



Long Distance Agreement: Optionality, existentials, and the PIC

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Modeling the Principles & Parameters of Long Distance Agreement

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STRUCTURE



1. Cyclic “accessibility”: fine tuning the PIC
2. Long Distance Agree in Spanish: the data
3. LD (number) A vs. LD (person) A
4. On active Goals
5. Existentials
6. An AGREE approach
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1. Cyclic Accessibility: fine tuning the PIC

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY

- In Phase Theory (Chomsky 2000 and ff.), derivations have a **Markovian nature** (Chomsky 2021).
- This means that, once on a stage S_0 , the next step (to generate S_1) does not have access to the (previous) derivational history. This entails “**cyclic forgetting**”.
- Phase Theory captures this through the operation **TRANSFER** and the **Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC)**.

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY

- A strong formulation of the PIC entails that “as the information is transferred it will be forgotten, not accessed in subsequent stages” (Chomsky 2008:143).
- If an element is to **remain accessible**, it must move to what Chomsky (2000 and ff.) calls “EDGE” (or “BOX” in Chomsky 2023).
 - a. [vP Mary [said what]]
 - b. [vP **what** [vP Mary [said what]]]
 - c. [vP **what** [vP Mary [said [**TRANSFER**]]]]

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY



BUT...

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY



- Already in Chomsky (2008), the possibility for **accessing previously transferred stages** is reconsidered, at least for AGREE (under the assumption that 'probing' continues until an inactive NP is matched . . . or CRASH occurs).

Note that for narrow syntax, probe into an earlier phase will almost always be blocked by intervention effects. One illustration to the contrary is agreement into a lower phase without intervention in experiencer constructions in which the subject is raised (voiding the intervention effect) and agreement holds with the nominative object of the lower phase (Icelandic). **It may be, then, that PIC holds only for the mappings to the interface, with the effects for narrow syntax automatic.** [Chomsky 2008: 143]

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY

- Chomsky (2008) most likely has in mind Long Distance Agreement scenarios.
- The key assumption is that AGREE can do its job, locality problems boiling down to **intervention effects**, the **Activity Condition**, and the very **Phase Impenetrability Condition**.

OBSTACLES FOR LDA (modulo IM/AGREE via EDGE/BOX)

- a. Intervention effects / Minimality >> [Probe ... [**XP** ... [... Goal]]]
- b. Activity Condition >> [Probe ... [... [... **Goal (frozen)**]]]
- c. Phase Impenetrability Condition >> [Probe ... [~~... Goal~~]]

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY

- Later on, Chomsky et al. (2019) and Chomsky (2021) argue that, applied to K, **TRANSFER does not remove K from the computation, and can in fact be accessed, as long as K is not modified.**
- Some of the relevant data come from Obata's (2010) dissertation:

(1) [The idea [**that John put forward**]] was not accepted ___

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY

- But again, the empirical evidence to support this probably has LDA (Bhatt & Keine 2017, a.o.) as its main source.
- As (2) shows, the main verb agrees in number (or number plus gender) with the internal argument of the embedded verb – the dependency is shown in bold.

- (2) a. Raam-ne [**rotii** khaa-**nii**] caah-**ii** (Hindi-Urdu)
Ram-erg bread.f eat-inf.f.sg want-perf.f.sg
'Ram wanted to eat bread.'
- b. [**Nobela erromantikoak** irakurtzea] gustatzen **zaizkio** (Basque)
novel romantic-pl.abs read-N.D.abs like-hab aux-3.pl.A-3.sing.D
'He/she likes to read romantic novels'

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY

- Agreement can also bypass **finite clauses** in languages like Chukchee or Blackfoot (cf. Bošković 2007).

(3) nít-ssksinoa-**wa** [**m**-aníst-sskonata'psspi] (Blackfoot)
1-know-3 3-manner-strong
'I know how strong he is'

- The puzzle that these data pose is clear: **agreement should not cross phasal boundaries. But it does.**
- **This is where a “weak PIC” proves useful.**

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY

- Apart from weakening the PIC, there is an additional consideration to make:
 - . . . putting aside raising / ECM configurations (in which the relevant NP lacks Case), **the NP agreeing at a distance in (1) and (2) should fail to agree**, for it is already case-marked ('inactive', *as per* Chomsky 2000), and should only trigger "intervention effects," not agreement proper.
- However, the evidence we have seen shows that **the distant Goal feeds agreement**.

