

Majorcan Catalan: A window to analyse past participle agreement as an epiphenomenon

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Abstract

The use of past participle agreement (PPA) in Majorcan Catalan has decreased over the last hundred years when the object remains *in situ* (PPA_{OIS}), but PPA keeps clearly stronger when the object is preposed – in clitic, *wh*-, and other fronted constructions (*pace* Loporcaro 1998). The goal of this paper is to critically analyse previous accounts for PPA, in order to synthesise them and provide a new formal analysis, flexible enough to explain the data of several Romance varieties: the conclusion is that PPA is not a unified phenomenon, but an epiphenomenon, which can be regarded as the by-product of several syntactic mechanisms – as already proposed by Georgi & Stark (2021) for French. One of these mechanisms is Chomsky’s *Agree*, but PPA could also be the result of *Concord* (as in passive constructions) or it could come from “resumption by extraction, stranding, and incorporation” of a functional head H, as a strategy for marking information structure. Additionally, at least for some speakers of some villages (like Llucmajor and Montuïri), PPA with the object *in situ* can also be used for marking those internal arguments which are (given or aboutness-shift) topics and, at the same time, affected by a dynamic event with [+bounded] o [resultative] aspect.

Keywords: past participle agreement, information structure, aspect, *Agree*, incorporation.

1. Introduction

1.1. Cases of past participle agreement in Majorcan Catalan

Majorcan Catalan is one of the Romance varieties most prone to past participle agreement (from now on, PPA) at present – as already stated by Rosselló (2002, 2003), Gavarró & Fortón (2014), and Salvà (2017, 2018, 2021). However, the first edition of the GIEC (2016: §§ 9.5.1*e*, 13.5.2.3, 13.5.2.4, 18.4.1*c*, 18.6.3.1*e*, and 24.8.3.2*e*) – the official prescriptive grammar for Catalan – only mentioned PPA with 3rd person accusative clitics (especially F.SG and F.PL, but also M.PL), such as in (1), and PPA with the partitive clitic *en/n'*, such as in (2):¹

- (1) General Catalan; GIEC: § 13.5.2.4
- a. L' he compra avui.
CL.ACC.3F.SG have.1SG buy.PTCP.F.SG today
'I have bought it today'
- b. Les hem pogudes obrir.
CL.ACC.3F.PL have.1PL be-able.PTCP.F.PL open.INF
'We could open them'
- c. Els cavalls ja els hauríem ensellats.
the horses.M.PL already CL.ACC.3M.PL have.COND.1PL saddle.PTCP.M.PL
'The horses, we would have already saddled them'
- (2) General Catalan; GIEC: § 13.5.2.3
- a. (De) farina no n' ha compra.
of flour.F.SG not CL.PART have.3SG buy.PTCP.F.SG
'(S)he has not bought any flour'
- b. N' hem caçades dues, de llebres.
CL.PART have.1PL hunt.PTCP.F.PL two of hares.F.PL
'We have hunted two, hares'
- c. No n' ha sortida més, d' aigua.
not CL.PART have.3SG come-out.PTCP.F.SG more of water.F.SG
'No more water came out'
- d. De criatures, avui n' han nascudes tres.
of creatures.F.PL today CL.PART have.3PL be-born.PTCP.F.PL three
'Creatures, three were born today.'

¹ In Catalan, when the internal argument – either the direct object of a transitive verb, as in (2a-b), or the subject of an unaccusative verb, as in (2c-d) – is indefinite, this NP can be topicalised and resumed by the partitive clitic *en/ne* (*n*’ before vowel), leaving the quantifier *in situ*, if present, as in (2b-d). The topic, when it is explicit, can be either left-dislocated, as in (2a) and (2d), or right-dislocated, as in (2b-c), and it is introduced by the “preposition” *de*, which can be analysed as a partitive case marker (as the one found in *Tenim molt de pa* ‘We have a lot of bread’). However, in Balearic Catalan, within CLLD-constructions, as in (2a), *de*-insertion is optional (non-mandatory), unlike CLRD-constructions. This structure is absent in Spanish and Romanian. See Cardinaletti & Giusti (1992) for Italian, Martí (1995, 2010) and Espinal & Giusti (2024) for Catalan, and Mensching (2020) for Sardinian and other Romance languages.

