(Past) Participle Agreement

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Note: The following pages reproduce the version of this chapter from the first edition with no major changes. Some updates have been added with the aim of highlighting new data and the essential lines of the related theoretical interpretations that have appeared in contributions published after publication of the original chapter.

1 Introduction: past participle agreement as Spec–Head agreement and clause structure

One of the most influential developments of syntactic theory over the last 25 years or so is the articulated and abstract conception of clause structure first inspired by Pollock's (1989) article. Functional categories constitute the skeleton around which clause structure is built up. Although abstract in a certain way, this conception is in fact very "concrete" as it explicitly expresses through syntactic positions features that can be overtly realized in the verbal inflectional morphology (or are indirectly signaled by the fixed position of different classes of adverbs, as in Cinque 1999). The Infl node of Chomsky (1981) has been internally analyzed in several distinct syntactic (morpho) heads. Typical labels for these heads directly mirror their morphological feature content: Agr(eement), T(ense), Asp(ect), M(ode), Voice, and Fin(iteness) for those related to verbal morphology; and Neg(ation), Foc(us), Top(ic), and Force for those related to the informational content of the clause (see Belletti 1990; Rizzi 1997; Zanuttini 1997; more recently, the cartographic literature: Cinque and Rizzi 2010 for an overview; and see Focus Movement; The Landscape of Negative Dependencies: Negative Concord and N-Words; Left Periphery of the Clause). A central role is played in the clause structure by Agr nodes and their projections, which constitute a kind of bridge between the purely lexical content of verbs and the nominal content of the arguments: they are the reflection of nominal features in the verbal morphology (on the role and status of Agreement projections, see Belletti 2001).

Although the status of Agr nodes in the functional (minimal) clause structure has been questioned in the Minimalist Program as their feature content is not "interpretable" in the relevant minimalist sense (Chomsky 1995; 2000; 2001), positions that (preminimalist) Agr nodes designate, although possibly differently labeled, should be preserved in order to account for the morphosyntactic interaction which agreement processes express. With this qualification in mind, we can continue to use the label Agr in the traditional way to refer to the syntactic position(s) implicated in agreement relations.

Between the late 1980s and mid-1990s, especially under the impulse of Kayne's (1989) article on Romance past participle agreement and Chomsky's first formulations of the Minimalist Program, the idea was put forth that clause structure should contain not only Agr-type projections related to the preverbal (high) subject position, but also other positions of this type in the lower part of the clause, closer to the area of the verb phrase (see Belletti 1994; 2001; Cardinaletti 1997; see also the works collected in Cinque 2002; Rizzi 2004; Belletti 2004). One of these positions, initially identified with the so-called object Case/agreement projection (AgrOP), later distinguished from it and sometimes labeled AgrPstPrtP, is the one where past participle agreement obtains (Belletti 2001; Friedeman and Siloni 1997). In the current representation of the verb phrase in terms of vP with functional light verbs containing the lexical VP, the agreement positions can, at least in part, be identified with (some of) the v position(s).

Under the view that agreement processes can be taken to be the reflex of an established Spec–Head relation inside an Agr projection, as revealed by (preverbal) subject agreement, Kayne (1989) proposed that past participle agreement is no exception to this general characterization. As a first illustration, take the case of past participle agreement in structures containing an object clitic in Italian:

(1) L'   ho   conosciut**a**   ieri.
    3SG.FEM.CL have.1SG   known.FEM.SG   yesterday
    'I knew her yesterday.'

Here, the past participle agrees with the moved object clitic. This agreement can be assumed to be obtained through the Spec–Head relation in the relevant low Agreement projection related to the past participial morphology/AgrPstPrtP. The relation is established in the course of movement of the clitic to its final landing site in some (functional) head in the upper part of the clause. So, past participle agreement is a reflex of the displacement of the nominal projection determining agreement. Note, incidentally, that past participle agreement may give a hint on the process of cliticization. The process should first involve movement as a maximal projection (of the projection containing the clitic), passing through the Spec of the relevant agreement projection. Toward the end of the process, after the passage through the Spec of the projection responsible for past participle agreement, the clitic concludes its derivation as a head, ultimately incorporating into the (finite) verb (Kayne 1989; Rouveret 1989; Sportiche 1996; Belletti 1999; Rizzi 2000). Section 3.3 discusses cases of object agreement, which constitute apparent exceptions to this general pattern of past participle agreement. Under the more recently developed view of agreement in terms of the relation Agree, involving first a search procedure by a Probe head carrying the relevant agreeing features and a nominal Goal expressing them, the Spec–Head configuration counts in fact as a derivative structural relation, realized when the probed phrase is displaced in a Spec position endowed with an attracting feature (so-called EPP feature), the property triggering displacement. The search/Agree process then opens up the possibility that the occurrence and the manifestation of agreement may not necessarily always involve a Spec–Head relation, a possibility exploited in some more recent accounts of instances of past participle agreement (see sections 3.3.and 5.2 for more on this).

2   Past participle agreement in Romance: basic data

Past participle agreement phenomena are widespread in Romance, with differences among the various languages and dialects. Some of these will be mentioned in the course of the discussion. The Romance languages most widely discussed in the literature in this connection are standard Italian and standard French. These two languages will also constitute the central focus of the following discussion.

2.1   Standard Italian

Past participle agreement holds in the following syntactic contexts:[1]

(I)   With unaccusative verbs:

(2)   Maria   è   partit**a**.
      Maria   be.3SG   left.FEM.SG
      'Mary has left.'

(II)   With passive morphology, both on the passive auxiliary and on the lexical verb:

    (3) Maria   è   stat**a**   assunt**a**.
           Maria be.3SG been.FEM.SG hired.FEM.SG
           'Mary has been hired.'

(III)   Under direct object cliticization:[2]
    (i)   obligatorily for the third person:

        (4) a. L'   ho   vist**a**/*o
               3SG.FEM.CL have.1SG seen.FEM.SG/*NONAGR[3]
           b. Le   ho   vist**e**/*o
               3PL.FEM   have.1SG seen.FEM.PL/*NONAGR
           c. Li   ho   vist**i**/*o
               3PL.MASC have.1SG seen.MASC.PL/*NONAGR
              'I have seen her/him/them.'

    (ii)   optionally with the other persons:

        (5) a. Mi/ti   ha   vist**a/o/o**.
               1SG/2SG.CL have.3SG seen.FEM.SG/MASC.SG/NONAGR
           b. Ci/vi   ha   vist**e/i/o**.
               1PL/2PL   have.3SG seen.FEM.PL/MASC.PL/NONAGR
               'He has seen me/you/us/you.'

(IV)   With reflexive/reciprocal clitics (including the inherent reflexive/ergative *si*-constructions of Burzio 1986):

    (6) a. Mi   sono   guardat**a** allo   specchio.
           1SG.REFL.CL be.1SG watched   to.the mirror
        b   Ci   siamo   guardat**e** allo   specchio.
           1PL.REFL.CL be.1PL watched   to.the mirror
           'I/we have watched myself/ourselves in the mirror.'

(V)   With impersonal (passive) *si*:

    (7) Ultimamente si   sono   costruit**e**/*o molte   case.
        lately   SI   be.3PL built   many   house.PL
        'Lately, many houses have been built.'

2.2   Standard French

Past participle agreement holds in similar contexts in French, with the following qualifications distinguishing it from the Italian paradigm:

(I)   With unaccusative verbs taking *être* as aspectual auxiliary (hearable in some regional varieties; the same constraint as in standard Italian except that

être is not the only auxiliary taken by unaccusative verbs in French; see section 3.4):

(8) Elles   sont   venu**es**.
    3PL.FEM   BE.3PL   come
    'They have come.'

(II)   With passive morphology on the lexical verb only:

(9) Ces   sottises   ont   été   fait**es**   par   les
    these   stupid.thing.FEM.PL   have.3PL   been   done.FEM.PL   by   the
    élèves   de   cinquième.
    student.PL   from   5th.grade
    'These stupid things have been done by the students of the 5th grade.'

