

The modularity of agreement variation

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Abstract

In this article, following Ormazabal & Romero (2022) insights, a modular approach to agreement variation is proposed where syntactic relations are uniform, dialectal variation is determined in morphology, and extragrammatical modules deal with sociolinguistic variation. While dialectal variation is systematic, dependent on hierarchical relations, and occurs within linguistic communities; sociolinguistic agreement variation is arbitrary, linearly determined, and subject to socioeconomic and educational pressures.

Keywords: Linguistic variation, syntactic Agree, morphological agreement, performance agreement, default agreement.

1. Introduction

Agree is at the core of syntactic relations within the Minimalist Program. Most analyses assume without further discussion morphological agreement as the necessary reflex or even the trigger of syntactic relations (Chomsky 1995). McCloskey (1991), for instance, observes that agreement in (1) between the expletive *there* and the associated argument is crucial evidence for the existence of the syntactic link in question.

- (1) a. There exist no good solutions to this problem.
- b. *There exists no good solutions to this problem.

However, when we turn our attention to other agreement patterns either in non-Western languages or in nonstandard varieties, forms of agreement proliferate that do not conform to the mainstream view on syntactic agreement. In a certain sense, those agreement oddities are odd because they encode relations that do not fit in the standard agreement relation developed in “well behaved” nominative-accusative normative European languages. In this paper we argue that when those non-standard agreement relations are also treated as reflecting regular Agree dependencies, the system gets complex and inefficient, and that the solution is to approach the grammar of agreement in a more abstract and modular way. In other words, we cannot trust that morphological agreement *directly* expresses a syntactic relation.

This is by no means a novel statement. It has been frequently proposed that many instances of morphological agreement do not follow from Agree. For instance, many works in the literature show that agreement relations in (1) are far less clear than generally assumed, and bring forth a set of cases that challenge our conception of agreement in a systematic way (see especially work by Emonds (1986) and Sobin (1997) and references in section 5 below). Furthermore, the literature contains plenty of instances of language specific agreement relations (omnivorous agreement, agreement displacements, etc.) that, in many cases, are encoded or analyzed as linguistic variation instances by means of, essentially, *ad hoc* procedures.

The purpose of this paper is to sketch a proposal, based on Ormazabal & Romero’s [O&R] (2019, 2022) analysis of *se* constructions, where agreement effects are assigned to different components in the modular architecture of the language faculty depending on their properties, their use, and their distribution (see section 2). If we are right, the analysis leads to a general approach to agreement where (i) crosslinguistic variation is expressed in the syntax in terms of the set of formal features encoded in the heads and in their arrangement in each language (section 3), (ii) dialectal variation is morphological and determined by the operations performed on the syntactic output in a certain geographical area (section 4), and (iii) there is also extralinguistic variation, overtly asystematic in both its geographical distribution and its structural conditions, where the presence of number agreement is determined in linear terms and subject to stochastic considerations, which is also manifested with regular morphological exponents but is the product of some processing mechanism.

2. Agreement in *se* constructions: an overview

In this section, our previous findings on the syntax and variation of *se* constructions are briefly summarized. In O&R (2019) we present evidence that the alleged subject in passive *se*-constructions, the NP in (2b), corresponds to a syntactic direct object in all respects, except for subject agreement. It is also shown that the clitic *se* is in fact the subject of the clause. The interested reader is referred to that paper for a thorough argumentation and many references of previous works in the same direction.

In O&R (2022), we dealt with agreement facts in *se* constructions. We did a detailed study of their distribution confirming that, as often discussed in the typology and dialectology literature, agreement behavior is far from the clear and uniform agreement generally assumed in grammatical studies, and we systematized the different patterns. When the object NP, *los informes*, occupies the postverbal position, sentences in (2) are both reported in all dialects of Spanish, and no semantic difference is conveyed by the opposition between singular and plural agreement.

- (2) a. Se entregó los informes
 SE handed.over.SG the reports
 ‘The reports were handed over’
 b. Se entregaron los informes
 SE handed.over.PL the reports
 ‘The reports were handed over’

There is a large group of speakers that strictly adhere to the academic norm and systematically reject the agreement pattern in (2a) but for the rest of speakers both sentences alternate up to a certain degree. In addition, in that configuration, our corpus is plenty of strange travel buddies where the agreeing postverbal NP is not the object of the sentence but the linearly closest NP whatever its relation with V is, if any. Among others, that includes an NP of an embedded tense sentence (3a), the complement NP of a selected preposition and, very often, a temporal NP (3b):

- (3) a. Se consideran que hay personas superiores e inferiores
 SE consider.PL that there.are persons superior and inferior
 ‘It is considered that there are people superior to others.’
 b. Se bailan los lunes
 SE dance.PL the Mondays
 ‘People dances on Mondays’

On the other hand, when the DO NP is preverbal or null, these structures have two properties: (i) in contrast to postverbal NPs, agreement is fully stable (4), and (ii) there is a geographically well defined difference between dialects in which the object is represented by subject agreement (4b), and dialects in which it may also be represented by means of an object clitic (5).

- (4) a. *(Los informes) se entregó
 the reports SE handed.over.SG
 ‘The reports were handed over’

- b. (Los informes) se entregaron
 the reports SE handed.over.PL
 ‘The reports were handed over’
- (5) (Los informes) se los entregó
 The reports SE 3_{PLO} handed.over.SG
 ‘The reports were handed over’.

The clitic strategy in (5) becomes general in all dialects in contexts where the null or preposed NP is 1st, 2nd or 3rd person animate, in which case agreement is blocked and the ‘impersonal’ *se* combined with the clitic is the only option available. Agreeing structure (passive *se* construction) is only available for those NPs that do not require Differential Object Marking, those that we analyze as not having person features such as (4b):

- (6) a. *(nosotros) se censuramos /censuraron (nosotros)
 us SE censored.1PL/censored.PL us
- b. (A nosotros) se nos censuró
 DOM us SE 1_{PLO} censored.SG
 ‘(Us), we were censored’

We develop an analysis where the preverbal DO NP is in a Clitic Left Dislocation configuration in all the cases, including (4b). In consequence, with both preverbal NP structures and with null NPs there is an object clitic involved (but see discussion below for some interesting exceptions), contrary to the postverbal NP cases in (3).