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY

Transferred phases remain accessible, but they cannot be modified at later cycles. This is a version of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) **that permits Probe-Goal relations across phase boundaries, as long as these only manipulate the Probe.** Examples include the well-known quirky-subject configurations in which C-T agrees (at least optionally) with an internal argument in situ and cases of long-distance agreement across finite-clause boundaries (D'Alessandro et al. 2008; Richards 2012).

While permitting Probe-Goal relations and interpretive dependencies, **PIC blocks IM of X “out of” a phase P on the plausible assumption that the resulting discontinuity of X alters P’s internal structure.**

[from Chomsky et al. 2019:241]

Generative Grammar and the Faculty of Language: Insights, Questions, and Challenges*

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Abstract

This paper provides an overview of what we take to be the key current issues in the field of Generative Grammar: the study of the human Faculty of Language. We discuss some of the insights this approach to language has produced, including substantial achievements in the understanding of basic properties of language and its interactions with interfacing systems. This progress in turn gives rise to new research questions, many of which could not even be coherently formulated until recently. We highlight some of the most pressing outstanding challenges, in the hope of inspiring future research.

Keywords: Generative Grammar; faculty of language; basic properties; operations; interfaces; syntax

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY



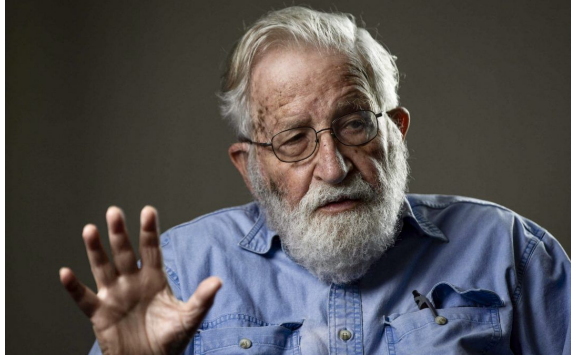
To sum up:

- Cyclic TRANSFER does not remove material from NS.
- Transferred SOs remain accessible.
- Accessibility is restricted to Probe-Goal dependencies (AGREE), not INTERNAL MERGE.
- So: Probes can be valued, but Goals cannot receive Case (as they cannot be 'modified').

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY

- Notice that, within this picture, the EDGE / BOX is irrelevant for A-dependencies of the LDA type.
- The EDGE / BOX is relevant for A-bar (trans-phasal) dependencies only.
- Thus, LDA should ignore EDGES / BOXES, so whatever lands there should not interfere. This differs from previous conceptions of LDA and the PIC (most notably, Chomsky's 2004).

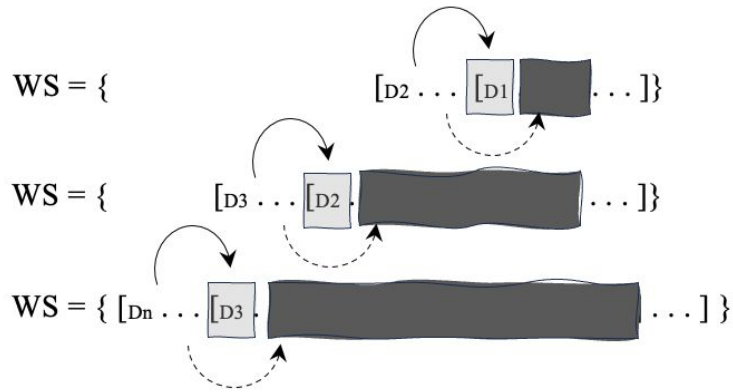
CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY



For ease of exposition, we can think of the element E that is IM-ed to the phase edge as being **put in a box, separate from the ongoing derivation D**. E must however be accessible to D at later phase levels for interpretation at the interfaces. The GK [Chomsky 2021] system maintained the standard assumption that E moves phase-by-phase to SPEC-phase, where it is interpreted at CI (also at SM if Externalization is activated). **Now there's no movement and the boxed element E is accessible at the phase level**. If E is not accessible at a phase level it's a subjacency violation, the counterpart to "no escape hatch" in the standard version.