(III)   Under direct object movement, via cliticization and *wh*-movement, optionally in both cases:[4]

(10) Ces   sottises,   Jean   ne   les   a
     these   stupid.thing.FEM.PL   Jean   not   3PL.CL   have.3SG
     jamais   fait**es**/–.
     ever   done.FEM.PL
     'These stupid things, John has never done them.'

(11) Voilà   les   sottises   que   Jean   n'aurait   jamais
     here.are   the   stupid.thing.FEM.PL   that   Jean   wouldn't.have   ever
     fait**es**/–.
     done.FEM.PL
     'These are the stupid things that John would never have done.'

(IV)   With reflexive/reciprocal clitics (including the inherent reflexive/ergative *si*/*se*-constructions of Burzio (1986), the so-called pronominal verbs of normative descriptions, both requiring *être* as aspectual auxiliary, hence falling under case (I)):

(12) Elles   se   sont   repris**es**.
     3PL.FEM   3PL.REFL   have.3PL   recovered
     'They have recovered.'

2.3   Other cases

Beside these basic data there are other domains where past participle agreement gives rise to various complications. Let us consider standard Italian, where the phenomenon is clear as it always has a phonetic correlate. In transitive structures containing an overt direct object and a reflexive clitic corresponding to an indirect

object (dative), the past participle obligatorily agrees with the indirect reflexive clitic, hence with the subject:

(13) a. Maria   si   è   lavata/*o i   capelli.
          Maria   3SG.FEM.REFL   be.3SG   washed   the   hair
          'Maria washed her hair.'
      b. Gianni e   Mario si   sono   strett**i** la   mano.
          Gianni and Mario 3PL.REFL be.3PL shaken   the   hand
          'Gianni and Mario have shaken hands.'

However, if the direct object of sentences like (13) is cliticized, past participle agreement is with the direct object clitic:

(14) a. Maria   se   li   è   lavat**i**.
          Maria   3SG.FEM.REFL   3PL.MASC.CL   be.3SG   washed.MASC.PL
          'Maria washed it.'
      b. Gianni e   Mario se   la   sono   strett**a**.
          Gianni and Mario 3PL.REFL 3SG.FEM.CL   be.3PL shaken.FEM.SG
          'Gianni and Mario have shaken it.'

   A hierarchy seems operative according to which past participle agreement with the direct object clitic necessarily takes priority over agreement with the indirect object (reflexive) clitic. The same paradigm is preserved if the reflexive clitic corresponds to a benefactive:

(15) a. Maria/io si/mi   è/sono   letta   questi   libri
          Maria/1SG 3SG/1SG.REFL   be.3SG/1SG   read.FEM.SG   these   book.PL
          volentieri.
          gladly
          'Maria/I has/have read these books gladly for herself/myself.'
      b. Maria/io   se/me   li   è/sono
          Maria/1SG 3SG/1SG.REFL   3PL.MASC.CL   be.3SG/1SG
          lett**i**   volentieri.
          read.MASC.PL   gladly
          'Maria/I has/have read them gladly for herself/myself.'

See section 5 for more on this.
   Finally, past participle agreement with a direct object clitic is preserved and obligatory in standard Italian, also in so-called A(bsolute) S(mall) C(lauses):

(16) a. Conosciut**a**la, …
          known.FEM.SG-3SG.FEM.CL …
          'Having known her …'
      b. Incontrat**a**la, …
          met.FEM.SG-3SG.FEM.CL …
          'Having met her …'

    c.   *?Conosciut**o**la, …
        known-3SG.FEM.CL …
    d.   *?Incontrat**o**la, …
        met-3SG.FEM.CL …

Note that here the clitic is an enclitic on the past participle.[5]

3   Past participle agreement as Spec–Head agreement

As mentioned earlier, a partial reformulation of Kayne's influential approach to past participle agreement (PPA), interprets the occurrence of PPA as a consequence of passing through the Spec of the past participle projection of an element, typically the direct object, moving to some other position in the clause: the preverbal subject position in the case of unaccusatives and passives;[6] the clitic landing site in the case of cliticization; the (left) periphery of the clause in the case of *wh*-movement. Clearly, the most salient and interesting feature of this approach is its unifying character which drastically simplifies the understanding of a complex pattern. Let us concentrate more closely on the agreement occurring under cliticization and *wh*-movement, leaving for section 3.3 the discussion of some cases of object agreement. Section 3.4 addresses the issue of the (apparent) correlation between auxiliary selection and past participle agreement.

3.1   Cliticization

The described approach to past participle agreement requires a movement analysis of cliticization.[7] The clitic projection in its movement to its final landing site in the upper part of the clause passes through Spec of AgrPstPrt and triggers agreement in a way parallel to that assumed for the case of preverbal subject–verb agreement in finite clauses. The only difference between the two cases is related to the nature of the past participial morphology which only manifests gender and number features and no person feature. Kayne's original account, as well as the subsequent literature on the topic, has typically left unexplained why such agreement processes should be obligatory in some cases and optional in other cases which would otherwise meet the relevant configuration. Consider the difference in Italian, presented in section 2, between third-person clitics on the one side, obligatorily triggering past participle agreement, and first- and second-person clitics, doing so only optionally on the other. This pattern seems to identify an area of genuine optionality, also systematically manifested in the French paradigm of cliticization with clitics of all persons and numbers.

    The question is a complex one. Occurrence vs. non-occurrence of past participle agreement could in fact be a sign of different types of derivation: one involving passage through the Spec of the past participial projection, one not involving it (see Sportiche 1998, ch. 3). Alternatively, the different agreement pattern could be related to other independent differences, internal to Italian and between Italian and French. The system elaborated in Guasti and Rizzi (2002) can provide a way of making the relevant distinction. In that work, the proposal is put forth that overt

manifestation of agreement should in general be correlated to morphological check-ing taking place in the syntax; in particular, as far as verbal agreement is concerned, to syntactic Verb movement. Suppose that the hypothesis is made that the internal structure of the Agr past participial projection is more articulated than hypothesized so far in that it could involve different designated positions for clitics of different per-sons, with first and second person higher than third person. A way of accounting for the way the optionality is manifested in Italian suggests itself. If syntactic V-movement implementing morphological checking takes place obligatorily in the first Agr head, but only optionally in the others, past participle agreement is expected to be obligatory with third-person clitics only. The difference internal to Italian could thus find a reasonable account.[8] The proposed approach can also provide a way of accounting for the difference between Italian and French in this connection, along the lines of Guasti and Rizzi (2002). As has been known since Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1990), the verb only moves optionally with non-finite morphology in French, while Verb movement is generalized in Italian. The optionality of past participle agreement with object clitics of all persons in French could then be reduced to a further mani-festation of the optionality of non-finite Verb movement in this language.

We may note in conclusion that recent experimental studies on the acquisition of different types of agreement in Italian (Moscati and Rizzi 2014) have shown that the hardest agreement configuration for young children to acquire is precisely past par-ticiple agreement under cliticization; these results are coherent with the complexity of the described derivation involving several movement (internal Merge) steps and the different options mentioned.

3.2   *Wh*-movement

As illustrated in section 2, a similar issue arises in the case of *wh*-movement. Taking into consideration standard French, this language optionally manifests past parti-ciple agreement under *wh*-movement ((10), (11)). In standard Italian, this type of agreement is never manifested, as the following contrasts indicate:

(17)   a.   *I   libri   che   ho   letti.
            the   book.MASC.PL   that   have.1SG   read.MASC.PL
       b.   I   libri   che   ho   letto.
            the   book.MASC.PL   that   have.1SG   read
       c.   *Quanti   libri   hai   letti?
            how.many   book.MASC.PL   have.2SG   read.MASC.PL
       d.   Quanti   libri   hai   letto?
            how.many   book.MASC.PL   have.2SG   read

The contrast between French and Italian does not go in the usual direction in this case in that Italian does not manifest agreement in cases where French does. French does not seem to make any distinction between cliticization and *wh*-movement, past participle agreement being optional in both cases. Indeed, this could ultimately be viewed as an indirect consequence of the relative poverty of French (past particip-ial) morphology whose structural correlate could be a (relatively) flat projection for the past participle. In the spirit of the discussion in section 3.1, optionality of past

participle agreement should then be expected across the board in French as a function of the optionality of non-finite V-movement, independently of the kind of (phrasal) movement involved.[9] For Italian, the proposal should be that the verb never reaches the (by hypothesis) high(est) head in the richly articulated past participle projection, whose specifier hosts the passage of the *wh*-phrase. Lack of agreement with *wh*-movement would then follow in the way discussed in section 3.1.

