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2 **9 Agreement restrictions and agreement** 3 **oddities**

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7 **Abstract:** Romance languages mostly exhibit uniform agreement patterns: The finite
8 verb shows full agreement with the subject, the modifiers agree with the head of the
9 noun phrase, and past participles agree with promoted and clitic objects in those
10 Romance languages that display participial agreement. There are however some
11 exceptional agreement patterns in Romance, which will be examined here. This
12 chapter is divided into three main parts. The first concerns agreement restrictions
13 (or oddities) on Romance pronouns and pronominal clusters, the second examines
14 some agreement facts in verb/argument structures, and the third one targets agree-
15 ment restrictions/oddities within the DP.

16 **Keywords:** agreement, agreement restrictions, PCC, impersonal *si*, anti-agreement
17 effects
18

19 20 **1 Introduction – Agreement in Romance**

21
22 Romance languages mostly exhibit uniform agreement patterns: The finite verb
23 shows full agreement with the subject, the modifiers agree with the head of their
24 noun phrase, and past participles agree with promoted objects in those Romance
25 languages that display participial agreement. There are however some exceptional
26 cases, i.e. constructions featuring unexpected patterns that are not found elsewhere
27 in Romance. This chapter deals with such irregularities, which have been referred to
28 as ‘constraints’ on agreement (for instance by Bonet 1991), agreement ‘restrictions’
29 (D'Alessandro/Fischer/Hrafnbjargarson 2008), ‘eccentric’ agreement (Hale 2002;
30 Bobaljik/Branigan 2006), ‘anti-agreement’ (Ouhalla 1993), ‘exceptional’ agreement
31 (Zwicky 1986), agreement ‘displacement’ (Bright 1957; Harris 1981), and agreement
32 ‘mismatch’ (Corbett 1990). In the rest of the chapter, we will use the neutral terms
33 ‘restrictions’ for those cases in which the occurrence of one element restricts or
34 limits the occurrence of another, and ‘oddity’ for an unexpected agreement pattern
35 that is not caused by any element involved but holds for the construction as a
36 whole.

37 This chapter is divided into three main parts. The first concerns agreement
38 restrictions on pronouns and pronominal clusters, the second looks at some agree-
39 ment facts in verb/argument structures, and the third one examines agreement
40 restrictions/oddities within the DP.

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The first and the second part inevitably overlap: A pronoun can be an argument, thus restrictions on verb/argument agreement will also concern pronouns when we are dealing with a pronominal argument. We have nevertheless decided to keep the two sections separate, with the intention of giving more emphasis to one aspect or the other: If it seems that the pronominal nature is central to the restriction, then the phenomenon will be listed under 'pronominal restrictions'. If it is instead the construction itself that appears to be responsible for bringing in the restriction, and this restriction/oddity also targets full DPs, the phenomenon will be filed under 'argumental restrictions'.

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

2 Agreement restrictions with pronouns

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

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

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

Almost none of the Romance languages allow combinations of a 3rd person dative clitic and a 1st/2nd person accusative clitic.

- (1) It. *Giorgio gli ti ha presentato.
 Giorgio to.him= you= has introduced
 ‘Giorgio introduced you to him.’

The restriction holds even if the dative clitic stands for a nonargumental dative¹ (e.g. benefactive/malefactive adjuncts or datives of inalienable possession), or when it is the complement of a preposition as in the following example.

- (2) It. *Non mi gli posso sedere accanto.
 not me= to.him= can-1SG sit near
 ‘I cannot sit next to him.’

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

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

Bonet (1991, 192) notices that true 1st/2nd person reflexives are better tolerated than *inherent* reflexives, i.e. reflexive clitics marking a particular set of unaccusative verbs deriving from transitive ones; see Reinhart/Reuland (1993), among others.

- (4) Cat. ??A en Pere, me li vaig recomanar (jo mateix) ahir.
 to the Pere, me= to.him= go-1.SG recommend (I self) yesterday
 ‘I recommended myself to him (Pere) yesterday.’

¹ An anonymous reviewer points out that bene-/malefactive are not always adjuncts and that consequently a different label should be used such as ‘applicative datives’ or ‘free adjunct datives’ in order to distinguish them from true ‘nonargumental datives’ – e.g. ethical datives – which cannot even be expressed as full DPs/PPs. We are using the term ‘nonargumental’ in a very descriptive way to refer to nonobligatory complements.

Ethical datives tend to escape the restriction (Perlmutter 1971; Rouveret/Vergnaud 1980, 169–171; Bonet 1991, 197).

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

The acceptability of combinations of 1st/2nd person clitics is subject to crosslinguistic variation. In some languages, like Spanish or French (Bonet 1991), these combinations are reported to be completely ungrammatical (although there is no full consensus; see Nicol 2005), while in other languages, like Italian, some clusters are in fact very marginal, but still interpretable, at least when both elements are singular (we will see that combinations of plural clitics are generally more degraded than those formed by singular pronouns).