[from Chomsky 2023:8]

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY



$D_{1,2,\dots}$ = domain (phase)

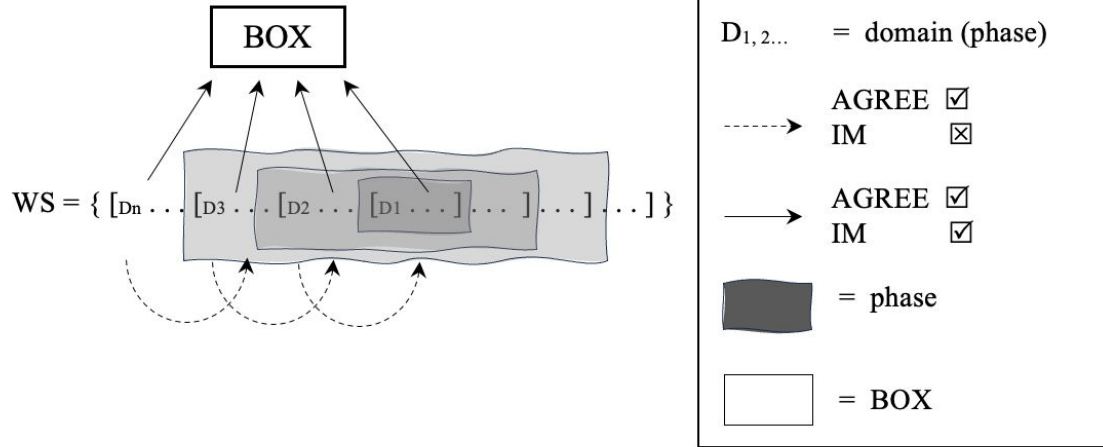
→ AGREE
- - - IM

→ AGREE
→ IM

[complement] = complement

[edge] = edge

CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY



CYCLIC ACCESSIBILITY

- If this is correct, we would expect no EDGE / BOX material to create intervention effects (contra Chomsky 2004).
- So, to repeat, material in SPEC-C/v cannot intervene, whereas material in SPEC-T can.

(4) Me **preocupan** dar **muchos libros**
to.me worry-3.pl give-inf many books

(5) *Los libros que me **preocupan** dar le (a mí hija) <**que libros**>
the books that to.me worry-3pl give-inf to my daughter

(6) ?Los libros que me **preocupan** a quién dar <a quién> <**que libros**>
the books that to.me worry-3pl to whom give-inf to my daughter



2. LDA in Spanish: the data

LDA in Spanish

- Spanish displays LDA with infinitival embedded clauses (RAE-ASALE 2009:ch.28), as already discussed in Gallego (2019):

- (7) a. Se **intentan** [eliminar **ciertas leyes**] (Spanish)
SE tried.3.pl eliminate-inf certain laws
'Certain laws are tried to be eliminated.'
- b. Se **necesitan** [conocer **sus propiedades**] (Spanish)
SE need-3.pl know-inf their properties
'Their properties are needed to be known.'
- c. No se **supieron** [usar **esos recursos**] (Spanish)
not SE knew-3.pl use-inf those resources
'Those resources were not known to be used.'

LDA in Spanish

- LDA situations go beyond SE scenarios, as shown in (8):

- (8) a. Siempre nos **tocaron** [resolver **problemas**]
always to.us be-our-turn-3.pl solve problems
'We always had to solve problems.'
- b. Ayer nos **faltaron** [hacer **dos goles**]
yesterday to.us lack-3.pl make two goals
'We still have to score two goals.'

- As before, the **ϕ -Probe on T scans into the embedded clause**, displaying LDA.

LDA in Spanish

- As pointed out in Gallego (2019), intervention-like effects are more severe when auxiliaries are present:

(9) a. ?Me **faltaron** [**corregir esos exámenes**].

to.me lacked-3.pl mark-inf those exams

'I couldn't grade those exams.'

b. ?*Me **faltaron** [**haber corregido esos exámenes**].

to.me lacked-3.pl have-inf marked those exams

'I couldn't have marked those exams.'

- The problem is not selection, since deviance goes away if LDA is turned off.

LDA in Spanish

- Fernández-Serrano (2022) shows that, though restricted, Spanish manifests cases like those in Blackfoot too, mostly on social networks – and with **subjunctive mood** (and Gallego et al. in progress confirms this is a rather marginal option).