Nevertheless, in Majorcan Catalan one can find many other cases of PPA:

i) PPA with 1st and 2nd person accusative clitics (agreeing with the referent of the clitic pronoun, either F.SG, F.PL, or M.PL):

(3) Majorcan Catalan; Sebastià Salvà's personal archive

- a. M' has *maquillada* molt bé!
CL.1SG have.2SG make-up.PTCP.F.SG very well
'You have done my make-up very well!' (speaker = a woman)
- b. Vos han *obsequiades* amb un viatge.
CL.2PL have.3PL gift.PTCP.F.PL with a trip
'You have been gifted with a trip' (hearer = several women)
- c. Mos heu *superats*.
CL.1PL have.2PL surpass.PTCP.M.PL
'You have surpassed us' (speaker = part of a group with at least one man)

ii) PPA within relative clauses and *wh*- interrogative sentences – as already stated by Rosselló (2002: § 13.4.1.3):

(4) Majorcan Catalan; Rosselló 2002: § 13.4.1.3

- a. Ses que jo he *empeltades* van ben bones,
ART.F.PL that I have.1SG graft.PTCP.F.PL go.3PL very good.F.PL,
de figueres.
of fig-tree.F.PL
'The ones I have grafted are doing very well, fig trees'
- b. Quina pel·lícula has *vista*?
what movie.F.SG have.2SG see.PTCP.F.SG
'What movie have you seen?'

iii) In Salvà (2021: 132-148), many other instances of PPA are described, in transitive constructions with *wh*-movement or with some type of object fronting/preposing: canonical *wh*- or partial exclamative sentences, such as in (5a), degree total exclamative sentences, as in (5b),² contrastive or corrective focus fronting, as in (5c) – already noticed by Rosselló (2003) – mirative focus with an evaluative adjective (Hernanz 2001), as in (5d), *verum focus* with quantifier fronting (Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal 2009), as in (5e), comparative fronting, as in (5f) (where the first term of the comparison, *tanta de son*, is preposed) – resumptive or anaphoric fronting, as in (5g) (where the fronted object, *aqueixa cançó*, is a DP headed by a demonstrative determiner), and, finally, stylistic fronting, as in (5h):³

² Unlike canonical *wh*- or partial exclamative sentences, as the one in (5a), which are introduced by a nominal quantifier (a subtype of an adjective: *quin* 'which' or *quant* 'how {much/many}'), degree total exclamative sentences are introduced by <*que* + *de*>, as in (5b), which also allows the variant *Que he pegades de sopegades!* – for their detailed analysis, see Salvà (2021: 140-143). As for exclamative constructions in Catalan, see also Castroviejo (2006), Villalba (2001, 2003, 2016), and GIEC (2016: § 34.3).

³ I am assuming that, in focus-fronting constructions, the focalised internal argument moves up to the specifier position of some kind of Focus Phrase in the left periphery of the sentence, within a cartographic CP (Rizzi 1997, 2013). For a comprehensive overview of the