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

Romanian exhibits a different pattern, as some of the above combinations are not subject to the PCC (Săvescu 2007). In proclisis, Romanian allows combinations including a second person singular accusative clitic, as in (7), and, to a lesser extent, a first person singular accusative clitic, as in (8).

- (7) Ro. a. Mi te- a prezentat Ion la petrecere.
 to.me= you= has introduced John at party.
 'John introduced you to me at the party.'

- b. I te- au recomandat ieri.
 to.him/her= you= has recommended yesterday
 'They recommended you to him yesterday.'

- (8) Ro. a. *Ți m- a prezentat Ion la petrecere.
 to.you= me= has introduced John at party
 'John introduced me to you at the party.'

- b. %Ț m- au recomandat ieri.
 to.him/her me has recommended yesterday.
 'They recommended me to him yesterday.'

Proclitic combinations are ungrammatical when the 3rd person dative clitic is reflexive, as in (9), or when 1st/2nd person clitics are plural, as in (9b):

- (9) Ro. a. *Maria si m/te a luat drept slav.
 Mary herself= me/you= has taken as slave
 ‘Mary has taken me/you to be her slave (for herself).’
 b. */??Ni v a recomandat Maria.
 to.us= you.PL= has recommended Mary
 ‘Mary has introduced you.PL to us.’

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

Lastly, there are varieties in which the PCC does not hold. This is the case in several southern Italian dialects, such as that spoken in Arielli, where all the above clitic combinations are in fact allowed:

- (10) Ariellese a. Giorgə ji t’ a prisindatə.
 Giorgio to.him= you= has introduced
 ‘Giorgio introduced you to him.’
 b. Ni mmi ji pozzə assəttà m’baccə.
 not me= to.him= can-1SG sit near
 ‘I cannot sit near him.’
 c. Giorgə ti z’ a ‘ccattatə pi sservə.
 Giorgio you= for.himself= has bought for slave
 ‘Giorgio bought you as his slave.’

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

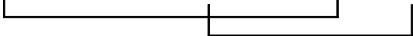
Formal accounts differ as to whether the constraint is morphological or syntactic in nature. Morphological accounts argue that the constraint does not follow from syntactic principles (ultimately, from Agree-like procedures, Chomsky 2001), but

from an extra-syntactic (say, morphological) filter preventing certain clitic pronouns or agreement affixes from co-occurring (Perlmutter 1971). In this view (see Bonet 1991; 1995, among others), the constraint filters certain feature bundles at the syntax/PF interface; this hypothesis explains why certain combinations of clitic pronouns or agreement markers are subject to the constraint although the corresponding featural configuration is legible at the syntax/LF interface.

Alternatively, it is argued that the constraint follows from an agreement restriction (*lato sensu*) which occurs as a consequence of a multiple-Agree configuration (Anagnostopoulou 2003; Adger/Harbour 2007; Nevins 2007, among others) or is due to a minimality restriction (Bianchi 2006; Săvescu 2007). Anagnostopoulou (2005) argues that the PCC arises as two goals compete to check the same features against a single probe. In a nutshell, let us suppose that both objects have to check against a head endowed with an uninterpretable feature F: If the indirect object checks F, the direct object cannot enter an Agree relation with the same probe and consequently the derivation ends up crashing. Conversely, if the indirect object does not check the feature F, the sentence is grammatical as the direct object is allowed to enter the Agree relation. According to this kind of explanation, the PCC ultimately resides on the featural specification of each element: F clitics trigger the PCC, while non-F clitics (hence, 3rd person accusative clitics) can occur in any clitic combination.

The fact that the constraint is subject to crosslinguistic variation (see above) may be problematic for accounts that suggest that the restriction follows directly from a basic mechanism of Narrow Syntax. To overcome the objection, we can either argue that crosslinguistic variation depends on the featural specifications of each item (i.e. on whether or not the clitic bears a valued/interpretable feature F) or, following Nevins (2007), one may argue that the agree relation is parameterized: F stands for a constellation of binary features and, given a specific feature (e.g. [participant]), the probe can search for a single value (positive, negative, or contrastive) of that specific feature.