- (10) a. Nos **preocupan** [**que** el gobierno no resuelva **los problemas**]
cl-to.us worry-3.pl that the Government not solve-3.sg the problems
'It worries us that the Government is not solving the problems'
- b. No me **gustan** [**que** haya **personas encarceladas**]
not cl-to.me like-3.pl that there-be-3.sg people in-jail
'It worries us that the Government is not solving the problems'

LDA in Spanish

- Descriptively, we should consider the following scenarios:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|--|
| A. | [SE/DAT V (modal) | [V infinitival NP (plural)]] |
| B. | [SE/DAT V (aspectual) | [V infinitival NP (plural)]] |
| C. | [SE/DAT V (lexical) | [V infinitival NP(plural)]] |
| D. | [SE/DAT V (lexical) | [V inflected NP (plural)]] |

LDA in Spanish

- Descriptively, we should consider different scenarios:

- A. Se {**puede/pueden**} [decir **esas cosas**] [monoclausal]
- B. Se {**empezó/empezaron**} [a decir **esas cosas**] [monoclausal]
- C. Me {**molesta/?*molestan**} [decir **esas cosas**] [biclausal]
-
- D. Me {**molesta/*molestan**} [que digan **esas cosas**] [biclausal]

LDA in Spanish

- Within the aspectual subcase, agreement is clearly preferred, even in postverbal position (exceptions could be found in the dialects discussed in Gallego 2025).

- (11) **{Sigue / Siguen}** habiendo **disturbios**
 continues.3sg/3.pl there.being disturbances
- (12) **{*Anda / Andan}** llegando **personas de fuera**
 goes.3sg/3.pl arrivig people from outside
- (13) **{*Empieza / Empiezan}** a sobrar **cruasanes**
 begins.3sg/3.pl to be.left.over croissants

LDA in Spanish

- Consider next partial control (Landau 2023):

- (14) a. ?Eran varias las empresas implicadas, pero
be-3.spl several the companies involved but
... **se consiguió** terminar **las obras** juntos
SE achieved-3.sg finish-inf the works together
- b. *Eran varias las empresas implicadas, pero
be-3.spl several the companies involved but
... **se consiguieron** terminar **las obras** juntos
SE achieved-3.pl finish-inf the works together

LDA in Spanish

- Once control is ruled out, LDA is perfect:

(15) Se **{consiguió/consiguieron}** terminar las obras
SE managed.3.sg / 3.pl finish-inf the works
'The works were successfully completed'

- So, what this tells us is that LDA is sensitive to the presence of partial control – thus the presence of potential interveners.

LDA in Spanish



- Let us wrap up. There are some empirical aspects worth considering at this point.
- First, **LDA is optional** in the languages above: the main verb agrees either with some NP within an embedded clause or with the clause itself (which results in **default agreement**).
- **Optionality** itself requires a more in-depth analysis. We leave this for future work.

LDA in Spanish



- The more lexical the verb, the more **LDA is dispreferred**, even though the LDA option is possible, especially in informal / oral varieties.
- The data in (10) are more difficult to evaluate, but they have been attested, especially in on-line (informal / oral) varieties.



3. LDnumberA vs. LDpersonA

Person vs. number

- So far, discussion has been kept to LDA in number. Presumably, the dative clitic (or SE) checks person.
- The literature has also focused on those cases (Bhatt & Keine 2017, a.o.). Also on gender LDA.
- An empirical question is whether LDA in person (LDpA) is possible. RAE-ASALE (2009: § 40.11i) discusses cases like (16):

(16) **Yo** soy el [que llamó / **llamé**]
I be-1.SG the that called-3SG/1SG
'I am one of those who think(s) that'

(17) Eres **tú** el [que habla / **hablas** de sí / **ti mismo**]
be-2SG you the that talk-3SG/2SG of himself yourself
'I am one of those who say(s) that'

Person vs. number

- The same pattern is found in other Romance languages, like Italian, Catalan, and Romanian.
- A key property of this pattern involves **focus**, embodied in the cleft construction. Therefore, the moment we remove the cleft construction (more precisely, the copular verb), LDpA should be impossible. This prediction is borne out:

(18) **Yo**, el [que piensa / ***pienso** eso]
I the that think-3SG/1SG that
'The one that thinks/*(I) think that'

Person vs. number

- RAE-ASALE (2009) further notes that, although both options are available, LDpA is preferred if the cleft sentence shows predicate inversion (Moro 2000):

- (19) a. El [que llamó / ?**llamaste**] fuiste **tú**
the that called-3SG/2SG were-2SG you
'The one who called were you'.
- b. **Tú** fuiste el [que llamó / **llamaste**]
you were-2SG the that called-3SG/2SG
'The one who called were you'

Person vs. number

- In work in progress, we argue that LDpA requires a raising analysis (Kayne 1994) plus a copular syntax for the facts to follow.
- Notice that the LDpA is not possible with **raising configurations**. This shows the importance of copular syntax.