- (5) a. Sebastià Salvà's personal archive
 Quines cosotes més lletges que m' ha dites!
 what things.PEJ.F.PL more ugly that CL.1SG have.3SG tell.PTCP.F.PL
 'What ugly things (s)he has said to me!'
- b. *Cançoner Popular de Mallorca* by Rafel Ginard
 Que de sopegades he pegades!
 what of stumbles.F.PL have.1SG make.PTCP.F.PL
 'What a lot of stumbles I've made!'
- c. Sebastià Salvà's personal archive
 NA MARIA, he vista (i no en Joan)!
 PERS.ART.F Maria have.1SG see.PTCP.F.SG (and not PERS.ART.M Joan
 'It is Maria (not Joan) who I have seen!'
- d. *Rondaies mallorquines* by Antoni M. Alcover
 Bons escaraders haureu trobats, l' amo!
 good pieceworkers.M.PL have.FUT.2PL find.PTCP.M.PL the tenant-farmer
 'You must have found some really good pieceworkers, sir!'
- e. Sebastià Salvà's personal archive
 Qualque cosa deus haver feta...
 some thing.F.SG must.you have.INF do.PTCP.F.SG
 si s' ha enfadat tant!
 if CL.REFL have.3SG get-angry.PTCP.M.SG so-much
 'You must have done something... if he got so angry!'
- f. *Rondaies mallorquines* by Antoni M. Alcover
 Però què és això, tanta de son
 but what is this as-much of sleep.F.SG
 com Déu mai ha vista?!
 as God ever have.3SG see.PTCP.F.SG
 'But what is this, so sleepy as God has ever seen?!'
- g. [Se va enfadar] perquè aqueixa cançó
 CL.REFL AUX.PAST.3SG annoy.INF because this song.F.SG.
 li havia feta.
 CL.DAT.3SG have.IMPF.{3SG/1SG} done.PTCP.F.SG
 '[(S)he got angry] because {I/(s)he} composed this song to {him/her}'
- h. Arxiu d'Història Oral Joan Miralles
 Ses sales vos hem cantades.
 the Easter-song.F.PL CL.2PL have.1PL sing.PTCP.F.PL
 'We have sung your Easter songs'

iv) PPA with categorical unaccusative constructions (that is to say, with a preverbal subject, like in (6a-b), especially with inherent motion verbs, like in (6a)), including direct reflexive sentences and pronominal passive sentences, as in (7a) and (7b), respectively, although these non-transitive cases are left for future research. By contrast, inthetic unaccusative constructions (with a postverbal subject, like in (6c)), PPA is less felicitous, especially with a stative verb.

different types of focus-fronting constructions in Romance, see Cruschina & Remberger (2017).

- (6) a. Sa nina encara no ha *arribada*.
 the girl.F.SG yet not have.3SG arrive.PTCP.F.SG
 ‘The girl has not arrived yet’
 b. Sebastià Salvà’s personal archive
 Aquestes d’ aquí han *sobrades*.
 these.F.PL of here have.3PL be-left-over.PTCP.F.PL
 ‘These here are left over’
 c. Rosselló (2002: 1934)
 Ha {faltat/?*faltada*} una cadira.
 have.3SG be-missing.PTCP.{M.SG/?F.SG} a chair.F.SG
 ‘A chair was missing’
- (7) Rosselló (2002: 1933)
 a. Ja m’ he *pentinada*.
 already CL.1SG have.1SG comb.PTCP.F.SG
 ‘I’ve already done my hair’ (speaker = a woman)
 b. Aquelles cases no s’ han *venudes*.
 those houses.F.PL not CL.REFL have.3PL sell.PTCP.F.PL
 ‘Those houses have not been sold’

v) Although this is no longer a general case, but residual and quite isolated, for some speakers (over 35 years old, approx.) of some villages – like Lluçmajor (my own village) and Montuïri – it is still possible to make the participle agree with the object *in situ* (in its canonical postverbal position), under certain constraints regarding information structure and aspect (see § 2.3).

- (8) a. Sebastià Salvà’s personal archive
 Ja he *untades* ses persianes.
 already have.1SG spread.PTCP.F.PL the blind.F.PL
 ‘I have already greased the blinds’
 b. Arxiu d’Història Oral Joan Miralles
 Mira! M’ han *sollades* ses faldetes!
 look.IMP.2SG CL.DAT.1SG have.3PL soil.PTCP.F.PL the skirt.DIM.F.PL
 ‘Look! They got my skirts dirty!’

vi) Finally, in markedly colloquial oral registers, but quite exceptionally and marginally, some instances of past participles agreeing with the external argument – as in (9a) – or with a dative argument – as in (9b) – can be found. These examples, along with the more general ones from Eastern Abruzzese (D’Alessandro & Roberts 2010), go *contra* Belletti’s (2005) generalisation – according to which PPA can occur just with the internal argument – and are left for future research.