The contrasts between preverbal and postverbal NPs as well as the related dialectal difference noted in (4)-(5) are completely unexpected in regular subject agreement contexts. In fact, in addition to explaining how the agreement patterns may follow from Agree, standard analyses must also explain why and how the alternative clitic structure is a possible derivation for some speakers but not for others. Going beyond traditional analyses, O&R propose that what we see in (3b) and (4b) is not the consequence of a syntactic agreement relation between T and the preverbal argument, but two different extra-syntactic processes. As observed, that proposal is also the analysis most coherent with the structural conclusion in O&R (2019) and references there that that argument is not the subject but the DO of the sentence. Our account goes along the following way. First, the subject agreement relation is syntactically satisfied by the clitic *se*, which has a person feature but lacks number. Given that, the syntactic output moves on to morphology with T’s ϕ -matrix underspecified for number. In other words, the clitic *se* completely satisfies syntactic requirements and the derivation converges, but that does not mean that morphology is also done.

In morphology this underspecification may be solved if there is a number feature in the morphological word. In the case of preverbal and null objects, there is an object clitic in the prosodic unit of T specified for {ACC, GENDER, NUMBER}, but no {PERSON}. By means of an Impoverishment rule this clitic is deprived of ACC and GENDER features, and its NUMBER feature is transferred to subject agreement (4b). In other words, the number feature represented by subject agreement morphology actually corresponds to the object’s number feature. In O&R (2022) empirical

evidence in favor of this morphological agreement, what we termed *clitic mutation*, is provided based on the behavior of idioms and clitic climbing. If this morphological rule does not apply, as in South Cone dialects, the object appears as a clitic, as expected (4); see below for some details and for discussion of some questions raised in the literature against this analysis.

In the case of postverbal NPs in (2), there is no ϕ -feature relation between V and its complement (see O&R 2007; 2013), and therefore the morphological word lacks a number feature that could be recycled as subject agreement. The derivation follows its way to performance systems with an unvalued number feature. Then, two options arise: (i) no additional operation applies and the verb shows up in a morphological unmarked form, or (ii) these performance systems may ‘harmonize’ subject agreement with the number feature of the NP that is closest in linear terms, giving rise ‘passive’ *se*-constructions in the general case and, quite often, to completely unexpected agreement patterns of the type in (3) above.

In the following sections we analyze some properties and consequences of this proposal for each module. Specifically, in the next section we sketch our model of Agree and then in sections 4 and 5 we analyze morphological agreement and agreement external to the grammar respectively.

3. Syntactic Agree

Following Minimalist premises, in our previous work we assume that syntactic Agree is fully stable and uniform. We also assume that Agree is a UG operation, and that it is not subject to parametric variation. Apparent variation is determined exclusively by crosslinguistic differences in the lexical specifications of the probe and the goal. Consider the following sentences (Arabic data from Soltan 2006):

- (7)
- a. María compró el pan
María bought.3SG the bread
‘María bought the bread’
 - b. María-wa pan-o kaimashita
María-SUBJ bread-ACC bought
‘María bought the bread’
 - c. ?al-?awlaad-u qara?-u d-dars-a
the-boys-NOM read-PL.M the-lesson-ACC
‘The boys read the lesson’
 - d. ?al-fatayaat-u qara?-na d-dars-a
the-girls-NOM read-PL.F the-lesson-ACC
‘The girls read the lesson’

In Spanish the verb expresses person and number agreement with an NP, while in Japanese (7b), overtly at least, it does not encode any ϕ -feature. In Arabic, finally, apart from person and number, the verb also encodes the NP’s gender (7c-d). There is no a priori reason to think that every language encodes the same set of formal features, so we assume that there is no such universal set. Each language selects its own set of formal features according to the evidence available during acquisition. The issue of

‘evidence’ is not as clear as we would like.¹ Both in Arabic and Spanish it looks reasonable to assume that T encodes person, number, and, in the case of Arabic, also gender. On the contrary, in Japanese there is no evidence for the relevance of these features. As a matter of fact, in Japanese there are no PCC effects, typically associated with person agreement (Romero 1999).

With those natural assumptions, let us consider English. The evidence for person and number features during acquisition is scarce; however, eventually it has to be empirically determined whether, for instance, the different forms of the copular verb do form an agreement paradigm that can be extended to the whole system, or whether they are suppletive forms syntactically conditioned. In this sense, some authors since Bonet (1991) argue that English is subject to the PCC, which suggests that it actually encodes person and number features (see Preminger 2019, among others, for a different view and O&R 2022, sect. 4 for a reply to his arguments). Crosslinguistically finite T requires an Agree relation with some NP. Agree takes place in exactly the same way, and variation confines to the formal features encoded by lexical items and to their morphological representation.

Consider now the case of object relations. Both Turkish and Spanish, vs. English, assign Differential Object Marking (DOM) to their objects (see Romero Heredero 2022 for a good state of the art). However, Turkish and Spanish differ with respect to which properties are required for an argument to receive DOM: specific NPs in Turkish, specific *and* animate ones in Spanish (8)-(9) (Turkish examples from Enç 1991).

- (8) a. Mateo estudió (*a) tu libro
 Mateo studied DOM your book
 ‘Mateo studied your book’
 b. Mateo studied *(a) tu hermana
 Mateo studied DOM your sister
 ‘Mateo studied your sister’
- (9) a. Ali bir kitab-ı aldı
 Ali one book-ACC bought
 ‘A book is such that Ali bought it’.
 b. Ali bir kitap aldı
 Ali one book bought
 ‘Ali bought some book or other’.

These differences suggest that object licensing probes encode different sets of features, with different syntactic consequences (Romero 1999, Bošković 2017). In Romero (1999) it is argued that Turkish and other languages (including Huang’s null topic languages) as Japanese lack object person agreement and, as a consequence, they are immune to the Person Case Constraint (PCC). Bošković (2017) argues that the

¹ See, for instance, Baker (2008:8) for a different view, where gender is syntactically checked, but not morphologically represented. Also see Villa-García (2010) for a proposal where Agree between T and the subject in Spanish also may include gender. Nothing in this article hinges on these issues, so we put them aside, merely noting that languages differ in the set of feature specifications they overtly manifest in the verb, and whether that reflects more profound differences in the syntactic relations or not eventually becomes an empirical issue.

very same set of languages, which he characterizes as DP lacking languages, contrast with object agreement languages with respect to argument ellipsis.²

- (10) a. Nikola je pozvao (svoju) djevojku na slavu, a pozvao ju je i Danilo
 Nikola is invited his girlfriend on slava and invited her is too Danilo
 ‘Nikola invited his girlfriend to the slava and Danilo invited his (Danilo’s/Nikola’s) girlfriend too’.
- b. Nikola invitó a su novia a la slava y Danilo también la invitó
 Nikola invited DOM his girlfriend on the slava and Danilo too her invited
 ‘Nikola invited his girlfriend to the slava and Danilo invited his (Nikola’s/*Danilo’s) girlfriend too’.