(20) **Yo** soy el [que habla / **hablo**]
I be-1SG the that talk-3SG/1SG
'I am the one who talk(s)'

(21) **Yo** parezco el [que habla / ***hablo**]
I seem-1SG the that talk-3SG/1SG
'I seem the one who talk(s)'

Person vs. number

- A raising analysis of the facts predicts that optionality should be ruled out with non-raising contexts.
- This is confirmed by (22), where NLPA in CP2 is only possible if the verb in CP1 is 1SG:

(22) **Yo** soy el [_{CP1} que {dice / **digo**} [_{CP2} que {piensa / %**pienso**} eso]]
I be-1SG the that say-3SG/1SG that think-3SG/1SG that
'I am the one that says / (I) say that thinks / (I) think that'

Person vs. number



- In sum, in standard LDA scenarios, person agreement is handled by the element merged in the EA position – a dative / defective clitic, checking 3 person.
- As for LDpA, it falls within what RAE-ASALE 2009 calls “contagion effects” (connectivity).
- However interesting, this does not involve LDA proper, but rather “copular agreement” (Moro 1997, 2000).



4. Active Goals

Active Goals

- Let us go back to an observation made before: under standard circumstances, LDA is not preferred. But it is possible.
- This follows from **economy metrics alone (closest c-command)**, as C is always closer than any other clause internal Goal.

(23) Me molesta [**C (Goal)** [escuchar **esas cosas (Goal)**]
me.dat bothers-3.sg hear-inf those things
'It bothers me to hear those things'

Active Goals

- We argue that deviance of LDA in Spanish follows from the combination of:
 - (i) the **Activity Condition** (Chomsky 2000) , and
 - (ii) **intervention effects** (minimality)
- Consider the scenarios in (24) and (25), where **CAPITALS** indicate that the NP has already received Case:

(24) [**Probe** [. . . **GOAL (inactive)** . . .]]

(25) [**Probe** [. . . (Goal-intervener) [. . . **GOAL (inactive)** . . .]]]

Active Goals

- The examples in (4)-(6) correspond to the scenario in (26), where the Goal agrees with the matrix verb.

(26) Se **intentan (Probe)** [eliminar **ciertas leyes (Goal)**]
SE tried.3.pl eliminate-inf certain laws
'Certain laws are tried to be eliminated.'

- Now, as noted, **LDA is not preferred**. We have suggested that this preference follows locality, but the inactive status of the Goal may also be relevant.
- That inactive NPs are not optimal Goals is reinforced by the evidence in (27): if Goals appear in accusative clitic guise, deviance is more severe.

Active Goals

- (27) a. ?Se **necesitan** [conocer **esas cosas**] (Spanish)
SE need-3.pl know-inf those things
'Knowing those things is needed'
- b. ?No se **supieron** [usar **esos recursos**] (Spanish)
not SE knew-3.pl use-inf those resources
'Nobody knew how to use those resources'
- (28) a. *Se **necesitan** [conocer**las**] (Spanish)
SE need-3.pl know-inf-cl.acc.f.pl
'Knowing them is needed'
- b. *No se **supieron** [usar**los**] (Spanish)
not SE knew-3.pl use-inf-cl.acc.m.pl
'Nobody know how to use them'

Active Goals

- The effect is compounded if the Goal has been assigned inherent Case, typically assigned by a preposition:

(29) a. *Se **necesitan** [hablar de **esas cosas**]
SE need-3.pl talk of those things
'It is needed to talk about these things'

b. *Me **interesan** [informar de **esos factores**]
cl-to.me interest inform of those factors
'It is needed to talk about these things'

- This suggests that “activity” varies along the inherent - structural divide. So, the more inherent the Case is, the worse LDA becomes.

Active Goals

- Notice, to round up the argument, that if the NPs in (7)-(9) actually receive accusative, **they should be able to passivize** (within the embedded clause).
- However, (30a) shows that they are not, unlike what happens in other infinitival clauses (see (30b)). This strengthens the claim that, whenever *bona fide* agreement happens, the Goal is still active.

