operations
⋙	c-command
<X> / X	element (non-head) of a chain
X	head of a chain
x ≻ y	order of operations (x precedes y)
F:□	unvalued F
F:x	valued F
F:✓	valued F (as a result of AGREE)
[person], [number]	person F, number F
X . . . Y	transferred material

Abbreviations

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ABS	absolutive
AC	Activity Condition
ACC	accusative
BCC	Borer-Chomsky conjecture
CL	clitic
DAT	dative
def	defective
DNS	dative-nominative structure
DOM	differential object marking
EA	external argument
EC	embedded clause
ECM	exceptional case marking
EM	external MERGE
EPP	extended projection principle
ERG	ergative
EXP	experiencer
F	feminine
FI	feature inheritance
FUT	future
G	Goal
HA	hyper-agreement
IA	internal argument
iF	interpretable feature
IM	internal MERGE
INF	infinitive
K	Case (feature)
LDA	long distance agreement/AGREE
LF	logical form
LI	lexical item
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MA	MULTIPLE AGREE
MD	mindful derivation
MLC	minimal link condition
MME	maximize matching effects
MS	minimal search
N	number
NOM	nominative
NTC	no tampering condition
NU	number unagreement
P	Probe/person
PART	partitive
PF	phonetic form
PIC	phase impenetrability condition
PL	plural
POL	polite
PPH	phase preservation hypothesis
(I)PRFV	(im)perfective
PTCP	participle
QS	quirky subject
RC	relative clause
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
SO	syntactic object
Spec	specifier
$T_{M/E}$	matrix/embedded T(ense)
uF	unvalued/uninterpretable feature
vF	valued feature

Chapter I

Introduction

1 The puzzle of number agreement

This thesis explores the syntax of number agreement in Spanish. The present research stems from the observation of certain fluctuation in the resolution of number agreement of verbs in Spanish oral speech, a phenomenon that is also often reflected in written sources. These fluctuations appear in specific syntactic contexts, those in which there is no canonical agentive-nominative subject, usually including what has been referred to as "relative impersonal" predicates (see Rigau 1999a,b and refs. therein), such as *gustar* ('like') and *faltar* ('lack') in the examples in (1)-(2) below. The sentences in (1b) and (2b), with the % diacritic, illustrate the first phenomenon under study, referred as *number unagreement* (NU) from now on.

(1) a. A mí me *gustan* todas las cosas rápidas.
to me DAT.1SG like.3PL all the.F.PL things fast
'I like all the fast things.'

b. % A mí me *gusta* todas las cosas rápidas.
to me DAT.1SG like.3SG all the.F.PL things fast
'I like all the fast things.'

(Lope Blanch 1971: 306)

(2) a. Me *faltan* varias piezas del puzzle
DAT.1SG lack.3PL several pieces of-the puzzle
'You are missing several pieces of the puzzle.'

b. % Me *falta* varias piezas del puzzle
DAT.1SG lack.3SG several pieces of-the puzzle
'You are missing several pieces of the puzzle.'

(Villa-García 2010: 255)

These DAT-NOM structures (DNS, henceforth) have already been reported to display NU in some Romance varieties (Rigau 1999a,b, 2005). Similarly, at a more general crosslinguistic level, a tendency for lack of overt agreement to arise with postverbal arguments has

been attested (Samek-Lodovici 2002; Ortega-Santos 2008: ch.5; i.a.). A well-known instantiation of this tendency concerns *quirky subjects* (QS, hereinafter) in Icelandic (Sigurðsson 1992, 1996 et seq.; Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2003, among many others), as shown in (3).

(3) að henni *líkaði* Þeir
that DAT.3SG liked.3SG they
'that she liked them' (Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008: 260)

Spanish and Icelandic DNS do not only align regarding NU, but also in their possibility of displaying cross-clausal agreement or *long distance agreement* (LDA; Polinsky & Potsdam 2001), as (4)-(5) reveal (Boeckx 2008a, 2009; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008; Ussery 2017; i.a.). Following Fernández-Serrano (2017), I will refer to the Spanish phenomenon in (5) below as *hyper-agreement* (HA, from now on).

(4) Mér *virðist/virðast* [Þeir ver skemmtilegir]
me.DAT seem.3SG/seem.3PL they.NOM be interesting
'It seems to me that they are interesting.' (Boeckx 2009: 23)

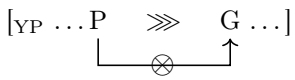
(5) a. %Me *encantan* [hacer planes]
DAT.1SG love.3-PL make plans
'I love making plans'

b. %Me *encantan* [que los planes salgan bien]
DAT.1SG love.3-PL that the.PL plans go-out.SBJV.3PL well
'I love it when plans work'

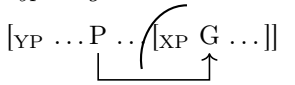
The example in (5b) is especially relevant, because it suggests that agreement is able to target elements within a fully-fledged finite clause. Typologically distinct languages such as a Chukchee, Blackfoot and Alutor, from the Algonquian family (Frantz 1978; Mel'čuk 1988, apud Bošković 2003) display this type of cross-clausal dependency, although several scholars have cast doubt on the fact that AGREE applies non-locally in such contexts (e.g. Boeckx 2009; Börjesson & Müller 2020).

The analysis of both NU and HA brings us back to the question of how locality (re)defines AGREE, understood as a Probe-Goal relationship (Chomsky 1995 et seq.) and, by extension, what the consequences for a general theory of locality, such as phase theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2008), are. Roughly, the puzzle is represented in (6)-(7) below, where P stands for Probe and G for Goal (⋙ indicates c-command):

(6) *Number unagreement*



(7) *Hyper-agreement*



If P and G in (6) (descriptively, the verb and the putative subject DP) are in the same clause (and in the same phase), agreement is expected to operate as usual, whereas agreement is unexpected in (7), where P and G (the verb and its agreement controller) are

separated by both a clausal and a phasal boundary. The latter is especially troubling when dealing with fully-fledged dependents (see (5b) above), which do not seem to be candidates for the phase-alleviating mechanisms proposed in the literature (cf. Richards 2013). This issue is emphasized in Bošković (2003, 2007), who radically suggests that the *phase impenetrability condition* (PIC) must not apply to AGREE at all. Instead, the operation is only restricted by "AGREE closest", which is equivalent to the notion of *minimal search* (MS, henceforth) (see Chomsky 2008: 243). Although recent versions of the PIC (Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019; Gallego 2019b: 241; cf. D'Alessandro & Scheer 2015; Groat 2015; Obata 2017) seem to capture this idea, its implications for the study of agreement are not yet clear.

The central role of MS brings us back to the extensive literature, especially on Icelandic QS, that suggests that the so-called intervention effects (Chomsky 2000, 2001; Rizzi 1990, 2001; Starke 2001) are responsible for agreement mismatches crosslinguistically (e.g. Boeckx 2008a, 2009; Preminger 2011, 2016; Richards 2004, 2008; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008). This line of inquiry naturally leads to suppose that the phenomena in Spanish could be subject to similar constraints (cf. D'Alessandro 2007; López 2007). Therefore, the fact that both LDA and NU are possible in the same syntactic context in Spanish is taken as an ideal testing ground to compare the behavior of AGREE within local and non-local domains and extract relevant conclusions about the nature of agreement relations.

Despite their theoretical interest, the agreement patterns presented above have been scarcely noticed in the literature on Spanish (Lope Blanch 1971; Melis & Flores 2007; Quilis 1983; Vigara Tauste 2005; Villa-García 2010 for NU; Felíu 2022; Martínez 1999; Vigara Tauste 2005 for HA in non-finite contexts) and barely analyzed.[1] There are two plausible (and interrelated) reasons for this gap. One of them concerns the availability of data-mining (re)sources, especially for the study of phenomena that are supposed to be "rare". That is precisely the second plausible reason. It is often the case that the infrequent pattern (those with % above) is regarded as an error, treated as a "deviant" (also "substandard", "odd", "outlayer", "exceptional") piece of data. This treatment often translates into certain phenomena not even being admitted as such and not considered valuable for the development of linguistic theory.

This thesis highlights the value of online data for linguistic inquiry (see Kilgarriff & Grefenstette 2003). The majority of data provided comes from this type of sources. They have been gathered indirectly from corpora such as the *Corpus del español* (Davies 2016-), which provides samples from websites and blogs and online press, or directly from the social network Twitter. This platform is increasingly considered by many scholars as a window to spontaneous speech (Wikström 2017) (or very proximate; cf. Hoff 2020: fn.5)

[1] This is not the case of other configurations with agreement alternations that have received a fair amount of attention, such as those with existential *haber* (e.g. Matera & Medina 2015; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2006, 2007; cf. Fernández-Soriano 1999) or those with partitive subjects (e.g. Brucart 1997; Lorusso & Franco 2017; Pérez-Jiménez & Demonte 2017), which I will not discuss in this dissertation.

of geographically distant varieties, something that is especially valuable for the study of Spanish (Bland & Morgan 2020; De Benito & Estrada 2016, 2018; Estrada & De Benito 2016; Gonçalves & Sánchez 2014, 2016; Hoff 2020; Ruiz Tinoco 2013, 2018).

It has often been highlighted that online-produced linguistic material is, at the same time, highly profitable and full of noise. It usually "undergoes minimal editing or self-correction" (Schütze 2011: 209), hence being a more faithful reflection of the speakers language and avoiding the "observer's paradox" (Labov 1970). Yet for the same reason, it may contain many errors too. This dissertation does not provide a thorough corpus study of the agreement phenomena; nonetheless, the samples gathered have been scrutinized to avoid possible noise and deceitful data (for instance, when detected to have been repeatedly copy-pasted or not produced by a native speaker). The tweets reported in the following chapters are copied with no modifications, including spelling errors and unconventional punctuation.

The agreement patterns under study present the additional complexity of not adhering to standard dialectal boundaries. This said, for akin phenomena, the literature usually considers that each pattern is an exponent of a distinct dialect (e.g. Mensching & Remberger 2006; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2006; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008), not pondering the possibility of them coexisting within a single idiolect:

> [...] [W]ork on variation between the idiolects of individuals has been largely lacking. This is rather surprising, given that *the goal of syntactic theory is to account for the possible internal grammars of native speakers* [...]. *In practice, however, studies of and papers published about grammar have in general been descriptions of aspects of a "language" or "dialect", even though these are E-language concepts which are not recognized by the theory.* Moreover, the actual data gathering practice – which generally includes consulting a group of speakers about their intuitions and *taking the most frequent view*, or the view of a subset – has led to research practice where variation among individual speakers is, in effect, screened out. (Henry 2005: 110; emphasis added - IFS)

The phenomena discussed in this dissertation seem, in effect, to be a reflection of idiolectal (or intraspeaker) variation. More specifically, it is shown that the alternation between agreement patterns lacks a semantic motivation and that those "alternants" may, to some extent, freely arise as part of a single speaker's I-language. The notion "true optionality" refers to this type of "semantically vacuous alternations" (Biberauer & Richards 2006: 35). I intentionally adopt this label to leave aside other pairs of sequences or structures that are often referred to as "alternations", such as active-passive pairs or the causative-inchoative cases. Likewise, it abstracts from the opposite scenario: when two possible interpretations are drawn from a single sequence (for instance, in the presence of a quantifier). Accordingly, the notion "optionality" is restricted, unless otherwise noted, to the exponents of *true* optionality.

The optional nature of agreement mismatches has already been noticed crosslinguistically in contexts of LDA (see Bhatt & Keine 2017 and refs. therein) and NU (e.g. Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008), but this property has been rarely accounted for in previous analyses (see e.g. Ussery 2009, 2017 as an exception). An illustration of this circumstance in the literature about Spanish is the well-known case of non-paradigmatic *se* sentences. Traditional grammar and most generative accounts have treated the two agreement patterns in (8) below as exponents of two distinct structures. However, as more recent literature has argued (Ormazabal & Romero 2019, 2020; Planells 2017), they are plausibly, at least in current Spanish, two equivalent alternatives of the same derivation, calling for an optionality-based analysis of the facts.

(8) a. Se discutieron los resultados — Partial agreement
SE discussed.3PL the results
'The results were discussed / Someone discussed the results'

b. Se discutió los resultados — Number unagreement
SE discussed.3SG the results
'The results were discussed / Someone discussed the results'

There is a natural reason to be skeptical about optionality within the framework: the minimalist program states that each syntactic output must yield a different interpretation (Chomsky 1995) or be, otherwise, left-out from the syntactic component (e.g. Berwick & Chomsky 2011) or, alternatively, distinguished as a trait of a distinct dialect (as just mentioned above), which implies that the given speaker is bidialectal (based on Kroch 1989; e.g. Tortora 2014). Therefore, despite few proposals (Biberauer & Richards 2006; Obata & Epstein 2016; Obata, Epstein, & Baptista 2015) the consequences of embracing optionality have not yet been stated within a comprehensive model of variation.

2 Research questions and aim

The agreement variation phenomena displayed above posit an important theoretical challenge: the existing formulations of AGREE do not immediately predict the attested patterns, especially if they are taken to be true "alternants" of a single derivation. The main goal of the dissertation is theoretical: to provide a model of AGREE that is able not only to derive the patterns attested, but also to correctly capture their idiolectal nature. This goal can be dissected in two specific research questions:

- **Question 1**: what syntactic conditions regulate the transparency/opaqueness of syntactic domains for agreement dependencies?
- **Question 2**: how can the attested idiolectal variation be formally accounted for?

To answer question 1, the hypothesis that AGREE must be exclusively driven by MS is explored. This exploration requires to reconsider the opacity of phases for AGREE, vis à vis the PIC and the definition of "intervention" and its impact for agreement relations. This

leads us to redefine the relationship between the presence of φ-features in the constitution of phasal domains, the requirement on feature valuation for convergence and the syntax of clausal dependencies.

Question 2 calls for a model of variation that has room for optionality and does not lose the explanation of crosslinguistic differences. Such proposal must combine the prevalent idea of Lexicon-driven variation, with more recent views within minimalism that suggest that syntactic operations must perform freely and not ensure derivational convergence, emphasizing the role of the interface component (Boeckx 2010; Chomsky 2013, 2015; Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019; Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2014; Ott 2010).

The resulting syntactic model intends to set a middle-ground between ensuring a high degree of freedom to capture idiolectal variation and being restrictive enough to determine the set of phenomena under consideration. The scope of this dissertation is limited and it is not possible to provide a comprehensive discussion of all the implications and predictions derived from the resulting model outside the object under study, but it will hopefully serve to set the path for further inquiry.

3 Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation is organized in five chapters. After this introduction, chapter 2 defines the main theoretical stances adopted for the analysis of the patterns of NU and HA and introduces the model of variation defended throughout the dissertation. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the main phenomena, NU and HA respectively. They offer the description of the relevant data, an assessment of previous literature and then they submit the corresponding proposals. The main claims of those chapters are now summarized.

- **Chapter 2** reviews the suitability of a Probe-Goal framework within phase theory to account for the number agreement variation attested in Spanish. It is argued that a system based on the simultaneity of AGREE and TRANSFER (i.e. the ATC-model) cannot account for LDA, because it is not flexible enough: there is either complete opaqueness (when phases are closed) or complete transparency (via defectiveness of phase-heads). The *phase preservation hypothesis* is submitted to maintain the idea that periodic TRANSFER creates unchangeable domains, but defends that transferred material must remain in syntax for LDA to be possible (PIC3, Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019; Gallego 2019b). That is combined with a strictly derivational system (*mindful derivation*) by which the relative timing of operations has an impact on the derivation of phasal-domains *prior* to TRANSFER points.

  These tenets are the base for the *tridimensional model of variation* proposed, by which variation is encoded in the three components of grammar. More specifically, crosslinguistic variation is, as generally assumed, result of lexically-driven variation, while idiolectal variation comes from the combination of syntactic (ordering of opera-

tions, Obata & Epstein 2016; Obata, Epstein, & Baptista 2015) and syntax-interface mechanisms, based on a non "crash-proof" perspective on grammar (e.g. Boeckx 2010; Chomsky 2004; also cf. Preminger 2016).

- **Chapter 3** provides a comprehensive account of the agreement variation attested in the structures in which *number unagreement* arises, focusing on mono-clausal configurations. A description of the DNS configurations in Spanish is offered as well as of the NU phenomenon. Then, previous proposals for agreement mismatches are reviewed and the drawbacks of inserting them in a pure lexicalist model for variation (cf. *Borer-Chomsky conjecture*; Borer 1984; Chomsky 1995) are discussed.

  In the second half of the chapter, a proposal based on intervention effects is put forward to account for the fact that some Spanish speakers alternate between a complete agreement pattern and a NU-pattern in DNS and between a partial, only in number, agreeing pattern and a NU-pattern in SE-sentences. This is compared to the well-known variation attested in Icelandic QS-structures, also treated as exponents of intraspeaker variation (Ussery 2009, 2017). The proposal is based on two levels of variation. The first one assumes that the order of operations has an impact on the computation of intervention effects, the second one is related to the shape of the intervener and how AGREE responds to it. The notion of "improper Goal" is put forward to define those elements that cannot fully value all the features of the Probe, therefore they act as partial interveners for AGREE. As a result, two potential last resort mechanisms are proposed, *default repair* and *split repair*, which bring about the patterns attested.

- **Chapter 4** completes the picture of Spanish DNS by exploring agreement patterns in biclausal configurations. Spanish HA is compared to previous descriptions of LDA crossliguistically and it is concluded that the phenomenon is an instance of *bona fide* long distance AGREE. Then, it is argued that previous proposals are not satisfactory in accounting for the phenomenon, as they maintain that LDA is the result of more local AGREE-steps. The account proposed unifies the treatment of number agreement by suggesting that the same intervention effects attested in mono-clausal structures can be found in the complex configuration. The application of the PPH and MS is then fully reviewed by suggesting that the inner material of indicative and a subset of infinitive and subjunctive dependents becomes inaccessible via SUBMERGE of the clausal head (Gallego & Uriagereka 2011; Uriagereka 2015). It is proposed that such clausal head must be D, which, in turn, hosts the φ-features that make clauses Goals for AGREE. Such account is argued to overcome some previous issues raised by generalized AGREE failure approaches and the so-called "unlocking" analyses (Preminger 2011; Rackowski & Richards 2005).

- **Chapter 5** summarizes the main conclusions of the dissertation. It also outlines some open questions and future lines of research.

Finally, two appendices are included at the end of the thesis. Appendix A provides a list of Spanish predicates that appear in DNS. Appendix B offers a comparative perspective of the NU phenomenon analyzed in ch. III.

Chapter II

The boundaries of AGREE

1 Introduction

Number unagreement (NU) and hyper-agreement (HA) phenomena in Spanish provide a scenario for comparison that allows us to explore the boundaries of syntactic agreement. Both phenomena largely arise in the same configuration: DAT-NOM structures (DNS), in which agreement between T and the internal argument (IA) is a priori compulsory. They are exemplified in (1)-(2) respectively. The diacritic % stands for idiolectal variation:

(1) *Number unagreement*

Nos *encanta* las películas de terror %Spanish
DAT.1PL love.3SG the movies of terror
'We love terror movies'

(2) *Hyper-agreement*

a. Me *encantan* [hacer planes] %Spanish
DAT.1SG love.3PL make.INF plans
'I love making plans'

b. Me *encantan* [que los planes salgan bien] %Spanish
DAT.1SG love.3PL that the plans go-out.3PL well
'I love it when plans work'

These data pose a challenge for a system whereby locality is determined by phasal domains (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2008). NU is a feature mismatch between the verb and the relevant DP within a phase, i.e. locality is respected (see (3) below; ch. III). On the other hand, HA is an instance of long distance agreement (LDA; Bhatt 2005; Boeckx 2009; Etxepare 2012; Polinsky & Potsdam 2001; among many others; ch. IV): the verb and the relevant DP (Probe, P and Goal, G below) are located in different phases, i.e. AGREE takes place non-locally (see (4)).

(3) $[_{YP} \ldots P \ggg G \ldots]$ *Number unagreement*

(4) $[_{YP} \ldots P \ldots [_{XP} \ldots G \ldots]]$ *Hyper-agreement*

The goal of this chapter is to define the main theoretical stances adopted for the analysis of the patterns in (3)-(4), which will be developed in subsequent chapters. The main question that I will address corresponds to question 1 in ch. I, which is formulated again here as (A):

(A) what syntactic conditions regulate the transparency/opaqueness of syntactic domains for agreement dependencies?

I aim at showing that both phenomena can be accommodated within phase theory and, more specifically, with the view that CPs and vPs are phases. The twist is that a domain D is not totally opaque for computations, for AGREE in particular, that take place once D is transferred.[1] This is possible in a system where transferred domains can be accessed as long as they are not modified (Chomsky 2008, 2013; Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019), constituting a new version of the *phase impenetrability condition*, dubbed PIC3 (Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019; Gallego 2019b).[2] I will call this main idea *phase preservation hypothesis*:[3]

(5) *Phase preservation hypothesis* (PPH):
a transferred domain α cannot be modified

Although all syntactic operations imply some degree of *modification* of the objects within the derivation, a transferred domain may passively participate in a syntactic operation without being altered, meaning that the result is a modification of the next phasal domain, prior to TRANSFER. More specifically, it is argued that LDA does not violate the PPH, because only the Probe is modified as a result. The Goal is passive and it is not altered, therefore it can be inside a transferred domain. By contrast, an element within a transferred domain cannot be internally merged (i.e. raised).

This proposals builds on Bošković's (2003; 2007) observation that the PIC holds for AGREE, but not for movement. This chapter presents further theoretical support for this claim and for its immediate prediction, which is that opacity in agreement relations obtains solely by *minimality/intervention* (Rizzi 1990, 2001; Starke 2001). It is argued that, in order to apply this idea it is necessary to reject the possibility of syntactic operations applying simultaneously in favor of a strictly derivational system, by which the outcome of an operation has an impact on the application of the next operation (Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2010, 2012; Epstein & Seely 2002). I refer to this as *mindful derivation* (MD).

[1] The term "opaque" may lead the reader to immediately think of islands. Unless otherwise noted, I use it exclusively to refer to those contexts in which the inner material of a given domain cannot be accessed for φ-AGREE. It is worth mentioning that the literature has argued that islandhood is not dependent on phasehood (Boeckx 2003a, 2007, 2012; Gallego 2010: ch.4), therefore I leave it out from the present discussion. I will indicate certain points of convergence between the literature on islands and the main phenomena under study, but a systematic connection is not explored in this dissertation.

[2] This version does not have to be confused with Müller's (2004) version of the PIC, also dubbed PIC3, in which every phrase edge is a landing site, i.e. every phrase is a phase.

[3] The idea that no structure or relations can be altered throughout the derivation goes back to Emonds's (1970) *structure preserving hypothesis* and has been adopted within minimalism with different formulations, i.e. the *extension condition* (Chomsky 1993) and, more recently, the *no tampering condition* (Chomsky 2005, 2008). Those can, in turn, be related to the *inclussiveness condition* (Chomsky 1995). I later address the possible redundancies among these principles with the PIC, and the PPH, within phase theory.

A MD-based model allows us to consider the parametrization of the relative timing of operations, which is a source for syntactic variation (Obata & Epstein 2016; Obata, Epstein, & Baptista 2015).[4] Hence, this chapter also introduces the main stances regarding the treatment of variation. Those include considering, as just noted, that variation may be encoded in syntax, but also "true optionality" in the sense of Biberauer & Richards (2006). These ideas are combined with the assumption that syntax is not "crash-proof" or, in other words, it does not "overgenerate". The resulting model re-evaluates the idea that optionality is interface-based (i.e. PF-phenomena), without placing all the burden in the syntactic component. These ideas are elaborated and further clarified at the end of this chapter and empirically supported by the phenomena analyzed in depth throughout chs. III and IV.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews the integration of φ-feature valuation within phase theory and highlights the main drawbacks of determining phasehood as the locus of uF valuation, i.e. connecting AGREE and TRANSFER (Chomsky 2004), especially because it results in a system of "general opacity". Section 3 evaluates the existing accounts for transparency proposed within that system, based on the idea of phase-defectiveness. Section 4 proposes an alternative model of "general transparency" based on the PPH within a MD-system. This section also evaluates the impact of the PPH for the understanding of AGREE and, by extension, of its relationship with movement and Case as well as for the notions of locality and intervention. Section 5 discusses how the proposed redefinition of AGREE fits a model of variation in which optionality is predicted and desirable. Section 6 summarizes the discussion.

2 Deriving opacity: phase theory and AGREE

Phase theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008) seeks to capture the ideas of strict cyclicity and locality of syntactic relations within a MERGE-based model. The *phase impenetrability condition* (PIC) regulates the size of the material that is "cashed out" to the interfaces. By only sending the phase complement, it ensures that the phase-head remains in the computation after TRANSFER for selection purposes and also to ensure a landing position, its specifier, for successive cyclic movement:[5]

(6) *Phase impenetrability condition* (PIC) or *strong PIC*:
In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations out-side α; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations (from Chomsky 2000: 108)

[4] Chomsky (1995) already contemplates different effects related to operations taking place before or after Spell-out, for instance to derive SVO vs. VSO languages (e.g. English vs. Irish) (p. 199).

[5] In his latest paper, Chomsky (2021: 36) considers that the phase-head (at least *v*) does not need to remain at the edge because he dispenses with verb movement. The analysis of HA proposed in ch. IV does not submit this version of the PIC, for reasons that are not exposed yet for convenience. This section is restricted to the original idea (expressed in (6)) that both the head and its specifier belong to the next TRANSFER domain. It is also worth noting that the PIC is a descendant of van Riemsdijk's (1978) *head constraint* (apud Abels 2003: 34).

As for AGREE, the strong PIC predicts that a potential Goal within a phase-complement domain can only be targeted *before* TRANSFER, unless it has "escaped" to the edge of the phase, from where it remains accessible. It has been generally assumed that the transferred material is gone from the computation, hence it constitutes an opaque domain for further operations. Evidence of Probe-Goal relations across phases have been reported in several languages, casting doubt on the universality of the PIC (Bošković 2003, 2007; cf. D'Alessandro & Scheer 2015; Richards 2013). This dissertation defends that HA in Spanish constitutes further evidence for this claim, especially because there is no evidence that the embedded Goal raises to the phase edge (see ch. IV).

That is not the only constraint that phase theory imposes on AGREE. In Chomsky (2007, 2008) a direct correspondence between the locus of uFs and the definition of phasehood is established.[6] At a conceptual level, this is a powerful move since it gives a principled reason for the existance of uFs. Such features do not only define Probes, but also phase-heads and, by extension, phasehood and TRANSFER domains (Gallego 2007, 2010; Legate 2012; Miyagawa 2010). I refer to this as the AGREE-TRANSFER *connection* (ATC):

(7) AGREE-TRANSFER *connection* (ATC, first version)
unvalued φ-features trigger the operations AGREE and TRANSFER

The ATC is further supported by the interface-related role that both operations perform. AGREE ensures convergence at LF by providing a value for uFs, otherwise illegible. This operation seems naturally connected to TRANSFER, since the latter is the one that communicates syntax with the interfaces.[7]

This development of the theory reinforces the idea already established by the strong PIC that the complement domain of a phase is opaque for AGREE. The ATC states that AGREE cannot happen before TRANSFER and leads to postulate that syntactic operations may happen simultaneously. The consequence is a second level of opacity (the PIC being the first): if operations happen at the same time, the output of one operation cannot *feed* another one (see Georgi 2014 for a detailed discussion).[8] As a result, it is considered that the applicability of operations is evaluated at phase completion (Chomsky 2001, 2004). In ch. III it is defended that NU and partial agreement can be explained as the result of intervention within the phase ("covert intervention"; cf. Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008 and § III.3.2), constituting empirical evidence against this claim.

[6] This definition was already hinted at in Chomsky (2004: fn. 51) (and its previous version, Chomsky 2001: fn. 5). There, Chomsky already suggests that T functions as a unit with C, making a connection between Probes and phase-heads.

[7] A notable difference in this respect is that TRANSFER can take place without AGREE, for instance, when expressing a single nominal, whereas AGREE necessarily depends on TRANSFER.

[8] *Feeding* and *bleeding* are used respectively depending on whether an operation creates or destroys the context upon which the next one applies. This distinction in terminology, firstly used in phonology, is not adopted in this dissertation. I use "feed" as a general term to refer to the idea that the outcome of an operation (whatever that is) conditions the application of the next operation. See Georgi (2014: ch. 1) for definitions and a historical review of these and other terms to refer to types of rule interactions within different frameworks.

In the remaining of this section, the rationale for the ATC and its consequences for AGREE are explored in depth to conclude that, although conceptually advantageous in some respects, that type of system faces serious theoretical and empirical challenges that cannot be ignored. Some of the basic tenets for the model on AGREE defended in this dissertation are derived from such discussion and an alternative system is proposed in the subsequent sections.

2.1 The AGREE-TRANSFER connection

AGREE is an operation by which the uFs of a head get a value in correspondance with the iFs of a XP. The two elements, head and XP, that establish a relationship by means of AGREE are typically referred to as Probe and Goal respectively (Chomsky 2000). Following a third factor specification of MS (Chomsky 2013: 43),[9] the Probe targets the closest Goal in its c-command domain. It is then predicted that in a derivation with two potential Goals (Y, Z), the Probe (X) only establishes a relationship with the structurally closest, under c-command (indicated by $\ggg$), here Y:

(8) $X \ggg Y \ggg Z$

There are three additional conditions for a Probe-Goal relation to be established (Chomsky 2001: 6):

(9) Conditions on AGREE
   a. Probe and Goal must be active for AGREE to apply
   b. AGREE divides into MATCH and VALUATION
   c. Probe must contain a full set of features (it must be complete) to delete the uninterpretable FF of matched Goal

(taken from Gallego 2010: 35)

MATCH (9b) is a process of feature identity (Chomsky 2000: 122) or non-distinctness (Chomsky 2013: 43), meaning that features need to correspond in their attribute irrespectively of their value (Chomsky 2001: 5). In such system, interpretability and valuation are linked, meaning that interpretable features (iFs) possess a value, while uninterpretable ones (uFs) do not. Accordingly, Probes are endowed with uninterpretable features that get valued by establishing a relationship with their interpretable (and valued) counterparts placed on Goals. This idea, which will be challenged in § II.2.2.1, can be expressed as follows:

(10) Valuation/Interpretability Biconditional (Chomsky 2001: 5)
A feature F is uninterpretable iff F is unvalued.

(taken from Pesetsky & Torrego 2007)

[9] This notion, defined as a third factor principle, is a more recent version of the *minimal link condition* (Chomsky 1995) and of *minimality* (Rizzi 1990). The potential nuances among them are not relevant for the present purposes.

Condition (9a), known as the *activity condition* (AC, henceforth) (Chomsky 2000: 123), states that SOs with uFs are active, i.e. they need to value their features. One of the main implications of the AC is that it reflects that Case and agreement are two sides of the same coin (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004, following George & Kornfilt 1981; see Schütze 1997: 126; Richards 2009: 62; Rezac 2004: ch. 5; Boeckx 2008a: ch. 3; i.a.). Nominals possess interpretable φ-features (person, number and gender) and an unvalued Case feature (uK) that renders them active. On the other hand, φ-features in functional categories are uninterpretable. The uK is valued when the nominal becomes a Goal for a φ-complete Probe (condition (c)), with the relevant difference that there is no MATCH (condition (b)) in K features, but uK is valued as a sort of "bonus" (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007: 16). The main consequence of the AC is that the participants of an AGREE operation become "frozen in place" (Gallego 2010: 36, building on Wexler & Culicover 1980), i.e. they cannot participate in further operations.

The principal strength of this model is that it does not only relate two apparent imperfections of the language, Case and agreement, but also gives them a principled and key role in the machinery, which is the deletion of uFs (see Gallego 2010 for a full discussion). Chomsky (2000, 2001) considered that the *core functional categories*, C (previously T) and v, enter the derivation with uFs, i.e. they constitute Probes.[10] This formulation captures the intuition that it is verbs that agree with nouns (Chomsky 2000: 124), justifies the locus of Case assignment (C, via T, assigns NOM and *v* assigns ACC) and also establishes a correspondence between Probes and phase heads (Chomsky 2004, 2005, 2007; Gallego 2010; Legate 2012; Miyagawa 2010), as defined in (11):[11]

(11) Phase condition: uninterpretable features signal phase boundaries

(from Gallego 2010: 51)

Phases reduce complexity, since they are small domains of syntactic computation that are periodically sent to the interfaces. Originally, phase theory modeled the access to the Lexicon: phases were conceived as preselected groups of LIs, *lexical arrays* that limit the amount of material placed in the active memory (or *workspace*) (Chomsky 2000: 106, see also Richards 2011). The prominence of uFs in the theory changed that perspective to the definition in (11), which logically linked uFs and phases in that both require to be removed from syntax.[12] The formulation is repeated here for convenience:

[10] I do not assume here the (debated) idea that other elements such as *there*-type expletives are Probes (Chomsky 2001: 13).

[11] The clear missing piece is the role of T. This category is not considered a core functional category since Chomsky (2004) and it is suggested to be dependent on C, this is addressed below (see also fn.6).

[12] I am only discussing φ-features and, by direct relationship, K-features, because they are the only ones involved in the original chomskyan conception of AGREE (§ II.2.1). As is well known, other features, such as EPP, Tense or Q have been put forward in the literature (see Adger & Svenonius 2010 for an overview). I am not inclined to think that they play a role in the computation of verbal agreement and, generally, I do not endorse a feature-driven syntax (e.g. Georgi 2014; Longenbaugh 2019; Müller 2010) See Boeckx (2015) for thorough criticism.

(12) AGREE-TRANSFER *connection* (ATC, first version):
unvalued φ-features trigger the operations AGREE and TRANSFER

An important consequence that follows from the ATC is that it forces to postulate that AGREE (VALUATION) and TRANSFER happen simultaneously (Chomsky 2008: 155) ("anti-crash assumption", Gallego 2010: 57). Note that if VALUATION takes place, there are no uFs left to trigger TRANSFER. At the same time, uFs cannot be sent to the interfaces without a value or they would induce a crash. This is reflected in (13):

(13) AGREE-TRANSFER *connection* (ATC, final):
i. unvalued φ-features trigger the operations AGREE and TRANSFER
ii. AGREE and TRANSFER take place simultaneously

This *before/after problem* (Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2012) was first detected by Epstein & Seely (2002), who noted that VALUATION (via AGREE) and DELETION (via TRANSFER) must occur at the same time so that LF is able to distinguish iFs from uFs. If a lack of value is how the system recognizes uFs (Chomsky 2001: 5), they become undistinguishable from iFs once AGREE has taken place. If AGREE takes place in (narrow) syntax, there is no way of accessing this distinction from the interfaces. That is unproblematic for PF, where the features may get a phonetic realization; whereas LF is not able to make such distinction without reconstructing the derivation (see also Richards 2007: 566).

Note, however, that there is an asymmetry between C as a phase-head and the locus of agreement, which is assumed to be T. That lead to postulate that T (and, by extension, V in the *v*P domain) gets uFs derivately by a process of *feature inheritance* (FI, henceforth) (Chomsky 2008; Richards 2007).[13] As argued by Richards (2007), this process (or operation, in fact) is obligatory under the ATC in combination with the PIC. The features of a phase-head must descend to a non-edge position to be transferred along with the phase-complement (see also Gallego 2010, 2014; Ouali 2008 for discussion).[14] As it becomes clear later on, the postulation of this extra operation is one of the shortcomings of assuming simultaneity of operations.

Before examining the issue of simultaneity in more depth (§ II.2.2), I wish to highlight that until this point we have seen three conditions that preclude that AGREE can be established between a Probe and a Goal that do not belong to the same phase: MS, the PIC and the AC. Notice, however, that MS is enough to account for the Case-agreement facts of a structure with two DPs, such as a regular transitive sentence:

(14) $[_{TP}\ T_{\varphi}\ [_{vP}$ subject *v** [V object]]]

[13] There is an apparent mismatch between citation years that is worth clarifying. The original postulation of FI appeared in a manuscript of Chomsky's *On phases* written in 2005, which is cited in Richards (2007). However, Chomsky's paper was not published until 2008.

[14] Throughout the text I refer to T as the Probe within the CP phase for simplicity. I come back to the relationship between C and T in §3.2.2.1.

The subject is the highest potential Goal in the c-command domain of the Probe and, therefore, the only possible agreement controller. Additionally, the object is not active, because it has been assigned ACC by v^* and it has been removed from syntax, since it belongs to the complement of the v^*-phase. The relevant question is whether we need so many conditions, as they seem redundant in certain scenarios such as (14). In fact, some authors have already proposed to subsume the AC under the PIC, given that both are responsible in render syntactic objects inaccessible (Asarina 2011: 60-69; Gallego 2019b). The exploration of LDA dependencies is useful for shedding light on this matter. It is unlikely that so many constraints on locality coexist when LDA is attested in many different languages (Bošković 2003, 2007; Schütze 2020; § IV.2.1). This idea is resumed in § II.3.2.

2.2 On simultaneity

In the previous lines we have seen that the ATC provides the answer for two important questions regarding the nature of cyclic computation. It establishes that (i) the size of phases is determined by the presence of uFs on the derivation (see (11)); and (ii) the cashing out to the interfaces must happen at the same time that those uFs obtain a value in order to avoid a crash derived from the impossibility of distinguishing uF from iF. However, the direct link between uFs and phasehood is threatened by evidence such as HA, whereby a domain in which a successful Probe-Goal relationship has taken place (the embedded clause; EC henceforth) is apparently visible in later stages of the derivation.

In this section I develop this idea by defending that simultaneity is not conceptually nor empirically desirable (Epstein & Seely 2002; Georgi 2014) and constitutes an argument for abandoning the ATC as the basis of our system. I show that the ATC forces to postulate that other operations together with TRANSFER and AGREE have to be simultaneous, which casts doubt on the fact that this view on phase theory actually helps to reduce the computational complexity. Let us start by reconsidering the ATC (cf. (13)) repeated here:

(15) AGREE-TRANSFER *connection* (final):
   i. unvalued φ-features trigger the operations AGREE and TRANSFER
   ii. AGREE and TRANSFER take place simultaneously

Despite the fact that (15ii) does not establish *per se* when TRANSFER applies, only that it is synchronous with AGREE, the system forces these operations to apply at the exact moment of phase-head MERGE. Recall that uFs must be deleted, i.e. agreement has to be successful, to guarantee-well formedness. Borrowing a graphic metaphor put forward by Preminger (2014): uFs are "derivational time-bombs" that must be "defused" by the end of the derivation. If by the end of the derivation we understand the end of the phase, uFs must be deleted *before* or *at* phase-completion, but never *after*. Then, if the location of uFs is the phase-head, *before* is left out, basically because there are no time-bombs to be defused at that point (the phase-head has not been introduced into the derivation yet).

There are two advantages of this restricted timing. Firstly, it provides an exact timing that is not based on external assumptions, but it is directly derived from the ATC. Secondly, it supports a long held intuition that uFs must be deleted as soon as possible (Chomsky 1995: 233-235). This idea, which has received different formulations, such as *virus theory* (Uriagereka 1998) or *earliness principle* (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001: 400)[15], is adopted in Chomsky (2001, 2005) for reasons of computational efficiency. The underlying reason is more general, coming from the assumption that UG requires that obligatory operations apply as soon as possible (Yang 1997, Collins 2001, Ura 1996, apud Collins 2002: 49).[16]

Despite of the theoretical reasons, earliness is not tenable if there are at least two obligatory operations. The conflict, as Müller (2009) correctly states it, is that if more than one operation has to apply as early as possible, in practice none of them can be the "earliest" one. The solutions are either ranking those operations or adopting simultaneity.[17]

It is relevant for our purposes to specify that the version of earliness submitted by Chomsky is reformulated as *maximize matching effects* (MME) (Chomsky 2001: 15, 2005: 17), which requires the uFs of a Probe to be deleted as a bundle. The MME seems to be another redundancy if we take the ATC at phase value: no uFs can be left unvalued, and VALUATION and DELETION are simultaneous (DELETION is part of TRANSFER), hence there is no room for independent uFs to be valued and/or valued at different moments.

This principle is also challenged by the empirical observation that partial valuation is possible (Atlamaz & Baker 2018; Béjar 2003; Rezac 2008; i.a.) in languages such as Faroese, Kurmanji or Icelandic (Atlamaz 2019). The latter is compared with Spanish which may also display this effect, as I defend in the following chapters. For an illustration, consider the examples of HA in (16) in which the main verb agrees in plural with the 1st plural covert subject of the EC:

(16) Partial agreement in HA contexts (Spanish)

no me	gusta-[n]	[que	*pro* tenga[-mos]	las	misma	estatura]
no DAT.1SG	like-3PL	that	have-1PL	the	same	height

'I don't like that we are the same height' (tweet, Mexico)

When analyzing partial agreement I will argue that MME is not at odds with this type of data. This claim is admittedly obscure at this point, but for organizational convenience it is further explained later on (§§ II.5, III.3.3 and III.5).

[15]This principle was already formulated in an unpublished ms. (Pesetsky 1989, apud Pesetsky & Torrego 2001). It should be pointed out that in Pesetsky & Torrego's (2001) formulation, it is *marking* for deletion, not deletion itself which must take place as early as possible. This option is not viable within the ATC framework, because VALUATION and DELETION happen at once as part of TRANSFER.

[16]Ángel Gallego (p.c.) points out to me that earliness is naturally connected to the minimalist desideratum of avoiding "backtracking" and "look-ahead" (Chomsky 2000: 99, 2001: 27, 2004: 107). As it becomes clear throughout the discussion, earliness is not necessary if syntax is not required to ensure legibility at the interfaces; i.e. it is not "crash-proof". See §§ II.2.2.1 and II.5.

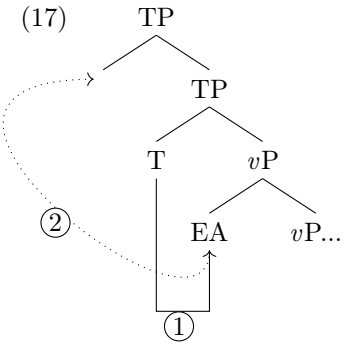
[17]Interestingly, Müller (2009) also suggests that this ranking is parametrized, idea that is fully developed by Georgi (2014). The timing of operations is relevant for the present system, but I do not agree with the idea that ordering is language-specific (e.g. in English, AGREE must precede MERGE). I am more specific about this point in § II.5 and when analyzing the differences between Spanish and Icelandic data in §§ III.3.2 and III.5.2.

We have seen that simultaneity is derived from the ATC and a principle of earliness. I now argue that there are serious theoretical and empirical shortcomings that outweigh the possible advantages and eventually leads me to dispense with this principle, and, by extension, to reject the ATC altogether.[18]

To begin with, TRANSFER and AGREE are not the only operations that involve the presence of a phase-head. In § II.2.1 I already pointed out that uFs must descend from a head to a non-head to be deleted given the PIC. Given earliness, this process of FI must happen as soon as the head merges. We then need at least three operations to apply at the same time: AGREE, TRANSFER and FI.[19]

Internal MERGE (IM) to positions close to the TRANSFER boundary are also involved in the timing puzzle. Consider, for instance, subject raising, movement of the external argument (EA) to the specifier of TP (Spec,T). This movement must happen after AGREE between T and the EA applies (② in (17)), so that a Probe-Goal relationship under c-command obtains (① in (17)):

(17)



Nevertheless, in a system where FI is obligatory, none of the operations in (17) is possible before C enters the derivation. T must inherit the φ-uF from C to initiate AGREE, and AGREE must precede subject raising.[20] If we wrap up all this process together with TRANSFER we end up with a system by which, to reach (18) (shading indicates transferred material), the operations listed in (19) must all happen along with TRANSFER.[21]

(18) C $[_{TP}\ EA_{\varphi}\ T_{\varphi}\ [_{vP}\ <EA_{\varphi}>\ v...]]$

[18] The simultaneous application of rules has also been criticized in phonology, see Mascaró (2011) for an overview of relative rule ordering in the generative theory of phonology.

[19] A possibility is to maintain that FI is part of AGREE (as a previous step to MATCH and VALUATION-DELETION). I do not implement this idea, since it overcomplicates the definition of AGREE and because it is not enough to restrict simultaneity to AGREE and TRANSFER, as is argued in the following lines.

[20] A well-known additional problem that arises in combining FI with subject raising is that the latter is countercyclic. Mizuguchi (2019) argues that simultaneity of raising and FI is precisely what circumvents this problem, since C is a root by the time the EA merges with it, given that TP has been transferred. This solution is not totally satisfactory to me, because it requires to see IM as *bona fide* movement: the EA "takes off" while the TP is transferred and "lands" once it has already been transferred. In a copy-theory of movement, we would need to postulate a "working memory" plane or a separate WS that would host a temporary copy of the EA that would enter the derivation once the TP has been transferred. Chomsky (2019) also addresses the problem of countercyclicity by arguing that it is C what agrees with the EA and later passes the already valued Fs to T. Although this author is not explicit about it, this solution also requires simultaneity, given the ATC, and it makes FI more intricate since it entails that FI can apply to valued features and it is able to by-pass the EA, which is between C and T.

[21] The bullets indicate simultaneity, while roman numeration is used later to indicate an ordered sequence.

(19) *Simultaneous operations at CP-*TRANSFER

- C-T feature inheritance
- T-EA AGREE
- IM of EA in Spec,TP

A further consequence is that not only A, but also A' movement needs to be simultaneous given the rationale above (see Bošković 2012; Chomsky 2008; Narita 2011). A *wh*-element that must raise from the complement of C to Spec,CP, cannot do so before C is merged, since the Spec position has not been created yet. At the same time, if it waits until C is merged, it is already too late, as it would be transferred along with the phase-complement automatically. The final picture is then as follows:

(20) *what* C $[_{TP}$ <*what*> EA_{φ} T_{φ} $[_{vP}$ <EA_{φ}> v... <what>]]

(21) *Simultaneous operations at CP-transfer* (final)

- C-T feature inheritance
- T-EA AGREE
- IM of EA in Spec,TP
- IM of IA in Spec,CP

From what we have just seen, the first conceptual drawback is how to restrict the number of operations that can apply in a simultaneous fashion. Epstein & Seely (2002) note that it is not clear why simultaneity would apply to AGREE but not to MERGE. From what we have already seen, it does apply to IM, and consequently, it could also apply to external MERGE (EM), as a type of MERGE (as already pointed out by Mizuguchi (2019: fn. 3)), unless we postulate a specific constraint against it. In fact, in our previous discussion, EM of a phase-head could be argued to be simultaneous to the rest of operations in (21) as a radical application of the earliness principle.[22] I now turn to the conceptual and empirical complications, which eventually lead me to reject the simultaneity hypothesis.

Maintaining that all operations could perform at the same time avoids dissimilarities between types of operations, but it does not address how this type of "rule" application affects the system. In other words, is something like (21) less costly than a step-by-step derivation? In this sense, Epstein & Seely (2002: 83) argue that it is not, unless we provide a precise restriction of when and why simultaneity is possible. Note that we already have answers: simultaneity is possible at phase level (at the point of TRANSFER) and the reason is to avoid a crash at the interfaces caused by non-deletion of uFs. What is then crucial is to assess if these answers are satisfactory, or in other words, if the ATC is enough reason to support a system that runs the risk of becoming nonderivational.

[22]Epstein & Seely (2002: 83) argue, on the contrary, that simultaneity runs afoul of earliness in the sense that waiting until phase-completion involves a delay. In any case, it is evident that earliness cannot be generally applied, because, as already pointed out, it necessarily causes a conflict: either all operations co-occur or some must apply earlier than others (see Müller 2009; i.a.).

I agree here with Epstein & Seely (2002) (see also Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2010, 2012) that it is not.[23] In a nutshell, the resulting system avoids a potential computational "overload" by placing it all at a specific point, which translates into not having avoided it to any extent. Consider again (21): there is virtually no operation that can apply before TRANSFER, but EM of non phase-heads. That is not so different from positing that we have a pre-selected list of items, i.e. a numeration (Chomsky 1995), since syntactic operations only take place once all items within a phase have undergone EM, thus they are all part of the derivation.[24]

To illustrate this point, consider a derivation in which the object is a *wh*-element that has raised to the edge of the *v*-phase. After TRANSFER, the edge and the phase-head remain in the computation and to go on with the derivation, the EA, T and C must be externally-merged:

(22) a. i. {Mary,{v, what}} EM of *Mary*
ii. {T,{Mary,{v, what}}} EM of T
iii. {**C**,{T,{Mary,{v, what}}} EM of C
b. Apply rules {X,Y, Z} to C-phase

If all operations apply simultaneously at the point when C is merged, at (22a-iii), (22) is reminiscent to (23) below, in which operations apply to a set of preselected items (N). This comparison is roughly depicted (23)-(24).

(23) a. N(umeration) = {*what, C, Mary, T, v*}
b. Apply rules {X,Y, Z} to N

(24) a. C-phase = {**C**,{T,{Mary,{v, what}}}
b. Apply rules {X,Y, Z} to C-phase

Leaving aside the obvious differences between (22) and (23), the crucial point is that in neither (23)nor (24) it is possible to derive feeding relationships between operations: the output of a rule cannot be the input for the next one (see Georgi (2014) for an extensive discussion). We have already seen examples that suggest that this is not the case: EM of X must precede any other operation involving X and there are interactions between IM and AGREE, as it is now shown.

[23] I refer the reader to Epstein & Seely (2002) (and previous works, e.g. Epstein, Groat, et al. (1998)) for a fully developed argumentation of why simultaneous rule application is nonderivational.

[24] Narita (2011: 61-66) makes a similar observation and considers this approach to be advantageous since it dispenses with *pre*-syntactic LAs, without losing an account for the well-known examples in (i):

(i) a. A man seems to be in the room.
b. There seems to be a man in the room.
c. *There seems a man to be in the room.

Lexical sub-arrays were meant to account for the ungrammaticality of (ic) without resorting to a MERGE-over-MOVE stipulation (Chomsky 2000). To me, an account where EM is prioritized over IM (Narita 2011: 65) is similarly stipulative, since the argument that one is less costly than the other raises conceptual problems (as an illustration, Chomsky 2020: 23 has recently suggested that IM is less costly than EM). In addition, alternative analyses have been put forward for (i) (see e.g. Abels 2012; Sugimoto 2021), which suggests that a solution in terms of phases is not indispensable.

Another example of feeding relations comes from intervention effects, which Chomsky (2001, 2004, 2008) takes to be evaluated at the phase level. This assumption is almost trivial in the system we have outlined above, by which almost all operations must be applied at TRANSFER. In an example such as (25), *what* in Spec,*v* should intervene between T and *John* (provided that it is a defective intervener):

(25) [$_{CP}$ What did [$_{TP}$ John T [$_{vP}$ (what) [$_{vP}$ (John) [$_{VP}$ read (what)]]]]]

(Chomsky 2001, apud Richards 2004: 172)

However, if intervention is evaluated at the end of the phase, it is only the last copy of *what* that counts. Then, at the moment of TRANSFER, *what* is copied (IM) at the same time that T agrees, so the intermediate *what* does not intervene anymore, allowing T to AGREE with *John*. See this in the following scheme, where the head of the chain is underlined and copies are between brackets:

(26) [$_{CP}$ <u>What</u> did [$_{TP}$ <u>John</u> T [$_{vP}$ (what) [$_{vP}$ (John) [$_{VP}$ read (what)]]]]]

The problem comes from the fact that *John* must also raise to Spec,TP and, following the same logic, it is not the head of the chain at Spec,*v*P, where it should be targeted by AGREE (see (26)). Simply put, the mechanism that avoids intervention also predicts that a suitable Goal is invariably removed from the search space of the Probe.[25] It is worth noting that in Chomsky (2007: 23) it is considered that "Probe-goal agreement may or may not be accompanied by IM", the latter case is precisely raising of the subject to Spec,T. This entails that (i) evaluation of intervention effects *does not* take place at phase-completion; and (ii) the ATC cannot be taken at face value, since AGREE (at least T-EA) must take place *before* raising to Spec,T, and, therefore, *before* TRANSFER applies.[26]

It is clear until this point that a system with simultaneous rule application neither reduces the computational cost of the derivation, nor easily derives basic syntactic relations as subject agreement. Evaluation at phase level with no simultaneity may raise similar concerns regarding T-EA agreement and movement to Spec,TP. When the phase is completed, the EA is not in the c-command of T, but in its Spec. Unless we come back to a Spec-head agreement system, we need to maintain that T-EA AGREE must precede IM of the EA (see (17) above). In sum, there is clear evidence of feeding relationships between operations within a phase, which suggests that the outcome of the different operations does not apply solely at phase-completion, but it affects the application of the subsequent operations within the phase (see Georgi 2014; Müller 2004; Richards 2004).

[25] Richards (2004) argues that the no-intervention of *what* is derived from the AC alone if we reject the idea that inactive elements are visible for AGREE, i.e. they are defective interveners. We reject the idea of defective intervention later on § II.4.2. However, even if we do not, the problem of T-subject agreement under a simultaneous application of rules remains.

[26] As is well-known, in Spanish it is not mandatory for Spec,TP to be filled.

This discussion has argued against the simultaneity of syntactic operations, which is the underpinning of the ATC. If that is dispensed with, the before/after problem on valuation of features remains unsolved. The solution I adopt is explained in the following section and it is very relevant for the remaining of the dissertation, because it establishes the definition of Probes and Goals that is maintained throughout.

2.2.1 On the (un)interpretability of features without the ATC

Dispensing with simultaneity translates into positing a strongly derivational system (see Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2012 and refs. therein). Within a phase-based account, some authors have applied this idea by expanding the phase inventory so that syntactic material is cashed-out to the interfaces more often, from the every instantiation of MERGE (Epstein & Seely 2002), every phrase (Müller 2004, 2011)[27] or, in a relativized fashion, the highest heads in the extended projection (Bošković 2014; Wurmbrand 2017).

Given the vast amount of empirical evidence that suggest that, following the original chomskyan formulation, only CPs and *v*Ps are phases (see Abels 2012; Van Urk 2020 for a recent overview), this perspective is not challenged in the present system even if it is questioned that phasehood is determined by the presence of uFs. Remember that the original reason for positing simultaneity is to keep the i/uF distinction at LF. Suppose that this problem does not arise at all because both interpretability should not matter to syntax and unvalued features do not induce a derivational crash (Preminger 2014). If so, then the ATC and the rest of issues derived from this connection could be avoided.

On the one hand, different scholars have already noted that the distinction between i/uFs must not necessarily be lost under TRANSFER. Probes are characterized by having both uninterpretable and unvalued features, given Chomsky's biconditional model, repeated here for convenience:

(27) Valuation/Interpretability Biconditional (Chomsky 2001: 5)
A feature F is uninterpretable iff F is unvalued.

(taken from Pesetsky & Torrego 2007)

However, if (27) is disolved, it is not so straightforward that features on Probes lose their uninterpretable condition by providing a value to such features. This is what Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) and Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely (2010) propose: the (un)interpretability is inherent to the LI and independent from valuation. While the former is related to semantics, i.e. LF; the latter provides an instruction for the phonological component, i.e. PF. I assume this system by which the uninterpretable status of features cannot be changed, hence they are unproblematically recognized as such.[28] This assumption is not incompatible with the idea that features on verbal heads are generally both uninterpretable and unvalued, yet this connection is not obligatory.

[27] See Boeckx (2012: 62-72) for criticism.

[28] Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely (2010) use the diacritics [+INT]/[-INT], which I do not adopt. The notation I use is closer to Pesetsky & Torrego's (2007), but nothing hinges on this decision.

The result is a quadripartite view on features (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007) that provides a more flexible (and complex) perspective, which has been shown to be correct on empirical grounds (Carstens 2010, 2011; Gallego 2010; Picallo 2008).

(28) Types of features (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007)

a. [iF:x] interp., valued
b. [iF:□] interp., unvalued
c. [uF:□] uninterp., unvalued
d. [uF:x] uninterp., valued

(28a) and (28c) correspond respectively to the standard definition of Goal and Probe; while the other two possibilities are excluded under a biconditional approach. If AGREE is driven by the presence of unvalued features, (28b) and (28c) correspond to Probes, while (28a) and (28d) correspond to Goals. For instance, Carstens (2010, 2011) argues that the fact that grammatical gender does not have any semantic contribution can be captured by an uninterpretable Gender feature on nominals. As nominals are Goals, it follows that such feature must have a value, thus enabling (28d).

On conceptual grounds, as already suggested by these scholars, this proposal avoids the before/afterproblem, as uFs are just invisible for LF by definition (Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2010: 139). The classification in (28) is not essential for the discussion in the subsequent chapters, what is crucial to keep in mind is that this system does not entail that (un)interpretability plays a role in the computation of AGREE, i.e. in syntax. Consequently, the resulting picture (and the one relevant for our purposes) looks as follows:

(29) Types of features (relevant at syntactic level)

a. [F:□] unvalued (=Probe)
b. [F:x] valued (=Goal)

Valuation is the driving force behind AGREE; while (un)interpretability is an instruction for LF that has no role on the syntactic computation of agreement. For that reason, the notation vFs and uFs is used henceforth for valued and unvalued features respectively.[29]

The potential problem of this model for our account is that vFs on Probes become potential Goals for subsequent AGREE applications (cf. Carstens 2010; Frampton, Gutmann, et al. 2000). There is no immediate technical impediment for that; however, it entails a general mechanism by which, roughly, verbs agree with other verbs. To avoid this undesired consequence, I follow Carstens' (2010) rationale whereby Probes becoming Goals is a violation of the *law of conservation of features* (Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2010), which is a version of the Chomsky's (2000) *inclusiveness condition.*[30]

(30) The *law of the conservation of features*: In narrow syntax, features cannot be created or destroyed throughout a derivation. (Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2010: 134)

[29] It is often underlyingly assumed that Probes are heads (cf. Collins 2002 "locus") , while Goals are XPs (e.g. Chomsky 2000, 2001). I abstract away from this possibility.

[30] See Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely (2010: 133-135) for discussion. Numerations (or lexical arrays) are a loophole, as they do not strictly belong to narrow syntax (cf. Martin & Uriagereka 2000).

In a nutshell, a Probe becoming a Goal is not very different from creating a new feature. In Carstens' words "If the syntax were able to make use of features after they are valued in a way that it cannot use them before they are valued, the valuation process would be quite difficult to distinguish conceptually from one that creates features" (Carstens 2010: 55). The prediction is that a certain feature can either act as a Goal or as a Probe but cannot perform both roles. I come back to this idea in § II.4 and in § IV.2.2.3.[31]

Consequently, the necessity of valuing features is not the driving force of AGREE anymore, as defended by López (2007) and thoroughly elaborated in Preminger (2014) and following work.

> [...] Agree is "triggered": the only function of unvalued features is stimulating a certain head to become a probe. *A head H does not probe "in order to" value its features; instead, H probes "because" it has unvalued features.* If we understand *Agree as reactive*, it follows that not finding a goal does not necessarily lead to a crashed derivation [...] (López 2007: 47; emphasis mine –IFS)

The adoption of this perspective on AGREE is further clarified with respect of our model of variation and related to the idea that syntax must not be crash-proof (Chomsky 2004 *et seq.*) in § II.5.

3 Deriving transparency

In the previous section we have seen that the ATC naturally derives opaque domains for agreement, but the mechanisms that have been proposed within that system for deriving transparency (cross-phasal agreement) have not been considered. This section focuses on two of them, defectiveness and the PIC3. The latter has been put forward precisely, among other reasons, because some LDA dependencies, such as HA cannot be accounted for by the former (at least not exclusively). I show why adopting these mechanisms is not enough for explaining the agreement phenomena if the ATC is maintained. Then I propose to adapt them to a system without the ATC, which underpins the PPH-based analyses of NU and HA developed in ch. III and ch. IV respectively. A preview of these analyses is offered in § II.4.

[31] The reader may have noticed that Carstens' remark is reminiscent of the AC, which I will eventually reject (see § II.3.1). To me, there is a crucial difference. While the AC restraints how many times an item can perform the role X (e.g. being a Goal), here we are preventing an element to perform both X and Y. This is also coherent with the PPH. As is later argued, if an element performs as a Probe in a phasal-domain α, it cannot become a Goal in the next phase, as it will be altering α (cf. § II.4).

3.1 On defective phases

The basic conditions on AGREE (see (9)) and the ATC (see (15)) do not predict that AGREE can be established between a Probe and a Goal that are situated in different phases, i.e. T-IA and v*-EA agreement. Nevertheless, as is well-known, such scenarios exist. The former is exemplified by unaccusative structures such as (31a) below; while ECM corresponds to the latter, as in (31b):

(31) a. No llegan *trenes* a esa estación
no arrive.3PL trains to that station
'No trains arrive to that station'

b. Vi *a* *Raquel* coger el tren
saw.1SG DOM Raquel take.INF the train
'I saw Raquel take the train'

To accomodate these data within phase theory, Chomsky (2001: 12) considered the existence of "weak" phases, which are not spelled-out at completion. As a consequence, the complement of a weak phase is not transferred until the next "strong" phase-head is merged. This proposal came along with a weaker version of the PIC, the PIC2, which was soon discarded (*pace* Sheehan & Cyrino 2018) since, among other reasons, it was incompatible with FI (Richards 2007, 2012a). It could be argued though that the idea behind weak phases has not been completely abandoned, but adapted to the ATC in what we know as defective phases.[32]

The gist is that phase-heads can enter the derivation lacking uFs, in a defective fashion.[33] As a consequence, they are not able to participate in AGREE nor trigger TRANSFER.[34] That explains that the uK of the relevant nominal does not get a value, so the nominal remains active; it also explains that the nominal stays in the computation where it waits until a suitable Probe finds it. In raising and ECM structures, the embedded subject remains caseless due to embedded T's defectiveness, the following Probe (matrix T or matrix v*) then targets this active nominal. An abstract representation of ECM is offered in (32).

(32) $[_{vP}\ v_{\varphi}\ [_{CP}\ C\text{-}T_{def}\ EA\ ]]$

In the same manner, in unaccusative and passive configurations, the IA agrees and gets NOM from T instead of from v, which is defective:

(33) $T_{\varphi}\ [_{vP}\ v_{def}\ [_{VP}\ V\ IA\ ]]$

[32] More recently, within the POP framework (Chomsky 2013, 2015) alternative accounts have been put forward regarding the variable status of phasehood. According to Chomsky (2015: 11) phase-heads can be "dephased" by passing-by their phasehood properties to another head, either by FI (from C to T) or by head raising (of R to v*). Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely (2016) build on this proposal by considering that the original phase-heads (essentially v*, but see Sugimoto (2021) for an extension of this analysis to C) become invisible by means of EXTERNAL PAIR-MERGE, a process they call "phase-cancellation". For criticism and alternatives to PAIR-MERGE see Gallego (2021) and Oseki (2015).

[33] See Sitaridou (2006) for a defense of defectiveness independent of φ-incompleteness.

[34] Legate (2003) shows that successive cyclic movement takes place in domains such as unaccusative vPs, which suggests that phase-heads require to *be* in the structure.

In Chomsky's system, the absence of a single uF is sufficient to render a SO defective. For instance, it is generally assumed that v, the defective counterpart of v*, lacks [person]. That captures both that its complement is transparent and that participles never show person inflection (e.g. D'Alessandro & Roberts 2008). Here, I assume Richards (2012a) proposal that there are two kinds of defective heads, partially defective (equivalent to Chomsky's defective) and completely defective, which do not possess any uFs (see fn.34). There is a simple reason: in languages such as Spanish that do not show generalized participial agreement, there is no evidence that a defective head is endowed with a uN.[35] This is relevant for the data I discuss here since it arises in DAT-NOM structures, where, in monoclausal configurations, there is full-φ agreement between T and the IA.

(34) Me habéis gustado/*as vosotras
DAT.1SG has.2PL like.PTCP.SG/F.PL you.F.PL
'I have liked you'

(35) me T_{φ} *habéis* [$_{vP}$ v_{def} [$_{VP}$ V *gustado vosotras*]]

The adoption of defectiveness has been very fruitful when accounting for parametric variation[36] because it is consistent with the so-called *Borer-Chomsky conjecture* (Baker 2008: 156, BCC henceforth, based on Borer 1984; Chomsky 1995) by which parametric variation is restricted to the featural differences of functional heads in the Lexicon (see § III.3.1.1). Languages may differ in whether a defective LI is part of their Lexicon, as well as the contexts in which defective heads are selected (for instance, English ECM is more productive than Spanish, which does not allow it with *believe*-type verbs).

However, HA data cannot be accounted for by positing that the phase containing the long-distance Goal is defective. Consider again the data in (2) repeated here:

(36) a. Me *encantan* [hacer planes] %Spanish
DAT.1SG love.3PL make.INF plans
'I love making plans'

b. Me *encantan* [que los planes salgan bien] %Spanish
DAT.1SG love.3PL that the plans turn-out.3PL well
'I love it when plans work'

In (36a) the Goal of *encantan*, *planes* is the object of a transitive verb *hacer*, which suggests that LDA targets the IA of a non-defective v* phase. In (36b) *los planes* is the subject of a finite clause, hence the verb *salgan* fully agrees with it.[37] In both cases, a higher Probe is able to target the corresponding embedded Goal. For illustration, (36b) is displayed in (37) below.

[35]Spanish only shows such agreement in restricted situations (periphrastic passives and absolute constructions). I refer the reader to Richards (2012a) for more details about an AGREE-based analysis of the well-known correlation between object movement and participle agreement (cf. Kayne 1989).

[36]See Ciutescu 2018; D'Alessandro & Oostendorp 2017; Gallego 2007; Mensching & Remberger 2011; Paradís 2019; Rigau 2005; among many others.

[37]The verb *salir* is unaccusative when it implies movement, but in this context it is an unergative with the meaning 'turn out'. Thus, the subject (*los planes*) is a *bona fide* EA, not a displaced IA.

(37) T*encantan* [$_{vP}$ v_{def} [$_{CP}$ C que [T_{φ} los planes V*salgan* bien]]]

Note that in the main clause there is a defective head, v_{def}. This is independent of the fact that there is an EC selected or that there is LDA, but a property of the psych-verb structure, as I showed in (35). The status of the phase that contains the Goal of the LDA relationship cannot be analyzed the same way: the embedded head must be at the same time defective for its complement to stay in the computation, and non-defective, because it establishes an agreement relationship.

The hypothesis that I put forward requires to assume that TRANSFER does not eliminate material (Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019; Gallego 2019b) and to dispense with the AC. If the AC applied, even if the material remained in syntax, the embedded Goal would be invisible because it has already received Case in the embedded domain. This conclusion has been also reached in light of LDA in different languages (Atlamaz & Baker 2018; Bhatt 2005; Bošković 2007; Etxepare 2006, 2012). On the other hand, as I will show in more detail later, although the PIC3 allows LDA, it does ban Case assignment non-locally. For that reason, some notion of defectiveness needs to be maintained. As we saw in (35), T-IA agreement is possible when the intermediate head (v) is defective, i.e. unable to value the uK feature of the IA.

Before developing these ideas in more detail, let me finish this section by commenting on two proposals that could potentially account for HA in terms of defectiveness. The first one is put forward in Richards (2013). This author argues that LDA can be reconciled with the PIC if the conditions on TRANSFER are redefined. Basically, TRANSFER is sometimes regulated by a mechanism equivalent to the PIC1 and others to one equivalent to the PIC3. It is in those latter cases that LDA is possible. Although the main idea that TRANSFER must be redefined is also the gist of my analysis, Richards' proposal hinges on the notion of defectiveness that I have just argued not to be compatible with HA data. If, according to his proposal, only defective heads trigger the kind of TRANSFER[38] that renders its complement domain transparent (see (38) below), we can never expect transparency effects with non-defective clauses, contrarily to what I have just shown in Spanish.[39]

(38) TRANSFER-based analysis (Richards 2013)

a. T . . . [v* [V DP]] PF+LF TRANSFER = opaque

b. T . . . [$_{v_{def}}$ [V DP]] PF TRANSFER = transparent

The second proposal is Gallego (2007, 2010)'s ECM analysis of Spanish subjunctives (see also Ciutescu 2018). This account is highly relevant here for two reasons: the finite ECs that allow HA are always subjunctive and it determines defectiveness of such clause in

[38]Roughly, PF TRANSFER keeps an active edge for successive cyclic movement, while LF TRANSFER is triggered by the need of deleting uFs. The idea is reminisicent of D'Alessandro & Scheer's (2015) "Modular PIC". I refer the reader to the original works for a detailed discussion. This system can also be compared with Uriagereka's (2002: ch.3) *multiple spell-out* which comes in two flavors: the conservative one is akin to the PIC, while the radical one contemplates that the phase-head is transferred along with its complement.

[39]Crosslinguistic evidence for LDA is presented in ch. IV.

terms of features other than φ, in particular Case. The goal of that analysis is to account for the asymmetry between subjunctive and indicative clauses in terms of transparency, such as consecutio temporum and correference (Gallego 2010; Picallo 1985; San Martin 2004).

Gallego argues that subjunctives clauses (as in (39)) are akin to ECM in that the subject of the EC gets Case from the main clause (see (40)). In more detail, subjunctive clauses are defective because they lack a T-feature ([T] henceforth). This feature is taken from Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004, 2007). They argue that structural Case is not the result of φ-valuation, but requires the valuation of this specific [T] feature.[40]

(39) Platón quiere [que Aristóteles lea a Sócrates]
Plato want.3SG that Aristotle read.SBJV.3SG to Socrates
'Plato wants Aristotle to read Socrates'

(40) a. P. quiere v*$_{[T:ACC]}$ [que C$_{[T]}$ A.$_{[T]}$ lea T$_{[T]}$ a S.]

b. P. quiere v*$_{[T:ACC]}$ [que C$_{[T:ACC]}$ A.$_{[T:ACC]}$ lea T$_{[T:ACC]}$ a S.]