Contrasts arising in standard French in the domain of *wh*-movement are particularly interesting in this connection. As past participle agreement is normally optionally admitted in this language, cases where it is impossible must reveal the operation of some principled source of their ungrammaticality. The relevant contrasts are those in (18), discussed in Rizzi (1990) and Obenauer (1994).

(18) a. Combien   de   voitures   a-t-il   conduit**es**?
       how.many   of   car.FEM.PL   have.3SG-3SG.MASC   driven.FEM.PL
   b. *Combien   a-t-il   conduit**es**   de   voitures?
       how.many   have.3SG-3SG.MASC   driven.FEM.PL   of   car.FEM.PL
       'How many cars did he drive?'

In (18a) the whole direct object is *wh*-moved (into CP), while only the quantifier is moved in the ungrammatical (18b). The possibility in French of moving only the *wh*-quantifier, leaving the rest of the phrase containing the nominal projection behind, is shown by the grammaticality of sentences like (19) which in fact differ from (18b) only in that they do not display past participle agreement:

(19)   Combien   a-t-il   conduit   de   voitures?
      how.many   have.3SG-3SG.MASC   driven   of   car.FEM.PL

This is a straightforward indication that the source of the ungrammaticality of (18b) is solely to be found in the illegitimate past participle agreement.

Adapting Rizzi's discussion, the impossibility of (18b) can be interpreted as a case of improper movement ultimately induced by Relativized Minimality (RM). Assume that, due to RM, the derivation of sentences like (19) involves movement of the *wh*-quantifier to and from the same syntactic position in the VP area also available for the adverbial modifier *beaucoup*, illustrated by sentences like (20):

(20)   Il   a   beaucoup   consulté   ces   livres.
      3SG.MASC   have.3SG   much   consulted   these   book.PL

The same position is also used as landing site for movement of the QP in sentences like (21b), related to (21a):

(21) a. Il   a   consulté   beaucoup   de   livres.
       3SG.MASC   have.3SG   consulted   many   of   book.PL
   b. Il   a   beaucoup   consulté   de   livres.
       3SG.MASC   have.3SG   many   consulted   of   book.PL
   c. *Il   a   beaucoup   conduit**es**   de   voitures.
       3SG.MASC   have.3SG   many   driven.FEM.PL   of   car.FEM.PL

The relation of sentences like (21b) and (20) is pointed out in Obenauer (1994) and discussed in Rizzi (1990). This adverbial position is considered an A′-position, as are adverbial positions in general. The impossibility of (18b) (which is paralleled by the impossibility of (21c)) can then be attributed to the fact that, in order for past participle agreement to obtain, passage to the Spec of the past participial morphology should be necessary. It seems natural to consider this position an A-position, as specifiers of agreement projections are in general.[10] If the adverbial position is located lower than the past participle projection, the resulting derivation would constitute a case of improper movement involving the illegitimate step A′ > A, crucial in order for past participle agreement to be triggered. Note that interaction between *combien* extraction and the adverb *beaucoup* in the pre-VP position of (20) is confirmed by the following paradigm, first discussed in Obenauer (1976) and interpreted by Rizzi (1990) as a typical instance of the operation of the RM principle:

(22) a. Combien   de livres   a-t-il   beaucoup consultés?
          how.many of book.PL have.3SG-3SG.MASC much   consulted
      b. *Combien   a-t-il   beaucoup consulté de livres?
          how.many have.3SG-3SG.MASC much   consulted of book.PL

If, contrary to the hypothesis just explored, we were to assume that the past participle projection is lower in the clause structure than the adverbial position (the speculative proposal of section 5 would probably lead to this conclusion), agreement could take place and *combien* could subsequently move into the adverbial position with no improper movement step being created. The alternative explanation suggested in Rizzi (1990) could then be adopted. According to this interpretation, movement of *combien* to the Spec of the past participial projection should be excluded in principle under structure preservation, as this position should be reserved to noun phrases, hence excluding QPs.

3.3   Object agreement

As seen in the previous sections, past participle agreement is possible and/or obligatory with direct objects under the particular structural conditions created by DP movement, clitic movement, and *wh*-movement, with the described asymmetries. It appears to be the case that past participle agreement can sometimes occur with a direct object, which, at least apparently, fills the regular direct object position, linearly following the verb. This is neither true in standard Italian nor in standard French. However, it is true in some dialect varieties of (southern) Italian, in some other Romance languages (e.g., Occitan), and also in literary Italian.[11] The question then arises as to how the Kaynean approach could account for these cases, which correspond to sentences like (23), using an Italian example (marginally possible at the relevant stylistic level):

(23) Maria ha   conosciut**e** le   ragazze.
      Maria have.3SG known.FEM.PL the girl.FEM.PL

Different possible analyses could account for this pattern. The first assumes that the direct object is only apparently a regular direct object in (23), but in fact it actually fills a position different from the Internal argument canonical position of direct objects (e.g., it could be dislocated, see below). The second assumes that there is in fact more structure defining the past participle projection with at least one further position higher than the projection of the past participle; the past participle has to move into the head of this higher projection, while the direct object moves to and remains in Spec of AgrPstPrt. In the first approach, tentatively suggested in Kayne (1989), the kind of position the direct object fills should be clarified. Kayne suggests that it fills the right-dislocated position. Presence of a silent clitic is assumed as the real trigger of agreement. A proposal along these lines does not seem adequate to account for those varieties where agreement is obligatory: why should a direct object systematically be right-dislocated? Moreover, how could the presence of the silent clitic be independently justified? Under the second approach, one should clarify what kind of further functional projection would dominate the past participle agreement projection as well as what would force the verb to move into its head.[12] Hence, both analyses leave a number of open questions. The second approach would probably provide a more natural way to account for the difference among languages. Presence vs. absence vs. optional presence of object agreement could be viewed as a function of object movement and syntactic verb movement (both allowing for an amount of optionality which may vary along the lines reviewed in section 3.1 for the case of non-finite V-movement). Agreement would result from the combination of both object movement and syntactic verb movement. The difference among the various languages (and registers) could be phrased in terms of whether movement of the object goes further than the VP area, as in the case of DP movement (in passives and unaccusatives), cliticization and *wh*-movement, or not. Some languages (standard Italian, French) would allow object movement only in the former case, others would extend the process to all cases.[13] A third possible analysis can be suggested under the approach to agreement in terms of Agree mentioned in section 1: cases of past participle agreement of the type in (23) could be the result of the Agree relation directly established between the past participial (agreement) head probing the direct object in the Internal argument object position as proposed in D'Alessandro and Roberts (2010). Again, the question that opens up in this case as well is how the parametric difference between, for example, standard Italian and the varieties allowing for past participle agreement with the unmoved direct object could be expressed.