Bianchi (2006) departs from a multiple agree analysis and argues instead for an explanation based on Rizzi's Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). She proposes that each clitic pronoun is in a dependency relation with a Person head in the CP layer. Since such Person projections are rigidly ordered in a cartographic-like fashion, the dependency relations in a ditransitive construction may either cross each other as in (11) or one may be nested into the other as in (11). In the latter configuration, Relativized Minimality is violated as the lower clitic enters a dependency with the higher PersonP rather than with the nearest one:

- (11) a. Person1P Person2P ... clitic clitic
 b. *Person1P Person2P ... clitic clitic
- 

The Romance languages differ further with respect to strategies of PCC avoidance. In Ibero-Romance, for instance, the PCC is avoided by replacing the dative clitic with a strong pronoun, which is not mandatorily focused in these cases (Bonet 1991, 204). For instance, in (12a), a PCC environment, the dative clitic can be replaced by a non-focused strong pronoun, while in (12b), where the PCC does not hold, the strong dative pronoun is mandatorily focused (focus is represented conventionally with capital letters):²

- (12) Sp. a. **Me** (***le**) recomandaron a **él/ÉL**.
 (*to.him) recommended.they to him
 'They recommended me to him.'
- b. **Lo** recomandaron a ***él/ÉL**.
 it/him recommended.they to him
 'They recommended it/him to him.'

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

- (13) Cat. A en Pere **m'** **hi/*li** va recomanar en Josep.
 to the Pere me there/*to.him go.3SG recommend the Josep
 'Josep recommended me to him (Pere).'

Another controversial aspect is the type of feature(s) triggering the constraint. As the name suggests, the PCC is often regarded as a restriction on Person and Case: Abstracting away from crosslinguistic variation, the core restriction is that which prevents clitic combinations in which the accusative pronoun is [+participant].

Further research, however, has revealed that the PCC might be a constraint on animacy-related features and that person features are involved insofar as they are related to animacy: In particular, 1st/2nd person pronouns are intrinsically animate and, in many (but not all) Romance languages, the 3rd person dative clitic has become a [+human] pronoun. In French, Catalan, and Italian, for instance, only human referents can be pronominalized by the dative clitic, as in (14), while the locative clitic is used to reference nonhuman datives, as in (14) (Rigau 1982; Bonet 2008).

² In other languages, however, the restriction in (12b) is not attested as 3rd person strong pronouns can co-occur with another focused element even in combination with a 3rd person accusative clitic:

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

- 1 (14) It. a. Gli dedico molto tempo ~~a Carlo~~.
 2 to.him= dedicate-1SG much time (to Carlo)
 3 'I dedicate much time to him (Carlo).'
- 4 b. *Gli/ci dedico molto tempo ~~al calcio~~.
 5 to.it= dedicate-1SG much time (to soccer)
 6 'I dedicate much time to it (soccer).'

8 The fact that the dative clitic is restricted to human referents is, historically speaking,
 9 a puzzle. In fact, third person dative clitics – like third person accusative clitics –
 10 derive from the Latin demonstrative *ILLE* 'that', which in origin did not exhibit any
 11 animacy-related restriction. This means that the above restriction emerged as soon
 12 as the dative determiner *ILLI(S)* became a clitic pronoun, but to the best of our
 13 knowledge no proposal has been put forward in the recent literature that could
 14 explain a development of this type (see Pescarini 2015 for a tentative analysis
 15 based on the parallelism between Romance cliticization and English double object
 16 constructions).

17 The hypothesis that the PCC is an animacy restriction may shed light on the con-
 18 trast in (14): Since the locative clitic is not endowed with an animacy-related feature,
 19 it is not subject to the PCC even if it exceptionally stands for a 3rd person animate.

20 Not in all Romance languages, however, are 3rd person dative clitics restricted
 21 to human referents. In Ibero-Romance, for instance, the 3rd person clitic *le(s)* may
 22 stand for an inanimate noun (notably, this is allowed in a language that displays no
 23 locative clitics like It. *ci*, Fr. *y*, or Cat. *hi*, which are normally used to pronominalize
 24 inanimate datives). Even if they reference an animate element, however, 3rd person
 25 datives are subject to the PCC, see (15) (Ormazabal/Romero 2007), although Bonet
 26 (2008) observes that the ungrammaticality of (15) persists even if the dative clitic
 27 is omitted, as in (16). The ungrammaticality of (15) must therefore follow from some
 28 orthogonal constraint.

- 29
 30 (15) Sp. *Te le pongo a ti (de pata) a la mesa.
 31 you= to.it= I.put a you (as leg) to the table
 32 'I assemble you as a leg of the table.'

- 33
 34 (16) Sp. *Te pongo a ti (de pata) a la mesa.
 35 you= I.put a you (as leg) to the table
 36 'I assemble you as a leg of the table.'

37
 38 Further evidence for an animacy-based analysis of the PCC comes from Leista
 39 Spanish, namely those Ibero-Romance dialects in which the dative clitic *le* (pl. *les*)
 40 may stand for human direct objects. In these varieties, the clitic *le* is subject to
 41 the PCC even if it stands for the direct object: As shown in (17), the *le* meaning
 42 'him' cannot combine with a 1st/2nd person dative clitic. In this environment, Leista
 speakers must retreat to the exponent *lo*, as in (17) (Ormazabal/Romero 2007).