- (30) a. *Se necesita [ser descubierta la verdad]
SE need-3.sg be-inf discovered the truth
'We need for the truth to be discovered'
- b. Se fue, [al ser descubierta la verdad]
left-3.sg to-the be-inf discovered the truth
'She left when the truth was discovered'

Active Goals



- This may, of course, be due to the lack of the relevant functional projections in the infinitival. If so, perhaps it is not a phase (sensu Chomsky 2000 et seq.).
- If structural Case turns out to be assigned in those cases, then the question whether the NP can be changed (by being assigned Case at a distance), contra Chomsky et al. (2019).
- We leave this question open.



5. Existentials

Existentials

- Consider next alternations like the ones in (31) and (32), where we have a modal periphrasis with the existential verb *haber* (there be). LDA triggers deviance.

(31) a. Los tiene que haber b. Tiene que haberlos
 them has that there-be has that there-be-the
 'There has to be some' 'There has to be some'

(32) a. *Los tienen que haber b. *Tienen que haberlos
 them has that there-be has that there-be-the
 'There has to be some' 'There has to be some'

Existentials

- As noted, this may be due to the inactive status of the accusative clitic *lo*. Witness:

(33) a. Muchas tiene que haber b. Tiene que haber muchas
 them has that there-be has that there-be-the
 'There has to be many 'There has to be many

(34) a. ?muchas tienen que haber b. ?Tienen que haber muchas
 many has-that there-be has that there-be-the
 'There has to be many 'There has to be many

Existentials

- Consider now (31)/(32) vis-à-vis (35). Here, LDA is okay.

- (35) a. **Tienen** que haber **suficientes estudiantes** para salir
have-to-3pl there be enough students to go-out
- b. **Tiene** que haber **suficientes estudiantes** para salir
has-to -3.sg there be enough students to go-out

- We assume that existential *haber* involves an implicit noun expressing a contextual domain (Bentley, 2020; Cruschina, 2012). The contextualized status of existential predications is evident from a comparison between (36a-b):

Existentials

- (36) a. Non c' è pane
neg loc is bread
'There's no bread'
- b. Il pane non esiste
the bread neg exists
'The bread doesn't exist'
- (37) a. No hay pan
neg there-be bread
'There is no bread'
- b. El pan no existe
the bread neg exist
'Pread does not exist'

Existentials



- (36,37b) entails (36,37a), but (36,37a) does not entail (36,37b), because in this case the assertion is confined to a given temporal and spatial segment.
- The discussion centers on what the syntactic status of the implicit argument is.
- For some (Cruschina, 2012) it is a nominal argument, for others (as in Moro 1997), a predicate.

Existentials

- So how does it relate syntactically to the DP in something like say, *Hay dinero?* (Eng. Is there (any) money?).
- Francez (2007) observes that, crosslinguistically, the DP, that she calls the Pivot (cf. *dinero*) is the only element that must necessarily be overt in an existential construction.
- She takes this to show that it must be the predicate (in its absence there wouldn't be a predication).

Existentials

- Let us therefore propose a structure in which a copula BE selects a small clause with the proform as subject and the DP as predicate.
- This structure is selected by a higher Probe that has possibly, among other things, unvalued number features:

(38) Probe_{uN}...[Ger/Inf [BE [**proform** DP]]]

- Existential constructions in Romance combine a proform (the kind of locative component that is expressed by Spanish **-y**) and a subject clitic, as in the following Lombard example (from Bentley, 2020):

Existentials

(39) A gh'é di mobei vec'
sub.cl proform.is of old furniture
'There is some old furniture'

- Imagine that Spanish has the following two alternative derivations:

Derivation A: the proform raises to the Spec of Gerund/Infinitive (an inner complementizer). **It blocks (intervenes) between the higher probe and the lower DP.** A silent expletive pro occupies the Spec of the higher Probe.