As discussed in Belletti (1990; 1992), standard Italian has past-participial small clauses, referred to as absolute small clauses (ASC). These display a special agreement pattern. The past participle is the first constituent of the small clause, followed by the subject in the case of unaccusative verbs, and by the direct object in the case of transitive verbs.[14] In both cases, past participle agreement is obligatory:

(24) a. Arriva**ta** Maria, …
   arrived.FEM.SG Maria, …
   'Maria having arrived, …'
 b. Conosciu**ta** Maria, …
   known.FEM.SG Maria, …
   'Having known Maria, …'

If the agreement in (24a) appears to be a standard case – as the past participle always agrees with the postverbal subject in unaccusative structures – the same is not true for (24b); as discussed earlier, transitive past participles do not normally agree with the direct object in standard Italian. The idea of analyzing (24b) as a passive past participle, thus reducing this kind of agreement to the standard case of past participle agreement under passive morphology, ultimately equivalent to the unaccusative structures, does not appear to be empirically correct, as discussed in detail in the references quoted. The most direct indication is provided by the fact that the nominal following the past participle is marked with accusative case, visible when it is a (first- or second-person) personal pronoun (cf. *Conosciuta me/*io*). ASCs like (24b) are better dealt with as transitive structures with a control PRO filling the subject position. Past participle agreement in (24b) is then a genuine case of agreement with the direct object. Various ideas come to mind to express this pattern. Notice that the second analysis hinted at above for cases like (23) can provide a fairly straightforward account: the direct object moves to Spec of the past participle agreement projection and the past participle moves higher (maybe to C; see the references quoted). Word order is obtained. The necessity of agreement in this case, contrary to regular full transitive clauses of standard Italian, should be due to special properties characterizing ASC, possibly crucially related to Case requirements. As proposed in the works quoted, agreement here provides a device to assign Case to the direct object.[15]

3.4   On auxiliaries and past participle agreement

The widespread co-occurrence of past participle agreement and presence of auxiliary *essere* might lead one to think that the two processes are strictly dependent on one another. In particular, selection of *essere* as aspectual auxiliary could be taken to be the crucial factor forcing agreement. However, the simple correlation between auxiliary selection and presence or absence of agreement is empirically incorrect in both directions. There are cases where *avere* is selected, for example with transitive verbs, and agreement is manifested (see the discussion in connection with (23)); furthermore, there are Romance varieties where *avere* is selected with unaccusatives and still agreement is manifested.[16] On the other hand, there are cases where *essere* is selected in standard Italian and yet agreement is impossible. Compare the impersonal *si* construction with intransitives and transitives, also pointed out in Burzio (1986) in this connection:

(25)   a.   Si   è   telefonato/*i.
            one   be.3SG   called/*MASC.PL
            'Someone rang.'
       b.   Si   è   mangiato/*i   due   castagne.
            one   be.3SG   eaten/*MASC.PL   two   chestnut.PL
            'Two chestnuts were eaten.'

It can be suggested that selection of *essere* is due to the presence of the impersonal *si* in these cases, but as no movement is involved here from the VP-internal/object position, contrary to the impersonal passive of examples like (7) for example, no

past participle agreement is produced. This indicates that movement from the VP-internal (object) position, and not the kind of auxiliary selection, is the crucial factor triggering agreement.

Lack of past participle agreement in (25) is also interesting in comparison with (26), where the adjective agrees in gender and number with the arbitrary plural impersonal *si* – third person singular on the verb is often interpreted as the unmarked person agreement, the only one compatible with the impersonal subject (see Belletti 1982; Burzio 1986):

(26)　Si　è　　felic**i**/*e.
　　　 one　be.3SG　happy.MASC.PL/*SG

This contrast may indicate that the AP involves a different internal representation than the intransitive or transitive past participle. Its representation is possibly, closer to the one of the past participle of unaccusatives which systematically manifest agreement (cf. *Si è partit**i*** 'someone left'). See section 5 for a proposal concerning unaccusatives which could extend to this case.

4　On some cases of past participle agreement in French and the comparison with Italian

4.1　On the A- vs. A′-status of the specifier of the past participle projection

Kayne (1989) discusses impossible cases of past participle agreement in *wh*-constructions involving an expletive subject:

(27)　a.　Quelle　chaleur　atroce　il　　a　　　fait/*e.
　　　　　 what　　heat　　terrible　3SG　have.3SG　done
　　　　　 'What a terrible heat!'
　　　b.　Je　　me　　　demande　　combien　de　chaises　　il　　sera
　　　　　 1SG　1SG.REFL　wonder.1SG　how.many　of　chair.FEM.PL　3SG　be.3SG.FUT
　　　　　 repeint/***es**　　　cette　　année.
　　　　　 repainted/*FEM.PL　this　　year
　　　　　 'I wonder how many chairs will be repainted this year.'
　　　c.　Les chaises qu'il　　m'aurait　　　　　　fallu/***es**.
　　　　　 the chairs　which it　to me1SG.CL would have necessitated/*FEM.PL
　　　　　 'The chairs which I would need.'

The account proposed by Kayne (1989) crucially relies on the assumption that the Spec position of the past participle projection is an A′-position. Assuming that at LF the expletive must be eliminated through substitution from the associate (Chomsky 1986), the impossibility would follow from the fact that the LF movement at work for substituting the expletive would imply an illegitimate A′ > A step, from Spec of the past participle projection to the subject position in Spec of IP. However, the hypothesis that the Spec of the past participle projection is an A′-position does not look plausible, both on theoretical and empirical grounds.[17] From the theoretical point of view, the specifier of the past participle projection would constitute an

isolated exception to the general A status of the specifiers of agreement projections. This is an implausible conclusion which is not independently justified. On the empirical side, consider the following pair (presented in Ruwet 1982; Grevisse 1986; and Kayne 1989):

(28) a. *Une femme qu'on aurait di**te** ne pas être belle.
          'A woman that one would have said.FEM.SG not to be beautiful.'
      b. Une femme qu'on aurait di**te** belle.
          'A woman that one would have said.FEM.SG beautiful.'

If *wh*-extraction in (28a) requires passage through the CP of the subordinate infinitival clause (Kayne 1984), the impossibility of past participle agreement here can directly follow from the assumption that the specifier of the past participle projection is an A-position in the following way. The derivation would imply an improper movement in one of its steps: the step from [Spec, CP], an A′-position, to [Spec, AgrPstPrt], an A-position. On the other hand, if the small clause in (28b) is not a CP projection, no passage through this position is ever at work, hence the *wh*-phrase can directly move to the specifier of the past participle projection and from there into the CP position of the relative clause. No improper movement is involved in any step of the derivation. This is the interpretation proposed for contrasts of this type in Belletti and Rizzi (1996), which crucially requires that the specifier of the past participle projection be an A-position.

4.2   Past participle agreement and inherent Case

In the same work the impossibility of past participle agreement in expletive constructions like (27) is interpreted as due to the unavailability in French of (past participle) agreement with indefinite postverbal subjects, under the hypothesis that they be marked with inherent Case in these constructions (Belletti 1988; see also Sportiche 1998, ch. 3). These examples would then fall under the often observed lack of agreement triggered by nominal expressions marked with inherent Case.[18] Indeed, if the assumption is made that agreement with inherently Case-marked noun phrases is systematically excluded in French, three apparently unrelated cases of impossible agreement – some having passed unnoticed in the theoretical literature – are attributed a unified interpretation (see Belletti and Rizzi 1996, where it is also pointed out that the data on psych verbs are implicitly noted in Grevisse 1986):

(i) The impossibility of agreement under *en* cliticization (where *en* realizes partitive case, possibly assigned by the indefinite quantifier here (see Cardinaletti and Giusti 1992):[19]

(29) Il   en   a   repeint/*es   deux.
      3SG.MASC   of.3PL.CL have.3SG   repainted/*FEM.PL two
      'He has repainted two of them.'

(ii)   The impossibility of agreement with psych verbs of the *worry* class:[20]

> (30)   a.   Cela   l'   a   surpris/***e**.
>   this   3SG.FEM.CL   have.3SG   surprised/*FEM.SG
>   'This has surprised her.'
>   b.   La   fille   que   ton   départ/ce spectacle   a   profondément
>   the girl   that your   departure/this show   have.3SG   deeply
>   surpris/***e**.
>   surprised/*FEM.SG
>   'The girl that your departure/this show has deeply surprised.'

(iii) The impossibility of agreement with the postverbal subject in subject inversion structures:

> (31)   Il   a   été   repeint/***es**   trois   voitures.
>   3SG   have.3SG   been   repainted/*FEM.PL   three   car.FEM.PL

This case of impossible agreement can be seen as the same lack of agreement systematically manifested in this type of structure, independent of the presence of a past participle:

> (32)   Il   arrivera   /*arriveront   trois   filles.
>   3SG   arrive.3SG.FUT   /*arrive.3PL.FUT   three   girl.FEM.PL

Note that lack of agreement in (31) and (32) cannot be related to presence of the expletive. The same impossibility is preserved in Stylistic-Inversion structures containing a semi-idiomatic expression V + N where the expletive can be absent, as first pointed out in Kayne and Pollock (1978):[21]

> (33)   a.   Le   jour   où   a   été   mis   /*mise   fin   au   conflit.
>   the day   where have.3SG   been   put   /*put.FEM.SG   end   to.the   conflict
>   'The day when the conflict was ended.'
>   b.   J'exige   que   soit   mis   /*mise   fin   au   conflit.
>   1SG-require   that be   put   /*put.FEM.SG   end   to.the   conflict
>   'I require that an end be put to the conflict.'