- (9) *Amor de cans*, IB3 Televisió, 2018
 a. Esperança, i que has *tenguda* bon viatge?
 Esperança.F and that have.2SG have.PTCP.F.SG good trip.M.SG
 ‘Esperança, did you have a good trip?’

- b. I tu, Barbareta, què t' ha passada?
 and you Bàrbara.DIM.F what.N CL.DAT.2SG have.3SG happen.PTCP.F.SG
 'And you, my dear Bàrbara, what happened to you?'

1.2. Interest of the research and goals

According to Loporcaro (1998: 12-20), preposed or fronted objects (clitics, relatives, interrogative and focalised nominals, etc.) would not constitute a natural class: there would be no Romance variety that opposes PPA with all kinds of preposed objects, on the one hand, and lack of PPA with objects *in situ*, on the other hand. However, the data presented in § 1.1 for the most spread modality of current Majorcan Catalan (with the isolated exception of some villages, like Lluçmajor and Montuïri, where PPA with the object *in situ* – from now on, PPA_{OIS} – is still possible) allow to argue against Loporcaro's claim: it is precisely the case that, for this variety, PPA is allowed only with preposed objects (of many types). In order to confirm this, in Salvà (2021: 125-132), four diachronically successive corpora are analysed,⁴ showing that the use of PPA in Majorcan Catalan has decreased over the last hundred years when the object remains *in situ* (PPA_{OIS}), but PPA keeps clearly stronger when the object is fronted.

Moreover, no significant difference is found between relative pronouns and other kinds of non-clitic preposed objects. This result is important, as Loporcaro (1998) admits that, in some Gallo-Romance varieties (e. g., from Val de Saïre and Aosta Valley), and even in Old Italian, relative pronouns (but not other types of fronted objects) could be grouped together with clitics as PPA controllers. In Majorcan Catalan, *any* fronted object can be a PPA controller, not just clitics and relative pronouns. Thus, the following implicative hierarchy by Smith (1991) is confirmed:

- (10) PPA_{OIS} (with a postverbal lexical NP) → PPA with a fronted NP → PPA with a relative pronoun → PPA with pronominal clitics.

In Salvà (2021: 215-220), some statistical data are offered considering additional factors, in order to check if they can have some influence on PPA. In general, PPA is more common when the internal argument is feminine (either singular or plural) than when it is masculine plural. Moreover, the (in)definite nature of the object NP has some impact in the statistical results of the three last corpora: definite DPs seem to facilitate PPA_{OIS}. I interpret this last result having in mind that *topicality* is really a factor that in Majorcan Catalan determines the licensing of PPA_{OIS} – see Vega (2018) for a similar conclusion regarding Old Catalan.

Section 2 is dedicated to describing the conditions that apply to PPA in Majorcan Catalan, with clitics (§ 2.1), with other fronted objects (§ 2.2), and with the

⁴ I have based my analysis on four different corpora ranging from the late 19th century until the end of the 20th century, and including traditional fairy tales (collected and re-elaborated by Antoni M. Alcover in his *Rondaies mallorquines*), folk songs and rhyming verses (collected by Rafel Ginard in his *Cançoners Popular de Mallorca*), and interviews with older Majorcan native speakers, conducted by Joan Miralles (Arxiu d'Història Oral Joan Miralles) and by Jaume Corbera (Arxiu Audiovisual dels Dialectes Catalans de les Illes Balears). See Salvà (2021: 25-42) for more details on the different corpora included in the mentioned study.

currently isolated case of PPA_{OIS} (§ 2.3). The configuration of these factors or constraints will help us to determine the syntactic operations that can account for PPA.