Existentials

(40) pro_{expl} Probe [_{Inf/Ger} ~~proform~~ Ger/Inf [BE [~~proform~~ DP]]]

Derivation B: the proform raises beyond the Spec of the Ger/Inf to the Spec of the higher Probe. It does not intervene between the Probe and the lower DP, and there is no expletive pro as it is not needed. **Under those conditions, agreement between the higher probe and the embedded DP becomes possible.**

(41) proform Probe [_{Inf/Ger} ~~proform~~ Ger/Inf [BE [~~proform~~ DP]]]

\-----/

(LDnA)

Existentials

- The story would be simpler perhaps if the lower DP were an argument (not a predicate) and the proform a predicate, for issues related to AGREE, that is, à la Moro (1997).
- With other existential verbs (*existir, ocurrir, surgir, quedar, faltar, sobrar*, etc.), there is no locative proform, and the verb in question has an ordinary nominal argument. Obligatory agreement follows. There is no possible intervention effect.

(42) {Siguen/*Sigue} ocurriendo desastres
keep-on-3.pl/sg happening disasters
'Tragedies keep happening'



6. An AGREE based analysis of the facts

An AGREE-based analysis

- Let us now return to the examples in (7), which, albeit attested, are admittedly rare—in standard European Spanish, they are ruled out.
- We can account for these data by assuming that C has a D nature. The claim goes beyond Szabolcsi's (1992) idea that C behaves as a determiner: we are also saying that there is a D element in C.
- This is reminiscent of Torrego & Uriagereka's (1992) proposal that there is a “pro” element associated to indicative dependents:

(43) [_{VP} V pro] [_{CP} . . .] INDICATIVE

(44) [_{VP} V [_{CP} . . .]] SUBJUNCTIVE

An AGREE-based analysis

- We take this “pro” to be endowed with [person] (like “se” or “there”). Interestingly, LDA contexts typically feature a SE/DATIVE element.
- This accounts for the **generalized lack of person-LDA in Spanish**. Of course, if there is no CP layer (thus no ‘full clause’), we predict person agreement to occur—and it does, in periphrases, as (16) reveals:

(45) a. **Podemos** [cantar **nosotras**] (Spanish)

can-1.pl sing-inf we-1.pl

‘We can sing’

b. **Empezasteis** [a leer **vosotras**] (Spanish)

started-2.pl to read-inf you-2.pl

‘You started to sing’

An AGREE-based analysis

- This must be qualified, however, as assuming “pro/D” as the true argument should turn the CP into an adjunct/specifier.
- But this cannot be correct, as extraction is clearly possible, even with LDA. The examples in (46) are perfectly fine:

- (46) a. **Qué libros** me **gustan** leer?
what books cl-to.me like-3.pl read
‘What books do I like reading?’
- b. **Qué libros** dices que me **gustan** leer?
what books say-2.sg that cl-to.me like-3.pl read
‘What books do you say that I like reading?’

An AGREE-based analysis

- We thus assume that LDA is accounted for by assuming that **pro/D simply checks person, allowing LDN(umber)A**.
- As for the lack of generalized LDA (with finite clauses mostly), it may follow from two factors:
 - (i) the AC (in non-finite clauses) or
 - (ii) the possibility for the pro/D head to raise to V and become its complement (Pesetsky's 2007, 2013 Under-Merge).
- The latter strategy would turn the CP into a specifier, which is, by definition, out of the search space of the relevant Probe. Interestingly, LDA in finite clauses is attested only with subjunctive dependents, which are the ones which do not trigger pro/D UnderMerge, and thus leaving the clause probable by the matrix verb.



7. Conclusions

Summary



- Spanish manifests restricted LDA.
- The parameters to account for the fact are:
 - a) the lexical nature of the matrix V (more/less defective CP)
 - b) the presence of interveners (partial control)
- Non-LDA is preferred – due to locality, we have argued.
- LDA is restricted to number in Spanish too.

Summary

- Gender (and number) agreement is obligatory with aspectual verbs (in so-called “double passives”, cf. Bosque & Gallego 2011).
- (47) **{*Empezó / Empezaron}** a ser construidas **las iglesias**
- (48) **{*Fue empezado / Fueron empezadas}** a construir **las iglesias**
- (49) **{*Fue empezado / Fueron empezadas}** a ser construidas **las iglesias**
‘The churches started to be built’
- In non monoclausal cases, things are different:
- (50) Nos **{fue solicitado/*fueron solicitadas}** investigar **tus deudas**
to-us.dat be.3.sg asked.m.sg be.3.pl asked.f.pl investigate your debts
‘We were asked to investigate your debts’

Summary



- LDA is not found for person, for the same reason it is typically absent with “se” or quirky subjects.
- The fact that LDA is found reinforces the need for a flexible PIC, which again opens many issues about strict cyclicity, the role of phases, and their variation.



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