In sum, differences in the lexical specification of features may cause different syntactic derivations, and different structural restrictions, but no variation is to be attributed to the inner workings of Agree. Arguably these differences are macroparametric in Baker’s sense, related to the features active in each language, and they accord to the Borer/Chomsky hypothesis: syntax is not subject to variation other than variation induced by the presence of different sets of formal features in lexical items.

Let us now go back to *se* constructions. As mentioned, our hypothesis is that the subject in these structures is the clitic *se*, but that it does not have number, only person (see the details in O&R 2022). T and the subject *se* enter into an Agree relation and the probe copies the features of the goal. In the case under discussion, we can assume that the EPP requires an NP and, since the clitic is a nominal element, the necessary checking relation is satisfied. As a free rider, the clitic also checks the person feature of the verb. From a syntactic point of view, the work is successfully done, and the derivation passes on to morphology. The fact that no value has been assigned to number is irrelevant for the syntax: The only syntactic requirement was to check the EPP and it has been accomplished.

In sum, the syntactic derivation of a transitive verb with non-paradigmatic *se* is in every sense the derivation of a transitive sentence, where the object is formally licensed as an object and the subject is the clitic *se*. Sentences in (11) show that whenever the object relation is morphologically realized –by means of agreement or DOM– the object shows up unequivocally as an object.

- (11) a. Se te investigó
 SE 2SGO put.under.scrutiny
 ‘You were put under scrutiny’
- b. Se investigó a tus empleados
 SE put.under.scrutiny DOM your employees
 ‘Your employees were put under scrutiny’

² Interestingly, Slavic languages have always been troublesome for the PCC, but if Bošković is on the right track, we may expect those languages to behave in this regard as Japanese or Turkish: they are not affected by the PCC because they lack object agreement altogether.

Since the clitic *se* lacks a value for number, the derivation is transferred to morphology with the number slot undefined in the paradigm of the verb.

4. Morphological agreement

Morphological agreement is regular and stable, but subject to dialectal variation. When the computational component provides all the features needed for the PF representation, morphology simply fills the gaps according to the information provided by the syntax. In most cases there is a perfect match between syntactic Agree and morphological agreement, but when that is not the case, syntax is not concerned by the problem; there is no second cycle nor other repair strategies to deal with this problem in the syntax. The syntactic derivation is complete and it is time for morphology. As we have just exemplified, incomplete feature matrices arise when the subject participating in Agree with the probe does not specify the whole set of features required to produce a well formed phonetic representation. In such contexts, when there is a missing value, different morphological realizations of the same syntactic derivation are possible; i.e. different morphological solutions to the same PF problem, the need of viable phonetic word forms.

4.1. More on *se*-constructions

In the case of *se* constructions, there are two possible outputs. In every dialect, the object number may appear represented in the verb (12a), yielding the characteristic shape of a passive sentence in that respect from the point of view of agreement.³ However, in the South Cone dialects the object may also appear represented by a clitic (12b). No semantic or structural differences have been pointed out whatsoever.

- (12) a. Las entradas *se* compran en la taquilla
 the tickets SE bought.PL in the box office
 ‘Tickets are sold at the box office’
 b. Las entradas *se* las compra en la taquilla
 the tickets SE 3PL.F.O bought.SG in the box.office
 ‘Tickets are sold at the box office’

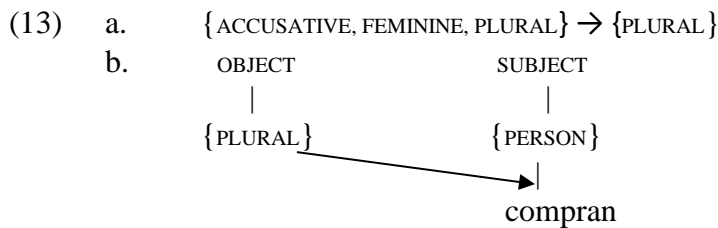
The geographical distribution is very clear, but a couple of warnings are in order. First, although differences in the output are evident, this is not a feature native

³ As observed, it is an active transitive structure in all syntactic senses and, when analyzed in detail, sharp differences emerge between *se* and analytic passives (see O&R 2019, 2022). To mention just one of the many properties distinguishing them, ‘passive’ *se* constructions are possible with verbs that disallow analytic passives:

- (i) Cuando *se* tienen coches viejos, ...
 when SE have.PL cars old.PL
 ‘When people has old cars ...’
 (ii) *Cuando coches viejos son tenidos
 when cars old.PL are had.PL.M
 ‘When old cars are had...’

speakers resort to for identifying dialects. In other words, the difference between (12a) and (12b) passes mostly unnoticed to speakers of non-clitic dialects. For instance, when a humorist from Spain is imitating an Argentinian accent, this is not one of the features they would use. Furthermore, and possibly related to the fact just mentioned, sentences as (12b) are elicited now and then in every dialect (see O&R 2022).

The syntactic derivation left the number feature in T unspecified, and sentence (12b) is the result of morphological inaction, it simply keeps the set of features valued in the syntactic derivation: the object as a clitic and subject agreement not specified for number. On the other hand, (12a) is the result of a morphological operation filling up the number gap in T. This operation, following Bonet's (1991;1994) insights, basically turns the object clitic into subject agreement. First, the object representation is impoverished, depriving it from its GENDER and CASE features (13a), and then it *mutates* to subject number agreement (13b). O&R (2022) presents strong evidence for this conversion, which we refer to as *Clitic Mutation*, in the behavior of idioms, clitic clusters, and clitic climbing.



Pujalte (2020) presents an interesting discussion against Clitic Mutation. She agrees that the agreement marking in these constructions has a morphological nature but denies that its source could be a mutated clitic. She presents the contrast in (14)-(15) as the main argument. According to her, the clitic strategy in (15c) is not possible in Argentinian Spanish but the agreement version in (14c) is perfectly grammatical for speakers of all dialects.