Thus, from a theoretical perspective, the main goal of this paper (developed in section 4) is to sketch a formal analysis for PPA, flexible enough to explain not only the Majorcan data, but also for General Catalan and for other Romance varieties (French, Italian, Spanish, Rhaeto-Romance...). I start from a critical review of previous theoretical accounts, inside the Minimalist Program of Generative Grammar (section 3). In this sense, some relevant questions are: Which is or which are the syntactic mechanism(s) that allow PPA? Is Chomsky's (2000, 2001) *Agree* operation enough?

Agree is a syntactic operation where a probe (namely, v/v^*) with unvalued uninterpretable ϕ features (gender and number [$u\phi: _$] features) searches under its c-command domain for a goal (the internal argument in the complement of V) with valued interpretable ϕ features. Then, the participle (that is to say, the head V) gets the features via head-movement to v/v^* . This operation explains well PPA_{OIS}:

- (11) Ja he $v^*_{[u\phi: _]}$ -*untades* <*untad*-> ses persianes_[ϕ]. (= 8a)

⋮ *Agree* (PPA_{OIS}) ⋮
⋮

However, PPA_{OIS} is not, in practice, the general case or rule (except for some Romance varieties, such as Altamurano, Salentino, Corese, Neapolitan Campanian or Northern Calabrese). PPA with clitics or with *wh*-movement was better explained in Kayne's (1989) model, where PPA was established in a specifier-head relationship, with a functional head devoted to object agreement (Agr_O). See (12) with a clitic instead of a full NP/DP complement:

- (12) Ja les he <les> Agr_O-*untades* <les>.
 already CL.ACC.3F.PL have.1SG ⋮ (PPA) ⋮ spread.F.PL
 'I have already greased them'

Agr heads (Agr_O and Agr_S) disappeared with Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program, since these projections would be uninterpretable for the conceptual-intentional interface. Besides this, in Kayne's model of agreement, PPA_{OIS} remained unexplained. Kayne (1989) suggested that those varieties with PPA_{OIS} would be displaying "right-dislocation, with a phonetically unrealized object clitic, which would reduce [it] to the standard clitic case". Nevertheless, this assumption for varieties where PPA_{OIS} is mandatory, generalised, categorical or systematic (not depending on information structure conditions) would not be appropriate. Furthermore, prosodically, it does not seem that these *in situ* objects show the typical low tone of right-dislocated phrases.

Advancing my proposal (§ 4), I believe that PPA is not a unified phenomenon, but an epiphenomenon, which can be regarded as the by-product of several syntactic mechanisms – as already proposed by Georgi & Stark (2021) for French.

2. Conditions licensing PPA in current Majorcan Catalan

2.1. Conditions for PPA with clitics

In Majorcan Catalan, the relevance of information structure for licensing PPA with clitics is beyond any doubt: as stated by Rosselló (2002: 1932-1934), the fact that PPA is found not only with 3rd person accusative clitics, but also with 1st and 2nd person accusative clitics and with the partitive clitic *en*, which are invariable, confirms that PPA is not only driven by the pronominal morphology – although the morphology can indeed determine the optionality of PPA materialisation with some clitics. Rosselló suggests that the current PPA pattern has much to do with information packaging: “it seems compelling to conclude that, nowadays, PPA is alive with those elements, clitics, that are prone to refer outside the sentence; furthermore, they are precisely the most likely to have a dislocated correlate” (our translation).

As for the clitics of the 3rd person accusative series, the PPA hierarchy “3F.SG > 3F.PL > 3M.PL” has been proposed in the literature for General Catalan, with the implicative scale “3M.PL → 3F.PL → 3F.SG”, which can be read from table 1. Therefore, some Catalan speakers only produce PPA with 3F.SG accusative clitics (idiolect *c*); some other speakers also allow PPA with 3F.PL accusative clitics (idiolect *b*); and some speakers produce PPA even with 3M.PL accusative clitics, together with the feminine clitics (idiolect *a*). Some speakers (specially the youngest ones) do not produce PPA at all (idiolect *d*). But there is no speaker that can produce PPA with the 3M.PL accusative clitic but not with 3F accusative clitics; and there is no speaker that can produce PPA with the 3F.PL accusative clitic but not with the 3F.SG one.