The comparison with standard Italian is interesting in that all the data where a comparison is directly possible have an opposite shape: past participle agreement is possible and obligatory under *ne* cliticization, with psych verbs of the *worry* class, and in subject inversion structures, including those containing a semi-idiomatic V + N expression:

> (34)   a.   Ne   ho   comprat**e**   /*comprato   molte.
>   of.3PL.CL   have.1SG   bought.FEM.PL   /*bought   many
>   'I have bought many of them.' (cf. (29))
>   b.   Questo   l'ha   sorpres**a**   /*sorpreso.
>   this   3SG.FEM.CL-have.3SG   surprised.FEM.SG   /*surprised
>   'This has surprised her.' (cf. (30))
>   c.   Sono   entrat**i**   /*entrato   due   ladri   dalla   finestra.
>   be.3PL   entered.MASC.PL   /*entered   two   robber.PL   from.the   window
>   'Two robbers have entered through the window' (cf. (31))

d. | Esigo | che | sia | messa/ | *?messo | fine | al | conflitto. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| require.1SG | that | be | put.FEM.SG | /*?put | end | to.the | conflict |

'I require that an end be put to the conflict.' (cf. (33))

(The last example is slightly more acceptable than the other impossible cases. The marginal possibility of lack of agreement here could reflect the fact that the expression is analyzed as fully non-compositional.) The proposal sketched in Belletti and Rizzi (1996) to deal with the French–Italian contrast is that a parametrization is possible for the availability of agreement with inherent Case. Italian admits (and requires) it, French does not (see also Mahajan 1990 for a similar proposal in the context of a comparison between Hindi and closely related languages).

It should be pointed out that (past participle) agreement is systematically excluded with dative case, a general fact in Romance, illustrated here for Italian in the context of cliticization:

(35) | *Le | ho | parlata. |
|---|---|---|
| 3SG.FEM | have.1SG | spoken.FEM.SG |

'I have spoken to her.'

One possibility to capture the difference between dative and inherent case is that, as witnessed by the presence of a preposition, datives imply a further level of structure containing P. P being incompatible with phi-features, agreement is excluded in principle when this level is activated. The hypothesis should then be that inherent Case is not prepositional.[22]

In those cases where *ne* corresponds to an adnominal complement, past participle agreement is optional (see also Lepschy and Lepschy 1977):

(36) a. | Ne | ho | letta | /?letto | la | metà. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of.3SG.CL | have.1SG | read.FEM.SG | /?read | the | half |

'I have read half of it.'

b. | Ne | ho | consultata | /consultato | l'opera. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| of.3SG.CL | have.1SG | consulted.FEM.SG | consulted | the work |

'I have consulted his work.'

A possible interpretation here is that *ne* is ambiguous here between being inherently case-marked and as a PP.

4.3 Past participle agreement and effects on the interpretation

As first pointed out in Obenauer (1992; 1994) and discussed in Déprez (1998), the optionality of past participle agreement in *wh*-structures in French is not without consequences from the point of view of the interpretation. The distinction is particularly clear in *wh*-structures involving *combien*. Consider (37).

(37) a. | Combien | de | fautes | a-t- | elle | faites? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| b. | Combien | de | fautes | a-t- | elle | fait? |
| | how.many | of | mistake.PL | have.3SG | 3SG.FEM | made.FEM.PL |

In the agreeing case a set of specific typical mistakes is presupposed, while there is no such presupposition in the non-agreeing case, at least not necessarily. The two interpretations can be linked to different FEM syntactic positions: the presuppositional (D-linked) interpretation to a VP-external one, the non-presuppositional (non-D-linked) one to a VP-internal one.[23] In the spirit of the discussion in section 4.2, a possible interpretation of the contrast could then be the following. Assume that the *wh*-moved direct object is marked with structural accusative case in (37a) and with inherent case in (37b). Assume furthermore that the inherent case, which is available VP-internally by assumption, is only compatible with weak, non-presuppositional, indefinite objects, while no such limitation constrains structural accusative case, which is assigned and checked in some functional projection outside the VP projection. The contrast in (37) is then directly accounted for. In the derivation of (37b) the inherently case-marked object does not trigger agreement in its passage through the Spec of the past participle agreement projection on its way to the CP area, as is generally the case with inherently case-marked phrases in French; in (37a) the direct object does not carry inherent case, but structural accusative case, hence in its passage through the same Spec position it does trigger agreement.

As discussed in section 2, agreement is usually optional in *wh*-constructions in French. This also implies that a structurally case-marked *wh*-object can avoid triggering agreement. Hence, lack of agreement can derive from two distinct factors: either from inherent case marking or from optional agreement with an accusative case-marked indefinite object. This in turn implies that the presuppositional interpretation, only compatible with accusative case, can also be available in the non-agreeing form. Obenauer's data confirm this prediction. As noted above, the presuppositional reading is not impossible also in the non-agreeing form.

5   Some concluding remarks

A fairly widespread property of past participle agreement in Romance is that the past participle characteristically does not agree with the external argument subject of sentences containing intransitive/unergative and transitive verbs. This is illustrated in (38) for standard Italian:

(38)   a.   *Maria   ha   parlata.
            Maria   have.3SG   spoken.FEM.SG
       b.   *Maria   ha   letta   un   bel   romanzo.
            Maria   have.3SG   read.FEM.SG   a   nice   novel

Any account should explain the difference between the impossible cases in (38) and all the possible cases discussed so far. Below, we first sketch out a possible line for such an account with the ingredients assumed so far inspired by the classical computation for past participle agreement *à la* Kayne (5.1). We then review some newly reported data from dialects of Italy, (Manzini and Savoia 2005; D'Alessandro and Roberts 2010), in which the type of agreement in (38) is in fact possible, in particular regarding the number feature of the past participle.

5.1 Lack of past participle agreement with the external argument subject of the clause

Following Burzio's original fundamental insight, a widely holding generalization seems to be that past participle agreement involves arguments belonging to the lowest level of the VP projection, typically the direct object (on the agreement cases involving indirect object reflexive clitics as in (13), see below). It does not involve external arguments (in Williams' 1981 sense, integrated with the vP-internal subject hypothesis originally due to Koopman and Sportiche 1991, enriched with the light v analysis currently assumed). The external argument is in fact the argument that is merged as the highest one within the vP. In what follows, a possible line of explanation of this fundamental pattern is suggested.

A way of excluding the highest vP argument of intransitive/unergative and transitive verbs from triggering past participle agreement consists in assuming that this argument cannot pass through the Spec position of the past participle projection (on its way to the preverbal subject position). The most direct way of excluding this possibility, in turn, is to assume that this is so because the relevant agreement projection is located in a position lower than the base position of S. This amounts to claiming that the relevant agreement projection is in fact VP-internal. According to this hypothesis, past participles always correspond to unaccusative type structures: they are VPs with no external argument (not including the argument which is merged last). The idea is schematized in (39) (where the label O stands for the typical internal argument, i.e., the direct object).

(39)   AgrPstPrt

           V   O
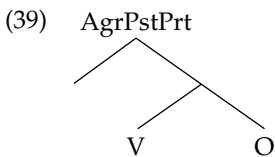
The internal structure of an intransitive/unergative or of a transitive VP should correspond to a projection along the lines of (40).