- (14) a. Estos libros se censuraron durante la dictadura.
Those books SE censored.PL during the dictatorship
'Those books were censored during the dictatorship'.
b. Algunos libros se censuraron durante la dictadura.
Some books SE censored.PL during the dictatorship
'Some books were censored during the dictatorship'
c. Algo se censuró durante la dictadura.
Something SE censored.SG during the dictatorship
'Something was censored during the dictatorship'
- (15) a. Estos libros se los censuró durante la dictadura.
Those books SE 3PLO censored.sg during the dictatorship
'Those books were censored during the dictatorship'.
b. Algunos libros se los censuró durante la dictadura.
Some books SE 3PLO censored.sg during the dictatorship
'Some books were censored during the dictatorship'

- c. *Algo se lo censuró durante la dictadura.
 Something SE 3SGO censored.SG during the dictatorship
 ‘Something was censored during the dictatorship’

She also extends the contrast to some indefinite quantifiers in (16)-(17), and generalizes the objection to Clitic Mutation in all cases, concluding that our analysis is the wrong approach in general terms.

- (16) a. Cada libro se va a leer en su respectiva semana.
 each book SE is.going to read in its respective week
 ‘Each book will be read during its corresponding week’
 b. *Cada libro se lo va a leer en su respectiva semana.
 each book SE 3SG.M is.going to read in its respective week
- (17) a. Algún libro se va a conseguir en ese supermercado.
 some book.SG SE is.going.to get in that supermarket
 ‘Some book will be gotten in that supermarket’
 b. *Algún libro se lo va a conseguir en ese supermercado
 some book.SG SE 3SG.M is.going.to get in that supermarket

Let us first consider Pujalte’s main contrast in (14)-(15). As shown in (16c), *algo*, unlike *algunos* (16b) or definite descriptions (16a), cannot appear in a Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) structure. The ungrammaticality of (15c) is therefore expected, given that there is no source for the clitic (18c).

- (18) Arregi (2003: ex. 1-2)
 a. Estos libros, Juan los leyó ayer
 those books Juan 3PLO read yesterday
 ‘Those books, Juan read them yesterday’
 b. Algunos libros, Juan los leyó ayer.
 Some books Juan 3PLO read yesterday
 ‘Some books, Juan read them yesterday’
 c. *Algo, Juan lo leyó ayer.
 Something, Juan 3SGO read yesterday

Consequently, the source of agreement for the grammatical (14c) cannot be Clitic Mutation either, a conclusion we all agree on. However, notice that *algo*, without the clitic, does appear in the left periphery in contexts different from CLLD and with a different interpretation, a meaning somehow close to “not nothing”.

- (19) a. Algo (*lo) censuraron durante la dictadura
 Something 3SGO censored.3PL during the dictatorship
 ‘They did censorship during the dictatorship’
 b. Algo (*lo) conseguiremos si seguimos unidos
 Something 3SGO obtain.1PL if we stand together
 ‘We will get at least something if we stand together’

Given its interpretation, it seems that the structure parallel to the grammatical *se*-construction in (14c) is not (18c) but (19), where no clitic is present. Thus, Clitic Mutation has not applied in (14c), and singular agreement corresponds to the default form typical of situations where there is no argument other than *se* in the sentence that might participate in an agreement relation with T of some sort, as in (20).

- (20) a. Se seguirá luchando como hasta ahora
 SE keep.fut.3SG fighting as until now
 ‘The fight will continue as before’
 b. Se correrá en alpargatas
 SE run.fut.3SG in espadrilles
 ‘Espadrilles will be used for running’

Finally, note that this kind of preverbal nominals that do not enter in a clitic doubling structure, in clear contrast to those subject to Clitic Mutation, do not exhibit obligatory agreement:

- (21) a. Sillas se necesita/necesitan en esa sala
 chairs SE need.sg /need.pl in that lounge
 ‘Chairs are needed in that lounge’
 b. Lentejas se compró /compraron en Pedrosillo
 lentils SE bought.sg/bought.pl in Pedrosillo
 ‘Lentils were bought in Pedrosillo’

The case of quantified expressions is slightly more complex. Focusing on the contrast involving *cada* NP (‘each NP’) in (16) for concreteness, in this case not only is there a possible source for the clitic but it is required whenever the distributive NP is in the left periphery, as (22) illustrates:

- (22) Cada libro *(lo) vamos a leer en su correspondiente asignatura
 each book 3SGO we.are.going to read in its respective subject
 ‘We are going to read each book in its respective subject’

Thus, according to our analysis the grammatical (16a) must result from the application of Clitic Mutation to (16b), which Pujalte gives as ungrammatical. In a footnote in O&R (2022: fn 11), we observed that our Argentinean informants—which include Mercedes Pujalte—slightly prefer the clitic strategy to the agreement one when the argument is null, as in (23) (O&R’s example (30)), but “[w]ith preverbal objects, the situation is reversed and they highly prefer the agreement pattern over the clitic one. In fact, they find sentences like [24a], not ungrammatical but “strange” or even “somehow degraded”, in contrast to [24b], which they consider completely natural”:

- (23) a. Se las puede sujetar en postes [las orquídeas]
 SE 3PL.F.O can.SG fasten in wooden.poles [the orchids]
 b. Se pueden sujetar en postes [las orquídeas]
 SE can.PL fasten in wooden.poles [the orchids]
 ‘The orchids can be fastened to wooden poles’

- (24) a. ??Las orquídeas se las puede sujetar en postes de madera
 the orchids SE 3PL.F.O can.SG fasten in poles of wooden
 ‘The orchids can be fastened to wooden poles’
 b. Las orquídeas se pueden sujetar en postes de madera
 The orchids SE can.3PL fasten in poles of wooden
 ‘The orchids can be fastened to wooden poles’

It is particularly noteworthy that not all quantifiers behave the same way according to Pujalte and that all the cases she discusses involve singular indefinites. Given all that, it would be far from striking if Rioplatense speakers’ tendency for the agreement strategy in CILD contexts was particularly strong with some quantified expressions. In fact, in the footnote we observed that that preference was particular of the Rioplatense dialect, and that CORPES presents many cases parallel to (24a) in the entire Southern Cone up to Ecuador except for Argentina and Uruguay, the only places where they were scarce. The same distinction extends to quantified expressions like [*cada* NP]. Indeed, we did a quick CORPES search for [*cada* NP] (‘each NP’) of the type of Pujalte’s ungrammatical (16b) and found examples like (25) outside the Rioplatense area, especially in Bolivia and Ecuador:

- (25) a. Cada sobre [de droga] se lo comercializaba entre \$1 y \$1,50.
 each envelope of drug SE 3SGO market.SG between \$1 and \$1,50
 ‘Each drug envelope was put in the market at a price between \$1 and \$1,50.’
 b. Cada consulta se la realiza con la participación de las autoridades...
 each enquiry SE 3SGO is.made with the participation of the authorities
 ‘Each enquiry was conducted with the involvement of the authorities...’