(17) Sp. a. *Te le di.
 to.you= him= give-PST.1SG
 'I give him to you.'

b. Te lo di.
 to.you= it= give-PST.1SG
 'I give it to you.'

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

(18) Ventino a. ??ne ghe porta Carlo.
 us= there= brings Carlo
 b. ??ve ghe porta Carlo.
 you.PL= there= brings Carlo

2.2 PCC-like effects in causative constructions

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

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

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

1 (20) It. a. A Carlo, Micol gli fa pettinare Giulia.
 2 to Carlo_i Micol to.him_i= make-3SG comb Giulia
 3 'Micol makes Carlo comb Giulia's hair.'

4 b. *Da Carlo, Micol gli fa pettinare Giulia.
 5 by Carlo_i Micol to.him_i= make-3SG comb Giulia
 6 'Micol makes Carlo comb Giulia's hair.'

7
 8 What is of interest here is that dative causees, regardless of their clitic or phrasal
 9 status, trigger a sort of PCC: In fact, 1st/2nd person clitic pronouns cannot co-occur
 10 with the *a*-causee, while they can occur when the cause is introduced by the
 11 preposition *da*; see (21) vs (21). As in the canonical PCC pattern, 3rd person clitics,
 12 by contrast, are always unconstrained; see (22) vs (22).

13
 14 (21) It. a. *Micol mi fa pettinare a Carlo.
 15 Micol me= make-3SG comb to Carlo

16 b. Micol mi fa pettinare da Carlo.
 17 Micol me= make-3SG comb by Carlo
 18 'Micol makes Carlo comb my hair.'

19
 20 (22) It. a. Micol la fa pettinare a Carlo.
 21 Micol her= make-3SG comb to Carlo

22 b. Micol la fa pettinare da Carlo.
 23 Micol her= make-3SG comb by Carlo
 24 'Micol makes Carlo comb her hair.'

25
 26 The restriction in (21) is sometimes referred to as the Fancy Constraint (Postal 1989)
 27 and has received far less attention than the canonical PCC. In fact, the link between
 28 the PCC and the Fancy Constraint is far from straightforward. Besides the fact that
 29 the former, unlike the latter, targets only clitic combinations, they differ with respect
 30 to the behaviour of reflexives. In fact, the PCC targets every type of reflexive clitic,
 31 including 3rd person, while 3rd person direct objects are not subject to the PCC,
 32 regardless of whether or not they are reflexives:

33
 34 (23) It. Si fa visitare da(/*a) Linda.
 35 him/her-self= make-3SG visit to/*from Linda
 36 'He/she makes Linda visit him/her.'

37
 38 Moreover, causative environments allow us to observe how two dative arguments
 39 (namely, the causee and the indirect object) do co-occur. Speakers allow sentences
 40 in which the causee is clitic and the indirect object is phrasal, as in (24), while the
 41 opposite configuration is rejected, namely, phrasal causee and clitic indirect object,
 42 cf. (24), unless the causee is expressed by a PP as in (24):

(24) It. a. **Le** faccio telefonare a Carlo.
to.her= make-1SG phone to Carlo
'I make her phone Carlo.'

b. ***Le** faccio telefonare a Carlo.
to.her= make-1SG phone to Carlo
'I make Carlo phone her.'

b'. **Le** faccio telefonare **da** Carlo.
to.her= make-1SG phone from Carlo
'I make Carlo phone her.'

When both arguments are 3rd person clitics, the sentence is ungrammatical if both clitics climb; cf. (25) vs (25) (Kayne 1975, 297):

(25) Fr. a. *Elle me lui présentera,
she me= to.him introduce-FUT.3SG

b. Elle me présentera à lui.
she me= introduce-FUT.3SG to him

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

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

(26) Fr. a. Je vais **te** **le** **lui** faire donner.
I= go to.you.CAUSEE= it.DO= to.him.IO= make give

Vicentino b. **Te** **ghe** **lo** fasso portare.
to.you.CAUSEE= to.him.IO= it.DO= I.make bring

S. Val., Abr.³ c. **jə** **tə** **lu** faccə purtà.
to.him.IO= to.you.CAUSEE= it.DO= I.make bring
'I make you bring it to him.'

2.3 Courtesy forms

Courtesy forms are normally used to avoid direct reference to the hearer. In Italian, either 3rd person feminine pronouns or 2nd person plural pronouns may be used

³ Southern Italian dialect of San Valentino in Abruzzo Citeriore.

as courtesy forms. With respect to the PCC, courtesy forms behave like 2nd person clitics, regardless of their apparent 3rd person morphology:

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

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

- (28) It. Lei è simpatico
she('you') is nice-M.SG
'You are nice.'

- (29) It. Voi siete simpatico.
you.PL are nice-M.SG
'You.SG are nice.'