(adapted from Gallego 2010: 199)

As we see in (40), [T] on v*$_{M}$ agrees in a multiple fashion (cf. § III.5.2.1) with the embedded subject, C_E and T_E. Since Case and agreement assignment are split, the result is that the embedded subject receives ACC from the matrix clause, although it values the φ-features of an embedded head.

The question is if (40) could similarly derive a φ-agreement relationship between main T and the EA of the subjunctive clause. The answer does not seem to be positive taking into account the difference between the type of predicates in (39) and (36). While the example in (39) contains a transitive verb, which typically selects a v*, the type of predicates involved in HA structures select a defective v, as I showed in (35).

Additionally, it is worth noting that in English, in which ECM is more productive, volitional verbs such as *want* do allow ECM, while psych-verbs such as *like* do not:[41]

(41) a. I want you to sing
b. *I like you to sing

Another logical possibility is that in the case of psych-verbs the Case assigner is not main v, which is defective, but main T. This analysis could be an elegant solution for the attested patterns:

(42) T$_{φ,+K}$ [$_{vP}$ v_{def} [$_{CP}$ C que [T$_{φ,-K}$ los planes V*salgan* bien]]]

Recall, however, that the phenomena is subject to variation: Spanish finite clauses, including subjunctives, are generally not permeable, as shown in (43a).

[40] There is a difference on how Chomsky and Pesetsky & Torrego, assumed by Gallego (2010), understand defectiveness. In Pesetsky & Torrego's (2007) system a Probe is defective if a feature on it lacks a value. See Gallego (2010: ch.3) for details.

[41] Interestingly, *I'd like you to sing* is possible. I do not think that this contradicts the point I make here, since modality turns the sentence into a request, which is semantically closer to the version with *want*.

(43) a. Me *encanta* [que los planes salgan bien] Spanish sbjv
DAT.1SG love.3SG that the plans go-out.SBJV.3PL well
'I love it when plans work'

b. Me *encantan* [que los planes salgan bien] %Spanish sbjv (HA)
DAT.1SG love.3PL that the plans go-out.SBJV.3PL well
'I love it when plans work'

The analysis in (42) requires to postulate that the ECs in (43a) and (43b) are headed by a non-defective and defective C-phase respectively. That entails that the embedded subject *los planes* is licensed within its clause in (43a) and from the matrix clause in (43b), but there is no evidence for the latter. NOM assignment is not marked in Spanish, but ACC is sometimes morphologically expressed and allows to corroborate if Case-marked arguments can be agreed with in Spanish (see Planells 2017; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2006). The following examples of HA gathered from Twitter suggest that this is the case:

(44) a. Me interesa-n [conocer *a mis compañeros*]
DAT.1SG interest-3PL know.INF DOM my.PL colleagues
'I am interested in meeting my colleagues'

b. Me gusta-n [ver-os tan felices]
DAT.1SG like-3PL see.INF-ACC.2PL so happy.PL
'I like seeing you so happy'

(adapted from Fernández-Serrano 2022: 107, 120)

The object of the EC is dom-marked in (44a) and it is an ACC clitic in (44b), yet in both cases able to control LDA with the main verb. The facts suggest that the Goals of LDA are licensed within their embedded domain in Spanish, as a result of its relationship with embedded v^* in these examples; hence HA cannot be he result of an ECM-configuration.

Furthermore, agreement between the main verb and the long-distance Goal is always partial, only in number. This leads to either postulate that main T is φ-defective (it lacks [person]) or find another mechanism by which partial agreement is obtained. I do not wish to adopt the first option because it does not exclude the possibility that a full-φ T is merged in the main clause and triggers person agreement,[42] something that is ruled out by the following examples:

(45) a. *Me gustá-is [ver-os tan felices]
DAT.1SG like-2PL see.INF-ACC.2PL so happy
'I like seeing you so happy'

b. *Le gusta-mos [que *pro* este-mos bien]
DAT.3SG like-1PL that be-1PL fine
'S/he likes that we are OK'

Therefore, the second strategy seems more suitable. In §§ III.3.3 and III.5 it is defended that intervention effects are responsible for partial agreement. The main advantage of that hypothesis is that additional mechanisms are not required to yield the transparency

[42]This point is further elaborated on in § III.3.1.1.

or opacity of certain subjunctive clauses. Instead, via the PIC3 they are *a priori* transparent, but sometimes not accessible (or partially accessible) because of the effect of an intervener.[43]

In sum, this section has shown that defectiveness of phase-heads cannot be the only mechanism available for deriving cross-phasal agreement. While it accounts for those contexts in which a phase-head does not assign Case, such as in unaccusative structures; it is incompatible with HA configurations because Case is assigned in the EC. In light of these data, both the AC and the strong PIC are rejected in favor of a redefinition of TRANSFER that does not hinge on defectiveness (*pace* Richards 2013), which is developed in the next section.

3.2 The PIC3

The PIC, (6) repeated here as (46), determines the size of the transferred material and that such material is not accessible for further computation:

(46) *Phase impenetrability condition* (PIC) or *strong PIC*:
In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations out-side α; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations

(from Chomsky 2000: 108)

However, as argued in the previous section, phenomena such as agreement across finite domains cannot be explained unless there is access to an already transferred phase-complement. This apparent violation of the PIC is not such if TRANSFER does not literally eliminate material (cf. Richards 2013). This new version of TRANSFER was already suggested in Chomsky (2013: 42): "If H is a phase head with complement Z [...]. While *Z is immune from further changes, it does not disappear*" (emphasis mine) and has been more recently referred to as "weak TRANSFER" (Groat 2015; Obata 2017) or PIC3 (Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019; Gallego 2019b):

(47) PIC3: transferred phases remain accessible, but they cannot be modified at later cycles.
(taken from Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019: 241)

As Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott (2019: 240) note, displacement of phases (Obata 2010) also suggests that TRANSFER may not eliminate material from syntax. In (48) below, phase β is not pronounced in its original position, but in the landing position of a larger displaced object α, meaning that it must not have been eliminated at the point when it was completed/transferred.[44]

(48) [$_{\alpha}$ The verdict [β that Tom Jones is guilty] seems to have been reached (α) by the jury]

[43] The term "accessibility" is defined in § II.4.

[44] Gallego (2019b) doubts that the PIC3 can account for (48). He points out that if, as Chomsky suggests, the PIC3 bans IM out of a completed phase, it is not clear how β would raise as part of α. His proposal resorts to PAIR-MERGE, which seems problematic outside the analysis of adjunction (see fn.32).

(taken from Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019: 240)

Coming back to inter-phasal LDA: the PIC3 predicts that a nominal within a transferred domain, YP, can be targeted by a Probe, Z, external to that domain, provided that YP is not modified.

(49) a. $[_{\beta}\ Z_{\varphi:\square} \ldots [_{\alpha}$ edge H [W YP_{φ}]]]

b. $[_{\beta}\ Z_{\varphi\checkmark} \ldots [_{\alpha}$ edge H [W YP_{φ}]]]

Compared to the original PIC in (46), (47) alters the effect that TRANSFER has for syntax, but does not modify the size of the domain that gets affected by such operation (cf. § II.2). The complete definition of this new PIC should then be reformulated. This restatement is proposed in (50) and, from now on, when referring to the PIC3 I will be aluding to this version.

(50) *Phase impenetrability condition* update (PIC3 final):
In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations *that modify such domain* outside α; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

The key of this new definition is "modification", which is a notion that is not new in the search for a model of efficient computation. The *no-tampering condition* (NTC) (Chomsky 2005, 2008) prevents changing an object created by Merge. Thus, the PIC3 is the application of the NTC to the phase (Gallego 2019b; Groat 2015). In fact, Gallego (2019b) argues that the effects of the NTC should be subsumed by the PIC. That conclusion comes from the observation that there are certain accepted violations of the NTC, such as FI or IM to Spec,TP, that are licit at a local level (within the phase) (Chomsky 2008: 138; cf. § II.2.2). The PIC3 derives those effects, since it allows the phase to be altered until the point of TRANSFER and it is a better alternative than positing an additional condition, a "weak NTC" (cf. "weak" phase § II.3.1).[45]

In the next section, the conception of modification at a local level is related with that of non-simultaneity of operations defended earlier, these proposals, along with the PIC3 are the main tenets of the PPH. In a nutshell, I argue that the modifications that the phase undergoes prior to TRANSFER have an effect on the outcome of such phase. Those modifications may vary depending on the relative ordering of the operations, which is essential for the description of optionality (see § II.5 later).

[45]Gallego (2019b) further argues that the PIC3 can be subsumed by the original PIC. To that end, he analyses the empirical arguments for the PIC3 as conforming the PIC1. For the case of (48) he resorts to PAIR-MERGE (see fns. 32, 44); as for LDA he suggests that it takes place "at the border of NS-externalization" (p. 758), which, if I understand correctly, means that it is an interface phenomena. In Fernández-Serrano (2017, 2022) and in ch. IV I argue that there are syntactic restrictions to the phenomena that cannot be entirely attributed to PF.

4 Phase Preservation Hypothesis

In this section I develop the PPH, reminded in (51) below, which I put forward as an answer for the question posed earlier in (A).

(51) *Phase preservation hypothesis* (PPH):
a transferred domain α cannot be modified

This claim is not an innovation. Under other versions of the PIC, the material was assumed to be removed from computation, so it was not possibly altered. The implications of switching the focus to the no-tampering bit need then to be explicitly stated since they are the main departure from previous systems. As noted, the PPH does not entail that the transferred domain has disappeared from the computation. In this sense, α is always *visible*, but not always *accessible*. It is important to clarify the terminology to avoid any misconception. I take "visible" to refer to those SOs that are present in the structure (have not been spelled-out in the classic sense)[46], while "accessibility" is defined in structural terms, that is, whether a certain element is in the right structural position to be a Goal (in the c-command domain of a Probe).

The PPH regulates to what operations α is potentially accessible. Those operations are crucially not simultaneous and not evaluated at the point of transfer (§ II.2.2). Both properties are reflected in the notion of MD:

(52) *Mindful derivation* (MD):
operations apply sequentially until the next application of TRANSFER

Both the PPH and the MD hypothesis, as it has been previously noted, can be found in the literature under different formulations. The main contribution of this dissertation is that it explicitly connects them and shows that such connection is able to account for empirical phenomena that the ATC leaves unexplained. We saw that one problem of the ATC as a system of general opacity was undergeneration (see also Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2010, 2012); the risk of the PPH, whereby the general scenario is transparency, is overgeneration. That is not a problem since most cases are correctly ruled out by MS alone (Bošković 2003, 2007); while the status of overgeneration is supposedly not an issue under a free-MERGE system (see Ott 2017). This last claim is qualified later in § II.5.[47] This section focuses on the key role of MS by discussing the notion of intervention. The first part develops the PPH, pondering what operations are restricted by the new version of the PIC, i.e. what operations alter the phase. The second part is devoted to elaborate on the premise of MD, in particular, what its implications are for the computation of intervention, as the main device for opaqueness.

[46] This is not to be related to the *visibility condition* (Chomsky 1981), which connects θ-marking with Case assignment.

[47] The idea of overgeneration is not a problem for a specific line of minimalist inquiry started in Chomsky (2004) (see Boeckx 2010). This idea is crucial for the view on variation defended in this thesis as it is argued later in § II.5.

4.1 Redefinition of locality

We have seen that no-tampering with a phase is a desideratum of optimal computation. Let us now explore what operations may modify the transferred domain and, therefore, are restricted by the PIC3. First I focus on AGREE and Case assignment and then I move to IM to conclude that locality in terms of phasehood applies differently to those operations.

Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott (2019: 241) argue that the new version of the PIC permits Probe-Goal relations across phases "as long as these only manipulate the Probe". To see this in detail consider the structure in (53), where α is a phase:

(53) $[_{\alpha}\ H_{\varphi:\square}\ [W\ YP_{\varphi:1}]$

As a result of AGREE between H and YP (see (54) below), H is modified, since its uFs get a value (represented by a number). Conversely, YP participates in AGREE "passively": it only provides a value by virtue of bearing vFs.

(54) $[_{\alpha}\ H_{\varphi:1}\ [W\ YP_{\varphi:1}]]$

However, the Goal is also assumed to enter the derivation with a uF, uK, that is valued as a result of a successful φ-AGREE relationship with a full-Probe.[48] Therefore, as a result of AGREE, the Goal may also be modified by means of Case assignment. In (55) we see this complete picture:

(55) a. $[_{\alpha}\ H\ _{\varphi:\square}\ [W\ YP_{\varphi:1,K:\square}]]$ *before H-YP* AGREE

b. $[_{\alpha}\ H\ \boxed{\varphi:1}\ [W\ YP_{\varphi:1,\ \boxed{K:2}}]]$ *after H-YP* AGREE

Consequently, AGREE between H and YP is restricted to take place *before* TRANSFER applies, because performing *afterwards* would violate the PIC3. In other words, the PIC3 bans Case assignment at a distance. We summarize this restriction in (56):

(56) Restrictions on AGREE according to the PIC3

a. AGREE(+K) ≻ TRANSFER ✓

b. TRANSFER ≻ AGREE(+K) ✗

This limitation does not bring anything new: the scenarios of distance Case assignment, such as ECM or unaccusative structures are typically analysed as taking place when the phase-head is unable to assign Case. Recall that in § II.3.1 I assumed that T-IA agreement in Spanish DNS was possible because of the presence of a defective *v*. The reason is coherent with the PPH: assigning NOM at a distance is not possible unless Probe and Goal (here T and the IA) are in the same transfer domain.

What happens then with scenarios of LDA? The PIC3 is precisely meant to account for the type of relationships that (56b) apparently bans. Contrarily to what it may seem, LDA does not contradict (56b) as long as we dispense with the notion of activity (§ II.3.1).

[48] Carstens (2016) defends that the uK waits for a Probe and it does not probe itself because there is no possible Goal in its c-command domain. I adopt this plausible explanation for convenience.

If a Goal does not become invisible after having its uK valued, it can be targeted by a subsequent Probe, as long as it does not receive Case. Consider (57), in which circular arrow tips are used to express a relationship of AGREE without Case assignment:

(57) $[_{\beta}\ Z_{\varphi:\square} \ldots [_{\alpha}\ H \quad [W\ YP_{\varphi 1,K:2}]]]$

H,YP have established a local AGREE relationship, resulting in H valuing its φ-features and YP its uK. The complement domain of H is then transferred, but remains visible for further computation conforming to the PIC3. A next phase-head Z merges and searches for a Goal in its c-command domain. The only available Goal is YP, hence Z agrees with it. Even if Z is a non-defective head, Case cannot be assigned simply because there is no uK on the Goal to be satisfied.[49] Consequently, a restriction like the *single case constraint* (Nevins 2004), which states that a nominal cannot be assigned more than one Case, is not a stipulation, but follows naturally from the system.[50]

The general implication is that a nominal must participate in at least one local relationship from which it obtains Case. Then, according to this system, LDA with an already Case-assigned Goal is not a problem anymore, but in fact a requirement.[51] The complete picture of (56) is now shown (58):

(58) Restrictions on AGREE according to the PIC3 (final)

a. AGREE(+K) ≻ TRANSFER (≻ AGREE) ✓

b. TRANSFER ≻ AGREE(+K) ✗

Something not considered in (57) is that if all material remains in the computation, the valued features of H should be visible for the next Probe, Z. This is illustrated in (59):

(59) i. $[_{\alpha}\ H_{\varphi:\square}\ [W\ YP_{\varphi:1}]]$

ii. $[_{\beta}\ Z_{\varphi:\square} \ldots [_{\alpha}\ H_{\varphi:1}\ [W\ YP_{\varphi:1}]]]$

[49] A possible counterargument comes from the so-called *inverse Case filter* (Bošković 1997, 2002): the requirement that a Case assigner assigns its Case or, in minimalist terms, that a φ-Probe gets valued (Rezac 2004: 337). This is not enforced in a system of "reactive" AGREE (§ II.2.2.1) in which there is no imposition for the Probe to find a Goal, only to trigger the search. See also Bošković (2002) for further arguments against the inverse Case filter.

[50] A distinction between structural Case and inherent Case will be relevant later for the analysis of Quirky Case in Icelandic. I take this claim to be valid only for structural Case, as it is related to AGREE. Of course, one can wonder why the system only allows to assign a single structural Case to a given object (see Nevins 2004 and refs. therein about Case stacking). If Case is a feature, and valuation is a phonological requirement, it is not possible to obtain multiple values for the same feature as that would cause PF-illegibility (Carstens 2010). If Case is something else, the answer must be different. Although I do not have one, it is worth pointing out that this seems to be a more general principle of the language faculty: for example, arguments receive a single θ-role. I thank Ángel Gallego (p.c.) for this remark.

[51] I thank Cristina Real for pointing out to me (at the defense of my MA thesis) that LDA across clauses in Spanish always takes place with an element that has already been assigned Case.

This is not necessarily a problem: the values that Z gets from H corresponds to the ones in YP, so the result is identical as if Z would directly target YP. This type of indirect agreement analysis has been, in fact, put forward by different authors to account for LDA (Etxepare 2006, 2012; Preminger 2009), however, as I show in § IV.2.2.3, this makes empirically incorrect predictions.

I have already suggested in § II.2.2.1 that this indirect agreement should not be possible if we follow Carsten's (2010) rationale by which Probes cannot become Goals, as that is tantamount to saying that new features are added to the derivation. Note that this entails that unvalued features on H have not been deleted when AGREE takes place. In that sense I agree with Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely (2010), who note that in a system in which features are invariable (un)interpretable, there is no need for DELETION: the C-I component is able to ignore the "offending" features (cf. Sportiche 2016).[52]

In sum, as the rest of transferred material, uninterpretable features are not deleted, just ignored by LF. At the same time they do not give rise to indirect agreement, because that, as argued by Carstens (2010), is tantamount to adding new features to the derivation, which in our system is banned by the PPH.

Let us now examine how the PIC3 may restrict IM. This issue is more complex because it hinges on how *copy* and *chain* are understood. A copy is just the result of remerging (IM) a SO (Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019: 246):

(60) a. { X,Y }
b. { Y, { X,Y } }

In (60b) there are two copies (occurrences) of Y.[53] As Gärtner (2020: 2) notes, the nature of those occurrences can be understood in two different manners. The "materialistic" intuition sees copies as independent objects (in a "copy-machine" fashion) (see also Groat 2015), hence it is possible to alter one (even destroy it) without affecting the other.

The second intuition is what Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott (2019: 241) submit, based on set-theory. In (60b) both Ys form a single SO that has two syntactic contexts, sister of X *and* sister of {X,Y}, say domain K. Following this rationale, they conclude that a domain K does get altered by IM of Y, because the result is that K now contains a different object, a discontinuous one:

(61) a. K = { X,Y }
b. K' = { Y, { X, Y } }

(adapted from Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019: 237)

[52]If uninterpretable features were deleted, that should happen before TRANSFER in order not to alter the phase according to the PPH. The alternatives are either simultaneity or the theory of features adopted.

[53]The copy/repetition distinction is an independent issue that exceeds the goals of this chapter. An interesting proposal is put forward by Sportiche (2016), who suggests that the mechanism *neglect* makes PF to ignore up to all ocurrences but one. Accordingly, licensing of an occurrence is enough to license the whole object (the chain). See Collins & Groat (2018) for a summary of other existing proposals.

Their conclusion is that, given (61), the PIC3 and the strong PIC do not differ regarding IM. Both preclude movement out of the phase once it has been transferred. This view is clearly advantageous in light of the already observed divergence between AGREE and movement with respect to their conformance to the PIC (Bošković 2003, 2007), which now is derived from a more general principle of the system and not by stipulation.

In that respect, it is worth noting that defending the opposite view, that IM can freely apply before or after TRANSFER forces to reconsider the very nature of the PIC. The distinction between edge and non-edge would not be necessary anymore because there would be no need of postulating an "escape-hatch". Although this option would give us a more unitarian view of a phase since head and complement would transfer together,[54] it is at odds with the vast empirical evidence that suggest that (at least) *v*Ps and CPs provide landing sites for successive cyclic movement (see Abels 2012; Van Urk 2020 for recent discussion). For this reason, I stick to Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott (2019)'s version.

So far we have seen that after a given domain has been transferred, IM from within and valuation of uFs inside that domain are both forbidden. Contrarily, an outside Probe can value its uFs targetting and inside nominal. Therefore, the PIC3 does not "reset" locality conditions, but just extends them for AGREE to embrace LDA. In this sense, it is consistent, for instance, with the intuition that, under certain circumstances (e.g. raising), a nominal can raise out of a phase to get its uK valued by a higher Probe.

An underlying aspect of what has been argued in this section concerns the timing of syntactic operations. Previously (§ II.2.2), I have defended that operations must apply sequentially, which naturally leads to wonder whether the order in which they apply is free or obeys some stipulation. The system I present here reaches some kind of compromise: relating phasehood to a no-tampering desideratum entails a less restricted timing, which, at the same time, is defined to a certain extent by TRANSFER points. This is shown in table II.1, which serves as a summary of the discussion above:

	before TRANSFER of α	*after* TRANSFER of α
$H_{\varphi\checkmark}$	✓	✗
$Z_{\varphi\checkmark}$	✗	✓
$YP_{K\checkmark}$	✓	✗
IM of YP	✓	✗

Table II.1: Timing of operations relative to TRANSFER given $[_{\beta}\ Z_{\varphi\square} \ldots [_{\alpha}\ H_{\varphi\square}\ [W\ YP_{\varphi,K\square}]]]$.

[54] This option is pondered in Groat (2015). The consequences of such approach, especially regarding successive-cyclic movement, must be considered carefully in future work.

It is important to highlight that there are feeding relations between the operations that are not reflected in the table. For instance, if YP raises out of the phase, its uK may be checked after TRANSFER by a higher Probe, say Z. If, conversely, YP stays *in situ*, a local valuation of its uK is required for a (Z,YP) LDA to be established, as argued above.

To sum up, this section has showed that the PPH determines the moment at which operations can licitly apply. This system maintains the idea that the turning point is TRANSFER: after it, neither IM nor Case assignment can occur. The latter is crucial for our purposes, since it establishes a first locality condition for AGREE. This operation can then take place cross-phasally (according to the PIC3) to satisfy the valuation requirements of a Probe, but this long-distance relationship is not enough for the convergence of the derivation if the Case Filter is not satisfied.[55] The next section turns to the timing of operations *prior* to TRANSFER, i.e. within the phase.

4.2 Redefinition of intervention

We have seen that the PPH entails that phases are transparent domains for probing. This section shows that the third-factor condition of *minimal search* (MS) (Chomsky 2013) is enough to derive opacity. In a nutshell, a Probe's search is as short as possible as it always finds the immediately first potential Goal in its c-command domain. Consequently, (relativized) minimality (in the sense of Rizzi 1990, 2001; Starke 2001) is what derives the locality of AGREE relations (Bošković 2003, 2007, "AGREE Closest"). What is crucial to bear in mind is that opaqueness is defined by accessibility. That means that the relevant material is not opaque in itself (by means of being gone or invisible), but it is simply not reachable.

Empirically, this seems to be correct considering that, in most cases, LDA is blocked by an intervener (Abels 2003; Bošković 2003; Chomsky 2008: 143). Consider this previous example (cf. 39):

(62) Platón quiere [que Aristóteles lea a Sócrates]
Plato want.3sg that Aristotle read.sbjv.3sg to Socrates
'Plato wants Aristotle to read Socrates'

What prevents matrix T from agreeing with the subject of the EC (*Aristóteles*) is the subject of the main clause (*Platón*). This DP first-merges in SPEC-v from where it receives the external ϑ-role and NOM Case from T. As noted in § II.2.2, the T-EA AGREE relation must be established before the subject raises to SPEC-T (optionally in Spanish, but obligatorily in EPP languages). Therefore, in a transitive configuration, the EA is the Goal for T, and not the IA or any other lower potential Goal (this was already shown in (14), repeated here as (63)).

[55] For now I have only considered Case assignment as a result of an AGREE relationship, but as has been extensively noted in the literature, that may not be the only way in which the Case Filter is satisfied. This discussion is resumed in § III.4.3.

(63) $[_{TP}\ T_{\varphi}\ [_{vP}\ \text{subject}\ v^*\ [V\ \text{object}]]]$

In what follows, I define where intervention effects arise. I defend that evaluation of intervention effects does not take place at phase-level, but at the point of φ-valuation. For that purpose, interveners are characterized for φ-AGREE as any elements bearing valued φFs and independently of whether their Case feature needs to be valued (*contra* the AC). This makes the idea of *defective intervention* (Chomsky 2000, 2001) inoperative, something that, as it becomes evident in the next chapters, is advantageous because it makes possible for partial intervention to arise.

It is generally assumed that an intervener is an object that disturbs an agreement relationship in the sense that it literally cancels the operation:

(64) Intervention = blocking

$[_{YP}\ \ldots P \ggg G_1 \ggg G_2 \ldots]$

Instead, the notion *intervener* is used here as a general term for describing the role of G_1. This role is always relative to the presence of a lower DP (G_2). G_1 may be both a suitable Goal for P and an intervener, as it disturbs the relationship between P and G_2; that is, the subject in (63) is not only the Goal of T, but also an intervener. I will use the tag *φ-intervention* for these cases. As it will be shown later, other effects arise when the intervener is an element that fails in successfully value the uFs of the Probe.

(65) φ-intervention

$[_{YP}\ \ldots P \ggg G_1 \ggg G_2 \ldots]$

It is obvious then that, in absence of G_1, a P–G_2 relationship can occur. In the literature, it has been extensively argued that this absence can be the result of movement (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2003; Chomsky 2008; Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2003). Differently put, minimality can be voided if G_1 raises to a position above P. I refer to this circumstance, exemplified in (66), as *anti-intervention*.[56]

(66) anti-intervention

$[\ldots G_1 \ggg P_{\varphi} \ggg G_1 \ggg G_2 \ldots]$

Evidence for this claim mainly comes from Icelandic quirky subject (QS) structures (Sigurðsson 1992, 1996 et seq.; Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2003, among many others). As (67) displays, in such configurations the verb agrees with the IA when the DAT is structurally higher, (67a); while it shows 3SG inflection invariably when the DAT is situated between the Probe and the embedded DP, (67b).

[56] Béjar (2003) first uses this term to refer to circumstances in which an alleged intervener does not give rise to intervention effects. She focuses on those configurations in which the features of the potential intervener do not match the ones on the Probe. Here, I use it for those cases whereby the potential intervener has been removed from the search space. In any case, anti-intervention just describes, as Béjar indicates, "the usual implementation of locality" (2003: 18).

(67) a. Mér *virðast* [hestarnir vera seinir]
DAT.1SG seem.PL the.horses.NOM be slow
'It seems to me that the horses are slow.'

b. Það *virðist* einhverjum manni [hestarnir vera seinir]
EXPL seem.SG some man.DAT the.horses.NOM be slow
'A man finds the horses slow.'

(Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2003: 998)

Spanish DNS, leaving aside some differences with the Icelandic data (Cuervo 1999; López 2007; Masullo 1993; Rivero 2004, 2008) have been argued to be derived in a similar fashion. Intervention of the DAT can be circumvented if the DAT is not in the search space of the Probe when AGREE takes place: (Cuervo 2010b; Fábregas, Jiménez-Fernández, & Tubino 2017; López 2007; Pujalte 2015; Torrego 2002).[57]

(68) a. Le gustamos nosotros
DAT.3SG like.1PL us
'S/he likes us'

b. le T_{φ} <le> [$_{vP}$ v_{def} [$_{VP}$ V *nosotros*]]

One of the most discussed issues about this kind of analysis is that it forces to assume that traces of A-movement (or intermediate copies in IM terms) do not intervene (see Boeckx 2008a; Petersen 2016; Richards 2004; i.a.). However, we can directly derive this assumption from the idea that only the last copy of a chain is visible. In fact, Chomsky (2019: 48) defines MS as "a process that terminates once it reaches the head of a chain". In (66), the copy of G_1 in the c-command of P is not the last copy of the chain, thus probing continues until it reaches G_2, which is the head of a trivial chain.

The logical question is how the *last* copy is determined as such, i.e. when (or where) the system considers that a non-trivial chain has been completed.[58] In a step-by-step derivation the term "head" is a temporary role that can only be defined at a specific moment. Consider again the examples above: at the point of (63), the system is not able to predict if the continuation of the derivation is going to be (66), so that EA is not (or not going to be) a chain-head, without look-ahead. Differently put, when T externally merges, the next step may be either EM another element or IM an element that is already in the workspace (create a chain). The EA would be a head and a non-head in those cases respectively, but there is no way that T "knows" that when it enters the computation.

Evaluation at phase-level intends to solve the look-ahead problem because it postulates when the chain is computed. However, as argued in § II.2.2, it presents further complications, since it requires specific accounts to derive regular T-subject AGREE under c-command. Instead, let us just think that, at the moment of probing, the head of the

[57] Not all these proposals coincide in the exact implementation of this idea; see § III.2.1.

[58] I abstract here from the question of how chains are computed at the interfaces. Note that not only the head, but also lower copies may be pronounced in certain circumstances, which makes the role of PF quite intricate. I refer the reader to Nunes (2018) and refs. therein for a recent discussion

chain is the upmost copy of the given chain.[59] This is consistent with a MD-system and naturally captures the observation that intermediate copies do not intervene. See this schematized in (69) and (70), where the head of the chain is underlined:

(69) AGREE ≻ IM
  i. {$T_{\varphi\checkmark}$, <u>EA</u>}
  ii. {<u>EA</u>, {T_{φ}, EA}}

(70) IM ≻ AGREE
  i. {<u>EA</u> {$T_{\varphi:\square}$, EA}}
  ii. {<u>EA</u>, {$T_{\varphi:?}$, EA}}

The advantage of this view is that it derives different outcomes depending on the relative rule ordering. If AGREE takes place before the EA has been copied, it is succesful; while in the reverse order it is not. In (70) T cannot AGREE with the EA because the chain-H is not in its c-command domain anymore. Instead, it still has the opportunity of valuing its uFs with an available lower DP (hence the "?"). Further arguments in favor of rule ordering are offered in § II.5.

The reader may wonder what precludes a subject from raising before AGREE as in (70), which predicts that in a transitive configuration T could agree with the object instead of with the subject (contra (63)). The short answer is *nothing*. Nevertheless, in that scenario, the derivation would crash for an independent reason: the EA would not be able to check its uK. This is in fact desirable because it predicts that only elements that do not require structural Case (those inherently licensed) survive in (70) (i.e. a Case filter restriction). That is the case of Spanish DAT experiencers. In (1) we saw that NU is a mismatch in number between the verb and the IA, which should be, in principle, the controller of agreement:

(71) Nos *encanta* las películas de terror
DAT.1PL love.3SG the movies of terror
'We love terror movies'

The analysis I submit for this phenomenon maintains the intuition that such pattern arises as an outcome of an intervention effect created by the presence of the DAT. If that is correct, the order of IM and AGREE will be responsible for variation: if the DAT raises before AGREE, there is regular agreement with the IA (see (68b)); while if AGREE precedes, an intervention effect arises. Note that if minimality were computed at phase-level, such intervention would not arise in Spanish since the DAT always raises.

Nonetheless, the role of the uK is not that of making the Goal active for AGREE anymore (as supported by LDA data; § II.4.1 and ch. IV), which entails that it does not make it inactive either. This modification of the AGREE conditions is at odds with the conception of "defective intervention" (Chomsky 2000, 2001), by which inactive (Case-assigned)

[59] That is, the copy that c-commands the rest of the chain (the *last* copy in a bottom-up system).

elements are AGREE-blockers (see (64)). Icelandic QS are the paradigmatic example of that effect, taken as elements that can interact with AGREE although they cannot provide a value other than 3SG (see (67b) above; e.g. Boeckx 2008a).[60]

I assume that interveners are just regular Goals that provide a value for the unvalued features of the relevant Probe (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Atlamaz 2019; Béjar 2003, 2008; Boeckx 2008a; Rezac 2004, 2008; Richards 2004, 2008; Taraldsen 1995; i.a.), something that is coherent with the system just defined. More specifically, I follow Richards' (2004, 2008) analysis of QS, whereby they are elements enclosed in a 3rd person shell (see (72) below). The details of this account are explained in the following chapter (§§ III.4.1 and III.5).

(72) Structure of Icelandic QS (first version)
[$_{DP}$ D$_{P:3,K:\square}$ [$_{KP}$ DAT [$_{DP}$ Dφ]]]

Crucially, QS are then only able to value the person feature of the Probe with a 3rd person value. I propose that such scenario is that of a *non-optimal* AGREE, described as a relationship between a non-defective Probe and what I dubb an *improper Goal*.

(73) *Improper Goal*
Goal that does not provide a value for all the unvalued φ-features of the relevant Probe

It is important to point out that, beyond the terminological coincidence, there is no intended connection with the notion "improper movement". Instead, an improper Goal is defective always in relation with a Probe, which reduces the possible definitions of defective in relation to an closed set of possible features, as shown in (74):[61][62]

(74) Probe [F_α:□, F_β:□] ⋙ Improper Goal [F_α:*x*]

The term "defective" is intentionally avoided to prevent a terminological confusion. On the one hand, it must not be connected with Chomsky (2000, 2001)'s defective intervention, just rejected.[63] On the other hand, it must be distinguished from the theory of

[60] The idea of defective intervention has been extensively discussed. A comprehensive critique thereof is not necessary here as the rejection of the AC automatically rules out defective intervention. See Asarina 2011; Atlamaz & Baker 2018; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Boeckx 2008a; Bruening 2014; Coon & Keine 2021; Deal 2021; Hiraiwa 2001; Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2003; Petersen 2016; Preminger 2014; Thivierge 2021; Torrego 2002; among others for thorough discussion.

[61] Ángel Gallego (p.c.) wonders to what extent this proposal is akin to the version of minimality put forward by Starke (2001). Such proposal is meant to capture the differences between weak and strong islands and it is grounded in the idea that minimality is sensitive to feature (sub)classes. That distinction is not taken into account here, since only φ and not other classes of features (e.g. *wh*-, Q, etc.) are considered (see fn. 12). The AGREE model proposed by Béjar (2003) can be taken to be similar in spirit (see Béjar 2003: 55-56 for a detailed comparison), as this author assumes a hierarchical structure of φ-features, following Harley & Ritter (2002); see fn. 62.

[62] This proposal is reminiscent of the entailment condition on valuation proposed by Béjar (2003) whereby a Goal that is less specified than a Probe fails in controlling agreement. The crucial difference is that Béjar defines specification in terms of a feature geometry and defends that Probes are structured bundles of uFs. In such system, a Probe can be specified, for instance, for [π[PARTICIPANT]] (= 1st person), meaning that it can only value such feature from finding a Goal that is as specified ([π[PARTICIPANT]) or more specified ([π[PARTICIPANT [ADDRESSEE]]]) (=2nd person). I abstract from this proposal, because I defend that the *locus* of idiolectal variation is not the featural configuration of functional categories.

[63] In fact, different authors have already pointed out the notion "defective intervention" is misleading. For instance, Preminger (2014) refers to it as the *dative paradox*. Here, I use the former only referred to Chomsky's (2000; 2001) analysis.

cliticization put forward by Roberts (2010, 2018) by which such operation boils down to AGREE between a Probe and a *defective* Goal (a clitic), a hypothesis that is not adopted in this dissertation.[64]

The details of the role of improper Goals are explained throughout the following chapters. The gist of the proposal is that when a fully specified Probe has as its closest Goal an element that cannot provide a value for all its φ-features, a partial valuation situation arises. More specifically, when the Probe gets a value for [person] as a result of that process,[65] number agreement variation arises as a result of last resort.

In the following section, I specify both the ideas of timing of operations and last resort as part of a tridimensional model of variation, which crucially sees optionality as an inherent part of grammar. I defend that this model is superior than previous proposals on microvariation in accounting for idiolectal, intra-speaker variation. The details concerning the specific phenomena will be developed throughout the dissertation.

5 Accounting for optionality

(True) optionality, understood as semantically vacuous alternation (Biberauer & Richards 2006), has been generally considered not to be an inherent part of the grammatical system in minimalist theories since (Chomsky 1995) (and related publications as Collins 1997 and Kitahara 1997, apud Boeckx 2010: 106). The locus of variation has been considered to be either the Lexicon (Borer 1984; Chomsky 1995) or the externalization systems (Berwick & Chomsky 2011). Apparently equivalent syntactic outputs are then argued not to be so, but each syntactic derivation necessarily obtains a different interpretation at LF. For those cases in which no semantic contrast is found, the literature has often suggested that the alternates are exponents of competing grammars (or dialects), following Kroch's theory of language change (Kroch 1989 et seq.).

The following pairs of examples, borrowed from Tortora (2014), come from African American English and Belfast English respectively and, as described by this author following previous literature, both (a) and (b) are semantically equivalent:[66]

(75) African American English

a. What that gots to do with me?

b. What does that got to do with me?

[64] Roberts (2010) defines defectiveness in terms of the clitic lacking uK, while in the present account I take clitics to be Goals that can receive structural Case. The reasons for this decision are made explicit in the analysis of partial agreement patterns in §§ III.5.1 and III.5.2. That said, I think that it is worth pondering in future work whether a unification with Roberts' (2010; 2018) proposal is possible.

[65] The intuition that quirky datives enter incomplete AGREE, only valuing person, is already present in Taraldsen (1995) and Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005). My proposals differs from previous ones that build on such view in that there is no need to postulate that [person] and [number] are separate probes. Instead, they may become separate probes, yielding the attested effects derivately from the structure, avoiding look-ahead, and accounting for the varied patterns. More details are provided in ch. III.

[66] Tortora (2014: fn.3) interestingly comments on the fact that (75) illustrates that it is not necessarily the case that within each pair one of the options corresponds to the "standard" (as (76b)).

(76) Belfast English

a. I have a sister ___ lives in Dublin.

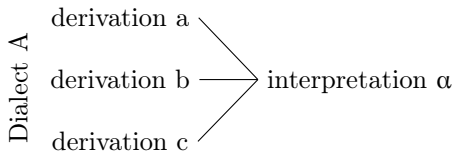
b. I have a sister <u>who</u> lives in Dublin. (taken from Tortora 2014: 296)

From a "Multiple Grammars" hypothesis à la Kroch, as referred to by Tortora (2014), a speaker that accepts both (a) and (b) is bi-dialectal. Instead, I defend that optionality must be part of grammar, as there are empirical evidence in favor of vacuous alternants and this idea does not contradict the basic tenets of minimalism. Let me simply call this the "optionality hypothesis". Both perspectives are reflected in (77) and (78) for comparison.

(77) Multiple Grammars hypothesis

Dialect A	→	derivation a	→	interpretation α
Dialect B	→	derivation b	→	interpretation α
Dialect C	→	derivation c	→	interpretation α

(78) Optionality hypothesis



According to the optionality hypothesis, the exponents in (a)-(b) of (75) and (76) above are two alternants that coexist in a single idiolect within a specific dialect (African American and Belfast English respectively). The phenomena under study in this dissertation constitutes further empirical proof of this vacuous alternation, as it is explored in detail in the next chapters. At this point it suffices to stress that unagreement alternates with the agreeing pattern as part of a single idiolect:

(79) Idiolect x

Nos *encanta/-n* las películas de terror
DAT.1PL love.3SG/-3PL the movies of terror

'We love terror movies'

The same can be maintained for HA, that coexists with the non-agreeing pattern:

(80) Idiolect y

a. Me *encanta/-n* [hacer planes]
DAT.1SG love.3SG/-3PL make.INF plans

'I love making plans'

b. Me *encanta/-n* [que los planes salgan bien]
DAT.1SG love.3SG/-3PL that the plans go-out.3PL well

'I love it when plans work'

Hence I take both phenomena to be exponents of optionality.[67] In this subsection I introduce the model of variation that I adopt in the next two chapters to analyze the data in (79)-(80). This model is coherent with the PPH-system just presented and builds on the proposals put forward by Biberauer & Richards (2006) and Obata, Epstein, & Baptista (2015) about optionality and intraspeaker variation from a perspective by which syntax must not be crash-proof (Chomsky 2004 et seq.).

While the impossibility of vacuous alternations is the prevalent view for many, there are scholars who defend that optionality is an expected part of syntax (Barbiers 2005; Biberauer & Richards 2006). Germanic languages seem to evidence that this is empirically correct, at least for movement alternations. Barbiers (2005) shows that different word orders in verb clusters are freely available for Dutch speakers; while Biberauer & Richards (2006) explore the alternates for EPP satisfaction in different languages. These authors reveal that the placement of finite auxiliaries in ECs in Modern Spoken Afrikaans (see (81) below) and optional expletives in impersonal passives in Dutch, Afrikaans and Faroese are instances of interpretative vacuous movement. Although the adoption of an EPP-feature is not within the basic framework of this dissertation (cf. fn.12), let me use it for expository purposes.[68]

(81) Modern Spoken Afrikaans

a. Ek weet dat sy dikwels Chopin gespeel *het*.
I know that she often Chopin played has

b. Ek weet dat sy *het* dikwels Chopin gespeel
I know that she has often Chopin played
'I know that she has often played Chopin'

(Biberauer & Richards 2006: 37, emphasis in the original)

According to Biberauer & Richards (2006), languages with EPP show optionality because this requirement can be fulfilled in different fashions (i.e. via movement of distinct elements). This is shown in table II.2 below, in which it is abstractly represented that equivalent derivations are possible in the presence of an EPP feature, as long as this feature is satisfied.

According to these authors, the sequences in (81) above differ on the source and the size of the material that fulfills the EPP. In (81a), the whole vP has raised to Spec,TP; while in (81b) only the subject occupies that position. Crucially, both options are available in the language because they are equally costly (or equally economical) for the system. What is crucial to bear in mind is that these derivations are the possible outputs of an individual grammar and a single numeration (Biberauer & Richards 2006: 52). The notion "numeration" should be taken informally to suggest that the set of lexical items (including their featural make-up) is identical among alternants; only the derivational history is

[67] As it is emphasized later, there is no conclusive evidence at this point to determine potential clusters of phenomena and/or entailment relations between them. This questions is left open for further research.

[68] The invocation of this type of structure-building features has been long called into question (e.g. Grohmann, Drury, & Castillo 2000 on the EPP) and explicitly rejected in latest minimalist formulations. This is addressed later in this section.

	Lexicon	Syntax		LF
Lang. A:	+EPP	EPP✓	derivation a	interpretation α
		EPP✓	derivation b	interpretation α
		EPP✓	derivation c	interpretation α
		EPP✓	derivation d	interpretation α
		EPP✗	*derivation e	*

Table II.2: Model with optionality (cf. Biberauer & Richards 2006).

different. The model of idiolectal variation I submit is based on this idea: if there is a Lexicon-driven variation, it must distinguish what we normally refer to as "languages" (e.g. English vs. Spanish), but, crucially, not options within a language. Differently put, I am assuming that variation within an individual is not exclusively captured by differences on the Lexicon. This is clarified below and in subsequent chapters (especially in § III.3.1.1).

As noted, in a model with no room for optionality, it is not possible to obtain the same interpretation from two distinct derivations, leaving out data as (81) above. Another potential empirical counterargument, continuing with the EPP example, comes from those languages in which raising seems to be optional, in other words, it seems that the EPP can occasionally be left unfulfilled. This could be the case of optional orderings of verbal clusters in dialects of Dutch (Barbiers 2005), or optional agreement in Santiago Tz'utujil (Mayan) (Lyskawa & Ranero 2021), see (82) below. According to the latter authors, optionality in object agreement in Mayan is due to the presence or absence of an EPP feature on *v*. If there is such feature, the object raises to Spec,*v*P and it is agreed with (82a), if the EPP is not present, the object stays *in situ* and it is inaccessible for agreement (82b).

(82) Optional agreement with transitive object in Mayan

a. Iwiir x–i–nu–tzu' i–k'e' ch'uuch'–a.
yesterday com–*3pl.b*–1SG.A–see PL–two baby–PL

b. Iwiir x–Ø–in–tzu' i–k'e' ch'uuch'–a.
yesterday COM–Ø–1SG.A–see PL–two baby–PL
'Yesterday, I saw two babies.'

(taken from Lyskawa & Ranero 2021: 44, emphasis in the original) [69]

Leaving aside the intricacies of these patterns of agreement, I would like to suggest, in line with Barbiers (2005: 254), that this kind of approach does not dispense with optionality within the grammar entirely, as it contemplates the optional assignment of a specific feature, the EPP in this case.[70] Such feature can be dispensed with if one accepts that movement itself is optional.

[69]The original glosses are maintained. B = set B (absolutive agreement); A = set A (ergative/genitive) agreement; COM = completive aspect.

[70]Barbiers (2005) points out that something similar was already posited in earlier theories, by which movement was supposed to be triggered by strong features, as opposed to weak ones. In that scenario, optional movement was related to a feature being optionally strong (cf. Henry 1995, apud Barbiers 2005:

In this respect, it must be pointed out that Lyskawa & Ranero (2021) comment on a potential contrast in interpretation between (82a) and (82b) that they have not been able to describe yet. This desideratum is driven by the model of variation they adhere to. If variation is in the Lexicon, a distinction in meaning must be expected. This is represented as "language C" in table II.3:

	Lexicon	Syntax		LF
Lang. A:	+EPP	EPP✓	derivation a	interpretation α
		EPP✗	*derivation b	*
Lang. B:	no EPP	-	-	-
		-	derivation b	interpretation α
Lang. C:	+EPP	EPP✓	derivation a	interpretation α
		no EPP	derivation b	interpretation *α/ β

Table II.3: Model with no optionality (Lexicon-based).

The issue boils down to the following: if a contrast is found, the reason for such contrast can be attributed to the Lexicon; if it is not, (82) should be taken as another instance of vacuous optionality with no especial concern about it. That said, regarding the former, it is not clear to me either to what extent the optionality of a certain feature is informative in our understanding of the phenomenon or it just redescribes the facts. As Ott (2010: 98-103) argues, this is a general issue of crash-proof grammar models (Frampton & Gutmann 2002), whereby the syntax must ensure the "correct" output, i.e. avoid "overgeneration". It is often the case that analyses get complex in order to ensure that they capture the observed facts, but that risks their explanatory power (Thráinsson 2003). More examples of this type are shown later for the analysis of unagreement (§ III.3.1.1).

An alternative proposal for optionality in the grammar that is not Lexicon-related is put forward by Obata, Epstein, & Baptista (2015) and Obata & Epstein (2016). These authors defend that syntax does not specify in what *order* syntactic operations apply (provided that they are not simultaneous, as defended in §§ II.2.1 and II.4.2). Therefore, timing of operations can give rise to distinct derivations with equal interpretation.[71]

Two aspects of this proposal are central for our discussion. First, different orderings are not "fixed" rules in the sense that it is not the case that, for instance, in English IM always preceeds AGREE, while in Turkish, the reverse ordering is obligatory. This is crucial for us, since, again, it is possible for variation to arise within a single I-language and surface

254). In a similar vein, Boeckx (2010: 110) claims that "optionality is a problem in crash-proof syntax and must be hidden by features (present on one derivation, but not in the other) that do little other work". Further comments on featural approaches are made in § III.3.1.1.

[71] It is crucial to bear in mind that the range of possibilities is constrained by phasal locality, hence the degree of freedom that this claim seems to imply is not as high as if applied to a non-phase-based model.

as optionality (Obata, Epstein, & Baptista 2015: 14; Obata & Epstein 2016: 134-135). The second major aspect is that its basic tenet coincides with that of Biberauer & Richards' (2006): the different alternatives must be the output of equally optimal derivations.[72]

The model of (intra-speaker) variation I submit, adopts the first aspect just described, but modifies the latter. To see this, let me first sketch the model of variation I submit:

(83) *Tridimensional model of variation*

a. Dimension 0: lexical items → Lexicon

b. Dimension 1: relative ordering of operations → Syntax

c. Dimension 2: last resort mechanisms → Syntax-Interfaces

This model is composed of three levels or dimensions[73] at which variation is encoded. Those roughly correspond to the three components of grammar, see fig. II.1 below.[74]

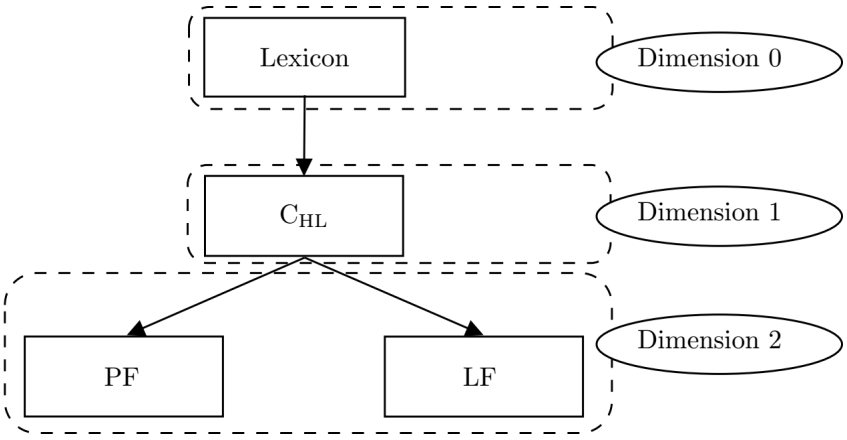


Figure II.1: Tridimensional model of variation.

According to this model, the Lexicon (dimension 0) is not the exclusive locus of variation. Throughout the dissertation it is stressed that this component encodes crosslinguistic variation among languages and maybe also across dialects, but crucially not to what we can call *nano* differences that appear as very close alternatives within the same idiolect.[75] This level has been represented as a 0-level for expository convenience, as levels 1 and 2 are the ones relevant for the idiolectal variation studied here. For that reason, I mostly refer to this hypothesis as a bidimensional model (see (84) below), but the reader must bear in mind that it inserts in the general picture offered in fig. II.1.

[72]Obata, Epstein, & Baptista (2015: 3 and fn. 7) point out that this idea goes back to Chomsky's (1991) analysis of optional verb raising in French infinitives, by which every alternative is equally economical.

[73]The term "dimension" is used by convenience, but nothing hinges on this tag. In the same vein, the tags "tridimensional" and "bimensional" are not intended to be metaphorical.

[74]Ideally, dimension 2 should correspond to the interface-level alone but, for reasons that are developed later in this section and throughout the next chapters, the connection with the syntactic component needs to be preserved, at least for the phenomena analyzed here.

[75]The terms (nano)parameter and microparameter are deliberately avoided because of their non-trivial theoretical implications (see Leivada 2020). For that reason, the label "crosslinguistic variation" will be preferred and expressions such as "parametric differences" must be taken as merely descriptive.

(84) *Bidimensional model for intraspeaker variation*

a. Dimension 1: relative ordering of operations → Syntax

b. Dimension 2: last resort mechanisms → Syntax-Interfaces

Dimension 1 adopts Obata, Epstein, & Baptista's (2015) idea of distinct timing of operations as the source for equivalent variants within a single I-language. As shown in previous sections, a MD-based system predicts that the operations have an impact in the derivation prior to phase-completion, but the specific relative timing is not specified by the syntax (recall that in a ATC-system all operations are required to happen simultaneously at the moment of TRANSFER). As it has already been presented, and it will be developed in the next chapters, this dimension predicts that both intervention and anti-intervention arise in the same context, something that is central in our analysis of NU (ch. III).

Dimension 2 complies with a non-crash-proof desideratum by suggesting that certain non-optimal derivations can be "rescued" or filtered as convergent at the interface level. Therefore, it requires to modify one of the basic tenets of the previous proposals. I now justify this change of perspective and briefly introduce in what sense it is applicable to AGREE-related phenomena.

The postulation of an unconstrained version of MERGE, MERGE α (Chomsky 2004), submits a model of grammar by which syntax must not ensure legibility of its output, but that role is performed by the interfaces alone (see also Boeckx 2010; Chomsky 2013, 2015; Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019; Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2014; Ott 2010). In other words, instead of constraining the possible derivations to prevent a crash, there is free generation and evaluation takes place post-syntactically. This logic easily applies to movement: if IM is a type of MERGE, movement is not featurally-driven.

With no motivation for movement, it is expected for syntax to "overgenerate", i.e. to derive structures that are expected to crash at the interface level. This is not a concern, as proponents of this model argue, because the interfaces will reject such derivations in any case. If IM is free, it is not relevant for the system whether and when it applies, giving rise to multiple derivations to be filtered postsyntactically. As already suggested, in a phase-based account such evaluation or filtering takes place to every transferred chunk. Applying this model to the examples of Mayan seen above in (82) would translate into Mayan speakers filtering the derivations that give rise to the two patterns of agreement as acceptable at PF. Such derivations are the result of the free application of IM, the object may either raise or stay in situ, with no recourse to a feature-trigger.[76]

Before discussing how this model affects the conception of AGREE, a caveat is in order. Contrarily to what it could be thought, a "crash-friendly" model does not enforce a comparison of derivations. Instead, it is predicted that some otherwise illicit derivations converge. It is precisely in this context that we can account for those empirical phenomena that have been usually classified as "deviants". Chomsky (2004, 2008) applies this idea to those

[76] As the reader may have noted, the discussion of the Mayan data is impressionistic and has been simplified for expository purposes. See Lyskawa & Ranero (2021) for a detailed description and analysis.

structures that may be legible for one interface, but not for the other. For instance, structures that may get an interpretation despite being anomalous for PF and vice versa, "often used as literary devices and in informal discourse" (Chomsky 2008: 10). As Ott (2010: 97) correctly points out, there is no real "overgeneration" from this perspective, as there is no expectation on what *should* be generated and the notion of (un)grammaticality becomes vacuous. Throughout the dissertation, both (un)grammaticality and (non-)convergence are used for convenience, but the reader must keep this conceptual turn in mind.[77]

Through the description and analysis of the patterns of agreement discussed in this dissertation, I provide further support and also certain modifications for the interface-filtering view. The basic idea is that some ill-formed derivations converge and others are rejected based on individual evaluation. This evaluation, which corresponds to the second level of variation in (84), is influenced by factors external to the grammar, but not only those. By that I mean that the syntax still tries to produce convergent derivations as long as there is no look-ahead.[78]

This leads us to the specific treatment of AGREE. There are two reasons to suspect that this operation cannot be free, or at least not "as free" as the flavours of MERGE. The first one is precisely that AGREE is not an instance of MERGE (*pace* Hornstein 2009, see Boeckx 2010: 113-115 for detailed criticism); the second one is that it is, by definition, driven by the necessity of feature valuation. Recall that uninterpretability does not play a role in the present system, so its motivation is not deletion of features (§ II.2.2.1). A prominent line of inquiry within the latest research on AGREE defines this idea by claiming that the valuation of uFs is not a requirement for convergence (López 2007: 47; Preminger 2009, 2014). In this scenario, the imposition is on uFs to *attempt* finding a value, but not on them finding it. AGREE must happen, but it may not succeed and still yield a convergent derivation. Again, this is only possible in a "crash-friendly" state of affairs.[79]

The model I put forward keeps this notion of "attempt" in a more strict sense or, differently put, it does not adopt a radical view on agreement failure. By that I want to convey that there are two conditions on AGREE that the system tries to satisfy: MS and MME. The former has been justified in the previous sections, while the second needs to be revised to conform to the present system. From a perspective in which uFs must be valued, the MME forces deletion as a bundle (cf. § II.2.2); but from a perspective in which DELETION is not even necessary, it just forces to *search* as a bundle. This technical nuance is clarified in the next chapter in relation to the data (§ III.3).

[77] As is well-known, the notions "grammatical" and "acceptable" are subject to great debate. In fact, some scholars argue that it is not possible to provide judgments for the former and, consequently, they cannot inform our knowledge of grammatical limits (see Leivada 2020; Ott 2017 and refs. therein).

[78] The question of look-ahead is central for the discussion of clausal dependents, as I note in ch. IV. This is clarified throughout the dissertation by the analysis of the agreement patterns and its consequences for AGREE.

[79] See Coon & Keine 2021; Georgi 2014; Halpert 2016; Keine 2019; Lyskawa & Ranero 2021; Thivierge 2021; i.a., for crosslinguistic applications of the idea of agreement failure.

What is relevant now is that the result of AGREE may be not an utter failure, but partial satisfaction of some of those requirements (i.e. AGREE may partially succeed). The main reason for that, as it becomes evident throughout the analysis of the data, is that a generalized view on agreement failure falls short in accounting for certain contrasts in which failure of AGREE cannot be recovered by default inflection, the same way a strict valuation system could not account for those cases in which there is default. I now offer a rough view of how this is specified for the analysis of the agreement variation phenomena, according to dimension 2 of the model in (84).

In a circumstance in which the closest Goal to a given Probe, P, cannot value all the uFs of P, there is a conflict between MS and MME. I put forward two last resort mechanisms available that try to comply with one of those conditions respectively:

(85) Partial valuation repairs
   a. *Default repair*: A uF on the Probe receives a default value at PF.
   b. *Split repair*: The Probe splits and keeps searching for a corresponding value

The first one yields NU and the second one results in partial agreement which, crucially, are optional alternants in different languages and syntactic contexts. Since that is the matter of the next chapters, I leave the details for now.

A final caveat is in order concerning the role of Case. In the previous lines, Case has been assumed to be the counterpart of AGREE and it has been shown that the Case filter is required, expressed by the presence of a uK on Goals. This is seemingly at odds with a crash-friendly model, since the lack of valuation of such feature should not interfere with a convergent derivation. The Case filter is then maintained here by stipulation, linked to the general assumption that arguments have to be licensed.

5.1 An integrationist model for idiolectal variation

To conclude this section, I would like to point out some additional reasons not to pursue a view on idiolectal variation and optionality based on a more widespread model of microvariation (Kayne 1996) and/or competition of grammars (Kroch 1989 et seq.). With respect to the former, note that, *sensu stricto*, idiolectal variation could be considered a genuine instance of "microparametric" variation if every speakers' idiolect within a dialect or language constitutes a distinct minimal variant. However, as already suggested in relation to table II.3 above, if those differences are so minimal, to derive them from the Lexicon does not seem to help us in understanding them. One either needs to assume that a feature that belongs to a given Lexicon is optionally placed in the derivation (as seen earlier for "language C") or that the speaker is bilingual and switches between a language that possesses such feature and another that does not. See this in table II.4. For expository purposes the EPP satisfaction example is used again.

		Lexicon	Syntax		LF
Speaker 1	Lang. A:	+EPP	EPP✓	derivation a	interpretation α
			EPP✗	*derivation b	*
Speaker 2	Lang. B:	no EPP	-	-	-
			-	derivation b	interpretation α
Speaker 3	Lang. A:	+EPP	EPP✓	derivation a	interpretation α
	Lang. B:	no EPP	-	derivation b	interpretation α

Table II.4: Model with no optionality. Competing grammars approach.

The difference with the previous model is that in this case it is possible to account for the fact that the same speaker accepts two derivations with the same interpretation: they are attributed to the coexistence of two grammars. Although the original proposal was meant to explain language change, many dialectal works apply this idea to account for synchronic variation (see Tortora 2014 for a defense of this model).[80] In fact, it is often tacitly assumed in microvariation studies that potential optionality is the result of the speaker being dialectal and often those dialects are just distinguished by the posession of a certain featural make-up (e.g. a defective vs. non-defective Probe). A major problem with a model à la Kroch is now discussed, while the reasons not to pursue a feature-based account are left for § III.3.1.1, once the relevant data has been described.

A multiple-grammar model raises major concerns for the architecture of grammar. How many grammars a multi-dialectal speaker possesses? If, as the Lexicon-view suggests, the difference is only in the Lexicon, it presupposes that a speaker possesses as many Lexicons as dialects they speak.[81]

Studies of language contact and bilingualism have already drawn attention to this issue. Code-switching provides the perfect scenario to assess to what extent a bilingual possesses double grammars and/or double Lexicons and even double interfaces. Adopting

[80]This line of inquiry suggests to follow Kroch's methodology to synchronic analysis in order to elucidate whether a phenomenon is change in progress (e.g. Llop 2017). Tortora (2014) notes that applying this method requires to observe language change by comparing the speech of different generations (see Thráinsson 2013) and/or evaluate a particular individual's speech at various stages of their life. This is a long-term project that I must leave for further postdoctoral research. However, imagine that we have proof now that in a hundred years time NU is systematic in Spanish; thus, what it is now attested is a change in progress towards such new version of the language (or a new dialect). Even in that case, I am skeptical about considering a speaker that produces both the agreeing and the non-agreeing pattern to be bidialectal, because the dialect-to-be does not exist yet.

[81]For instance, Barbiers (2005: 234) notes that in his study of Dutch verbal clusters, one should posit that a Dutch speaker requires four grammars. Here, I am restricting "grammar" to the "Lexicon" as a standard *locus* of variation. However, note that taking the notion "grammar" at face value it could mean that a bidialectal speaker possess two complete grammars (Lexicon-syntax-interfaces) and the number of grammars would dramatically increase in a multi-dialectal scenario. This seems problematic from the point of view of UG and acquisition.

López (2019)'s terminology, the *separationist* view (see fig. II.2) supports this assemblage conception of I-language; while the *integrationist* view, defended by López, sees bilinguals as having a unique, integrated, I-language (see fig. II.3 below).

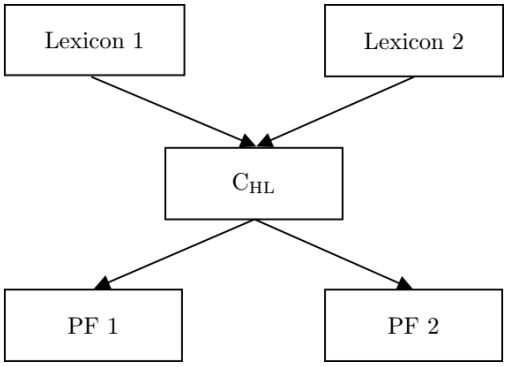


Figure II.2: Separationist approach to code-switching (MacSwan 1997 et seq.; taken from López 2019).

As shown in the representation above, a bilingual grammar within a separationist view is reflected to have two Lexicons and two PFs,[82] but, as noted, the number should increase if the speaker acquires more languages. The main point to be emphasized here is that the issue that a separationist approach raises for an architecture of a bilingual or trilingual mind is dramatically amplified if each microvariant is also supposed to be encoded in a separate Lexicon. If, as Kroch's system proponents suggest, each option within an idiolect (take an agreeing vs. a non-agreeing pattern) is the exponent of a separate grammar, all speakers would necessarily be endowed with a large number of grammatical systems and be constantly switching among them.

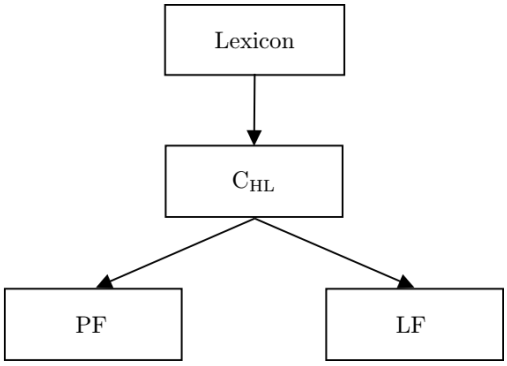


Figure II.3: Integrationist approach to code-switching.

In contrast, by supporting an integrationist view, one is maintaining that a multilingual grammar does not differ from a monolingual one, as fig. II.3 above shows. Intra-speaker variation is encoded within syntax and syntax-interface conditions, with no need to require to and increase of the number of Lexicons and/or interfaces. Assessing this model for the

[82] López (2019: 3) highlights that there is no treatment of LF in these type of approaches.

study of general code-switching clearly transcends the purposes of this dissertation,[83] but it has illustrated our point that it seems unlikely that optional variants are the exponents of code-switching between microvarieties, as the literature often suggests.

In sum, this section has argued that a theory that includes optionality as an expected and natural part of grammar is a conerstone for a model of intraspeaker variation. It has been shown that optionality conforms to the minimalist enterprise within a crash-proof grammar; therefore, it is not only also derivable from a "crash-friendly" perspective, but also more coherent. Identical numerations can give rise to different derivations if operations are unconstrained because, first, there is expected variation with respect to their ordering (first level of variation) and, second, the syntactic output is evaluated at interface level (second level of variation). The present model does not eliminate all impositions on AGREE, considering that the need for valuation is the basic motivation for such operation to apply. I have suggested that syntax *attempts* to comply with the conditions on valuation; therefore, failure is not generalized. While this point is addressed more carefully in the following chapters, it can be already concluded that an integrationist model as the one endorsed here seems more advantageous than previous approaches that either do not recognize optionality or describe it as an aftermath of grammar-switching.[84]

6 Summary

This chapter has explored the suitability of a Probe-Goal framework within phase theory to account for the agreement variation attested in Spanish T-IA configurations. It has been argued that a system based on the simultaneity of AGREE and TRANSFER (i.e. the ATC-model) cannot account for LDA, especially across finite ECs, since it includes several interrelated constraints that render the relevant domains opaque: the AC, the strong PIC, simultaneity and phase-level evaluation. The result is a binary account by which there is either complete opaqueness (when phases are closed) or complete transparency (via defectiveness of phase-heads).

Instead, the PPH submitted is derived from two general principles of efficient computation: the NTC and MS. In particular, it maintains the idea that periodic TRANSFER creates unchangeable domains, but defends two claims that depart from the previous system. Firstly, it states that that the material sent to the interfaces remains visible for syntax (PIC3; Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019; Gallego 2019b; Groat 2015; Obata 2017). This hypothesis captures the previous observation that IM (i.e. movement), but not AGREE is restricted to phase domains (Bošković 2003, 2007) and that Case cannot be assigned across completed phases.

[83] The interested reader can consult Lopez's original work (2019, 2020) and refs. therein. This author defends a model based in a Distributed Morphology architecture. See also Fábregas (forthcoming) for an overview of variation within a DM model in comparison to a lexico-centric one.

[84] This model has important consequences for our vision of crosslinguistic differences and, more generally, our understanding of what constitutes a "language" or a "dialect", or at least, if those are concepts that our theory should account for.

Secondly, this system maintains that the operations that precede TRANSFER have an impact on the computation. This principle has been referred to as *mindful derivation*. MD allows a relative timing of operations to have an effect on the computation of intervention. If AGREE takes place prior to raising of an intervener, such effect cannot be voided. This has been suggested to be part of a tridimensional model of variation, reminded in (86) below, that includes equivalent outputs as a legitimate piece of syntactic variation (dimension 1). This model dispenses with the assumption that intraspeaker variation is the result of competing dialects that are described in terms of dedicated minimal featural differences within the Lexicon. Instead, it maintains lexical variation restricted to crosslinguistic differences (dimension 0) and derives idiolectal differences from the syntax and syntax-interface connections (dimensions 1 and 2), possible under a "crash-friendly" perspective.

(86) *Tridimensional model of variation*

a. Dimension 0:	lexical items	Lexicon	Crosslinguistic variation
b. Dimension 1:	relative ordering of operations	Syntax	Intraspeaker variation
c. Dimension 2:	last resort mechanisms	Syntax-Interfaces	

Chapter III

Number (un)agreement

1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we proposed a system of general transparency, by which a DP within a transferred domain is visible as a potential Goal for valuing the uFs of a Probe outside that domain. As noted, in such system the role of MS and, by extension, of intervention, is central to predict that certain domains are not accessible for agreement. Hence, the relative structural position of the potential Goals with respect to the Probe is crucial for the computation of intervention.

This chapter further explores the role of intervention in T-IA agreement structures. The main focus will be number unagreement (NU) in Spanish DAT-NOM structures (DNS), the basic example is repeated here:

(1) Nos *encanta* las películas de terror — Number unagreement
DAT.1PL love.3SG the.PL movies of terror
'We love terror movies'

I will show that φ-intervention does not only account for NU, but also for partial (i.e. number) agreement, attested in other T-IA agreements structures, namely SE-sentences:

(2) a. Se discutieron los resultados — Partial agreement
SE discussed.3PL the.PL results
'The results were discussed' / 'Someone discussed the results'

b. Se discutió los resultados — Number unagreement
SE discussed.3SG the.PL results
'The results were discussed' / 'Someone discussed the results'

NU will be treated as an instance of a pure lack of agreement between T and the IA, tampered with by a φ-intervener. In particular, both DATs and SE will be treated as elements that control person. The different patterns of variation stem from the resolution of number agreement.

The main advantage of the present proposal is that it provides a rationale for the fact that the observed phenomena are subject to idiolectal variation, i.e. different patterns of agreement coexist in the same structure and are available as part of a single grammar.

I show that this hypothesis is further supported by crosslinguistic examples of idiolectal variation, as is the well-known case of agreement variation in Icelandic QS structures. The alternative agreement patterns found in this language have been generally treated as instances of distinct dialects, according to a competing grammars perspective.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section III.2 introduces the main data, NU in DNS structures. Section III.3 reviews previous proposals about agreement mismatches (§ III.3.1) and introduces the analysis based on the bidimensional model for intraspeaker variation sketched in the previous chapter. The first dimension, based on the timing of operations is developed in § III.3.2. The second dimension, based on last resort mechanisms, is introduced in § III.3.3 and fully explored in sections III.4 and III.5. Section III.4 completes the analysis of NU in Spanish, which is argued to be the result of a PF-default repair. Section III.5, then focuses on the strategy of split repair to explain the phenomena of partial agreement attested in Spanish SE-sentences (§ III.5.1) and Icelandic QS structures § III.5.2. Finally, section III.6 summarizes the main claims of the chapter.

2 Patterns of agreement in Spanish DNS

The term *unagreement* refers to the mismatch between the feature values of two elements that, in principle, should participate in an agreement relationship. Regarding verbal agreement, it designates a configuration where the verb shows a morphological inflection that does not align with the person or number features of the putative subject.[1]

(3) Las estudiantes {*queremos*/*queréis*} más derechos. Spanish
the.F.PL students want.1PL/want.2PL more rights
'We students want more rights.'