(40)   VP

   S

       v   AgrPstPrt

               V   O
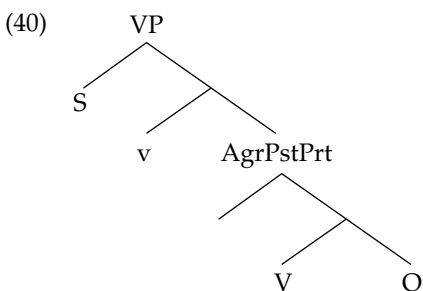
Only O, the argument merged first filling a low position within the VP, has access to the specifier of the past participle projection in its movement(s). The hypothesis schematized in (40) directly derives the basic data presented in section 2 as well as the impossibility of (38), with the supplementary assumption that, systematically

in standard Italian and less so in other Romance languages, the auxiliary *essere* selects projections like (39), while *avere* selects those illustrated by (40) (on sentences involving impersonal SI, see below).[24]

Some of the data in section 2 require more discussion. Consider structures involving a reflexive clitic like (6a), repeated in (41).

(41) Mi   sono   guardat**a**   allo   specchio.
      1SG.REFL.CL   be.1SG   watched.FEM.SG   to.the   mirror
      'I have watched myself in the mirror.'

Here, agreement is obligatory. The idea of relating this agreement to movement of the direct object reflexive clitic as in standard clitic constructions leaves its obligatoriness unexplained. It contrasts with the general optionality of past participle agreement with first- and second-person clitics in Italian, noted in section 2 and discussed in section 3.2. Hence, past participle agreement in (41) must be due to the reflexive nature of the construction. Following the spirit of one of Kayne's original proposals, it can be assumed that reflexive clitics are generated outside the vP. Structures like (41) can then be considered on a par with unaccusative structures: what actually moves here is not the clitic, but the internal argument of the unaccusative construction (in this case a silent first-person singular pronoun with feminine reference). The same analysis would be used for unaccusative structures involving an inherent reflexive.

Now consider structures containing a reflexive (indirect object, benefactive) clitic and a full direct object (cf. (13) above):

(42) a. Maria   si   è   lavat**a**   i   capelli.
          Maria   3SG.FEM.REFL   be.3SG   washed.FEM.SG   the   hair
          'Maria has washed her hair.'
      b. Maria   si   è   lett**a**   questo   libro.
          Maria   3SG.FEM.REFL   be.3SG   read   this   book
          'Maria has read this book.'

The vP in (42) is transitive, projected as in (40). The reflexive clitic (indirect object, benefactive) is generated outside the vP as in the preceding discussion. But suppose that a further Agr projection above the transitive vP is selected in these cases.[25] Now, when the subject *Maria* moves out of the vP to reach the preverbal subject position in the high portion of the clause structure, it passes through the specifier of the further, higher (past participle) Agr projection and triggers past participle agreement. According to this proposal, past participle agreement is triggered here by movement of the subject, not of the reflexive clitic (a necessary conclusion, given the assumed line of analysis for reflexive clitics). The object does not move in this case. When the object moves, for example, to cliticize, past participle agreement is triggered in the lower agreement projection:

(43) a. Maria   se   li   è   lavat**i**.
          Maria   3SG.REFL   3PL.MASC.CL   be.3SG   washed.MASC.PL
          'Maria washed them.'

b.　Maria　se　　　　　lo　　　　　　　è　　　　lett**o**.
　　Maria　3SG.REFL　3SG.MASC.CL　be.3SG　read.MASC.SG
　　'Maria has read it.'

Note that in order to exclude the impossible examples of (25) of section 3.4, projection of the further past participle agreement projection above vP should not be allowed with impersonal (non-passive) *si*, even if *essere* is the selected auxiliary. If movement of a null subject (linked to *si*) from the highest merged VP-internal position to the preverbal subject position is at work, as seems natural to assume, if the further higher agreement position were made available, past participle agreement would be expected, contrary to fact. Consider now that impersonal (non-passive) constructions corresponding to (25) involve the subject clitic *on* in French, which does not require selection of auxiliary *être*, contrary to the various instances of *se* (*se moyen*, reflexive; see Middles and Reflexive Marking in Romance: Voice and Feature Deficiency). This may be relevant for the Italian paradigm. It suggests that *essere* with impersonal (non-passive) *si* in standard Italian is more akin to *avere* than to *essere* of structures involving true reflexives as those in (41) and (42).[26] Hence, only in the latter case should the further higher past participle projection be activated. On the strict relation between auxiliaries *avere* and *essere*, see Kayne (1993); see also Cocchi (1995), and Vikner and Sprouse (1988).

The (tentative) proposal sketched here has a feature which deserves some closer discussion. In current treatments of past participles, the agreement projection related to the past participial morphology is generally assumed to be (immediately) outside the vP projection. In the proposal outlined here, it may be located in the lexical projection of V.[27] This allows a simple account of a complex pattern. Is the assumption plausible and well grounded? We can only offer a speculation here. Let us assume that the plausibility of such a low location of the past participle agreement projection could come from the consideration that the past participle typically constitutes part of the periphrastic passive morphology in Romance. Keeping the focus on standard Italian and French, passive morphology involves auxiliary *essere/être* + past participle (+ preposition *da/par*, 'by'). It is not unreasonable to identify the passive past participle projection with (or at least to strictly link it to) the projection of a Voice head (see Sportiche 1996 and Cinque 1999 in particular). Cinque (1999) proposed that the Voice projection is located in a very low position in the clause structure; it may be the lowest functional projection in the functional architecture of the clause, possibly VP-internal. Interesting empirical evidence indicating the low location of the passive voice/past participle is provided by contrasts like the one in (44), presented in Cinque (1999) (see also Adverb Classes and Adverb Placement).

(44)　a.　Hanno　　**accolto**　**bene**　il　　suo　spettacolo　solo　loro.
　　　　　have.3PL　received　well　the　his　show　　　　only　3PL
　　　　　'Only they received his show well.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Cinque 1999, 102, ex. 79a)

　　　b.　*Hanno　**bene**　**accolto**　il　　suo　spettacolo　solo　loro.
　　　　　have.3PL　well　received　the　his　show　　　　only　3PL

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Cinque 1999, 102, ex. 79b)

c. Questo genere di spettacoli è sempre stato **bene accolto**.
this kind of show be.3SG always been well received
'This kind of show has always been well received.'

Following Cinque's insight, the contrast in the relative order of the past participle and the low adverb *bene* in (44a) (active) and (44c) (passive) indicates that the passive past participle can remain low in the structure, lower than the active one.[28] The reason for that could be that the passive past participle does not (have to) move higher than the low Voice head. The proposal outlined in this section identifies the passive voice/past participle with the structure in (39). No further landing sites are available for the lexical verb. Active past participles necessarily involve more structure, at least as much as in (40); hence the verb moves higher in an active past participle anyway.

5.2 Past participle agreement with the external argument subject of the clause

D'Alessandro and Roberts (2010) report that in Eastern Abruzzese the past participle agrees with a plural DP, which can be either the plural object of a transitive verb, as in *Giuwanne a pittite$_{pl}$ ddu muri*, 'John has painted$_{pl}$ two walls', or the plural subject of a transitive or intransitive/unergative verb, in this case obligatorily, as in *Giuwanne e Marije a (*pittate$_{sing}$)/pittite$_{pl}$ nu mure*, 'John and Mary have painted$_{pl}$ a wall'; this is a pattern also occurring in other (southern) dialects of Italy (in some cases also involving the feature gender). Note that the necessity to value the plural number feature on the past participial morphology leads to past participle agreement with the external argument subject of the clause also in cases in which a singular object clitic is present, for example, as the authors note, *Giuwanne e Marije l' a pittite$_{pl}$ (lu mure)*, 'John and Mary it(CL) have painted$_{pl}$ (the wall).' These data then indicate that the possibility for the past participle to enter the relevant structural configuration yielding agreement can be parametrized in part. A first low-level parametrization concerns which features trigger agreement, for example just number in Eastern Abruzzese, both number and gender in standard Italian and standard French, as has been presented in previous sections. A further parametrization, already discussed in section 3.3, concerns whether past participle agreement may occur with the direct object, a possibility also available in some varieties of Italian, in relevant registers and in previous stages as described in 3.3. The most peculiar parametrization illustrated by Eastern Abruzzese is the occurrence of past participle agreement with the external argument subject of the clause. As for this latter property, one possible interpretation could be that languages allowing for this type of agreement somehow extend and generalize to all structures the analysis that we have sketched out in the previous section to account for the partly similar agreement occurring in standard Italian in transitive structures containing a benefactive reflexive illustrated in the examples in (42), which essentially extends the domain of past participle agreement to a position outside the vP. A proposal also extending the domain of past participle agreement so as to include upper parts of the functional structure above vP, in fact the whole sentence/TP, is developed in D'Alessandro and Roberts (2010). According to the

proposed system, the T head enters Agree with the number feature of the past participle (located low in the vP structures similarly to the proposal in (40), labels aside); since T agrees with the subject, the past participle carries the subject features. Disregarding different technical implementations, the core of the idea in both cases is that past participle agreement with the external argument should require that higher portions of the functional structure of the clause be implicated above the vP. This appears to be a limited option. In standard Italian it concerns cases like (42); in the southern dialect described in D'Alessandro and Roberts (2010), it is linked to the necessity to value the plural number feature on the past participle. An interesting question which opens up, technicalities aside, is how to express what property(ies) these cases have in common, since the core instance of overt past participle agreement remains the one involving the lower functional portion of the vP, specifically when the internal argument undergoes displacement.[29] Hence the past participle agreement phenomenology remains a partly open chapter.