There are not many such examples, but that may be expected given the tight requirements for the search; after all, we do not expect the distribution of preposed [*cada* NP] in a non-paradigmatic *se* context to be a big hit in terms of frequency.

In the same footnote our Argentinian informants observe that they often make these examples improve by attaching a Differential Object Marker (DOM) to the preverbal object. The combination of CILD and *se*-constructions is the perfect environment for DOM with inanimates: on the one hand, Di Tullio & Zdrojewski (2006) and Di Tullio, Saab & Zdrojewski (2019) argue that one of the contexts where inanimate [+DOM] is most evident is precisely in non-paradigmatic *se*; on the other hand, the phenomenon is general and very productive in left dislocated contexts.⁴ Interestingly, the only two examples parallel to Pujalte’s ungrammatical (32b) we found in CORPES from the Riverplate area, one from each side of the river, both have DOM, and the one from Buenos Aires is a typical case of DOM with inanimates:

- (26) a. a cada libro se lo barniza, [...] se lo plastifica...
 DOM each book SE 3SGO furnish.SG SE 3SGO laminate
 ‘Each book is polished, [...] it is laminated...’

⁴ Also see Liman Spanish (Sánchez 2006, 2010, Sánchez & Zdrojewski 2013 and references) and Santiago de Chile’s dialect (Silva-Corvalán 1980) for a similar process.

- b. [...], aunque a cada paciente se lo atiende con
 although DOM each patient SE 3SGO looked.after with
 diferentes dosis.
 different doses
 ‘Although each patient is looked after with different doses’.

In sum, in our view, these facts are coherent with what we already know about the distribution of the phenomenon and support even further our analysis in terms of Clitic Mutation. On the other hand, in O&R we present compelling evidence that the agreement in these constructions comes from a clitic, evidence that, as far as we can see, Pujalte’s (2020) alternative analysis cannot deal with.

4.2. Extending morphological agreement

The operation involving an object clitic that mutates into subject agreement in morphology shows many similarities with morphological analyses of Ergative Displacement in Basque, including Laka’s (1993) original proposal (also see Albizu and Eguren 2000, Fernández & Albizu 2000, Arregi & Nevins 2012, a.o.). Basque auxiliary morphology encodes agreement with ergative, absolutive, and dative arguments, each of them appearing in a specific position within the auxiliary or the tensed verb. In (27a-b) the initial position of the auxiliary marks the absolutive argument, 2nd person *z-* in (27a) and 1st person *n-* in (27b). 3rd person absolutive has no morphological realization, and the absence of a specific marking for the absolutive slot triggers different strategies to fill up the gap. One such strategy is ergative displacement, a process by means of which the ergative agreement morpheme at the end of the auxiliary disappears and the absolutive agreement marker in the initial position covaries with the ergative argument, as illustrated in (27c-d): the 2nd person absolutive marker in (27c) corresponds to the ergative subject *zuk* and the same can be observed with the initial 1st person absolutive morpheme marking the agreement with the ergative argument in (27d):

- (27) a. **Nik** **zu** maite **z** -in -(t)u -da -n
 I.ERG you.ABS love 2ABS -PRS-AUX-1 ERG -past
 ‘I loved you’
- b. **Zuk** **ni** maite **n** -in -(d)u- zu -n
 you.ERG I.ABS love 1ABS -NPRS -AUX -2ERG -PST
 ‘You loved me’
- c. **Zuk** bizitza maite **z** -en -u -(e)n (vs. *u zu .n)
 you.ERG life.ABS love 2ABS-NPRS-AUX-PAST AUX-2 ERG-PAST
 ‘You loved life’
- d. **Nik** bizitza maite **n** -u -en (vs. *u da n)
 I. ERG life.ABS loved 1ABS -AUX-PST AUX-1ERG -PST
 ‘I loved life’

According to Laka (1993), the conditions under which Ergative Displacement in Basque is obligatorily triggered are the following:

- (i) Absolutive = 3rd person
- (ii) Ergative = 1st/2nd person
- (iii) Non-present tense

Putting aside present tense and [3rd person absolutive-3rd person ergative] combinations, which require a different morphological strategy, the conditions for the application of Ergative Displacement are very similar to the ones proposed for Clitic Mutation. As there, the absolutive agreement slot is filled by means of the morphological manipulation of a different agreement, the ergative one, in the verbal complex. In O&R (2002) we argue that 3rd person absolutive arguments do not trigger agreement with *v* in Basque; if that is correct, the verbal complex has the entire set of ϕ -features corresponding to the absolutive agreement empty, and the ergative argument supplies a value for those features (27c, d).⁵

The lack of 3rd person absolutive agreement is also relevant in other contexts such as the Person Case Constraint. Basque strictly adheres to Bonet's characterization and excludes every 3rd person argument from the effects of the PCC, while Spanish has a more articulated 3rd person discriminating between animate and inanimate referents. The same difference extends to *se* constructions in Spanish vs. Basque ergative displacement. In *se* constructions number is the only feature that may be repaired morphologically, while in ergative displacement they are both number and person the features that mutate into absolutive. This difference can be derived from the fact that Spanish distinguishes animate and inanimate arguments, as shown by the contrast between *le* and *lo* for objects, and by the fact that *se* triggers an obligatory animate interpretation on the subject (Mendikoetxea 1999; O&R 2019, 2022). Basque, on the other hand, does not make this distinction. Leaving those language-internal differences, conditions are parallel.

Other agreement cases in different languages may be described with basically the same morphological agreement mechanism. In Chirag Dargwa, for instance, person marking on the verb is controlled by the subject, but only if the subject is 1st or 2nd person (28a, b). Otherwise, it is controlled by the object (28c) (Deal 2022), and when neither the subject or the object satisfies that condition, the verb appears without any overt person affix in a default form (28d).