(4) Yesterday, I went to the bookstore...

...kai pali *xechastika* o glossologos ston orofo me ta lexika. Greek
and again got-lost.1SG the linguist in-the floor with the dictionaries
'...and I linguist lost myself again on the floor with the dictionaries.'

(Höhn 2015: 585)[2]

In (3) and (4) there is a mismatch in person features. In Spanish and in other pro-drop languages (not exclusively of the Romance family) the verb may be inflected in 1PL (*quere-mos*) or 2PL (*queré-is*) when there is a 3PL subject, here *las estudiantes* ('the students'). A few of these languages also allow this phenomenon when the subject is singular. As we see in (4), in Greek the verb may be inflected in 1st singular when the subject, here *o glossologos* ('the linguist'), is 3SG. This phenomenon has been often referred

[1] This type of data challenges the classical notion of "subject" as the agreeing element. This is precisely one of the most debated topics regarding unagreement configurations. To avoid a terminological confusions, I abstract away from such debate and just use the term *external argument* (EA). In the same vein, I will talk about *internal arguments*, although the term "object" may be used interchangeably.

[2] Unless otherwise noted, emphasis is always mine, IFS.

to as *unagreement* (Hurtado 1985; see Höhn 2015 and refs. therein),[3] but I will refer to it as *person unagreement* (PU) to distinguish it from the focus of my discussion, namely number mismatches:

(5) Mos *caleva* istes cadires. North Western Catalan
DAT.1PL was-necessary.3SG these chairs
'We needed these chairs.'

(Rigau 2005: 787)

(6) la a *'zøga* i py'tlet Revere (Northern Italoromance)
there CL.SBJ play.3SG the children
'There play the children'

(Manzini & Savoia 2002b: 187)

In both (5) and (6) the verb is inflected in 3SG, while the postverbal subject is 3PL. It is worth noting that there is a sociolinguistic difference between these "flavours" of unagreement. While PU has been described as a general property of the languages in which it is possible (e.g. Spanish, RAE-ASALE 2009: §§33.6j-o); NU is often regarded as "incorrect" and, therefore, considered "non-standard".[4] Accordingly, its description is less consistent in the literature; some evidence comes from specific dialects in a geographical sense (as (5)-(6)), while other evidence has been just mentioned as part of a colloquial register (Martínez 1999; Vigara Tauste 2005) and not described in depth.

Rigau (1999a,b, 2005) explores the syntactic properties of *deontic verbs*, such as Catalan *caldre*, in different Romance varieties and shows that NU arises in some of them, as (5) exemplifies (see also appendix B). In this section I demonstrate that (i) NU is attested in Spanish, and (ii) it is not restricted to configurations with deontic verbs.[5]

NU has been scarcely referred to in the literature about Spanish and generally spotted only in sentences with deontic verbs:

(7) a. Me *falta* varias piezas del puzzle.
DAT.1SG lack.3SG several pieces of-the puzzle
'You are missing several pieces of the puzzle.' (Villa-García 2010: 255)

b. Me *toca* los peores papeles.
DAT.1SG touch.3SG the.PL worst roles
'I get the worst roles.' (Franco & Huidobro 2012: 148)

c. [...] sólo les *basta* amenazas.
only DAT.3PL be-enough.3SG threats
'...only threats are enough for them.' (Melis & Flores 2007: 16)

[3] It has also been denominated "subset control" (Ackema & Neeleman 2013), "disagreement" (Villa-García 2010) and "anti-agreement" (Sp. *anticoncordancia*) (Saab 2013). The latter is generally used to designate another type of phenomena, the "anti-agreement effects" (Ouhalla 1993) that arise in languages such as Tarifit Berber. In those languages, lack of agreement is sensitive to A'-movement (see Baier 2018 for a thorough discussion).

[4] The case of the varieties in (5) and (6) is described in more detail in ch. V.

[5] A third property is that NU arises in unaccusative configurations. For sake of clarity this is addressed later in the chapter because it hinges on a concrete analysis of unaccusative configurations and because there are outliers to this generalization, precisely deontic verbs in NW Catalan. Both aspects will be addressed in § III.4.3 and taken up in ch. V.

However, as for (ii), it should we expected considering that deontic verbs are a subset of the verbs that require a DNS. This more general class has been referred to descriptively as "relative impersonals" (Par 1923, Benot 1910, apud Rigau 1999a,b, 2005) or "pseudo-impersonals" (Alcina & Blecua 1975, apud Melis & Flores 2007). The logic behind this tag is that these verbs used to be impersonals in Latin (see § III.2.1) and maintain some of such properties, but unlike "pure" impersonals, defined as displaying invariable 3SG inflection and lacking a subject, they express person through the DAT argument. This group includes some psychological and existential verbs (see appendix A).[6]

I defend that the agreement variation patterns attested in DNS are the result of the specific syntactic properties of these configurations; hence all relative impersonal verbs are susceptible of undergoing NU. The next subsection focuses on such properties.

2.1 A characterization of DNS

Spanish possesses configurations that can be taken to be unaccusative ones in that they require a non-agentive NOM IA that controls agreement. The significant difference with similar structures is that these ones select a DAT$_{EXP}$ argument that has some subjecthood properties: it is first-merged in the EA position and it raises above T.

There does not seem to be a precise semantic delimitation for the predicates that appear in such configurations. As is well-known, type III psych-Vs (Belletti & Rizzi 1988), such as *gustar* ('like') or *encantar* ('love'), require a DNS, but also, as previously indicated, deontic-Vs (Rigau 1999a, 2005), such as *faltar* ('lack') or *urgir* ('be urgent'), and certain existential-eventive verbs (e.g. *suceder, ocurrir*, 'happen') allow this pattern (Fernández-Soriano 1999; Melis & Flores 2007). The three classes are exemplified in (8) below. For simplicity, the tag "deontic" is used to refer to both (8b) and (8c) (cf. appendix A).[7]

(8) a. Nos *encantan* las películas de terror. — Psych-verb
DAT.1PL love.3PL the.F.PL movies of terror
'We love terror movies.'

b. Te *faltan* varias piezas del puzzle. — Deontic verb
DAT.2SG lack.3pl several pieces of+the puzzle
'You are missing several pieces of the puzzle.'

c. Les *ocurrió* un accidente. — Existential verb
DAT.1PL love.3SG an accident
'An accident happened to them.'

Although, the semantics of these predicates are relevant to explain some of their selection restrictions (this point is clarified later within this section); the fact that they require a DNS is not determined by their class. As it has been extensively argued since

[6] For a more fine-grained semantic classification of relative impersonals in Spanish I refer the reader to Melis & Flores (2007) and Elvira (2006).

[7] Rigau (2005) argues that deontic-Vs are inserted in existential constructions. I do not use the label "existential" to refer to the lexical Vs to avoid a potential terminological confusion. That type of approach is referred to in § III.4.2 and in appendix B.

Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) seminal work (see Marín 2015 and refs. therein for a summary of the Spanish facts), the tag "psychological" is applied to verbs with disparate syntactic properties. For instance, some Spanish psych-Vs are transitive (see (9) below) and, as such, they show agreement with the canonical subject. Accordingly, transitive psych-Vs are excluded from the current discussion, although I keep the tag "psych-verb".[8]

(9) a. María teme los problemas.
Mary fear.3SG the.PL problems
'Mary is afraid of the problems.'

b. Los niños molestan a María.
the.PL children bother.3PL DOM Mary
'The children bother Mary.'

The DAT argument of Spanish DNS, DATEXP henceforth, has been maintained to be a *quirky subject* (QS) vis-à-vis Icelandic (Fernández-Soriano 1999; López 2007; Masullo 1992, 1993). Some authors do not agree with such equivalence, because they argue that Spanish DATEXPs do not share some of the subjecthood properties identified for Icelandic QSs (Fábregas, Jiménez-Fernández, & Tubino 2017; Gutiérrez-Bravo 2006; Mendívil 2004, 2005, 2012; Tubino 2007, 2008), such as participating in conjunction reduction, (10a), and be controlled by a NOM subject in infinitival constructions (10b) (cf. Sigurðsson 2004; Zaenen, Maling, & Thráinsson 1985).[9]

(10) a. *Ana ama a los perros y ___ gustan los caballos.
Ana love.3SG DOM the.PL dogs and like.3PL the.PL horses
'Ana loves dogs and likes horses.'

b. *Carlos$_i$ hizo todo lo posible [para PRO$_i$ gustar-le$_i$ las
Carlos did.3SG all that possible for like.INF-DAT.3SG the.F.PL
matemáticas.
maths
'Carlos did everything possible to like maths.'

(Gutiérrez-Bravo 2006: 9-10)

However, there is consensus that Spanish DATEXPs (i) are first merged in the EA position, either in Spec,v or as a high applicative (Cuervo 2010b) and (ii) must raise above T by A-movement. The main empirical support for the latter claim comes from the observation that DATEXPs do not behave as topicalized IOs (Belletti & Rizzi 1988 for Italian and Campos 1999; Fábregas, Jiménez-Fernández, & Tubino 2017; Masullo 1992, 1993; Mendívil 2012 for Spanish). Unlike left-dislocated constituents, DATEXPs can be quantified NPs:

[8] In the examples (9), the verbs belong, respectively, to types I and II of the classical Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) classification. Type I verbs are always transitive, while type II ones alternate between a transitive and an intransitive pattern (see Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2015; Mendívil 2005; Royo 2017). Here I only consider the intransitive patterns, namely types II (in the relevant alternative) and III.

[9] There is another important difference regarding the configuration of the DATEXP, which in Spanish must be doubled by a clitic. I will come back to this in § III.3.2.

(11) a. OI topicalized

A nadie, el comité le otorgará una beca.
to nobody the committee DAT.3SG give.3SG a scholarship
'To nobody, the committee will award a scholarship'.

b. DATEXP in preverbal position.

A nadie le gusta la música coral en esta casa
to nobody DAT.3SG like.3SG the music choral in this house
'Nobody likes choral music in this house.'

(Masullo 1992: 120)

The same contrast is attested regarding modification by *solamente* ('alone'), which is incompatible with topics. Conversely, DATEXPs tolerate such adverb (Masullo 1992: 121):

(12) a. OI topicalized

*A Marcos *solamente*, su novia le regalará una grabación de Verdi.
to Marcos alone his girlfriend DAT.3SG offer.FUT.3SG a recording of Verdi
'To Marcos alone, his girlfriend will give him a recording of Verdi'

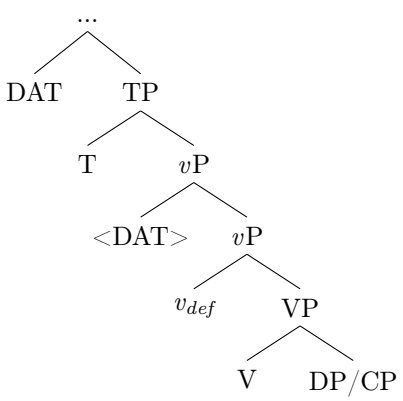
b. DATEXP in preverbal position.

A Marcos *solamente* le pueden gustar las óperas de Verdi.
to Marcos alone DAT.3SG can.3pl like.INF the.F.PL operas of Verdi
'Marcos alone can like Verdi's operas.'

(Masullo 1992: 121)

The basic difference among proposals concerns the landing site of the DATEXP. The DAT raises to Spec,T according to the proponents of the quirky-subject hypothesis (Belletti & Rizzi 1988; Fernández-Soriano 1999; López 2007; i.a.)[10]. On the other hand, those who do not agree with the subjecthood perspective defend that the DAT raises to a higher position (other than TOPP) in order to explain the behavior displayed in (10) above (Fábregas, Jiménez-Fernández, & Tubino 2017; Gutiérrez-Bravo 2006). For the purposes of my discussion, the evidence that the DATEXP A-moves above T is enough to explain the "standard" agreement facts, since I follow the idea that T-IA agreement is possible when the DATEXP raises "out of the way" (I will come back to this in § III.3.2) and provided that v is defective (as already argued in § II.3.1). The resulting structure can be represented as follows:

(13)



[10]Masullo (1992) must be detached from this group, since he argues that Spec,TP is not an A-position in Spanish. For a thorough discussion of subjecthood tests to Spanish psych-Vs see Tubino (2007, 2008).

Let me now focus on the traits of the IA. Although Case is not morphologically expressed in Spanish, it can be stated that the IA of such type of predicates does not bear ACC, based on pronominalization. This is clear when DNS, see (14), are compared with transitive psych-Vs, see (15):[11]

(14) a. *A María le *las* gusta.
to María DAT.3SG ACC.F.3PL like.3SG
'Maria likes them.'

b. *A mí me *las* conviene.
to me DAT.1SG ACC.F.3PL be-convenient.3SG
'They are convenient to me.'

(15) María *las* odia.
DAT.1SG ACC.F.3PL like.3SG
'Maria hates them.'

Further confirmation comes from the fact that the IA can be a NOM pronoun, although it is generally dropped (see § III.4.3). This combinatorial property allows to corroborate that agreement is full or, in other words, that it involves both person and number. This is displayed by the verbal inflection of *gustar* in the examples in (16) below.[12] This observation becomes crucial in accounting for the agreement facts, especially in comparison with related structures, as SE-sentences and Icelandic QS-structures, since both ban person agreement. This point is resumed and developed in § III.5.

(16) a. Le gusto yo.
DAT.3SG like.1SG I
'S/he likes me.'

b. Le gust-as/ás tú/vos.
DAT.3SG like-2SG you
'S/he likes you.'

c. Le gusta ella.
DAT.3SG like.3SG she
'S/he likes her.'

d. Le gustamos nosotros.
DAT.3SG like.1PL us
'S/he likes us.'

e. Le gustáis vosotros.
DAT.3SG like.2PL you.PL
'S/he likes you.'

f. Le gustan ellos/ustedes.
DAT.3SG like.3PL they/they.POL
'S/he likes them/you.'

Going back to the description of DNS, it is necessary to address the fact that a subset of deontic verbs seem to reject NOM pronouns (Rigau 2005: 779):[13]

[11] Some Romance varieties constitute a remarkable exception, as they display ACC marking with some deontic verbs (Rigau 1999a,b, 2005). I come back to this special case in § III.4.3.

[12] There is dialectal variation in the expression of the 2nd person pronouns. Regarding the plural, *vosotros* only exists in certain dialects of European Spanish, while the rest of areas normally use *ustedes*, which corresponds in turn to the plural form of the polite 3rd person pronoun (RAE-ASALE 2009: §§4.4d-e; 16.15q; 33.6i). As for the singular, *vos* is the typical form for *tú* in Rioplatense (RAE-ASALE 2009: §§4.7; 16.17). Regardless of these differences, all the complete morphological paradigm is offered in (16).

[13] Rigau (1999a: 341) claims that deontic verbs never select NOM pronouns, but she later moderates this point noting that some of them have developed the possibility of allowing such pronouns, based on evidence from Catalan and Sardinian (Rigau 2005: 8). For both Rigau (1999a, 2005) and Elvira (2006) the tendency towards a NOM IA translates into a loss of the original Latin impersonal pattern (§ III.2.1.1), understood as the impossibility of personal verbal inflection. In this sense, it has to be kept in mind that the present description and subsequent proposal applies to current Spanish and may not be valid for previous stages of the language.

(17) a. Me faltas/sobras/haces falta/bastas (tú).
DAT.1SG lack/exceed/need/be-enough.2SG you
'You are missing/useless/needed/enough.'

b. ?Me *convienes* tú.
DAT.1SG be-convenient.2SG you
'You are convenient to me.'

c. *Me *urges* tú.
DAT.1SG urge.2SG you
'I urgently need you.'

I want to suggest (*pace* Rigau 1999a, 2005) that the ungrammaticality of (17c) is not due to the Case assigning possibilities of *urgir*, but to semantic selectional properties. In other words, *urgir* is not "more impersonal" than other predicates (e.g. *faltar*) in that it is unable to assign NOM, but in that it requires an IA that is interpreted as an event or a proposition (see Delbecque & Lamiroy 1999: 1975), similarly to verbs such as *ocurrir* ('happen') that only accept events:

(18) a. Me ocurrió una desgracia/el accidente/#un café/#mi hijo
DAT.1SG occurred.3SG a disgrace/the accident/a coffee/ my son
'A tragedy/the accident/a coffee/my son occurred to me'

b. Me urge una respuesta/tu decisión/?un café/#mi hijo
DAT.1SG urge.3SG an answer/your decision/a coffee/ my son
'A reply/your decision/a coffee/my son is urgent to me'

In fact, all deontic verbs seem to impose this kind of reading on the DP:[14]

(19) a. Me toca la cena (=preparla)
DAT.1SG touch.3SG the dinner prepare.INF-ACC.F.3SG
'My turn for dinner (to prepare it)'

b. Me urgen los documentos (=tenerlos)
DAT.1SG urge.3SG the.PL documents have.INF-ACC.M.3PL
'I urgently need the documents (have them)'

c. Me convienen esos ejercicios (=hacerlos)
DAT.1SG be.convenient.3SG the exercises do.INF-ACC.M.3PL
'Those exercises are convenient to me (do them)'

This semantic property is independent on the fact that these verbs assign NOM given that deontic verbs can accept NOM pronouns and show personal inflection in specific uses (often figurative language). For instance, the strings "me faltas tú" or "me faltabas tú", with *faltar* inflected in 2SG, can be found in Google searches as (romantic) song titles or

[14]This is related to the old observation (see Katz 1964) that certain nouns and adjectives seem to "hide" verbal information. For instance, "a good knife" means "a knife that cuts easily". It does not seem plausible that such information is encoded in syntax, but rather, as I assume here, it is retrieved from the semantics (or even from pragmatics) (see Melchin 2019 and Dikken, Larson, & Ludlow 2018 for recent discussion). I will not discuss if such information is present in the lexical entry of the noun (cf. Pustejovsky 1993; i.a.), since it is not directly relevant for the purposes of this discussion (see Bosque 2000 for a critical review of the existing proposals). It is worth mentioning, as Ángel Gallego (p.c.) points out to me, that this type of selection properties raise the question of to what extend these type of predicates are akin to modals. I come back to this matter in the next chapter (§ IV.2.2.2).

as part of song lyrics, meaning 'I miss(ed) you'. For that reason it should not be surprising to find these uses with similar verbs. For instance, in social networks, the verbs *ocurrir* ('happen') and *urgir* ('be urgent') appear inflected in 2SG as part of messages of affection or amateur poems:

(20) [tweet1]

Me urgeeeee otro puente
DAT.1SG urge.3SG another bridge
'I urgently need another long weekend'

[Reply to tweet1]

A mi me *urges* tuuuu
to me DAT.1SG urge.2SG you
'YOU are urgent to me' (tweet, Mexico)

(21) A veces me *ocurres* y me pierdo en tu mirada.
to time DAT.1SG occur.2SG and me lose.1SG in your gaze
'Sometimes you occur to me and I get lost in your eyes.' (tweet, Spain)

In any event, as suggested earlier, deontic-Vs are naturally linked to propositions, hence they are more frequently combined with ECs both finite and non-finite. The ability of selecting clausal IAs is another common trait of verbs in DNS, as (22) shows.[15] The fact that DNS only allow infinitival (cf. (22a)-(22c)) and subjunctive clauses (cf. (22b)-(22d)) is not further commented on here, as it is discussed in ch. IV for the analysis of HA.

(22) a. Me gusta [bailar]
DAT.1SG like.3SG dance.INF
'I like dancing.'

b. Me gusta [que bailen]
DAT.1SG like.3SG that dance.3PL
'I like that they dance.'

c. Me urge [acabarlo]
DAT.1SG urge.3SG finish.INF.it
'I urgently need to finish this.'

d. Me urge [que lo acabes]
DAT.1SG urge.3SG that it finish.2SG
'I urgently need you to finish this.'

[15] M. Lluïsa Hernanz (p.c.) brings to my attention that these type of verbs also combine with unselected ECs (*¿le importa si fumo?*, '¿do you mind if I smoke?'; cf. Quer 2002). Similarly, the literature has noticed that certain adverbs fulfill that role (Fernández-Soriano & Táboas 1999; Melis & Flores 2007):

(i) A los dos que venían atrás de mí les pasaba *igual*.
to the two that come.3PL behind of me DAT.3PL pass same
'The same happened to those two behind me.' (Melis & Flores 2007: 16)

This behavior may be a remnant of the orginal Latin impersonal structures (see § III.2.1.1).

To finish this description, an asymmetry between the IAs selected by psych- and deontic-verbs must be pointed out. Only the former have been characterized by banning bare NPs (Bosque 1996; Laca 1999; Pujalte 2015; i.a.), while this does not hold for deontic predicates. Compare (23a) with (23b) below.[16]

(23) a. Me *gustan* *(las) canciones.
DAT.1SG like.3PL the.PL songs
'I like (the) songs'

b. Nos *faltan* (los) ingredientes para preparar la cena.
DAT.1PL lack.3PL the.PL ingredients to prepare the dinner
'We are missing (the) ingredients to prepare the dinner'

This contrast and the rest of properties of the IA of DNS are summarized in table III.1.

	psych-Vs	deontic-Vs
bare-NPs	*	✓
ACC	*	*
NOM-pronouns	✓	(✓)
clause	✓	✓

Table III.1: Properties of the IA of DNS.

Interestingly enough, the peculiarities just presented are a remnant of the idiosyncrasy of the original Latin structures. The following subsection offers an outline of the relevant diachronic studies to complete the description of DNS.

2.1.1 A note on the diachrony of DNS

Latin psych-Vs can be classified in three basic groups according to the morphological realization of their argument structure: (c) transitive, (b) intransitive (both unergative and unaccusative) and (c) impersonal. Some examples of these verbs are offered in (24)

[16] It seems that bare NPs are only allowed when they are modified (Bosque 1996; Leonetti 1999, 2012), as in (i)-(iii), because that enables a universal reading (Longobardi 2000; Mackenzie 2006: 201).

(i) les gustaban películas *(que nosotros repudiábamos)
DAT.3PL like.3PL movies that we repudiated.1PL
'They liked movies that we repudiated' (CORPES: 2004, Carlos Castilla, *Casa del olivo*, Spain.)

(ii) a la gente [...] le gustan grupos *(como Slayer o Metallica)
to the people DAT.3SG like.3PL bands as Slayer or Metallica
'People like bands such as Slayer or Metallica'
(CORPES: 2004, press, *La Tercera*, 2004-11-26: *Lucy Willson*, Chile.)

(iii) Me habían gustado piezas de tipo más intimista, líricas incluso
DAT.1SG have.3PL like.PTCP pieces of type more intimist lyric even
'I had liked more intimate, even lyrical pieces'
(CORPES: 2006, press, *El Universal*, 2006-06-11: *Hapee: "Descubrí [...] Burana"*, Mexico.)

As recently discussed by Seres & Espinal (2018, 2019), psych-verb objects must be non-specific crosslinguistically, either definite or universal (generic) (see also Leonetti 1991).

below, extracted from Batllori, Gibert, & Pujol (2019), Elvira (2006, 2009), and Giusti & Iovino (2019).[17] What is interesting for our purposes is that the corresponding patterns evolved towards the current DNS structures.

(24) a. Transitive: *timeo* ('fear'), *gusto*✧ (savour), *appeto*✧ ('strive after something'), *penso*✧ ('weigh, consider'), *importo*✧ ('bring, imply')

b. Intransitive: *perturbo* ('worry'), *gaudeo*, ***placeo*** ('like'), ***doleo*** ('hurt'), *ardeo* ('love passionaly'), *interest* ('interest')

c. Impersonal:

i. Psych-V: *paenitet* ('repent'), *miseret* ('pity'), *piget* ('bother'), *pudet* ('be ashamed'), *taedet* ('be weary of')

ii. Deontic (modal): *libet* ('be pleasing'), *licet* ('be allowed'), *decet* ('be correct'), *oportet* ('be convenient')

As noted by Batllori, Gibert, & Pujol (2019), some verbs with an original transitive pattern (24a) evolved into an stative-unaccusative pattern often involving a change in interpretation. For instance, the verb *gusto* ('savour') eventually became the current Spanish *gustar* ('like'). Other predicates (boldfaced in (24b)) already required a DATEXP argument and were stative:

(25) mihi dolet cum ego uapulo
me.DAT hurt.3.SG when I hit
'It hurts me when I hit [someone]' (Plauto, Epid. 147; apud Batllori 2012: 344)

The class of the impersonals in (24c), described as such because they had an invariable 3SG inflection, had a genitive (as in (26a)) or a clause (as in (26b)) as stimulus and the experiencer was often an ACC argument:[18]

(26) a. me *miseret* parietum ipsorum
ACC.1SG pity.3SG themselves.GEN walls.GEN
'I pity the walls themselves' (Phil. II. 69, apud Batllori 2012: 343)

b. venditorem dicere vitia *oportet*
seller.ACC say.INF faults be-convenient.3SG
'It is convenient for the seller to declare the defects'
(Cic. *Off.* 3. 51; apud Elvira 2006: 50)

At the same time, some of those impersonal predicates displayed a DATEXP (Batllori 2012; Elvira 2006, 2009):[19]

[17]The classification in (24) is a simplification of the one offered by Giusti & Iovino (2019: 39). These authors also distinguish between unergative and unaccusative structures and whether they are "direct" or "inverted" patterns. The verbs in boldface correspond to those with a DNS pattern and the symbol ✧ is used to distinguish those verbs that were originally transitive with a different interpretation. Although those of the impersonal type are technically also intransitive, the distinction is kept for expository convenience. I refer the reader to Giusti & Iovino (2019) for a detailed justification of the classification (e.g. *interest* is not considered an impersonal by these authors).

[18]Mateu & Royo (2022) interestingly highlight that the ACC-GEN structure is an apparent counter-argument for Burzio's (1986) generalization and propose an analysis by which there is a covert EA that receives a θ-role.

(27) a. Civi Romano *licet* [esse Gaditanum]
citizen.DAT Roman.DAT is-permitted be.INF Gaditan.ACC
'A Roman citizen may become a citizen of Gades'
(Cic. *Balb.* 29; apud Rigau 1999b: 194)

b. *libet* mihi [ire]
like.3SG DAT.1SG go.INF
'I like going' (Woodcock 1959; apud Batllori 2012: 345)

For those cases, the appearance of the NOM is occasionally attested (Elvira 2006, 2009; Giusti & Iovino 2019):

(28) a. non te haec pudent?
no ACC.2SG all-this be-ashamed.3PL
'Aren't you ashamed of these things?'
(Ter. Ad. 754; Woodcock 1959: 167, apud Batllori 2012: 346)

b. quod-ne vobis placeat, displiceat mihi?
what-INT DAT.2SG like.3SG dislike.3SG DAT.1SG
'Do I dislike what you like?' (Pl, Mil., 614, apud Elvira 2009: 131)

Later on, in Medieval Spanish, the IA was preferably prepositional, but not exclusively headed by the preposition *de* (compare (29a) with (29b)-(29c) below)(Batllori 2012; Elvira 2009). This fact indicates that the IA did not maintain Latin's genitive Case (cf. (26) above) (Elvira 2009: 141).[20]

(29) a. A muchos *plaze* de toda esta cort (*Cid*)
to many like.3SG of all this court
'Many are pleased with all this court'

[19]Batllori (2012) points out that there is a semantic contrast depending on whether the EXP is DAT or ACC. As Ziwen Wang (p.c.) explains to me, this is not accurate, as the ACC is in fact the subject of the infinitival clause, not the EXP of the matrix verb. Compare (27b) with the following sequences:

(i) *licet* [me$_{ACC}$ ire]
'It is allowed for me to go'

(ii) *licet* mihi$_{DAT_i}$ [PRO$_i$ ire]
'I am allowed to go'

Jaume Mateu (p.c.) corroborates this contrast and clarifies to me that (i) does not exemplify an ECM structure, since the ACC subject is licensed within the subordinate clause.

[20]As Flores & Melis (2015) and Melis & Flores (2007) point out, there are few verbs still able to select prepositional arguments (e.g. *me sobra con tres días*, 'three days are enough to me'), although these authors do not indicate that there is a contrast in meaning (e.g. *me sobran tres días*, 'I have three days to spare'). Other verbs accept prepositional arguments, but they are incompatible with DAT$_{EXPS}$:

(i) En su tiempo libre gusta de ir al cine
in his time free like.3SG of go.INF to-the cinema
'In his/her free time, s/he likes to go to movies
(CORPES: 2002, press, *El Siglo de Torreón*, 2002-12-15:*Sólo 5 buscará triunfo*. Mexico)

Interestingly, Juan Romero (p.c.) tells me that in Villasbuenas de Gata (Cáceres), in West-Central Spain, children use this version only when the THEME is animate *Juan se gusta de María/*del chocolate*. In a similar vein, Rigau (1990, 1994) observes when Catalan *agradar* is pronominalized, it selects a PP *El rey s'agrada de la pastoreta* (lit. 'the king likes of the sheperdess himself'). This behavior is akin to that of the verb *preocupar* in Spanish and Catalan. The following examples mean 'I worry about you':

(ii) Me preocupas tú
DAT.1SG worry.2SG you.SG

(iii) (Yo) me preocupo de/por ti
I DAT.1SG worry.1SG of/for you.SG

(iv) *Me preocupa de/por ti
DAT.1SG worry.2SG of/for you.SG

These pieces of data are further evidence of the fact that this type of predicates are able to fluctuate between different argumental patterns, as it has been generally observed in different Romance languages (see Giusti & Iovino 2019), but this topic brings us far apart from our main purposes.

b. et *plázele* con lo que Dios faze (*Calila e Dimma*)
and like.3SG-DAT.3SG with it that God make.3SG
'and he is pleased with God's doing'

c. ya me *pesa* por dexar la compañía de mi padre (*Celestina*)
already DAT.1SG regret.3SG for leave.INF the company of my father
'I already regret leaving my father's company'

(apud Batllori 2012: 347)

Elvira (2009: 137) further notes that the current NOM-agreeing pattern also existed in Medieval Spanish (see (30)) and it was finally consolidated in the 17th century. The examples in (31) below are retrieved from a corpus.

(30) Et *plogo* muncho la razon a las otras donzellas[...]
and like.3SG much the reason to the.F.PL other maids
'and the other maids liked the reason very much'

(Alfonso X. *Gen. Est.*; apud Elvira 2009: 137)

(31) a. Bien me *plazen* vuestras escusas -dixo el rey-
good DAT.1SG like.3PL your excuses said.3SG the King
'"I like your excuses very much" said the king'

(CORDE: 1517, Juan Molina, *Arderique*)

b. tú me *plazes*
you DAT.1SG like.2SG
'I like you' (CORDE: 1554, Esteban de Nágera, *Cancionero*)

Although some of the Latin verbs listed above do not have a current counterpart in Spanish (e.g. *taedet*, *piget*), the syntactic pattern has been preserved (Elvira 2006, 2009; Giusti & Iovino 2019). The new class of verbs with a DNS configuration is conformed by some of those previously impersonals and some of the psych-Vs that used to be transitive and pronominal or changed their meaning (e.g. *gustar*; cf. Batllori 2012). The pattern also extended to some regular unaccusative verbs (e.g.*irse* 'go', *venir* 'come', *caer* 'fall') often combined with an adverb (e.g. *bien* 'well', *mal* 'badly') and, finally, predicates of new creation, such as *atañer* ('concern') (Elvira 2006) or *(des)agradar* ('dislike') (Batllori, Gibert, & Pujol 2019).

Spanish has kept increasing the repertoire of predicates that allow a DNS. For instance, it features numerous verbal complexes that are equivalent to type III psych-Vs, some of them composed of a light verb + noun (e.g. *dar miedo, dar asco, dar vergüenza*) and others of a existential verb + adjective (e.g. *resultar/ser {imposible, cansado}*) (Fernández-Soriano & Táboas 1999). In addition, both already existing verbs (e.g. *matar, cansar, reventar*, see (32)) and new lexical additions (e.g. *flipar, alucinar* in European Spanish, (33a), *molar* or *copar*, used in Argentina, (33b)) frequently adopt a DNS pattern in colloquial language (see Appendix A and Di Tullio 2015 for more examples).

(32) a. La rueda *reventó*.
the tire bursted
'The tire bursted.'

b. ¡Me *revienta* esperar!
DAT.1SG burst.3SG wait.INF
'I hate waiting!'
(CORPES: 2012, Jesús Carazo, *Las guerras del soldado desconocido*, Spain.)

(33) a. Me *flipan* sus películas.
DAT.1SG flip.3PL his movies
'I'm crazy about his movies.'
(CORPES: 2014, blog,*Ciencia Bizarra*, 2014-06-15: *Cociente Intelectual*, Spain.)

b. -¿Qué galán te *copa* más?
what gallant DAT.2SG capture.3SG more
'What hunk do you like the most?'
(CORPES: 2012, website,*Gente* (gente.com.ar), 2010-01-12:
DELFINA GEREZ BOSCO: "En los primeros castings[...]", Argentina.)

Therefore, it is not immediately obvious that the NU pattern is the result of the transitivization process that is reported in other Indo-european languages, specially from the Germanic family (Elvira 2009).[21] There seems to have been an change from a Case-marked towards a non-Case marked DP as a THEME, which is linked to the non-agreeing and agreeing patterns respectively and both patterns have coexisted in different stages of the language (Melis & Flores 2007; Mensching & Remberger 2006), something already reported in traditional grammars, as in Fernández Ramírez (1986). In other words, as (34) reveals, lack of agreement was present in stages were the agreeing pattern was already a possibility.

(34) a. No nos *espanta* tus westes (Rrekontamiento 437, 14)
not DAT.1PL frighten.3SG your armies
'Your armies don't frighten us.'

b. les *sucedió* cosas (*Quijote* II, 8)
DAT.3PL happened.3SG things
'Things happened to them'
(apud Mensching & Remberger 2006: 199)

All things considered, it can be claimed that DNS-predicates maintain some of their properties in current Spanish. That is coherent with the data of NU that we introduce in the next section. Although it is clear that the agreeing pattern is preferred, not only in Spanish, but in other Romance varieties (Elvira 2006, 2009; Rigau 1999a), the 3SG pattern is attested. I do not have enough evidence to determine whether it has survived through time or whether this is a new phenomenon that looks like one that disappeared. In either way, the main claim is the same: the idiosyncratic syntactic properties of DNS make them prone to accept a non-agreeing pattern. In the next section, I will argue that the key property is the presence of the DATEXP.[22]

[21] See also Batllori (2012) for the evolution of English *like* in comparison with Spanish *gustar* and Giusti & Iovino (2019) for a comparison between the psych-Vs types in current Italian with Latin.

[22] As a side note, I would like to add two empirical arguments in favour of the close relationship between psych-predicates and the DATEXP. First, the well-known button that appeared for the first time on Facebook coined the term "like" as a noun (e.g. *this video has a lot of likes*). The Spanish translation

This brief survey of the diachronic facts has shown that there has been a tendency towards the stative and unacusative structure, in which the experiencer is a DAT argument. The capacity for selecting clausal arguments has been preserved, while the shape of the IA seems to have fluctuated towards a NOM and the corresponding personal inflection. Crucially for our purposes, even in combination with such NOM argument, the impersonal inflection did not seem to be completely lost in later stages as Medieval and Classical Spanish (cf. (34)) and coexisted with the agreeing version. The fact that this is still a possibility in current Spanish, as will be shown in the next section, aligns with the observation that DNS are still productive structures of the language.

2.2 Number unagreement in DNS

In the last section I showed that, with the exception of agreement, Spanish DNS are akin to impersonal structures. Precisely for that reason it is not surprising to find a lack of agreement pattern coexisting with the agreeing one in different stages of Spanish, as previous examples, (31)-(34), manifest. In this section, I show that NU in DNS exists in current Spanish, with evidence from descriptive dialectal studies and corpora research.

To begin with, few examples of NU appear in descriptive works about colloquial Spanish. Quilis (1983) and Vigara Tauste (2005) provide samples of spontaneous speech recorded in Madrid and Lope Blanch (1971) offers data from Mexico D.C. (see (37)). Interestingly, Vigara Tauste (2005: 220) points out that this pattern is very frequent in cases in which the grammatical subject does not match the "real" (conceptual) one.

(35) a. Me *gusta* mucho todos los platos típicos
DAT.1SG like.3SG much all the.PL dishes typical
'I really like all the typical dishes'

b. A mí me *gusta* muchísimo los conciertos de Bach
to me DAT.1SG like.3SG very.much the.PL concerts of Bach
'I like Bach's concertos very much.'

c. A mí me *gusta* las cosas estas religiosas
to me DAT.1SG like.3SG the.F.PL things these religious
'I like this religious stuff' (Quilis 1983: 50)

(36) a. Le *importa* un carajo las oposiciones
DAT.3SG care.3SG a fuck the.F.PL oppositions
'He doesn't give a shit about the public examination.'

b. Hay un poco de terror apocalíptico con esto de los marcianos y todo esto
there.is a bit of terror apocalyptic with this of the.PL Martians and all this
que a mí me *preocupa* mucho los marcianos
that to me DAT.1SG worry.3SG much the Martians
'There is a bit of apocalyptic terror with the Martians and all this, so I am very concerned about the Martians.'

is not "gusta", but "me gusta" (este vídeo tiene muchos *me gustas*). Secondly, in colloquial language, a NOM pronoun can co-appear with the experiencer as a discourse-marker (Ruiz-Sánchez 2013), but never replace it *Yo *(me) gusta leer de todo* (lit. 'I to me likes reading everything').

c. Bueno, pues toda [la música]; bueno, mucho, mucho, muchísimo, no;
well so all the music well much much very-much no

me *gusta* más otras cosas
DAT.1SG like.3SG more other things
'Well, all of it; well, very much, no; I like other things more.'

(Vigara Tauste 2005: 220)

(37) A mí me *gusta* todas las cosas rápidas.
to me DAT.1SG like.3SG all the.F.PL things fast
'I like all the fast things'

(Lope Blanch 1971: 306, apud Melis & Flores 2007: 16)

From these examples alone one could infer that there is an invariable form *gusta* that is used regardless of the IA. In effect, this phenomenon has been argued to exist in heritage Spanish of the US (de Prada Pérez & Pascual Cabo 2011; Pascual Cabo 2013). Besides the fact that the samples retrieved above come from monolingual informants, the examples in (36a) and (36b) show that lack of agreement is possible with predicates other than *gustar* and further pieces of data offered below suggest that NU cannot be reduce to a morphological simplification of the inflectional paradigm; otherwise all verbs would be susceptible of simplifying its paradigm in this manner.[23]

The fact that most of the examples of NU arise with the verb *gustar* can be attributed to a matter of frequency in the lexical choice. *Gustar* is one of the most used psych-verbs[24] and it does not alternate with a transitive pattern unlike type II verbs (*preocupar, molestar, etc.*), so it is more likely to display NU. To corroborate this hypothesis and shed more light on the nature of NU, I show now data gathered from different corpora.

Firstly, NU is attested with other tense and mood inflections of the verb *gustar*. Find below examples with present perfect, simple past, imperfect past and present subjunctive that support the rejection of the invariable form hypothesis.

(38) a. no le *ha* *gustado* las informaciones que señalaban que [...]
not DAT.3SG has.3SG like.PTCP the.F.PL information.PL that pointed-out that
'S/he did not like the.PL information.PL that pointed out that'

(CORPES: 2012, press, *El Mundo*, 2012-01-07: *El PSE considera que [...]*, Spain.)

b. nos *gustó* los artefactos que nos ofrecían las vitrinas
DAT.1PL liked..3SG the.PL artifacts that DAT.1PL offered the.F.PL showcases

[23] As noted by de Prada Pérez & Pascual Cabo (2011) and Pascual Cabo (2013), even though heritage speakers may show a higher acceptance of some innovative patterns, they also seem to have access to the canonical DNS, suggesting that this phenomenon only arises when they use the lexical verb *gustar*. I have not been able to find similar research about heritage Spanish that considers other DNS predicates, either any works that take into account sequences in which *gustar* is not in the present indicative.

[24] The normalized frequency in CORPES shows that the verb *gustar* (freq. 306.57) is the most frequent, followed by *importar* (freq. 130.33) in a lemma search to include all verb forms. In the *Corpus del español* only the total number of occurrences appears, in this case 1,016,203 for *gustar* and only 318,108 for *importar* (including the transitive pattern). This evidences the great difference in frequency between the use of *gustar* and other psych-Vs. In a Twitter database such as the ASinEs (`http://asines.org/twitter/`); here again, *gustar* is the verb that appears most often, followed by *encantar*. Compare the figures from the Spaniard and Mexican databases: Spain = *gustar* 18,378 - *encantar* 10,369 - *importar* 2,793 / Mexico = *gustar* 17,393 - *encantar* 9,078 - *importar* 3,698.

'we liked the artifacts that the showcases offered us'

(Song: 1983, Schwenke & Nilo, *Nos fuimos quedando en silencio*, Chile.)

c. Se notó que le *disgustaba* las viejas chaquetas de cuero
SE noticed.3sg that DAT.3SG disliked.3SG the.F.PL old jackets of leather
'It was noticeable that he disliked the old leather jackets.'

(CORPES: 2004, Alejandro Ribadeneira, *El buitre soy yo.*, Ecuador.)

d. Para los viajeros que quieran escapar del calor y les
for the.PL travelers that want.SBJV.3PL escape from heat and DAT.3PL
guste los deportes acuáticos
like..SBJV.3SG the sports aquatic
'For travelers who want to escape from the heat and enjoy water sports'

(CORPES: 2013, press, *La Tercera*, 2013-02-11: *Guía de los panoramas [...]*, Chile.)

Secondly, examples containing different predicates of both psych- and deontic types are found. The slang verbs included in (42) reinforce the idea that NU is related to the syntactic configuration and not to potential morphological reduction processes.

(39) a. por eso nos *encanta* los proyectos de plataformas públicas.
for that DAT.1PL love.3SG the.PL projects of platforms public
'that's why we love public platform projects'

(CORPES: 2006, press, *El Universal*, 2006-12-20: *Diversión será la clave*, Mexico.)

b. no les *interesa* los detalles de las obras [. . .]
no DAT.3PL concern.3SG the.PL details of the.F.PL works
'they are not interested in the details of the construction site'

(CORPES: 2010, press, *Hoy digital*, 2010-05-08: *Calles y carreteras*, Dom. Rep.)

c. les *preocupa* las secuelas que un embarazo les pueda dejar
DAT.3PL worry.3SG the.F.PL sequels that a pregnancy DAT.3SG can leave
'they are concerned about the sequels that a pregnancy may leave them with'

(CORPES: 2008, press, *Siete*, 2008-08-07: *Envejece la población*, Panama.)

d. A mí, señorita, me *da* miedo los balazos en la noche
to me miss DAT.1SG give.3SG fear the.PL bullets in the night
'I, miss, am afraid of bullets in the night.'

(CORPES: 2016, Franklin Rodríguez, Los descendientes, Uruguay.)

(40) a. nos *falta* los resultados de las comisiones
DAT.1PL lack.3SG the.PL results of the.F.PL commissions
'we are missing the results from the commissions'

(CORPES: 2003, press, *El Deber*, 2003-03-31: *La Policía apuesta [...]*, Colombia.)

b. lo que pasa [es] que le *faltaba* las cajas de la persiana [...]
it that happens is that DAT.3SG lack.3SG the.F.PL boxes of the shutter
faltaban puertas
lack.3pl doors
'The thing is that the shutter boxes were missing [...] doors were missing'

(CORPES: 2011, oral interview, PRESEGAL: SCOM_H21_054, Spain.)

(41) a. a los que no les *hacía* *falta* las palabras
to the.PL that no DAT.3PL made.3SG lack the.F.PL words
'those who did not need the words'

(CORPES: 2001, press, *El País*, 2001-06-11: *Un legítimo campeón*, Uruguay.)

b. no me *hace* *falta* las medallas y condecoraciones
no DAT.1SG make.3SG lack the.F.PL medals and awards
'I don't need the medals and awards'
(CORPES: 2009, press, *El Universal*, 2009-09-17: *Divo del siglo XXI*, Venezuela.)

(42) a. me *flipa* las imágenes de la lava y el volcán
DAT.1SG flip.3SG the.F.PL images of the lava and the volcano
'I love the images of the lava and the volcano' (tweet, Spain)

b. Me *mola* todos tus vídeos
DAT.1SG love.3SG all your videos
'I love all your videos' (tweet, Spain)

The examples above already reveal that the singular inflection on the verb cannot be attributed to agreement with the features that are overtly expressed in the DATEXP argument, as there seems to be no restriction on the number nor person of the EXPERIENCER.

As for the IA, it does not seem to show any especial properties in comparison with the canonical agreeing patterns. For instance, the specificity of the determiner does not seem to be relevant for the appearance of NU, as (43) shows.

(43) a. oye que me *ha* *encantado* tus fábulas
listen that DAT.1SG have.3SG loved.PTCP your.PL fables
'hey, I was delighted with your fables'
(CORPES: 2012, oral, RTVE, n.d.: *Los oficios de la cultura*, Spain.)

b. cuatro personas que les *gusta* cuatro puntos de cocción distintos
four people that DAT.3PL like.3SG four points of cooking different
'our people who like four different doneness'
(CORPES: 2016, press, *El País*, 2016-05-29: *Un aplauso pal asador*, Uruguay.)

c. no le *gustó* unas foticos mías del Facebook
no DAT.3SG liked.3SG some photos.little mine of+the facebook
's/he didn't like some of my Facebook photos'
(CORPES: 2013, Gabriel Fernández, *Errantes del nuevo milenio*, Argentina.)

d. Y creo que a la gente le *gusta* esos elementos de peligro
and think that to the people DAT.3SG like.3SG those elements of danger
'And I think people like those elements of danger'
(CORPES: 2014, press, *El Confidencial*, 2014-08-01:
La noche en la que Jimi Hendrix [...], Spain.)

It is also possible to find bare NPs with deontic predicates, as in (44):

(44) a. le *faltó* ideas para crear juego
DAT.3SG lack.3SG ideas for create.INF game
'he lacked ideas to create the game'
(CORPES: 2005, press, *ABC Digital*, 2005-04-03:*Primeros puntos perdidos*[...], Paraguay.)

b. todavía les *queda* fuerzas para más!
still DAT.3PL remain.3SG forces for more
'They still have the strength for more'
(CORPES: 2008, Rafael A. Tejada, *La sed del metal*, Rep. Dom.)

c. a mí me *ha* *tocado* [personas] que tienen dinámicas de violencia
to me DAT.1SG have.3SG touched persons that have.3PL dynamics of violence
'I have come across people with violent dynamics'
(CORPES: 2008, report, Macarena Vargas et al., *Mediación familiar y género*, Chile.)

It could be thought, however, that there is some semantic requirement on IAs for NU to be possible. Seres & Espinal (2018, 2019) argue that the interpretation of psych-V complements must be either specific, understood as referent-accessible, or generic, referred to kinds (cf. fn.16). The data above suggest that NU could be restricted to the first interpretation, but the examples in (45), in which the complement refers to kinds, discard this possibility:

(45) a. Si no les gusta *los* *animales*, no tengan perros!
if no DAT.3PL like.3SG the.PL animals no have.3PL dogs
'If you don't like animals, don't own dogs' (tweet, Spain)

b. me da miedo *los* *truenos*
DAT.1SG give.3SG fear the.PL thunder
'I'm afraid of thunder' (tweet, Colombia)

c. No me gusta *las* *funerarias*
no DAT.1SG like.3SG the.F.PL funeral-homes
'I don't like funeral homes' (tweet, Venezuela)

d. ¿les daba miedo *las* *tormentas* a los animales?
DAT.3PL have.3SG fear the.F.PL storms to the animals
'were the animals afraid of storms?' (COSER: interview 1902_02)

The second factor to consider is that, unlike in agreeing patterns, NOM pronouns do not seem to be accepted in NU configurations:

(46) a. ?*Le gusta tú/nosotros /vosotros /ellos/ustedes
DAT.3SG like.3SG you/we /you.PL /they/they.POL
'I like you/us/them'

b. ?*Les falta yo/tú/nosotros /vosotros /ellos/ustedes
DAT.3PL worry.3SG I/you/we /you.PL /they/they.POL
'They are worried about me/you/us/they'

The sequences in (46) provided no hits in the different corpora nor in online sources.[25] Of course, this is not a robust indication that these patterns are impossible, but it is at least suspicious, given the big amount of data that is accessible online. Although for this reason the judgement of (46) has to be taken as tentative,[26] it seems to be on the right track considering examples that combine non-pronominal and pronominal objects, which show that agreement is only forced in the latter case:

(47) a. Me *gusta* los atardeceres y me *gustas* tu
DAT.1SG like.3SG the.PL sunsets and DAT.1SG like.2SG you
'I like sunsets and I like you' (tweet, Mexico)

b. Me *encanta* los atardeceres, pero me *encantas* más vos
DAT.1SG love.3SG the.PL sunsets, but DAT.1SG love.2SG more you
'I love sunsets, but I love you more' (tweet, Paraguay)

[25] I also tested other sequences, with the rest of experiencers (*me, te, nos, os*) and different predicates.
[26] The judgement for the verb *faltar* in (46b) is also reported in Franco & Huidobro (2012: 148).

Furthermore, this restriction has also been observed in other Romance varieties with NU, as NW Catalan and Colloquial Portuguese (see (48) below). Crucially, it must be borne in mind that this restriction is not a matter of 1st/2nd vs. 3rd person, as 3rd person pronouns are also disallowed in these conditions.

(48) a. *Et calia nosaltres NW Catalan
DAT.2SG needed.3SG we
'You needed us' (Rigau 2005: 79)

b. *Chegou eles Coloquial Portuguese
come.3SG they
'They came' (Costa 2001: 12)

This observation does not necessarily contradict the claim that I made regarding the availability of NOM pronouns with specific deontic predicates (see (18)), which I attributed to a matter of semantic selection. I rather take it as evidence that the lack of agreement imposes syntactic restrictions on the IA. I address this specifically in § III.4.3.[27]

To finish the description of the phenomena it is necessary to discuss its dialectal nature. The data seen in this section come from very different Spanish speaking regions, suggesting that it is not restricted to either European or American Spanish. Of course, there are important dialectal differences within these two general areas that could influence the appearance of NU, but so far the evidence suggests that the phenomenon is not delimited diatopically.

Regarding diaphasic variation, the source of the data is also varied and not restricted to orality. Written evidence can be taken to some extent to reproduce oral speech when it comes from interview recordings, specific pieces of fiction, and also social networks (e.g. Estrada & De Benito 2016; Mancera & Pano 2013; Overbeck 2017; Wikström 2017), but extracts from press, which is the source of some of the examples displayed above, do not naturally fall into this group. Recent sociolinguistic studies shed light on this matter by reporting that there seems to be a tendency in Spanish speaking press language to include colloquial traits, among other reasons, as a reflex of the oral and written continuum (see Vellón Lahoz 2011 and refs. therein). Crucially, those are not only lexical or pragmatic, but also syntactic. In this vein, Carmona Yanes (2015: §6.2.1.3.) specifically points out that "deviant" agreement patterns are very frequent in press, including number mismatches:

(49) Me *es* indiferente los conflictos internos
DAT.1SG is indifferent the.PL conflicts internal
'I am indifferent to internal conflicts' (Carmona Yanes 2015: 331)

[27]The label "person restriction" is commonly used to refer to the behavior of 1st and 2nd person pronouns in opposition to that of 3rd person, generally discussed in light of PCC phenomena (see fn. 36). Later on I refer to it when addressing the Icelandic patterns § III.5.2. However, it must be highlighted that the more general restriction spotted in NU and illustrated in (46) is not exceptional. For instance, English locative inversion structures also ban 3rd person pronouns (*over the bridge marched the soldiers/*they*). This has been sometimes attributed to a Spec-Head agreement requirement on pronouns (see Martín Doña & Castillo Orihuela 2014 and refs. therein), an alternative is explored later on.

Therefore, NU would be a phenomenon of diaphasic variation and, most likely, also influenced by idiolectal differences. The main implication of this characterization is that the boundaries of such varieties are very difficult (if not impossible) to delimit. Take as an illustration that, as just noted, the phenomenon arises in press language, which should be subject to a greater normative pressure. This is one of the reasons that leads me to pursue an analysis that reflects that both agreeing and non-agreeing patterns are able to co-exist in a given speaker's grammar, based on the premises presented in § II.5.

3 A bidimensional approach to agreement variation

In this section I develop an analysis of the data described. Such analysis does not only aim at accounting for NU, but rather at providing a more comprehensive approach to the agreement variation attested in the structures in which NU arises. In order to do that, I focus on DNS structures in Spanish and compare them to Icelandic QS structures.

The basis of the analysis is not new: as pointed out in § II.4.2, these structures have been typically seen as a *locus* of (defective) intervention, but such accounts do not usually take into account evidence of different agreement patterns within the same dialect. The present analysis is meant to cover that gap by deriving such variation according to two dimensions (within the general tridimensional model introduced in § II.5):

(50) *Bidimensional model for intraspeaker variation*

a. Dimension 1: relative ordering of operations → Syntax

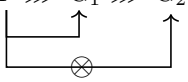
b. Dimension 2: last resort mechanisms → Syntax-PF interface

Dimension 1 yields the presence/absence of the intervener, and *dimension 2* the effects that such presence triggers. This system was introduced in the previous chapter (§ II.4.2) and is fully developed in this section. First, I briefly review the main theoretical approaches to NU (§ III.3.1) and then I turn to the specifics of (50a) in § III.3.2 and of (50b) in § III.3.3.

3.1 Previous accounts to agreement mismatches

Unagreement has been generally analyzed as a result of intervention, understood as a result of MS (§ II.4.2). In other words, the potential relationship between P and G_2 is prevented by the presence of the intermediate G_1 (cf. Rizzi's 1990 *minimality*):

(51) $[_{YP} \ldots P \ggg G_1 \ggg G_2 \ldots]$



Within this group we can find analyses that maintain that the relationship between P and G_1 is a *bona fide* AGREE relationship, while others posit that such relationship is not possible and G_1 is just a blocker. *Defective intervention* is the paradigmatic example of the latter, which is not consistent with the system proposed in ch. II for the reasons

already seen in § II.4.2 (recall, for instance, that it requires to adopt some form of the AC, rejected in the present model). Let me focus then on the alternative option that considers that the features that provide a value for the Probe must be in the structure.

Impersonal structures in pro-drop languages have been claimed to possess a tacit *pro* that controls agreement. In Spanish, that can be exemplified with lexical impersonals (e.g. with weather-verbs) or in SE sentences with intransitive verbs:

(52) a. *pro*^{expl} llueve
rain.3SG
'It rains'

b. Se *pro*^{arb} vive bien aquí
SE live.3SG well here
'This is a good place to live'

Mismatches arise, as seen, when there is an overt DP that could be the agreement controller. For those cases, as in impersonal SE sentences with transitive verbs (see (53) below), some authors have also attributed 3SG inflection to the presence of a tacit *pro*, (see (54)) (Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009; Mendikoetxea 1999, 2008; Otero 1986; Sánchez López 2002; Torrego 2008, see also Ordóñez 2021).

(53) Se vende pisos
SE sell.3SG apartments
'Apartments are on sale'

(54) [$_{YP}$ ... P ... *pro* ... G_2 ...]
└──┘

NU in DNS could be a good candidate for an intervening *pro* analysis since, as seen in § III.2.1, these structures have been regarded as a type of impersonals. Nevertheless, this would force us to postulate that there exist two kinds of DNS structures: an impersonal one, with no T-IA agreement; and a non-impersonal, with T-IA agreement. This distinction does not seem to be accurate, considering that there seems to be no asymmetry in interpretation between the agreeing and non-agreeing patterns, as suggested in the previous section.[28]

(55) me *da* /*dan* miedo las tormentas
DAT.1SG give.3SG /give.3PL fear the.F.PL storms
'I'm afraid of storms'

In fact, an impersonal reading is possible when the EXPERIENCER is not overt:

(56) dan miedo las tormentas
give.3PL fear the.F.PL storms
'Storms are scary'

[28] In fact, this is what has been traditionally accepted for SE sentences. I abstract here from further details about SE sentences and their analysis, since I devote § III.5.1 to that purpose.

There is another possible option that respects MS, but does not hinge on the presence of an additional intervening LI. It consists in positing that the alleged agreement controller does possess the relevant iFs, but they are not overtly expressed (see (57) below). This has been suggested for PU (*los estudiantes queremos más derechos*, see (1)): the subject possesses 1st or 2nd person features, although it is morphologically expressed as a 3rd person DP (Choi 2013, 2014; Höhn 2015; Saab 2013).

(57) $[_{YP}$ P $\ggg$ [φ[DP]]]

In the case of NU it is unlikely that the DP encodes a singular feature. Reconsider, as an illustration, the following example, in which the DP is introduced by the universal quantifier *todos* ('all'):

(58) Me *mola* todos tus vídeos
DAT.1SG love.3SG all.M.PL your.PL videos
'I love all your videos' (cf. (42b))

Further evidence comes from the example in (59), where there is NU in the first sentence, but not in the next one, in which the verb *son* agrees with a dropped subject (*pro*) that must be correferent with the previous DP, *las palabras*. This suggests that such non-agreeing argument (*las palabras*) must be plural.

(59) Por último, afirmó: "me *preocupa* las palabras$_i$ que utilizó la Personería,
for last affirmed DAT.1SG worry.3SG the.F.PL words that used the
porque pro$_i$ *son* fuertes...
person-juridical because are strong
'Finally, he affirmed: "I am concerned about the words used by the juridical person, because they are strong....'
(CORPES: *Decibeles FM* (decibeles.com.co), 2020-03-02: *Fuertes denuncias del concejal Bobadilla*, Colombia)

Instead, the analysis that I pursue combines, to some extent, both ideas: I consider that there is an intervener, the DATEXP, but the intervening features are not overtly expressed. This hypothesis builds on the standard observation that quirky-alike subjects behave as if they were 3rd person in some respects. This will become clear in § III.3.3, along with the comparison of the Icelandic facts.

It is relevant to take into account that the approaches just reviewed differ in whether they respect the MME (cf. § II.4.2). In fact, agreement mismatches, among other evidence, have led to defend that partial agreement is possible (see Béjar 2003, 2008, among many others). Accordingly, different authors have argued that individual uφ-features constitute independent Probes (cf. § III.5)[29] or, at least, they can be valued separately (Anagnos-

[29] The term "probe" is sometimes found in the literature to refer to a single uF. As an illustration, for Rezac (2004) probes are located in a "target". Thus, T is a target that contains a φ-probe. That bundle may be decomposed in a number(#)-probe and person(π)-probe. Here, I use "Probe" à la Chomsky referring to the functional element that hosts the relevant uFs.

topoulou 2003; Béjar 2003; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Rigau 1999a, 2005; Sigurðsson 2004; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008; i.a.). Consequently, intervention may be partial (cf. Starke 2001 and ch. II, fn. 61), because the Probe may value only one uF by finding G_1:

(60) $\underset{[F_\alpha{:}\checkmark\ F_\beta{:}\square]}{P} \ggg \underset{[F_\alpha{:}x]}{G_1} \ggg \underset{[F_\beta{:}y]}{G_2}$

Since one uF on P (β) is left unchecked, the derivation in (60) would crash. There are two mechanisms proposed in the literature that would prevent that result. Under a failure-proof system, Multiple Agree (MA), a relationship between a Probe and multiple Goals (Anagnostopoulou 2005; Hiraiwa 2001, 2005), predicts that P obtains the corresponding values for α and β from G_1 and G_2, respectively. This option prevents (60) from arising in the first place. I later show (§ III.5.2.1) that MA does not seem to apply to the structures that I discuss in Spanish because it requires a featural correspondence between G_1 and G_2 (i.e. they must have the same person value) that it is not attested in those contexts.

On the other hand, there exists the consideration that β does not necessarily need to be syntactically valued. Preminger (2014) has extensively argued that the system obligatorily triggers AGREE, not its culmination. In other words, VALUATION must be attempted (see also Rezac 2004: 280–281), but it may not be completed. Following that rationale, a structure with a partially valued Probe, as in (60), could be derived. The next question is whether such derivation may yield a grammatical output.

According to Villa-García (2010), Spanish unagreement is proof that it does. He argues that both PU and NU are possible because in Spanish at most one feature can be left syntactically unvalued. For PU, T agrees in number with the subject, but the person value (1st/2nd) is obtained post-syntactically through semantic/pragmatic agreement (p. 261; cf. Bobaljik 2008); while for NU, number is obtained by default. My analysis is inspired by Villa-García's (2011) claim that default arises when only one feature on the Probe is left unchecked, but that is not taken as a generalized mechanism, because it should be possible to obtain a default value for the whole Probe in absence of a suitable Goal (more in § IV.3.2.1). More specifically, I refine such idea by defending that partial VALUATION must be triggered by an intervener. That way, neither partial nor full default repair are possible as general options for the Probe when a suitable Goal is available, avoiding undesired predictions (§ III.4).

3.1.1 Reconsidering the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture

To finish this overview it is necessary to mention a line of inquiry that does not attribute (or not entirely) agreement mismatches to the role of an intervener. These are proposals that directly link agreement mismatches to the the featural configuration of the Probe (Mensching & Remberger 2006; Rigau 1999a, 2005; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2006; i.a.) according to the *Borer-Chomsky Conjecture* (BCC): they relate parametric variation to the

repertoire of functional heads stored in the Lexicon. More specifically, they hold that the availability of NU in a specific dialect is contingent on the presence of a specific flavor of T in the Lexicon of such dialect.[30]

The BCC has been shown to be useful in explaining differences among dialects, but I am not inclined to think that it is informative about idiolectal variation. The reason is straightforward: the BCC is meant to capture difference among dialects/languages, because it is based on the assumption that every language/dialect has its own Lexicon. While this claim is not necessarily incorrect, the questions it raises are whether (i) every dialect has a different Lexicon and, crucially, if (ii) a bilingual (and/or bidialectal) speaker keeps separate Lexicons or integrates them into a single one. While the working hypothesis for (ii) is the latter (i.e. an integrationist approach; § II.5.1) the answer for (i) is not decisive for the analysis of Spanish NU. That means that even if dialects are distinguished by lexical differences, the nature of NU in Spanish (optional and restricted to individual preferences) cannot be taken as the reflex of specific lexical differences between Spanish varieties. On the other hand, that may not be appropriate for the whole picture of NU in Romance, since the phenomenon seems to be a consistent trait of certain varieties, as NW Catalan or Northern Italoromance (the data are reminded below; see also appendix B).

(61) Mos *caleva* istes cadires — NW Catalan
DAT.1PL was-necessary.3SG these chairs
'We needed these chairs' — (Rigau 2005: 787)

(62) La a *'zøga* i py'tlet — Revere (Northern Italoromance)
there CL.SBJ play.3SG the children
'There play the children' — (Manzini & Savoia 2002b: 187)

For an illustration, let me consider Mensching & Remberger's (2006) approach to Romance NU. The reason for this choice is that these authors (M&R henceforth) base their account in what they refer to as the *probe*-approach, based on Chomsky's (2000; 2001) notion of defective Probe (see § II.3.1). Although they do not explicitly refer to the BCC, they hold that different languages possess different kinds of Ts in their respective Lexicons and apply this idea to closely related varieties (e.g. NW Catalan vs. Central Catalan). Thus, the presence of NU in a given dialect is then contingent to the availability of a specific flavor of T. The difference between a T that yields NU as opposed to a "regular" finite T that triggers full agreement is that the former lacks [number] and EPP features and its person feature is already valued as 3rd:[31]

[30]The exact implementation differs. In Rigau's (2005) proposal the configuration of the DAT is also principal for the analysis. The details are provided in § III.4.2.

[31]The idea that Spanish T may posses valued features is present in the literature (e.g. Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2006). From the technical side, to maintain that T_2 is a Probe M&R are forced to assume that uFs are not necessary to initiate a probing process, i.e. Probes do not need uFs. They invoke Chomsky's (2001: 14) analysis of expletives, which are somehow Probes and Goals at the same time, since they possess uFs, but they are valued from an agreement relationship with another Probe, T. I do not contemplate this possibility here as long as a more simple account based on uF=Probe / vF= Goal can be maintained (see § II.2.2.1).

(63) a. T_1 [finite] [EPP] [P:x] [N:y]
b. T_2 [finite] [P:3] (Adapted from Mensching & Remberger 2006: 189)

According to M&R, Standard Spanish, Italian and Catalan lack T_2 in their Lexicon; while other varieties such as Northern Italian varieties, NW Catalan and Old Romance possess both of them. This approach attempts to give a unification to a more general crosslinguistic phenomenon: lack of agreement with postverbal subjects (see Ortega-Santos 2006; i.a.). They provide an interesting empirical perspective by gathering previously unconnected data from the literature, such as data from Old Romance, which they compare with Arabic anti-agreement (cf. fn. 3), in addition to Icelandic QS and English *there*-existentials. As for the theoretical perspective, M&R reject the postulation of a covert expletive in favour of a *probe*-based analysis. Nevertheless, I am skeptical in that such alternative provides a better explanation for the data.

There are two general concerns. The first one is that we lack a unified theory of the Lexicon in which the BCC should be based on. In effect, M&R themselves note that "the lexicon of a given language must contain (or *must be able to produce*) different kinds of T" (p. 189, emphasis mine). This is of course a general flaw of the BCC that these authors do not intend to solve, and neither do I. Instead, I wonder to what extent it is explanatory to relegate variation exclusively to a piece of the system that we do not know much about.[32] The second one is that, to my understanding, this sort of proposal runs the risk of becoming too specific and, at the same time, too general. Let me elaborate.

The LI proposed, as T_2 in (63) above, is highly specific in that it restricts the verbal inflection that is possible to arise on the verb (3SG) and the dialect(s) in which that is possible. However, it runs the risk of overgeneration, as it could predict that T_2 could appear in any derivation, for example yielding NU on a transitive structure. In effect, M&R claim that NU appears regardless of the verb type; yet the evidence they provide for transitive verbs should be more carefully examined.[33]

As further research, M&R suggest to examine what additional features on the Probe could be responsible for NU in specific syntactic contexts, as with unaccusative verbs. While, as just noted, this is necessary to prevent overgeneration (in a crash-proof system), it then becomes highly cartographic in the sense that it will enhance the descriptive power of the analysis, but it may not be able to tells us anything new about the difference among varieties. This is also related, again, to a more general concern about the theory underlying the BCC, as has been expressed by Borer herself (see also Baker 2017; Taraldsen 2017):

[32] See Boeckx (2015: §1.2) for a critique of lexico-centric frameworks and about the role of the Lexicon.

[33] For instance, the transitive sentence M&R gather from Classical Spanish, see (i), can be analyzed as an impersonal psych-structure, in which the experiencer is covert.

(i) No causó poca admiración las palabras del pastor.
no caused.3SG little admiration the.F.PL words of+the pastor
'The words of the pastor caused not little admiration.'

The complex *causar admiración* can be taken as a single psych-V of the type *dar miedo* ('to be scary'), even with the modifier *poca* (cf. *dar mucho miedo*; 'to be very scary').

> [A]ny modeling of grammatical variation that is based on functional terminals is likely to be severely hampered by the rich and at times non-consensual inventory of currently assumed terminals and features which, if all taken on board, run the risk of creating a system so lax as to allow virtually any variation at all.
>
> (Borer 2017: 251)

For this reason, the AGREE system postulated in this dissertation has as a basic desideratum of restricting such inventory to φ-features. Although the nature of such inventory is not free of controversy, to delve deeper into a general theory of syntactic features exceeds the purposes of the current investigation.

The analysis that will be defended in the next subsections does not locate agreement variation exclusively on the featural composition of a pre-configured LIs stored in the Lexicon, but on the dynamics of the derivation that, in turn, come from the structural possibilities of the language (see also fig. II.3). This way it is possible to both restrict the configurations in which certain patterns arise and capture the fact that different patterns coexist in a single dialect. This is, in a nutshell, an attempt to solve the tension between the evidence that NU must be due to more general constraints on AGREE, as it is attested crosslinguistically, and the evidence that it is "structure"-specific in Spanish (and maybe also in Romance, cf. Rigau 2005 and appendix B).

3.2 Dimension 1: (anti-)intervention and the order of operations

This section develops the first dimension of the proposal, by which the attested patterns of variation depend on the timing of syntactic operations. More specifically, it is defended that such timing is what produces an intervention configuration that alters the application of AGREE.

(64) *Bidimensional model for intraspeaker variation*

a. Dimension 1: relative ordering of operations → Syntax

b. Dimension 2: last resort mechanisms → Syntax-PF interface

The existence of intervention effects is widely accepted in the minimalist literature. There is well-known evidence that at least some type of DAT DPs distort the relationship between T and a potentially matching DP.[34] The paradigmatic example comes from Icelandic raising structures as we saw in (67), repeated here for convenience:

(65) a. Mér *virðast* t_i [hestarnir vera seinir]
DAT.1SG seem.PL the.horses.NOM be slow
'It seems to me that the horses are slow.'

b. Það *virðist* einhverjum manni [hestarnir vera seinir]
EXPL seem.SG some man.DAT the.horses.NOM be slow
'A man finds the horses slow.'

(Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2003: 998)

[34] From a perspective in which AGREE is a precondition for movement, the DAT is also responsible for blocking raising to Spec,T. This effect just does not arise in the system assumed in this dissertation (§ II.5).

Icelandic raising structures constitute evidence that, as I pointed out in § II.4.2, intermediate copies do not disrupt agreement dependencies (represented in (65a) as a trace). In (65) we see that agreement is only possible when the last copy of the DAT is higher than the verb.