If the courtesy form is an object clitic, however, the honorific systems of Italian diverge as the 3rd person feminine singular courtesy form always exhibits grammatical agreement:

- (30) It. L' ho vist -a/*-o spesso qui.
her(=you) I.have seen-F.SG/*M.SG often here
'I have often seen you here.'

- (31) It. Vi ho vist-o/-a spesso qui.
you.PL= I.have seen-M.SG/F.SG often here
'I have often seen you.SG here.'

To sum up, with respect to the PCC, courtesy forms behave like 2nd person singular pronouns: They cannot co-occur with a dative clitic even if they are morphologically 3rd person. Furthermore, courtesy forms display a puzzling mismatch between grammatical and semantic agreement when the courtesy form agrees with a nominal element (a predicative adjective or the past participle): Normally agreement is controlled by the referent save for the clitic *la*, which triggers grammatical feminine agreement (on further grammatical/semantic gender mismatches, see section 4.2).

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

The *se/si* pronoun in Romance has several uses: It can be used as a reflexive (in which case it displays a fully-fledged paradigm), as an inchoative, as an aspectual marker, and as an impersonal ‘subject’. It is the agreement patterns of the last of these that interests us here, in sentences like (32):

- (32) It. Si vedono molte automobili in questo quartiere.
 si= see.3.PL many.F.PL car.F.PL in this neighbourhood
 ‘One sees many cars in this neighbourhood.’

The exact status of *si* in (32) is much debated, but it is not strictly relevant here. What matters is that in these constructions there is quirky agreement between the finite verb and the internal argument (in the case of the example, both *automobili* and *vedono* are plural), which bears Nominative. This construction can only have a 3rd person internal argument (Burzio 1986; Cinque 1988). A 1st or 2nd person pronoun is banned.

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

Note that there is a parallel construction in which the internal argument does not agree with the finite verb and carries Accusative case. This construction is illustrated in (34) and does not present the person restriction.

- (34) It. Lo/vi si vede.
 it/you= *si=* sees.3.SG
 ‘One sees him/you.PL.’

In (34) the internal argument carries accusative, and the verb is inflected as 3rd person singular. This has led many linguists (most notably, Cinque 1988) to assume that *si* has a different status, i.e. argumental or nonargumental, in agreeing vs non-agreeing constructions, respectively. If *si* is argumental, it withdraws the external theta-role and blocks Accusative, thus making it impossible for the object to receive Accusative case. For the Case filter, the object will then need to agree with the inflectional head T. Cinque does not discuss the agreement restriction in detail. If *si* is not argumental, Accusative can be assigned to the object.

A further complication arises when observing the difference between impersonal *si* constructions with unaccusative verbs, which show plural agreement on the

predicative adjective or on the past participle, and impersonal *si* constructions with unergative verbs, which show default masculine singular agreement instead.

(35) It. *Si è arrivati*
si= is.3.SG arrived-M.PL
 'One has arrived/we have arrived.'

(36) It. *Si è lavorato*
si= is.3.SG worked-M.SG
 'One has worked/we have worked.'

An easy way to account for the singular/plural alternation on the participle would be to consider *si* as argumental in each of these constructions. In (35), as the verb is unaccusative, *si* can be the internal argument. In (36), with an unergative verb, *si* is an external argument. The obvious question then is why we do not see plural agreement on the auxiliary in (35). In sentences with a bona fide pronominal argument, like for instance *loro*, we see agreement on both the auxiliary and the participle, as illustrated in (37).

(37) It. *Loro sono arrivati*
they are.3.PL arrived-M.PL
 'They arrived.'

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

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

According to D'Alessandro (2004, 2007), *si* does not have two different statuses, nor does it absorb or block Case in any way. *Si* is a 3rd person pronoun, bearing a 3rd person feature as well as an unvalued number. This pronoun incorporates on the T head, hence valuing the verb as 3rd person. The constructions in which agreement takes place between T and the internal argument are similar to Icelandic quirky dative constructions: *Si* is in any case an external argument, but T is not a

fully transitive head. *Si* is 3rd person, and it is incorporated on T; T agrees with the internal argument to get its features valued. At this point, a condition on multiple agreement applies (the condition proposed by Anagnostopoulou 2003 and discussed in 2.1. for the PCC), licensing only the internal argument that hosts the same person feature as *si* (namely, 3rd). A different feature specification would cause a feature mismatch on the T head, with consequent derivation crash.

The inclusive reading that emerges in sentences like (35) or (36) is due to a semantic/pragmatic feature, parasitic on person, which is directly linked to the Speech Act projection. The inclusive reading (i.e. the ‘we’ reading) is shown to be determined by event boundedness, and to be available with all verb classes (contra Cinque 1988).