- (28) a. dicce { ζ u / it } r-iqqan-da
 1SG-ERG 2SG(ABS) 3SG(ABS) F-lead-1
 'I lead you/her'.
- b. ζ icce du r-iqqan-de
 2SG-ERG 1SG(ABS) F-lead-2
 'You lead me'.
- c. ite du r-iqqan-da
 3SG-ERG 1SG(ABS) F-lead-1
 'He/she leads me'.

⁵ Again, as in the case of *se* constructions, there is no semantic import linked to this displacement. It has to be noted that 'ergative displacement' is the most common strategy for agreement in ergative languages: ergative languages agreement usually aligns to a nominative-accusative pattern. For a different analysis of ergative displacement in Basque, see Ortiz de Urbina (1989), Rezac (2008), Béjar & Rezac (2009), a.o.

- d. ite russe r-iqqle-∅
 3SG.ERG girl.ABS F-lead-3
 ‘He/she leads the girl.’

Once again, an analysis that unifies (28) with the previous cases is possible, where 3rd person agreement is null (28d) and it is filled by 1st or 2nd person absolutive arguments when possible. Syntactic derivations are then uniform, but morphology triggers an operation to provide person and number values to subject agreement as in Spanish *se* construction and Basque ergative agreement.

To finish, let us consider the case of Agent-Focus construction (AF) in K’ichee’ described in detail by Preminger (2014). The AF is one of the solutions in K’ichee’ to avoid the ban on A-bar dependencies (wh-movement, relativization, focus movement) targeting the transitive subject, a general strategy also in other Mayan languages. From the point of view of agreement, the AF is an instance of *omnivorous agreement* (Nevins 2011). That refers to situations where absolutive agreement is not established with an absolutive argument, but it is apparently controlled by the higher element in the person hierarchy, irrespective of its case. From a morphological point of view, AF characteristic properties in the verb are the following: (i) the ergative agreement is dropped, (ii) a focus particle (*ja*) appears sentence initially and (iii) a suffix (*-n*) is attached to the verb. However, as said, syntactically it is not a passive-like structure, since both arguments are projected in the sentence, as in regular transitive constructions, with their required ergative and absolutive case markers, as shown in (29), where each argument, independently of its person value, triggers its own agreement on the verb (K’ichee’ examples from Preminger 2014).

- (29) a. rat x - ∅ - aw - axa - j ri achin
 you PRFV-3SG.ABS-2SG.ERG-hear-ACT the man
 ‘You heard the man’
 b. ri achin x - a - r - axa - j rat
 the man PRFV-2SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-hear-ACT you
 ‘The man heard you’

On the other hand, in AF contexts in K’ichee’, when the absolutive argument is 3rd person, and the ergative argument is 1st or 2nd person, absolutive agreement is predated by the ergative argument, as exemplified in (30).⁶ In (30a) the ergative subject, *rat*, which is focused, triggers 2nd person absolutive agreement on the verb. The auxiliary has exactly the same representation when arguments are reversed (30b).

- (30) a. ja rat x -at /*∅ -axa-n ri achin
 FOC you(sg.) PRFV-2SG/*3SG.ABS-HEAR-AF the man
 ‘It was you(sg.) that heard the man.’

⁶ This agreement pattern is triggered by [person]. Multiple plurals can freely co-occur in AF.

- (i) ja röj x-øj-tz’et-ö rje’
 FOC us COM-1PL.ABS-see-AF them
 ‘It was us who saw them.’

- b. ja ri achin x -at /* \emptyset -axa-n rat
 FOC the man PRFV-2SG/*3SG.ABS-hear-AF you(SG)
 ‘It was the man that heard you(sg).’

We cannot get into the details of Preminger’s solution to this puzzle (see Preminger 2014); however, we want to emphasize that it is based on Bejar & Rezac’s *Person Licensing Condition*. The PLC is a stipulation according to which 1st and 2nd person arguments *must* enter into an agreement relation (Bejar & Rezac 2009). The PLC has been widely used to account for the Person Case Constraint, but we think it introduces computational complexities that should be avoided (see O&R 2022).

Consider now an alternative analysis grounded in our proposal. Suppose that, as in the case of *se* constructions, the AF is syntactically a regular transitive sentence. Assume, further, that focus marking on the NP is not morphologically compatible with agreement. This is not a completely unexpected situation. Languages such as English or Italian, in contrast to Spanish, ignore focused pronouns in PCC contexts (Bonet 1991; O&R 2007):

- (31) a. *They showed me you
 b. The showed me YOU

In English and Italian it can be argued that FOCUS on the pronoun blocks ϕ -feature object agreement (31b). In K’ichee’ the situation is a bit different; what is blocked is not syntactic Agree between the auxiliary and the pronoun, but its morphological representation. Instead, the AF suffix *-n* occupies the final position and, independently of the specific person/number combination, ergative agreement does not show up. However, the features of the ergative argument are there, and they have to be represented. Since 3rd person absolutive is \emptyset , it can be taken over by ergative features. In other words, AF agreement patterns are a form of Ergative Displacement.

This explains why when both the ergative and the absolutive are 1st and 2nd person the sentence becomes ungrammatical (32). Both sets of features need to be represented but there is only one slot, and the derivation collapses.

- (32) a. *ja rat x -in/at/ \emptyset -ax -an y’in
 FOC you com-1SG/2SG/3SG.ABS-hear-AF me
 Intended: ‘It was you(sg) that heard me.’
 b. *ja y’in x -in/at/ \emptyset -ax -an rat
 FOC me COM-1SG/2SG/3SG.ABS-hear-AF you
 Intended: ‘It was me that heard you(sg).’

This analysis is supported by the fact that in this context, some Mayan languages simply lift the constraint in these cases, eliminate the AF particle at the end of the verb and overtly and manifest agreement for both arguments, leaving the sentence initial AF particle in place (Preminger 2014). In Kaqchikel, for instance, the sentence in (33) expresses both morphological agreement and focus on the ergative.

- (33) ja röj x -ix -qa -tz’et
 FOC us com-2PL.ABS-1PL.ERG-see
 ‘It was us who saw y’all.’

More details are needed, but in Spanish the evidence in terms of idioms and clitic climbing clearly shows the morphological nature of this agreement displacement, and a similar analysis may be extended to other languages with minor parametric differences. The key aspect of the proposal is a division of labor between syntax and morphology. When a representation is spelled out with unspecified features, morphology may try to fix it, giving rise to dialectal differences. So, in Spanish *se* constructions, subject number may be colonized by the object clitic number feature. In Basque, Chirag Darwa and K'ichee', the absolutive slot is filled by the features of the ergative argument morphologically.