This piece of evidence is not trivial: even if it were the result of some unique properties of Icelandic DATs, the question is why such properties affect AGREE, which is taken to be a universal operation. The key role of DATs to understand agreement has been examined in different languages in an attempt to answer this question. In this vein, Romance DATs are considered to be interveners in raising structures, although the outcome of such intervention differs from Icelandic. In French, Italian and Spanish the appearance of the DAT results in ungrammaticality:

(66) a. ??Marie semble *à Jean* [être fatiguée] — French
Marie seem.3SG to Jean be.INF tired
'Marie seems to Jean to be tired'

b. *Gianni sembra *a Maria* [essere stanco] — Italian
Gianni seem.3SG to Maria be.INF tired
'Gianni seems to Maria to be tired'

(67) *Este taxista *les* parece [estar cansado] — Spanish
this driver DAT.3PL seem.3SG be.INF tired
'This drive seems to them to be tired'

(Torrego 2002: 253–254)

For some reason, the effect of the intervener can be circumvented in Icelandic, while in these three Romance languages it invariably yields ungrammaticality. The facts are more fine-grained in Romance, as Torrego (1996, 1998, 2002) originally observed. As we see in (66) and (67), in French and Italian, the intervener is a DAT-marked DP, while in Spanish doubling is compulsory, suggesting that the clitic is the real intervener, something that is discussed later in § III.3.2.1.[35]

This type of evidence suggests that intervention effects may differ (at least among languages; see Preminger 2009, 2016: §8) and that the configuration of the DAT may be relevant for the computation of such effects. If this is on the right track, it should be expected for similar effects to arise in smaller domains.[36] Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008) argue that in Icelandic monoclausal QS structures the DAT is always spelled-out higher than the verb and the verb can either agree with the IA (68a) or show default 3SG (68b):

[35] In fact, Torrego's (2002) proposal seeks to explain why in contrast to Spanish, the DAT clitic does not block raising in Italian and French. I come back to doubling in the next subsection. On the other hand, I leave aside the fact that these effects only arise when the EC is non-finite.

[36] The well-known *Person Case Constraint* (PCC, Bonet 1991) has sometimes been considered an instance of defective intervention in monoclausal configurations (see Boeckx 2008a for its application to QS). This effect is related to the specific featural composition of the intervener and the outcomes of intervention to which I devote section § III.3.3. Other PCC-phenomena, such as clitic clusters, are not treated in this dissertation.

(68) a. að henni *líkuðu* Þeir
that DAT.3SG liked.3PL they
'that she liked them'

b. að henni *líkaði* Þeir
that DAT.3SG liked.3SG they
'that she liked them' (Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008: 260)

The patterns in (68a) and (68b) reflect dialectal differences. Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008) distinguish three dialects: Icelandic A prefers the agreement pattern, Icelandic C prefers lack of agreement, while Icelandic B is in between those, allowing both agreeing and non-agreeing patterns. See this summarized in table III.2:[37]

	Icelandic A	Icelandic B	Icelandic C
agreeing (68a)	ok	ok	??
non-agreeing (68b)	?	ok	ok

Table III.2: Acceptability of agreement patterns in Icelandic dialects (Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008).

Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008) suggest that there is an ongoing change from agreeing to non-agreeing, since the three different dialects coexist and correlate with different generations from older to younger speakers respectively. Nevertheless, the authors themselves note that this is based on a limited study and that the split in three dialects is an "idealization" (Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008: 274) that tries to simplify the considerable variation. Crucially, note that neither of the patterns is completely impossible regardless of the dialect (Jónsson 2017; Thráinsson, Sigurðsson & Jónsson 2015; apud Ussery 2017: 184). This calls for a system in which, despite the possible preferences, both patterns are derivable. Something similar happens in Spanish, in which at least a dialect with only the agreeing pattern and another that accepts the both agreeing and non-agreeing (NU) seem to exist. Let us call them Spanish A and Spanish B for clarity. The relevant contrast between NU and the regular agreement scenario is in (69) and the dialectal differences are reflected in (70):

(69) a. Nos *encantan* las películas de terror. agreeing
DAT.1PL love.3PL the.F.PL movies of terror
'We love terror movies.'

b. Nos *encanta* las películas de terror. non-agreeing (NU)
DAT.1PL love.3SG the.F.PL movies of terror
'We love terror movies.'

(70)

	Spanish A	Spanish B
agreeing (69a)	ok	ok
non-agreeing (69b)	??/*	ok

[37] It is worth noting that the existence of a non-agreeing pattern was already pointed out in Sigurðsson (1996), but there was no detailed investigation about its dialectal nature.

In the previous chapter it was underlyingly suggested that what Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008) consider "covert intervention" is possible within a MD-based system. This means that the DAT is able to intervene in a position that is not its final landing site, *prior* to phase completion (see § II.4). In line with these authors, I defend that the non-agreeing pattern is the result of such covert intervention, otherwise such pattern would only arise when the DAT is spelled-out between the verb and the IA, as it is the case in Icelandic raising structures (see 65b above).[38]

Crucially, this analysis is only possible if the timing of operations is taken into account. The non-agreeing pattern arises in an intervention structure, only possible if AGREE precedes raising of the QS. As (71) represents, the intervener is the last copy of the chain (underlined) when T probes. Let us assume for the moment that, when that happens, T gets a 3SG valuation. The QS then internally merges creating a non-trivial chain. Such chain is irrelevant for T-AGREE at that point.

(71) AGREE $\succ$ IM = intervention
  i. {$T_{\varphi\checkmark}$, $\underline{QS}$}
  ii. {$\underline{QS}$, {T_{φ}, QS }}

The reverse application is expected and desirable, as it accounts for the coexistent agreeing pattern and explains its optionality within a given idiolect, as argued in § II.5. The derivation of the agreeing pattern is represented in (72). Now the QS-chain is created prior to T probing: the last copy of the QS is higher than T, meaning than the QS is not an intervener anymore and T is free to find another potential Goal such as the IA.

(72) IM $\succ$ AGREE = anti-intervention
  i. {$\underline{QS}$ {$T_{\varphi:\square}$, QS }}
  ii. {$\underline{QS}$, {$T_{\varphi:?}$, QS}}

The connection between the Icelandic facts and the Spanish data seems straightforward. Even the corresponding versions of the same lexical verb *like* (*líka* in Icel., *gustar* in Sp.) can be compared. In fact, given the Icelandic evidence, most analyses of Spanish DNS argue that T-IA agreement is possible *because* the DATEXP raises above T or, in other words, because the intervention caused by the DATEXP can be circumvented (Cuervo 1999; López 2007; Masullo 1993; Rivero 2004, 2008), what I have referred as *anti-intervention*. The fact that NU is possible in Spanish, parallel to (68b), constitutes more robust evidence for such claim given the covert intervention analysis.

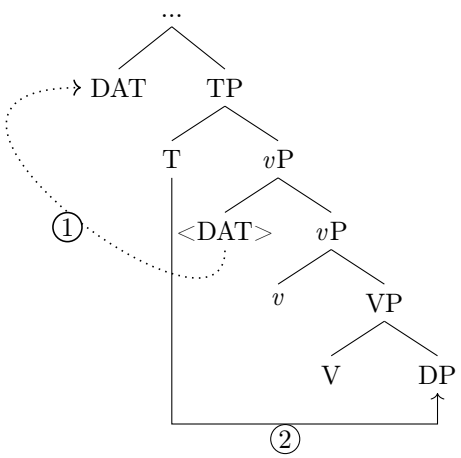
Let us wrap up the analysis presented so far. (73) below represents the derivation that results in full T-IA agreement in Spanish, the agreeing pattern.[39] In this case, anti-intervention is the result of the DATEXP raising above T. The specific landing site is not

[38] There are important differences between the account put forward by Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008) and mine that are discussed in § III.5.2.2. Later on, I also qualify the description of (65).

[39] The Icelandic agreeing pattern is always partial. For clarity, this contrast is not analyzed until § III.5.

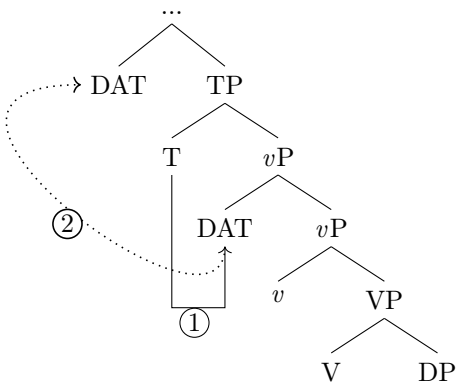
crucial for our analysis, the decision hinges on whether they are considered *bona fide* QSs. If they are, they are posited to land in Spec,T as regular subjects; if they are not, they raise to a higher projection (cf. § III.2.1).

(73) Anti-intervention: *nos encantan las películas*



NU arises as a result of DATEXP intervention, provided that AGREE takes place before that element is removed from T's search space:

(74) Intervention: *nos encanta las películas*



López (2007) and Torrego (2002) analyze regular DNS structures in Spanish (i.e. "Spanish A" above) and conclude that DATEXPs are never interveners in this language, precisely because of T-IA agreement. What is interesting four our purposes is that both analyses also rely on anti-intervention as defined here. They argue that it is the DPTHEME that raises from the IA position by-passing the DATEXP.[40]

(75) [T ⋙ DP ⋙ DATEXP ⋙ <DP>]

[40]The same analysis is defended by Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008) for German DNS, see (i) below, which they treat as a case of scrambling. German data seem, *a priori*, compatible with my analysis, but they are left aside for future inquiry.

(i) Ihm würde-t ihr gefallen haben German
DAT.3SG would-2PL you.NOM.PL liked have
'He would have liked you' (Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008: 254)

For Torrego (2002) this movement is motivated by an EPP feature on *v*. Leaving aside that this feature is not assumed in our system, this proposal raises further doubts. It is not clear to me that this feature makes raising of the DP obligatory, since such feature could also be satisfied by the DAT$_{EXP}$ placed in Spec,*v*. In addition, the analysis is based on the absence of a covert peripheral preposition that this scholar posits to be merged higher in the structure in raising contexts (see Gallego 2010 for discussion).

On the other hand, López (2007) assumes that an unvalued K feature motivates the movement of the DP. If the imposition is on the uK to be valued, it can be accomplished either by the NOM getting closer to T or by the DAT being removed out of the way, as I proposed in (74). Therefore, such uK would not force raising of the DP, just reflects the need for it to be the target of AGREE. This can be accomplished in two equally efficient manners, in line with Obata, Epstein, & Baptista (2015).

To justify that the NOM obligatorily by-passess the DAT, López (2007) further argues that the movement of the DP$_{THEME}$ over the DAT$_{EXP}$ is obligatory according to the most natural order in an out-of-the-blue context:

(76) Context: *What happened yesterday?*

a. Ayer le interesó María a Juan. (THEME - EXP)
yesterday DAT.3SG interesed.3SG María to Juan

b. #Ayer le interesó a Juan María. (EXP - THEME)
yesterday DAT.3SG interesed.3SG to Juan María
'Yesterday Juan was interested in María' (López 2007: 172)

Although I agree with the judgement that it sounds more natural for the THEME to precede the EXP, (76a), I think the role of the DAT clitic is not being taken into account. As shown, the clitic can never be omitted and must precede the verb in a finite sentence. The fact that the doubled DP sounds more natural before or after the THEME is not very conclusive. In fact, when the EXP is other than 3rd person, the reverse order seems to be more natural (at least to my own judgement):

(77) a. #Ayer te interesó María a ti. (THEME - EXP)
yesterday DAT.2SG interesed.3SG María to you

b. Ayer te interesó a ti María. (EXP - THEME)
yesterday DAT.2SG interesed.3SG to you María
'Yesterday you were interested in María'

Given these facts and the observation of the NU phenomena, I do not agree on leapfrogging being obligatory in Spanish DNS, but rather a *possible* option to yield the standard agreeing pattern. If both derivations of anti-intervention are possible and coexistent, it could explain why the general pattern is the agreeing one: there are two ways of obtaining the agreeing pattern and only one for the lack of agreement. The former is obtained when IM precedes AGREE: either the DAT$_{EXP}$ moves above T, shown in (78) below, or the DP leapfrogs above the DAT$_{EXP}$, as in (79):[41]

[41] Both Probe and Goal are indicated to partake in AGREE with a ✓ for the sake of clarity. The specific features that get valued as a result are indicated later on.

(78) IM ≻ AGREE = anti-intervention
i. {DAT {$T_{\varphi:\square}$, {DAT, DP }}}
ii. {DAT, {$T_{\varphi:\checkmark}$, {DAT, **DP**$_{\checkmark}$ }}}

(79) IM ≻ AGREE = anti-intervention
i. {$T_{\varphi:\square}$, {DP, {DAT, DP }}}
ii. {$T_{\varphi:\checkmark}$ {**DP**✓, {DAT, DP }}}

Intervention (and by extension, NU) only arises when the reverse order applies. If AGREE takes place first, the DATEXP becomes the closest Goal to T:

(80) AGREE ≻ IM = intervention
i. {$T_{\varphi:\checkmark}$, DAT$_{\checkmark}$}
ii. {DAT, {T_{φ}, DAT }}

Let us sum up. This section has defended an analysis of NU in Spanish in terms of intervention of the DATEXP. It has been shown that this proposal is in line with previous ones on parallel phenomena in Icelandic. In both languages, the presence of an intervener gives rise to surface lack of agreement with the DPTHEME. It has been argued that such intervention must be covert, since the landing site of the DAT is above T in both languages. This type of analysis is only possible in a system in which operations are not simultaneous. While the (anti-)intervention proposal is not novel, our main contribution is its implementation in an intraspeaker variation model that does not hinge on a competing dialects approach. The first level of variation proposed in our model, the relative ordering of operations, has been shown to derive intervention and anti-intervention outputs attested as part of the same dialect (e.g. Spanish B, Icelandic B). It has also been argued that there can be equivalent manners of deriving such outputs, with no contrast in interpretation. More specifically, I suggest that Spanish agreeing pattern of DNS can be derivable by either raising of the DAT or the NOM argument prior to AGREE. This is desirable in a system with a high degree of freedom, since it provides an account for the fact that the agreeing outcome is the prevalent option.

The second half of the chapter deals with the second level of variation, related to the filtering of the possible derivations, to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the phenomena presented. Before moving to that topic, it is necessary to address some proposals that confront the claim that clitics may constitute interveners for AGREE by defending that doubling is the instantiation of anti-intervention.

3.2.1 Clitic doubling is not anti-intervention

Several authors have discussed the presence of intervention effects in clitic-doubling languages (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Marchis 2014; Marchis & Franco 2017; Petersen 2016; Torrego 1996, 2002; i.a.). The main focus has been again raising configurations and, specifically, the (im)possibility of subject-to-subject raising in the presence of doubling. Marchis (2014), Marchis & Franco (2017), and Petersen (2016) propose that doubling is

precisely an anti-intervention mechanism (see also Preminger 2009). This idea contradicts our claim that the clitic is the real intervener. In this section I defend that this proposal does not hold for Spanish.

The aforementioned scholars base their analysis on the evidence that in languages such as Italian, French and Portuguese raising is possible when the experiencer is doubled (see (81)), but not across a lexical dative-DP, as we saw in (66).

(81) a. Gianni *gli* sembra essere stanco — Italian
Gianni DAT.3SG seem.3SG be.INF tired
'Gianni seems to him to be tired'

b. Ce conducteur *me* semble être fatigue — French
this driver DAT.1SG seem.3SG be.INF tired
'This driver seems to me to be tired'

(Torrego 2002: 253)

They argue that the reason for such asymmetry can be explained by an analysis of doubling à la Anagnostopoulou (2003). The gist of that proposal is that the DAT and the clitic belong to the same A-chain, sharing a single set of φ-features. When the clitic raises, the intervention effect is voided either because the clitic is the only bearer of φ-features of the pair (Marchis & Franco 2017: 113)[42] or, maybe more convincingly, because the doubled DP is an intermediate copy and, as such, it is not visible for T (Petersen 2016: 204).

An empirical argument for this analysis comes from the comparison with Vafsi, an Indo-Iranian language that also displays oblique doubling. Marchis & Franco (2017) show that Vafsi clitics remain *in situ*, suggesting that they are always interveners, unlike in Romance. Proof for that is that Vafsi clitics remain in the same posistion by attaching to different constituents such as complementizers or adverbs:

(82) a. taemen ane-*m* ær-gó
I.DAT that.PL-DAT.1SG DUR-like.DFLT
'I like those (things)'

b. tani hæzíri-*m* bæ-diæ
he.DAT yesterday-DAT.1SG PFV-saw.DFLT
'I saw him yesterday.' (Marchis & Franco 2017: 114,117)

This analysis is appealing because it provides a reason for doubling and a potential parameter. To escape intervention, some languages display doubling, such as Italian; while others rescue the derivation by default VALUATION, such as Icelandic (Marchis & Franco 2017: 119).[43] The prediction is that intervention effects will not arise in doubling structures in languages such as Spanish or Italian, but the fact is that they sometimes do.

As defended in this chapter, Spanish may optionally display NU, but the phenomenon is not expected in structures with no doubling. Italian, for instance, does not require doubling in DNS:

[42] Anagnostopoulou (2003) assumes that Fs can move independently (cf. "move F" in Chomsky 1995).
[43] The authors suggest that the difference could lie in the availability of expletives. That seems unlikely considering that French possesses both expletives and doubling.

(83) A Gianni (*gli) piacciono questi libri — Italian
to Gianni DAT.3SG like.3pl these books
'Gianni likes these books'

(Rubin 2018: 5)

However, Marchis & Franco (2017) note that, in colloquial Italian, the clitic may be present and, only in that case, agreement can be obviated (see (84) below). This points again towards the idea that the presence of the clitic and unagreement are related.[44]

(84) Ai bambini *gli* piace i gelati — Colloquial Italian
to+the.PL children DAT.3SG like.3SG the.PL ice-cream.PL
'Children like ice-cream'

(Marchis & Franco 2017: 114)

Other Italo-Romance languages support this conclusion. As shown by Rubin (2018), in Bolognese, the presence of the clitic is obligatory with type-III psych-Vs and, crucially, in such configurations the verb shows 3SG inflection:[45]

(85) a Zvanén *(a=i=)piè's sti lîber qué — Bolognese
to Z. SCL=DAT.3SG=please.3SG these books here
'Zvanén likes these books'

(Rubin 2018: 1)

Lack of agreement in deontic-DNS in NW Catalan is also explained by the presence of the clitic in Rigau (1999a,b, 2005) (see § III.4.3 and appendix B).

(86) No mos caleva aquests llibres. — NW Catalan
not DAT.1PL was-necessary.3SG these books
'We didn't need these books'

(Rigau 1999b: 204)

Besides the NU evidence, recall that doubling does not "save" the derivation in Spanish raising structures, as first noted by Torrego (2002) (see (67) above). Marchis (2014), Marchis & Franco (2017), and Petersen (2016) challenge these data and consider that sentences such as (87), below, are grammatical, as opposed to their non-doubling versions.

(87) Los niños *(le) parecen al profesor estudiar — Spanish
the.PL children DAT.3SG seem.3PL to professor study
'The children seem to the professor to study.'

(Marchis & Franco 2017: 112)

[44] In Italian, doubling in DNS is relegated to colloquial speech and it is normatively banned. It is interesting to point out that, in the example in (84), the clitic takes invariably the 3SG *gli* form regardless of the number of the double. A similar tendency is reported in Spanish ("le-por-les"; e.g. Roca 1992; RAE-ASALE 2009: SS32.5j-k) and in Italian varieties that use *ci* as an invariable 3rd person dative clitic (I thank Alberto Frasson, p.c., for this remark).

[45] The focus of Rubin's discussion is the fact that when the IA is preverbal, the clitic is optional. He confirms in a p.c. that when the clitic is dropped, there is T-IA agreement, which supports our main claim.

I agree with the observation that the sentence is impossible without doubling, at least in my own idiolect; however, I am not convinced that evidence such as (87) is strong enough to maintain the idea that doubling always gives rise to anti-intervention.[46] Marchis & Franco (2017) themselves note that such judgements are subject to idiolectal preferences, something that I take to indicate some kind of optionality in the structure. As we have seen, Vafsi always triggers intervention because the clitic remains *in situ*. On the other hand, raising of the clitic is compulsory in Romance, but does not guarantee that intervention is avoided, since it can take place covertly in languages such as Spanish. As suggested, this can be explained if the order of operations has an impact on the derivation.

Therefore, doubling is not anti-intervention in Spanish because both intervention and anti-intervention can be attested. Additional crosslinguistic evidence found in varieties such as colloquial Italian, Bolognese or North Western Catalan, seem to proof that this type of intervention is not an isolated phenomenon.

3.3 Dimension 2: last resort

In the previous section it has been defended that intervention is relative to the moment in which AGREE takes place. Anti-intervention arises if the DP is the closest Goal to the Probe *when* AGREE takes place, because either the intervener has moved out of the way or the DP itself has raised to that position. In Spanish DNS, the result is full φ-agreement between T and the IA:

(88) Nos preocupa-[s] (tú)
DAT.1PL worry-2SG you
'We are worried about you'

This section introduces the second level of intraspeaker variation, see (89) below. It is analyzed whether the outputs that are derived from the different timings at which AGREE takes place are legible or can be rescued at PF.

(89) *Bidimensional model for intraspeaker variation*
a. Dimension 1: relative ordering of operations → Syntax
b. Dimension 2: last resort mechanisms → Syntax-PF interface

The derivation of the sentence in (88) does not pose any problem for legibility: all the unvalued features of the Probe are valued and all the arguments receive a θ-role and check Case. The DATEXP possesses inherent Case, while the DP receives NOM as a result of the AGREE relationship with T. By contrast, the derivations in which intervention arises have been argued to distort partially or completely the AGREE relationship, resulting in different patterns of agreement crosslinguistically (Preminger 2014: ch.8).

[46] See Gallego (2010) for an account of the crosslinguistic differences among Romance language regarding clitic doubling in raising structures.

I have suggested, following standard claims, that the intervention of the DATEXP results in 3SG inflection on the verb, which in Spanish DNS is what I have described as NU. Now I refine this claim according to the φ-intervention desideratum presented in § II.4.2. The hypothesis defended is that NU arises when the number feature of the T-Probe obtains a default value at PF, because the closest Goal (the DAT intervener) can only provide a value for person, not for number.

To clarify these mechanisms I proposed the idea of "non-optimal AGREE", which arises when a Probe finds an improper Goal. The definition of improper Goal is reminded here:

(90) *Improper Goal*
Goal that does not provide a value for all the unvalued φ-features of the relevant Probe

(91) below (in which ⋙ indicates c-command) offers an abstract representation of a non-optimal AGREE operation in comparison with an optimal one. In the latter, the Probe satisfies all its uFs upon encountering G_1; in the former, one or more uFs are left unvalued because of meeting an improper Goal.

(91)

a. Non-optimal AGREE:	Probe [F_α:✓, F_β:□]	⋙	Improper G_1 [F_α:x]
b. Optimal AGREE:	Probe [F_α:✓, F_β:✓]	⋙	Proper G_1 [F_α:x, F_β:y]

It is necessary to clarify what I mean by "optimal". I want to suggest that an optimal AGREE operation complies with two conditions. I have referred to the first one as *minimal search* (MS), or *minimal link condition* (MLC) (see (92a) below). This condition is key and falls naturally in a system that dispenses with phase-opacity, as argued in ch. II. The second one is MME, as defined from a crash-friendly perspective (§ II.5; see (92b) below), which tries to ensure that the Probe finds a value for every uF that it bears. Let me emphasize again that even if these conditions are not fulfilled, a derivation can still go through. The critical point is now at the interface levels, which may reject such derivation.

(92) a. MLC: the Probe must find the closest Goal in its c-command domain.
b. MME: the Probe must find a value for every unvalued feature that it bears.

In the next sections, I defend that, besides fitting the general desideratum of the dissertation, this proposal provides a flexible account of intervention that is able to derive both patterns of NU and of partial (number) agreement and predict that they may be optional "alternants" within the same I-language.

The gist of this proposal is that, as a result of a non-optimal AGREE scenario, there is a conflict between the MLC and the MME because they cannot both be fulfilled from a single AGREE operation. The comparison between proper and improper Goals is offered in table III.3. For the sake of completeness, the role of G_2 is also contemplated.[47]

[47] Take table III.3 as purely descriptive summary that does not reflect the relevant interactions; essentially, the role of the G_2 is contingent on the configuration and availability of G_1.

[P ⋙ G_1 ⋙ G_2]	MLC	MME
Proper G_1	✓	✓
Improper G_1	✓	✗
Proper G_2	✗	✓
Improper G_2	✗	✗

Table III.3: Principle satisfaction by proper and improper Goals.

I put forward the hypothesis that the patterns of agreement attested are the result of two possible repairs of such conflict. The first one, *default repair*, results in NU; while the second one, *split repair*, results in partial agreement. Both mechanisms are described throughout the following sections, but their basic definition is already offered in (93).

(93) Non-optimal AGREE repairs:
   a. *Default repair*: A uF on the Probe receives a default value at PF.
   b. *Split repair*: The Probe splits and keeps searching for a corresponding value.

The next section develops (93a), offering a complete picture of the analysis of NU in Spanish, described in the first half of the chapter. Section § III.5 turns to Spanish SE-sentences (§ III.5.1) and Icelandic QS structures (§ III.5.2), both analyzed via split repair.

4 NU in Spanish as default repair

I have defended that even in a system in which syntax is not responsible for filtering non-convergent derivations, AGREE must be subject to certain syntactic conditions. The reason is simple: if one wants to keep AGREE as a core syntactic operation, it cannot just simply operate at morphophonological level. As noted, the hypothesis that uFs can survive opens the door for a more free system in which the outcome of AGREE does not determine whether a derivation is accepted at the interface levels. In order to solve this tension, I have suggested to emphasize the role of *attempt* (cf. Béjar 2003; Preminger 2014), by which the driving force of AGREE is still the imperative to value the Probe's features in the most efficient manner. The twist is that unsuccessful results still yields an outcome and the interfaces determine the degree of "deviancy" they can accept.

This idea is not unfamiliar in the literature, even under crash-proof proposals. The intervention of the DATEXP has been claimed to "block" AGREE, meaning that AGREE cannot proceed, and regardless of that, the derivation converges. As defended in the previous section, NU in Spanish provides further empirical evidence for such claim:

(94) Nos *encanta* las películas de terror
DAT.1PL love.3SG the.F.PL movies of terror
'We love terror movies'

However, the reasons for this blocking effect have been long debated. Since the present system dispenses with the opacity of phasal-domains and also with the AC, DAT-marked DPs cannot be opaque by neither of those means. This is not undesirable, at least at a technical level, since, as pointed out by many authors, the reason for an opaque domain to interact with AGREE is unclear. If the DAT is invisible (either by being a phasal domain, e.g. Rezac 2008, or inactive by Case reasons, e.g. Chomsky 2000), the Probe should ignore it systematically and T-IA agreement would be the only possible result.[48]

Instead, if we take interveners as bearers of vFs, they are just regular Goals that can be agreed with (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Atlamaz 2019; Béjar 2003, 2008; Boeckx 2008a; Rezac 2004, 2008; Richards 2004, 2008; Taraldsen 1995; Thivierge 2021; i.a.). To that end, I adopt Richards' (2004; 2008) analysis of DAT-interveners, whereby such elements are enclosed in a 3rd person shell that corresponds to an expletive (cf. Boeckx 2008a; Chomsky 2000). The original formulation is reproduced in (95), which I take to be the structure in (96).

(95) QS = inherent Case + $[3\text{Person}]_{\text{Case}}$ (Richards 2008: 193)

(96) Structure of Icelandic QS
$[_{\text{DP}}\ \text{D}_{\text{P:3,K:}\square}\ [_{\text{KP}}\ \text{DAT}\ [_{\text{DP}}\ \text{D}\varphi]]]$

As previously noted, Spanish DATs do not seem to be QS vis-à-vis Icelandic. I want to suggest that one of the reasons is that they do not receive quirky Case, which is argued to be the result of adding structural Case to inherent Case (Chomsky 2000, following Belletti 1988). As shown in (96) above, this structural Case is a uK feature placed on the external layer of the DAT. For Chomsky (2000, 2001), that is enough to ensure that the DAT is visible and that it only results in 3SG valuation (see fn. 48). However, Richards (2004, 2008) argues that such feature must be attached to a φ-bundle. I come back to the empirical arguments for that claim in Icelandic in § III.5.2.

If Spanish DATEXPs share the same featural composition, it is expected for them to behave as interveners by virtue of possessing the 3rd person layer. Since the AC is dispensed with in the present system, a uK is not necessary for them to be visible[49] and it explains the fact that they do not get quirky Case. Compare (96) with (97).

[48] This paradox is one of the most debated topics in the generative literature on agreement and, more specifically, on the patterns of agreement described in Icelandic. I believe there is no satisfactory solution for the matter up until now, since the offered solutions generally tend to increase the computational burden by either placing it in the featural configuration of Probes (see § III.3.1.1), which end up becoming extra instructions for the syntax (see Boeckx 2015 for detailed criticism), or complicating the syntactic apparatus, for instance, by positing a MATCH without VALUATION that, at the same time, satisfies the need for VALUATION (e.g. Béjar 2003; Boeckx 2008a; Gallego 2007, 2010). The φ-intervention proposal is just another alternative to overcome the paradox and, as those previous proposals, it intends to be the best possible (or the least worst) solution for it and help us provide some understanding on the phenomena under study. For different perspectives on this matter see, among many others, Asarina 2011; Atlamaz & Baker 2018; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Boeckx 2008a; Bruening 2014; Coon & Keine 2021; Deal 2021; Hiraiwa 2001; Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2003; Petersen 2016; Preminger 2014; Thivierge 2021; Torrego 2002.

[49] The same holds for Icelandic. In the model proposed, the presence of the uK is only related to the fact that such elements receive quirky Case, not to visibility. In § III.5.2, I provide additional arguments to maintain that the uK feature is present in Icelandic DAT interveners, but absent in the Spanish ones.

(97) Structure of Spanish DATEXP
[$_{DP}$ D$_{P:3}$ [$_{KP}$ DAT [$_{DP}$ Dφ]]]

Following Richards' rationale, the φ-features of the DAT are more embedded in the structure, while the expletive is the *bona fide* Goal for agreement, by virtue of being the outermost layer (cf. Atlamaz & Baker 2018: 209). This can be considered an *strict* application of the MLC. See the result of AGREE between the T-Probe and the DAT-Goal:

(98) T [P:3✓ N:?] ⋙ DAT $_{\varphi}$[P:3 $_{\varphi}$[P:*x* N:*y*]]

In (98) AGREE is not optimal because it cannot comply with both the MLC and MME, as reflected in table III.4 below. The DAT is the closest Goal, but it cannot provide a number value. If the Probe tried to find a number value (a possibility explored in the next section, § III.5) the MLC will not be respected because it would require to target the number feature of another potential Goal, which would not be the closest one.

	(a) MLC	(b) MME
T - DAT AGREE	✓	✗

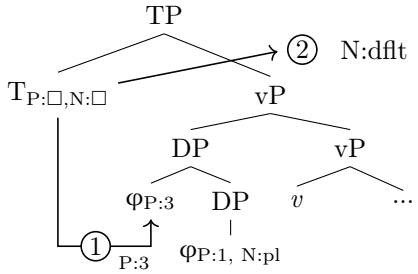
Table III.4: Principle satisfaction by non-optimal AGREE.

As a result, since the system cannot comply with both conditions, it ceases probing. The derivation is sent to the interfaces with a F on T unvalued, the number feature. This is when NU becomes possible for some speakers: PF does not find the derivation illegible and saves it by introducing a default value for the unvalued number feature (cf. Béjar 2003; Béjar & Rezac 2003; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007), which in Spanish is singular. I have referred to this circumstance as default repair.

(99) *Default repair*: A uF on the Probe receives a default value at PF.

To summarize the analysis, the derivation of a sequence with NU, as the one in (94) above, is represented in (100) below. ① and ② indicate the steps of VALUATION:

(100) NU in Spanish DNS: *nos encanta las películas*



The two patterns of agreement attested in Spanish DNS are now accounted for. If IM precedes AGREE (i.e. anti-intervention), T values all its features with the DPTHEME and gives rise to the "standard" agreement pattern under an optimal AGREE operation.

If AGREE precedes IM, the number feature of T is left unvalued; if such derivation is not accepted by PF, it can be rescued and it gives rise to the NU pattern in which the verb shows 3SG inflection. This is summarized in table III.5, which also includes the possibility of PF not accepting such derivation. For simplicity, the standard symbol for ungrammaticality (*) is used, but it must not be taken as an indicator for a crash of the derivation at a syntactic level.

dimension 1	AGREE	dimension 2	outcome	example
anti-intervention	T-IA	-	full φ	*nos gustan las películas*
intervention	T-DAT	default repair	NU	*nos gusta las películas*
intervention	T-DAT	*	*	**nos gusta las películas*

Table III.5: Analysis of Spanish agreement patterns in DNS.

To complete the picture, there are at least three remaining questions to be addressed. The first one concerns the definition of "default" and its consequences for our understanding of AGREE (§ III.4.1). Then I further elaborate on the hypothesis of the DAT as possessor of an expletive layer (§ III.4.2) and, finally, I turn to the consequences of the analysis for NOM Case assignment in DNS (§ III.4.3).

4.1 Default valuation

The idea of default is often invoked in the agreement literature with two different meanings. One of them is more descriptive and refers to the presence of a morphological feature in a verb that cannot be explained by AGREE (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007: 346). In the case of NU, it is number. The second meaning is related to "non-markedness", in the sense that the default value is the less marked value for such attribute, which can vary among languages. For Spanish and many other languages, the default value for person is 3rd, while it is singular for number.

Both notions are naturally connected in the present approach: default agreement is the result of a default (non-marked) value on a Probe. This notion of *exceptional default* (Fraser & Corbett 1997, see also Corbett 2006), is related to the idea of last resort. Exceptional default comes into play when something goes wrong, in this case, the lack of a value and it must not be confused with *normal default*, related to typicality, i.e. what is more frequent (see also Zamparelli 2008).

Having clarified the terminology, note that partial valuation and default are necessarily related to the idea of agreement *failure*. In a structure in which there is no possible Goal, we expect a radical failure of AGREE. For an illustration, consider a *bona fide* impersonal

verb as *llover* ('to rain'). Unless a covert subject is posited (an expletive *pro*), a radical failure of AGREE is expected.[50] In this scenario, even if AGREE is attempted, it can never succeed and its failure is recovered by PF as 3SG inflection:

(101) Impersonal derivation ("crash-friendly" approach)
  i. Derivation α: [... $T_{\varphi:\square}$ ... [V_{llover}]]
  ii. T-AGREE fails → α is transferred
  iii. outcome: $llueve_{3SG}$ ('it rains')

However, in a structure as the one we are studying, if AGREE with the DAT fails, there is another potential Goal to be targeted. NU as conceived here is only possible if the system takes the partial agreement between T and the DAT to fulfill the requirement for AGREE to be attempted. This is in the spirit of Béjar (2003), who suggests that at least one feature must be valued for the system to know that AGREE has taken place.[51] The exact implementation of this idea on AGREE has been already explored in Béjar (2003), Béjar & Rezac (2003), and Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007). These authors suggest that when a non-defective Probe finds a defective Goal, if at least one feature of the Probe is valued with such Goal, the remaining uF must be satisfied by default post-syntactically, giving rise to instances of partial agreement.

In this respect, I must refer back to Villa-García's (2010) analysis of Spanish agreement mismatches (§ III.3.1). In this approach, the Goal does not need to be defective, but one feature on the Probe can be left syntactically unchecked (sistematically, if I understand correctly).[52] The main drawback of such account is precisely that it does not make explicit what causes a single feature (number, in the case of NU) to be left unvalued. If [number] can systematically be left unchecked and, as argued, be licensed at PF, sequences such as (102) below should converge or, differently put, NU could arise in any syntactic context, something that is not empirically correct.

(102) *Aprueba los mejores estudiantes
pass.3SG the.PL best.PL students
Int. 'The best students pass'

[50] From a crash-proof perspective, to avoid Fs to get to the interfaces unvalued, there must be either a covert Goal (an expletive *pro*), as just mentioned, or T (and v^*) must enter the derivation in a defective fashion (or even with their features already valued, cf. § III.3.1.1). As noted by Picallo (2001) for the analysis of clausal arguments, this type of approaches impose look-ahead. ch. IV provides more details.

[51] A significant difference between Béjar's (2003) model and mine is that she considers MATCH without VALUATION, something that is avoided here (see fn. 48). However, I want to highlight that I subscribe the idea that partial VALUATION (MATCH in her proposal) must be the way for the system to know that AGREE has been attempted (here it has actually taken place). In her words, "partial default agreement serves as a diacritic "telling" the derivation that an attempt to find a controller was made" (Béjar 2003: 79).

[52] This proposal is more comprehensive than ours with respect to φ-features, since it discusses the role of gender. Villa-García (2010) claims that u[gender] is systematically left unvalued when the subject is *pro*; while it is valued but not morphologically expressed in the verb when the subject is an overt DP. Since in neither cases it is possible to determine if there is agreement at all, he wonders to what extent his generalization may be spurious or at least not a sufficient condition (p. 262) to explain all mismatches.

Instead, the current account restricts default repair to those structures with improper Goals.[53] Compare the two approaches in (103).

(103) a. [3P✓ uN?] ⋙ [iP:3, iN:pl] → Generalized default repair (Villa-García 2010)
b. [3P✓ uN?] ⋙ [iP:3] → Restricted default repair

One could wonder about the logic of restricting certain derivations in a system in which, as earlier claimed, overgeneration is not problematic. As shown earlier in this chapter, NU does not just arise in any syntactic context, suggesting that it must be syntactically driven, i.e. AGREE must operate in syntax. If AGREE performed exclusively at PF, we would have to posit some morphophonological rule to prevent sequences such as (102) above. This point reinforces our model, because it reveals that even in a system with a higher degree of syntactic freedom, agreement patterns do not arise "at random". Additional examples of this vein are provided throughout the rest of the dissertation.

4.2 The nature of the DATEXP

I have suggested that, much like Icelandic QSs, Spanish DATEXPs must be endowed with a 3rd person feature layer following Richards' (2004, 2008) analysis of the Icelandic facts.[54] This proposal, see (104) below, captures the familiar observation that QSs behave as if they were 3rd person for agreement regardless of whether they are overtly 1st or 2nd person.

(104) Structure of Spanish DATEXP
[$_{DP}$ D$_{P:3}$ [$_{KP}$ DAT [$_{DP}$ Dφ]]]

This structure is convenient for our purposes from a theoretical perspective since it derives intervention from φ-features alone. In addition, in the next sections I provide further evidence from agreement patterns that can be derived by the same analysis. Nevertheless, the reader may wonder if there is independent evidence that justifies the presence of this expletive-layer in Spanish. A potential rationale is sketched in this section.

I would like to suggest that the structure in (104) is a different formalization of the proposals put forward in Rigau (2005) for Catalan and Rezac (2008) for Basque DAT pronouns. Both approaches capture the agreement effects caused by such elements proposing an ontology of features that includes a local/locative dimension to which person values are contingent.[55] I speculate that the connection between (104) and those proposals is possible if the expletive layer that Richards (2004, 2008) puts forward encodes deixis/location. This intuition is supported by the connection that is often found in the literature among the notions of deixis, person and locative elements (Benincà & Poletto 2005; Boeckx &

[53] Villa-García (2010: 262) notes that some non-attested mismatches are correctly ruled-out by his account (e.g. a V3PL + subject3SG pattern is out because plural is never the default), but his system still overpredicts patterns such as (102). For its suitability for PU I refer the reader to Höhn (2015).

[54] Richards' (2004, 2008) account is also meant to capture a person restriction attested in Icelandic. Later I question whether this restriction is purely syntactic § III.5.

[55] The reader should keep in mind that both proposals are oversimplified for expository purposes.

Martín 2013; Ferrazzano 2003; Gruber 2013; Kayne 2008; Martín 2012) and, at the same time, the relationship between DATs and locatives (e.g. Boeckx & Martín 2013; Cabré & Fábregas 2019; Manzini & Savoia 2002a; Martín 2012; Rigau 2005), especially when they are experiencers (Landau 2010).[56]

Rigau (2005) defends that DAT clitics have iFs "with the property L[ocative]" (p. 785). This property translates into DATs being seen by the computational system as "impersonals", meaning that they can only trigger default valuation (3SG).[57]

(105) Oblique clitic φ-features: $\text{L(ocative)}_{[\text{person, number, ...}]}$ (Rigau 2005: 785)

This proposal places the locus of variation between NW Catalan and Central Catalan (see (106) below) on the composition of the T-probe, according to a BCC-based theory of variation (III.3.1.1). In order to match with the DAT L-features, the Probe must be endowed with the corresponding unvalued L-features.

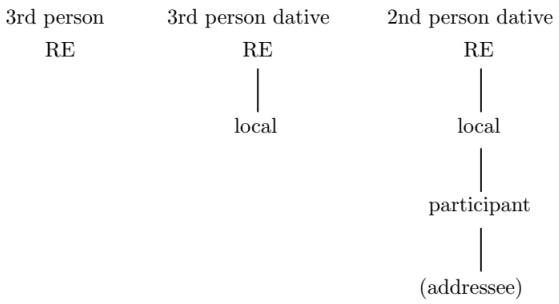
(106) a. Mos *caleva* istes cadires (cf. (5)) NW Catalan
DAT.1PL was-necessary.3SG these chairs
'We needed these chairs'

b. Ens *calien* aquestes cadires Central Catatalan
DAT.1PL be-necessary.3PL these chairs
'We needed these chairs'

(Rigau 2005: 787)

The second proposal to be considered is Rezac (2008), by which both Basque and Icelandic DATs are enclosed in a PP. Crucially for our purposes, the P-head may possess a [local] feature that, according to this author, dominates person features in a geometrical analysis à la Harley & Ritter (2002):

(107)



(adapted from Rezac 2008: 114)

[56] Kayne (2008) proposes that in all Romance varieties the 3rd person DAT clitic must be accompanied by a locative clitic. While varieties such as Catalan express both of them (els_{DAT} hi_{LOC}), others only express the former, as Spanish (*le*), or the latter, as Paduan (*ghe*). The proposals that refine this idea and place the locative within the structure of the DAT are morphological in nature and argue that the person features of the DAT are placed above the locative projection (Boeckx & Martín 2013; Cabré & Fábregas 2019; Martín 2012). As noted, I believe that there is a connection between the agreement facts and these proposals, but the exact implementation presents too many technical problems at this point.

[57] Rigau (2005: fn.20) compares this phenomenon with Navajo Areal Agreement, where *v* manifests the L-property. She considers that this proposal is compatible with the view that quirky clitics incorporate a DAT preposition, following Kayne (1999, as cited there).

Similarly to Rigau, this author suggests that a Probe specified for [local] is sensible to [local] features. The crucial difference is that he proposes that the Probe is the prepositional head, which is then targeted by a verbal head (v* in the case of Basque) and results in 3rd person agreement as a sort of indirect agreement.

(108) i. $[_{vP}\ v\ [_{ApplP}\ [_{PP}\ P_{[local]}\ DP_{[local,\ participant]}]\ \dots]]$

ii. $[_{vP}\ v\ [_{ApplP}\ [_{PP}\ P_{[local]}\ DP_{[local,\ participant]}]\ \dots]]$

Although in our system such indirect agreement is not permitted, I think that Rezac's analysis boils down to saying that the prepositional head is endowed with a 3rd person feature. This author follows Béjar (2003) theory of entailment (see ch. II, fn. 62), by which a Probe specified for local only copies the local value, meaning that even if the inner DP is 1st or 2nd (AUTHOR or PARTICIPANT), the Probe only copies the local dimension. Therefore, the analyses offered by Rezac (2008) and Richards (2004, 2008) basically differ on the theoretical machinery.

To improve the notation, let me speculate that [local] is a possible value for the person attribute, as an accommodation of (107) to the attribute-value model of AGREE. By doing so, an unvalued person feature could regularly copy the feature [local], resulting in 3rd person inflection without positing a specific flavour for the Probe.

(109) Structure of Spanish DATEXP (speculative version)
$[_{DP}\ D_{P:local}\ [_{KP}\ DAT\ [_{DP}\ D\varphi]]]$

A probably less controversial alternative is to take experiencers to be PPs in line with Rezac's suggestion and following (Landau 2010). The locative interpretation would be encoded through the presence of the preposition, but it should be explained, at least, the reason for a 3rd person feature to be located there.[58] At this point, both options seem to be equally complex and await further scrutiny.

In sum, this section has hinted at the possibility of the 3rd person layer posited for the analysis of Spanish DATEXP to be an exponent of a locative feature, already suggested for the analysis of such elements in other languages. As noted, the exact formalization is not exempt of problems and must be carefully reviewed in postdoctoral research.

[58] If the P is the Case assigner of DAT, we would require for it to possess two sets of φ-features, one as a Goal and another as a Probe, in order not to contravene our argument against indirect agreement. This problem will appear again when discussing whether ECs must be treated as Goals for AGREE in ch. IV.

4.3 On the Case of the IA

The intervention analysis of NU defended above poses a clear challenge for the Case-filter. If there is a complete lack of agreement between T and the IA, the IA cannot get structural Case from such Probe.[59] This section shows that, in effect, there is no evidence for such argument to receive structural Case and argues that it bears inherent Case, which is another point of contrast between Spanish DNS and Icelandic QS-structures.

So far, I have referred to structures headed by a relative impersonal verb as DNS, DAT-NOM structures. It is important to notice that this tag is descriptive, but it may not coincide with abstract Case assignment at the syntactic level. In fact, talking about morphological Case is not very accurate for Spanish, since the only overt expressions of Case are specific instances of ACC and DAT marking (clitics and DOM) and, even in those circumstances, we can find instances of syncretism that hinder the task of determining if such overt realization is the reflex of abstract Case.[60] With this caveat in mind, let us explore how the arguments of Spanish DNS are licensed in NU contexts.

While there seems to be little doubt on that the EA of DNS has inherent Case, DAT, which is also expressed morphologically; the status of the IA poses an evident puzzle. In canonical agreeing scenarios,[61] the IA has been standardly analyzed as a NOM argument as it conforms to George & Kornfilt's (1981) hypothesis about the relationship between Case and agreement, adopted in Chomsky's (2000) original formulation of AGREE. T fully agrees with the IA and assigns NOM:

(110) le $T_{\varphi\checkmark}$ *hemos*$_{.1PL}$ [$_{vP}$ v_{def} [$_{VP}$ V gustado *nosotras*$_{K\checkmark}$]]

Nevertheless, our account of NU raises a Case-filter problem, as the DP$_{\text{THEME}}$, the alleged Case assignee:

(111) $T_{\varphi\checkmark}$ *ha*$_{.3SG}$ [le $_{vP}$ v_{def} [$_{VP}$ Vgustado tus comentarios$_{\mathbf{K?}}$]]

The fact that the IA in NU structures does not get structural NOM Case from T seems to be corroborated by the observation that, while there seems to be no difference in the shape of the IA when it is a non-pronominal DP, agreeing and non-agreeing configurations are dissimilar in the availability of strong pronouns (§ III.2.2). The data is repeated here:

(112) a. ?*Le gusta tú/nosotros /vosotros /ellos/ustedes
DAT.3SG like.3SG you/we /you.PL /they/they.POL
'I like you/us/them'

[59] In ch. II it was pointed out that the Case filter is necessary to derive transitive sentences in a free MERGE system and the following section uses the same rationale for SE-sentences and Icelandic QS structures. The assumption of the filter is based on the standard assumption that arguments require to be licensed. The compatibility thereof with a crash-friendly perspective must pondered more carefully in future work.

[60] More examples of this conflict appear when discussing SE-sentences in § III.5.1.

[61] The full paradigm was shown earlier in (16).

b. ?*Les falta yo/tú/nosotros /vosotros /ellos/ustedes
DAT.3PL worry.3SG I/you/we /you.PL /they/they.POL
'They are worried about me/you/us/they'

Previous analyses have also encountered the puzzle that the licensing of the IA presents (Alexiadou 2003: 32; Boeckx 2008a: ch.2; Mathieu 2006: 294; Atlamaz & Baker 2018: fn.34) in light of Icelandic QS data and *there*-sentences in English (Chomsky 2001: fn.31). As a solution, the literature has suggested that NOM can be both inherent (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004: fn. 42; see also Boeckx 2008a: 46) or structural; and, in the latter case, it can be assigned by a Probe different than T. Such Probe can be either ASPECT (Alexiadou 2003) or a specialized *v* (Boeckx 2008a: ch.3, 2009; Gallego 2018; López 2007; Sigurðsson 2003), as *v(Q)* in (113) below denotes.[62] By comparing Spanish with the Icelandic facts, it can be concluded that such analysis cannot hold in both languages.

(113) $[_{vP}$ DAT v(Q) $[_{VP}$ V IA_{NOM}]]]

Lópe z (2007, 2008) reveals that the NOM argument of Icelandic DNS must be licensed in its own clause even in non-finite contexts, see (114) below. In (114a), matrix T agrees with the matrix subject, suggesting that it cannot be the licenser of the embedded NOM, i.e. it is not an ECM-like structure. As for (114b), the NOM survives without the DAT in the non-finite clause, again with no possible licenser in the matrix clause. As embedded T is non-finite, López (2007, 2008) argues that the only possible licenser is the embedded *v(Q)*.

(114) a. Hún vonast [til a leiðast ekki bókin]
She.NOM hope.3SG for to bore not book.NOM
'She hopes not to find the book boring' (Sigurðsson 1989; apud López 2015: 151)

b. [Að (*fólki) líka hestar] er ekkert að skammast sín fyrir.
to people.DAT like horses.NOM is nothing to be-ashamed REFL for
'To like horses is nothing to be ashamed of.' (López 2015: 151)

It is not possible to find equivalent examples in Spanish. The NOM argument of a DNS cannot be licensed in a non-finite clause regardless of whether the DAT is correferent with the matrix subject or not:

(115) a. *Juan espera [gustar-le_i el libro/tú a $María_i$]
Juan hope.3SG like.INF-DAT.3SG the book/you to María
'Juan hopes for Marty to like the book/you'

b. *$Juan_i$ espera [gustarle$_i$ el libro/tú]
Juan hope.3SG like.INF-DAT.3SG the book/you
'Juan hopes that he likes the book/you'

[62] The label is not relevant. While Boeckx (2008a) first refers to it as *Quirky-v*, he later talks about [non-agentive]*v* (Boeckx 2009) and López (2007) uses the label *v*(EXP). A difference between these proposals is that for Boeckx *v*(Q) assigns NOM (Boeckx 2008a), while for López (2007) it assigns abstract Case that must be realized as default (NOM) in PF. The result is not crucial for our discussion. What it is worth highlighting is that Boeckx (2008a: 95) defends that this proposal is parallel to Burzio's generalization. Roughly put, *v* assigning NOM to its object is contingent on it assigning a quirky ϑ-role (essentially non-agentive) to the EA.

Compare also (114b) with (116) below. In Spanish, a DNS cannot be a subject clause when it is non-finite, with or without the EXP (see (116a)), in contexts in which transitive infinitivals can (see (116b)).

(116) a. *[Gustar(te) los caballos] no es vergonzoso
like.INF-DAT.3SG the.PL horses no is shameful
'(For you) to like horses is not shameful'

b. [Amar a los caballos] no es vergonzoso
love.INF DOM the.PL horses no is shameful
'To love horses is not shameful'

In light of this evidence, it can be concluded that v does not assign Case to the IA in Spanish (*pace* López 2007: 171). The relevant implication is that the IA in NU structures does not receive structural Case because it is not the Goal for neither T nor v.

Recall, at this point, that there is no evidence that suggests that v in DNS is φ-complete. Lack of participial agreement (110)-(111) is not a good indicator in Spanish, but there are tests for v* ACC-assignment. As shown earlier, DNS do not accept ACC pronouns, and the IA cannot be DOM-marked:

(117) a. me (*las*) gusta/conviene
DAT.1SG ACC.F.3PL like.3SG/be-convenient.3SG
'I like them/They are convenient to me'

b. *me gusta/falta *a ti* / *a mis alumnos*
DAT.1SG like.3SG/lack.3SG DOM you.ACC / DOM my students
'I like you/my students'

This contrasts with NW Catalan, a variety with consistent NU that, as put forward by Rigau (1999b, 2005), does exhibit ACC with deontic verbs:

(118) a. Mos cal *a* la teua veïna NW Catalan
DAT.1PL be-necessary.3SG DOM the your neighbor
'We need your neighbor.'

b. No me *les* cal (, istes cadires) NW Catalan
not DAT.1SG ACC.3PL be-necessary.3SG these chairs
'(As for these chairs,) we don't need them.' (Rigau 2005: 783)

Therefore, it could be thought that NW Catalan, as opposed to Spanish, has developed a sort of last resort Case assignment,[63] related to the fact that NU is systematic in such variety (see Appendix B).[64]

[63] I thank Gemma Rigau (p.c.) for suggesting this possibility to me.

[64] Kalin (2019) explores an analysis along these lines by which a secondary licenser (v*) is activated for the derivation to converge. As the author notes (2019: 20), this hypothesis requires to assume that the system allows to either "restart" the derivation or compare parallel derivations. To me this is highly "look-ahead" and not a desirable solution. I am not able to offer a more suitable explanation at this point and I leave the treatment of the Catalan data for further research as I note in ch. V.

Having dismissed structural Case, the logical alternative is to explore whether the IA in NU structures is inherently Case marked in Spanish. In this sense, it must be already pointed out that there are no conclusive tests to corroborate this hypothesis. To begin with, passivization cannot be taken into account as a test given that unaccusative verbs, such as the ones present in DNS, resist it for independent reasons.

Secondly, there is no conclusive test for partivity. Spanish, in contrast to other Romance languages as Catalan, exemplified below, does not have partitive clitics.

(119) No me'*n* calen, (*de* suggeriments) Catalan
no DAT.1SG-PART be-neccessary.3PL of suggestions
'I don't need suggestions' (Rigau 1999b: 207)

If one takes the presence of bare-NPs as an indicator for partitivity, DNS do not conform a uniform group. As noted in § III.2.1, deontic verbs allow bare-NPs as IAs, but psych-Vs do not (see fn. 16) (cf. (120) below), and this asymmetry is not altered because of lack of agreement (§ III.2.2).

(120) a. Me *gustan* *(las) canciones.
DAT.1SG like.3PL the.PL songs
'I like (the) songs'

b. Nos *faltan* (los) ingredientes para preparar la cena
DAT.1PL lack.3PL the.PL ingredients to prepare the dinner
'We are missing (the) ingredients to prepare the dinner'

In addition, psych-Vs do not accept partitive clitics in any Romance variety:

(121) a. *Te n'agraden?
DAT.2SG PART-like.3PL
Do you like them? Catalan (Rigau 1990: 9)

b. Jean déteste les/*des films policiers
Jean hate3SG the/PART+the movies police
'Jean hates crime movies' French (Bosque 1996: 88)

c. Gianni odia *dei film polizieschi
Jean hate3SG PART+the movies police
'Gianni hates crime movies' Italian (Pujalte 2015: 137)

In this respect, Pujalte (2015) defends that the THEME of Spanish psych-Vs is never partitive both because it is never a bare-NP and because it is not introduced by the preposition *de* when the psych-predicate is a nominal, as in (122) below,[65] as opposed to other unaccusatives (cf. (123)). The following examples are adapted from Pujalte (2015: 136-137):

(122) a. Ana ama a María → el amor de Ana *por/a/hacia* María
'Ana loves Mary' → 'Ana's love for Mary'

[65]This observation also dismisses the possibility of the THEME being a genitive, as in some of the Latin configurations seen in § III.2.1.1. As I indicated, deontic and pysch-predicates had lost such marking already in Medieval Spanish.

b. Le gusta el chocolate → el gusto *por/hacia* el chocolate
'S/he likes chocolate' → 'his/her love for chocolate'

c. Le molestan tus comentarios → la molestia *por/hacia* tus comentarios
'S/he is bothered by your comments' → 'his/her annoyance at your comments'

(123) a. Falta café → la falta *de* café
'it lacks coffee' → 'the lack of coffee'

b. Llegan (los) invitados → la llegada *de* (los) invitados
'There arrive (the) guests' → 'the arrival of (the) guests'

c. Murieron personas inocentes → la muerte *de* personas inocentes
'There arrive (the) guests' → 'the arrival of (the) guests'

Pujalte's (2015) argument does not seem conclusive to me. The counterparts of ACC objects with nominal predicates can be introduced by *de* (124a) as well as by other prepositions, for instance in the case of transitive psych-Vs, as shown in (124b). Thus, the prepositional test is not a reliable indicator for partitivity.[66]

(124) a. Compró comida → la compra de la comida
'S/he bought food' → 'the purchase of food'

b. Ana ama a María → el amor de Ana *por/a/hacia* María (cf. (122a))

There is no satisfactory conclusion at this point, either we defend that all NU have partitive IAs, regardless of the concerns just described; or we postulate the existence of inherent NOM. Besides the suspicious status of the latter claim, it also seems contradictory with the restriction on NOM pronouns observed in (112) (repeated here as (125)).

(125) a. ?*Le gusta tú/nosotros /vosotros /ellos/ustedes
DAT.3SG like.3SG you/we /you.PL /they/they.POL
'I like you/us/them'

b. ?*Les falta yo/tú/nosotros /vosotros /ellos/ustedes
DAT.3PL worry.3SG I/you/we /you.PL /they/they.POL
'They are worried about me/you/us/they'

[66]The literature has put forward more general definitions of partitivity that could be revealing for the present discussion. A well-known one is the *partitive case hypothesis* put forward by Belletti (1988) for unaccusativity (see Vainikka & Mailing 1996; Bošković 1997, 2002; Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009; Lasnik 1995: 400, for discussion). Details aside, Mateu & Rigau (2002) and Rigau (1997, 1999a,b, 2002) defend a similar analysis of stative structures. From a semantic point of view, Kiparsky (1998) suggests that all partitives share a property of unboundedness (I thank Juan Uriagereka, p.c., for pointing this out to me). The question is why such property of the structure only arises in configurations with NU. In other words, to adopt any of these proposals requires to suppose that NU configurations have a higher degree of unaccusativity, stativity or unboundedness than their agreeing counterparts.

This contradiction can be circumvented if we endorse the idea that person agreement is sensitive to finiteness (Bianchi 2003, 2006) or, differently put, that all elements that check person need to enter a relationship with the category responsible for anchoring the speech event, which is Fin (T) (Bianchi 2003) (cf. also Uriagereka's (1988, 1995) F for encoding *point of view*).[67] This is stated by Bianchi (2006) as the *person licensing requirement*:[68]

(126) *Person licensing requirement* (Bianchi 2006: 2049)
A personal argument of the verb must license its person feature against the functional structure of the clause.

Crucially, strong pronouns, even 3rd person ones, are personal pronouns in Spanish, in parallel to what Bianchi (2006) convincingly argues for Italian. As this author notes, this is not directly derivable from AGREE, as this operation cannot discriminate between (non)pronominal arguments (p. 2047). Instead, this author argues that such requirement is an imposition for pronouns to be interpreted at C-I, as they are intrinsically *deictic*. As such, this hypothesis does not entail that other DPs cannot control person, just that it is not an imperative for them.

If this supposition is on the right track, back to our data, it means that even if the pronominal argument is licensed in a NU configuration in the syntax, such derivation is not accepted at LF, unless the pronominal controls person agreement. This hypothesis is coherent with the present "crash-friendly" model.[69]

Although, this hypothesis requires further scrutiny, especially to assess its crosslinguistic validity, note that there are independent evidence in Spanish that point out in the same direction. For instance, strong pronouns must control person agreement in copular sentences regardless of their position, as opposed to English:

(127) a. The hope for me is/*are you[70]
b. Mi esperanza eres/*es tú
c. Tú eres/*es mi esperanza

[67]This correlates with the observation that person agreement does not survive long distance (Baker 2008; Boeckx 2008a; Preminger 2011), something that is explored in ch. IV.

[68]This is reminiscent of Béjar & Rezac's (2003) *person licensing condition* that derives the observed difference between 1st/2nd on the one hand and 3rd person pronouns on the other. I refer to this type of person restriction when discussing SE and QS (§§ III.5.1 and III.5.2).

[69]An alternative explanation of the obligatory nature of person agreement is to see agreement morphology as interpretable. If the person+number inflection of the verb is the real argument, NOM pronouns are doubles; hence their appearance is not possible without the relevant verbal morphology. This analysis does not easily account for the evidence in favor of partial agreement. See Sheehan (2010, 2016) for a thorough revision of the implementation of this hypothesis in different NSLs.

[70]Taken from a song title by My Chemical Romance, 2010.

In addition, person mismatches (PU; § III.2) only arise when the subject is a nominal (128), while a mismatch in person when a strong pronoun is present is not attested (129):[71]

(128) a. Los estudiantes queremos más derechos
lit. 'The students want.1PL more rights'
b. *Ellos queremos más derechos
lit. 'They want.1PL more rights'

(129) a. Nosotros los estudiantes queremos/*quieren más derechos
'We students want.1PL/*want.3PL more rights'
b. Vosotros los estudiantes queréis/*quieren más derechos
'You.PL students want.2PL/*want.3PL more rights'

In sum, to keep the Case-filter as a working hypothesis, I have suggested that the DPTHEME in NU derivations possesses inherent Case, most likely NOM, although in deontic verbs it could be partitive. Following ideas by Bianchi (2003, 2006), the reason for strong pronouns not be compatible with NU could be a LF filter by which such elements need to be controlled by the category that anchors the speech event (T in the present analysis).[72]

This hypothesis has implications for our understanding of cross-linguistic variation. While I have argued against the BCC for explaining optionality, this discussion suggests that crosslinguistic differences between Spanish and Icelandic are located in the Lexicon, corresponding to what I have introduced as the Dimension 0 of the tridimensional model (§ II.5). Icelandic, but not Spanish, has a dedicated v-head for QS-structures, which is related to the general availability of QSs in such language (cf. Boeckx 2008a, see fn. 62).

[71] I thank Gemma Rigau (p.c.) for pointing out this argument to me. Interestingly, Ausín & Fernández-Rubiera (2017) reveal that, similarly, pronominals cannot be part of a the phenomenon of number mismatch between the 3rd person dative and its double (see fn. 44):

(i) a. *Les* / *le* dimos un libro *a los estudiantes*
DAT.3PL / DAT.3SG gave.1PL a book to the.PL students
'We gave them a book'
b. *Les* / **le* dimos un libro *a ellos*
DAT.3PL / DAT.3SG gave.1PL a book to they
'We gave them a book'

[72] A possible counterargument comes from overt strong pronouns as subjects of non-finite clauses. They appear in both selected and adjunct clauses (see Hernanz 1999 and Paz 2013 for a detailed description):

(i) a. El profesor$_i$ prefiere [hacerlo *él*$_i$].
the professor prefers doINF-ACC.M.3SG he
'The professor prefers doing it himself' (Paz 2013: 46)
b. [De tener *yo* dinero], me compraría la casa
of have.INF I money DAT.1SG buy.COND.1SG the house
'I had money I would buy the house for myself' (Hernanz 1999: 2265)

The hypothesis submitted by Rigau (1995), according to which T_E abstractly agrees with the infinitival subject, is not tenable in light of LDA-data, analyzed in ch. IV. There (§ IV.3) I tentatively suggest that the licensing of these overt pronouns is related to focus (cf. Ortega-Santos 2013; see also Belletti 2001, 2004), but this claim requires future scrutiny.

5 Partial agreement as split repair

There is a vast empirical evidence that φ-features may be valued independently and result in partial agreement, as in (130a) below. This pattern of agreement is an important piece of our discussion for two main reasons. On the one hand, it is another example of optionality of agreement, as it coexists with NU in certain varieties (compare (130a) with (130b) below).[73] On the other hand, it provides further empirical evidence for the φ-intervention proposal submitted in this dissertation.

(130) a. Se discutieron los resultados — Partial agreement
SE discussed.3PL the results
'The results were discussed' / 'Someone discussed the results'
b. Se discutió los resultados — Number unagreement
SE discussed.3SG the results
'The results were discussed' / 'Someone discussed the results'

The first case of study is Spanish SE-sentences, exemplified above. Their analysis allows us to corroborate that the presence of an improper Goal has an impact on agreement patterns in Spanish, besides DNS contexts. Then I turn to Icelandic QS-structures in order to complete the picture that has been offered throughout the chapter.

Before moving to the main data, let me first outline the theoretical apparatus that is needed to account for them. Within the minimalist framework it has been extensively argued that a single Probe is able to establish a relationship with more than one Goal, by means of a dedicated operation (i.e. MULTIPLE AGREE, Hiraiwa 2001) or by distinct features constituting independent probes (e.g. Rigau 1997; Sigurðsson 1996). I want to put forward the possibility of such scenario to arise as a last resort mechanism, parallel to the default repair proposed in the previous section. Both definitions are reminded in (131).

(131) Non-optimal AGREE repairs:
a. *Default repair*: A uF on the Probe receives a default value at PF.
b. *Split repair*: The Probe splits and keeps searching for a corresponding value.

The gist of this proposal is that, in the scenario of competition between the MLC and the MME, split repair arises in order to comply with the latter.

	(a) MLC	(b) MME	Last resort	Split repair
Improper G_1	✓	✗	prioritize (b)	→ look for $G_{x \neq 1}$

Table III.6: Split repair.

Split repair differs from previous accounts in that it emphasizes that a Probe can split during the course of the derivation (cf. Richards 2004, 2008). In order to comply with MME, when T finds an improper Goal, it is forced to keep tracking down to look for a

[73] More instances of partial agreement are presented in biclausal contexts in ch. IV.

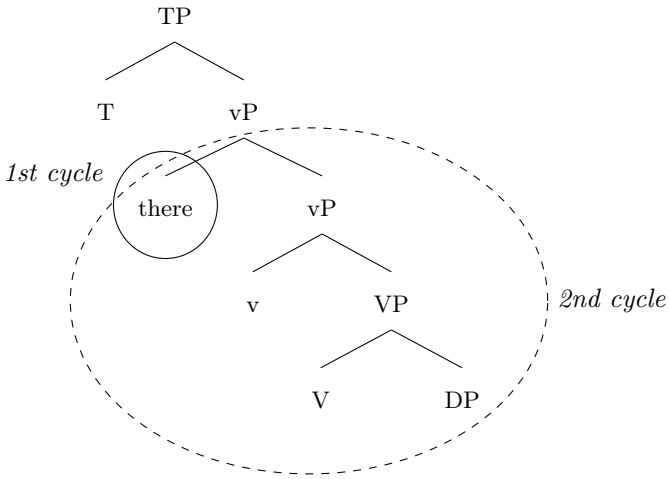
value of the feature that remains unvalued, [number] in this case. This is shown in (132), in which, again, G_1 and G_2 refer to the structural availability of the potential agreement controllers with respect to the Probe:

(132) i. [P:3✓, N:□] ⋙ G_1 [P:3]
ii. [P:3, N:pl✓] ⋙ G_2 [P:3, N: pl]

This derivational split is a second cycle of AGREE with a longer range of search (see (134) below), in a similar vein than Béjar & Rezac's (2009) CYCLIC AGREE (see also Clem 2021). The difference with that approach is that in the current proposal the same Probe searches twice, but it satisfies different uFs as a result of each of those searches. The first cycle of AGREE is restricted to the MLC, while the second disregards such condition as a last resort. This allows to maintain the idea that elements sitting in Spec,T are not interveners for T-agreement (see § III.3.2).[74] Consider as an illustration the derivation of a *there*-sentence in English, such as (133), in (134), provided that *there* is an improper Goal, bearing a 3rd person feature (Boeckx 2008a; Chomsky 2000, 2001; Richards 2008).

(133) There are books on the shelf

(134) Scope of T's search



When defining MME, Chomsky (2001: 15-16) does not dismiss that a Probe can search several times. In effect, for *there*-structures, as (133) this author claims that there is a first AGREE relationship between T and the expletive (for EPP reasons in that framework), equivalent to the 1st cycle in (134), and a subsequent one between T and the IA, the 2nd cycle in (134). Crucially, only the second relationship provides the values for T, since the MME forces the Probe to look for a complete φ-set.

Although it is not possible to test whether there is agreement in person with the IA in (136b), the list reading in (135), with the 1st person pronoun, suggests that the expletive is the real controller of person agreement.

[74] In the original proposal, when a feature is left unvalued form the first probing cycle it reprojects and searches again (cf. § III.5.2.2). That way it is possible to capture agreement with specifiers under strict c-command (no Spec-H agreement required). I refer the reader to the original works for technical details.

(135) Q: Who's still here?
A: There is/*am only me (Richards 2004: 159)

There is enough evidence at this point to maintain that the first AGREE relationship (between T and *there* in the previous example) is not vacuous regarding φ-valuation. Furthermore, a two step process of VALUATION is not precluded by a MD-based system, while it should not be expected within a ATC-system (§ II.2.1). The latter would require that T-*there* AGREE is contingent on simultaneous TRANSFER, hence not leaving room for a second AGREE operation; while MD allows the system to wait until the Probe is exhausted provided that the MME is prioritized over the MLC, as captured in table III.6 above.

The key aspect of this proposal is that such split is not obligatory, but it alternates with ceasing of probing, which gives rise to the outcome of NU as default repair. This correctly derives that, for certain speakers, it is possible for *there*-sentences to alternate between partial agreement and lack of agreement (or, differently put, number agreement and number unagreement):

(136) a. There are books on the shelf — Number agreement
b. There is books on the shelf — Number unagreement

In sum, when a φ-complete T finds an improper Goal as English *there*, a non-optimal AGREE operation takes place, since only [person] is valued, see (137).[75] Two possible mechanisms may arise in consequence. If the MLC is prioritized, the Probe ceases probing and the unvalued person feature is rescued at PF (see (138a) below). This mechanism then responds to a syntax-PF juncture and belongs to dimension 2 of our model. If the MME is prioritized, a second cycle of search is activated and the Probe finds a number value in the next available Goal, here the DP in IA position (see (138b) below).

