AN APPROACH TO UNEXPECTED AGREEMENT IN SPANISH
María Mare (UNComahue/IPEHCS-CONICET)
maria.mare@fahu.uncoma.edu.ar

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THE FACTS. Non-standard Spanish presents interesting agreement phenomena involving plural morphology, such as the occurrence of unexpected verbal morphology after enclitic elements.

(1) Haga-n-lo-N [copy]
Do.IMP-2PL-CL-2PL

(2) Haga-lo-N [displacement]
Do.IMP-CL-2PL

As these examples show, agreement morphology can appear both in its prototypical position and after the clitic (1) [copy] or just after the clitic (2) [displacement]. This phenomenon has been studied by Harris (1995), Harris & Halle (2005), Kayne (2010), Arregi & Nevins (2015), among others. All these studies have focused on copy and displacement of –N with second plural person imperatives. Some of them also mention the existence of unexpected agreement with infinitives (hacer-lo-N) and gerunds (hacienda-lo-N), but they do not propose an explicit analysis for these contexts. Moreover, there is other related data that, as far as we know, has not received attention and cannot be explained under these approaches.

(3) Haga-mos-lo-N
Do.IMP-1PL-lo-N

As the example in (3) shows, unexpected agreement can also appear with first person plural morphology, but the unexpected morpheme is –N, not –MOS. Indeed, copy as well as displacement of –MOS results in ungrammatical constructions in all Spanish varieties: *haga-mos-lo-mos [copy], *haga-lo-mos [displacement]. In sum, previous approaches explain cases (1), (2) and the different combinations found when there are two enclitics. However the phenomenon include cases like (3) and unexpected morphology with infinitives and gerunds. These three contexts exceed previous proposals.

THE PROPOSAL. This presentation argues that any approach to unexpected morphology must take into account the complete panorama, no matter whether all possibilities are found in the same dialect. According to that, we focus on examples like (3) to propose that what is copied or displaced is just the plural feature. Thus, the information of person and number in –MOS is independent, –MO- being the morpheme related to person [1] and –S to number [PL]. This hypothesis is supported by different phenomena involving unexpected realization of the first plural person, such as normative vamonos instead of vamosnos ‘let’s go’, non-standard vamoslo instead of vamosnos or se fuimos for nos fuimos ‘we went away’ (De Benito 2015). We assume that the verb reanalyses with the clitic and speakers add verbal morphology to this new verbal block. The information for that new agreement morpheme is copied from the most local agreement node. In that process, the original node may or may not be pronounced. This explains why displacement with the first plural person is haga-mo-lo-n and neither haga-lo-n nor haga-lo-mos, as it should be expected if the copied node were [1PL].

This approach in terms of locality should also explain the infinitive and gerund data, where the person/number information does not seem to be in the non-finite verb. Accordingly, we revise
different contexts for these non-finite forms, in order to revise whether different configurations affect the occurrence of unexpected plurality. The following sentences exemplify the contexts we define.

(4) **Verbal periphrases**
   a. pueden comprar-lo-n can.2/3PL buy.INF-CL-2/3PL
   b. siguen haciendo-lo-n go.on.2/3PL do.GRND-CL-2/3PL

(5) **Control and causative constructions**
   a. juraron hacer-lo-n swear.2/3PL do.INF-CL-2/3PL
   b. obligó a los trabajadores a hacer-lo-n compel.3SG the workers to do.INF-CL-3PL

(6) **Infinitive as prepositional complement**
   para hacer-lo-n to do.INF-CL-2/3PL

(7) **Adverbial gerund constructions**
   Ellos reaccionan pegándo-le-n they react.PTE.3PL kick.GRND-CL-3PL

(8) **Infinitives as subject of psychological verbs**
   A los niños les gusta bañar-se-n To the boy.PL CL.DAT.3PL like swim.INF-CL-3PL

In our research, we have found examples for all these constructions in the dialects that admit unexpected morphology with infinitives and gerunds. According to previous analyses, there should be a difference depending on the kind of construction involved and the locality between the finite verb and the non-finite verb with the enclitic element. By assuming McFadden (2008 and subsequent work)’s analyses of non-finite constructions in terms of anaphoric relations, we propose that these forms do not lack agreement information.

To sum up, in this presentation we consider a wide range of data related to the occurrence of unexpected morphology in order to (1) present a detailed description of this phenomena; (2) provide a unified analysis that explains agreement anomalies with imperatives, infinitives and gerunds, and (3) defend an approach in terms of Late Insertion.