SEE ALSO: Adverb Classes and Adverb Placement; Auxiliary Selection; Case: Oblique, Inherent, Semantic, Quirky; Left Periphery of the Clause; Long-Distance Agreement; Middles; Overtly Marked *Wh*-Paths; Quantified Expressions and Quantitative Clitics; Reflexive Marking in Romance: Voice and Feature Deficiency; Strong vs. Weak Islands

Notes

1. See Burzio (1986) for the first systematic presentation and account in GB terms of the Italian and French paradigms, linking the presence of past participle agreement to the geometry of the tree requiring and/or allowing it, in his terms, in the presence of an antecedent–trace relation between the moved agreeing argument and its original position within the VP. Part of later accounts inspired by Kayne's approach, summarized in section 1, preserves Burzio's intuition, which was phrased within a functionally impoverished clause structure. See in particular Sportiche (1998, ch. 3) for a thorough development of Kayne's approach; see also Perlmutter (1989) and La Fauci (1994) for treatments of the phenomenon of past participle agreement pursued in Relational Grammar terms, and, for a fine-grained typology in the same perspective, taking into account different Romance languages, Loporcaro (1998). See D'Alessandro and Roberts (2008) for an account in terms of Agree and Phase theory, which inherits from the original approach the insight that the low portion of the VP is crucially implicated.

2. Both under cliticization and under passive morphology, past participle agreement is preserved with complex predicates as those arising from causativization and restructuring (Rizzi 1982; Burzio 1986; Guasti 1993; Cinque 2004 among others; and Clitic Climbing).

   (i) Maria è stat**a** fatt**a** assumere.
   Maria have.3SG been made.FEM.SG to assume

   (ii) Mario li ha volut**i** conoscere.
   Mario 3PL.CL have.3SG wanted.MASC.PL to know

   As for the interaction of agreement and unaccusatives in restructuring contexts, consider the following contrast, discussed in Burzio (1986):

(iii) a.   Noi avremmo volut**o/*i** andare.
            1PL would.have wanted/*MASC.PL to.go
       b.   Noi saremmo volut**i/*o** andare.
            1PL would.be wanted.MASC.PL/*– to.go

In (iii.b) restructuring has taken place, as signalled by use of *essere* as an aspectual aux-
iliary with the matrix verb *volere* (taking *avere* otherwise), conditioned by the presence of
the unaccusative *andare* in the embedded infinitival. Past participle agreement is conse-
quently obligatory as it usually is with unaccusatives.

3. The gloss "NONAGR" here stands for non-agreeing. The non-agreeing form of the past
    participle also corresponds to the masculine singular ending. Thus, a sentence like
    (4a) is grammatical if the clitic is a masculine singular third-person pronoun. The past
    participle ending is then interpreted as masculine singular.
4. Normative grammars indicate agreement as obligatory in both cases, which in fact
    appears to be optional in colloquial French (with some possible consequences in the
    interpretation to be discussed in section 4.3).
5. On ASC, see Belletti (1990; 1992), Kayne (1989), and Belletti (1999) in the context of the
    discussion of cliticization and enclisis. See also Egerland (1996), who studies the con-
    struction in Old Italian, where it was more widespread with partially different proper-
    ties, probably due to presence of a richer functional structure, as in Egerland's account.
6. With the difference between Italian and French according to whether the relation is
    established in every single past participle projection including those of the auxiliaries
    (Italian) or not (French) (see (3) and (9)). The difference could stem from an impover-
    ished functional structure of the French past participle projection for auxiliaries. The
    question would then be whether this difference relates to other differences between
    the two languages. See Burzio (1986), who relates it to the differences in the selection
    of the aspectual auxiliary, and, later, Richards (1998).
7. This is compatible with Sportiche's (1996) indirect-movement analysis of cliticization,
    where the moving element is not the clitic projection generated in the final clitic position,
    but a silent *pro* agreeing with it originating in the argument position inside the VP.
8. Hence, Italian would also manifest an amount of optionality in verb movement, nor-
    mally obscured and undetectable in other domains. See Cinque (1999) for similar con-
    clusions in the context of his approach to the syntax of adverbs. Given the proposed
    account, one might expect to find different distributions in the location of some adverbs
    according to whether past participle agreement occurs or not with first- and second-
    person clitics. However, differences do not appear to be detectable. It seems likely that
    agreement projections in general should not contain adverbial modifiers internal to the
    projection, as they should not count as possible modification domains. The idea that
    first- and second-person clitics could be higher in the Agr past participle internal
    structure can be supported indirectly by the observation that they are usually more
    external (hence, higher) than third-person clitics in clitic clusters. Compare the examples
    in (i) and (ii).

(i)   Mi/ti   ci   manda.
       to.1SG/2SG.CL   there.CL   send.3SG
(ii)   Ce   lo   manda.
       there.CL   3SG.MASC.CL   send.3SG

See also Zanuttini (1997) for converging evidence from Italian dialects showing the differ-
ent distribution of negation and first- and second-person clitics, on one hand, displaying
the order CL-neg, and third person clitics, on the other, displaying the order neg-CL.

9. DP movement with passives and unaccusatives gives rise to obligatory past participle agreement in French. Possibly, there is a low DP-related position internal to the past participial projection that DPs pass through (but not necessarily clitics); the verb should be taken to move to the head of this position obligatorily in French as well. This position could be the same that quantified noun phrases must pass through, given the obligatory nature of past participle agreement under quantifier floating combined with cliticization detected by some speakers of French:

(i) Il   les   a   tout**es**   pris**es**/*–.
     3SG.MASC   3PL.FEM.CL   have.3SG   all.FEM.PL   taken.FEM.PL

In this case, the usual optionality of past participle agreement under cliticization would otherwise (surprisingly) be suspended. Hence, there seems to be a portion of obligatory V-movement with the non-finite past participle in French as well. This portion concerns a very low area, possibly the lowest in the past participial projection.

10. Déprez (1998); Sportiche (1998, ch. 3), Rizzi (2000). In Kayne (1989) a different assumption is made which will be partly reviewed in section 4.1.

11. E.g., this was the case in the Italian of Manzoni. See the discussion in Lepschy and Lepschy (1977), Kayne (1989), and the overview in Loporcaro (1998). Past participle agreement with (apparently) unmoved direct objects is also sometimes attested in early stages in the acquisition of standard Italian (see, in particular, Antinucci and Miller 1976; Borer and Wexler 1992; McKee and Emiliani 1992; Schaeffer 1996).

12. It could be a perfective aspectual head with enough morphological attracting capacity. See section 5 on that and the presentation of Cinque's (1999) evidence, possibly relevant in this respect.

13. See Richards (1998) for a suggestion on past participle agreement which seems to exclude the possibility of languages of the latter kind in principle, possibly not a desirable conclusion. The picture could also be more complex in that object agreement does not necessarily seem to correlate with agreement under overt syntactic movement, e.g., *wh*-movement, as discussed in the text. See Kayne (1989) and his reference to Calabrese's judgments on Salentino, and Miremont (1976) on Occitan. Kayne (2000, ch. 8) observes that optionality of agreement with first- and second-person clitics becomes almost impossible under restructuring. In the spirit of the hypothesis suggested in the text, this could indicate that modals have a less richly articulated past participle functional structure. See Kayne (2000) for a different proposal.