(137) Non-optimal AGREE
$T_{[P:3\checkmark\ N:?]} \ggg \textit{there}_{[P:3]}$

(138) a. uN = default → There is books on the shelf
b. uN ⋙ *books* = uN:pl✓ → There are books on the shelf

For clarity, the complete picture is offered in table III.7, in which the two repair strategies are reflected in relation to the conditions they prioritize.

The reader may have noticed that there is an asymmetry between both strategies. While default repair takes place postsyntactically by providing default morphology to a feature that has not been been valued in syntax; the split repair mechanism is a second cycle of VALUATION that takes place in the syntactic component. The latter is apparently at odds with the idea of agreement failure and, more generally, with a crash-friendly model of grammar; however, that is not the case if optionality is taken into account.

[75] Later, I make explicit what in what way this approach is inspired by Richards (2004, 2008).

	(a) MLC	(b) MME			
Proper G_1	✓	✓			
Improper G_1	✓	✗	prioritize (a)	→ provide a value	(default repair)
			prioritize (b)	→ look for $G_{x \neq 1}$	(split repair)

Table III.7: Non-optimal AGREE repairs.

The hypothesis I wish to put forward is that the satisfaction of all uFs of the Probe (MME fulfillment) eases interface computation. At the same time, that is not an obligatory requirement for a convergent derivation, as syntax is indifferent to any type of evaluation and just performs "blindly". If that is on the right track, precisely because partial and lack of agreement are optional, split repair does not involve look-ahead: the system can either resort to it or not in a scenario with conflicting conditions and, in both cases, the outcome can be acceptable at interface level. In the next sections, it is argued that this is more advantageous than claiming that number agreement is a pure PF phenomenon (Ormazabal & Romero 2020; § III.5.1.1). In addition, it provides a better account for the attested variation than maintaining that a dedicated operation (MA) optionally applies in certain languages (cf. Atlamaz & Baker 2018; Ussery 2009; § III.5.2.1).

Finally, this conjecture is a modification of Biberauer & Richards (2006) and Obata, Epstein, & Baptista (2015) conception of economy. As seen in § II.5, these authors argue that two derivations are optional if they are equally costly for syntax. Here, I am trying to compute the overall "cost" of agreement considering both syntax and PF. A more comprehensive model of PF needs to be pursued in the future to refine this idea, but the intuition is that default repair is less costly in syntax, since it only involves one cycle of search, but it requires more computing load at PF, which has to detect that a default value must be inserted. On the other hand, split repair involves two cycles of probing, but it eases the interface performance, since all the instructions (values of features) are provided by the syntax. Therefore, both options are equally economical if both syntax and PF are taken into account, giving a principled explanation for *dimension 2* of our model of variation.

In sum, this section has put forward a second strategy to repair a non-optimal AGREE relationship: split repair. This strategy is only possible within a system based on MD, in which AGREE and TRANSFER are not simultaneous. This mechanism is enabled by the derivational dynamics and arises in order to comply with the MME. As noted, the fulfillment of the MME is not obligatory, hence the result of split repair is just a possible outcome of the derivation that coexists with other possible derivations. In the next sections, empirical data is provided to support this hypothesis.

5.1 Optional agreement in Spanish SE sentences

Different Romance languages, at least Spanish, Catalan, Italian, Portuguese and Romanian, possess a pronoun that is morphologically identical to the 3rd person reflexive (*se*/*si*), but with different properties. I will refer to it as SE.[76] The structures in which SE appears are characterized by lacking a clear specification of their subject. Such subject must be nonreferential, with an interpretation similar to that of English *one*, French *on* or German *man*, but not equivalent, since Spanish also possess a similar pronoun (*uno*/*a*). As noted in (52b), repeated below as (139), some configurations in which SE appears have been analyzed as impersonal SE sentences, by virtue of possessing a null subject licensed by SE (the specific featural configuration differs among proposals; e.g. Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009; Cinque 1988; MacDonald 2017; Mendikoetxea 1999, 2008; Ordóñez 2021; Ordóñez & Treviño 2016; Otero 1986; Torrego 2008).[77]

(139) Se pro^{arb} vive bien aquí
SE live.3SG well here
'This is a good place to live'

When SE combines with a transitive verb, the verb typically agrees with the IA, as shown in (140). For that reason, this type of sequence has been generally considered a distinct structure, a passive. From that perspective, SE is proposed to be a "passivizer" (or "unaccusativizer") that absorbs the external ϑ-role and blocks the ability of assigning ACC (Cinque 1988; see Mendikoetxea 2008 and refs. therein).

(140) Se discutieron los resultados
SE discussed.3PL the results
'The results were discussed' / 'Someone discussed the results'

Some correlations among Romance SE-sentences, Icelandic QS and other DNS, such as the ones with psych-Vs, have been noticed in the literature (D'Alessandro 2007; López 2007). The most important one for our purposes is that they are all subject to agreement variation. SE-sentences can arise in a non-agreeing fashion, described as possible with bare NPs and when the verb is inflected in a non-perfective tense (see Mendikoetxea 1999):

(141) Se vende pisos
SE sell.3SG apartments
'Apartments are for sale'

[76] This pronoun has also been referred to as 'non-paradigmatic *se*' because it does not alternate with 1st person (*me*, *nos*) and 2nd person (*te*, *os*) forms. I do not consider here other types of *se*-structures such as *middles* or *aspectuals*. See Fábregas (2021) for a revision.

[77] See MacDonald (2017) for arguments in favor of both passive and impersonal SE sentences possessing an implicit argument. The vast literature on Romance and Spanish SE cannot be fully reviewed here, see e.g. Cinque (1988), D'Alessandro (2007), Dobrovie-Sorin (1996, 1998, 2006), MacDonald (2017), MacDonald & Maddox (2018), Ordóñez (2021), Pescarini (2018), Raposo & Uriagereka (1996), and Rigau (1991), and the contributions in a recently published volume (Armstrong & MacDonald 2021). Specifically for Spanish I refer the reader to Fábregas (2021), Mendikoetxea (1999, 2008, 2012), Ordóñez & Treviño (2016), Ormazabal & Romero (2019), Planells (2017), Pujalte & Saab (2014, 2020), Sánchez López (2002), and Torrego (2008), among many others.

The non-agreeing pattern in (141) has not been analyzed as an instance of NU, because it has been seen as the natural result of a different SE-structure, either an impersonal (cf. (139)), as opposed to the passive; or a regular transitive sentence, in which the IA is a direct object (D'Alessandro 2007; Ormazabal & Romero 2019, 2020; Raposo & Uriagereka 1996[78]). It has been recently called into question whether there exist two distinct structures in current Spanish, especially because the semantic and syntactic boundaries between them seem to be blurred (e.g. RAE-ASALE 2009: §41.12l; Gallego 2018; Ormazabal & Romero 2019, 2020; Pujalte & Saab 2014, 2020). This section endorses that observation and argues that there is a single SE structure with two possible agreement outcomes.

Let me first consider sentences in which the IA is non-personal. In such cases there is optionality in agreement, giving rise to examples such as (141)-(142) above. The latter does not respect the restrictions just commented above, since the IA is definite and the verb shows a perfective past tense (see also De Mello 1991):

(142) Se discutió los resultados.
SE discussed.3SG the results
'The results were discussed' / 'Someone discussed the results'.

In Arias & Fernández-Serrano (in press), further evidence to support this claim is presented. Consider the data in (143) from different American Spanish-speaking regions:

(143) a. se descubrió las verdaderas causas de su renuncia.
SE discovered.3SG the.F.PL real.F.PL reasons of his resignation
'The real reasons for his resignation were discovered'
(NOW: 2016, press, *la prensa de monclova*, 2016-04-06: *Fuera de contrato*, Mexico.)

b. Aún no se tiene datos específicos de los daños
yet no SE have.3SG data.PL specific.PL of the damages
'There are no specific data from the damages yet'
(NOW: 2018, press, *la patilla*, 2018-01-06: *Makro de Valencia se incendió*, Venezuela.)

c. en la propuesta técnica se consideró estos aspectos
in the proposal technical SE considered.3SG these aspects
'These aspects were not considered in the technical proposal'
(NOW: 2014, press, *La patria*, 2014-01-30: *Traslado del relleno [...]*, Bolivia.)

d. Hasta el día de hoy, no se sabe las causas exactas de su muerte
until the day of today no SE know.3SG the.F.PL reasons exact.F.PL of his death
'To this day the exact cause of his death is not known'
(NOW: 2019, press, *La izquierda*, 2019-06-14: *Sentida despedida [...]*, Argentina.)

In addition, it is noticed that similar examples can be found in European Spanish, considering data from oral interviews (see (144) and (145)). Even more revealingly, some excerpts show that a single speaker may optionally alternate between the agreeing and non-agreeing pattern (145) with no evident interpretative difference.

[78] Ormazabal & Romero (2019) consider that the transitive is the only SE-structure and defend a PF-analysis of the agreeing patterns. I give more details about this proposal later.

(144) a. Y con manteca, se *hacía* unas gachas y eso alimenta...
and with butter SE make.3SG.IPFV some oatmeal and that feeds
'and with butter, they(arb) made oatmeal and that is nourishing'

b. También se *cultiva* muchas cebollas
also SE cultivate.3SG many onions
'A lot of onions were also cultivated'

(145) a. no se *echaba* esos compuestos que se *echan* en la comida
no SE put.3SG.IPFV those compounds that SE put.3PL.PRES in the food
'They(arb) didn't put those compounds that are put in the food'

b. se *corta* los trozos gordos y aluego se *hacen* trocitos
SE cut.3SG.PRES the pieces big.PL and then SE do.3PL.PRES pieces
'It is chopped in big pieces and then little pieces are made'
(data from COSER; Arias & Fernández-Serrano (in press))

It is necessary to point out that previous literature agrees with the observation that there is no specific change of interpretation between the agreeing and non-agreeing patterns. Although Mendikoetxea (1999: 1639) defends the existence of the two structures, she maintains that the possible interpretations hinge on the semantic indeterminacy of the subject, regardless of the possible syntactic differences between those structures.[79]

This claim is coherent with a system that allows optionality, by which there is no one-to-one relationship between derivation-interpretation. Even though the semantics of SE-sentences are not examined here, it suffices to highlight that the agreeing vs. non-agreeing patterns do not distinguish two readings (e.g. active vs. passive), that are supposed to be in turn the reflex of two independent structures. Instead, I adhere to the line of research that defends a unique SE-structure. Therefore, I take the agreement patterns that SE-contexts display as empirical support for the present proposal, as they constitute an instance of optionality, analyzable in terms of intervention and non-optimal AGREE repairs.

The key aspect of the analysis is that SE is defective (see Torrego 2008 and refs. therein). If T is non-defective, SE constitutes an improper Goal, meaning that the relationship between T and SE results in a non-optimal AGREE relationship. Regarding the former idea, there seems to be a consensus that SE is defective because it is morphologically invariable and it imposes some restrictions on agreement. Firstly, person inflection is impossible in SE-sentences:

(146) *Se vimos unos lingüistas en el mercado ayer
SE saw.1PL some linguists in the market yesterday
Intended meaning: 'Some of us linguists were seen in the market' (López 2007: 127)

On the other hand, number inflection must be the result of agreement with the IA, hence it is banned in unaccusative SE sentences:

(147) *Se viven bien en esta ciudad
SE live.3PL well in this city

[79]Mendikoetxea (1999: 1638) refers to a possible semantic contrast between an active and a passive sentence, but I understand that, if any, the difference belongs to pragmatics.

'This is a good city for people to live' (Planells 2017: 35)

I take this as evidence that SE has a person feature, but lacks [number] (D'Alessandro 2007; Mendikoetxea 2008; Ormazabal & Romero 2019; Planells 2017), see (148). For the moment I take the feature specification to be 3rd (D'Alessandro 2007; Planells 2017), although what I want to imply is that such feature must be the least specified value for person (cf. Mendikoetxea 2008, 2012; Ormazabal & Romero 2020).[80]

(148) Structure of Spanish SE
$SE_{\varphi[P:3]}$

Based on a movement approach to clitics (Kayne 1975), I assume that SE merges in the EA position (cf. Cinque 1988[81]), which explains the incompatibility with an overt EA (López 2007: 123, see also Raposo & Uriagereka 1996), from where it raises and cliticizes on T (D'Alessandro 2007). According to these provisos, SE should trigger similar effects in agreement that those seen in DNS structures because, at an intervening position, it participates in a non-optimal AGREE operation.

(149) Non optimal AGREE
i. $T_{[P:\square,\ N:\square]} \ggg SE_{[P:3]}$
ii. $T_{[P:3,\ N:?]}$

The alternation between the agreeing and the non-agreeing versions is equivalent to the one discussed in DNS or, differently put, non-agreeing SE-sentences are an instance of NU:

(150) Contexts of NU in Spanish

a. *Me gusta los libros*	DNS
b. *Se discutió los resultados*	SE

This is reflected in (151) below. T values its person feature with SE, while number must be valued either by default at PF (as a result of a default repair, (151a)), or as a result of AGREE with the DP in IA position, which is the only possible source for such value (151b).

(151) $T_{[P:3,\ N:?]} \ggg SE_{[P:3]}$
a. [uP:3✓ uN:dflt] → Se discutió los resultados
b. [uP:3✓ uN:pl✓] ⋙ *los resultados* → Se discutieron los resultados

[80] It has been often noted that Italian *si* differs from Spanish *se* in number specification (Ordóñez 2004, apud Torrego 2008), as Italian *si*-sentences display number agreement with the past participle:

(i) Si è puniti (Italian)
SE is punished.PL
Int. 'They are punished'

(ii) *Se es castigados (Spanish)
SE is punished.PL
Int. 'They are punished'

See Ordóñez (2021) for a recent proposal of these facts, whereby this feature specification is encoded in a null pronoun that is licensed by *se* or *si*.

[81] Based on interpretation, other positions have been argued for first-merger of SE, such as ResP (D'Alessandro 2007) and VoiceP (see MacDonald (2017) and refs. therein), but crucially always in the c-command domain of T.

The reader may have noticed an important asymmetry between DNS and SE sentences: only the former displays full φ-agreement with the IA (*me gustas tú)*; while that is totally banned in SE contexts, as seen in (146) and also exemplified in (152) with strong pronouns:

(152) a. *Se viste tú en el mercado
SE saw.2SG you in the market
Intended meaning: 'You were seen in the market'

b. *Se vio yo/tú/nosotros en el mercado
SE saw.3SG I/you/we in the market
Intended meaning: 'You were seen in the market'

If full agreement is possible when the intervener is out from the probing domain, there must be a reason for SE to invariably be an intervener, or in other words, for anti-intervention not being an option in SE sentences. I want to suggest that the reason is related to the different composition of SE in comparison with DATEXPs and their consequent licensing conditions.[82]

(153) Configuration of Spanish SE (final version)
$SE_{\varphi[P:3][K:\square]}$

If SE possesses a uK feature (as shown in (153)), it must enter into an AGREE relationship with T in order to be licensed *before* it cliticizes on T from where it stays out of T's c-command domain (see (154) below). Crucially, I assume that Case can be assigned even if SE is a defective element (cf. Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2006). Otherwise, if SE raises earlier, its uK remains unvalued as reflected in (155).[83]

(154) AGREE $\succ$ IM = intervention
i. $\{T_{\varphi:\checkmark}, \underline{SE}_{K:\checkmark}\}$
ii. $\{\underline{SE}, \{T_{\varphi}, SE\}\}$

(155) IM $\rightarrow$ AGREE = anti-intervention
i. $\{\underline{SE}_{K:\square}\ \{T_{\varphi:\square}, SE_{K:\square}\}$
ii. $\{\underline{SE}_{K:\text{✗}}, \{T_{\varphi:\checkmark}, SE\}\}$

Again, this does not mean that (155) is not generated in the syntax, but rather that the interfaces do not accept it. On the contrary, in DNS such conflict does not arise because the DATEXP is licensed by inherent Case only and it is able to survive without undergoing AGREE. The complete picture of this comparison becomes clear in the next sections (§ III.5.2; § III.6; table III.11).

[82] Later I address the opposite prediction: for partial agreement to obtain in DNS contexts, § III.5.3.

[83] In Fernández-Serrano (forthcoming) I suggest an alternative analysis based on Roberts' (2010) proposal on reducing clitization to AGREE in the spirit of D'Alessandro's (2007) analysis of Italian SE agreeing patterns. Beside raising non-trivial questions about the nature of AGREE (see Gallego 2016a; Matushansky 2011 for discussion), adopting such hypothesis to the analysis of the optional patterns considered here requires to make several technical adjustments that do not seem to lead to a better comprehension of the phenomenon at this point. For this reason, I leave such alternative on the side.

The idea that partial agreement is derived by a two-fold relationship between T and both SE and the DP, as shown in (151) above, is not an innovation. For this reason it is important to notice a difference in the technical implementation of the idea. Some authors have suggested that this is the result of a MA operation (Hiraiwa 2001) by which a Probe simultaneously agrees with multiple Goals, while in our account this is the result of a two step process. Leaving aside the conceptual reasons for this choice, there are empirical reasons to defend that Spanish partial agreement patterns are not derivable by MA.

Spanish SE sentences impose a restriction on all NOM strong pronouns (1st, 2nd and 3rd person) regardless of whether they are agreed with (Ordóñez & Treviño 2016):

(156) a. *Se viste tú en el mercado
SE saw.2SG you in the market
Intended meaning: 'You were seen in the market'

b. *Se vio yo/tú/nosotros en el mercado
SE saw.3SG I/you/we in the market
Intended meaning: 'You were seen in the market'

(157) a. *Se ve Maria/él a menudo en televisión
SE see.3SG he often in television
'One often sees him on TV'

b. *Se ve/n ellos a menudo en televisión
SE see.3SG/3PL they often in television
'One sees you often on TV'

Compare the Spanish data in (157) with Italian SE-sentences in (158) below, in which 3rd person arguments are licit (D'Alessandro 2007; Pescarini 2018):

(158) a. In televisione si vede spesso Maria/lui
in television SE see.3SG often Maria/he
'One often sees him/Maria on TV'

b. In televisione si vedono spesso loro
in television SE see.3PL often they
'One often sees them on TV' (D'Alessandro 2007: 90)

These examples reveal that Italian has a person restriction on 1st and 2nd pronouns that does not hold for Spanish (*contra* López 2007). This restriction has been explained by a non-conflicting values condition on MA (Anagnostopoulou 2005). For a single AGREE operation between a Probe and two Goals to be established, such Goals must not possess conflicting values, in this case meaning that the DP in IA cannot be other than 3rd person (D'Alessandro 2007). This restriction gives a rationale for PCC and alike configurations and has been extensively discussed for Icelandic QS (e.g.Anagnostopoulou 2005; Boeckx 2008a; D'Alessandro 2007; Richards 2008). It suffices for the moment to highlight that given the data in (157), the partial agreement pattern in Spanish SE-sentences cannot be analyzed as the result of a MA operation.

Instead, I have suggested that the Probe ends up having two different sources of valuation in the course of the derivation, i.e. via finding an improper Goal.[84] In addition, the previous examples constitute further evidence for the claim that Spanish strong pronouns must control person agreement in finite contexts (§ III.4.3). Person agreement is tampered with by the presence of SE, not allowing personal pronouns to be licensed in the IA position.

Up to this point, it has been defended that, in current Spanish, NU and partial agreement coexist within single idiolects and are alternative options of the same structure in which SE is an improper Goal that controls person agreement with T. Those options arise as two possible repairs. This analysis also explains that strong pronouns are not compatible with such structures, as person agreement is tampered with. I have also suggested that SE receives structural Case (i.e. NOM; Ormazabal & Romero 2020) from this relationship, which explains that a derivation in which SE is removed from the search space of T before AGREE takes place (i.e. anti-intervention) is not acceptable because of the Case filter (cf. § III.4.3). For clarity, a summary of the agreement patterns and how they are accounted for is offered in table III.8 below.

Dimension 1	AGREE	Dimension 2	Outcome	Example
anti-intervention	T-IA	-	full φ	*$se_{K\text{✗}}$ *vemos (a) nosotros*
intervention	T-SE	default repair	NU	*se discutió los resultados*
intervention	T-SE	split repair	partial agr. (T-IA)	*se discutieron los resultados*

Table III.8: Analysis of Spanish agreement patterns in SE-sentences.

The complete derivation of SE-sentences has not been offered yet, as the role of v and the status of the DP in IA position have been ignored for clarity purposes. The following subsection evidences that there are complex and conflicting sets of data related to the status of such DP that have led scholars to be divided on whether they consider that argument a *bona fide* ACC (Ormazabal & Romero 2019, 2020) or an exponent of inherent Case (Ordóñez & Treviño 2016; Torrego 2008).[85] In addition, these intricacies have led to suggest that the agreement patterns are the result of PF-processes and totally independent from syntax (Ormazabal & Romero 2019, 2020; Pujalte & Saab 2014, 2020). I am not able to give a final answer to this ongoing debate about the status of the IA here. Instead, I

[84]López (2007) proposes an alternative system in which the Probe targets a Complex Dependency that has been previously formed between the two Goals (e.g. SE and the IA). Disregarding the technical implementation, this type of dependency requires an equivalent condition on feature coincidence than the one proposed for MA; hence, I do not discuss Lopez's proposal separately.

[85]Gallego (2018: 17) proposes a third alternative by which SE-sentences are endowed with a specialized v akin to that proposed for Icelandic QS, based on López (2007). I have suggested, following Boeckx (2008a), that the availability of such functional head is contingent on the language possessing *bona fide* QSs (cf. fn. 62). The essence of López's (2007) proposal is, in effect, not so different. This author argues (p. 29) that such v selects EXP external arguments, while SE-sentences have an unaccusative v that does not assign a θ-role and assigns partitive to the IA. This is not directly incompatible with our proposal as it becomes clear in this section.

aim at demonstrating that the analysis defended above in (151) is advantageous in that it is compatible with both perspectives. Moreover, the present account does not require to place partial agreement outside the syntactic component, as number valuation with a Goal must take place within the syntax, even if some of the partial agreement patterns do not belong to "standard" dialects. The only repair enabled by PF is the insertion of a default value, crucially, not implying that any Probe-Goal dependency is established postsyntactically.

5.1.1 Number agreement is syntactic

As pointed out earlier, some scholars have defended that SE sentences are regular transitives structures.[86] The idea that SE is the EA that partakes in an agreement relationship with T and gets structural Case in exchange seems to align with this hypothesis. The analysis gets trickier when considering whether the DP in IA position is a *bona fide* ACC object.

To begin with, SE-sentences seem to respect DOM-marking requirements of transitive complements.[87] As (159) reveals, animate and pronominal DPs are obligatorily introduced by the DOM-marker *a* and the latter must also be doubled by a clitic:

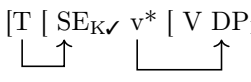
(159) a. Se vio *(a) María/los lingüistas en televisión
SE see.3SG DOM Maria/the linguists in television
'One sees Mary/the linguists on TV'

b. Se *(te) vio *(a) ti en televisión
SE you.ACC see.3SG DOM you.OBL in television
'One sees you on TV'

c. Se *(nos) vio *(a) nosotros en televisión
SE you.ACC see.3SG DOM you.OBL in television
'One sees you on TV'

If DOM is proof of ACC marking, it can be concluded that SE-sentences are transitive structures, with the twist that the presence of the improper Goal tampers with the regular agreement patterns, making lack of agreement optional. In this occasion there is no conflict with the Case filter (cf. § III.4.3), since the DP is a *bona fide* direct object (DO) that gets structural Case from a non-defective *v**.

(160) Transitive hypothesis



[86] This hypothesis was already defended by Oca (1914) (apud Ormazabal & Romero 2019) and Otero (1965, 1966, 1972, 1973, 1976) (apud Sánchez López 2002: 38).

[87] As is well-known, the factors that influence the appearance of DOM are still a matter of research. In SE sentences, animacy must not be the only condition as with bare-NPs and certain animate DPs DOM is optional. For instance, in (i) DOM is optional when *representantes* refers to the position, not to people (RAE-ASALE 2009 §41.12h):

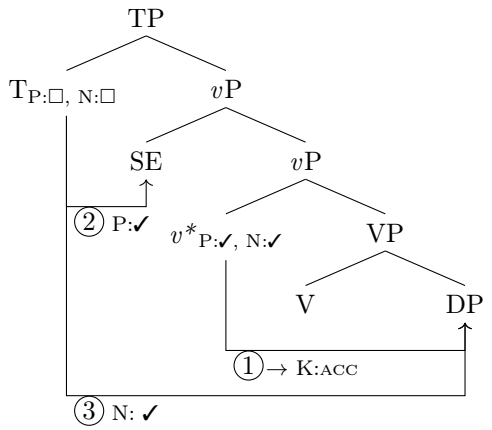
(i) se ha elegido (a) los representantes sindicales
SE have.3SG elected (DOM) (the.PL) representatives union
'(the) new union representatives have been elected'.

A comprehensive analysis of DOM is beyond the scope of this dissertation. I refer the reader to the recent volume on the matter ed. by Kabatek, Obrist, & Wall (2021) and to Fábregas (2013) for a state of the art.

This perspective has been recently defended by Ormazabal & Romero (2019, 2020).[88] Since these authors endorse the idea that there is only one SE-derivation, they argue that the agreement facts attested must be a post-syntactic phenomenon. Our account is partially coincident with that of Ormazabal & Romero (2020). As argued, I endorse the treatment of SE-agreement by which this element is only able to value the person feature of T, whereas number agreement must be dealt with by different means. One is to insert a default value at PF, the other, according to these authors, is post-syntactic number agreement. They posit a PF-process called "number harmony" by which T is able to obtain a number value from the DO postsyntactically.

This is not necessary in our system. The v*P phase is transparent for AGREE-purposes according to the PPH, and Case-assigned arguments are not inactive, since the AC is dispensed with. In ch. II I suggested that what blocks T-IA AGREE in a transitive sentence is the presence of the EA. Since in SE-contexts the EA is an improper Goal, there is room for the partial agreement pattern. This is displayed in the derivation in (161) below. Firstly, ① v* AGREES with the IA and assigns ACC. The phase is transferred and then SE and T are externally merged. Then ② T agrees in person with SE and ③ a second cycle of AGREE is triggered by which T agrees in number with the IA:

(161)



Therefore, the present system keeps number agreement as an inherently syntactic phenomenon as opposed to what Ormazabal & Romero (2020) defend. These authors argue that such type of agreement must be postsyntactic because it is often erratic; however, as I now show, the present system predicts most of the reported empirical facts. Firstly, if DOs are Goals, number agreement with DOM-objects should be possible. This type of data is, in effect, attested in Spanish (Gallego 2016b, 2019a; Ordóñez & Treviño 2016; Planells 2017; RAE-ASALE 2009: §41.12e):[89]

[88] The authors have made available several versions of the latter work, the one cited is the last one available online (April 2020) when this section was written, although I consulted previous versions.

[89] This is not a new phenomenon since, as these authors report, such type of data has already been noticed in traditional grammars, such as in Bello (2002) and Cuervo (1921) (see also Sánchez López 2002 and refs. therein). Moreover, it could be on the train of extending to contexts of *bona fide* lexical prepositions as reported by Gallego (2016b, 2019a):

(162) a. Se rescataro-[n] *a* los alpinistas
SE rescue-3PL DOM the.PL alpinists
'The alpinists were rescued' (Ordóñez & Treviño 2016: 252)

b. [...] se ve-[n] *a* los operarios de un call center.
SE see-3PL DOM the.PL workers of the call center
'One sees the workers of a call center' (Planells 2017: 38)

c. se detiene-[n] *a* varias bandas dedicadas al robo
SE arrest-3PL DOM some bands dedicated to+the robbery
'Several robbery gangs are arrested' (Planells 2017: 37)

Secondly, Ormazabal & Romero (2020) defend that number harmony cannot be syntactic because it is determined by linear proximity. That explains that even temporal adjuncts seem to control number agreement:

(163) Se abre-[n] *los* *domingos*
SE open.3PL the.PL Sundays
'Open on Sundays' (Ormazabal & Romero 2020: 12)

Colomina et al. (2020) suggest that this phenomenon is explicable if the adjunct has been reanalyzed as an argument (cf. Gallego & Uriagereka 2011; Larson 1988, 2004).[90] An argument in favour of this claim is that agreement is impossible when the adjunct is a PP (Gallego 2016a, 2019a) (see § III.5.1.1). In other words, if no syntactic restriction applied, the following sequences would be possible:

(164) a. *Se habla-[n] mucho *en los* *pasillos*
SE talk.3PL much in the.PL corridors
'There's a lot of talk in the corridors'

b. *Se camina-[n] *en los* *parques*
SE walk.3PL in the.PL parks
'People walk in parks'

In addition, if the lack of number valuation caused by the presence of SE was purely solved by linear closeness at PF, one would expect agreement with the closest adjunct, as in (163) above, to arise even if an argument is present:

(165) a. *Se abre-[n] *los* *domingos* la tienda
SE open.3PL the.PL Sundays the store
'The store opens on Sunday'

b. *Se ha-[n] subido *tres* *veces* el precio de la gasolina
SE have.3PL raise.PTCP three times the price of the gas
'The gas price has been raised three times"

(i) Aunque no se disponen de cifras exactas...
although not SE dispose.3PL of numbers exact
'Although we don't have exact figures...' (Gallego 2019a: 97)
Crucially, those constitute examples of selected prepositional arguments as the example above, in contrast with the prepositional adjuncts that are exemplified in (164). See the original papers for a proposal in terms of a V-P reanalysis.

[90] The syntax of adjuncts is further considered in § IV.3.2.1.

Thirdly, if the IA of SE-sentences is an ACC object, it should be subject to pronominalization and still optionally trigger number agreement for the reasons just noted. In this regard, Ormazabal & Romero (2020) claim that the appearance of the ACC clitic is in complementary distribution with the agreement marker (the plural inflection on the verb):

(166) Referring to *los documentos* ('the documents')

a. Se *los* censuró
SE ACC.M.3PL censored.3SG
'The documents were censored'

b. Se censuraro*n*
SE censored.3PL
'The documents were censored' (Ormazabal & Romero 2020: 3)

According to these authors, the clitic *los* in (166a) and the plural morphology on the verb in (166b), take it to be *-n*, are "a different morpho-phonological manifestation of the same underlying object clitic" (Ormazabal & Romero 2020: 30). More specifically, they put forward a process of "clitic mutation" whereby the clitic, which they assume to lack [person], is replaced by the number agreement inflection at PF. There are at least two counterarguments for this proposal.

On the one hand, Ormazabal & Romero (2020) argue that the syntactic derivation of (166) is one of a *clitic left dislocation* (CLLD). Nevertheless, as Pujalte & Saab (2020: 343) reveal, following Arregi (2003), only in (166a) the IA *los documentos* seem to behave as CLLD-elements. Arregi (2003) shows that modified numerals and comparative indefinites cannot be subject to CLLD:

(167) a. Tres libros, Juan los leyó ayer (CLLD)
Three books, Juan ACC.M.3PL read.3SG yesterday
'Three books, Juan read yesterday'

b. *Más de tres/demasiados libros, Juan los leyó ayer (*CLLD)
more of three/too.many books Juan ACC.M.3PL read.3SG yesterday
'More than three/too many books, Juan read yesterday' (Arregi 2003: 38)

This restriction in preserved for (166a), as shown in (168a) below, but not for (166b), as (168b) reveals.[91]

(168) a. *Más de tres/demasiados libros se los censuró durante la
More of three/too.many books SE ACC.M.3PL censored.3SG during the
dictadura
dictatorship
'More than three/too many books were censored during the dictatorship'

b. Más de tres/demasiados libros se censuraron durante la dictadura
More of three/too.many books SE censored.3PL during the dictatorship
'More than three/too many books were censored during the dictatorship'

[91] I do not reproduce here the examples in Pujalte & Saab (2020) because they are based on another test proposed by Arregi (2003) that involves the singular indefinite *algo* ('something'). I believe that such test is not a good piece of comparison with (166b), although the rationale that Pujalte & Saab (2020) submit seems to be correct.

The contrast in (168) cannot be explained if, as Ormazabal & Romero (2020) claim, the plural inflection of the verb is just another exponent of the clitic *los*.

On the other hand, although marginal, number agreement with ACC pronouns is possible, which directly contradicts the hypothesis that both the clitic and plural verbal inflection cannot coexist in SE-contexts. See (169), reported by Ausín & Depiante (2021) from Twitter, and further evidence from the same source in (170):

(169) a. A los elfos oscuros, se les describe-n con pieles grises y cabellera oscura
to the.PL elves dark.PL SE DAT.3PL describe-3PL with skins grey.PL and dark hair
'Dark elves are described with grey skins and dark hair'

b. A las amigas no se les invita-n, simplemente vienen
to the.F.PL friends no SE DAR.3PL invite-3PL simply come.3PL
'Friends are not invited, they simply come' (Ausín & Depiante 2021)

(170) a. Claro; acá se los ve-n jugando al Quidditch!
clear here SE ACC.3.M.PL see-3PL playing to-the Quidditch
'Of course, here one can see them playing Quidditch!' (tweet)

b. Se los describe-n como gatos grandes, del tamaño de perros [...]
SE ACC.3MPL describe-3PL like cats big.PL of-the size of dogs
'They are described as big cats, the size of dogs' (tweet)

This discussion has put forward empirical and theoretical reasons to keep number agreement within the syntax. From a more general perspective, this fits the desideratum of considering agreement as an eminent syntactic operation. I agree with Ussery (2009: 157) in that generally relegating agreement and Case to a post-syntactic component boils down to suggest that syntactic operations apply outside syntax.[92] The default repair defended here is a mere repair that does not involve the unvalued feature to search through the derivation. I do not see how number harmony avoids search (even if it applies at a linear level), entailing that there is an equivalent AGREE operation at the morphophonological component.

That said, a native speaker of Spanish easily realizes that there are sharp contrasts in acceptability among the examples reported above. Ormazabal & Romero (2020: 39) provide a plausible solution to the problem by claiming that those patterns are the result of postsyntactic processes and, as such, they are subject to processing factors. The present account does not necessarily reject this idea, but it rather proposes a reconciliation between such hypothesis and the observation that certain impossible sequences (e.g. (164), (165)) are only ruled out if syntax plays a role.

To finish the discussion, it is worth commenting on the fact that the transitive-hypothesis collides with an extensive line of research that relates SE with unaccusativity (see e.g. López 2007: 3.4.2). In the system of general transparency proposed here, there is no need to remove the "opacity" layers (i.e. phasehood, Case) for a T-IA agreement

[92] See Pujalte & Saab (2014, 2020) for an account of SE-sentences in which Case and agreement are exclusively morphological.

relationship to be established, which dispenses with the main argument to suggest that SE-sentences (or some of them) are unaccusative. Differently put, since T-IA number agreement is possible even when the IA receives structural Case from *v**, it is not necessary to distinguish an accusative derivation (impersonal SE) from a non-accusative one (passive SE).

Nonethelesss, besides agreement, there are some pieces of data that cast doubt on the fact that the IA is a *bona fide* ACC argument. On the one hand, not all non-animate objects accept pronominalization (compare (171) with (172) below), although, to date, there is no satisfactory syntactic nor semantic explanation for that.

(171) a. Cuando se reproduce lo acontecido, sin querer se lo deforma
when SE reproduce it happened without want SE ACC.M.3SG distort3.SG
'When one reproduces what has happened, one distorts it involuntarily'
(Marías 2008, apud Gallego 2016b: 59)

b. Se planifican los escapes, se los tecnologiza
SE plan.3PL the.PL escapes SE ACC.M.3PL technologize
'Escapes are planned, they are technologized'
(RAE-ASALE 2009, apud Gallego 2016b: 59)

(172) a. *Estos terrenos se los / les vendió a un buen precio
those lands SE ACC.M.3PL / DAT.3PL sell.3SG at a good price
'These lands were sold at a good price' (Ordóñez & Treviño 2016: 241)

b. *El arroz, se lo come cada domingo en este hostal
the rice SE ACC.M.3PL eat.3SG every Sunday in this hostel
'In this hostel they eat rice every Sunday' (Ordoñez 2004, apud Torrego 2008: 788)

On the other hand, Ordóñez & Treviño (2016) argue that DOM-marked objects of SE-sentences are inherently Case marked following Torrego (1998)'s ideas about DOM. One of the main arguments is that in SE contexts, the DAT clitic is more prone to appear (see also Mendikoetxea 1999). This was already shown in (169) above, where the pronoun is the DAT clitic *les* instead of the ACC *los*. Ordóñez & Treviño (2016) defend that this use of the DAT clitic cannot be attributed to the phenomenon known as *leísmo*, by which speakers use the DAT clitic instead of the ACC when the object is animate (Fernández-Ordóñez 1999, among many others), because this effect is attested even in those dialects that do not typically display *leísmo* in transitive structures. Consider the following data from Mexican Spanish, where there is no *leísmo*, as (173a) shows, but the dative clitic appears in combination with SE (173b):

(173) a. *A* Juan/Sara *lo* /*la* vieron cantando
DOM Juan/Sara ACC.M.3SG /ACC.F.3SG saw.3PL singing
'They saw Juan/Sara while s/he was singing'

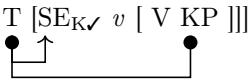
b. *A* Juan/Sara *se le* vio cantando
DOM Juan/Sara SE DAT.3SG saw.3SG singing
'One saw Juan/Sara while s/he was singing' (Ordóñez & Treviño 2016: 240)

These authors reveal that in Mexican Spanish pronominalization is contingent of DOM-marking, even with non-animate DPs:

(174) A estos terrenos *se les* vendió a un buen precio (Mexican Spanish)
DOM those lands SE DAT.3PL sell.3SG at a good price
'These lands were sold at a good price' (Ordóñez & Treviño 2016: 241)

The alternative hypothesis to the transitive analysis is then to posit that in SE-sentences are unaccusative structures: the IA is licensed by inherent Case, but only morphologically expressed when the object is pronominalized or DOM-marked. What is important for our purposes is that the unaccusative view is also compatible with our account of agreement. In this case, NU is possible because the IA is licensed even though it is not related to T via AGREE, similarly to what I speculated for DNS (§ III.4.3). At the same time, in our system, inherent Case is not enough to block AGREE, as argued in the previous sections, so partial agreement is also derivable.[93] See this exemplified in (175) in which inherent Case is expressed by KP, although nothing hinges on that.

(175) Unaccusative hypothesis



All things considered, the transitive hypothesis, recently revamped by Ormazabal & Romero (2019, 2020), fits our desideratum of maintaining a single structure for SE with two possible agreement patterns. However, it has been defended, *contra* these authors, that the only repair of the T-Probe at PF is default, while number agreement must be kept in the syntax. In the present account the presence of SE is enough to derive both patterns, if that element is analyzed as an improper Goal that receives structural Case. The second condition is for the IA to be licensed, but whether that is achieved by structural or inherent ACC Case is irrelevant for the current proposal.

5.2 The Icelandic patterns

Throughout the chapter, Icelandic QS structures have been referred to as a basis of comparison for the optional agreement patterns attested in Spanish DNS and SE-sentences. The reasons are both empirical and theoretical. As argued in § III.2.2, the patterns described by Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008), repeated below for convenience, which are described by those authors as exponents of different dialects (see the table below), are better understood as optional alternants (Ussery 2009), subject to idiolectal variation.

(176) a. að henni *líkuðu* Þeir (agreeing pattern)
that DAT.3SG liked.3PL they
'that she liked them'

[93] Alternatively, Colomina et al. (2020) suggest that the DP is a NOM argument that undergoes a process of Case displacement (NOM > ACC), following Caha's (2009) Case hierarchy, while SE is a sort of "unaccusativizer" of v* (cf. Torrego 2008, i.a.). Although I do not follow the dependent Case approach (Marantz 1991) that those authors submit, I agree with them in that Ormazabal & Romero's (2020) clitic mutation is more obscure as it seems to suggest that the inverse process is possible (ACC > NOM) if the verbal inflection is taken as an exponent of NOM morphology.

b. að henni *líkaði* Þeir (non-agreeing pattern)
that DAT.3SG liked.3SG they
'that she liked them' (Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008: 260)

	Icelandic A	Icelandic B	Icelandic C
agreeing (176a)	ok	ok	??
non-agreeing (176b)	?	ok	ok

Copy of table III.2: Acceptability of agreement patterns in Icelandic dialects (Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008).

The Icelandic patterns constitute the quintessential exemplification of intervention and anti-intervention effects in syntax, something that has been defined as *dimension 1* of variation in the proposed model. Moreover, they are especially revealing for the matters of Case/agreement as well as for the specific definition of person and number features.

This section has two aims. The first one is to connect the ideas about QS outlined throughout the chapter to give a final picture of how they are accounted for in our model of variation. The resulting analysis explains that neither QS nor Spanish SE-sentences allow T-IA full φ-agreement as opposed to Spanish DNS. The second one is to defend that the mechanism of split repair is more advantageous than those accounts by which person and number inherently constitute different probes by being separate heads projected in the structure (Anagnostopoulou 2005; Béjar 2003; Rigau 1997; Sigurðsson 1996; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008; i.a.).

In § III.3.2, I have endorsed Sigurðsson & Holmberg's (2008) "covert intervention" approach, by which the QS is able to intervene in a position that it is not its final landing site, *prior* to phase completion, something that a MD-based system makes possible. This is reminded in (177):

(177) AGREE ≻ IM = intervention
i. $\{T_{\varphi\checkmark}, \underline{QS}\}$
ii. $\{\underline{QS}, \{T_{\varphi}, QS\}\}$

The timing of operations constitutes the first level of variation: AGREE precedes IM of the QS and creates an intervening configuration. The non-agreeing pattern in (176) is accounted for as an exponent of NU, akin to the ones described in Spanish in DNS and SE-contexts, following Richards' (2004, 2008) analysis of QS:

(178) Structure of Icelandic QS
$[_{DP}\ D_{P:3,K:\square}\ [_{KP}\ DAT\ [_{DP}\ D\varphi]]]$

According to this analysis, the relationship between T and the QS is that of non-optimal AGREE as only u[person] on T gets valued. The next level of variation is then activated: the u[number] on T receives a default value at PF as a result of default repair and lack of agreement, (176b), arises:

(179) i. $T_{[P:3,\ N:?]} \ggg QS_{[P:3]}$ non-optimal AGREE

ii. $T_{[uP:3\checkmark\ uN:dflt]}$ default repair

The complete derivation of the NU pattern includes the presence of a specialized v that selects the QS as its EA and assigns NOM to the IA (Boeckx 2008a; López 2007; § III.4.3).

(180) $[T_{[P:3,N:dflt]}\ [\ QS_{K\checkmark}\ v(Q)\ [\ V\ DP_{K\checkmark}\ ]]]$

The agreeing pattern in (176a) has been extensively discussed in the literature and argued to be an instance of partial agreement: T and the IA only agree in number. As opposed to Spanish DNS, Icelandic QS structures never show full φ-agreement:

(181) a. Le gustamos nosotros
DAT.3SG like.1PL we.NOM
'He likes us'

b. Le gustáis vosotros
DAT.3SG like.2PL you.NOM.PL
'He likes you'

(182) a. *Honum *líkum* við
DAT.3SG like.1PL we.NOM
'He likes us'

b. *Honum *líkið* Þið
DAT.3SG like.2PL you.NOM.PL
'He likes you'

The previous section revealed a similar restriction for SE-sentences by which SE invariably controls person valuation. The same analysis can be applied to QS structures if they are required to be licensed by structural Case. This is coherent with the analysis of quirky Case proposed by Chomsky (2000) and adopted in Richards' (2004, 2008) analysis in (178). The rationale is the same applied for SE: if the QS has a uK that needs to be valued, anti-intervention is not a viable derivation. Again, the IM ≻ AGREE order is possible, but it does not converge. Both circumstances are compared in (183)-(184):

(183) AGREE ≻ IM = intervention (Case filter ✓)

i. $\{T_{\varphi\checkmark}, \underline{QS}_{K:\checkmark}\}$ T-QS AGREE

ii. $\{\underline{QS}, \{T_{\varphi}, QS\}\}$ raising of QS

(184) IM ≻ AGREE = anti-intervention (Case filter ✗)

i. $\{\underline{QS}_{K:\square}\ \{T_{\varphi:\square}, QS_{K:\square}\}\}$ raising of QS

ii. $\{\underline{QS}_{K:\times}, \{T_{\varphi\checkmark}, QS\}\}$ T-IA AGREE

As pointed out in § III.4, the uK is the minimal difference between Icelandic QS and Spanish DATEXP. The latter does not require to be structurally-licensed, as inherent Case suffices. For that reason, Spanish does not need to establish any relationship with T, as opposed to Icelandic QS. This is a welcome asymmetry because it both explains their differences regarding agreement seen in (181)-(182) and does not dismiss the fact that, despite the similarities, Spanish DATs are not *bona fide* QSs (§§ III.2.1 and III.4.3).

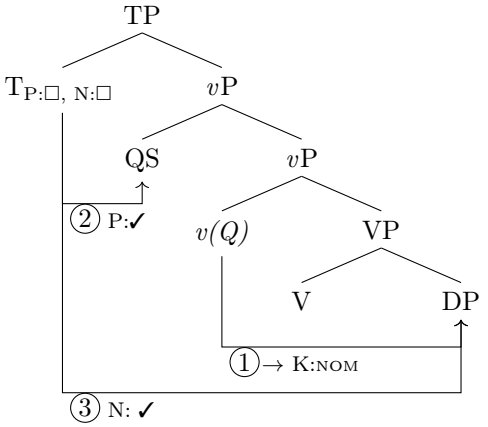
Let us now turn to the agreeing pattern in (176a). As revealed by Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008), Icelandic speakers can accept partial agreement with 1st and 2nd pronouns, but never full φ-agreement (185a). The only exception is when the verbal forms for 2nd and 3rd person are homophonous, like in the form *virtust* in (185b):

(185) a. Henni ?mundi / ?*mundu / *munduð hafa leiðst Þið.
DAT.F.3SG would.3SG / would.3PL / would.2PL have found-boring you.NOM.PL
'She would have found you boring.'

b. Henni virtist / *virtust* Þið eitthvað einkennilegir.
DAT.F.3SG seemed.3SG / seemed.2–3PL you.NOM.PL somewhat strange
'You seemed somewhat strange to her.' (Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008: 269-70)

I defend that, as in Spanish SE-sentences, partial agreement is the result of split repair. The corresponding derivation is offered in (186): ② T agrees in person, invariably 3rd, with the QS and ③ in number with the NOM argument.

(186)



The complete picture of the Icelandic patterns is summarized in table III.9.

Dimension 1	AGREE	Dimension 2	Outcome	Example
anti-intervention	T-IA	-	full φ	**Honum$_{K✗}$ líkum við*
intervention	T-QS	default repair	NU	*að henni líkaði Þeir*
intervention	T-QS	split repair	partial agr. (T-IA)	*að henni líkuðu Þeir*

Table III.9: Analysis of Icelandic agreement patterns in QS-contexts.

The split repair account is in line with previous proposals that defend that the DAT controls person, while the DP controls number (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2005; López 2007; Preminger 2011; Richards 2004, 2008; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008). Some of them defend that this multiple agreement scenario is the result of a dedicated operation (MA), while others maintain that probing is inherently split, meaning that every unvalued feature constitutes a separate Probe. The derivation in (186) does not follow neither of those perspectives and it is inspired by Richards' (2004, 2008) alternative. It has already been pointed out that Richards' analysis is coherent with our desideratum of intervention being

computed by means of φ-features (§§ II.4.2 and III.4). I think that this author is also essentially correct in suggesting that partial agreement is possible even if the relevant Probe is not defective. From his analysis it is inferred that the Probe can be "defectivized" in the course of the derivation by virtue of finding what I have defined as an improper Goal. Let me now specify how the present proposal redefines Richards' account. Then I briefly defend why the resulting system is more advantageous than the aforementioned alternatives.

Richards (2004, 2008) proposes a potential parameter that distinguishes English from Icelandic, based on the visibility of valued features on the Probe. When T finds a [person] Goal, expletive *there* in English or the QS in Icelandic, it values its u[person] feature, but the result is not the same in both languages: the valued [person] is deactivated in English, while it remains active in Icelandic. The asymmetry is reflected in (187) below, which shows the state of T after having established AGREE with the expletive or the QS respectively:

(187) a. T{Pers=3, Num= } Icelandic
b. T {~~Pers=3~~, Num= } English (adapted form Richards 2004, 2008)

Although not explicitly, the author assumes a second cycle of AGREE, by which the respective Probes in (187) search again in order to find a value for [number]. The crucial difference, according to that system, is that Icelandic T only agrees with 3rd person Goals; while English T only agrees with Goals that lack [person]. This proposal is meant to capture the fact the former cannot agree with 1st and 2nd pronouns (see (182) above); while the latter is subject to a definiteness effect.

While the essence of this proposal underlies the idea of split repair, there are some concerns about the original formulation. On the one hand, it does not easily derive the possibility of having personal pronouns in list readings in English (cf. (135), copied below) (Richards 2008: fn.11), as it only derives partial agreement with bare-NPs provided that they lack [person].

(188) Q: Who's still here?
A: There is/*am only me (Richards 2004: 159)

Another, more serious, concern is its account of parametric differences. To me, it is obscure how English, but not Icelandic syntax renders a vF "inactive". Irrespective of whether that happens by means of DELETION, TRANSFER or just some alternative inactivation process, it must be related to further differences between those languages, as the author admits (Richards 2008: fn.9).

Instead, I submit the idea that a partially valued Probe is able to look for a number-containing Goal disregarding the role of the valued [person]. That is possible in a system in which AGREE is a reactive operation, the Probe is activated by virtue of possessing uFs, not by the need of satisfying them (López 2007: 24). Therefore, the Probe just looks for the closest Goal, an element with valued φ-features. When one feature is valued, the second cycle may operate, triggered now by the u[number] only and disregarding the rest of the Probe's featural content.

The clear disadvantage is that we lose the explanation for the person restriction and the definiteness effect that Richards' (2004, 2008) original proposal meant to capture. The latter is left for future inquiry;[94] while the former is briefly commented on in § III.5.2.1. To finish this section, the two alternative approaches mentioned, MA § III.5.2.1 and independent probing § III.5.2.2 are assessed.

5.2.1 A note on MULTIPLE AGREE

The result of split repair is descriptively an instance of multiple agreement; however, there are at least three reasons not to adopt a specific *operation* by which a Probe AGREES with multiple Goals for the analysis of number agreement.

The first reason is that MA as first postulated by Hiraiwa (2001) involves simultaneity: a Probe establishes an AGREE relationship with two Goals at the same time. While this mechanism is an elegant solution to split valuation within the ATC, it cannot be maintained in our system, in which there are no simultaneous operations (see ch. II).

The second reason is the condition on valuation the operation imposes (Anagnostopoulou 2005; D'Alessandro 2007: ch.3):[95]

(189) Multiple Agree can take place only under non-conflicting feature specifications of the agreeing elements

(Anagnostopoulou 2005: 20)

This condition follows naturally if we consider that a Probe is "receiving" two values for the same feature, so it is expected that they must coincide in order to provide a single value (Anagnostopoulou 2005: fn.11). The person restriction on 1st and 2nd pronouns seen for Icelandic QS (see (182)) and Italian SE (see (158)) has been taken as empirical proof for the application of MA (D'Alessandro 2007: ch.3). However, different authors have cast doubt on that restriction being syntactic (Rivero 2004, 2008; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008). Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008) argue that it must be morphological, since, as shown in (185b) above, when the 2PL verbal form is equivalent to the 3PL, the 2nd person pronoun is acceptable.[96]

[94] The reverse effect was described in § III.2.1 for Spanish DNS, which generally ban bare-NPs. This is precisely one of the problems for unifying NU in DNS with previous analyses of NU argued to arise in existential contexts, also in the light of bare-NPs (see appendix B). Although admittedly relevant, this matter and a refined comparison with the English facts exceeds the basic purposes of the dissertation.

[95] This restriction was originally proposed to account for PCC effects. See Coon & Keine (2021), Deal (2021), Preminger (2019), and Stegovec (2020) for recent discussion.

[96] Rivero (2004, 2008) reveals that the person restriction arises in Spanish only in clitic clusters with few specific predicates such as *antojarse*.

(i) a. A Ana se le antojan ellos
to Ana REFL.3 DAT.3PL fancy.3PL they
'Ana fancies them'

b. *A Ana nos le antojamos nosotros.
to Ana REFL.3 DAT.3PL fancy.1PL we
'Ana fancies us' (Rivero 2008: 215)

For these data she defends that the MA presents problems in accounting for the person restriction and proposes a morphological analysis instead. As for the Icelandic data, the debate is unsettled. D'Alessandro (2007: 125) concludes that the person restriction in Icelandic is attributable to MA, but the first Goal is not the QS, but the verbal affix *-st*; while Boeckx (2009: 24) defends that the person restriction cannot be attributable to agreement with T.

In addition, its implementation is afoul of the bundle-probing assumed here. In other words, the non-conflicting condition requires that a Probe finds two Goals that are identical in their complete φ-specification, which makes partial agreement not possible. In order for the restriction to apply only on person and not on number, one must either posit a defective Probe (e.g. Ussery 2009) following a BCC's spirit (§ III.3.1.1), or assume inherent independent probing, something that I reject for reasons explained later (§ III.5.2.2).

The third reason is related to crosslinguistic variation. This is applied by Atlamaz & Baker (2018: 226) as they distinguish "MULTIPLE AGREE" languages and dialects. According to these authors, the application of MA is a parameter to distinguish Icelandic A vs. Icelandic C (see table III.2 above) or two dialects of Kurmanji, an indo Iranian language, that these scholars study. Specifically, they suggest that Mus Kurmanji is a "SINGLE AGREE" dialect, as opposed to Adıyaman Kurmanji, which is a "MULTIPLE AGREE" one.

Beyond the exact formalization of that sort of parameter or whether it is related to further properties of the given languages or dialects,[97] the basic puzzle boils down to the nature of such operation. Suppose MA is a flavor of AGREE as IM and EM are to MERGE. That makes it a UG operation, not a language-specific property. If there are no languages *with* IM and others *without* it; there cannot be languages *with* MA and others *without* it.

Accordingly, all languages should "have" MA, but maybe it does not operate in every derivation, similarly to AGREE being contingent on the presence of uFs. That forces us to either posit an optional [+multiple] feature on Probes (Hiraiwa 2001), which brings us back to the BCC problem (§ III.3.1.1), or find derivation-dependent circumstances that enables MA. In that sense, Ussery (2009) suggests that MA applies optionally in Icelandic when the DAT intervener is present. My account builds on this intuition, but improves the theoretical rationale.

If I understand correctly, following Ussery's (2009) approach, T must "know" in advance whether the DAT intervener is present in the derivation. If it is, then MA applies or not, deriving the optional patterns previously described (see (176) and table III.9). Look-ahead is avoided if, instead, T searches "blindly", as supposed for an split repair approach.[98] The first search "tells" T that G_1 only provides a value for person and it is *then* when the optional second cycle of AGREE is made available. In sum, our system does not require to enrich UG with an additional operation for agreement, but derives the same result from applying basic AGREE twice. In addition, as argued, the application thereof is made available by the derivational dynamics, precluding look-ahead.

[97] Ángel Gallego (p.c.) suggests, for instance, to relate MA to languages with multiple *wh-* fronting (cf. Boeckx 2003b). Even if a correlation of this sort is found, the key question to me is why MA does not apply all over the place. On the other hand, I remain agnostic as to whether MA is suitable for explaining other type of dependencies.

[98] López (2007)'s system also avoids look-ahead by allowing two elements to create a dependency that it is subsequently targeted by the Probe, avoiding MA. Another alternative way of dispensing with any "pre-search" is to revamp Chomsky's (1995; 2000) notion of equidistance (see e.g. Gallego 2010, 2013; Koppen 2012; Longenbaugh & Polinsky 2018; Planells 2017). Antonio Fábregas (p.c.) suggests to me to treat NU in these terms, something that requires close examination in postdoctoral work.

5.2.2 Against independent probing

In light of partial agreement, many scholars support the idea that [number] and [person] constitute independent Probes (Anagnostopoulou 2005; Béjar 2003; Rigau 1997; Sigurðsson 1996; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008; i.a.). The idea of split probing differs from such hypothesis in that there is no independent probing, only independent valuation. That is, probing features operate as bundles, but they may encounter a Goal that does not provide a value for all of them. This nuance is empirically and theoretically more adequate for the reasons that are exposed in this subsection.

Firstly, this view is incompatible with our analysis of optionality submitted in the previous sections because non-optimal AGREE never arises. This is reflected in (190) below. [person] probes first and finds the closest Goal, the improper Goal, to obtain a value. That first AGREE relationship cannot stop [number] probing, which results in agreement with its closest Goal, G_2 in the structure.[99]

(190)

i.	$Probe_{\varphi[P:\square,N:\square]}$	⋙	$IG_{\varphi[P:x]}$	⋙	$G_{\varphi[P:x,N:z]}$
ii.	P:x ✓		P:x		P:y
iii.	N:z ✓				N:z

Instead, establishing split probing as an aftermath of partial agreement with G_1 correctly captures the fact that lack of agreement with the IA is grammatical and coexists with partial agreement in certain varieties, as Icelandic dialects.

Secondly, features must be taken as functional projections to act as Probes, which, in turn, raises additional concerns. To exemplify this point let me refer again to Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008) and, especifically, to their account of Icelandic agreement patterns (see also Asarina 2011; Longenbaugh 2019; Preminger 2011). These authors situate Number (Nr) and Person (Pn) functional projections above T (following Sigurdsson 2004, 2006):[100]

(191) $[_{PnP}$ Pn $[_{NrP}$ Nr $[_{TP}$ T ...

The order of these projections corresponds to the linear order of verbal inflection in Icelandic (tense-Nr-Pn, following Sigurðsson 2006). To ensure that both projections are eventually part of T, the assumption is that both probes are activated when T "joins" (p. 259) them respectively, but the authors do not clarify what operation is responsible for this.

[99] One could wonder which feature should probe first. This is not relevant here, as G_1 is never a Goal for uN regardless of whether it probes before or after uP.

[100] Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008: 263-265) defend that these projected features are interpretable and unvalued. Although this feature composition is possible in our system (§ II.2.2.1), it is difficult to grasp that (i) verbal Probes are interpretable; (ii) this proposal does not revamp Government & Binding's $AGR_{SUBJECT}$ projection. In addition, if I understand correctly it would be expected to find languages with additional projections such as GenderP or ClassP in order to account to other agreement systems.

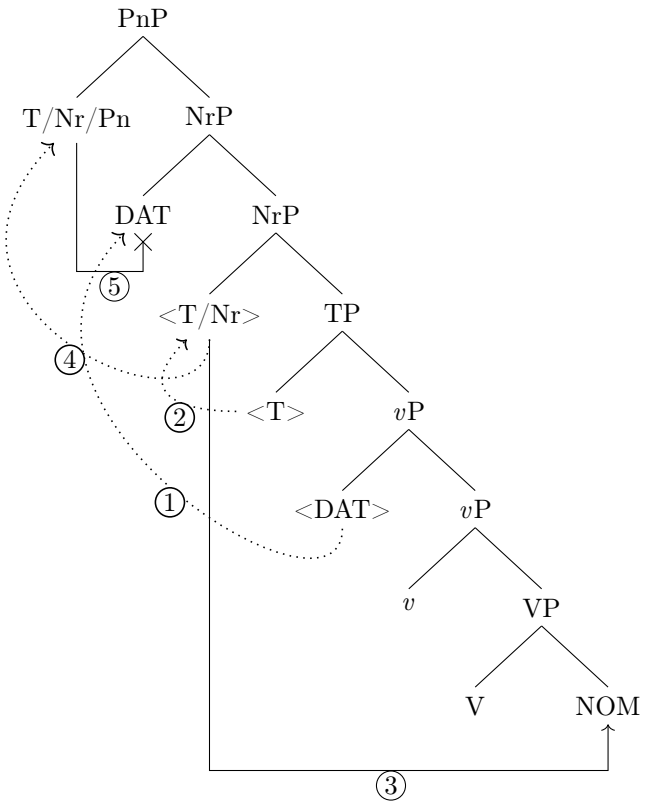
Another technical complication comes from the timing of operations. The analysis submitted by Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008) coincides with ours in defending that the relative order between AGREE and IM is key to understand the phenomenon. Nevertheless, the additional projections required for the independent probing approach ((191) above) increases the degree of complexity of the analysis. The relevant data is repeated here for convenience:

(192) a. að henni *líkuðu* Þeir (agreeing pattern)
that DAT.3SG liked.3PL they
'that she liked them'

b. að henni *líkaði* Þeir (non-agreeing pattern)
that DAT.3SG liked.3SG they
'that she liked them' (Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008: 260)

The representation of the derivation that Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008) put forward for the sequence in (192a) is offered in (193). It takes place as follows: the DAT raises above Nr ①, then T joins Nr ② and agrees with the NOM ③. T/Nr later joins Pn ④. Person agreement is blocked because of the presence of the DAT.[101]

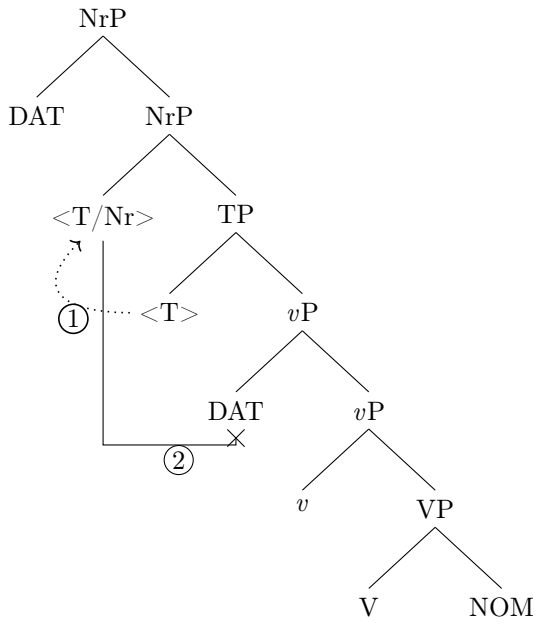
(193)



The derivation of the non-agreeing pattern in (192b) only differs in order, as reflected in (194) below. T raises to Nr and agrees when the DAT is *in situ* ①. The DAT blocks number agreement ② as well as person, and the derivation continues in the same manner that it does in (193) above, steps ①, ④ and ⑤ there.

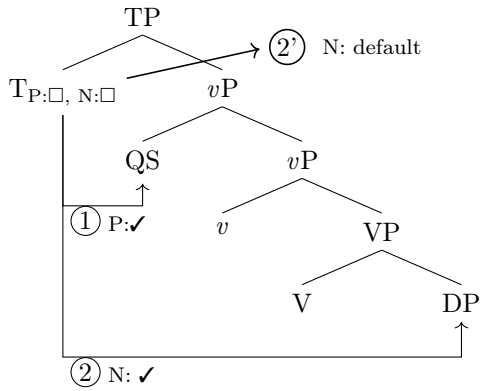
[101] For that intervention effect, Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008: 259) follow Boeckx (2000), although they are not explicit about the technical rationale. Boeckx (2000), reedited in Boeckx (2008a: ch.1), considers that there is abstract agreement with the QS, but it cannot be morphologically expressed, something that is later reformulated as AGREE at MATCH-level (§ III.4). In ch. IV, I cast doubt on that proposal.

(194)



Given (193)-(194), it becomes evident that combining the timing of operations with a cartographic-like view on Probes, increases exponentially the number of ordering possibilities. Conversely, if, as defended here, uFs are located in the Probe as a bundle, the range of options is much more restricted. The specifics are represented in (195), which derives both the agreeing and non-agreeing pattern:

(195)



Furthermore, it is necessary to note that Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008) derive the observation that person agreement is always tampered with in QS-structures by stipulating (p. 261) that the DAT can never raise "high enough/early enough" (p. 273) to avoid blocking of person. Instead, the present account does not stipulate a restriction on ordering of operations, but derives the impossibility of anti-intervention from the Case filter (see table III.9). Accordingly, if the QS is an improper Goal, it is responsible for the blocking of person, while both the agreeing and non-agreeing patterns follow from the last resort analysis.

Finally, the present analysis explains the variation attested in a more austere fashion. Sigurðsson & Holmberg (2008: 261) endorse a model à la Kroch, by which the respective derivations above distinguish Icelandic dialects A and C, while Icelandic B is an exponent

of competition between those. As previously argued, that perspective presents problems for the model of grammar (§ II.5.1) and it does not reflect the fact that both the agreeing and non-agreeing patterns are accepted by Icelandic speakers differing in the degree of acceptability (§ III.5.2), which suggests that those alleged dialects are just different exponents of individual idiolects (Ussery 2009, 2017). For clarity, the summary of Icelandic variation is updated in table III.10:

	Idiolect x	Idiolect y	Idiolect z
Agreeing	ok	ok	??
Non-agreeing	?	ok	ok

Table III.10: Icelandic idiolectal variation (new proposal).

5.3 Interim summary and additional predictions

In this section I have defended that partial agreement is the result of a second cycle of AGREE that can optionally arise when the Probe finds an improper Goal, which has been referred to as split repair. This analysis accounts for the fact that there is an alternation between a NU pattern and a number agreement one in Spanish SE-sentences and Icelandic QS configurations (and most likely also English *there*-sentences). The impossibility of full φ-agreement has been derived from the necessity of those specific improper Goals to establish a relationship with T in order to get structural Case, reflected in them bearing a uK.

I have argued that, despite having a "repair" flavour, this process cannot be part of PF, as suggested by Ormazabal & Romero (2019, 2020). In that sense, it is akin to similar mechanisms posited in the literature to account for partial agreement with the crucial difference that independent probing is not a precondition (or a condition) on AGREE, neither an inherent process of a subtype of AGREE, but it is enabled by the derivational dynamics. This change of perspective is advantageous, since it dispenses with the necessity of adding new operations to UG and dispenses with dubious parametric differences (Richards 2004, 2008; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008; Ussery 2009).

To finish the discussion, it is necessary to address an additional prediction. If, as suggested, NU and partial agreement coexist because of the presence of an improper Goal, the same should apply to Spanish DNS contexts. That could be the case, since there is no way of testing if a sequence such as (196) below involves full or partial agreement.

(196) Me gustan las novelas
DAT.1SG like.3PL the.PL novels
'I like novels'

I want to suggest that this double analysis is not superfluous, but rather desirable given the present model of variation. The fact that there is only one way of obtaining the non-agreeing pattern (intervention + default repair) and two (anti-intervention and

intervention + split repair) of obtaining the agreeing pattern may account for the fact that the latter is generally preferred. The relevant comparison is reminded and updated to refer to idiolectal differences in (197).

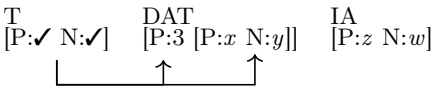
(197)

Spanish	Idiolect x	Idiolect y
Agreeing: *me gustan las novelas*	ok	ok
Non-agreeing: *me gusta las novelas*	??	ok

Furthermore, the fact that split repair is possible in Spanish DNS is not incompatible with the impossibility of partial agreement with strong pronouns (**le gustan nosotros*). Such ungrammaticality is derived from the same restriction suggested for NU in § III.4.3: personal pronouns must control person agreement.[102]

A second part of the prediction is the possibility of the number feature of the DAT to be targeted, instead of that of the downstairs DP.

(198)



I tentatively suggest such prediction is attested. Spanish heritage speakers on the US display number agreement with the DATEXP:

(199) A ustedes les gustan este libro
to they.POL DAT.3PL like.3PL this book
'You.PL like this book'

(Dvorak & Kirschner 1982: 61, apud Julià 2015: 10)

Although heritage data is generally regarded as a distinct line of inquiry, it is significant to highlight that those speakers (exactly like monolingual speakers) would never allow full φ-agreement with the DATEXP, as opposed to L2 learners (Dvorak 1983: 25; Pascual Cabo 2013).[103] Some evidence from online sources, (200) below, seem to corroborate this possibility. Again, even if these patterns are not a regular option in Spanish, they are *possible*.

(200) a. A algunos *les* da-n miedo el feminismo (tweet, Argentina)
to some DAT.3PL give-3PL fear the feminism
'Some are afraid of feminism'

b. a muchos *nos* preocupa-n el no encontrar una oportunidad para iniciarnos
to many DAT.1PL worry-3PL the not find a chance to start
'Many are worried about not finding an opportunity to begin'

(Wd: 2011, blog, tecoloco.com.gt, 2012-05-11: *Pansantia*, Guatemala.)

[102] Following the same logic, a derivation with a 3PL pronoun (e.g. *Me preocupan ellos*) is necessarily result of anti-intervention.

[103] As noted by Dvorak (1983: 25), L2 learners with English as L1 do seem to interpret the DATEXP as the NOM subject (like in the English psych-V pattern), producing full agreement with the subject (*Yo/me gusto los deportes*). This is impossible for a Spanish native speaker (even heritage speakers) (see also fn. 22). It must also be noted that in ch. IV I assume that the inner material of XPs in a Spec position is inaccessible for AGREE due to structural reasons, so agreement with DATs requires further explanation.

c. A muchos *les* parece-n que tanta libertad para el individuo equivale a
to many DAT.3PL seem-3PL that so.much freedom for the individual equates to
una anarquía total
a anarchy total
'Many think that so much freedom to the individual is equivalent to a total anarchy'
(Mare & Pato 2018: 92)

The prediction would be that Icelandic could also display number agreement with the DAT. This has been a matter of research, because a closer variety, Faroese, does display DAT agreement (Jónsson 2009). However, according to the studies reported in Árnadóttir & Sigurðsson (2013) and Ussery (2017), there is not enough evidence at this point to maintain that the phenomenon is robust in Icelandic.[104]

6 Summary

This chapter has proposed a unified treatment of optional patterns of agreement that arise in monoclausal structures of alleged obligatory T-IA agreement. The evidence reported constitutes a contribution to the description of Spanish agreement variation. It has been shown that the so-called relative impersonals in Spanish, characterized by being inserted in a DNS, coincide with other Romance and non-Romance languages in their tendency to fluctuate between an agreeing and lack of agreeing pattern.