In all these cases the underlying logic is the same, the derivation, subject to UG conditions, must be kept as simple and uniform as possible: no stipulations, no second cycles, no artificial head splits. Morphology, as a language specific device, deals with the way syntactic derivations are represented. That may include different solutions for the same problem; in consequence, different dialects.

5. Post-syntactic agreement

In those cases where syntax and morphology do not complete the ϕ -feature matrix in the verbal complex, either of two general processes may occur: a morphologically default form may be inserted that captures the partial feature specification, or a relation may be established in processing with an element that may provide the required feature. This is the situation when the NP overtly appears in postverbal position in *se* constructions: The verb may or may not agree with it (34). No semantic or configurational effects are associated with agreement. Furthermore, the presence or absence of agreement is not defined on a dialectal basis.

- (34) a. En la taquilla se compra las entradas
 in the box-office SE buy.SG the tickets
 'Tickets are bought at the box office'
 b. En la taquilla se compran las entradas
 in the box-office SE buy.PL the tickets
 'Tickets are bought at the box office'

Both (34a) and (34b) appear to a certain degree in all dialects with a clear sociolectal cut. The agreeing form is not just preferred, but consistently used, by people with higher education in Peninsular Spanish, but not in America (de Mello 1995). However, many speakers do not seem to acknowledge the agreement issue and use both forms interchangeably (e.g. El Salvador; Lemus 2014), where some dialects exhibit a certain preference for the agreeing form (e.g. Spain, except Catalonia and Levante), and some others for the default singular form (Mexico).

In O&R (2022) we argue that this agreement pattern is extragrammatical and, as in the case of clitic mutation and agreement displacement of different sorts, this process, which we call Number Harmony, also extends to many other contexts in different languages. Part of our argumentation is founded in the behavior of so-called impersonal *se* constructions. In prescriptive and descriptive grammars, as well as in most classical analyses, *se* constructions are split into passive and impersonal ones.

Passive *se* are considered, by definition, as those constructions showing the agreement pattern (34b) where the verb agrees with its complement. According to traditional descriptions, they appear exclusively in transitive structures where the object does not receive DOM. Everything else is considered an impersonal construction, and the verbal form shows default agreement, as exemplified in (35a).

- (35) a. En el congreso se compra a los políticos
 in the Congress SE buy.SG DOM the politicians
 ‘Politicians are bought in the Congress’
 b. En el congreso se compran a los políticos
 in the Congress SE buy.PL DOM the politicians
 ‘Politicians are bought in the Congress’

In this case, the object receives DOM, and in all dialects remains as an object in clear contrast to what happens in analytic passives, where DOM is not assigned and the object raises to subject position. This division in two constructions is based on an empirical characterization that constitutes an unrealistic data idealization, as thoroughly argued in O&R (2022). According to that analysis, agreement in (34) and in (35) have the same properties, and is established in the same way.

From a syntactic point of view there is no evident source for number agreement in (35b). Since the object does not enter into an Agree relation with T, number harmonization between them must obtain some other way. There are reasons to believe that this relation is linear, not hierarchical. In O&R (2022) it is shown that it can be established with elements that under no circumstances could enter into an Agree relation with the verb, including adjuncts or hyperraising (3), repeated here as (36).

- (36) a. Se consideran que hay personas superiores e inferiores
 SE consider.PL that there.are persons superior and inferior
 ‘It is considered that there are people superior to others.’
 b. Se bailan los lunes
 SE dance.PL the Mondays
 ‘People dances on Mondays’

This kind of examples poses a general question: how is agreement determined when there are no φ -features available to establish an Agree relation? It is usually assumed that it is determined by default, but this notion is not very well defined. For the purposes of this paper, a morphological definition would suffice: the default form is the morphologically simpler form. However, this definition is only part of the solution; there is an additional issue: when?

5.1 Default. Morphology

We have argued that the syntactic derivation is not affected by whether the whole set of features is valued or not. In most cases, together with EPP checking, person and number features are copied as free riders in the head, and the verb in Spanish has all of its paradigmatic agreement properties determined. However, when the argument

lacks person or number, the syntax cannot even see their absence. Therefore, the φ -feature default is not established there.⁷ The derivation passes on to morphology.

In the case of morphology, things are less clear. In most dialects, clitic mutation is almost mandatory (12a) for preverbal objects. In consequence, subject agreement is fully determined at morphology, and the default issue does not arise. However, when the clitic remains as such in clitic dialects, the number feature in subject agreement is not determined by any argument: so we must specify how singular default agreement is obtained.

The first question we have to ask is whether empirically it is always singular or whether the verb can also appear in plural. We have found examples such as those in (37) where the verb appears in plural, possibly influenced by the adjunct *a los besos* (37a) and by the doubling NP *a los dos* in (37b).

- (37) a. ... están saliendo desde que se los vieron a los besos en una fiesta...
 are.they going.out since that SE 3PLO saw to the kisses in a party
 ‘They go out together since they were seen kissing each other in a party’
 b. ... se los vieron a los dos sentados en una plaza de Belgrano
 SE 3PLO saw DOM the two sat in a square of Belgrano
 ‘They were both seen sitting in a square in Belgrano’

If data in (37) constitutes a real choice, and not some kind of performance error, then morphology would not determine default values at all. However, there is no reliable data to be sure about it, and speakers, at least in Peninsular Spanish, do not seem to elicit this kind of agreement. Note that exactly the same issue as in (37b) arises in every Spanish dialect for preverbal DOM objects (38).

- (38) A los dos se les vio abrazados en una plaza
 DOM the two SE 3PLO saw.3sS hugged in a square
 ‘They were seen hugging in a square’.

Suppose that, alternatively, in these contexts the verb appears systematically in singular, as in (12b). In that case, the number value has to be established by default in morphology, assuming that otherwise it would show the kind of number alternation found in (34)-(35). If so, it can be argued that when the morphological word has the potential to repair subject agreement, because there is a number feature available, then morphology can recycle the clitic as number agreement, as proposed in the previous section, or it can define a default as an alternative strategy. In other words, when morphology can perform an operation to repair subject agreement, then it has to do something to repair it. In this case there are two options available. First, it can mutate the clitic as proposed in (13), by impoverishing it and reassigning its number feature for subject agreement. But morphology also can assign a default value, possibly selecting the simpler morphological form, 3rd person singular. Crucially, this

⁷ A different issue is the context in which there is no feature available to satisfy the EPP. Could a default value be inserted in that case? Without further discussion we assume that it cannot, because it would violate inclusiveness. Therefore, the derivation in that circumstance crashes. In other words, the syntax creates the conditions in which a default value may be assigned, but it does not provide any default value.

alternative is only available when the morphological word contains the necessary ingredients, in this case, an object clitic.