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

The mismatch between the singular auxiliary and the plural participle illustrated in (35) is again due to the fact that *si* is a 3rd person pronoun that incorporates on T, valuing it as 3rd person singular. Number remains unvalued, and it is marked as default at lexical insertion as a Match of two unvalued features. In unaccusatives, the past participle probes *si*, which is merged as an internal argument, because of the fact that *v* is not a phase head in unaccusatives. The plural value is assigned to the participle by [arb] feature, which once again gets valued by the referents of the Speech Act. The construction always has an inclusive reading, as also noted by Cinque (1988).

3 Agreement restrictions with arguments

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

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

This agreement pattern is discussed Saccon (1993) and Cardinaletti (1997) from a formal syntactic point of view. Cardinaletti reports, for the variety of Anconetano, sentences like (38), where we see full agreement between the subject and the finite verb only if the subject is preverbal.

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

In (38), we see that full agreement takes place when the subject is in its canonical preverbal position. If the subject *i bambini* is in postverbal position, the finite verb will show a default 3rd singular ending. Saccon and Cardinaletti both analyze this construction along the same lines, namely by arguing that full agreement only takes place when the subject is VP-internal or in canonical Spec, TP position. When the subject is extraposed, the verb agrees with a *pro* which forms a chain with the overt subject for case assignment.

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

3.2 Inflected infinitives in Portuguese and Sardinian

Romance languages display head movement of the finite verb to T, the head hosting tense and agreement.⁴ Infinitives are not inflected for number and person in Romance. This means that they are generally assumed not to move to T. There are however some well-known exceptions: European Portuguese (Por.), and to some extent Brazilian Portuguese, Galician, and Sardinian, all have inflected infinitives of the form illustrated in (39) for Por.:⁵

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

5 It has been shown that, although Romance infinitives do not move to T, they move to some intermediate position between V and T. For a detailed overview of the position occupied by infinitive as well as finite verbs in Romance, see Ledgeway/Lombardi (2005) and Ledgeway (2012).

- (39) [Por.] a. (para) eu falar (for) I to-speak-1.SG
 b. (para) tu falares (for) you to-speak-2.SG
 c. (para) ela falar (for) she to-speak-3.SG
 d. (para) nós falarmos (for) we to-speak-1.PL
 e. (para) vocês falarem (for) you to-speak-2.PL
 f. (para) elas falarem (for) they to-speak-3.PL

(from Madeira 1994, 180)

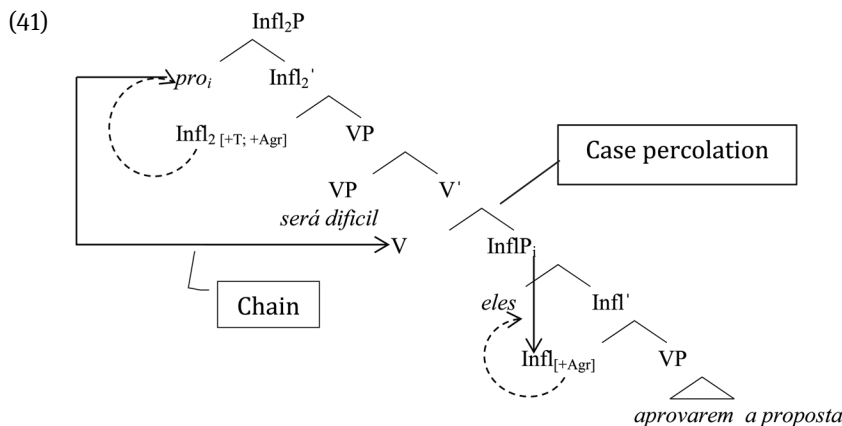
Inflected infinitives can occur with overt as well as null referential subjects, and are mainly licensed in embedded clauses (Raposo 1987; Madeira 1994; Ambar 1994; Sitaridou 2002; Mensching 2000), in infinitival subject clauses, or in adjuncts headed by a preposition. The following example, taken from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

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

- b. *Será difícil [eles aprovar__ a proposta].

(adapted from Raposo 1987, 86)

Raposo's analysis accounts for the presence of inflection on an infinitive (which does not have Tense) by adopting a model whereby tense and agreement are separate features on Infl, and by proposing that they can be specified independently. A head specified as [+T] is usually able to assign Nominative. A head specified as [+Agr] can assign case, when T is not finite, only when Agr is itself marked for case. Take for example (40). Its structure is as in (41):



In (41), the subject infinitive [*eles aprobar a proposta*] is extraposed and coindexed with *pro* in Spec, Infl₂. Since Infl₂ is specified as [+T], it can assign Nominative case to *pro*. The case of *pro* is then “passed” to the InflP with which it forms a CHAIN. From InflP, Nominative percolates down to its head Infl, and hence to +Agr. At this point, this Infl head with no +T can assign Nominative to *eles* in its specifier.