It has been defended that the lack of agreement pattern is an instance of NU, derived from the DAT_{EXP} being an intervener only for person. Such circumstance has been dubbed a *non-optimal* AGREE scenario. It can be defined as a relationship that does not fulfill a double condition on AGREE by which the Probe attempts to find a value for all its unvalued φ-features (MME) in the closest Goal (MLC). Therefore, NU has been analyzed as an instance of intervention, defined as a *bona fide* AGREE relationship (involving feature valuation).

The patterns attested in Spanish have been then accounted for within the model of variation proposed in ch. II. *Dimension 1* derives both anti-intervention and intervention scenarios via the relative timing of application of AGREE and IM. In particular, the precedence of IM predicts full φ-AGREE between T and the IA, while the reverse ordering yields intervention. *Dimension 2* is responsible for the resolution of that dependency: the impossibility of number agreement with the closest Goal is either repaired at PF (default repair), yielding the NU pattern, or within syntax, as a second cycle of Agree (split repair).

The application of split repair satisfactorily accounts for similar contexts (Spanish SE-sentences and Icelandic QS) and it provides a more faithful analysis by treating the relevant data as exponents of single idiolects within the same syntactic structure. Furthermore, the impossibility of complete agreement in such scenarios has been derived by the Case filter, provided that both SE and Icelandic DATs bear a uK, in contrast with Spanish DATEXP.

[104] Árnadóttir & Sigurðsson (2013) argue that a new DAT-ACC structure is appearing in Icelandic that mimics Faroese. These authors endorse the idea that, in such contexts, the DAT is underlyingly a NOM (Jónsson 2009). At this point I am not able to provide additional evidence to draw further conclusions.

Such lexical asymmetry (cf. *dimension 0*) is able to explain that, even if anti-intervention is a possible derivation, it may not converge by independent reasons in certain contexts, here with SE and QS. A summary of the corresponding analyses is offered in table III.11.

	Dimension 1	AGREE	Dimension 2	Outcome	Example
DNS	anti-intervention	T-IA	-	full φ	*nos gustan las películas*
	intervention	T-DAT	default repair	NU	*nos gusta las películas*
	intervention	T-DAT	split repair	partial agr. (T-IA)	**te gustan nosotros*$_{\text{P}\boldsymbol{\times}}$
SE	anti-intervention	T-IA	-	full φ	**se*$_{K\boldsymbol{\times}}$ *vemos (a) nosotros*
	intervention	T-SE	default repair	NU	*se discutió los resultados*
	intervention	T-SE	split repair	partial agr. (T-IA)	*se discutieron los resultados*
QS	anti-intervention	T-IA	-	full φ	**honum*$_{K\boldsymbol{\times}}$ *líkum við*
	intervention	T-QS	default repair	NU	*að henni líkaði Þeir*
	intervention	T-QS	split repair	partial agr. (T-IA)	*að henni líkuðu Þeir*

Table III.11: Analysis of agreement patterns (complete).

The analysis proposed ameliorates some of the empirical and theoretical challenges of previous proposals for agreement mismatches. The degree of freedom that it establishes makes it possible to derive both the great intraspeaker variation observed and the unclearly defined dialectal boundaries and, at the same time, avoid the potential overgeneration predicted by previous accounts. In particular, it avoids the overdescriptive nature of the analyses that attribute "nano"-dialectal differences to the featural configuration of Probes exclusively.

Chapter IV

Hyper agreement and clausal dependents

1 Introduction

Having explored the redefinition of intervention in local environments (monoclausal and monophasal) applied to agreement variation, this chapter considers biclausal configurations and focuses on the phenonemon of hyper-agreement (HA)[1]. As previously indicated, certain Spanish idiolects in a colloquial register seem to allow agreement to cross a clausal boundary. For convenience, I use the labels "non-finite HA" and "finite HA" to refer to scenarios in which HA arises with an infinitival and a subjunctive clause respectively:

(1) a. *Non-finite* HA

Me encanta-n [hacer planes] %Spanish
DAT.1SG love-3.PL make.INF plans

'I love making plans'

b. *Finite* HA

Me encanta-n [que los planes salgan bien] %Spanish
DAT.1SG love.3-PL that the.PL plans go-out.SBJV.3PL well

'I love it when plans work'

This phenomenon is inserted in the debate about the status of long-distance agreement (LDA) and its implications for phase-theory. Furthermore, it is another instance of idiolectal variation that allows us to delve further into the bidimensional model put forward in ch. II and developed in ch. III. The goal of this chapter is twofold: (i) to develop the PPH (cf. ch. II) by analyzing AGREE operating at a long-distance; (ii) to provide further support for a last resort perspective on idiolectal number agreement variation.

[1]This chapter builds on two previous works (Fernández-Serrano 2017, 2022). From them I extract most of the data, which I collected myself for the preparation thereof. The theoretical discussion has been updated and the analysis put forward here revises my previous claims.

By pursuing (i), I do not only provide an analysis of LDA within phase-theory, but I also aim at shedding some light on the long-standing debate on the nature of clausal arguments. As noted throughout the description of DNS (§ III.2.1), the predicates involved in Spanish HA are characterized by allowing clausal arguments as long as the embedded verb is either an infinitive or inflected for subjunctive. The extensive literature on subordination (in Spanish and other languages) reveals that these type of clauses exhibit transparency effects (e.g. clitic climbing, obviation, licensing of negative polarity items, *consecutio temporum*) that cannot be found in other type of dependents, such as indicative clauses (see Bosque 2012 and refs. therein). HA then is argued to be an additional, not previously attested, transparency effect.

The analysis submitted combines the idea first put forward by Bošković (2003) that non-defective CPs are not opaque domains for AGREE, unless they are endowed with φ-features, with the long held claim that CPs must be nominal to behave as arguments. If that is so, it is possible for certain clauses to be improper Goals. This hypothesis is coherent with the φ-intervention system proposed in ch. II and developed in ch. III and, at the same time, it captures the observation that [person] and [number] do not equally apply at a distance (cf. Baker 2008; Boeckx 2008a; Preminger 2011; i.a.).

Regarding (ii), the analysis of HA is a welcome extension of the analysis of NU proposed in ch. III. LDA is predicted to arise in the same contexts explored in the previous chapter (DNS, SE-sentences and QS-structures) when the configuration is complex, including at least one subordinate clause, because of the presence of the improper Goal. However, this potential unification is qualified to accommodate the behavior of the sentential complements vis à vis agreement.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section IV.2 presents the main data by establishing a comparison with the existing descriptions of LDA crosslinguistically (§ IV.2.1) and then assessing the application of previous analyses to the Spanish phenomenon (§ IV.2.2). From that review it is concluded that Spanish HA must be treated as a instance of *bona fide* long distance AGREE (cf. Bošković 2003, 2007; Schütze 2020). Section IV.3 is devoted to the analysis, which both accounts for HA and covers the treatment of clausal dependents within a PPH-based system. Finally, section IV.4 summarizes the chapter.

2 Hyper-agreement

The term "hyper-agreement" refers to a cross-clausal agreement dependency that is attested in colloquial Spanish varieties. This label is meant to capture the intuition that agreement is surpassing its standard clausal boundary, just as in hyper-raising situations (see (2) below), raising is exceeding its supposedly established limits within the clause (Fernández-Serrano 2017, 2022).[2]

(2) *Hyper-raising* (Brazilian Portuguese)

Os meninos parecem [que fizeram a tarefa]
the boys seem.3PL that did.3PL the homework

'The boys seem to have done their homework.' (Nunes 2008: 93)

While the notion *long-distance agreement* (LDA) is used interchangeably in this dissertation, it is necessary to emphasize that HA departs from other cases that have been considered LDA, that is, when the verb and the subject are far from each other within a clause:[3]

(3) Ha empezado al final del año a venir Juan solo a la escuela
have.3SG begun to.the end of.the year to come.INF John alone to the school
'John began coming alone to school towards the end of the year.'

(Alexiadou et al. 2012: 78)

The investigation of HA belongs to the more general inquiry about long distance dependencies, and especially, about its consequences for phase theory. To provide a satisfactory analysis it is necessary to determine two important aspects: (i) whether Spanish HA is a genuine instance of long distance AGREE in the sense that the Probe and the Goal are located in different clauses when the operation applies; (ii) what type of agreement relationship arises (full or partial) and under what conditions. I defend that Spanish HA is cross-clausal and cross-phasal. To this end, I provide empirical evidence that the structure is biclausal and that the Goal remains within the EC in which it is locally Case-assigned. The second question is related to the specifics of AGREE. As it was the case for NU, HA further suggests that person and number agreement differ in behavior. In this sense, I show that HA is essentially partial and also subject to idiolectal optionality.

Let me start by describing the phenomenon in comparison to previous crosslinguistic observations on LDA, then I present the main analyses of LDA and assess their suitability for the phenomenon in Spanish.

[2] "Hyper-agreement" was first used by Carstens (2011) to refer to a phenomenon attested in Bantu languages by which all the elements of a verbal complex show subject agreement. The phenomenon reported here keeps no relation with this sense of the term. Mare & Pato (2018) also apply this tag to Spanish in contexts of raising with the verb *parecer*, but they do not offer any definition thereof.

[3] The infinitive *venir* in (3) belongs to a verbal periphrasis (*empezar a* + infinitive).

2.1 Main properties of LDA

The extensive literature on LDA suggests that what we identify under such tag is not an homogeneous phenomenon across the languages wherein it is attested, but it is rather the result of different underlying configurations (Bhatt & Keine 2017; Boeckx 2009; Polinsky 2003). In some languages the agreement controller is related to information structure, which leads to the idea that this element may have left the EC and established a local relationship with the matrix Probe. In other languages, the shape of the EC seems to be responsible for the permeability required for the long-distance dependency to apply. Accordingly, and as it will be seen in more detail in § IV.2.2, most authors have defended that what looks like a long-distance dependency in the surface is actually the result of AGREE operating locally (see Polinsky 2003 and refs. therein). This section is dedicated to the description of such data, while the next one takes into account the theoretical approaches on the long-distance agreement/AGREE distinction.

It is necessary to remark, to begin with, that the heterogeneous nature of LDA has been recognized even within the same language. That is exemplified by the case of Basque, which displays two concomitant instantiations of LDA. One is only a surface phenomenon, since it is argued to happen in monoclausal (restructuring) contexts (4), while the second one happens at a distance (5) (Etxepare 2006, 2012; Preminger 2009):[4]

(4) Basque LDA under restructuring
[Ni altxa-tze-n] probatu na-ø-u-te
me(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempted 1.ABS-SG.ABS-have-3PL.ERG
'They attempted to lift me'

(5) Basque cross-clausal LDA
[Nobela erromantiko-ak irakur-tze-a] gustatzen ø-
novel(s) romantic-ART.PL(ABS) read-NMZ-ART-(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS-
zai-zki-o
be-PL.ABS-3SG.DAT
'(S)he likes to read romantic novels'

(taken from Bhatt & Keine 2017: 25)

For this reason, it is indispensable to confront Spanish HA with previous approaches to LDA, not only to develop a suitable analysis, but also to determine whether it is a unitary phenomenon in this language. To this purpose, I follow Bhatt & Keine's (2017) recent state of the art. These authors present the crosslinguistic facts about LDA departing from Hindi-Urdu data (a paradigmatic example is in (6) below). In a similar way, I present the Spanish phenomenon, alluding to other languages when necessary.[5]

(6) Raam-ne [rotii khaa-nii] caah-ii
Ram-ERG bread.F eat-INF.F.SG want-PRFV.F.SG
'Ram wanted to eat bread.' (Bhatt & Keine 2017: 4)

[4] In the glosses, NMZ = nominalizer, HAB = habitual, ART = article.

[5] The crosslinguistic evidence that these authors report is not reproduced here except when it is revealing for the discussion of the Spanish facts.

The main traits of LDA, generally shared by different languages are listed in (7).

(7) Main properties of LDA (based on Hindi-Urdu, Bhatt & Keine 2017)

a. It takes place with the structurally highest non Case-marked argument

a'. The target of LDA is also agreed with within the subordinate clause

b. It only arises with object, never subject, clauses

c. It never exhibits person agreement

d. It is not bidirectional

e. It is limited to infinitival clauses

f. It is generally optional

As the reader may have noted, (7e) is at odds with Spanish finite HA. For clarity, I ignore this fact during the discussion of the properties (7a)-(7d), which I revise in turn, and address the specifics of that flavor of HA when discussing (7e)-(7f).

a) The nature and position of the embedded Goal

(7a) refers to the fact that the target of LDA in Hindi cannot bear an overt Case marker. This is observable in (6) above, in which the object of the infinitival clause *rotii* ('the bread') does not bear Case morphology as opposed to the main subject that is marked with ergative. This property does not enforce LDA, since there is a free alternation with the default morphology counterpart, which is expressed as masculine singular agreement between the matrix verb and the infinitive:

(8) Raam-ne [rotii khaa-naa] caah-aa
Ram-ERG bread.F eat-INF.M.SG want-PRFV.M.SG
'Ram wanted to eat bread.' (Bhatt & Keine 2017: 5)

Only when there is LDA, agreement within the EC is obligatory (7a'). The infinitive must also show agreement with the embedded subject (in gender in (6)). In other words, a single DP, the embedded subject, is the Goal for two distinct Probes. Consequently, the AC cannot hold, something suggested already in Bhatt (2005) and extensively supported in the previous chapters of this dissertation.

It is not possible to compare Spanish with Hindi-Urdu in morphological Case-marking, only in agreement, but, since I assume that Case is the result of φ-agreement in Spanish, the following discussion holds for both purposes. To begin with, I have assumed that DOM and ACC clitics are among the few overt realizations of Case in Spanish and it has been previously showed that LDA can target these elements (§ II.3.2). A relevant example in which there is LDA with a DOM-marked object is copied here (cf. § III.5.1 and refs. therein):

(9) Me interesa-n [conocer *a* mis compañeros]
DAT.1SG interest-3PL know.INF DOM my colleagues
'I am interested in meeting my colleagues'

Likewise, the data in (10) below show that LDA can target ACC pronouns, irrespectively of their person values. They are exemplified in turn (1st person *-nos*, 2nd person *-os* and 3rd person *-los*):

(10) a. Al profe Felipe parece q[ue] le encanta-n [ver-nos correr
to.the prof Felipe seem.3-PL that DAT.3SG love.3PL see.INF-ACC.1PL run.INF
atrás de unos conitos]
behind of some little.cones (tweet, Argentina)
'It seems that prof Felipe loves watching us running behind some little cones'

b. cmo m gusta-n [ver-os tan felicesssssss]
how DAT.1SG like.3-PL see.INF-ACC.2PL so happy.PL
'I really enjoy seeing you so happy' (tweet, Spain)

c. Igual posta me divierte-n [hacer-los], son fáciles y tienen
same really DAT.1SG have.fun.3-PL do.INF-ACC.3PL be.3PL easy.PL and have.3PL
visitas
visits
'Same I truly enjoy making them, they are easy and get visits' (tweet, Argentina)

This observation presupposes that the subject of the infinitive (PRO, as standardly assumed) is not a possible intervener, although it is structurally higher than the agreeing object. This alleged problem is tackled later in § IV.3.

On the other hand, it seems to be the case that only the highest structural Goal is targeted in finite HA. Regardless of the overt NOM morphology, by assumption, either *pro* (see (11)) or an overt pronoun (see (12)) subject are NOM Case-marked as they have undergone full φ-agreement with the embedded probe:[6]

(11) a. no me gusta-n [que *pro* tenga-mos la misma estatura]
no DAT.1SG like-3PL that have-1PL the same height
'I don't like that we are the same height' (tweet, Mexico)

b. Nos gusta-n [que *pro* sea-is un poquito originales]
DAT.1PL like-3PL that be-2PL a bit original.PL
'We like that you guys are a bit original' (tweet, Spain)

(12) Si a muchas chicas les encanta-n [que nosotros usemos gorra jeje]
yes to many girls DAT.3PL love-3PL that we.M use.1PL cap *hehe*
'Yes, a lot of girls love that we wear caps hehe' (tweet, Honduras)

[6]It is expected for the embedded IA to be the controller when the EC contains an unaccusative or alike structure. Observe the following example with a SE sentence that also evidences an unusual partial agreement pattern with the ACC clitic:

(i) a mi si me gusta-n [que se *las* *hayan* aprobado]
to me yes DAT.1SG like-3PL that SE ACC.F.3PL have.3PL approved
'I do like that they were aproved' (tweet, Panama)

This type of data seems to suggest that speakers that accept HA are prone to adopt agreement patterns in other contexts, such as SE-sentences (§ III.5.1). The possibility of a cluster of agreement phenomena could shed more light on this, but it must be left aside as it requires a broader empirical study (see § IV.3.4.3).

b) Restriction on clausal subjects

As indicated above, Hindi-Urdu agreement can target, although non-obligatorily, an embedded non-marked DP within an object clause. According to Bhatt & Keine (2017), there is, on the other hand, a restriction on the subject of the main clause, which must be Case-marked. Otherwise, the matrix subject must control agreement and LDA within the clausal object is not possible. All things being equal, one can establish a parallelism between this restriction and the fact that LDA is only observed in DNS in Spanish.

In DNS, the EA is inherently Case-marked and it does not partake in a conventional agreement relationship with the main verb. Given the account put forward in the previous chapter, the DAT only controls person and it is does not receive structural Case in exchange. This would provide a rationale for the fact that selecting a clausal argument is not a sufficient condition for HA to arise in Spanish. Furthermore, if only structural properties are contemplated, the DAT is the subject (cf. QS, § III.2.1), whereas the clausal IA is the object of the main predicate, aligning with the (7b) property.

Therefore, HA is possible only with clausal objects provided that the matrix subject is not a *bona fide* DP subject controlling agreement, as in regular transitive configurations such as (13) below. As for the impossibility of crossing subject clauses (see (14) below), it could (and ideally should) be related to islandhood. This claim is qualified later in § IV.3.2.[7] Compare both circumstances in (13) and (14) with a quirky-alike configuration in which the object is optionally transparent (HA arises) in (15).

(13) Clausal objects (transitive sentence)

a. La subida salarial significa/*-n [mejorar los derechos]
the increase salary mean.3SG/3PL improve.INF the rights
'A salary increase means improving rights'

b. La subida salarial significa/*-n [que se mejoren los derechos]
the increase salary mean.3SG/3PL that SE improve.SBJV.3PL the rights
'A salary increase means improving rights/that rights are improved'

(14) Clausal subjects (transitive sentence)

a. [Subir los salarios] significa/*-n una mejora laboral
raise.INF the salaries mean.3SG/3PL a improvement work
'Raising salaries means better working conditions'

b. [Que suban los salarios] significa/*-n una mejora laboral
that raise.SBJV.3PL the salaries mean.3SG/3PL a improvement work
'Raising salaries means better working conditions'

(15) Clausal object (DNS)

a. Me importa/-n [mejorar los derechos]
DAT.1SG matter.3SG/3PL improve.INF the rights
'I care about improving rights'

[7] The possibility of both a clausal subject and a clausal object coappearing in a single sentence is also accounted for in § IV.3.2.

b. Me importa/-n [que se mejoren los derechos]
DAT.1SG matter.3SG/3PL that SE improve.SBJV.3PL the rights
'I care about improving rights'

The restrictions just described are summarized in table IV.1 below for clarity.

Main clause		EC	LDA
PROBE		clausal subject	✗
PROBE	non inherently Case-marked subject	clausal object	✗
PROBE	inherently Case-marked subject	clausal object	✓

Table IV.1: Configurational restrictions on Spanish LDA.

c) Partial agreement

The examples in (10)-(12) above suggest that HA never exhibits person agreement. This partial agreement pattern can manifest itself in different fashions depending on the agreement morphology of the language: number agreement in Spanish (also in Icelandic or Basque), gender and number agreement in Hindi-Urdu,[8] or class in Tsez and other languages (e.g. Polinsky & Potsdam 2001).[9] If this observation is on the right track, something like (16), in which the main verb agrees in person and number with the dropped subject, is utterly impossible:

(16) *no me gusta-mos [que *pro* tenga-mos la misma estatura] (cf. (11a))
no DAT.1SG like-1PL that have-1PL the same height
'I don't like that we are the same height'

The literature has suggested, in effect, that person agreement cannot survive at a distance (Baker 2008; Boeckx 2008a; Preminger 2011):[10]

(17) *Hierarchy of agreement fragility* (Preminger 2011)
person at-a-distance ≫ number at-a-distance (≫ any agreement at close range)

I have already pointed out that there are two phenomena of LDA in Basque. It is now relevant to note that one of them allows full agreement, while the other complies with he condition on partial agreement just mentioned. They are reminded in (18)-(19).

[8] Bhatt & Keine (2017: fn.2) do not discuss this in detail for Hindi-Urdu because they consider that it is derived from the restriction on the highest non-marked argument being the controller (7a): 1st and 2nd person objects are always Case marked in object position in this language, so they cannot control LDA. As Spanish seems to work differently in this respect, it is necessary to account for such observation.

[9] Few examples are provided later on.

[10] For some authors this translates into person requiring Spec-H agreement (see Dikken 2019 and refs. therein). This possibility is not considered in the present account.

(18) Basque LDA under restructuring
[Ni altxa-tze-n] probatu na-ø-u-te
me(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempted 1.ABS-SG.ABS-have-3PL.ERG
'They attempted to lift me'

(19) Basque cross-clausal LDA
[Nobela erromantiko-ak irakur-tze-a] gustatzen ø-
novel(s) romantic-ART.PL(ABS) read-NMZ-ART-(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS-
zai-zki-o
be-PL.ABS-3SG.DAT
'(S)he likes to read romantic novels'

Etxepare (2006, 2012) convincingly argues that (18) is not a counterargument for the fragility of person, as full LDA is only possible under restructuring or clause union (§ IV.2.2.2). Thus, person agreement is strictly local, while number agreement is subject to independent constraints, to which I refer in the analysis section (§ IV.3.3).

It is key that in the example from Hindi shown in (5), while the embedded DP controls number, the EC is also agreed with and checks Case with the relevant matrix Probe. The case of Spanish is more difficult to assess because it does not possess rich Case-morphology. The hypothesis that Spanish clauses are nevertheless agreed with has been discussed by different authors (Picallo 2001, 2002; Quer 2008). Let me state it as follows:

(20) Clauses-as-Goals hypothesis:
Clauses are Goals for AGREE by virtue of bearing valued φ-features.

I later argue (§§ IV.3.2 and IV.3.3) that this hypothesis provides a principled explanation for the possibility of LDA in Spanish, although the technical implementation is refined. The argumentation and details thereof are provided in those sections.

d) Directionality

It is worth pondering whether a reverse LDA, namely agreement between an embedded verb and an element of the main clause, is possible. This should not be expected in a system of strict downward AGREE, in which the Goal must be structurally lower than the Probe. Spanish seems to respect this restriction, which indicates that HA obeys syntactic constraints, against a pure morphological/phonological (PF-based) analysis. For the sake of completeness, let me comment on the cleft-sentence in (21) below (Brucart 1999; Martínez 1999; Moreno 1999; Plaza de la Ossa 2008; Val & Mendívil 2011; RAE-ASALE 2009: §§40.11b-h).

(21) Nosotros somos [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ quienes cantamos/cantan por las mañanas]]
we be.1PL who.PL sing.1PL/sing.3PL for the.F.PL mornings
'We are the ones that sing in the morning'

The embedded verb alternates between 1PL and 3PL inflection. The former seems to be the result of agreement with the subject of the matrix clause (*nosotros*), which could be taken as a instance of upward LDA. Following Val & Mendívil (2011), I assume

that the relationship between the embedded verb and the subject of the matrix clause is only apparent, because the embedded verb agrees with the relative pronoun (*quienes*) which, in turn, may "attract" (cf. Brucart 1999: 459) either only the number value of the pronominal subject *nosotros* or both the number and the person values, explaining the optional patterns attested.[11]

In sum, although the technical details of this double agreement structure must be carefully pondered in future work, it seems possible to defend an analysis by which valuation proceeds in a strict downward fashion (*contra* Bjorkman & Zeijlstra 2019).[12] If that is the case, the downward directionality of LDA, by which the Probe is always in a superordinate clause with respect to the Goal, is preserved.

e) Limited to infinitival clauses?

As shown, Spanish finite HA is LDA across finite clauses with overt complementizers, something that has been attested in different languages, but argued not to be possible at a technical level, i.e. it must be an instantiation of underlying local AGREE (cf. Boeckx 2009: 27). It is surprising that Bhatt & Keine (2017) do not consider the literature on this type of LDA, especially in light of research on Algonquian languages (see Bošković 2003 and refs. therein and also Börjesson & Müller 2020; Branigan & Mackenzie 2002; Bruening 2001; Fry & Hamilton 2014; Lochbihler & Mathieu 2016; Mursell 2020; Polinsky 2003),[13] and just claim that LDA is only possible with infinitival clauses. Two examples of AGREE across a finite clause are offered in (22)-(23):

(22) LDA in Chuckchee

ənan qəlɣiļu ləŋərkə-nin-et [iŋqun ø-rətəmŋəv-nen-at qora-t.]
he regrets-3-PL that 3SG-lost-3-PL reindeer-PL(NOM)
'He regrets that he lost the reindeers' (taken from Bošković 2003: 57)

(23) LDA in Innu-aimûn

Ni-tshissenim-ânân-at [mûpishtuât Shûshepa Tshân mâk Mânî]
1PL-know-1PL-3PL visit Joseph John and Marie
'We know that John and Marie visited Josep' (Branigan & Mackenzie 2002: 388)

Mursell (2020) provides a recent review of these facts. According to this scholar, and based on much previous research, there are languages from three typologically distinct families that display finite LDA. Those are Blackfoot, Innu-aimûn (see (23) above) and

[11] Providing a full account of this phenomenon would lead us far from the main line of inquiry. For this reason, the discussion has been simplified. For instance, the cited works report contrasts in acceptability within speakers that will not be addressed here. Those seem to be related to the number of the pronominal subject, the position thereof and the specific relative pronoun (e.g. *quienes* can be replaced by *los que*).

[12] The potential account calls for a head-raising analysis of the relative clause (Kayne 1994; Vergnaud 1974). That way, the antecedent of the relative would have the chance to agree with the relative pronoun under regular c-command before moving out from the embedded domain.

[13] It is necessary to state that it is controversial whether LDA in these cases indicates that AGREE can cross a CP-phasal boundary (Boeckx 2009: fn.25). However, in Bhatt & Keine's (2017) review, LDA is considered at a descriptive level, regardless of its analysis, so it is not clear to me why the instances with finite clauses are disregarded.

Passamaquoddy from the Algonquian family[14], Uyghur, an Altaic language and, from the Nakh-Dagestainan familiy, Hinuq, Khwarshi and Tsez (one of the most well-known LDA languages since Polinsky & Potsdam's 2001 seminal paper).

The possibility of finite HA in a Romance language such as Spanish needs to be carefully considered as it is far apart from the families just mentioned. As I indicate in the next section, LDA in Algonquian languages has been generally analyzed as the result of a local AGREE dependency, meaning that LDA is only apparent. It is crucial to determine if that is the case of Spanish and, if it is not, to specify the factors that regulate its appearance.

In this sense, two aspects need to be emphasized. Firstly, although non-finite HA has been barely addressed in the literature, described as rare feature of substandard spoken language, there are references that include such type of data. This is not the case for finite HA.

As noted in Fernández-Serrano (2017, 2022) the presence of HA data in the literature on Spanish is scarce and lacks a detailed description. Like in the case of NU, Vigara Tauste (2005: 35) reports few examples from spontaneous speech and comments that this type of anomalous agreement is quite common in such register:

(24) a. Luego además, tú que eres un... fonetista me imagino [que
then moreover you that be.2SG a phonetician DAT.1SG imagine.1SG that
te chiflará-n escuchar los rodajes]
DAT.2SG whistle-3PL listen-to.INF the.PL shootings
'Then, moreover, you, being a phonetician, I figure, would be thrilled about listening to shootings'

b. Sólo me gusta-n estudiar algunas asignaturas y no tengo facilidad
only DAT.1SG like.3PL study.INF some subjects and no have.1SG easiness
para estudiar.
for study.INF
'I only like some subjects and studying doesn't come easy to me'

(Vigara Tauste 2005: 220)

Few examples are also reported by Martínez (1999):

(25) a. A mí me chifla-n [oír esas canciones]
to me DAT.1SG whistle-3PL hear.INF those songs
'Listen to those songs make me go nuts'

b. Me gusta-n más [estudiar otras asignaturas.]
DAT.1SG like-3PL more study.INF other subjects
'I prefer to study other subjects'

c. Ya sé que te duele-n [tener que desmentir esos rumores.]
already know.1SG that DAT.2SG hurt-3PL have.INF that deny.INF those rumors
'I know it is painful for you having to deny those rumors'

(Martínez 1999: 2773)

[14]Mursell (2020) only lists those three, but Ojibwe, Fox and Plains Cree have also been reported to display LDA; cf. refs. above.

More recently, Felíu (2022) has revealed that non-finite HA is productive in Spanish, focusing on the study of a specific predicate, *costar*, which is a psych-predicate with a DNS structure with the meaning 'to be difficult/hard'. The data reported by Felíu are informative for certain facts about HA in Spanish, as it is made explicit later on, and yet this author does not contemplate the case of finite ECs either.

In effect, finite HA seems to be just recently spotted (Fernández-Serrano 2017, 2022), among other reasons, because it seems to be much less frequent. I am not confident enough to assert that this is a new phenomenon. Online sources of spontaneous linguistic data, such as social networks, have opened the door to previously unnoticed traits of this register, so it could be the case that the phenomenon was already there, but the data were difficult to glean. Be that as it may, it is undeniable, and it must not be forgotten, that this is a very rare phenomenon that is not accepted, nor produced by the majority of Spanish speakers. I refer back to this claim in § IV.3.4.3.

The second aspect is that only subjunctive clauses may participate in LDA. As it has been extensively argued, subjunctive clauses are akin to infinitivals in many aspects, including transparency effects, as opposed to indicatives (Hernanz 1999; Picallo 1985; Torrego & Uriagereka 1992; Uriagereka 2015, among many others). This coincidence suggests that finite HA is not unrestricted but hinges on a certain degree of porosity of the clause, which is to be scrutinized in IV.3.2.

f) Optionality

The matter of optionality is yet again crucial for the description of the phenomenon. It is very unlikely that those speakers that include HA in their idiolect have excluded the "standard" non-agreeing version of the configuration. Active Twitter users give access to a sample of their own idiolect and provide potential empirical support for this hypothesis. In this regard, I detected the case of a Venezuelan user, that displays equally non-agreeing and agreeing versions in her tuits, providing a total amount 14 cases of HA (Fernández-Serrano 2022: 112). The following examples are all retrieved from that account:[15]

(26) *Hyper-agreement*

a. a mi me gusta-[n] [que me cuenten las peliculas]
to me DAT.1SG like-3PL that DAT.1SG tell.3PL the.F.PL movies
'I like that people tell me about movies'

b. Me gusta-[n] [hablar con los gays], no se porque, pero ellos
DAT.1SG like-3PL speak.INF with the.PL gay.PL no know.1SG why but they
son muy chevere.
be.3PL very cool
'I like talking to gay people, I don't know why, but they are so cool'

[15] In (26b) the prepositional complement is agreed with, similarly to what Gallego (2016b, 2019a) reveals for SE-contexts (§ III.5.1).

c. en serio que les encanta-[n] [que los traten mal]
in serious that DAT.3PL love-3PL that ACC.3PL treat.3PL wrong
'They actually love being badly treated'

(27) *No hyper-agreement*

a. A mi me encanta [hacer manualidades]
to me DAT.1SG love.3SG make.INF crafts
'I love doing crafts'

b. A veces me cuesta [decir verdades] [...]
a times DAT.1SG cost.3SG say.INF truth.PL
'Sometimes I have a hard time telling the truth'

c. Me preocupa mucho [que mis amigas/os peleen:(( ]
DAT.1SG worry.3SG much that my.PL friends.F.PL/M.PL fight.3PL
'I worry a lot about my friends fighting'

In other languages, LDA has been argued to be related to information structure or to have slightly different interpretations regarding scope. For instance, Bhatt (2005) reports that in non-LDA configurations, the object only takes scope below the matrix predicate, while both low and high scope are possible under LDA, see (28a). This interpretative contrast is supposed to determine whether the Goal of LDA stays *in situ* within the EC or not.

(28) a. Naim-ne [har [kitaab] parh-nii] caah-[ii] th-[ii]. LDA
Naim-ERG every book.F read-INF.F want-PERF.F be-PST.F.SG
every > *want*: 'For every book, Naim wanted to read it.'
want > *every*: 'Naim's desire: to read every book'

b. Naim-ne [har kitaab par.h-naa] caah-aa th-aa. No LDA
Naim-ERG every book.F read-INF.M.SG want-PERF.M.SG be-PST.M.SG
**every* > *want*: 'For every book, Naim wanted to read it.'
want > *every*: 'Naim's desire: to read every book'

(Bhatt 2005, apud Bhatt & Keine 2017: 13)

This matter is taken up in § IV.2.2.1, in which I show that the evidence for a semantic difference is not straightforward in Spanish. Different pieces of data suggest that at least a topic interpretation is not obligatory, while judgements regarding scope are difficult to test given that HA is not available for the majority of speakers.[16]

g) Interim summary

This section has described the basic properties of Spanish HA in comparison with the general description of LDA. They are summarized in (29) below.[17] This description is the point of departure to determine the most suitable analysis for the phenomenon. The next section is devoted to this purpose.

[16] It is relevant to point out that the readings reported in Hindi do not seem to be clear cut either. Bhatt (2005: fn. 12) comments on the fact that the contrast in meaning of (28a) is not obvious for some speakers, whereas others may just show certain preference for one of the readings.

[17] An additional property (a") is added to the list to reflect all the traits discussed in the section.

(29)

	Main properties of LDA (cf. (7))	Spanish HA
a.	It takes place with the structurally highest non Case-marked argument	✗
a'.	The target of LDA is also agreed with within the subordinate clause	✓
a".	The matrix subject must be case-marked	✓
b.	It only arises with object, never subject, clauses	✓
c.	It never exhibits person agreement	✓
d.	It is not bidirectional	✓
e.	It is limited to infinitival clauses	✗
f.	It is generally optional	✓

As shown, there are two properties of Spanish HA that do not align with previous observations on LDA. First, the embedded agreement controller seems to be marked, which in Spanish translates to be Case assigned via AGREE with a local Probe. This fact is very relevant, because it leads us to dismiss the AC and to maintain that Case must be assigned within the phase. Second, it is not limited to infinitival clauses. This is not a language-specific feature, since this kind of LDA has already been reported in typologically distinct languages. A fundamental goal is to ellucidate whether both finite and non-finite HA constitute instances of AGREE at a distance, as most authors have suggested that LDA across finite clauses is only apparent.

On the other hand, Spanish HA appears to corroborate the fact that person agreement is locally restricted and that LDA is not obligatory in the languages that display it. I have also suggested that if LDA had to be found in Spanish it should be possible in configurations such as DNS, considering that an inherently-marked element appears in the EA position and that the IA can be a clause, never in indicative. With these provisos in mind, the next section discusses the possible analyses and presents further empirical details of the phenomenon throughout.

2.2 Previous accounts to LDA

Having established the basics of Spanish HA, this section is devoted to assess whether previous approaches provide a suitable analysis for the phenomenon. Both finite and non-finite HA are considered and, if not indicated otherwise, the discussion must be taken to apply to both contexts.

Before proceeding, a caveat is in order: there are some debated issues around LDA that are not directly addressed in the present discussion, because they do not fit into the general framework of this dissertation. Firstly, I am not going to debate whether LDA constitutes proof for AGREE as opposed to Spec-H agreement (cf. Boeckx 2009; Schütze 2020), because I maintain that agreement is the result of pure-AGREE, namely a downward probing operation (see fn. 10). Secondly, I assume that AGREE is not constrained by the PIC1 (Bošković 2007), but by the PPH (repeated below for convenience) for the reasons developed in ch. II.

(30) *Phase Preservation Hypothesis* (PPH):
a transferred domain α cannot be modified

The PPH entails that the Goal can be in a separate phase iff its uK has already been valued by a local Probe. In other words, new values cannot be added to an already transferred domain. Further empirical support for this claim is presented in this section.

Once more, Bhatt & Keine's (2017) summary is followed for it provides a lucid overview of the existing literature. I classify the six approaches reviewed by these authors, listed in (31), in three more general groups that are considered in turn in §§ IV.2.2.1 to IV.2.2.3.

(31) Main approaches to LDA (adapted from Bhatt & Keine 2017)
1. Movement of the agreement controller
   i. Long movement
   ii. Edge movement
2. Impoverished embedded clause
   i. Restructuring
   ii. Functional defectiveness
3. Indirect agreement
   i. Proxy agreement
   ii. Successive AGREE

It is important to highlight again that the majority of analyses do not treat LDA as an exponent of *bona fide* long distance AGREE in the language analyzed. Instead, they treat it as *long distance agreement*, understood as descriptive label that does not necessarily mean that agreement takes place across a clause and/or a phase. Roughly, the only analysis that maintains that *long distance agreement* is the result of a non-local AGREE operation, in the sense that the Probe and the Goal are located in distinct domains, is the functional defectiveness approach (see this in table IV.2 below[18]).The specifics of this analysis are provided in due time.

The following discussion proceeds on the basis that LDA is not an homogeneous phenomenon and what can look like LDA in different languages may not be the result of a single unitary analysis. With that in mind, I assess whether Spanish HA fits the previous proposals by testing the predictions of those analyses on the Spanish data.

[18] For the sake of clarity, the facts are rather simplified as the combination of such analyses is not reflected in the table. For instance, if the PIC1 is assumed, movement of the embedded DP hinges on the size of the EC. I refer the reader to Wurmbrand (2019) for a discussion on whether the landing site is an A-position.

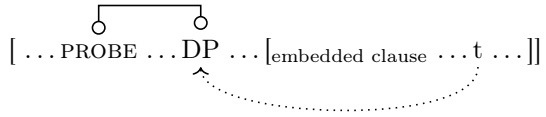
Approach	Configuration	Locality of AGREE
Long movement	biclausal	local
Edge movement	biclausal	local
Restructuring	monoclausal	local
Functional defectiveness	biclausal	non-local
Proxy agreement	biclausal	local
Successive AGREE	biclausal	local

Table IV.2: Approaches to LDA.

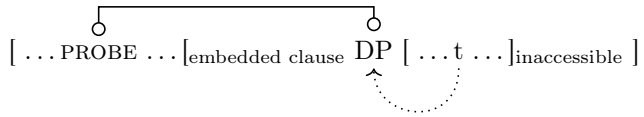
2.2.1 Movement approaches

The first group of approaches supports the idea that there is no *bona fide* cross-clausal agreement, since the Goal has moved to a local position with respect to the Probe in which agreement takes place. The landing site of this movement is posited to be either in the matrix clause, as in (32) or within the EC, as in (33).[19]

(32) Long movement



(33) Edge movement



Movement analyses are controversial because they require to maintain that movement is covert, meaning that the controller of AGREE is not spelled-out in its landing site, in which it undergoes AGREE, but inside the EC (Branigan & Mackenzie 2002; Polinsky & Potsdam 2001).[20] This can be observed in the structure in (35), based on Polinsky & Potsdam's (2001) analysis of Tsez LDA (the example is displayed in (34)[21]). The embedded object *magalu* has LF-raised (represented with ⟨ ⟩) from the embedded *v*P to the specifier of TopP for agreement, but it is pronounced in the embedded position:

[19]The diagrams throughout the whole section are inspired by the ones in Bhatt & Keine's (2017) paper. AGREE is reflected with a straight line above (neutral about whether the Probe assigns Case) and the dotted curved arrow below the derivation indicates movement.

[20]Bhatt & Keine (2017: 12) point out that an alleged overt instantiation of movement was reported for Hindi Urdu by Butt (1993, 1995), but Bhatt (2005) refutes such claim.

[21]Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) indicate that, in this language, the verb agrees with the absolutive argument in noun class (III in the gloss of (34)).

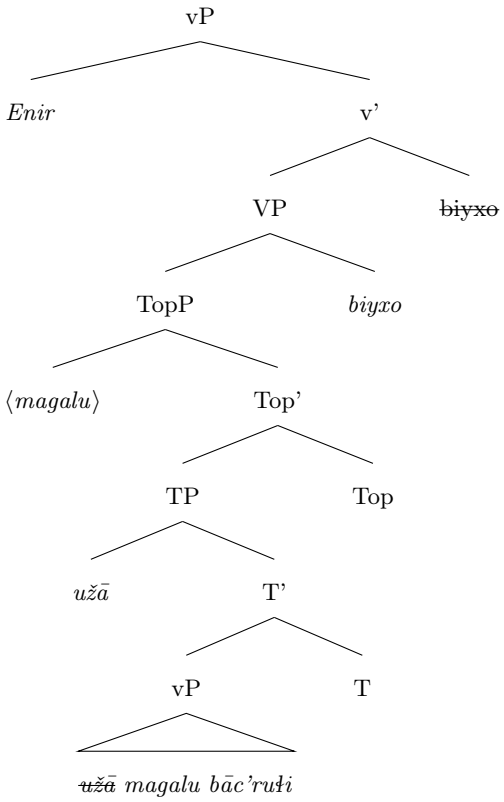
(34) LDA in Tsez

Eni-r [užā magalu bāc'ruɬi] b-iy-xo.
mother boy **bread.III.ABS** ate **III-know**

'The mother **knows** [the boy ate **the bread**].'

(Polinsky & Potsdam 2001: 584, emphasis in the original)

(35) Covert-movement analysis of Tsez LDA (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001)



(taken from Mursell 2020: 292)

The main empirical argument to support the LF-movement is information structure. This type of approach has received a considerable amount of attention especially regarding the analysis of LDA in Algonquian languages. Different authors suggest that only topics (and maybe foci) are able to undergo LDA, hence they adopt a covert edge movement approach. Such type of analysis aligns with the PIC1 (Fry & Hamilton 2014; Lochbihler & Mathieu 2016; Mursell 2020) and it does not violate the principle that A'-operations cannot feed A-operations (AGREE in this case, cf. Wurmbrand 2019).

Nonetheless, other scholars have brought the covert-movement analysis into question on both empirical and theoretical grounds (Bošković 2003: 60-61; Chandra 2007; Mursell 2020: 294; Börjesson & Müller 2020). Leaving technical details aside, a general concern for those scholars is that LF-movement must be post-syntactic and, as such, it is not straightforward how it is able to feed AGREE (of course, unless one takes agreement to take place outside syntax, e.g. Bobaljik 2008).

As for empirical drawbacks, Mursell (2020) reveals that languages differ on whether LDA targets topics or topics and foci, but there is no attested language that has exclusive foci-LDA. He argues that this restriction is not predicted by LF-movement, as both topics *and* foci could be moved in this manner.[22] This author proposes, instead, an analysis in terms of successive AGREE (cf. § IV.2.2.3) and FI of discourse features (cf. Lochbihler & Mathieu 2016).

This possible alternative is not suitable for Spanish, because there is no evidence that suggests that the target of LDA has been topicalized or focalized.[23] Firstly, word order does not seem to be altered by the presence of HA, as the previous examples reveal. Secondly, intonation does not suggest a change in information structure either. That is, admittedly, not a reliable test at the moment, because most data come from written sources. Consider, however, the example in (36), in which capital letters are used by the speaker to mimic oral prosody (cf. Heath 2021). The emphasis is on the subject of the secondary predication *YO*, not on the target of LDA *las cosas*:

(36) Me molesta-n [que las cosas no salgan como YO quiero]
DAT.1PL annoy.3PL that the.F.PL things no turn.out.3PL like I want.1SG
'It upsets me that things don't come out as I'd like' (Fernández-Serrano 2017: 16)

Thirdly, there would be little doubt that LDA targets topics/foci if the overt instantiation of the embedded subject was obligatory in HA contexts, given the well-known connection between overt subjects and information structure in pro-drop languages (see Herbeck 2018 and refs. therein). Yet, that does not seem to be the case in Spanish, and, in fact, in most instances of finite HA the subject is dropped (see e.g. (11) above).

As a matter of fact, it is not clear whether a topic interpretation of the embedded Goal is available at all. Börjesson & Müller (2020: 319-320) point out that most LDA matrix verbs are factive and, as such, the topic of the EC is the topic of the whole sentence (*contra* Polinsky & Potsdam 2001). Spanish psych-predicates have also been categorized as factives (e.g. RAE-ASALE 2009: §§25.3r,25.4i; Bosque 2012), a classification that should not be altered by the presence of HA. Consequently, an analysis in terms of information structure should not be pursued.

In sum, it cannot be maintained that Spanish HA is contingent on information structure, hence it does not seem to be the case that the embedded DP controls agreement from the edge of the EC or from a matrix position. Therefore, the hypothesis that Probe and Goal establish a long-distance relationship across domains cannot be dismissed in favor of a movement approach.

[22] An alternative proposal, based on upward AGREE, is put forward by Bjorkman & Zeijlstra (2019). I disregard such type of analysis because it is at odds with our view on AGREE. See Mursell (2020) and Preminger & Polinsky (2015) for a review of such proposal, including empirical counterarguments.

[23] If I understand correctly, LDA does not target topics, but *topicalized* elements and the same applies for foci, given that, depending on the approach, they are taken to undergo movement to dedicated A'-positions or involve discourse-feature agreement.

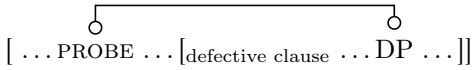
2.2.2 Impoverished clauses

In this group I consider proposals that defend that LDA is possible when the EC is deficient in some sense. This deficiency is what renders this domain transparent enough for LDA. The term "restructuring" inherited from transformational grammar (Rizzi 1976) has been invoked to refer to this kind of situations. As Bhatt & Keine (2017: 8) point out, it is often indistinctly used to refer to two different analyses involving a complex and a single predicate. One of them is the "classic" restructuring notion by which an apparently biclausal structure is underlyingly a monoclausal one, i.e. the finite and the non-finite verbs form a single unit:

(37) Restructuring (clause union) analysis

The other one refers to the absence of certain functional material on the EC (cf. "defective phase", § II.3.1):

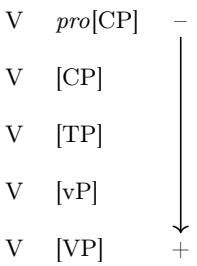
(38) Defective clause analysis



For the sake of clarity I use *restructuring* only to refer to the former (37) and *defectiveness* to the latter (38).[24]

Both approaches relate LDA to the size of the embedded domain. A restructuring approach takes the LDA structure to be monoclausal, hence it is subject to regular locality conditions. The defective clause approach advocates for a biclausal configuration, although the size of the EC is reduced (e.g. a TP instead of a CP) in the presence of LDA, as in ECM configurations. This is naturally related to the levels of embedding that have been posited to distinguish clausal domains, from indicative, subjunctives, different types of infinitives (control, raising) to clausal union:[25]

(39) Levels of embedding (cf. degrees of restructuring; Wurmbrand 2014 *et seq.*)



[24] The evolution of the notion "restructuring" is summarized in detail in Paradís (2019: ch.3) in light of clitic climbing. As Anna Paradís (p.c.) clarifies to me, this notion should be better abandoned, as it implies a biclausal → monoclausal transformation that is not contemplated by current theory. As noted in ch. II, minimalist theories preserve the idea that any transformation that is not structure-preserving is illicit Emonds (1970), although reformulated in terms of Merge (Koster 2007; Boeckx 2008b: 30-31). Despite this fact, the label "restructuring" is often found in recent literature.

[25] See Ciutescu (2018) for a review of restructuring as a process of "complex predicate formation" and its consequences for Case-marking domains. This author analyses causative and perception verb constructions as a result of featural defectiveness, something that is defined in §2.2.2.2 and developed in § IV.3.3.

An analysis that supposes that LDA is possible when there is a higher degree of embedding predicts that other transparency-related phenomena (i.e. clitic climbing, scope, binding, etc.) follow. Therefore, there should be independent evidence that the subordinate clauses in HA contexts are more transparent than "regular" subjunctives and infinitivals selected by psych- and deontic verbs, according to the present inquiry. In what follows it is shown that there seems to be no clear distinction in terms of transparency between HA and non-HA contexts.

2.2.2.1 Restructuring

As indicated above, Spanish agreement across clausal domains has just recently received attention in the literature. In his description, Martínez (1999) considers that the agreeing element in (25) is the object of a complex predicate, in other words, these are monoclausal structures in which the finite verb and the infinitive form a verbal periphrasis. I indicate this in (40) below (cf. (25), glosses have been omitted):

(40) a. A mí me $\boxed{\text{chiflan}_{V1}\ \text{oír}_{V2}}$ esas canciones
'Listen to those songs make me go nuts'

b. Me $\boxed{\text{gustan}_{V1}\ \text{más estudiar}_{V2}}$ otras asignaturas.
'I prefer to study other subjects'

c. Ya sé que te $\boxed{\text{duelen}_{V1}\ \text{tener}_{V2}\ \text{que desmentir}_{V3}}$ esos rumores.
'I know it is painful for you having to deny those rumors'

The hypothesis of the verbal complex is endorsed by Di Tullio (2015) as reported in Felíu (2021, 2022). The latter author follows the idea that verbs such as *costar* must have a modal-like behavior to accept LDA (Felíu 2022: 173). However, Felíu (2021) revises this claim[26] and points out that the phenomenon does not fulfill standard restructuring tests and, given that LDA is possible with other lexical verbs, it implies that the list of modal or semi-modal predicates should be considerably enlarged. In effect, and according to what it has been described here, all relative impersonal predicates (psych and deontic) would need to be treated as modals, but that does not seem to be empirically correct.

Psych-Vs, as also pointed out by Etxepare (2006, 2012) for Basque (cf. (5) above), are not of the restructuring nature as opposed to other predicates as 'try'. For instance, Spanish restructuring verbs display clitic climbing (CC), something that is banned for deontic and psych-predicates regardless of LDA:[27]

[26] Felíu (2021) is a conference presentation that took place after the manuscript of the 2022's publication was written (in 2020, as the author, p.c., indicates to me).

[27] This observation is consistent with the conclusion from ch. III regarding NU: an explanation for the phenomena concerning DNS has to be found in the syntactic properties of the configuration, not determined by specific lexicosemantic predicates (e.g. there exist transitive psych-verbs that do not display any unusual agreement patterns; § III.2.1).

(41) a. Me las intentó vender — restructuring predicate → CC ✓
DAT.1SG ACC.F.3PL tried.3SG sell.INF
'S/he tried to sell them to me'

b. *Me las gusta/n estudiar — psych-predicate → CC ✗
DAT.1SG ACC.F.3PL like.3SG/3PL study.INF
'I enjoy studying them'

c. *Me las cuesta/n estudiar — deontic predicate → CC ✗
DAT.1SG ACC.F.3PL cost..3SG/3PL study.INF
'It is hard for me to study them'

It is necessary to stress that the ungrammaticality of (41b)-(41c) is not related to the unability of DNS to license accusative arguments (see (42a) below) as the embedded verb is transitive and ACC pronouns are licensed in LDA contexts:

(42) a. *Me *los* divierte — monoclausal
DAT.1SG ACC.M.3PL amuse.3SG
'They amuse me'

b. Me divierte [hacer-*los*] — biclausal, no HA
DAT.1SG amuse.3SG make.INF-ACC.M.3PL

c. Me divierten [hacer-*los*] (cf. (10c)) — biclausal, HA
DAT.1SG amuse.3PL make.INF-ACC.M.3PL
'It amuses me to make them'

Moreover, these example reveal that the infinitival clause cannot be a bare-VP, because it requires at least v^* to be merged for ACC-assignment. The possibility of fronting the clause (43) also suggests that the domain is not structurally empoverished (cf. Abels 2003; Vicente 2007). This is corroborated by the examples with HA reported in (44) below (see also Martínez 1999: fn. 31).

(43) [Hacer-*los*] me divierte
make.INF-ACC.M.3PL DAT.1SG enjoy.3SG
'Making them amuses to me'

(44) a. [leer tus tweets]$_i$ siempre me animan a seguir t_i
read.INF your.PL tweets always DAT.1SG encourage.3PL to carry.on
'Reading your tweets always cheers me up'

b. [escuchar sus palabras]$_i$ me sorprendieron t_i
listen.to.INF his/her/their.PL words DAT.1SG surprised.3PL
'I found it surprising to listen to his/her/their words'

c. [oir esas palabras]$_i$ me partieron el corazón t_i
listen.to.INF those words DAT.1SG break.3PL the heart
'Hearing those words broke my heart'

d. [ver cosas como estas]$_i$ me hacen reir t_i antes de dormir
see.INF things like these DAT.1SG make.3PL laugh.INF before of sleep.INF
'Seeing these things make me laugh before bed'

(Fernández-Serrano 2017: 15)

In fact, there are not many instances of LDA under restructuring in the literature.[28] Basque is an exception as seen in (4), repeated below as (45), for a subset of the phenomenon. Under such conditions there is nothing that *a priori* precludes full φ-agreement between the verb and the agreement controller if both belong to the same monoclausal structure. Thus, the absence of full φ-agreement in Spanish constitutes another piece of evidence against a clause-union analysis.

(45) Basque LDA under restructuring

[Ni altxa-tze-n] probatu na-ø-u-te
me(ABS) lift-NMZ-LOC attempted 1.ABS-SG.ABS-have-3PL.ERG

'They attempted to lift me'

On the other hand, biclausal SE-sentences have been explored in light of restructuring predicates (such as *lograr* 'to achieve' or *intentar* 'to try'; cf. Cinque 2006; Wurmbrand 2001) (see (46) below; Hernanz & Rigau 1984; RAE-ASALE 2009: §§28.3l-m, 41.11n-ñ). Only partial agreement is predicted to be possible in such configurations according to our analysis in § III.5.1: the presence of SE suffices to tamper with person agreement. Further instances of LDA in SE-configurations are discussed in § IV.3.1.

(46) a. Se logró acabar todas las tareas
SE achieve.3SG finish all the.F.PL tasks

b. Se lograron acabar todas las tareas
SE achieve.3PL finish all the.F.PL tasks
'They$_{ARB}$ managed to finish all the tasks' (NGLE §28.3m)

Finally, finite LDA constitutes a clear piece of evidence against a restructuring approach: the verbs that allow LDA in Spanish should not be modals (or modal-like) as finite verbs cannot be part of the same verbal cluster (especially in the presence of a complementizer). This argument hinges on treating both contexts as flavours of a unitary phenomenon. In other words, it could be thought that only non-finite HA is the result of restructuring, while finite HA requires an alternative treatment. Be that as it may, based on all the preceding arguments it can be concluded that Spanish non-finite LDA cannot receive a monoclausal analysis in the typical sense of restructuring ([VP+VP] reanalysis).[29]

Given this conclusion, I defend that a restructuring approach is not suitable for the Spanish data even if the technical implementation is updated (cf. fn. 24), as in Börjesson & Müller's (2020) reprojection-based proposal. These authors claim that LDA must be necessarily local and must involve some sort of restructuring, although in their approach the mechanism is somehow reversed. They defend a pre-syntactic complex predicate formation, maybe even stored in the Lexicon (Börjesson & Müller 2020: fn.14), that splits in

[28] See Butt (1993, 1995); Haspelmath (1999); Bickel & Nichols (2001); apud Bhatt & Keine (2017: 9).

[29] As pointed out in § IV.2.2.1 psych-Vs are factive. As such, they are subject to partial control (Landau 2000; see also Sheehan 2018 for an overview), which has been generally related to lack of restructuring (see Paradís 2019: ch. 4 and refs. therein).

the course of the derivation by means of head movement. The gist of a restructuring analysis is maintained, since agreement with the embedded DP takes place in a monoclausal environment, even if the final derivation is biclausal. Although this is an interesting analysis, I do not think that is tenable for the same reasons I have rejected restructuring for Spanish HA above, besides not adhering to our basic assumptions.[30]

2.2.2.2 Functional defectiveness

The second type of clausal deficiency does not necessarily entail that the structure is monoclausal, but rather the EC is not functionally complete. That has been formalized in two manners:[31]

(47) a. the embedded clause lacks certain functional projections (e.g. it lacks the CP layer);
b. the embedded clause is complete (a CP), but featurally defective (e.g. C_{def})

The former is a form of restructuring, although it does not require clause union. As for the latter, I have already argued in § II.3.1 that it is not enough for explaining LDA if defectiveness is related to the embedded Probe-phasal head. Let me briefly remind the puzzle. If the phase-status depends on the featural content of the phase-head, it is not possible to maintain that embedded C lacks some features to make it transparent for a higher Probe, since there is evidence that this head is φ-complete by agreeing with an inner subject. In the analysis section I argue that this issue is circumvented if the clause is a *bona fide* Goal for AGREE. As this is dealt with in great detail in the following sections, I restrict the present discussion to the possibility of LDA across reduced ECs, (47a).

Recall that an analysis in these terms depends on whether infinitival and subjunctive clauses that tolerate HA are distinct from those that do not. Until now, we have seen that HA contexts do not differ in Case assignment within the subordinate domain, neither in terms of clitic climbing nor fronting. In the same vein, some tests indicate that the subordinate clause is not a bare-TP. This is quite straightforward for finite HA in which

[30] These include a rigid view on the PIC, the idea that all phrases are phases and a system by which all operations are feature-driven (see Müller 2010). I refer the reader to the original paper for further details.

[31] Paradís (2019: 264) distinguishes a third one whereby the clausal barriers are lifted by additional mechanisms, i.e. in the course of the derivation. Either if the projections are removed (e.g. Evers' 1975 *pruning*, Pesetsky's 2016 *exfoliation*, Müller's 2017 *remove*; apud Paradís 2019: 98) or an element becomes featurally defective, these type of transformations seem to be *a priori* incompatible with the PPH spirit. Close enough, but without requiring any kind of deletion, is the idea of extending the embedding domain via head-movement (Kayne 1991; see Gallego 2010 for a revamp within a phase-based framework). The analysis that I submit in § IV.3 similarly attributes a change in structural dependencies to the application of head-movement. The technical details are discussed there.

the EC is inflected and possesses an overt complementizer *que*. As noted in Fernández-Serrano (2017), if such domain were a TP, we would require an additional explanation for the *locus* of such complementizer (e.g. Kempchinsky's 1988 "Mood Phrase").[32]

As for non-finite HA, the potential presence of an overt subject in the infinitival clause regardless of LDA corroborates the necessary biclausal analysis:

(48) a. Me gusta [hacer *yo* mis compras]
DAT.1SG like.3SG do.INF I my shopping.PL

b. Me gustan [hacer *yo* mis compras] (tweet, Venezuela)
DAT.1SG like.3PL do.INF I my shopping.PL
'I like doing my own shopping'

On the other hand, HA clauses display equal behavior regarding negation. For instance, in (49) the matrix negation (*no*) licenses an NPI (*ni*) within the EC:

(49) a. *No* me interesa [ver *ni* fotos *ni* nada [...]]
no DAT.1SG interest.3SG see.INF nor fotos nor nothing

b. *No* me interesan [ver *ni* fotos *ni* nada [...]] (tweet, Argentina)
no DAT.1SG interest.3PL see.INF nor fotos nor nothing
'I am not interested in seeing photos nor anything'

Thus, there is no conclusive evidence to maintain that subjunctive and infinitival ECs in HA scenarios are more permeable (besides agreement itself) than in the same contexts when there is no HA. This suggests that the difference should not be stated in terms of structural deficiency.

2.2.3 Indirect agreement

The tag "indirect agreement" refers to those approaches that propose an intermediate Goal in the local domain of the Probe, suggesting again that LDA is only a surface phenomenon. Such local Goal can be a proxy nominal, generally a pronoun, that must corefer in features with the putative Goal to obtain the apparently LDA:

(50) Proxy agreement

PROBE ... pro_i ... [DP_i ...]

Evidence in favor of a proxy analysis come from languages in which such pronoun is overtly expressed in the main clause, as Polinsky (2003) shows for Blackfoot and Fox, based on previous literature.

[32] See Alexiadou et al. (2012) for evidence that Greek and certain Rumanian subjunctive clauses are TPs. These clauses are closer to infinitives in those languages; for example, they lack obviation effects:

(i) a. $Juan_i$ quiere que $EC*_{i/j}$ venga (Spanish)
Juan want.3SG that come.SBJV.3SG

b. O Janis theli na $EC_{i/j}$ erthi (Greek)
Juan want.3SG SBJV come.3SG

c. Ion vrea să $EC_{i/j}$ cănte la violoncel (Romanian)
Ion want.3SG SBJV play at cello

(Alexiadou et al. 2012: 59)

(51) Proxy agreement in Fox

ka·ta [$_{TP}$ wi·h=a·pamaci] ine·nemiyi·kani **neniwaki**
not FUT=*look.at.*2SBJ.**3OBJ**.AOR *think.thus.*2SBJ.**3OBJ**.PROH *men*

(lit.: Don't think the men [you look at them])

'Don't think of looking at the men.' (Polinsky 2003: 285, emphasis in the original)[33]

The optionality of LDA can be derived from the presence or absence of this intermediate Goal. Nevertheless, this is maybe the less appealing analysis for crosslinguistic evidence of LDA. As noted by Bhatt & Keine (2017: 12) the predictions of a proxy analysis do not seem to align with empirical facts in various languages:[34] (i) there is no overt realization of the proxy pronoun; (ii) it is not ruled out that a proxy of a DP other than the agreement controller appears; (iii) it does not predict that in languages with overt clausal agreement, the clause is also agreed with in LDA contexts (cf. (5) above).

Given that Spanish is a pro-drop language, it could be thought that such proxy is a *pro*. There is, however, no instantiation of an overt counterpart of such *pro*, as (52) suggests. Although non-animate DPs cannot be coreferent with strong pronouns, (52b), a proxy for animate DPs, as in (52b), is not an option either. In addition, we would expect a full coincidence in features, but that does not ameliorate the example, (52c).

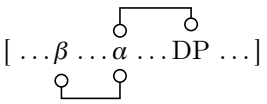
(52) a. *Me encantan ellos$_i$ [que los planes$_i$ salgan bien]
DAT.1SG love.3PL they that the.PL plans turn.out.3PL well
Int. 'I love of them that plans work'

b. *Me preocupan mucho ellos$_i$ [que mis amigos$_i$ peleen]
DAT.1SG worry.3SG much they that my friends fight.3PL
Int. 'I am very worried about them that my friends fight'

c. *No le gusta-mos nosotros$_i$ [que *pro*$_i$ tengamos la misma estatura]
no DAT.3SG like-1PL we that have.3PL the same height
Int. 'I don't like of us that we have the same height'

A second group of proposals posits that the intermediate Goal is a Probe that is endowed with the relevant features after having established a previous relationship with the putative Goal. I refer to this as "successive AGREE":[35]

(53) Successive AGREE



[33] In the gloss: AOR = aorist; PROH = prohibitive.

[34] See Polinsky & Potsdam (2001), Bruening (2001) and Branigan & Mackenzie (2002) for arguments against a proxy-agreement analysis for LDA in Tsez, Passamaquoddy and Innu-aimûn respectively.

[35] There are other nomenclatures in the literature: cyclic AGREE, AGREE-chaining, head-to-head AGREE, indirect AGREE; see Richards (2013) and refs. therein. I prefer the aforementioned label as it aligns with successive cyclic movement in that the landing site, now the Goal, is each time higher than the previous one, and to avoid the comparison with cycles (=phases) as they will be treated separately. The specific tag is interchangeable in any matter.

This type of analysis has been left out from our system, invoking Carstens (2010) argumentation by which a Probe becoming a subsequent Goal is tantamount to accepting that new features are created throughout the derivation (§ II.2.2.1).[36]

Putting aside this claim for a moment, it is worth outlining the empirical predictions of this type of indirect agreement approach. (54) below abstractly represents a derivation in which successive AGREE applies (the gray box indicates transferred material): a Probe values its uFs, those features are then valued and become a Goal for the next Probe that is merged in the structure. There is no limit as to how many times that cycle may iterate, which predicts that LDA can perform across several embedded domains (Bhatt & Keine 2017; Etxepare 2012; Richards 2013).

(54) i. $[_{\alpha}\ H_{\varphi:\square}\ [W\ YP_{\varphi:x}]\ ]$

ii. $[_{\beta}\ Z_{\varphi:\square}\ \ldots [_{\alpha}\ H_{\varphi:x}$ $[W\ YP_{\varphi:x}]\ ]\ ]$

iii. $[_{\gamma}\ X_{\varphi:\square}\ \ldots [_{\beta}\ Z_{\varphi:x}\ \ldots$ $[_{\alpha}\ H_{\varphi:x}\ [W\ YP_{\varphi:x}]\ ]\ ]\ ]$

This possibility has not been attested in the languages analyzed in the literature.[37], whereas in Spanish, it seems at least degraded. An example such as (55b) below, in which every verb shows plural inflection, seems to be worse than the canonical version in (55a).

(55) a. me sorprende [que te preocupe [que me gusten los
DAT.1SG surprise.3SG that DAT.2SG worry.3SG that DAT.1SG like.3PL the.PL
videojuegos]]
videogames

b. ??me sorprende-n [que te preocupe-n [que me guste-n los
DAT.1SG surprise-3PL that DAT.2SG worry-3PL that DAT.1SG like-3PL the.PL
videojuegos]]
videogames
lit. 'I am surprised that you are worried that I like videogames'

On the other hand, the examples in (56) below, gathered from Twitter, seem to suggest that HA should operate only once. However, they cannot be taken as decisive pieces of evidence, because HA is inherently optional (this point is retaken later in § IV.3.4.2).

(56) a. Me gusta [que le guste-n [ver películas de Disney tanto como a
DAT.1SG like.3SG that DAT.3SG like-3PL see.INF movies of Disney as like to
mi]]
me
'I like that s/he likes watching Disney movies as much as I do'

[36]One of the main arguments in favor of obligatory FI is precisely to preclude agreement with valued Probes, something predicted by the original PIC (Richards 2007); § II.2.1. Therefore, a successive-AGREE analysis is only possible in a model that assumes the strong PIC without FI, so that vFs remain at the edge of the phase.

[37]The only exception seems to be Hinuq. Mursell (2020) reveals, based on data present in Forker (2012), that this language allows LDA across several clausal domains.

b. A mí me gusta [que te guste-n [que *pro* te diga-n esas
to me DAT.1SG like-3SG that DAT.2SG like-3PL that DAT.2SG say-3PL those
cosas]]
things
'I do like that you like being told such things'

The principal problem of the successive AGREE approach is that it is not clear how to restrict the general application of LDA or, in other words, to derive the fact that LDA is not obligatory. For instance, Mursell (2020) provides an account that relies both on successive AGREE and FI of φ- and discourse (δ-)features (Miyagawa 2010 et seq.). This proposal requires to assume that that φ-AGREE is contingent on δ-AGREE, if I understand correctly, when both types of features are bundled in the same head (Top^{o} in Mursell's analysis). As a result, *in situ* topicalized DPs are targeted for agreement with the Top-head, which then constitutes a Goal for the matrix Probe. While this analysis covers the fact that in certain languages LDA takes place only with topicalized or focalized arguments, it does not provide an answer for the optionality within the same language.[38] In the next section I advocate for a simpler analysis, without recourse to discourse features nor FI, that provides a rationale for the Spanish facts.

2.3 Interim summary

This section has presented the main properties of Spanish HA and has generally evaluated whether the main previous approaches to LDA are suitable for deriving such characteristics. The summary in table IV.2 is repeated in the following table for convenience:

Approach	Configuration	Locality of AGREE
Long movement	biclausal	local
Edge movement	biclausal	local
Restructuring	monoclausal	local
Functional defectiveness	biclausal	non-local
Proxy agreement	biclausal	local
Successive AGREE	biclausal	local

Copy of table IV.2: Approaches to LDA.

It has been defended that the controller of agreement in HA contexts is not determined by information structure and it is not present in the matrix clause either, ruling out both movement approaches and a proxy analysis. The evidence presented supports a biclausal analysis, which crucially advocates for a real long distance approach. Successive AGREE has been rejected for both conceptual and empirical reasons and an impoverished EC account

[38] There are several proposals in the literature that relate LDA in Algonquian with Miyagawa's (2010) hypothesis that both φ- and δ-features are introduced on C and languages differ on whether these features are inherited by T. For instance, Lochbihler & Mathieu (2016) and Fry & Hamilton (2014) defend an edge-movement analysis by which δ-features on C attract discourse-marked DPs to their edge.

also seems to fail. I have found no proof of the embedded domain, neither of the Probe (C-T), differing in the same context (DNS) depending on HA. In the next section I attempt to give an explanation for that by suggesting that ECs in HA contexts constitute improper Goals without compromising the composition of the embedded Probes.

3 Spanish HA is long distance AGREE

The previous section has explored the main approaches to LDA in light of Spanish HA data. That overview has exposed that there are not many instances of "pure" long distance AGREE analyses in the literature, as many authors advocate for a strictly local AGREE operation (e.g. Börjesson & Müller 2020, *contra* Schütze 2020). However, it has been shown that there does not seem to be empirical evidence to maintain that Spanish HA is the result of more local AGREE steps. Accordingly, the analysis of HA put forward in this section treats the phenomenon as an instance of long distance AGREE. That entails that the acronym "LDA" applies here to both the descriptive facts (*long distance agreement* and the underlying derivation (*long distance* AGREE).