14. The construction has several peculiarities, which are not all relevant here. See the references quoted, and also the discussion in Kayne (1989) and the observations in Cinque (1990).

15. See Belletti (1992) for an implementation of this idea according to which accusative case would here be assigned through agreement. The hypothesis can be phrased in the following terms. The past participle morphology blocks the case assignment ability of V; the direct object is then case-licensed through agreement. In full clauses containing a (transitive) auxiliary and a past participle, a crucial role in the assignment of accusative case should then be attributed to the auxiliary, which accounts for lack of obligatory past participle agreement. When the direct object is a clitic, past participle agreement in ASC takes place as it always does in full clauses. However, the clitic is an enclitic on the past participle in ASC (see (16)), contrary to full clauses, where it is a proclitic on the auxiliary. This indicates that further processes are at work in ASC; see Belletti (1999) for discussion on enclisis and proclisis in this area.

16. Compare section 3.3 for object agreement and the cases of agreement under cliticization and *wh*-movement discussed in section 3.1 and section 3.2 for cases of the former type.

Compare the Altamura dialect, described in Loporcaro (1998), for cases of the latter type. Furthermore, the choice of the aspectual auxiliary may vary according to different persons, as in cases of person-driven auxiliary selection occurring in various Romance southern dialects and varieties, discussed in D'Alessandro and Roberts (2010) and related references cited there. See also the data from Manzini and Savoia (2005) in this domain.

17. See Belletti and Rizzi (1996), Déprez (1998), Sportiche (1998, ch. 3); section 3.2, note 10 above.

18. Compare Icelandic, where agreement never arises with quirky subjects. But see the parametrization hypothesis below.

19. There seems to be some variation among speakers as to the impossibility of past participle agreement in (29). Some speakers allow agreement here. This might suggest that *en* is not necessarily taken to realize (partitive) inherent case by these French speakers. It could be analyzed as a possible realization of (structural) accusative as well. Note that no variation is ever found among Italian speakers in this domain.

20. Under Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) analysis the object of this class of psych verb is inherently case-marked with accusative case. Interestingly, when the verb *surprendre* is used in its non-psych interpretation, as a regular transitive verb with the object marked with structural accusative, past participle agreement becomes possible again,

 (i) Cette fille, le proviseur l'**a** surpris**e** en train de fumer.
   this girl   the director 3SG.FEM.CL-have.3SG surprised.FEM.SG while   smoking
   'The director surprised the girl while she was having a smoke.'

 As for the impossibility of agreement with *falloir* (see (27c)), the account implies that the accusative available with this verb is an inherent accusative (cf. *Il me le faut*). A plausible assumption, since *falloir* would otherwise constitute an isolated exception to "Burzio's generalization."

21. See Kayne and Pollock (2001) for a new analysis of this type of structure, where *au conflit* is taken to fill the subject position (as a quirky subject) and no (covert) expletive is assumed to be present. The proposal is framed within the general analysis of Stylistic Inversion (SI) as involving Remnant IP movement across the (here quirky) subject. As J. Y. Pollock has pointed out (p.c.), past participle agreement becomes possible in SI sentences similar to (33) if the postverbal subject is made heavier:

 (i) Le jour où   a èté   mise au   conflit la   fin que
   the day where have.3SG been put to the conflict the end that
   tout le monde esperait.
   everybody   hoped

 Note that the postverbal subject *la fin* contains an overt definite determiner. I take this to suggest that it should not be analyzed as being inherently case-marked. Agreement here could follow from the familiar mechanisms discussed, that is, the heavy DP moves from the original object position to the preverbal subject position where it is assigned nominative case, as in regular passive structures. The processes at work yielding SI structures would then take place (e.g., Remnant IP movement across the subject as in Kayne and Pollock 2001; but note that here *au conflit* would not be treated as a quirky subject). As the noun *fin* is inherently case-marked in the idiomatic reading, no past participle agreement should take place anyway in (33) (regardless of the adopted analysis of SI). Note that no improvement is brought about by heaviness in subject inversion structures containing expletive *il*. Compare (32) with the equally bad (ii):

(ii)   *Il   arriveront   trois   des   plus   belles   filles   que
            3SG   arrive.FUT.3PL   three   of.the   most   beautiful   girls   that
            j'   ai   jamais   rencontrées.
            1SG   have.1SG   ever   met

In the analysis adopted here, this is due to the fact that the postverbal subject has access only to inherent (partitive) case marking in these structures.

22.   It could realize a KP level; see, e.g., Giusti (1993). A possible partially different implementation of the parametrization proposal could focus on the way in which inherent case is realized in Italian and French. It could systematically be a PP in French (with an empty P) and an NP or DP in Italian, explaining lack of agreement in French. This implementation could receive support from the fact that partitive case involves the presence of the preposition *de* with the indefinite quantifier *beaucoup*, which could be the overt trace of a general PP realization. This alternative is left as an open option here.

23.   This adapts part of the spirit of Déprez' (1998) discussion, formulated in terms of different sites of reconstruction for the two *wh*-phrases, with the agreeing one being reconstructed outside the VP and the non-agreeing one inside it, assuming Diesing's (1992) Mapping Hypothesis.

24.   In the dialect referred to in note 16, *avere* too should be allowed to select a past participle like (39). A possible characterization of French, where *avoir* is often the auxiliary with unaccusatives, and past participle agreement is nevertheless never realized in these cases, could be that a whole vP projection is always selected by *avoir* and that the nominal argument fills the highest (Spec) position of the verbal projection. Hence, in its move to the preverbal subject position it does not pass through the specifier of the past participle projection. The difference with respect to intransitive vPs should stem from the fact that the argument in this case must be assumed to fill this highest position derivatively, after moving from the VP-internal (object) position. This is the source of the unaccusativity of the VP. This movement is assumed to be presyntactic or lexical (Hale and Keyser 1993). As for Spanish, which lacks past participle agreement under cliticization, *wh*-movement, and with unaccusatives, and which does not have auxiliary alternation (Lois 1990), it could be assumed that the AgrPstPrt projection is altogether absent VP-internally. Interestingly, past participle agreement is manifested in Spanish only with the passive auxiliary *ser*, which, in the spirit of the proposal sketched out here, should select a past participle analyzed as in (39).

25.   This could be linked to the presence of *essere*, which is always the designated auxiliary in structures involving a reflexive clitic. French appears to lack this further position as witnessed by the impossibility of past participle agreement in cases like *Elle s'est cassé(*e) le bras* 'She broke her arm', equivalent to (42) in the text.

26.   This amounts to assuming that both the impersonal and reflexive constructions determine the selection of *essere* in Italian, independently of the shape of the past participial projection.

27.   This idea shares some similarities with the proposal in Collins and Thráinsson (1993), which also assumes an Agr-type projection generated VP-internally. However, the kind of Agr projection is different in the two cases. In Collins and Thráinsson it is crucially related to case assignment/checking; in the proposal in the text here it is assimilated to Voice.

28.   According to Cinque's proposal this must be related to a perfect head, located higher in the clause functional structure. This is compatible with the hypothesis in the text, although not necessary. A movement of the same sort should be allowed, without it being obligatory, also for the passive past participle if the also possible order in (i) is to be derived through V-movement,

(i)	Questo	genere	di	spettacoli	è	sempre	stato	**accolto**	**bene**.
this	kind	of	show	be.3SG	always	been	received	well

29. See also D'Alessandro and Roberts (2008) for related considerations on the conditions constraining the overt realization of agreement, phrased in terms of Chomksy's phase theory, whereby the morphophonological realization of agreement occurs when a Probe and a Goal are contained in the complement of the minimal phase head. In the case of vP, this domain coincides with the lower portition of vP, containing the internal argument – the direct object. This is in fact the core domain of past participle agreement, as discussed throughout the chapter, in particular when displacement of the internal argument also occurs.

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