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

Inflected infinitives, as we have seen, are mainly restricted to embedded clauses. Not all verb types can license an inflected infinitive, however. Madeira (1994) provides a list of possible contexts for inflected infinitives in Portuguese, which are licensed as complements to declarative/epistemic predicates, complements to factive predicates, complements to perception verbs, and complements to causative predicates. As we have seen in the case of (40), they can also appear in infinitival subject clauses, and in adjunct clauses introduced by a preposition. Finally, observe that overt subjects can be licensed in some contexts by infinitives in Romance. We will not address this issue here as it is not directly relevant to agreement facts, given that we do not see inflection. The reader is referred to Ledgeway (2000) and Mensching (2000) for an overview of these constructions.

3.3 Agreement mismatch marking and omnivorous agreement in Abruzzese

Finite verbs in Romance do not show gender agreement. The variety spoken in Ripatransone (Ascoli Piceno, Ripano henceforth), however, does. This variety has a fully-fledged paradigm for masculine and feminine finite verbs, as exemplified in (42).

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

(Rossi 2008, 3)

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

(43) Ripano a. Babbu dicə le vərītā.
dad-M.SG says-3RDSG.N the-F.SG truth-F.SG
'Dad tells the truth.' (Mancini 1988, 107)

b. So magnatə lu pani.
am eaten-N the-M.SG bread-roll-M.SG
'I(fem) have eaten the bread roll.'

These patterns have not been widely studied. D'Alessandro (2013) proposes that these mismatches are due to the fact that *v* in this variety is a complex probe, which is made up of two probes SHARING their features (Ouali 2008). Each of the two *vs* targets one argument. Given a requirement on uniformity of agreement, of the sort proposed by Anagnostopoulou (2003; 2005) and already discussed for the PCC, the two *vs* will have to show the same agreement ending. If this uniformity is not granted, because the two arguments have different featural specifications, the agreement ending of the verb will be a mismatch marker.

The same complex *v* structure is found, according to D'Alessandro, in neighbouring dialects. In particular, the dialect spoken in Arielli shows omnivorous number (D'Alessandro/Roberts 2010; D'Alessandro/Ledgeway 2010; D'Alessandro 2013): The finite verb (and the auxiliary) will agree with whichever argument is plural. Plural agreement is thus selected whenever plural appears on any argument of a transitive (or even a ditransitive) verb, as exemplified in (44).

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

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

4 Agreement restrictions within the DP

4.1 Agreement asymmetries

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

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

- (45) Fassa Valley *l-a* *cès-es*
 the-F.SG house-F.PL
 ‘the houses’

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

- (46) Fassa Valley a. *la* *pìcola* *cès-es*
 the-F.SG small-F.SG house-F.PL
 ‘the houses, which are all small’
 b. *la* *cèsa-F.SG* *pìcol-es*
 the-F.SG house small-F.PL
 ‘those houses that are small’
 c. *la* *cès-es* *pìcol-es*
 the-F.SG house-F.PL small-F.PL
 ‘the houses, which are all small’

Observe that (46c), where the adjective and the noun agree in number, has the same restrictive interpretation as (46a) with the prenominal adjective. This led Rasom (2008) to argue that the differences between (46)a and (46)b in terms of agreement morphology and interpretation follow from two different syntactic sources of adjectives (Cinque 2010): Attributive adjectives are generated as reduced relative clauses

above appositive adjectives. Furthermore, she argues that Number is encoded in a dedicated projection close to the noun and that number features spread within the DP:

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

The hypothesis is that, in Ladin, number spreads downwards, i.e. an adjective will exhibit number inflection if the noun moves above it. The problematic example is therefore (46) in which the noun preceding the adjective does not display plural -es. According to Rasom, the exceptionality of this pattern depends on the clausal nature of attributive adjectives. With attributive adjectives, the noun acts as the antecedent of the (reduced) relative clause, while the adjective occupies a predicative position inside the clause. As such, the NP is not required to move to Spec, NumP (and, consequently, to exhibit number morphology), while the adjective is free to agree in number under clausal agreement, which is not subject to the same restriction of DP-internal agreement/concord.

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

(48) standard Sp. el/*la *agua*

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

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

Cardinaletti/Giusti (2011; 2015) deal with another asymmetric pattern displayed by some Italo-Romance dialects. It concerns three nominal modifiers: the partitive article *del* ‘of the’, the distal demonstrative *quel* (‘that’), and the adjective *bel* ‘nice’. In Italian, as well as in several Italo-Romance varieties, their endings coincide with the form of the definite article. Like the definite article, the endings of *del*, *bel*, and *quel* are subject to context-determined allomorphy (e.g. M.SG *dello*, *bello*, *quello* occur before words beginning with sC; *del*, *bel*, *quel* before other Cs; *del’*, *bell’*, *quell’* before Vs).