The analysis proposed is meant to fulfill this desideratum, reflected in (57a) below, together with the rest of properties described earlier and listed in (57):

(57) *Desiderata for an analysis of HA*
   a. Derive LDA from pure AGREE
   b. Derive the fact that HA is restricted to infinitival and subjunctive clauses
   c. Account for the fact that full-φ HA is not possible
   d. Capture the optionality of the phenomenon

The theoretical apparatus developed in the previous chapters seems to be enough to fulfill these aims. Let me now review them in turn. Firstly, (57a) is expected within a system of general transparency for AGREE that results from the postulation of the PPH. Such hypothesis is repeated here for convenience:

(58) *Phase preservation hypothesis* (PPH):
a transferred domain α cannot be modified

The PPH dispenses with the requirement of an embedded domain not to be transferred (i.e. be a non-phase or a defective phase; cf. Chomsky 2001; § II.3.1) to be accessible for AGREE. As argued in § II.4, AGREE inherently entails modification of the Probe via VALUATION, whereas modification of the Goal is intrinsically related to Case assignment. The uK is the only feature that is altered by means of AGREE, while the φ-features on the Goal have a passive role and remain unchanged. This restricts LDA to take place *after* TRANSFER with Goals that have already participated in an AGREE relationship with a Probe *before* TRANSFER. The derivational steps are reminded in (59) below. Omitting irrelevant details, there is subject agreement within the EC (59i) before the complement of

C is transferred (59ii). After that, a Probe in the main clause is able to value its features as a result of finding the same embedded Goal (59iii). As the uK on such DP is already valued, the main Probe does not assign a second Case (there is no uK left unfulfilled) and the PPH is not violated.

(59) i. [$T_{\varphi:\square}$ [$DP_{\varphi:x}$ ... [VP ...]]] — T_E probes and agrees with DP_E

ii. [C [$T_{\varphi:x}$ [$DP_{\varphi:x}$ ... [VP ...]]]] — C is merged and the complement is transferred

iii. $T_{\varphi:x}$ ... [C [$T_{\varphi:x}$ [$DP_{\varphi:x}$ ... [VP ...]]]] — T_M long-distance agrees with DP_E

These dependencies are attested in HA contexts. The derivation of an example of finite HA (60a) is offered in (60b). The embedded verb *salgan* shows agreement with the embedded subject *los planes*, as a result of T_E agreeing and assigning Case to it. When T_M is externally merged (remember that DNS are unaccusative structures), it probes and the only available Goal in its c-command domain is, again, the embedded subject *los planes*. The result is a single element performing as a Goal for two distinct Probes, but only being licensed by the first one, crucially, before both elements are transferred.

(60) a. Me encanta-[n] [que [los planes] salgan bien]

b. T_φ [$_{vP}$ v_{def} [V*encantan* [$_{CP}$ C que [T_φ *los planes*$_{NOM}$ V*salgan* bien]]]]

In § II.3.1 it was stressed that treating subjunctive dependents in biclausal DNS as ECM domains is empirically incorrect. The two main pieces of evidence come from the fact that (i) full φ-LDA is never possible; and (ii) the optionality of the phenomenon. If T_E were not able to assing NOM Case to the embedded subject and that role was performed by T_M instead, we would expect LDA in both person and number, contrary to fact:

(61) a. *Le gusta-[mos] [que *pro* este-[mos] bien]
DAT.3SG like-1PL that be-1PL fine
'S/he likes that we are OK'

b. *Le gusta-[s] [que *pro* esté-[s] bien]
DAT.3SG like-2SG that be-2SG fine
'S/he likes that you are OK'

The second concern has to do with our theory of optionality. If, as previously defended (§ IV.2.2.2), a given subjunctive clause does not show any different syntactic behavior depending on whether LDA is or not attested, to maintain that the domain is opaque/transparent in terms of (non-)defectiveness of the C-head is not justifiable. As a consequence, it can be stated that a functional defectiveness approach by which C is defi-

cient or missing (§2.2.2.2 and table IV.2) is not sufficient to account for HA.[39] A potential account for both the ungrammaticality of (61) and the optionality of the partial agreeing pattern is discussed in the next subsection.

Let me now focus on non-finite HA. The functional defectiveness approach is even harder to maintain in these cases given that, as previously highlighted, the embedded Goal is an ACC object, while the matrix structure is unaccusative:[40]

(62) a. Me interesa-n [conocer *a mis compañeros*]
DAT.1SG interest.3PL know.INF DOM my.PL colleagues
'I am interested in meeting my colleagues'

b. Me gusta-n [ver-os tan felices]
DAT.1SG like.3PL see.INF-ACC.2PL so happy
'I like seeing you so happy'

Accordingly, v^*_{E} is the only possible licenser for the embedded object; in other words, the LDA relationship is not responsible for ACC-Case assignment. The derivation of non-finite HA (e.g. (63a)) is offered in (63b).

(63) a. Me encanta-n [hacer planes]

b. T*encantan* [$_{vP}$ v_{def} [$_{CP}$ C [T PRO [$_{vP}$ v_{φ} V*hacer* *planes*$_{ACC}$]]]]

Up until this point it has been tacitly assumed that non-finite clauses constitute CPs in biclausal DNS contexts. It is necessary to point out in this respect that Spanish relative impersonal predicates (both psych and deontic verbs) have been classified as control predicates (e.g. Hernanz 1999: 2217) and, as such, can be treated as CPs (Boeckx, Hornstein, & Nunes 2010; Hornstein 1999; Landau 2000, 2015; i.a.).[41] Assuming this analysis entails that there is a distinction between the derivation of finite HA (60) and non-finite HA (63) regarding the number of (non-defective) phases that AGREE crosses. It requires to cross only a CP in the former scenario and both a CP and a v^*P in the latter one. This second possibility is further qualified in the next subsection (see also § IV.3.4.2), but it suffices to point out that it is not immediately problematic for our analysis.

The status of the embedded subject PRO requires more attention, as it seems to be a counterargument for the claim that LDA targets the highest embedded Goal (Boeckx 2009: fn. 19). Differently put, it is necessary to state why PRO is not an intervener for T_M-IA_E agreement. The reader should recall for this matter that the present system predicts a

[39]This argument also holds for the alternative approach by which C is opaque by means of possessing Goal features, which is discussed in §3.2.2.1. As it becomes clear later, my account can also be considered of a functional defectiveness kind, although the status of C (and T) is not compromised. For organizational reasons, this claim is not developed yet.

[40]In § III.4.3 I have suggested that Icelandic, unlike Spanish, has a NOM-assigning *v*. This distinction is not relevant here as long as the matrix *v*-head is not able to assign ACC and, consequently, not being able to legitimate the embedded object.

[41]It is worth noting that even if these authors maintain opposed perspectives regarding the analysis of control (control as AGREE vs. control as movement), they coincide in treating the relevant ECs as CPs.

mechanism of anti-intervention via IM. As argued in ch. II, only the highest copy of a chain is visible for AGREE, hence intermediate copies are not interveners. In effect, several authors have suggested that PRO and the matrix controller belong to the same chain (Boeckx, Hornstein, & Nunes 2010; Hornstein 1999; Martin 1996, 2001; San Martin 2004).[42] These proposals differ in technical details, but for concreteness I would like to adopt Martin's (1996) analysis by which PRO is a covert anaphoric pronoun (Romance *se*) that lacks φ-features and climbs to the matrix clause from which it creates a chain with the controller. This suffices to derive the fact that PRO can never be an intervener for the matrix Probe, yielding the attested agreement pattern between T_M and the embedded object.[43]

Having addressed the role of PRO, a potentially troublesome piece of data comes from overt infinitival subjects, such as the pronoun *yo* in (48), repeated here:

(64) a. Me gusta [hacer *yo* mis compras]
DAT.1SG like.3SG do.INF I my shopping.PL

b. Me gustan [hacer *yo* mis compras]
DAT.1SG like.3PL do.INF I my shopping.PL
'I like doing my own shopping'

It seems uncontroversial that the overt realization of the infinitival subject in Spanish is related to focalization (Paz 2013: 118; Ortega-Santos 2013). It has even been considered not to be a "real" subject (Hernanz 1999: 2265 and Piera 1987, as cited there). If so, it could be possible to treat it as an A'-element that is not able to undergo AGREE.[44]

The second desideratum (57b), which aims at deriving LDA only in configurations with subjunctive and infinitival clauses, is not fulfilled yet. The analysis so far suggests that any CP could be susceptible of hosting LDA. Ideally, the attested contrast among clausal dependents regarding their susceptibility for LDA should be derived by MS. This is possible by examining their differences regarding structural dependency, something to which § IV.3.2 is dedicated.

Finally, following our rationale, (57c), partial agreement, and (57d), optionality, should be both derived from the presence of an improper Goal in the structure. For convenience, I refer to this idea as the HA-hypothesis (65), to which § IV.3.1 is devoted.[45]

(65) HA-hypothesis (first version):
The presence of an improper Goal derives the optionality of partial cross-clausal AGREE.

[42] See Gallego (2011) and Picallo (2015) for criticism and Gallego (2011: 335) about the fact that, in DNS, PRO is the agent of the embedded verb, but the EXPERIENCER in the main clause.

[43] A potential concern is related to the nature of the clitic *se*. I am assuming that there exist at least two of them in Spanish: the non-paradigmatic SE (analyzed in § III.5.1) that bears v[person] and uK, and the reflexive one that is radically defective, following Martin (1996). Shedding more light on this issue would take me far afield.

[44] Among other peculiarities, these elements are necessarily postverbal, as (64) exhibits, and, in these contexts, they are obligatory correferential (**Me$_{1SG}$ gusta [hacer tú$_{2SG}$ mis compras]*). Although this matter raises further non-trivial questions, they cannot be solved here. I refer the reader to the relevant literature for an extensive review of the empirical facts and theoretical discussion (Mensching 2000; Ordóñez 2018; Ortega-Santos 2013; Paz 2013; among many others).

The exploration of (65) allows us to determine whether the number agreement pattern attested in HA can be unified with the treatment of partial agreement proposed in ch. III. In the next subsection this hypothesis is explored and it is concluded that such unification is not total. While both NU and HA are derived from repairs of non-optimal AGREE, the presence of an intervener in the matrix clause, suggested in the monoclausal structure, is not enough to derive the specifics of biclausal configurations. Accordingly, clauses are taken to be enclosed in a DP-shell that is, in turn, an intervener for AGREE.

The remaining of the section develops these ideas and it is structured as follows: § IV.3.1 explores the potential unification with NU derivations and determines that an independent treatment of ECs regarding their participation of AGREE must be defined. § IV.3.2 proposes an analysis of the typology of clausal dependents that is meant to solve the issues that the first hypothesis presents and give a final analysis of HA, which is wrapped up in § IV.3.3. Finally, § IV.3.4 addresses the predictions of the analysis and points out some unsolved matters.

3.1 Towards a unified treatment of number agreement

In ch. III it was proposed that partial agreement and optionality thereof could be captured by φ-intervention and, more specifically, by the presence of an improper Goal in the structure. That proposal naturally extends to the analysis of HA, suggesting that the fact that it appears in the same contexts than NU is not coincidental, but connected to the presence of the improper Goal in the structure (HA-hypothesis, (65)).

Supposing that such improper Goal is deficient in [number], T_M would target it for [person], providing the right circumstances for split repair to take place. The only difference with the monoclausal scenarios presented in ch. III is that now the search penetrates the EC, which, according to the PPH and the tenets just seen above, is available. The result is a derivation in which person AGREE applies locally, while number valuation is long distance, capturing the fact that HA is partial:

[45] Ricardo Etxepare (p.c.) wonders whether verbal number in HA could be an aspectual category like in pluractional languages such as Central Pomo (Corbett 2000: 244). The plurality of the verb in (ii) indicates that there were several events of "dog-tying", from which it can be interpreted that there was more than one dog:

(i) háyu š-čé-w
dog hooking-catch-PRFV
'he tied up the dog'

(ii) háyu š-čé-ṭ'
dog hooking-catch-PL.PRFV
'he tied up the dogs' (Corbett 2000: 244)

This hypothesis is intriguing, but not entirely clear at this point. The type of predicates involved in HA are often stative and it is not immediately evident to me how pluractionality would apply in such cases (e.g. there should be multiple "liking events"). Empirically, HA should be restricted to imperfective aspect and distributional readings. The following examples point towards a different analysis:

(iii) Ay me encantan que ellas trabajen *juntas* (tweet, Spain)
oh DAT.1SG love.3PL that they.F work.SBJV.3PL together.F.PL
'Oh, I love that they work together'

(iv) me *gustaron* que jugaran *juntos* (tweet, Spain)
DAT.1SG loved.PRFV.3PL that played.SBJV.3PL together.PL
'I liked that they played together'

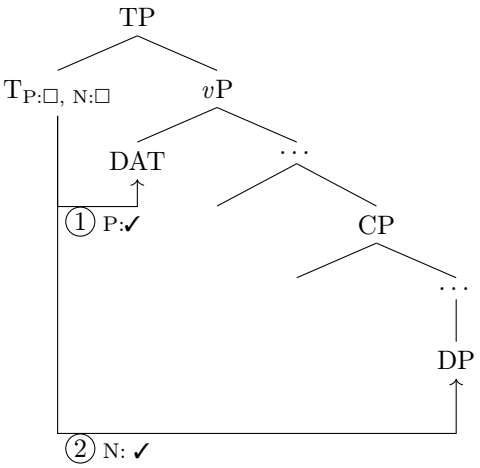
(66) [. . . T. . . $IG_{[P]}$ . . . [$_{clause}$ . . . DP . . .]]

In the previous section, the presence of the DATEXP in the matrix clause of biclausal DNS has been omitted for the sake of clarity. However, it could be key to understand why HA only arises as long distance number agreement, according to (65) above. Let us then proceed to explore such hypothesis as redefined in (67):

(67) HA-hypothesis (second version):
The presence of an improper Goal, *external to the embedded clause*,
derives the optionality of partial cross-clausal AGREE.

If the DATEXP is in an intervening position, via AGREE preceding raising of the DAT above T, non-optimal AGREE with T_M obtains (see (68) below, irrelevant details have been omitted). As previously argued, the DAT can only provide a value for the u[person] of T_M (indicated by ① in (68)). Then, the u[number] on T_M may trigger a second cycle of probing, in an attempt to find a number value. The crucial difference with the contexts presented in ch. III is that now the configuration is biclausal, hence there is more material in the structure susceptible of becoming a Goal (see ② in (68)).

(68)



Therefore, partial HA is another instance of split repair, which takes place in order to comply with MME. The example given (69), in which the EC is also a DNS, corroborates that the DATEXP only agrees in person, as it is not an intervener for number when the second cycle of AGREE takes place ((70); see also fn. 6).

(69) A mi me gusta-n [que le guste-n los gatos] (tweet)
to me DAT.1SG like-3PL that DAT.3SG like-3PL the.PL cats
'I like that she likes cats'

(70) [a mi me T gusta-n [que *le* guste-n los gatos]]

In addition, following the rationale presented in ch. III, last resort can also manifest itself as default repair, yielding the optionality of HA. In other words, both HA and non-HA patterns are possible within the same idiolect (see (71) below), the latter being equivalent to the "standard", see (71b).

(71) $T_{[P:\square,\ N:\square]} \ggg$ DAT

a. [P:3✓ N:pl✓] $\ggg$ DP → Me *encantan* [hacer planes]

b. [P:3✓ N:dflt] → Me *encanta* [hacer planes]

As it has been advanced, the hypothesis in (67) gives a unified explanation for the fact that in Spanish DNS different agreement phenomena optionally arise: NU in monoclausal configurations and HA in biclausal ones. In addition, it correctly predicts that the contexts with improper Goals characterized in ch. III, SE-sentences and Icelandic QS-structures, display LDA. Let me consider them in turn.

In § IV.2.2.2, I have pointed out, following previous observations, that apparent LDA is possible with restructuring verbs in SE-sentences. If the hypothesis in (67) is on the right track, this context should also be prone to *bona fide* long distance AGREE because SE is an improper Goal (§ III.5.1) and the clause is located in an IA position. Ormazabal & Romero (2020) report some of such examples with non-finite clauses from online sources and consider them to be "completely unexpected" (p. 11).

(72) a. En esta profesión se requiere-n [hacer evaluaciones]
in this job SE require-3PL make.INF evaluations
'In this job one must conduct evaluations'

b. Se valora-n [reducir las superiores a 1300 euros]
SE value-3PL reduce.INF the.F.PL superior.PL to 13000 euros
'Reducing those higher than 1300 euros will be considered'

c. Se requiere-n [nombrar a los responsables]
SE require-3PL appoint.INF DOM the.PL leaders
'It is required to appoint the leaders'

(Ormazabal & Romero 2020: 10)

They are not unexpected anymore if neither the infinitival clause, nor the content of the v^* phase are opaque for agreement. If person is tampered with by the presence of SE, T will search throughout its entire domain until it founds a value for its u[number], as seen in § III.5.1, even if the object is DOM-marked as in (72c).

The possibility of LDA within CPs in SE-sentences has not been previously explored, but it seems to be productive. The following examples come from press:

(73) a. El titular de la PCM hizo hincapié en que se necesita-n
the head of the PCM made.3SG emphasis in that SE need-3PL
[que las políticas respondan a las necesidades de la gente]
that the.F.PL policies respond.SBJV-3PL to the necessities of the people
'The chief of the PCM emphasized the need for policies to respond to the needs of the people'

(NOW: 2018, press, *El Peruano*, 2018-05-03: *Gabinete Villanueva obtiene* [...], Peru.)

b. Si no se quiere-[n] [que vuelvan a surgir [las barreras] que
if no SE want-3PL that come.SBJV-3PL to emerge.INF the.F.PL barriers that.REL
separaban las dos mitades de Europa] [...]
separated.3PL the two halves of Europe
'If the barriers that used to separate the two halves of Europe are not to be re-emerged'
(NOW: 2015, press, *Milenio*, 2015-12-22: *El declive de Europa causa ansiedad global*, Mexico.)

c. gracias a las medidas de protección se evitaro-[n] [que [los daños]
thanks to the.F.PL measures of protection SE prevented-3PL that the.PL damages
fueran mayores]
were.SBJV-3.PL bigger
'thanks to protection measures further damages were prevented'
(NOW: 2017, press, *Escambray*, 2017-09-11: *Sancti Spíritus: El huracán* [...], Cuba.)

As for the case of QS, LDA data from Icelandic were already reported in ch. II. It was suggested that the matrix verb long distance agrees with the embedded subject when the QS is preverbal, (74a) below, but that agreement is allegedly blocked when such element is in postverbal position, as (74b) shows:

(74) a. [Mér] *virðast* [hestarnir vera seinir]
DAT.1SG seem.PL the.horses.NOM be slow
'It seems to me that the horses are slow.'

b. Það *virðist* [einhverjum manni] [hestarnir vera seinir]
EXPL seem.SG some man.DAT the.horses.NOM be slow
'A man finds the horses slow.'
(Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2003: 998)

This type of evidence both corroborates the idea that number agreement is able to cross a clausal boundary in presence of an improper Goal and contradicts our earlier claim that Icelandic QS undergo obligatory covert intervention by virtue of bearing a uK. In effect, Icelandic LDA has been described to be optional even when the QS does not overtly intervene between the matrix Probe and the clausal dependent (Boeckx 2009; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008; Ussery 2017):

(75) [Mér] *virðist/virðast* [Þeir ver skemmtilegir]
DAT.1SG seem.3SG/seem.3PL they.NOM be interesting
'It seems to me that they are interesting.' (Boeckx 2009: 23)

The example in (75) suggests that, as earlier claimed, the QS is always an intervener for person agreement.[46] The PPH is now able to derive the fact that the clause is transparent for AGREE, something not addressed by Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir (2003)[47]

[46] For more examples and a thorough description thereof I refer the reader to Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir (2003) and Ussery (2017). The specifics of the expletive construction above (74b) are left aside here, but, according to these authors, there are different degrees of acceptability among Icelandic speakers, some of them not rejecting agreement in such contexts.

[47] Our analysis is reminiscent of the one by Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2003 in that both rely on the order of agreement and movement. These authors explore in more depth the role of *wh-* movement, which I have left aside in the present inquiry.

or attributed to restructuring (Boeckx 2009; Ussery 2017). Interestingly, Ussery (2017) specifically discusses optionality and suggests that those speakers that indistinctly accept the agreeing and the non-agreeing version freely alternate between selecting a *v*P (transparent) or a TP (opaque) as the EC, although the technical reason for that asymmetry is not made explicit (Ussery 2017: 173). This is not necessary if optionality is obtained from the intervention of the QS alone.

Nevertheless, the analysis just described, which is derived solely from the presence of the improper Goal *external* to the clause, has three important flaws. The first counterargument comes from our basic (monoclausal) analysis of DNS, which contemplates an anti-intervention option. If the DAT raises before T-AGREE, the result is full φ-AGREE between T and the closer DP in its c-command domain. While that was correct for monoclausal structures, it wrongly predicts the grammaticality of patterns such as (76) and (77).

(76) *no me gusta-[mos] [que *pro* tenga-[mos] la misma estatura]
no DAT.1SG like-1PL that have-1PL the same height
'I don't like that we are the same height'

(77) *Le encanta-[mos] [ver-[nos]]
DAT.3SG love-1PL see.INF-ACC.1PL
Int. 'S/he love seeing us'

In Fernández-Serrano (2022) it is conjectured that the reason is Case-assignment. Following a requirement on a single structural Case to be assigned (Nevins 2004), it is suggested that full-φ LDA is not possible because it results in the assignment of a second structural Case to a single Goal, embedded in a non-defective clause. In terms of the current thesis, this constraint is refined as part of the PPH: structural Case cannot be assigned across a phase because it modifies the transferred domain. However, it was stated in § II.4.1, that the *single Case constraint* (Nevins 2004) becomes vacuous because, if the uK is valued, it cannot receive a second additional value.[48]

Secondly, the hypothesis in (67) does not capture the fact that clausal arguments are opaque for AGREE in absence of an intervener. Differently put, it predicts generalized LDA, something that is clearly not correct. In § IV.2.1 (see table IV.1 there), it was already suggested that transitive configurations with clausal objects are not possible scenarios of LDA, since the DP subject must control agreement. The relevant examples are repeated here for convenience:

(78) Clausal objects

a. La subida salarial significa/-*n [mejorar los derechos]
the increase salary mean.3SG/3PL improve.INF the.PL rights
'A salary increase means improving rights'

[48]The reader should be aware of the fact that this is not contradictory with the analysis assumed for QSs in Icelandic by which they receive structural Case in addition to inherent Case, following previous proposals for quirky Case, since the former is only possible in the presence of an additional uK (§ III.5.2).

b. La subida salarial significa/-*n [que se mejoren los derechos]
the increase salary mean.3SG/3PL that SE improve.SBJV.3PL the rights
'A salary increase means improving rights/that rights are improved'

In the opposite circumstances, with a clausal subject and a DP object, LDA across the embedded subject is expected, but that is clearly ungrammatical:

(79) Clausal subjects

a. [Subir los salarios] significa/*-n una mejora laboral
raise.INF the.PL salaries mean.3SG/3PL a improvement work
'Raising salaries means better working conditions'

b. [Que suban los salarios] significa/*-n una mejora laboral
that raise.SBJV.3PL the.PL salaries mean.3SG/3PL a improvement work
'Raising salaries means better working conditions'

One may think that, since clausal subjects sitting in a specifier position are regularly islands for extraction and subextraction, they could become opaque for AGREE. The default inflection in the verb would then come from a radical failure of AGREE (Preminger 2016; see also Schütze 1997). Nonetheless, that is not predicted by our system. If the clausal subject is unavailable for AGREE, T should keep searching and find the IA and its Goal. That is not reflected in (79) above because the DP (*una mejora laboral*) is singular, but it fails in accounting for the ungrammaticality of (80) below, in which the object is a plural DP (*mejores condiciones laborales*).

(80) Clausal subjects

a. [Subir el salario] implica/*-n mejores condiciones laborales
raise.INF the salaries imply.3SG/3PL better.PL conditions working
'Raising salaries means better working conditions'

b. [Que suba el salario] implica/*-n mejores condiciones laborales
that raise.SBJV.3PL the salaries imply.3SG/3PL better.PL conditions working
'Raising salaries means better working conditions'

This puzzle brings us back to the basic paradox of defective intervention: the clause is, at the same time, relevant for AGREE and not a suitable participant thereof (cf. Preminger 2011; § IV.3.4.2). In the current system, the solution requires to take clauses as bearers of φ-features, not only to ensure that their material is not accessible for AGREE, but crucially, to establish them as interveners for further probing.[49] This hypothesis has already been stated in (20) and it is reminded here for convenience:

(81) Clauses-as-Goals hypothesis:
Clauses are Goals for AGREE by virtue of bearing valued φ-features.

[49]Some scholars have argued that CPs do not move, but are first-generated in their surface position (e.g. Moulton 2009). Even if that is the case, the problem that (78) posits remains, as clausal objects are equally expected to be prone to LDA by being in the c-command domain of the matrix Probe(s).

The conjecture in (81) is coherent with the analysis of clausal dependents put forward by Picallo (2001, 2002). This authors advocates for a unification of clausal with non-clausal arguments in terms of Case and agreement. The gist of this proposal is that the fact that an argument is a DP or a clause should not matter in terms of abstract computational operations. From a perspective in which uFs cannot reach the derivation unvalued, a featureless view on clauses (cf. Iatridou & Embick 1997) imposes look-ahead on the selection of Probes. If clauses do not bear features, only (totally) defective Probes can enter the derivation to preclude a crash (Picallo 2001: 72, 2002: 122). Alternatively, if clauses are regular φ-Goals, there is no imposition on the shape of the Probe. For instance, in a transitive active sentence, both v and T enter the derivation with a full φ-specification in a derivation with clausal arguments exactly as they would if the arguments were DPs:

(82) $[_{\text{TP}}\ \underset{\curvearrowright}{\text{T}_{\varphi}}\ [_{\text{vP}}\ \text{CP}_{\varphi}\ [_{\text{vP}}\ \underset{\curvearrowright}{\text{v}_{\varphi}}\ \ldots \text{CP}_{\varphi}\ ]]]$

It is obvious that the conceptual problem spotted by Picallo (2001, 2002) only arises in a crash-proof system and it is avoided if AGREE is fallible and lack of agreement morphology (or default morphology) follows from the absence of the Goal altogether (cf. Schütze 1997: 13). Nonetheless, Picallo's (2001; 2002) proposal is coherent with our rationale at least for two main reasons. Firstly, as earlier highlighted, to trigger an AGREE failure, the clause must be visible for the Probe even within a crash-friendly model. Secondly, Picallo's (2001; 2002) logic is coherent with the basic tenets of this dissertation: the shape of functional heads should not be determined by the outcome of agreement alone. For instance, unaccusative and accusative structures are endowed with a v and v^* respectively regardless of the shape of the IA. The same is applicable to T. As proposed in the previous chapters, as a result of a non-optimal AGREE operation, a Probe may become defective-like within the course of the derivation, crucially, with no recourse to a pre-selection.

The next section qualifies the hypothesis in (81) and reconciles it with a *failure*-analysis by maintaining that adjuncts do adhere to the latter, while clausal arguments must be agreed with.

3.2 On the opacity of clausal dependents

From the previous discussion, it has been determined that (67) does not correctly capture HA. It has also been justified that clausal arguments must partake in AGREE to predict both the opacity attested in most contexts and the fact that they impose a cease of probing that prevents unattested agreement with a subsequent potential Goal. In this section, both claims are related by providing a redefinition of (67), stated in (83):

(83) HA-hypothesis (third version):
Certain clausal dependents constitute improper Goals, deriving the optionality of partial cross-clausal AGREE.

This new version requires to (i) specify what it is meant by "certain clausal dependents" and (ii) endorse the clauses-as-Goals hypothesis based on Bošković (2003, 2007), McCloskey (1991), and Picallo (2001, 2002):

(84) Clauses-as-Goals hypothesis:
Clauses are Goals for AGREE by virtue of bearing valued φ-features.

This hypothesis is redefined to accommodate to a line of inquiry that suggests that clauses are subject to the same licensing conditions that nominals adhere to.[50] I refer to this as the "D-approach". Such perspective provides a better connection with (83) by establishing that the D heading the clause is an improper Goal in those contexts that are prone to host HA.

Besides being more coherent with the well-known observation that clauses may satisfy subject-related requirements such as the the EPP (see Davies & Dubinsky 2009 and refs. therein), irrespective of whether they are defended to be Case assigned (cf. Stowell 1981), the D-approach circumvents the theoretical problems of placing Goal features directly on C (§IV.3.2.2.1). The degrees of "porosity" of clausal dependents are then proposed to be derived by two factors: (i) the featural composition of the D head, without jeopardizing the role of the embedded Probes (i.e. no ECM/raising type of analysis), and (ii) the type of structural dependency that the clause maintains with the matrix V, which is taken to be derived by distinct applications of MERGE. These claims are developed throughout the subsection that compares the derivation of adjuncts and indicative clauses (§ IV.3.2.1) with subjunctive and infinitival clauses (§ IV.3.2.2).

3.2.1 Adjuncts and indicative clauses

Following the tenets of MS, an adjunct can never constitute an intervener (a Goal in our system), because it is not c-commanded by the Probe. The generalized idea that adjuncts cannot participate in syntactic operations (Chomsky 1995, 2004) has received different technical implementations, such as being merged later (Stepanov 2001, 2007). Maybe the most recent of them is to suppose that adjuncts are in a "separate plane" via PAIR-MERGE (Chomsky 2004, 2008).[51]

[50] Making clauses syntactically equivalent to nominals is not trivial in many respects. It is obvious that the semantic treatment of clauses is not equivalent to that of nominals (I think of notions such as proposition, truth or assertion, to name just a few). Beyond semantics, this hypothesis seems to indicate that θ-roles must be assigned uniquely to elements that are inherently nominal. This conjecture revamps long debated issues that are too broad to be addressed here.

[51] In several footnotes along ch. II, I question the adoption of PAIR-MERGE outside the treatment of adjunction. I refer the reader to Gallego (2021) and Oseki (2015) for further discussion.

For an illustration, let us come back to the suggestion in § III.4.1 by which it is not necessary to stipulate a null expletive subject for impersonal sentences (see (85) below) if AGREE is able to fail. In the same manner, the structural constraint on MS predicts that the impersonal verb does not AGREE with an adjunct containing a potential φ-Goal, such as *las mañanas* ('the mornings') in (85a) or *nosotros* ('we') in (85b):[52]

(85) a. Llueve-*n todas las mañanas
rain.3SG-3PL every.PL the.F.PL mornings
'It rains every morning'

b. Siempre llueve/*llove-mos [cuando venimos nosotros]
always rain.3SG/rain-1PL when come.1PL we
'It rains every time we come'

Some authors have established a correlation between adjuncts and indicative dependents, as opposed to infinitives and subjunctives, regarding opacity effects (Gallego & Uriagereka 2011; Torrego & Uriagereka 1992; Uriagereka 2015). For instance, (86) below reflects that a negation in the matrix clause is interpreted in the EC (cf. neg-raising) when the latter is subjunctive.

(86) a. Indicative EC

Sancho no decía [que Don Quijote desvariaba]
Sancho no said.IPFV.3SG that Don Quixote raved.IPFV.3SG
'Sancho didn't say that Don Quixote was raving'
≠ 'Sancho said that Don Quixote wasn't raving.'

b. Subjunctive EC

Sancho no quería [que Don Quijote desvariara]
Sancho no said.IPFV.3SG that Don Quixote raved.IPFV.SBJV.3SG
'Sancho didn't want Don Quixote to rave'
= 'Sancho wanted Don Quixote not to rave.'

(taken from Gallego & Uriagereka 2011: 190)

Similarly, negative polarity items (e.g. *ni* in (87) below, also seen previously in (49)) are only legitimated in subjunctive clauses.[53]

(87) a. Indicative EC

*El Cid no dijo [que lo vio moro *ni* cristiano]
The Cid no said.3SG that ACC.3SG.M see.3SG Moor nor Christian
'The Cid didn't say that he was seen by either some Moor or some Christian'

[52] Addressing the problem of adjunction is not the purpose of this dissertation. I am assuming that adjuncts are completely opaque, although this claim is also subject to debate. It has been reported that the islandhood status of adjuncts can be circumvented under certain conditions, such as the presence of resumptive pronouns (see Boeckx 2012 and refs. therein). In addition, Larson (1988, 2004) casts doubt on the parallel plane analysis and argues that adverbs are generated as the lowermost V-complements. This approach was referred to when discussing potential examples of agreement with adjuncts in SE-sentences in § III.5.1 and further evidences that the syntax of adjuncts may not be monolithic.

[53] A more general question concerns whether LF-phenomena of this sort are derived via syntactic AGREE. Even though it seems clear that a legitimization process, akin to agreement (cf. Bjorkman & Zeijlstra 2014; Zeijlstra 2012), must be responsible for them; Preminger (2013) provides compelling theoretical and empirical arguments against such process being φ-AGREE.

b. Subjunctive EC

El Cid no quería [que lo viese moro *ni* cristiano]
The Cid no wanted.3SG that ACC.3SG.M see.IPFV.SBJV.3SG Moor nor Christian
'The Cid didn't want to be seen by either some Moor or some Christian'

(taken from Gallego & Uriagereka 2011: 190)

These examples, among other pieces of evidence, demonstrate that indicatives are less transparent than subjunctives, which lead Torrego & Uriagereka (1992) to defend that only the latter are true dependents of the matrix predicate. Accordingly, these authors submit an analysis by which indicative clauses are equivalent to adjuncts by virtue of being paratactically related to a covert nominal argument. This hypothesis is represented in (88) below. While subjunctive clauses are directly merged with matrix V (88a), that role may be fulfilled by a covert nominal, to which an indicative clause may be attached (88b).[54]

(88) a. $[_{VP} \ldots V\ [_{CP} \ldots]]$ Subjunctive EC

b. $[_{VP} \ldots V\ [_{DP}\ \textit{pro}]\ [_{CP} \ldots]]$ Indicative EC

(taken from Uriagereka 2015: 286)

This hypothesis is formalized in a MERGE-based system in Gallego & Uriagereka (2011) and Uriagereka (2015). These authors propose that indicative dependents become opaque by means of head-movement. This type of movement must be enabled by MERGE, more specifically by SUBMERGE (cf. "UNDERMERGE" Pesetsky 2007; apud Gallego & Uriagereka 2011). When C incorporates into V by means of SUBMERGE, the C-domain becomes a specifier and the elements within are not accessible to the matrix clause anymore:

(89) Submerge (V,C)

i. $[_{VP}\ V\ [_{CP}\ C \ldots]\ ]$

ii. $[_{VP}\ [\ V\ C_i\ ]\ [_{CP}\ t_i \ldots]\ ]$

(adapted from Uriagereka 2015: 299)[55]

The advantage of (89) is that, besides technical considerations, it keeps a distinction between adjuncts and indicatives (although see fn. 52). Despite the fact that both induce opacity effects, it is possible to extract from an indicative clause (see (90) below), something that can be explained if raising takes place *before* SUBMERGE applies. That "escape" strategy is not straightforwardly derived by the *pro*-approach in (88b) above.[56]

(90) a. ¿[Qué soneto_i dices $[_{CP}$ que Sor Juana escribió t_i]]?
what sonet say.3SG that Sor Juana wrote.3SG
'What sonet do you say that Sor Juana wrote?'

[54] This covert nominal can be related to expletive *it*: *I take it that Socrates has said that* (Uriagereka 2015: fn. 280).

[55] In the original work, the phrase containing the trace in (89ii) is indicated to be a VP. I believe that is a typo and I have provided the correction accordingly (it should be a CP). The numeration has also been replaced by i., ii. to indicate derivational steps.

[56] A much more in-depth analysis of islandhood is necessary, for instance, to deal with the complex-NP constraint, but this clearly exceeds our current purposes.

b. ¿[Quién$_i$ dices [$_{CP}$ que t_i escribió *Detente Sombra*]]?
who say.3SG that wrote.3SG *Detente Sombra*
'Who do you say that wrote *Detente Sombra*?

(Gallego & Uriagereka 2011: 190)

Nonetheless, (89) does not solve the puzzle of making clauses visible for AGREE (cf. (84)). For that reason, I want to put forward an analysis that integrates both proposals. The presence of *pro*, endowed with φ-features (at least person, regardless of whether *pro* is assumed to be like an expletive or not), ensures that there is a suitable Goal for AGREE and, together with the application of SUBMERGE, warrants that the indicative clause is structurally unavailable regarding further operations. If, as previously indicated, all dependent clauses are DPs, SUBMERGE of the head does not apply to C, but to D (see (91)).[57] Let me suppose, for the sake of unification that D is equivalent to Torrego & Uriagereka's (1992) *pro* (cf. Takahashi 2010, Luján 2007).[58] The resulting picture is shown in (91).

(91) Submerge (V,D)
i. [$_{VP}$ V [$_{DP}$ D [$_{CP}$ C ...]]]
ii. [$_{VP}$ [V D_i] [$_{DP}$ t_i [$_{CP}$ C ...]]]

The main conclusion from this subsection is that neither adjuncts nor indicative clauses are eligible domains for LDA, because they do not fulfill the structural conditions for MS. Adjuncts can never participate in AGREE, while indicative clauses do so indirectly. The latter are derived by SUBMERGE, while the true Goal is a covert D head endowed with φ-features. Further support for this claim is provided in the next subsection.

3.2.2 Infinitives and subjunctives

It has been previously stated that clauses are Goals for φ-agreement, something that entails that the features that make such role possible (I refer to them as Goal-features for simplicity) must constitute the closest Goal for the superordinate Probe to ensure that the inner material is not accessible for AGREE. Differently put, the clause is opaque because it is an intervener itself. The two possibilities for the location of such features are directly on C (Bošković 2003, 2007; Picallo 2001, 2002) or, as anticipated, in a superordinate D-head:

(92) a. C-approach: the features are on C
b. D-approach: the features are on D (projected above the CP)

In this subsection the analysis of infinitival and subjunctive dependents is more closely looked at to support a D-approach and to show how it derives the availability of HA.

[57] Alternatively, one could assume that the nominal head is either PAIR-MERGEd or SET-MERGEd with the CP. As Ángel Gallego (p.c.) points out to me, this could be linked to a Q-projection vs. Q-adjunction parameter (Cable 2007, 2010). Yet establishing parametric differences in these terms is not obvious at this point (see Chernova 2014 for thorough discussion).

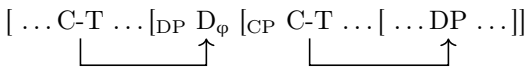
[58] The requirement of ECs (especially subjects) being headed by D has been traditionally hold for English (see Hartman 2012 and refs. therein). See Takahashi (2010) for arguments in favor of such D not requiring a null N to select the CP and Davies & Dubinsky (2009) and Moulton (2017) for further discussion.

The second important claim to be defended is that, as Goals, clauses can also constitute *improper* Goals. More specifically, I differentiate among infinitives and subjunctives two types that are, respectively, φ-complete and φ-defective depending on the degree of transparency that they allow. For convenience, I use the labels "selected" and "non-selected" to differentiate between them, with no further implications, since the distinction does not correspond to any established classes. The final version of the HA-hypothesis is updated correspondingly:

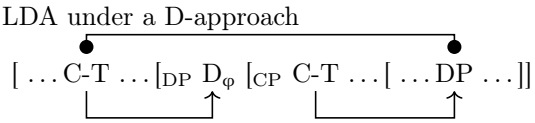
(93) HA-hypothesis (final version):
Selected clausal dependents constitute improper Goals, deriving the optionality of partial cross-clausal AGREE.

(93) is in line with a functional defectiveness approach (§2.2.2.2), except for the fact that embedded Probes are not affected. If the asymmetry is located in a layer external to the clause, the C-T complex can be non-defective and perform as usual, accounting for the reported fact that LDA does not affect AGREE within the EC. This is reflected in (95) below, and the derivation of an opaque clause is reflected in (94) for comparison:

(94) Opaque clause under a D-approach



(95) LDA under a D-approach



Further support for the presence of Goal-features on D is now provided. Then, I turn to the classification of subjunctive and infinitival clauses.

3.2.2.1 Clauses as Goals

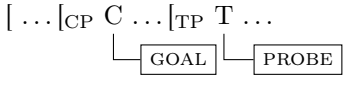
As previously stated, given (96), there exist two different proposals for the location of Goal features, reflected in (97) below.

(96) Clauses-as-Goals hypothesis:
Clauses are Goals for AGREE by virtue of bearing valued φ-features.

(97) a. C-approach: the features are on C
b. D-approach: the features are on D (projected above the CP)

The C-approach (see Picallo 2001, 2002) makes it more difficult for C and T to be connected in terms of probing features because the features on C must be crucially distinct from those on T, as represented in (98) below.

(98)



That view is against the approaches that support a φ-featural connection between C and T, first introduced in Chomsky (2004) (see also Fortuny 2008; Gallego 2007, 2010, 2014; Ouali 2008; Richards 2007; a.o.).[59] While this connection has been questioned in light of complementizer agreement evidence (Haegeman & Koppen 2012; see also Koppen 2017 for a recent overview), the analysis sketched in (98) requires to maintain that, instead of constituting two distinct Probes,[60] C must be a Goal and T the only Probe. As previously argued, T_E is a φ-complete Probe in HA contexts, but C cannot perform as a Goal at least for three reasons. (i) Probes cannot become Goals in the present system (cf. II.2.2.1), (ii) SOs must bear vFs to constitute Goals, (iii) the CP is supposed to get Case (cf. Picallo 2001, 2002, originally from Piera 1979 and Plann 1986, cited therein), thus C should bear a uK.

The only alternative to preserve the C-T relation would be for C to bear two sets or bundles of φ-features. One that constitutes the Goal and remains invariably on C (which must include the uK just mentioned) and a second one that constitutes a Probe and it is passed down to T. This variant is clearly not very minimal and involves to assume quite technical intricacies, especially complex if FI is dispensed with in favor of C-T sharing their features (Gallego 2010; Pesetsky & Torrego 2004) or being copies (Gallego 2014).[61] Thus, the C-approach will not be entertained here.

Before developing the derivation in terms of the D-approach, a more general caveat is in order. Besides the theoretical necessity of clauses partaking in AGREE, there seems to be no satisfactory syntactic tests to proof the presence of φ-features in clauses. To justify such claim let me briefly come back to Picallo (2001, 2002). The empirical evidence reported thereof is deeply linked to a system in which features can be positive/negative. Roughly, this author maintains that agreement-related type of evidence, such as coordinated CPs not triggering plural verbal agreement neither linking a floating quantifier (*cada uno* in (99)), is not explicable by CPs lacking number features, but rather by them bearing a negative specification thereof (e.g. [-number]).

(99) [Que el ejército intervenga inmediatamente] y [que se resuelva la
that the army intervene.SBJV.3SG immediately and that *se* resolve.sbjv.3sg the
crisis por vía diplomática] ha/*n sido propuesto/*s, (*cada uno),
crisis by means diplomatic have.3SG/*3PL been proposed..PTCP.SG/*PL, each one
como una solución posible al conflicto (por las mismas personas en momentos
as a solution possible to-the conflict by the same people at times
diferentes)
different

'(The fact) that the army should intervene immediately and (the fact) that the crisis should be resolved by diplomatic means has been proposed (each one) as a possible solution to the conflict (by the same people at different times).'

(Picallo 2002: 134)

[59] Regardless of the technical implementation of such connection, there seems to be a consensus on the observation that T can never assign Case in the absence of C, although the EPP still requires to be satisfied.

[60] See Richards (2012b) on how to reconcile a two Probe analysis (Haegeman & Koppen 2012) with FI.

[61] In ch. II I have cast doubt on the operation FI on conceptual grounds.

There are two theoretical issues concerning this proposal. The first one is more technical and theory-specific: ±Fs are incompatible with a value-attribute view on AGREE. The equivalent notion to a negative value for an attribute in the present system is to take them to be unvalued. This is untenable from our perspective about AGREE for an obvious reason: this is a shape of a Probe, not of a Goal (see § II.2.2.1).[62]

The second one is linked to the nature of anaphoric relations, which do not seem to be necessarily derived by AGREE. Picallo (2001, 2002) provides the only serious attempt to technically derive the traditionally observed correspondence between clauses and so-called "neuter pronouns" (*ello, lo, esto, eso, aquello*) and the fact that they display a similar behavior regarding agreement (compare (99) above with (100) below).[63] Nonetheless, there are many contradicting pieces of evidence that can only be explained if it is acknowledged that there are semantic factors that seem to be interrelated with pure syntactic features (Quer 2008; Zamparelli 2008).

(100) a. Me gustan *este* y *aquel*, pero no los probaré
DAT.1SG like.3PL this.M and that.M but not them try
'I like this one and that one, but I will not taste them.'

b. Me gusta/*n *esto* y *aquello*, pero no lo/*los probaré
DAT.1SG like3SG/.3PL this.N and that.N but not it/them try
'I like this one and that one, but I will not taste it/*them.'

(Picallo 2002: 135)

For example, besides finite clauses, Quer (2008) observes that non-finite ECs (see Gallego 2009 for ECM and raising) and small claues can be related to neuter pronouns.[64]

(101) a. Le gustaría [PRO abandonar los estudios]$_i$, pero yo no se lo$_i$
DAT.3SG like.COND.3SG abandon.INF the studies but I no DAT.3 ACC.N
aconsejo
advise.1SG
'S/he would like to quit her/his study, but I wouldn't advise that to her/him'

(Quer 2008: 99)

b. Juan parece [tener demasiado trabajo]$_i$, pero eso$_i$ no impide que
Juan seem.3SG have.INF too.much work but that.N not block.3SG that
dedique tiempo a sus hijas
dedicate.SBJV.3SG time to this daughters
'Juan seems to have too much work, but that does not prevent him from dedicating time to his daughters' (Gallego 2009: 177)

[62] Suppose there is a compelling explanation for why this putative Probe does not act as such and remains with its features unvalued until a subsequent Probe is merged (cf. Carstens 2016 and Arregi & Nevins 2012; Kučerová 2019 for a treatment of default on C). Following MATCH, C would be visible for the next Probe, but that requires to accept that MATCH without VALUATION is able to fulfill AGREE and value the uK on the Goal (cf. Boeckx 2008a). This solution is paradoxical, as it supposes that unvalued features can provide a value for other unvalued features.

[63] At a technical level, Picallo's (2001, 2002) system does not correspond to the definition of AGREE maintained here. In that system, an anaphoric relationship is banned if there is a *mismatch* in the feature specification (*[+F] ↔ [–F]), but both *match* and *unmatch* ([ ] ↔ [±F]) are allowed. This mechanism of feature identity does not correspond to a valuation process nor a MATCH-based relationship (cf. fn. 62).

[64] Yet it is often difficult to disambiguate whether the neuter pronoun is referring to a whole CP or just to the SC. This is evident in (101c) in which *lo* could also refer to the whole CP ("considera...tiempo").

c. Considera [$_{SC}$ los congresos una pérdida de tiempo], aunque no $\boxed{\text{lo}_i}$
consider.3SG the.PL conferences a waste of time although no ACC.N
dice
say.3SG
'S/he considers conferences to be a waste of time, although s/he doesn't say it'
(Quer 2008: 99)

Other agreement-related type of evidence is also inconclusive. As an illustration, there are semantic and pragmatic factors that seem to enable plural agreement, such as correlative coordination (see Quer 2008, Picallo 2002: fn. 21):

(102) *Tanto* [que venga sin avisar] *como* [que se quede a cenar]
both that come.SBJV.3SG without warn.INF as that SE stay.SBJV.3SG for dinner
me $\boxed{\text{molesta/-n}}$ mucho
DAT.1SG bother.3SG/3PL much
'Both that s/he shows up without notice and that s/he stays for dinner bother me a lot'
(Quer 2008: 106)

Therefore, the postulation of Goal features on clauses, either on C or mediated by D, must be related to the theoretical desideratum of clauses being Goals for AGREE and to avoid a generalized failure thereof.[65] This theoretical argument seems to be supported by the long hold observation that clauses behave as DPs regarding EPP satisfaction, ϑ-relations and, most likely, Case- assignment. The present proposal has suggested that it is more advantageous to maintain them as part of a nominal head.[66]

With respect to the attribute of the Goal features on D, a [±F]-based system, such as the one endorsed by Picallo (2001, 2002), is more flexible, since it allows to represent an underspecified value by means of ([–F]). Conversely, the present system requires to take a feature value, the one that is assumed to be the default specification (3rd for person and singular for number). Crucially, those must be treated as the least specified exponents of the value, something that has received different names in the literature (e.g.

[65]It is worth noting that a failure-based analysis falls short in accounting for the following contrast, originally noted by Postal (2003):

(i) a. On the door there was written [a message]
b. On the door there were written [two messages]
c. *On the door there was written [that Mary was away]. (from Hartman 2012: 50)

These examples raise the question of how general the failure approach is as, for instance, there is no equivalent contrast in Spanish. Hartman (2012) argues, as I do, that φ-features must be in D. However, this author defends that only subject clauses are DPs (whereas object clauses are featureless) in English (see fn. 58). It is not clear to me how the size of the clause can be altered in that way only depending on structural conditions and it seems to be more coherent to assume a general DP-shell.

[66]This idea does not depart from the traditional claim within Spanish grammar that clauses agree exactly as DP subjects do. On the other hand, it has implications for the hypothesis that the complementizer introducing sentential complements (*que* in Spanish) is better understood as a relative pronoun (Kayne 2010). It is possible to make the D-approach compatible with Kayne's proposal if, as Ángel Gallego (p.c.) suggests to me, the D-head selecting CPs is taken as the antecedent of *que*. This is an intriguing line of inquiry that deserves further exploration.

"0-person" Mendikoetxea 2008, cf. Rooryck 1994; "underspecified number", D'Alessandro 2007; Planells 2017). At this point, I consider this problem to be a mere notational issue that should be refined in the future.[67]

3.2.2.2 Typology of clausal DPs

The D-approach allows us to unify the treatment of clausal dependents as mediated by a nominal. This idea is related to the old intuition that all clauses have a nominal projection (Abney 1987; Rosenbaum 1967, among many others) and has been extensively discussed in the literature in light of languages that possess an overt instantiation of such D (e.g. Roussou 1991 et seq. for Greek; § IV.3.4.1).[68] The present account reconciles this idea with the hypothesis that there are distinct syntactic operations responsible for embedding. Specifically, it defends that all dependents are complements of a null D, but only some of them undergo SUBMERGE.

(103) Clausal dependents

i. $[_{VP}$ V $[_{DP}$ D $[_{CP}$ C ...]]] — not SUBMERGEd

ii. $[_{VP}$ [V D_i] $[_{DP}$ t_i $[_{CP}$ C ...]]] — SUBMERGEd

Until now, such distinction has been argued to derive indicative vs. subjunctive /infinitival ECs; however, I further show that a distinction between those subjunctive and infinitive dependents that participate in LDA from those that are consistently opaque requires a more fine-grained classification. The present proposal establishes such classification in terms of the features within D hosting them, which is in turn related to the ability of undergoing SUBMERGE. That is schematized in (104).[69]

(104) Featural + structural conditions on ECs

a. φ-complete D $\rightarrow$ SUBMERGE

b. φ-defective D $\not\rightarrow$ SUBMERGE

I have already referred to the former class of ECs as "selected" and to the latter as "non-selected". To derive the distinction between both classes I suggest that two relevant tests apply: one that is not related to finiteness of the embedded verb and another one that hinges on that. The former is the capability of undergoing extraction and subextraction. The second one is *control* for infinitives and *selection* (by the matrix predicate) for subjunctives. Let us now apply them.

[67] A version of Harley & Ritter's (2002) feature geometry could be useful for these purposes. My intuition in broad terms is that an underspecified value could be correspondent to one of the hierarchical levels of the geometry. For instance, INDIVIDUATION can be taken as the default value for [number], although as indicated by Zamparelli (2008: 176), that proposal does not establish an equivalent node for [person].

[68] I abstract away from other existing proposals by which the intermediate projection that turns the clause into a nominal is other than D (e.g. "switch projection", Grohmann & Panagiotidis 2005; λP, Franco 2012; Kornfilt & Whitman 2011 for discussion).

[69] This proposal is reminiscent to Uriagereka's (1988) idea that there is a correlation between definite/indefinite DPs, with indicative/subjunctive clauses respectively (apud Gallego & Uriagereka 2011: 191-193). The classification of ECs must be less general, as I now show. Further research is necessary to assess a possible equivalence with Uriagereka's proposal.

Non-selected ECs, to which (104a) corresponds, appear either in EA or in IA positions:

(105) Subjunctive ECs as subject and object

[Que suban los salarios] significa [que las condiciones
that raise.SBJV.3PL the.PL salaries mean.3SG that the.F.PL conditions
mejoren]
improve.SBJV.3PL

Lit. 'That salaries were raised means that conditions were improved'

It is well-known that Spanish subject clauses must have a subjunctive-inflected verb, so the appearance of that mood is not revealing as to the selectional requirements of a given predicate.[70] However, a verb such as *significar* can appear with an indicative object (106), as well as a subjunctive one (cf. (105) above).

(106) Indicative object

La subida salarial significa [que las condiciones *mejorarán*]
The raise salary mean.3SG/3PL that the.F.PL conditions improve.IND.FUT.3PL

'The means that conditions will improve'

The clauses of this type are not only resistant to LDA (see (79) above), but they also ban extraction (107) and subextraction (108).

(107) (Sub)extraction from subjunctive clausal subjects

a. *¿Qué$_i$ significa una mejora [que suba t_i] ?
what mean.3SG a improvement that raise.SBJV.3SG
'What does it mean an improvement that raises?'

b. *¿De quién$_i$ significa una mejora [que suba [$_{DP}$ el salario t_i]]?
of who mean.3SG a improvement that raise.SBJV.3SG the salary
'Of who does an improvement mean that the salary raises?'

(108) (Sub)extraction from subjunctive clausal objects

a. *¿Qué$_i$ significa una subida salarial [que mejore t_i]?
what mean.3SG a raise salary that improve.SBJV.3SG
'What does it mean a salary raise that improves?'

b. *¿De quién$_i$ significa una subida salarial [que mejoren [$_{DP}$ las
of who mean.3SG a salary raise that improve.SBJV.3SG the.F.PL
condiciones t_i]] ?
conditions
'Of who does it mean a salary raise that the conditions improve?'

When the subject or the object is an infinitival clause, the (sub)extraction test yields the same results:

[70] There are, in fact, not many predicates that allow subjunctive subjects. They are mostly implicative verbs, such as *provocar* ('cause'), *implicar* ('imply'), *significar* ('mean'), *causar* ('cause'), *entrañar* ('entail'), *conllevar* ('involve'), *suponer* ('suppose') (RAE-ASALE 2009: §22.17i).

(109) (Sub)extraction from infinitival subjects

a. *¿Qué$_i$ significa una mejora [subir t_i]?
what mean.3SG a improvement raise.INF
'What does it mean an improvement to raise?'

b. *¿De quién$_i$ significa una mejora [subir [$_{DP}$ el salario t_i]] ?
of who mean.3SG a improvement raise.INF the salary
'Of who does it mean an improvement to raise the salary?'

(110) (Sub)extraction from infinitival objects

a. *¿Qué$_i$ significa una subida salarial [mejorar t_i]?
what mean.3SG a raise salary improve.INF
'What does it mean a salary raise to improve?'

b. *¿De quién$_i$ significa una subida salarial [mejorar [$_{DP}$ las condiciones t_i]]?
of who mean.3SG a raise salary improve.INF the conditions
'Of who does it mean a salary raise to improve the conditions?'

The crucial property of these infinitival dependents is that they are not controlled by the matrix clause. In such contexts there is no available antecedent: the matrix subject must be a clause or an "equivalent" DP.[71] Therefore, the subject of the infinitive must take a generic value (Hernanz 1990, 1999: 2213).

Selected subjunctives display the opposite behavior, as shown in (111)-(112) below. The examples are offered with a DNS structure (with the verb *importar*, 'care') and with a non-DNS one (with the verb *querer*, 'want') in order to evidence that this class is not confined neither to transitive nor intransitive predicates.[72]

(111) a. ¿Qué$_i$ te importa [que mejore t_i]?
what DAT.2SG care.3SG that improve.SBJV.3SG
'What do you care that it improves?'

b. ¿Qué$_i$ te importa [mejorar t_i]?
what DAT.2SG care.3SG improve.INF
'What do you care to improve?'

(112) a. ¿Qué$_i$ quieres [que mejore t_i] ?
what want.2SG that improve.SBJV.3SG
'What do you want that it improves?'

b. ¿Qué$_i$ quieres [mejorar t_i]?
what want.2SG improve.SBJV.3SG
'What do you want to improve?'

(113) a. ¿De quién$_i$ te importa [que mejore [$_{DP}$ el salario t_i]] ?
of who DAT.2SG care.3SG that improve.SBJV.3SG the salary
'Of who do you care that the salary improves?'

[71] As previously mentioned, the nominal counterpart is traditionally considered to be a neuter pronoun (e.g. *lo*). Other DPs are also possible, as seen in the examples above, but crucially never personal or animate ones ("abstract", Delbecque & Lamiroy 1999: 1992).

[71] The selection of subjunctives has raised a very interesting line of inquiry, but the specific analysis is not directly relevant for our proposal. Several authors have related it to AGREE of non-φ-features, principally tense (e.g. Ambar 2016) or related features (see Wiltschko 2016 "coincidence").

[72] There does not seem to be a straightforward delimitation in terms of the semantic class either.

b. ¿De quién$_i$ te importa [mejorar [$_{DP}$ el salario t_i]] ?
of who DAT.2SG care.3SG improve.INF the salary
'Of who do you care that to improve the salary?'

(114) a. ¿De quién$_i$ quieres [que mejore [$_{DP}$ el salario t_i]] ?
of who want.2SG that improve.SBJV.3SG the salary
'Of who do you want that the salary improves?'

b. ¿De quién$_i$ quieres [mejorar [$_{DP}$ el salario t_i]] ?
of who want.2SG improve.INF the salary
'Of who do you want to improve the salary?'

Finally, the datum in (115) below, from an oral corpus, exhibits both subextraction and HA. This type of evidence reinforces the idea that ECs in DNS scenarios do not change properties depending on whether there is LDA.

(115) ¿y de qué nacionalidad$_i$ le gusta-$\boxed{\text{n}}$ [ver las películas t_i] ?
and of what nationality DAT.3SG like-3PL see.INF the.F.PL movies
'the movies you enjoy watching, which country are they from?'
(PRESEEA: Mexico; taken from Fernández-Serrano 2022: 105)

Therefore, despite the fact that all these clausal dependents are inserted within a DP, they exhibit different degrees of dependency with respect of the matrix clause. Those clauses that are more independent are taken to be complements of φ-complete Ds: they do not allow (sub)extraction and are opaque for AGREE. The less independent clauses are, on the other hand, complements of defective Ds: they allow (sub)extraction and are sensitive to LDA. Find them summarized in (116):

(116) Featural + structural conditions on ECs
a. φ-complete D $\rightarrow$ SUBMERGE = *LDA, *(sub)extraction
b. φ-defective D $\not\rightarrow$ SUBMERGE = LDA, (sub)extraction

We have seen that the latter type appear in IA position and, only in the case of DNS, they show LDA as they are inserted in unaccusative structures. That is not the case of verbs such as *querer* (transitive) in which the DP subject must be agreed with in order to be licensed (Case-assigned). A relevant example is repeated here:

(117) María quiere [que vayamos al concierto]
María want.3SG that go.SBJV.1PL to+the concert
'María wants us to go to the concert'

It is now convenient to come back to the HA-hypothesis, reminded as (118):

(118) HA-hypothesis (final version):
Selected clausal dependents constitute improper Goals, deriving the optionality of partial cross-clausal AGREE.

If those dependents that allow LDA are headed by a featurally deficient D, such element can be taken to be an improper Goal, as reflected in (119b) below. I assume that such D lacks a number feature and has an uK feature, following the rationale put forward by Richards (2004, 2008) by which a K feature must be attached to φ-bundle, being a 3rd person-bundle a minimally specified one.

(119) a. $[_{DP}\ D_{[P:3,\ N:\ SG,\ K:\square]}\ [_{CP}\ \ldots]\ ]$ Subjunctive/infinitive - proper Goal (cf. (116a))
b. $[_{DP}\ D_{[P:3,K:\square]}\ [_{CP}\ \ldots]\ ]$ Subjunctive/infinitive - improper Goal (cf. (116b))

Therefore, HA is derived both by the presence of an improper Goal and the fact that the relevant clause has not undergone SUBMERGE. A complete step-by-step derivation is offered in § IV.3.3.

As for the second type of ECs, "non-selected" infinitive and subjunctive ECs, it is necessary to comment on the fact that their analysis is, at this point, equivalent to that of indicative clauses: they are all headed by a non-defective D head that SUBMERGES with matrix V (see (116a) above). I think that a promising path is building on the premise that neither subjunctive clauses (e.g. Giannakidou 2016; Quer 2005; Thieroff 2010; Wiltschko 2016), on the one hand, nor infinitive clauses (cf. e.g. Wurmbrand 2001), on the other, constitute homogeneous classes of dependents. It is then plausible that some of these ECs display different morphological variants (in this case related to the modal verbal inflection), but are syntactically equivalent. This line of inquiry is linked, in turn, to the difficulty of finding a unitary meaning for all subjunctive uses (see Bosque 2012 and refs. therein for Spanish), a puzzle that could extend to indicative and infinitive ECs. Further questions regarding the potential asymmetries in extraction possibilities and LF-phenomena must be dealt with in future research.

3.3 Recapitulation: an analysis of Spanish HA

This section started by demonstrating that the presence of an intervener external to the clause is not sufficient to explain the opacity of most ECs. Then, it has been justified that clausal dependents must constitute Goals for AGREE, following previous literature. I have referred to that as the Clauses-as-Goals hypothesis.

Such hypothesis has been modified to reflect that ECs depend on a nominal that bears such Goal-features (D-approach). The resulting hypothesis is stated as follows:

(120) Clauses-as-Goals hypothesis (final):
Clauses are Goals for AGREE by virtue of bearing valued φ-features on D (projected above the CP).

The distinction between dependents has been related to two interrelated conditions: the featural configuration of the D-head and whether such head undergoes SUBMERGE with the matrix V. If it does, the clause is not in a complement position anymore and becomes opaque. The pieces to account for HA are now established, supporting the third version of the HA-hypothesis (93):

(121) HA-hypothesis (final version)
Selected dependent clauses (selected subjunctive and control infinitival clauses) constitute improper Goals, deriving the optionality of partial cross-clausal AGREE.

As just seen, selected dependents are more hypotactic than non-selected ones as, for instance, they allow extraction. According to the present proposal, the D heading such structures is an improper Goal:

(122) φ-defective D
$D_{[P:3,\ K:\square]}$

This D-shape yields the optionality of LDA within our model. That is now shown in a step-by-step fashion. A non-defective T_M searches and finds D, an improper Goal, yielding non-optimal AGREE. The repairs can then take place. If there is default repair, the regular non-agreeing scenario follows:

(123) Non-agreeing: Me *gusta*$_{3SG}$ [que lean libros]

i. $[\ T_{\varphi[P:\square,\ N:\square]}\ \ldots [_{DP}\ D_{\varphi[P:3,K:\square]}\ [_{CP}\ C\ \ldots\ DP_{[P:1,\ N:PL]}\ ]]]$

ii. $[\ T_{\varphi[P:3,\ N:\square]}\ \ldots [_{DP}\ D_{\varphi[P:3,K:NOM]}\ [_{CP}\ C\ \ldots\ DP_{[P:1,\ N:PL]}\ ]]]$

iii. $T_{\varphi[P:3,\ \boxed{N:DFLT}]}$

Whereas via split repair, a second AGREE search penetrates the subordinate domain and results in number agreement with an inner DP:

(124) HA: Me *gustan*$_{3PL}$ [que lean libros]

i. $[\ T_{\varphi[P:\square,\ N:\square]}\ \ldots [_{DP}\ D_{\varphi[P:3,K:\square]}\ [_{CP}\ C\ \ldots\ DP_{[P:1,\ N:PL]}\ ]]]$

ii. $[\ T_{\varphi[P:3,\ N:\square]}\ \ldots [_{DP}\ D_{\varphi[P:3,K:NOM]}\ [_{CP}\ C\ \ldots\ DP_{[P:1,\ N:PL]}\ ]]]$

iii. $[\ \boxed{T_{\varphi[P:3,\ N:PL]}}\ \ldots [_{DP}\ D_{\varphi[P:3,K:NOM]}\ [_{CP}\ C\ \ldots\ DP_{[P:1,\ N:PL]}\ ]]]$

This analysis fulfills the desideratum in (125a), repeated below for convenience.

(125) *Desiderata for an analysis of HA*
a. Derive LDA from pure AGREE
b. Derive the fact that HA is restricted to infinitival and subjunctive clauses
c. Account for the fact that full-φ HA is not possible
d. Capture the optionality of the phenomenon

Spanish HA has been treated as a *bona fide* exemplification of AGREE crossing a clausal boundary (125a). The availability of the material within the clause has been derived from the PPH, which ensures that LDA can take place in non-defective phasal domains with arguments that have already been Case-assigned. LDA is then derived by pure AGREE driven by MS.

The restriction on infinitives and subjunctives (125b) has been refined, showing that that is a necessary but not sufficient condition to allow LDA. A broad distinction between two types of dependents has been proposed. Those that are complements of a φ-full D head, undergo SUBMERGE and become opaque for further operations, while D is the Goal for AGREE. On the other hand, when the D-head is defective, there is no SUBMERGE and LDA is possible. The advantage of such view is that the role of C-T as Probes within the embedded domain is not compromised, keeping the distinction with more permeable domains that allow cross-clausal Case assignment (ECM/raising).[73]

(126) Featural + structural conditions on ECs

a. φ-complete D $\rightarrow$ SUBMERGE = *LDA, *(sub)extraction

b. φ-defective D $\not\rightarrow$ SUBMERGE = LDA, (sub)extraction

Regarding (125c)-(125d), they have been unified with our treatment of partial agreement offered in ch. III by considering it the result of split probing as a mechanism triggered by non-optimal AGREE (see (124) above). This scenario has been taken to be also the result of intervention of an improper Goal, the D-head hosting the embedded CP. This analysis raises further questions and predictions that are addressed in the next subsection.

Before turning to them, it is necessary to briefly comment on the treatment of the matrix clauses, which should correspond to the one of monoclausal structures proposed in the previous chapter. In § IV.3.1 it was highlighted that the presence of an improper Goal also triggered the NU-partial agreement alternation in biclausal environments, providing a unification of Icelandic QS-contexts and Spanish SE-sentences. It must be stressed that the treatment of clausal dependents proposed is not at odds with such external intervention: even if SE or the DAT intervene person agreement, the number Probe is able to cross the clausal dependent as it only tampers with person.

The examples of non-finite HA in SE-sentences presented earlier (repeated in (127) and (128) below) are control infinitives[74] and selected subjunctives, hence they fit in the analysis just defended:

(127) a. En esta profesión se requiere-[n] [hacer [evaluaciones]]
in this job SE require-3PL make.INF evaluations
'In this job one must conduct evaluations'

b. Se valora-[n] [reducir [las superiores] a 1300 euros]
SE value-3PL reduce.INF the.F.PL superior.PL to 13000 euros
'Reducing those higher than 1300 euros will be considered'

[73] It seems plausible that the D heading this type of dependents is featurally empty (§ II.3.1) or just absent.

[74] It could be considered that SE is controlling embedded PRO, which would be coherent with the idea that SE is a *bona fide* NOM subject. A clear implication would be that the main predicate is not exclusively responsible for the selection of the type of EC and seems to invoke a type of analysis in which PRO is inserted as a last resort mechanism as defended by San Martin (2004). Since such proposal contradicts the PPH, a more satisfactory answer for this puzzle must be explored in future work.

c. Se requiere-[n] [nombrar a [los responsables]]
SE require-3PL appoint.INF DOM the.PL leaders
'It is required to appoint the leaders'

(Ormazabal & Romero 2020: 10)

(128) a. El titular de la PCM hizo hincapié en que se necesita-[n] [que
the head of the PCM made.3SG emphasis in that SE need-3PL that
[las políticas] respondan a las necesidades de la gente]
the.F.PL policies respond.SBJV-3PL to the necessities of the people
'The chief of the PCM emphasized the need for policies to respond to the needs of the people'

b. Si no se quiere-[n] [que vuelvan a surgir [las barreras] que
if no SE want-3PL that come.SBJV-3PL to emerge.INF the.F.PL barriers that.REL
separaban las dos mitades de Europa] [...]
separated.3PL the.F.PL two halves of Europe
'If the barriers that used to separate the two halves of Europe are not to be re-emerged'

c. gracias a las medidas de protección se evitaro-[n] [que [los daños]
thanks to the.F.PL measures of protection SE prevented-3PL that the.PL damages
fueran mayores]
were.SBJV-3.PL bigger
'thanks to protection measures further damages were prevented'

On the other hand, we are not ready to make the case for Icelandic. While the presence of the QS captures the empirical fact that LDA must be partial, an in-depth examination of the type of clausal dependents available in such language is necessary to restrict its application in other contexts. Be that as it may, I take it as a welcome result that our approach is able to derive the data described throughout the dissertation and provide a unified explanation for the patterns of agreement attested in QS contexts.