Note that the morphological notion of default is essentially formal: the less specified form. This is not the case once we move to extragrammatical components.

5.2. Default. Processing

Examples of number alternation in (14)-(17) show, on the other hand, that when the NP appears in postverbal position, number agreement is not fixed, and speakers use singular or plural without rhyme or reason. In these cases there is no possible source within the morphological word for number, there is no object clitic. Therefore, morphology cannot solve the number agreement problem. The derivation reaches the performance system that has to actually pronounce the sentence. Number assignment cannot procrastinate longer, a value has to be supplied, and, according to the evidence, there are two processing strategies: (i) a default singular value is assigned or (ii) the number of the linearly closest nominal is agreed with.

Two comments are in order. First, note that being linearly conditioned entails that number agreement is generally triggered by postverbal objects, but it can also be triggered by other nominals, independently of their role or the configurational relations they have established, underlining its extra grammatical nature (36). And second, regarding these two strategies we are assuming that the default form is the same as in Morphology, the less specified one; but, as we will see next, there is another sense for default value.

Let us say that in principle speakers make use of one strategy or the other essentially by chance. As a matter of fact, typically agreement in this configuration exhibits intra speaker variation. However, this choice may also be influenced by sociolinguistic variables (Otero 1972, 1973; DeMello 1995; O&R 2022): education, prestige, or other socioeconomic conditions may determine which form is used for some speakers, or even communities. In other words, there is a sociolinguistic default choice that may correspond either to the morphologically default form, or to the agreement one. Similar conclusions were reached by Sobin (1997) when analyzing agreement patterns in (39).

- (39) a. Mary and I (me) left early.
 b. It was I (me).
 c. Mary is richer than I (me).
 d. There are (-'s) books on the table.
 e. There are (-'s/is) a cat and a dog in the yard.

Sobin proposes that agreement in these cases, as well as in other instances of agreement considered regular, is actually a virus sociolinguistically inoculated in the grammatical machinery, as a tool to explain interaction between modules. He proposes that these viruses appear under the following circumstances:

-Lexical specificity, a virus strongly involves particular lexical items contrary to regular syntactic processes. This property looks appropriate for English existential constructions (and Spanish *haber* and other lexical items such as *hacer*), and for the distribution of pronominal Case, but it does not seem useful

for characterizing *se* constructions, where agreement is not lexically conditioned. However, it may be relevant for the exceptional φ -feature specification of *se*.

-*Directionality, nonlocality, and adjacency*. These properties are the cornerstone of this conception in the sense that they clearly tease apart virus-induced operations, from regular grammatical ones. While regular grammatical operations are subject to those hierarchical conditions described by c-command, viruses propagate linearly and locally.

-*Over and underextension*. Since it is not grammatically determined, speakers exhibit a certain degree of uncertainty in its use.

As can be seen, these properties are quite similar to those previously used to characterize agreement with postverbal objects in *se* constructions. Sobin (1997) goes further and proposes an explanation about how social norms may affect grammar, and, eventually, trigger linguistic change (see O&R 2024 for discussion).

Many other similar cases are described in the literature. Consider, for instance, long distance agreement in Icelandic. Although Sigurdsson & Holmberg 2008 analyze the different patterns they find in syntactic terms, they actually observe the existence of multiple dialects that, in fact, acknowledgedly are not consistent either, with ‘considerable variation in between’. Moreover, according to them, the division is not based on a geographical distribution, but they mainly describe these “dialects” in terms of age. Similar effects are described in Etxepare (2006) for Basque long-distance agreement.

If we are right, performance systems have two options to determine agreement: by resorting to the morphologically default value or by linear agreement, what we call *number harmony* (O&R 2022). The context for φ -harmony only arises when the whole set of φ -features has not been specified in the syntax, and morphology has not repaired it. The best candidates for number harmony in Spanish are impersonal sentences (Fernández Soriano & Taboas 1999). Among impersonal sentences there are two different cases. On the one hand, we find *se* constructions, propositional subjects, and other structures where the subject fails to provide the necessary features for morphology. In these examples, goals are defective. This is the case we have been studying in this article by means of *se* constructions. On the other hand, there are verbs that are lexically impersonal, like *hacer* or *haber*, and certain psych-verbs with a ‘marked’ argument structure (Belletti & Rizzi’s *preoccupare* class). In this case, defectiveness is lexically specified in the verb (Sobin 1997).

In the case of impersonal verbs like *hacer* or *haber*, number agreement seems to strictly respond to number harmony, as in the previous cases: (i) it is optionally represented (ii) by a postverbal element, and (iii) variation is sociolectal in nature:

- (40) a. Esta mañana hace / hacen tres grados
 this morning makes / make three degrees
 ‘There are three degrees this morning’
 b. En el jardín había / habían muchos árboles
 in the garden there.was /there.were many trees
 ‘There were many trees in the garden, but the mayor cut them’

These cases may shed some light on Sobin's notion of virus. They satisfy all the conditions he describes, starting with lexical specificity. As a matter of fact, existential sentences in (40) are also analyzed by Sobin for English. However, for these verbs the norm in Spanish goes in the opposite direction: While in English agreement is obligatory according to the prestige form (as in the case of *se* constructions), in Spanish existential constructions lack of agreement is the norm.

In light of these diverging patterns, we do not agree with Sobin in the idea that agreement is a virus, while non agreement is somehow a regular form. As described, performance systems receive an incomplete form, and choose among two different options: to assign a morphological default or linearly search for agreement. This is coherent with the fact that contradictory solutions are adopted in the same language for its prestige variant: agreement in some cases (passive *se* constructions), and lack of agreement in others (*haber*). In that sense, whichever form is chosen may become a virus for the grammatical system. In other words, the notion of default varies from grammatical to extragrammatical components. While the grammatical notion of default corresponds to the morphologically simplest form, the extragrammatical one is chosen by sociolinguistic issues, and may correspond to the more complex form, in the cases under discussion, to the agreeing form.

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