1	(50)		M.SG	F.SG	M.PL	F.PL
2		a. Partitive article	<i>de-l/lo</i>	<i>de-lla</i>	<i>de-i/gli</i>	<i>de-lle</i>
3		b. Adjective	<i>be-l/llo</i>	<i>be-lla</i>	<i>be-i/gli</i>	<i>be-lle</i>
4		c. Demonstrative	<i>que-l/llo</i>	<i>que-lla</i>	<i>que-i/gli</i>	<i>que-lle</i>
5						

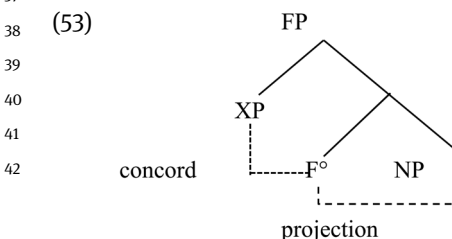
6 Furthermore, in Anconetano (a central Italian dialect), the plural ending *-i* can be
 7 dropped giving rise to the forms *de'*, *be'*, and *que'*. When *dei/quei* and *bei* co-occur,
 8 the possible patterns of *i*-dropping are the following: a) both *i* occur, b) the higher
 9 *i* is dropped, or c) both are dropped. Otherwise, if only the intermediate *i* is dropped,
 10 the sequence becomes ungrammatical, see (51d/52d). Descriptively, *-i* can only
 11 spread bottom-up.

13	(51)	Aconetano	a.	dei	bei	fioli
14			b.	de'	bei	fioli
15			c.	de'	be'	fioli
16			d.	*dei	be'	fioli
17				some	nice	boys
18				'some nice boys'		
19						
20						

21	(52)	Aconetano	a.	quei	bei	fioli
22			b.	que'	bei	fioli
23			c.	que'	be'	fioli
24			d.	*quei	be'	fioli
25				those	nice	boys
26				'those nice boys'		
27						
28						

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

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



Moreover, Cardinaletti/Giusti argue that *de-*, *be-*, and *que-* are inflectionless elements: Their “endings” are therefore the spell-out of the head F^0 , whose φ features are projected from below.

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

(54) Asturian a. *duru fierru ferruñosu* MASC, COUNT

b. *duru fierro ferruñoso* MASC, MASS
hard iron rusty
'hard rusty iron'

(55) Asturian a. *guapa manzana madura* FEM, COUNT

b. *guapa manzana maduro* FEM, MASS
good apple ripe
'good ripe apple'

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

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

(56) Southern It. a. 'o bellu ciorə
the nice flower

b. 'o ciorə bellə
the flower nice

The fact that both bottom-up and top-down asymmetries are found in Romance (sometimes in the same language, as in the case of Asturian) has led to the postulation of different types of feature sharing operations such as agree vs projection/concord. Furthermore, on the basis of these data, different 'layers' of agreement may be postulated (see also Ackema/Neeleman 2012), i.e. a syntactic mechanism responsible for postnominal concord, usually via Spec-Head agreement (Guasti/Rizzi 2002), and a postsyntactic one wherein agreement is obtained by means of output constraints (see Samek-Lodovici 2002 on clausal agreement; Bonet/Mascaró 2011; Bonet 2013; Bonet/Lloret/Mascaró 2015).

4.2 Gender agreement restrictions in conjoint DPs in French

Sleeman/Ihsane (2013) deal with gender agreement in French with nouns displaying a conflict between grammatical and semantic gender (namely, sex) such as *enfant* 'child', *professeur* 'teacher, professor', *sentinelle* 'sentinel' etc. These nouns may reference either masculine or feminine individuals. In the latter case, grammatical gender always controls agreement inside the strict DP, while semantic gender may control agreement outside the strict DP. Take for instance a noun like *professeur* 'teacher, professor', which triggers masculine agreement even if it refers to a female as in (57).

- (57) Fr. le bon professeur
the.M good.M teacher.M

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

- (58) Fr. Mon ancien professeur de français était toujours content-*(e)
my.M former.M professor of French was always satisfied-F
de mon travail.
of my work
'My former French teacher was always satisfied with my work.'

The authors argue that grammatical gender is a grammatical uninterpretable feature (Zamparelli 2008, among others) which is encoded separately from semantic gender. On the separation between semantic and grammatical gender there are several possible views. Kramer (2009) argues for a morphological analysis in which nouns are formed through the combination of a nominalizing head *n* with a category-neutral root *v* (Marantz 1997; 2001). Semantic gender is encoded by *n* and, if *n* lacks gender, the agreeing gender is the grammatical one, encoded on the root. Sleeman/Ihsane, conversely, adopt a syntactic view in which the extended DP contains a Gender projection GenP encoding semantic gender, while grammatical gender is encoded by the NP.

5 Summary

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

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

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

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

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

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