3.4 Predictions and open questions

The analysis of HA just submitted raises further questions about the nature of the phenomenon and, more generally, of clausal dependents. To finish the section, it is necessary to address them and sketch some possible answers. First, Spanish *el-que* clauses are considered in light of the D-approach; secondly, it is argued that the split repair analysis defended is superior than one in which LDA is treated as an instance of "unlocking" (Rackowski & Richards 2005); finally, the data presented in both ch. III and this chapter are wrapped up in relation to our model of variation.

3.4.1 The D-approach and *el que* clauses

The analysis proposed draws a parallelism between Spanish and Basque LDA phenomena. Etxepare (2012) defends that Basque LDA is only possible if the clause overtly agrees and checks Case with the auxiliary of the main clause, while the embedded DP only controls number. The relevant example is repeated here:

(129) [Nobela erromantiko-ak irakur-tze-a] gustatzen ø-
novel(s) romantic-ART.PL(ABS) read-NMZ-ART-(ABS) like(HAB) 3.ABS-
zai-zki-o
be-PL.ABS-3SG.DAT
'(S)he likes to read romantic novels'

Nominalized clauses display overt Case morphology in this language. This is especially clear in (130) below, in which both the auxiliary and the nominalized clause show DAT morphology, while plural inflection corresponds to agreement with the embedded object *agindu horiek* ('those orders').

(130) Uko egin d-i-Ø-e-Ø [agindu horiek
refusal(ABS) done 3.ABS-have-SG.ABS-3PL.DAT-3SG.ERG order(s) those.PL(ABS)
bete-tze-a-ri]
obey-NMZ-ART-DAT
'S/he has refused to obey those orders' (taken from Bhatt & Keine 2017: 41)

I have analyzed Spanish clauses in an equivalent manner by suggesting that they are enclosed in a nominal D-layer. Thus, it is worth pondering whether such layer must be overtly realized, as it is in Basque, under some circumstances. In effect, as is well-known, Spanish may display the overt article *el* heading subjunctive and infinitival clauses (De Cuba 2007; Delicado Cantero 2013; Leonetti 1999; Ormazabal 1995; Serrano 2015; Uriagereka 1988; RAE-ASALE 2009: §§14.6ñ,43.3m; i.a.), which can be taken as the spell-out of the clausal D-head:

(131) a. Lamento [$_{DP}$ *el*/ø [$_{CP}$ que hayas suspendido este examen]]
regret.1SG the that have.2SG.SBJV failed this exam
'I regret that you have failed this exam'

Lamento [$_{DP}$ *el*/ø [$_{CP}$ haber suspendido este examen]]
regret.1SG the have.INF failed this exam
'I regret failing this exam'

The overt realization of such D does not seem to be free, as the extensive literature on the matter suggests. However, the exact motivation is still unclear. *El* is more acceptable when the clause is preverbal (see (132)) and it is generally banned when the clause is an object[75] (Uriagereka 1988, apud Gallego 2010: 272), as in (133) below.

(132) a. [(El) que leas tanto] es sorprendente.
the that read.SBJV-2SG so-much be.3SG surprising
'That you read so much is surprising'

b. ?/??Es sorprendente [el que leas tanto].
be.3SG surprising the that read.SBJV.2SG so-much
'It is surprising that you read so much'

(taken from Gallego 2010: 272)

[75]In the conventional sense: in (133) the IA of *quiere* is the object, while it is the subject of *preocupar*. The literature has generally attributed the appearance of *el-que* to factive predicates, since Demonte (1977) (apud Serrano 2015: 27), but more recent inquiry has revealed that the distribution is more complex because there are non-factive predicates that accept *el* and, at the same time, the presence of *el* is not indispensable to obtain a factive reading (Delicado Cantero 2013; Serrano 2015).

(133) a. Quieren [(*el) que llegues a tiempo]
want.3PL the that arriveSBJV.2SG on time
'They want you to arrive on time'

b. Les preocupa [(el) que llegues a tiempo]
DAT.3PL worry.3SG the that arriveSBJV.2SG on time
'They are worried about you arriving on time'

The appearance of *el* seems to have further syntactic implications, given that the embedded domain becomes an island for extraction (Gallego 2010: 273; Leonetti 1999: 826; Serrano 2015: 289):

(134) a. *¿Quién te sorprendió [*el que* se retrasara una hora]?
who DAT.2SG surprised.3SG the that REFL delay.3SG one hour

b. ¿Quién te sorprendió [*que* se retrasara una hora]?
who DAT.2SG surprised.3SG that REFL delay.3SG one hour
lit. 'Who did it surprise you the fact that he was an hour late?'

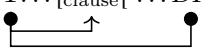
(Delicado Cantero 2013: 118)

What is important to highlight is that these facts do not necessarily contradict our main analysis, but suggest that the application of SUBMERGE, which creates islands for extraction, is rather free, something that should be expected in a system of free MERGE (see ch. II). The exact implications of this claim and a specific analysis of *el-que* clauses are left aside for future research.[76]

3.4.2 About "unlocking"

"Unlocking" (Rackowski & Richards 2005) refers to the hypothesis that Goals for AGREE become transparent for further computation, by suggesting that AGREE is able to remove the phasal status of a domain (Branan & Davis 2019; Halpert 2016; Thivierge 2021; Van Urk & Richards 2015). This proposal has been put forward to account for extraction phenomena,[77] yet some authors have defended the logical possibility that, if AGREE makes a domain transparent for movement, it may also make it accessible for LDA (Preminger 2011; Thivierge 2021), as the representation in (135) reflects.

(135) [. . . T . . . [$_{\text{clause}}$[. . . DP]]



In our system, it is not necessary to "dephase" the domain for LDA to apply and, in fact, it is not clear at a technical level how AGREE would be able to make that happen. At the same time, it is necessary to adopt a non-deletion view on TRANSFER, as the one posited here via PIC3, for unlocking to be possible. In other words, even if the domain

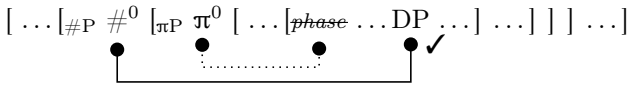
[76] Ángel Gallego (p.c.) suggests to me that *el* could be the spell-out of D *only* when SUBMERGE has applied. In other words, it should correspond to a change in structural dependencies, so that the island behavioral effect follows. I have not been able to find examples of LDA across *el-que* clauses, which, according to my own judgements, should be much more degraded, if not impossible. That would mean that *el-que* clauses require a paratactic analysis. The details of this hypothesis are left for future work.

[77] See Polinsky (2018: 286) about applying unlocking to explain subextraction.

is "unlocked" the material needs to remain in the computation (Branan & Davis 2019: 10), otherwise we would be postulating that via AGREE such material "reappears" in syntax.[78] This first observation already weakens the necessity for an unlocking mechanism in terms of phases if one endorses the PPH. However, the analysis of LDA submitted here, based on split-repair, is highly reminiscent of unlocking analyses. There are two important differences between them.

The first one is that by positing that the clause is an improper Goal, there is a *bona fide* application of AGREE that explains why the clause is visible for the Probe. That is missing in previous approaches. The general view is that the clausal boundary acts as a sort of defective intervener, blocking AGREE but not inducing regular valuation. Preminger (2011) combines that idea with an independent probing approach by which [person] and [number] are projected in the clausal spine (e.g. Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008), that proposal is reflected in (136) below. As [person] (π) merges first, it probes first and finds the clausal Goal. This suffices for unlocking the domain. [Number] (#) then probes and results in agreement with an DP within the unlocked domain:

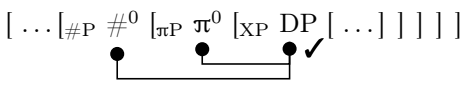
(136) LDA across an unlocked domain



(Preminger 2011: 924)

Besides the problems of independent probing already discussed in III.5.2.2, the analysis in (136) lacks an explanation as for why the EC is the Goal for the first Probe (π) only, or differently put, why the clause does not also tamper with the # probe.[79] In fact, Preminger (2011) suggests that, at a close range, both π- and #-Probes agree with the subject:

(137) Full φ-AGREE



(Preminger 2011: 925)

This problem forces to posit a dedicated constraint by which the clausal Goal cannot be targeted twice (Van Urk & Richards 2015: 142; Rackowski & Richards 2005: 582).[80][81]

[78] It is interesting to point out that unlocking is a reversed version of the AC; the former makes some material available for AGREE while the latter makes it unavailable, both via a previous application of the operation.

[79] Preminger (2011) assumes that by targeting the clause, π-probing fails. He draws a parallel with DAT intervention, something that I think it is essentially correct, as I also attempt to derive both phenomena by the same mechanism. This scholar argues that π-DAT AGREE is clitic doubling, at least in Icelandic and Basque. As a result, the doubled DAT is a trace and does not intervene between # and a lower DP. I have argued against this type of approach for Spanish in § III.3.2.1.

[80] This constraint comes from Richards' (1998) *principle of minimal compliance* (apud Halpert 2016: 252). Adopting this principle together with unlocking seems paradoxical. It states that a Goal targeted by a certain Probe, P, cannot be targeted by P again, which is highly reminiscent of the AC that, as noted, is the flipside of unlocking (see fn. 78).

[81] An additional way out comes from suggesting that the limit of a probing domain is encoded in the Probe. Deal's (2015, 2021) system establishes at what moment a Probe is satisfied, i.e. when it must cease probing. This system has become popular in the recent literature about agreement as a formalization

The second difference is that unlocking predicts that LDA cannot cross more than one phasal and/or clausal domain, as the local AGREE relation enables the second long-distance one. That does not follow from our system: once person agreement has taken place, number can search for the corresponding Goal across multiple clauses, as long as they fulfill the structural requirements defined above, even if they have not been "unlocked". Thus, sequences such as (138) below should be derivable.[82]

(138) a. ??[Me sorprende-n [que te preocupe-n [que me guste-n los
DAT.1SG surprise-3PL that DAT.2SG worry-3PL that DAT.1SG like-3PL the.PL
videojuegos]]] (copied from (55b))
videogames
lit. 'I am surprised that you are worried that I like videogames'

b. ??[Me preocupa-n [que no se evite-n [que los daños
DAT.1SG worry-3PL that no SE prevent.SBJV-3PL that the.PL damages
sean mayores]]]
be.SBJV-3PL bigger
'I am worried about further damages not being prevented'

I want to suggest that this is not necessary a counterargument for the split repair analysis. On the one hand, as earlier suggested, non-finite HA seems to corroborate that LDA is able to cross at least two phasal domains (the CP and the v*P in those configurations; cf. (63) above). That is also the case for SE sentences. If they are taken to be transitives, in (73) above the clausal arguments are selected by a non-defective v*, suggesting that LDA is crossing at least a v*P and a CP phase. See this point illustrated in (139) for the example in (73a) above.

(139) [se T [$_{vP}$ v* [$_{VP}$ necesita-n [$_{CP}$ que [$_{TP}$ T las políticas respondan]]]]]

Further empirical support comes from examples in which the SE-sentence is embedded. As (140) below shows, HA is also possible in such contexts, meaning that LDA would be crossing a CP and a v*P respectively (only those XPs are represented):[83]

(140) a. [- Gordo[,] no me gusta-n [$_{CP}$ que se [$_{v*P}$ v* vea-n los cables]]],
fat no DAT.1SG like-3PL that SE see-3PL the.PL cables
fíjate que podemos hacer...
check.IMP-you what can.1PL do.INF
'Darling, I don't like that the cables are visible, check what we can do about it'

of MA in terms of specific features (e.g. Halpert 2019; Thivierge 2021 for hyper-raising). The Probe is endowed with two type of features: interaction Fs indicate what type of Goals must be encountered, while satisfaction Fs specify which ones stop the search (e.g [INT:φ,SAT:SPKR],[INT:PART,SAT:PART]) (Deal 2021). The result is a system that easily derives the attested patterns because it is highly descriptive. I have already expressed my doubts about this type of proposal in § III.3.1.1 in relation to the BCC.

[82]This is a common trait with a successive AGREE approach (§ IV.2.2.3). That type of analysis requires further mechanisms to ensure that LDA does not apply all over the place. For instance, one could assume different flavors of FI à la Ouali (2008) (along with the PIC1) to explain that the features on C are sometimes transferred along with the complement (and opaque) and others they remain at the edge yielding indirect agreement. This apparatus is plausible, but not immediately advantageous for the purpose of explaining partial and optional LDA.

[83]That is not the case if SE-sentences are considered unaccusatives (cf. § III.5.1). What is important to bear in mind is that the LDA data do not *force* us to defend the unaccusative hypothesis, similarly to what was argued for T-IA agreement in SE-monoclausal structures.

b. Quería publicar esta foto porque [me gusta-n [$_{CP}$ que se [$_{v*P}$
wanted.1SG publish.INF this photo because DAT.1SG like-3PL that SE
vea-n mis tattoos]]]
see.3PL my tattos
'I wanted to post this photo because I like that my tattoos are visible'

If unlocking for phases were supported, it would be necessary to place an additional bundle of Goal features on v* or submit an account by which only CPs are phases (Keine 2019, 2020). Therefore, LDA does not seem to constitute compelling evidence in favor of a unlocking analysis applied to phasal domains.

Let me now turn to the case of clauses. I suggested that the Probe finds the clause as an improper Goal as a precondition to split repair to apply. This is virtually equivalent to unlocking, except for the fact that unlocking restricts the material that can be accessed for AGREE to be within the phase/clause that has been previously agreed with. The examples reported previously in (56), repeated in (141) below, in which only the intermediate clause shows LDA seem, in effect, to support the unlocking account.

(141) a. Me gusta [$_{CP}$ que le guste-n [$_{CP}$ ver películas de Disney tanto
DAT.1SG like.3SG that DAT.3SG like-3PL see.INF movies of Disney as
como a mi]]
like to me
'I like that s/he likes watching Disney movies as much as I do'

b. A mí me gusta [$_{CP}$ que te guste-n [$_{CP}$ que *pro* te diga-n
to me DAT.1SG like-3SG that DAT.2SG like-3PL that DAT.2SG say-3PL
esas cosas]]
those things
'I do like that you like being told such things'

Nonetheless, this type of evidence is not conclusive because it can be taken to be a manifestation of HA optionality. More over, examples of multiple cross-clausal agreement, such as (142) below, appear to be more restricted but not impossible:[84]

(142) [...] Me gusta-n [$_{CP}$ que le guste-n [$_{CP}$ tomarse muchas fotos!!!!]]
DAT.1SG like-3PL that DAT.3SG like-3PL take.INF-REFL many photos
'I like that she likes taking many pictures of herself' (tweet)

In sum, our proposal, by which certain domains (specified in IV.3.2) are transparent for AGREE, does not need to "dephase" (cf. Chomsky 2013, 2015) the CP domain by means of AGREE, something that is technically obscure. This type of unlocking proposals also require a rationale for the fact that clauses are viable Goals for AGREE, something that is solved in our analysis by the presence of Goal features on a D-layer. At the same time, it has been argued that an analysis in which the Probe splits in the course of the derivation

[84]It would be interesting to test in the future whether agreement eases or makes it more difficult for multiple embedding to be processed, as the example in (55b) above seems to be worse than (142) even with no LDA (according to my own judgements). Such inquiry could be informative about the more general investigation on the role of working memory, often focused on the parsing of nested relative clauses (see Gibson 2000 and refs. therein). It is also worth reminding that Hinuq is reported to allow several cross-clausal agreement (see fn. 37) and it would be worth exploring to what extent these data are exceptional.

by means of finding an improper Goal does not present the drawbacks of positing separate projections for probing features, reinforcing the point made in our previous discussion in light of NU data (§ III.5.2.2).

3.4.3 Variability, optionality and preferences

Our analysis of agreement patterns has put forward two possible repair strategies of a non-optimal AGREE scenario that give rise to equivalent alternants within a single idiolect. Now that the analyses of the patterns in both monoclausal and biclausal configurations have been offered, it is worth comparing them in terms of acceptability. table IV.3 below summarizes the data. It means to capture that all sequences thereof are possible regardless of the attested asymmetries in acceptability. The ↑ indicates preference and, accordingly, the sequences with ↑↑ coincide with the standarized patterns.

		+AGR (split repair)	-AGR (default repair)
DNS	monocl.	(1a) ↑↑Me gustan los libros	(1b) ↑Me gusta los libros
	bicl.	(2a) Me gustan leer libros	(2b) ↑↑Me gusta leer libros
		(2a') Me gustan que lean libros	(2b') ↑↑Me gusta que lean libros
SE	monocl.	(3a) ↑↑Se valoran otras soluciones	(3b) ↑Se valora otras soluciones
	biclausal	(4a) Se valoran [elegir las posibles soluciones]	(4b) ↑↑Se valora [elegir otras soluciones]
		(4a') Se valoran [que las soluciones funcionen]	(4b') ↑↑Se valora [que las soluciones funcionen]

Table IV.3: Acceptability of number agreement variation in DNS and SE-sentences.

The preceding discussion has focused on the minimal pairs in each row (a)-(b), suggesting that the agreeing (-AGR = (a)) and non-agreeing (-AGR = (b)) alternatives are optional for a given speaker, without necessarily entailing that the degree of acceptability is fifty-fifty. The preference for one or the other must be due to an interrelation of factors, plausibly including extra-linguistic ones.

In the previous discussion there have been offered plausible explanations for some of the acceptability contrasts above. In ch. III I have suggested that there are at least two options that yield anti-intervention in monoclausal DNS (raising of the DAT or raising of the IA-DP, § III.3.2) making it twice as probable that the T-IA agreement pattern (1a) arises.

(143) IM ≻ AGREE = anti-intervention
i. {<u>DAT</u> {$T_{\varphi:\square}$, {DAT, DP }}}
ii. {<u>DAT</u>, {$T_{\varphi:\checkmark}$, {DAT, **<u>DP</u>**$_{\checkmark}$ }}}

(144) IM ≻ AGREE = anti-intervention
i. {$T_{\varphi:\square}$, {<u>DP</u>, {<u>DAT</u>, DP }}}
ii. {$T_{\varphi:\checkmark}$ {**<u>DP</u>✓**, {<u>DAT</u>, DP }}}

It is worth reminding that both derivations in (143)-(144) converge irrespective of whether the IA is pronominal or non-prononimal. That is not the case, when split repair arises. As previously argued, pronominal arguments require to control person agreement (see § III.4.3). The final picture is that there are three potential derivations for (1a) above and two for one with a prononimal argument (e.g. *le gustamos*$_{1PL}$ *nosotros*) (see § III.5.3).

The same rationale could explain why the tendency seems to be more close to a balanced distribution of (3a)-(3b) in SE-sentences, meaning that a greater amount of speakers are likely to accept the NU pattern in such contexts. According to my analysis, SE is always responsible for obligatory person intervention, which necessarily yields either split repair or default repair, with no option for anti-intervention (§ III.5.1).

The remaining puzzle is whether there is a grammatical reason for the fact that acceptability seems to be reversed in monoclausal vs. biclausal configurations, i.e. agreement is preferred in the simplex context, whereas lack of agreement is the prevalent pattern in the complex one. The conundrum is the following: suppose we defend that split repair is the "unmarked" repair, while default repair is only available for certain speakers. The implication is for many speakers to show a preference for the agreeing version either if the Goal is strictly local or situated within an EC. The opposite, a prevalence of split repair, does not seem to be correct either, as it predicts that speakers that reject HA (the vast majority) also have a clear preference for NU in monoclausal contexts.[85]

While a fine-grained examination of possible clusters of phenomena is required to draw more specific conclusions (e.g. speakers that accept NU in DNS, do so obligatorily in SE-sentences?), what seems to be beyond dispute is that clausal locality plays a role even if the boundaries are very permeable as defended here. HA is more degraded (= no arrow: (2a), (2a'), (4a), (4a')) than monoclausal NU (= ↑: (1b), (3b)). To provide a solution for this contrast it is necessary to remind an important asymmetry between the two repair strategies proposed. Only split repair is entirely syntactic and, accordingly, it is potentially sensitive to locality. The second cycle of probing by which number valuation obtains can operate locally in monoclausal structures or non-locally across the EC. Such distinction is not applicable to default repair that is a mere ceasing of probing after a first local-AGREE operation. Following this logic, the following scale seems to better describe the attested contrasts (cf. Preminger's fragility scale (17)):

(145) split repair = local AGREE > default repair > split repair = non-local AGREE

I am not aware of any proposal that provides a satisfactory technical explanation for this probing behavior. The puzzle is similarly challenging either if the clause is supposed to be naturally transparent, as defended here, or it is rendered permeable by other means, as it is more generally suggested (e.g. unlocking or selective defectiveness): once the clause is accessible, what informs the Probe about whether it has crossed it or not? The present discussion has helped narrowing this puzzle on the nature of Probe-Goal relations and further inquiry is necessary to provide an explanatory answer.[86]

[85] Even if biclausal structures in DNS are potentially subject to a "double" intervention scenario, first by the the DAT_{EXP} and then by the D-clausal head, both have been argued to be improper Goals, meaning that the probability of default repair to arise is not higher than that of split repair.

[86] Keine (2016, 2019) establishes categorial "horizons" for probing features. If a person feature has C as its horizon, it means that it can only search up until it finds such category, yielding the impossibility of crossing a clausal domain. Variation is then found in the featural make-up of the Probe, an option that I have explicitly avoided for reasons developed earlier in §§ II.5 and III.3.1.1; see also fn. 81.

4 Summary

This chapter has focused on number agreement variation in multi-clausal configurations. The phenomenon of HA in Spanish has been characterized within the crosslinguistic picture of LDA and with respect to previous approaches. It has been shown that Spanish HA is not constrained to non-finite dependents. Finite HA aligns with data reported in other non-typologically related languages, but often ignored by the analyses of LDA.

Regardless of this relevant contrast, Spanish HA seems to adhere to previous descriptions of LDA in relation to the Case assignment, structural constraints (c-command and MS) and the impossibility of applying to person. Hence, it should be treated as a syntactic phenomenon. It has been argued that HA arises in biclausal configurations (no restructuring) that have not lost any functional projection. From that, it is concluded that LDA is possible across CP (non-defective) phasal dependents.

The proposal submitted has derived the phenomenon as a *bona fide* instance of AGREE taking place at a distance. Such proposal is directly derived from the adoption of the PPH, which enables AGREE to perform across phasal boundaries. Furthermore, the contexts in which HA is available have been characterized as headed by a φ-defective D that acts as an improper Goal. As a result, HA is derived from split repair: the clause controls person agreement (Bhatt 2005; Etxepare 2006, 2012; Preminger 2011), which makes possible a second cycle of AGREE whereby T_M agrees only in number with the the structurally highest embedded argument. In contrast to previous proposals, this analysis captures the fact that LDA is optional in accordance to our rationale about the alternative application of split and default repairs.

It has been argued that the mechanisms for number agreement and unagreement do not differ from the ones defended for the analysis of monoclausal configurations; however, a complete unification of both phenomena regarding DNS is not possible, because the presence of a Goal external to the EC (the DAT_{EXP}) is not enough to explain the behavior of clausal dependents in relation to AGREE. The search of an alternative improper Goal has lead me to rethink the status of certain clausal dependents in Spanish. Specifically, I have argued that the fact that not all subjunctive nor infinitival dependents display LDA can be derived from two circumstances. Either such dependents are in a configuration with an additional intervener (the matrix subject) that must control AGREE or they show a more opaque behavior that is akin to that of indicatives. For the latter cases the operation SUBMERGE has been invoked and further suggested to emanate from the presence of a fully-fledged covert D.

Finally, some further theoretical and empirical questions that emerge from this proposal have been discussed. One of them follows from the presence of the covert clausal D, which especially concerns the analysis of clauses headed by overt articles (*el que*-clauses) in Spanish. A parallelism with the so called "unlocking" approaches has also been established and has been suggested that, despite the clear similarities, the nuances put forward by the

last resort approach provide more insightful explanation of the Spanish data. Finally, all the phenomena analyzed throughout the dissertation have been compared in terms of acceptability to ponder whether the last resort approach can provide any insight about the existent degree of variability. I have suggested that certain patterns are preferred because they are more likely to arise (multiple derivations can successfully yield such outcome), whereas sensitivity of Probes to complex domains still demands further scrutiny.

Chapter V

Conclusions

1 Summary of the main claims and general contribution

The central aim of this thesis has been to provide a model of AGREE that is able to account for the idiosyncrasies of some number agreement patterns attested in Spanish and capture their idiolectal nature. The main findings and general contributions of the thesis are now summarized in relation to the two research questions posed in chapter 1.

- **Question 1**: what syntactic conditions regulate the transparency/opaqueness of syntactic domains for agreement dependencies?

I have argued that MS is the core condition on AGREE, which translates into intervention taking a central role in the computation of Probe-Goals relations. The syntactic conditions that regulate opaqueness are, therefore, firstly, structural and, secondly, defined by the presence of φ-features. The former refers to strict c-command, crucially not constrained by phasehood, providing a redefinition of locality for AGREE. As for the latter, I have defended that "intervention" is better understood as *φ-intervention*, defined as regular φ-valuation (Béjar 2003; Richards 2004, 2008: i.a.). Thus, the notion "intervention" is preserved solely to convey that a second potential Goal is in the structure.

Abstracting away from the specifics, this research has focused on configurations in which there are two available Goals in the c-command domain of a Probe, including biclausal structures. Three scenarios of intervention have been distinguished throughout the preceding chapters. Find them summarized in (1).

(1) a. total intervention: $P_{\varphi} \ggg G_{\varphi}$

b. partial intervention: $P_{\varphi} \ggg G_{def} \ggg G_{\varphi}$

c. no intervention

i. anti-intervention: $P_{\varphi} \ggg G_{\varphi} \ggg G_{\varphi}$

ii. *failure*: P_{φ}

According to the definition of φ-intervention, whereby intervention is equivalent to regular valuation, it is not paradoxical that "no intervention" (1c) may produce either total valuation or a failure thereof. The former happens when the closest Goal is removed from the search space via IM (anti-intervention) and another available Goal is in place. I have argued that this is only possible within a *mindful derivation*-based system (non simultaneity-based; Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2010, 2012; Epstein & Seely 2002) within a free MERGE framework (Chomsky 2004 et seq.; Boeckx 2010 i.a.), in which it is expected for AGREE and IM to interchangeably precede each other (Obata, Epstein, & Baptista 2015). On the other hand, failure of AGREE (in the sense of Preminger 2014) is restricted to circumstances in which there is no Goal whatsoever –for instance, as generally assumed for adjuncts.

This change of perspective both dispenses with technically dubious proposals that treat intervention as a blocking effect (e.g. Boeckx 2008b; Chomsky 2000, 2001; Preminger 2011) and embraces perspectives whereby AGREE is a reactive operation. The implication of such tenet is that AGREE is driven by the mere presence of unvalued features, not by the need of valuing them (López 2007; Preminger 2014). This threatens the basic idea that valuation is indispensable for convergence. In this light of affairs, the necessity for default valuation has been emphasized, as well as the drawbacks of the AC. The latter has clear consequences for the treatment of Case. It has been concluded that treating Case as an uF, preserving the symbiotic AGREE-Case connection, accounts for the fact that a Goal can function as such multiple times, but only obtain Case from the first one. That has shown to be the case not only in LDA scenarios, such as Spanish HA, but also when there is T-IA AGREE across a as v*P, as argued for partial agreement in SE-sentences.

This hypothesis has contributed to the understanding of the asymmetries attested between Icelandic QS configurations and Spanish DNS. Their different behavior has been attributed to a lexical difference, the presence or absence of a uK. Respecting previous definitions of quirky Case, the former has been applied to Icelandic datives, predicting that only those behave as *bona fide* subjects and must partake in person agreement. The observed triple link between these configurations and Romance SE-sentences (D'Alessandro 2007; López 2007) has been completed by treating SE as a subject, and the three elements studied as instances of improper (defective) Goals.

It has been suggested that an optimal application of AGREE requires for the Probe to value all its uFs against the closest Goal. Mismatches arise when that Goal is improper (φ-defective), because partial intervention (i.e. "non-optimal AGREE") follows (see (1b) above). This thesis has analyzed Spanish DAT_{EXP}, SE and a clausal D-head, as well as Icelandic QSs and English *there* as lacking [number], giving raise to the observed fluctuations in number agreement. A relevant innovation put forward by this analysis is that it establishes that probing conditions may vary during the course of the derivation and, at the same time, they are determined by syntactic constraints (i.e. availability of the corresponding valued features). This mechanism precludes agreement mismatches from overspreading and also warrants enough amount of freedom to explain variability.

Regarding the structural constraints on intervention, I have strongly drawn on the assumption that phases are not opaque domains for AGREE (Bošković 2003, 2007), stated as the *phase preservation hypothesis*, which embraces a recent redefinition of TRANSFER (cf. PIC3; Chomsky, Gallego, & Ott 2019, i.a.). Given the system of general transparency obtained from the adoption of the PPH, the opacity of the majority of CP-clauses has then been related to island behavioral effects, which have been derived from the application of SUBMERGE (Gallego & Uriagereka 2011). The main advantage of this proposal is that it captures the long hold observation that clausal dependents (roughly, CPs) are heterogeneous in their behavior, not necessarily aligning with verbal morphology (i.e. indicative/subjunctive - infinitive), but rather contingent on degree of embedding with the matrix clause. A potential limitation of such proposal is, though, that it requires a fine-grained and, most likely, language specific, study of clausal dependencies. The analysis of HA proposed has delimited the appearance of the phenomenon to selected subjunctives and control infinitives, but much work remains to be done regarding the diagnostics for the classification of clauses.

The theoretical framework that arises from exploring question 1 has set the basis to answer our second research question:

- **Question 2**: how can the attested idiolectal variation be formally accounted for?

I have argued that we can account for idiolectal variation by endorsing "true optionality" as an inherent trait of syntactic computation (Biberauer & Richards 2006). In a free MERGE system that translates into allowing different relative ordering of syntactic operations (Obata, Epstein, & Baptista 2015), which results in the different intervention scenarios seen in (1) above. The second level of variation concerns the resolution of partial intervention, which can be strictly syntactic (*split repair*) or determined by LF (*default repair*). Therefore, intraspeaker variation is placed both in syntax and in the link between syntax and the interfaces.

To capture the big picture, this proposal has been inserted in a tridimensional model that distributes variation among the three main components of grammar:

(2) *Tridimensional model of variation*

a. Dimension 0:	lexical items	Lexicon	Crosslinguistic variation
b. Dimension 1:	relative ordering of operations	Syntax	Intraspeaker variation
c. Dimension 2:	last resort mechanisms	Syntax-Interface	

While Lexicon related variation and interface variation are commonly assumed, this thesis has taken seriously the possibility of placing variation directly on syntax. I have claimed that this possibility should not raise yellow flags, since there already exist a considerable amount of analyses that hinge on the ordering of operations (e.g. Gallego & Uriagereka 2011; Georgi 2014; Holmberg & Hróarsdóttir 2003; Müller 2009; Sigurðsson & Holmberg 2008) and, especially, if MERGE is assumed to operate freely. Differently put, this model proposes a reorganization and unification of previously stated ideas about variation, although many of which are still controversial and require further discussion.

Regarding the baseline of the model (*dimension 0*), I have derived the differences between Icelandic and Spanish DNS from their lexical repertoire. As noted, only Icelandic DATs bear an additional uK and a quirky-related v flavor is available in this language.

Conversely, the ordering of operations (*dimension 1*) is not language specific, meaning that the same orderings may be possible in both languages. However, some of them may not yield convergent derivations because they fail by independent reasons. The one put forward for the studied data has been uK satisfaction, vis à vis the Case filter. This claim requires further conceptual justification, but it tries to derive the idea that the model in (2) must not be taken as a limited set of rules neither as an open door for all sorts of impossible derivations to go through. It has also been suggested that the timing of SUBMERGE and IM must derive asymmetries regarding (sub)extraction in biclausal configurations too (Gallego & Uriagereka 2011; Uriagereka 2015), something that is not far from the common supposition that IM of A'-elements must precede TRANSFER of the domain to ensure successive cyclicity.

Finally, *dimension 2* encompasses the notion of default valuation, but keeps the link with the syntactic component to preclude some equivalent AGREE operation at PF (cf. Ormazabal & Romero 2020). This level raises further questions about the potential last resort mechanisms available (are they language/dialect specific?). For instance, it seems to be plausible to have a last resort uK valuation, but that would be conflicting with our restriction of dimension 2, for which I have no alternative account.

It goes without saying that this model will require further adjustments in light of other crosslinguistic phenomena, especially outside the scope of agreement, to corroborate its suitability for the more general picture of variation. Nonetheless, I hope it has proven that it is possible to give a grammatical explanation to fuzzy and seemingly ungraspable variation. More discussion is also required to provide a precise definition of "dialect" within this model to the extent that it is a relevant notion for linguistic theory. I do not intend to deny that dialects exist or suggest that the delimitation of varieties is not useful, but these terms have been indicated not to be advantageous when dealing with optionality.

2 Remaining issues and future lines of inquiry

The potential extensions of my proposals require to take a broader comparative perspective. On the one hand, it is necessary to test the logical prediction of finding other types of improper Goals (lacking person or gender). More investigation is required to assess this possibility and to find connections with other accounts that rely on defective Goals, such as Roberts (2010). By establishing those links we could shed some more light on the treatment of clitics, which deserves greater attention than the one paid in this thesis, especially if our inquiry is to be extended to other Romance varieties (see annex B).

On the other hand, this proposal may have implications for distinct agreement and Case systems. The inclusion of ergative languages in the discussion is a promising point of departure in this respect. The few pieces of data about Basque presented throughout the dissertation call for a line of inquiry that may help disentangle the crosslinguistic picture regarding the nature of the featural composition of DATs (e.g. Rezac 2008) and clauses and a more satisfactory treatment of Case.

The exploration of the asymmetry between person and number agreement also deserves further careful consideration. The fact that personal pronouns require person probing remains a mystery and it does not seem to be directly related to Case-conditions, at least in terms of this thesis. This puzzle revamps a more general question about argument licensing, including the parallelism between nominal and sentential arguments. I have only scratched the surface of this matter when discussing the treatment of clausal dependents as Goals for AGREE.

The potential unification of other transparency effects related to biclausality such as clitic climbing or raising would not only tell us more about the nature of HA, but situate LDA as a potentially useful diagnosis to enhance the empirical and theoretical understanding of complex sentences. In this vein, a natural progression of this work is to analyse hyper-raising configurations, which have been attested in colloquial Spanish (RAE-ASALE 2009: §40.3m; Mare & Pato 2018; Ausín & Depiante 2021):

(3) Los seres humanos parece-$\boxed{\text{n}}$ [que son capaces de] [. . .]
the.PL being.PL humans seem-3PL that be.PL capable.PL of
'human beings seem to be capable of [. . .]' (Mare & Pato 2018: 72)

Relative clauses (RCs) have also been disregarded in our discussion of complex sentences. They should be addressed in the future, because they also display unusual interactions with agreement. An exponent of this, repeated in (4), was reflected in § IV.2.1.

(4) Nosotros somos [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ quienes *cantamos/cantan* por las mañanas]]
we be.1PL who.PL sing.1PL/sing.3PL for the.F.PL mornings
'We are the ones that sing in the morning'

An additional intriguing set of data comes from "complex RCs" (*relativas complejas*, Brucart 1999: 472). Those are configurations in which a relative clause contains in turn one or more embedded clauses. As shown in (5)-(6), they are prone to non-finite HA.

(5) a. Tenemos que hacer las cosas [que *son* necesarias [hacer]]
have.1PL that do.INF the.F.PL things that.REL are.3PL necessary.F.PL do.INF
'We need to do the things that need to be done'

b. Hay cambios [que no *son* posibles [detener]]
have.3SG changes that no are.3PL possible.M.PL stop.INF
'There are changes that are impossible to stop' (Martínez 1999: fn.31)

(6) a. [...] esos libros [que a veces me *cuestan* [terminar]]
those books that.REL to times DAT.1SG cost.3PL finish.INF
'Those books that sometimes I find it hard to finish' (Felíu 2022: 168)

b. Las pocas cosas [que me *gustan* [comprar]]
the.F.PL few things that DAT.1SG like.3PL comprar.INF

son caras en Ecuador
are expensive.F.PL in Ecuador
'The few things I like to buy are expensive in Ecuador' (Fernández-Serrano 2017: 12)

Interestingly enough, these structures do not only raise a problem for the analysis of cross-clausal agreement, but they also seem to host a parasitic gap, as a single DP appears to be the antecedent for more that one gap. If that was the case, it would suggest that the distribution of parasitic gaps in Spanish is more extensive than previously thought (see e.g. García Mayo 1993; VanDyne 2021, *contra* Masullo 2017; cf. Engdahl 1983 for English).

Likewise, a potential case of NU appears to be linked to the appearance of RCs. It has been noticed in emphatic constructions that involve a DP + RC with an exclamative reading (Brucart 1992, 1999, 2019; Contreras 1999). The lack of agreement between the matrix verb and the antecedent of the RC has been taken, precisely, as a diagnosis for such reading:

(7) Es increíble las cosas [que dice]
is incredible the.F.PL things that.REL says
≠ 'The things s/he says are unbelievable
= 'It is unbelievable that s/he says those things' (Brucart 1992: 46)

I think Brucart (1992, 2019) is essentially correct when he suggests that the DP+RC complex is underlyingly a regular completive clause (see also Bosque 1984; Plann 1984), that is, a regular CP with a fronted DP:

(8) Es increíble [$_{CP}$ las cosas$_i$ que dice t$_i$]

According to our system, the agreement facts are explained by the matrix verb targeting the indicative clause (allegedly its D-head). My intuition is that something similar could happen in DNS structures, when the main predicate conveys an exclamative reading:

(9) Me flipa los músicos [que solo sacan un single]
DAT.1SG amaze the.PL musicians that only release one single
'The musicians that release only one single drive me nuts'
'I find amazing that some musicians only release one single'
(Spain, extracted from a podcast)

The intuition is that sentences such as (9) are ambiguous between two structures depending on whether the DP is supposed to be the antecedent of a RC or the regular subject of the sentential complement. This seems to endorse our hypothesis that, in some cases, indicative/subjunctive inflection is not contingent on the type of dependent. Here, the alleged CP complement displays indicative morphology, despite the fact that psych-Vs are supposed to ban it. The exploration of this phenomenon could be informative regarding the interaction of this type of clauses with agreement and, even more interestingly, regarding the debate on whether completive clauses can be treated as relatives (cf. Kayne 2010).

Finally, an empirical study should be carried out to establish clusters of phenomena (cf. Tortora 2014) and to determine potential "entailment" relations between the patterns studied (also taking into account well-known contexts, such as existential *haber*). The results from such type of study could be revealing for a refinement of the proposal, considering the open questions outlined in § IV.3.4.3, and especially with regard to the proposed model of variation. Additionally, it could set the basis to expand our inquiry towards an account for preferences (cf. Martin & Uriagereka 1998, 2008).

3 Closing remarks

All in all, this dissertation has attempted to provide a faithful and careful reflection of the studied variation. It has gone beyond a syntactic analysis of these rare agreement patterns by taking seriously the alleged unexpected behavior of the phenomena. This study adds to the growing work of research that indicates that agreement is not confined to the tenets of a crash-proof grammar and has aimed at demonstrating that the variability attested indicates that AGREE can be inserted in more flexible system without losing its essential nature: to operate on features and be regulated by structural constraints. Furthermore, this inquiry has called for a reconsideration of well-established assumptions within the Probe-Goal framework. I have raised doubts on relying on the Lexicon as the exclusive source of variation, especially in light of the increasing amount of studies that focus their attention on fine-grained empirical phenomena. The model pursued in this dissertation is just one potential alternative that has hopefully provide us with a deeper understanding of agreement variation.

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(48) @mariangelmc_ (2021, 24 Aug.)
https://twitter.com/mariangelmc_/status/1430240354096369664

(49b) @laragarcia3 (2018, 2 Apr.)
https://twitter.com/laragarcia3/status/980660402827808768

(56a) @hann_hawkgirl (2018, 5 Aug.)
https://twitter.com/hann_hawkgirl/status/1025953506941968384

(56b) @Maury_Dreyar (2018, 13 Dec.)
https://twitter.com/Maury_Dreyar/status/1073019081400467456

fn. 45 (iii) @BeckySarahi (2022, 7 June)
https://twitter.com/BeckySarahi/status/1534243435988787202

fn. 45 (iv) @davidvigario (2021, 8 Oct.)
https://twitter.com/davidvigario/status/1446548423549886465

(69) @_RonnyHerrera (2021, 25 Aug.)
https://twitter.com/_RonnyHerrera/status/1430305151819079682

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Appendix A

Spanish verbs with DNS

Tables A.1 and A.2 offer a (non-exhaustive) list of Spanish verbs that display a DAT-NOM structure, "pseudoimpersonal" or "relative impersonals" in the descriptive literature. The two main classes that have been distinguished in the dissertation, deontic and psych-verbs, are respectively listed with an English translation (only the DNS has been taken into account for those verbs that can be inserted in different structures with different meanings).

A1. Classification of deontic verbs

The classification offered in table A.1 comes from Melis & Flores (2007), but the list of verbs has been extended following Elvira (2006) and Rigau (1999a,b). As noted in ch. III, I have used the tag "deontic" for convenience to refer to the whole list of verbs, although it is originally confined to a subclass within modals.

Additionally, some unaccusative motion verbs, such as *llegar, ir, subir, venir*, can take a DNS (Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1999; cf. Cuervo 2010a).

(1) Nos llegaron los víveres
DAT.1PL come.1PL the provisions
'We received the provisions

(Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1999: 1878)

Few of those verbs accept a DNS when combined with an adverb, often *bien/mal* ('well/badly') (Elvira 2006: 60). Those include *venir* ('come') and *ir* ('go') with a deontic reading, and *caer* ('fall') with a psych-reading. The corresponding interpretations are reflected in the following examples:

(2) Me va bien/mal [estudiar con música]
DAT.1SG go.3SG well/badly study.INF with music
'I study better/worse with music'

(3) Me vienen bien/mal las vacaciones
DAT.1SG come.3PL well/badly the.PL vacation.PL
'Vacations are (un)convenient to me'

(4) Me caen bien/mal tus amigos
DAT.1SG fall.3PL well/badly your friends
'I (don't) like your friends'

Table A.1: Classification of deontic verbs

modal				existential			
epistemic		deontic		stative (quantitative)		dynamic (event)	
constar	be certain about sth.	*servir*	be useful	*alcanzar*	be enough	*acaecer*	happen
parecer	seem / think	acuciar	be urgent	*bastar*	be enough	*acontecer*	happen
		atañer	concern	*caber*	be possible	*ocurrir*	happen
		competer	be sb's responsibility	*faltar*	lack	*pasar*	happen
		concernir	concern	*quedar*	have left	*sobrevenir*	happen
		convenir	be convenient	*sobrar*	*exceed*	*suceder*	happen
		corresponder	be sb's responsibility				
		costar	be difficult				
		cuadrar	be coherent				
		importar	care				
		incumbir	concern				
		pertenecer	belong				
		tocar	be sb.'s turn				
		urgir	be urgent				
		valer	accept				

A2. List of psychological verbs

The list of psych-Vs in table A.2 is not only restricted to those of class III within Belletti & Rizzi's (1988) classification, but it also comprises those of class-II, which can alternate with a transitive pattern. The list also includes some patterns of light verb + noun (on gray background) that take a psychological reading. Most verbs are extracted from Vanhoe (2002) and others come from my own knowledge as a native speaker of European Spanish. The lexicon is not exhaustive in this sense, since it does not reflect all dialectal possibilities.

Table A.2: List of Spanish psychological verbs with DNS

alegrar	make happy	*destrozar*	devastate	*molar*	find cool
aburrir	bore	*disgustar*	dislike	*molestar*	bother
acobardar	intimidate	*distraer*	distract	*motivar*	motivate
admirar	admire	*divertir*	amuse	*obsesionar*	obsess
afectar	affect	*doler*	hurt	*ofender*	offend
agobiar	overwhelm	*emocionar*	move	*perturbar*	disturb
agotar	exhaust	*enamorar*	win sb.'s love	*pesar*	remorse
agradar	like	*encabronar*	enrage	*placer*	please
alarmar	alarm	*encantar*	love	*pirrar*	be crazy about
aliviar	relief	*encender*	enrage	*preocupar*	worry
alucinar	be amazed	*enfadar*	make angry	*relajar*	relax
amargar	embitter	*enfurecer*	enrage	*repatear*	annoy
angustiar	distress	*enganchar*	hook	*repugnar*	disgust
animar	encourage	*enojar*	enrage	*reventar*	annoy
antojarse	crave	*enorgullecer*	make proud	*satisfacer*	satisfy
apasionar	love	*enternecer*	touch	*serenar*	calm
apenar	sadden	*entretener*	entertain	*sorprender*	surprise
apetecer	feel like	*entristecer*	sadden	*tranquilizar*	calm down
asombrar	surprise	*entusiasmar*	excite	*traumatizar*	traumatize
asquear	disgust	*espantar*	scare		
asustar	frighten	*exasperar*	exasperate	light V+N	
aterrorizar	frighten	*excitar*	excite	*dar asco*	disgust
atontar	stun	*fascinar*	fascinate	*dar apuro*	feel embarrased
atraer	attract	*fastidiar*	annoy	*dar coraje*	infuriate

avergonzar	*shame*	*flipar*	be crazy	*dar cosa*	feel funny
cabrear	enrage	*frustrar*	discourage	*dar corte*	feel awkward
calmar	calm	*gustar*	like	*dar fastidio*	bother
cansar	exhaust	*horrorizar*	horrify	*dar gusto*	please
chocar	shock	*ilusionar*	give hope	*dar manía*	disgust
complacer	please	*impacientar*	exasperate	*dar miedo*	frighten
conmover	move	*impresionar*	impress	*dar no sé qué*	feel uneasy
consolar	comfort	*incomodar*	disturb	*dar pena*	make sad
contentar	satisfy	*indignar*	outrage	*dar repelús*	disgust
convencer	convince	*inquietar*	unsettle	*dar rabia*	enrage
copar	(really) like	*inspirar*	inspire	*dar respeto*	scare
decepcionar	disappoint	*interesar*	interest	*dar risa*	make laugh
deprimir	depress	*intranquilizar*	disturb	*dar vergüenza*	feel embarrased
desagradar	dislike	*intrigar*	intrigue	*dar yuyu*	disturb
desanimar	discourage	*irritar*	irritate	*hacer gracia*	like / make laugh
desconcertar	disconcert	*joder*	screw over		
desesperar	exasperate	*maravillar*	marvel		
desmotivar	discourage	*matar*	torture		

Appendix B

NU in Romance

Along ch. III I have provided few examples of NU in different Romance varieties. In this appendix I would like to offer a more clear picture of the data discussed in previous literature and sketch some thoughts about the comparative picture and its implications for an extension of my analysis.

In particular, I show that NU has been previously reported in Pyrenean dialects, in colloquial Portuguese and in some Italoromance varieties. Some authors have attributed this phenomenon to a specificity effect (Manzini & Savoia 2002b), or have argued that it is not related to the configuration in which the agreeing pattern is attested (Mensching & Remberger 2006). On the other hand, Rigau (1997 et seq.) has extensively argued that these patterns only arise in certain syntactic configurations, those that are underlyingly existential. I now comment on the main claims of this hypothesis and suggest that the data and analysis submitted in the thesis is coherent with this proposal, although there are some theoretical and empirical issues to be solved if a unified treatment is to be pursued.

Northwestern Catalan, along with the so-called Central Pyrenean Occitano-Romance dialects (Pyrenean dialects, henceforth),[1] has been characterized by systematically displaying lack of agreement in structures where the putative subject is postverbal (Alonso & Suïls 1998; Solà 1987) and generally have a stative interpretation (Rigau 1997 et seq.; see also IEC 2016: §§ 21.4, 21.4.2, 21.4.3). This is exemplified in (1):

(1) NW Catalan

a. Enguany *arribarà* molts turistes
this-year arrive.3SG many tourists
'Many tourists will arrive this year'

b. Quantes dones hi *passa*, per aquest carrer, cada dia?
how-many women LOC pass.3SG for this street every day
'how many women pass by this street every day?'

(Alonso & Suïls 1998: 8)

The examples in (1) suggests that NU is restricted to unaccusative contexts; however, lack of agreement patterns are also attested with verbs that are typically classified as unergative, in Catalan and in other Romance languages, as shown in (2) below. In light of this type of evidence of NU with non-unaccusative verbs, Mensching & Remberger (2006) propose that the non-agreeing pattern does not correspond to a structural reason, but exclusively to the configuration of probes (cf. § III.3.1.1).

(2) a. NW Catalan

N'hi *treballa* deu o dotze d'homes, en aquella fàbrica
PART-LOC work.3SG ten or twelve of-men in that factory
'There are ten or twelve men (of them) working in that factory'
(Alonso & Suïls 1998: 15)

b. Florentine

Gl'*ha* telefonato delle ragazze.
EXPL-has.aux.3SG called.PTCP of+the.PL girls
'There called some girls.' (Mensching & Remberger 2006: 191)

Instead, Rigau (1997, 1999a,b, 2002, 2005) defends that the contexts of appearance of NU can be understood if we see unaccusativity as a property of structures, not of specific verbs (cf. Moro 1997). This scholar further proposes that these unaccusative structures are underlyingly existential. One argument in favor of this hypothesis is that a locative is often displayed in such configurations when the variety possesses such type of clitic. Notice, for instance, the Catalan clitic *hi* in (1b) and (2a) above. Four different contexts have been unified under this analysis:

(3) a. existential *haver-hi*
b. locative existentials with *hi*
c. motion verbs (e.g. *arribar*, 'to arrive')
d. deontic verbs (e.g. *caldre*, 'to be necessary')

The non-agreeing patterns are exhibited in (4). These data come from NW Catalan and exemplify the four contexts in (3) respectively:[2]

[1]This group comprehends Pallarese and Ribagorçan Catalan (North Western Catalan varieties), but also Occitan (including Aranese), Roussillonese Catalan, Aragonese and Benasquese. These dialects are found in a restricted geographic area and share common syntactic traits (see Llop 2017, 2021). The data presented here, gathered from the literature, comes mainly from Catalan, although the phenomenon extends to the rest of the Pyrenean dialects.

[2]Interestingly enough, Bel (2002) treats together unaccusatives, happening verbs (cf. "existential" in appendix A) and SE sentences under the tag "presentational". This is relevant for our purposes because SE sentences also display NU in NW Catalan (Alonso & Suïls 1998; Rigau 1993):

(i) Darrerament s'*ha* construït moltes indústries
lately SE-have.3SG built.PTCP many industries
'Lately, many factories have been built' (Bel 2002: 1143)

These data further suggest that SE and other contexts of NU must have coincidental traits. In addition, it is worth noting that the dialectal maps provided by Alonso & Suïls (1998) reflect that the non-agreeing SE pattern always coexists with the agreeing one, but that does not hold for those areas in which the agreeing pattern is preferred. I leave aside SE in this appendix, but it is surely one of the lines of research that has to be pursued in the future regarding NU from a comparative perspective.

(4) NW Catalan

a. Hi *havia* (els) estudiants
LOC had.3SG the.PL students
'The students were there' (Rigau 1993: 209)

b. (En aquesta coral) hi *canta* nens
In this choir LOC sing.3SG children
'Some boys belong to the choir as singers' (Rigau 1999a: 209)

c. *Ha* vingut més turistes
have.3SG come.PTCP more tourists
'More tourists have come' (Rigau 1991: 245)

d. Mos *caleva* istes cadires
DAT.1PL be-necessary.3SG these chairs
'We needed some chairs' (Rigau 2005: 787)

Compare the data above with (5) below, from Central Catalan. The same contexts display T-IA agreement:[3]

(5) Central Catalan

a. Hi *havien* (els) estudiants
LOC had.3PL the.PL students
'The students were there' (Rigau 1993: 209)

b. (En aquesta coral) hi *canten* nens
In this choir LOC sing.3PL children
'Some boys belong to the choir as singers' (Rigau 1999a: 209)

c. *Han* vingut més turistes
have.3PL come.PTCP more tourists
'More tourists have come' (Rigau 1991: 245)

d. Ens *calen* aquestes cadires
DAT.1PL be-necessary.3PL these chairs
'We needed some chairs' (Rigau 2005: 787)

An argument in support of the underlying existential structure comes from aspectual restrictions. Let us see if the previous structures are compatible with the progressive aspect:

(6) a. *Hi estan havent estudiants
LOC be.3PL having students
Int. 'There are being students'

b. En aquesta coral hi estan cantant nens
In this choir LOC be.3PL singing children
'Some children are singing in this choir'

c. ?Estan venint més turistes
be.3PL coming more tourists
'More tourists are coming'

[3]The non-agreeing version of *haver-hi* has been traditionally preferred by the normative grammars of both Catalan and Spanish. The most recent version of the Catalan Grammar (IEC 2016: §§21.4e, 21.4.3) has accepted the agreeing pattern, whereas it is still prescribed in Spanish (RAE-ASALE 2009: §41.6d).

d. *Ens estan calent aquestes cadires
DAT.1PL be.3PL be-necessary.GER these chairs
Int. 'We are needing some chairs'

The fact that some of these structures do allow the progressive form can be attributed to an alternation in the type of structure, namely, that certain verbs can be both inserted in an agentive dynamic and a non-agentive stative reading (Rigau 1997, 2005). The existential *haver-hi* (6a), which has the locative clitic grammaticalized, and the deontic *caldre* and (6d) only accept the stative reading. On the other hand, predicates such as *venir* and *cantar* alternate between the two. Accordingly, the sentences in (6b) and (6c) correspond to a dynamic reading.

The difference in meaning is that a sentence such as (6b) has lost its agentive value and it rather "express[es] a property of the choir: that the choir has some boys, or that some boys belong to the choir" (Rigau 1997: 415), which in Catalan can be paraphrased as "hi ha nens que canten en aquesta coral" ('there are children that sing in this choir').

Another possible diagnose for stativity comes from the incompatibility with a definite subject, as shown in (7) (Rigau 1997, 2002):

(7) a. En aquesta coral (*jo*) hi canto (*jo*) dynamic
In this choir I LOC sing.1SG I
'I sing in this choir'

b. *En aquesta coral hi ha *jo* que canto stative
In this choir LOC have.3SG I that sing.1SG
Int. 'I belong to this choir as singer'

(adapted from Rigau 2002: 2087)

However, the example in (7) must be considered with more detail since, as shown in ch. III, NOM pronouns seem to have combinatorial properties that differ from those of non-pronominal definite DPs. Regarding NU, we have already seen that definite DPs are allowed in DNS, but NOM pronouns are banned. Leaving aside the reasons by which a definite and or a pronoun is (dis)allowed in these configurations, a plausible conclusion is that the non-agreeing pattern does not hinge on such combinatorial properties. In other words, lack of agreement does not seem to be reducible to a definiteness effect (Belletti 1988) or a specificity effect (Manzini & Savoia 2002b).

The main empirical argument for this is, as just noted, that there is no one to one relationship between NU and indefiniteness or unspecificity. For instance, Catalan existentials, as opposed to other languages such as Spanish or English, do allow definite DPs, even if it still bans personal pronouns (Brucart 2002):

(8) a. Hi ha la policia al pati
LOC have.3SG the police in+the yard
'The police is in the yard'

b. *Hi ha ell al pati
LOC have.3SG he in+the yard
'He is in the yard' (Brucart 2002: 1459-60)

In the same vein, Costa (2001) defends that lack of agreement is possible in colloquial Portuguese with postverbal subjects either definite or indefinite:

(9) Colloquial Portuguese

a. Chegou as cadeiras
come.3SG the.F.PL chairs
'The chairs arrived'

b. Fechou muitas fábricas
closed.3SG many factories
'Many factories closed' (Costa 2001: 8)

Note that in either of these examples the DP is animate, reinforcing the possibility that these structures are stative. Again, in this variety, NU is incompatible with NOM pronouns:

(10) Colloquial Portuguese

*Chegou eles
come.3SG they
'They came' (Costa 2001: 12)

Data from Italoromance also points towards an analysis that does not hinge on the shape of the IA. The examples in (11) below taken from Manzini & Savoia (2002b) display lack of agreement with full DPs and, crucially, in the presence of a locative element. These authors reveal that this is attested in Northern Italian dialects, except those of Friuli.[45]

(11) a. Monteguiduccio (Northern Marche)

dla 'dɔrme i bor'dɛi
there sleep.3SG the children
'There sleep the children'

b. Revere (Northern Italoromance)

La a 'zøga i py'tlet
there CL.SBJ play.3SG the children
'There play the children' (Manzini & Savoia 2002b: 188)

Since NU is not exclusive of indefinite nor bare NPs, Manzini & Savoia (2002b) relate agreement and lack of agreement related, respectively, to a specific and non-specific reading and, crucially for our discussion, see this as an optional phenomenon ("nonagreement with the indefinite associate appears to be possible rather than necessary" (p. 186)). The data they provide is not exclusive of Northern dialects, as it also comes from Sardinian and Central Calabrian and from Tuscan dialects.[6]

[4]The possibilities of agreement patterns in different Italorromance varieties are much more complex than those reflected here; see e.g. D'Alessandro & Pescarini (2016) for a comparative perspective with other Romance languages.

[5]Manzini & Savoia (2002b) explore the possibility of the phenomena being contingent on the availability of subject clitics, a general property of this family of dialects. Their conclusion is negative, since dialects of North-Central Marche without subject clitics also display lack of agreement. Specifically, they offer data from Castelazzo Bormida, Casaccia-Val Bregaglia, Revere, Modena, Fontanigorda, Ortonovo for the first group and Monteguiduccio for the second.

[6]The latter has already been explored by Brandi & Cordin (1989). As Mensching & Remberger (2006: fn.16) highlight, these do not belong to the Northern Italian group.

(12) Gorfigliano (Northern Tuscany)

a. ’dɔuppo i v’vɛɲɲənə di/i f’fanti
afterward CL.SBJ come.3PL some/the children
‘The children come afterwards’

b. ɟ ɛ vvə’nutə di f’fanti
CL.SBJ be.3SG come.PTCP some children
‘Some children have come’ (Manzini & Savoia 2002b: 186)

(13) Monteguiduccio (Northern Marche)

a. dla ’dɔrme i bor’dɛi
there sleep.3SG the children
‘There sleep the children’

b. dla ’dɔrmne i bor’dɛi
there sleep.3PL the children
‘There sleep the children’ (Manzini & Savoia 2002b: 188)

(14) Modena

a. a ’pɛrla i ɔːm
CL.S speak.3SG the men
‘There speak the men’

b. a ’pɛrlən i ɔːm
CL.S speak.3PL the men
‘There speak the men’ (Manzini & Savoia 2002b: 187)

(15) Siniscola (Sardinian)

a. bi ’drommini zɔs pit’tsinnɔzɔ
here sleep.3SG the children
‘Here sleeps children’

b. ’drommiti zɔs pit’tsinnɔzɔ
sleep.3PL the children
‘The children sleep’ (Manzini & Savoia 2002b: 187)

It is not clear to me, however, how they relate this hypothesis to the evidence that definite (specific) DPs appear in NU configurations, as the previous examples reveal. Evidence from Venetan, (Frasson & D’Alessandro (in press), apud D’Alessandro 2021) and Fiorentino (Brandi & Cordin 1989) also point in this direction:

(16) Venetan

Ze rivà le tose
is.3sg arrived.SG.M the girls
‘The girls have arrived’

(Frasson & D’Alessandro (in press), apud D’Alessandro 2021)

An important implication of the indefiniteness hypothesis is that it is often related to a partitive-assigning structure. If the IA is taken to be always partitive in these structures (Costa 2001; Manzini & Savoia 2002b; Rigau 1999a; cf. Belletti 1988) lack of agreement could be explained by the impossibility of agreeing with such type of Case-marked argument, abstracting away from the system presented in the thesis (e.g. by the AC). In

§ III.4.3 I have cast doubt on the partitive-unification regarding DNS contexts. There I argued that there is no evidence to support the idea that such Case can be assigned in psych-V contexts, while the IA of deontic predicates is ACC-assigned in the Pyrenean varieties and French, as Rigau (1999a,b, 2005) reveals:

(17) NW Catalan

a. Mos cal *a* la teua veïna
DAT.1PL be-necessary.3SG DOM the your neighbor
'We need your neighbor.' (Rigau 2005: 783)

b. No me *les* cal (, istes cadires)
not DAT.1SG ACC.3PL be-necessary.3SG these chairs
'(As for these chairs,) we don't need them.' (Rigau 2005: 783)

(18) French

Il nous les faut
EXPL DAT.1PL ACC.F.3PL be-necessary.3SG
'We need them' (Rigau 1999b: 208)

Furthermore, the partitive hypothesis cannot easily explain that partitive is also possible in those varieties in which agreement with the DP is obligatory. That had already been pointed out by Alonso & Suïls (1998) for Catalan, which possesses a partitive clitic (*en*) that appears in both Central Catalan (an agreeing variety) and NW Catalan (with NU). See this in (19)-(20) respectively:

(19) Central Catalan

a. N'hi ha (,d'estudiants)
PART-LOC have.3SG of-students
'There are some students'

b. N'hi canten, de nens, a Montserrat
PART-LOC sing.3PL of children in Montserrat
'There are children who sing in Montserrat' Rosselló 2002: 1895

c. En vindran
PART come.FUT.3PL
'Some (of them) will come' (Alonso & Suïls 1998: 13)

d. No m'en calen (,de suggeriments)
no DAT.1SG-PART be-neccessary.3PL of suggestions
'I don't need suggestions' (Rigau 1999b: 207)

(20) NW Catalan

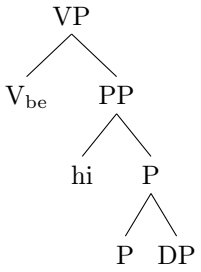
a. En vindrà
PART come.FUT.3SG
'Some (of them) will come' (Alonso & Suïls 1998: 13)

b. No m'en cal (,de suggeriments)
no DAT.1SG-PART be-neccessary.3SG of suggestions
'I don't need suggestions' (Rigau 1999b: 207)

Therefore, NU does not seem to be exclusively attributable to the shape of the IA, nor to Case assigning properties of the structure. As suggested in ch. III, the licensing of the IA is a necessary condition for NU to arise, but not a sufficient one. That explains that partitivity is found in the same contexts regardless of whether they display NU or a T-IA agreeing pattern.

In § III.4.3 I have referred to the analysis submitted by Rigau (2005) by which the DAT is responsible for tampering with agreement by virtue of possessing locative features. The rest of the structures described above in which there is no DAT are unified within this analysis by suggesting that they all have a covert locative element as the EA. Such element is, according to Rigau (1997 et seq., see also Mateu & Rigau 2002), selected by a preposition of "central coincidence" (Hale & Keyser 1993 and ff.). This preposition defines the relation between two entities: it selects both the locative as its EA and a DP as its IA, see (21) below. As such, it is taken as the true predicate of the structure and, in turn, is licensed by a stative verb (*be*) to which it eventually incorporates (Benveniste 1966; Freeze 1992; Kayne 1993; apud Rigau 2013).

(21)



It is important to highlight that the locative subject of this preposition is assumed to be in the structure regardless of whether it is pronounced. We have seen above examples of varieties that have an overt counterpart. In the same vein, Costa (2001) also relates the data from Portuguese to the possibility of an overt expletive in Galician (cf. Raposo & Uriagereka 1990), only available in unaccusative constructions:

(22) Galician

Ele morreu muitas pessoas naquele acidente
he died.3SG many people in-that accident

'Many people died in that accident' (Costa 2001: 12)

It is also obligatorily overt in Catalan existential *haver-hi*, as the locative clitic has been grammaticalized. However, in other unaccusative structures, the overt realization seems to be optional and related to deixis, more especifically it can be left unpronounced when the location refers to that of the speaker and/or the hearer (Rigau 2013: 130) as in (23a):

(23) a. Venen cap *aquí*. (#Hi) arribaran a les 7.
come.3PL to here LOC arrive.FUT.3PL at the 7
'They are coming here. They will arrive at 7.'

b. Van cap *allà*. Hi arribaran a les 7.
go.3PL to there LOC arrive.FUT.3PL at the 7
'They are going there. They will arrive at 7.' (Rigau 2020: 107)

The crucial implication of this idea is that it predicts for NU to be found in varieties with no overt locative clitics, provided that the clitic is responsible for tampering with agreement. As is well-known, the repertoire of Spanish clitics is more limited than the one in other Romance varieties as it lacks locative and partitive clitics. However, the Spanish spoken in the Benasque Valley, which belongs to the Pyrenean varieties, also displays NU, as Saura (2010) reveals:

(24) a. *Ha* venido muchos turistas
have.3SG come much tourists
'Many tourists have come'

b. ¿*ha* salido muchos rovellones o qué?
have.3SG come.out much mushrooms or what
'Are there many mushrooms or what?'

c. el otro día *caía* unas piedras como el puño
the other day fall.3SG some stones as the fist
'The other day hailstones the size of fist were falling' (Saura 2010: 575)

These examples display NU with motion verbs with non-definite postverbal DPs, exactly as what has been described for NW Catalan. Yet, as expected, these are not the only structures that display the number mismatch. The sentences in (25a) and (25b) below[7] contain deontic verbs (*sobrar* and *pasar*), although in this case the experiencer is not overtly expressed:

(25) a. serviletas *sobrará*, eso te lo digo yo
napkins exceed.FUT.3SG that you it say I
'There are too many napkins, I tell you'

b. cosas gordas que *pasa*, una verdadera pena
big things that happen.3SG a real pitty
'Serious stuff happens, what a pity' (Saura 2010: 575)

Even more interesting is the example in (26), as it is a clear case of a locative existential or an unaccusative use of an unergative verb, here *dormir* ('sleep'):

(26) *puede* dormir tres en esa cama
can.3SG sleep.INF three in that bed
'Three people can sleep in that bed' (Saura 2010: 575)

The modal verb *poder* ('can') adopts here the meaning of capability, not of permission; because of the existential reading, the meaning is oriented to the location, in this case "the bed" to indicate that it is enough in size for three people to sleep. This is indicated by Rosselló (2002) for Catalan:

[7]Surprisingly, the example in (25b) does not respect the general restriction on postverbal subjects, although it should be examined carefully since it is a relative clause.

(27) Aquí n'hi dormen tres tranquil·lament
here PART-LOC sleep.3PL three peacefully
'Three people sleep here easily'

The translation is intended to capture the fact that here the adverb *tranquil·lament* does not refer to the way in which someone sleeps, but denote a property of the place (Rosselló 2002: 1895). What is relevant for the current discussion is that both structures, with their corresponding meanings, are possible in Spanish and Catalan, but for obvious reasons can only display an overt locative clitic in the latter. At the same time, NU is possible in both NW Catalan and Spanish from Benasque, even if the latter, as a dialect of Spanish, does not possess the locative clitic.[8]

In § III.4.2 I suggested that the configuration of the DAT_{EXP} that I proposed for the analysis of NU in Spanish DNS could also be related to the exponent of a locative feature. That could be translated either into such type of DATs fulfilling the role of the locative subject in the existential structures or into the locative clitic being somehow attached to the DAT in those type of configurations (cf. Kayne 2008; Martín 2012). This is a non-trivial issue that has raised difficulties when attempting to extend our analysis of NU in DNS and SE sentences to the contexts described here.

On the other hand, and leaving aside theoretical concerns, more research is necessary to establish why Spanish and Catalan dialects do not display NU to the same extent. If Spanish has locative existentials and the agreement patterns are optional, we would expect NU to arise outside Spanish from Benasque. Moreover, given the data presented along the thesis, we would expect Catalan to display NU in DNS beyond deontic predicates. Further empirical research must be done in this respect, especially regarding language/dialect contact.

A proposal for a parametric approach has been put forward by Bono & Gallego (2018), who defend a microparameter between Benasque Spanish and other Spanish varieties without NU in terms of order of operations (in Obata, Epstein, & Baptista's 2015 terms) and in line with the structure in (21) above. The gist of their analysis is akin to what I defend for NU in DNS: an expletive-like element is an intervener provided that it is the closest

[8] Spanish has also been claimed to possess locative subjects. Fernández-Soriano (1999) and Torrego (1989, 1998) defend that only with a locative subject is a bare NP possible with an unergative verb:

(i) a. *(Aquí) han dormido animales
here have.3PL sleep animals
'Here have slept animals'
b. *(En este parque) juegan niños
in this park play.3SG children
'In this park play children' (Torrego 1989: 255)

If the analysis above is on the right track, it would not necessary mean that the overt locative is the subject, explaining the potential counterexamples proposed by Mackenzie (2006: 77):

(ii) A veces llaman alumnos
to times call.3PL students
'Sometimes students call'

Differently put, if the structure inherently contains a locative argument, one can suppose that the adverbial phrase in (i) and (ii) just provides a contextualization (see Mackenzie 2006: 76-78 for discussion), but it does not fulfill any syntactic nor θ-rol. This possibility is speculative for now.

Goal for T when AGREE takes place. The crucial difference about my proposal and the one by Bono & Gallego (2018) is that the latter establishes a parametric difference between the order of operations: in one variety AGREE precedes IM, while in the other IM precedes AGREE. I have suggested that this is *a priori* conceptually problematic for a model of variation, as ordering should be free (§ II.5), but this is a matter that requires more careful consideration, especially if we do not want to pursue an analysis by which such order is feature driven (see Georgi 2014 about extrinsic/intrinsic rule ordering within the minimalist program).

All in all, to attribute NU to configurational properties seems to be in the right track from a Romance perspective. This hypothesis raises further questions about the nature of dialects and how the theory should account for such differences. The examples shown above also call for a reconsideration in terms of optionality, for instance, in the case of Portuguese. Finally, Pyrenean dialects (as well as Italorromance), which belong to a territory with language and dialect contact, are a promising ground to explore to what extent our model of intraspeaker variation is compatible (and can be enhanced accordingly) with existent models that are meant to capture greater dialectal differences.