Table 1. PPA implicative scale with 3rd person accusative clitics in General Catalan

		Idiolectal variants			
		a.	b.	c.	d.
F.SG	<i>Sa carta l’he trobada.</i>	+	+	+	–
F.PL	<i>Ses claus les he trobades.</i>	+	+	–	–
M.PL	<i>Es paquets els he trobats.</i>	+	–	–	–
M.SG	<i>Es diari l’he trobat.</i>	±PPA syncretism			

Source: Wheeler (1988: 194), Wheeler *et al.* (1999: 411), Loporcaro (2016: 805)

According to the statistics presented in Salvà (2021: 78-82) with data from Majorcan Catalan, for all the corpora, PPA with the 3F.SG accusative clitic was mandatory and PPA with the 3F.PL accusative clitic was practically obligatory (the preferred option). Conversely, PPA with the 3M.PL accusative clitic was optional and less frequent. Nevertheless, there is still a certain preference for the agreeing form when a strong participle has the irregular ending /z/ and adopts an epenthetic /o/ vowel (morphologically conditioned for the masculine): *admesos* (‘admit.PTCP.M.PL’), *compresos* (‘understand.PTCP.M.PL’), *empesos* (‘push.PTCP.M.PL’), ... This suggests that phonology can also play an important role in licensing PPA.

(13) Sebastià Salvà's personal archive

- a. A molts d' estudiants enguany no els han
 DOM many of students.M.PL this-year not CL.ACC.3M.PL have.3PL
 {admesos/?admès}.
 admit.PTCP.{M.PL/?M.SG}
 'Many students have not been admitted this year'
- b. A molts d' estudiants enguany no els han
 DOM many of students.M.PL this-year not CL.ACC.3M.PL have.3PL
 {acceptats/acceptat}.
 accept.PTCP.{M.PL/M.SG}
 'Many students have not been accepted this year'

With regard to the optionality of PPA with morphologically invariable clitics (namely, 1st and 2nd person accusative clitics, and the partitive clitic), a *Feature Harmony Condition* could be invoked, as the one proposed by La Fauci (1989: 225) and La Fauci & Rosen (1993: 20-21): only if the clitic is morphologically rich enough in features (as with 3rd person accusative clitics) PPA will be necessarily realised, but if the clitic does not materialise gender, the Feature Harmony Condition overwrites and attenuates the syntactic rule of PPA. In current General (non-Balearic) Catalan, the Feature Harmony Condition completely cancels the syntactic rule of PPA with invariable clitics: in these other dialects, it is not possible to have PPA with 1st and 2nd person accusative clitics, nor with the partitive clitic (maybe except for the Rossellonese or Northern Catalan varieties).

Alternatively, one could invoke the “inherent case” that these clitics would have—as proposed by Roca (1992), Muxí (1996: 143-144) and, regarding the partitive clitic, Belletti (2005: 506-508, and 517): if they do not have an unvalued structural case feature ([uK:_]) to be valued, they are not visible for the v/v^* probe, so Agree cannot happen, in Chomsky's (2000, 2001) system. However, this option has some empirical problems: to start with, in Balearic Catalan and Italian, this kind of PPA is (optionally) possible. Moreover, it does not explain why Central Catalan and Valencian Catalan cannot exhibit PPA at all with *en*, if they behave as Balearic Catalan, Northern Catalan, and Italian, but not as French, in the following presentational construction, mentioned by Belletti for French:

- (14) a. Central, Valencian, Balearic, and Northern Catalan
 {Han/*ha} arribat tres nenes.
 have.{3PL/*3SG} arrive.PTCP.M.SG three girl.F.PL
 'Three girls have arrived'
- b. French
 Il {est/*sont} arrivé trois filles.
 CL.S.3M.SG be.{3SG/*3PL} arrive.PTCP.M.SG three girl.F.PL
 'Three girls have arrived'

Furthermore, since 3rd person accusative clitics are more prone to PPA than 1st and 2nd person accusative clitics, for Belletti (2005: 499-500, and 514), the different person projections would be hierarchically ordered inside the participle structure: “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 persons, with the 1st and 2nd persons higher than the 3rd person [...]. If syntactic V movement implementing morphological checking takes place obligatorily into the first Agr head, but optionally into the others, PPA is expected to be obligatory with 3rd person clitics only”. However, we agree with Massanell & Gavarró (2013: 13) that this alleged structural reason is not well-tracked: the more or less licensing of PPA depending on the person would be independent of the relative structural order of clitics: Majorcan Catalan clitic clusters follow the classical order found in Old Catalan: *La me dones?* (with 1st or 2nd person clitics being more internal), instead of *Me la dones?* (the order found in current General Catalan) or *Me la dai?* (in Italian).

As for the person, gender, and number hierarchies, I am convinced that one must appeal to functional or perceptive factors, as proposed by Valor (1977: 227), Ruaix (1985), and Smith (1993, 1995, 1999, 2001). In General Catalan, 3rd person accusative clitics, in the singular, undergo elision before a vowel: *L’he {comprat/comprada} avui* (‘I have bought it_{MAS/FEM} today’), where PPA is fundamental to disambiguate, since *l’* can either be 3M.SG. or 3F.SG.

Besides this, in Majorcan Catalan, 3rd person accusative clitics (either if the referent is M.SG., F.SG., M.PL., or F.PL.) are realised as the (apparently) “neuter” clitic *ho* in combination with a 3rd person plural dative clitic – as in (15), where *ho* (instead of the Standard Catalan *l’*) has the meaning of a 3F.SG accusative clitic, referring to the left-dislocated DP object *sa guerra* (‘the war’). Moreover, in Majorcan Catalan, there is also certain gender confusion in the plural series of the 3rd person accusative clitics: both *els* and *les* can refer to F.PL. and M.PL. – for instance: in (16a), the (apparently) M.PL. form *els* can refer to a F.PL. nominal (*rajoles* ‘tiles’), and, in (16b), the (apparently) F.PL. form *les* can refer to *es al·lots* (‘the boys’), which is M.PL.⁵

- (15) Majorcan Catalan; *Rondaies mallorquines* by Antoni M. Alcover
 Sa guerra els ho havia feta guanyar
 the war.F.SG CL.DAT.3PL CL.N have.IMPF.3SG make.PTCP.F.SG win.INF
 un exèrcit [...]
 an army
 ‘An army [...] had won them the war’
- (16) Arxiu d’Història Oral Joan Miralles
 a. Encara hi ha rajoles, si no els han
 still CL.LOC have.3SG tiles.F.PL if not CL.ACC.3M.PL have.3PL
espenyades... Jo els hi he vistes.
 break.PTCP.F.PL I CL.ACC.3M.PL CL.LOC have.1SG see.PTCP.F.PL
 ‘There are still tiles, if they haven’t been broken. I have seen them’
 b. Varen agafar es al·lots de sa part des liberals i
 AUX.PAST.3PL take.INF the boys.M.PL of the side of.the liberals and
les se ’n dugueren a sa presó
 CL.ACC.3F.PL CL.REFL CL.PART take.PAST.3PL to the prison
 ‘They took the boys on the liberal side and took them to prison’

So, from a functional perspective, the information provided by the participle

⁵ (16b) is in a simple past tense (not in a perfect or compound tense), so it cannot exhibit PPA. This example is just provided to illustrate the gender confusion present, in the plural, in the Majorcan Catalan 3rd person accusative clitics.

inflection becomes extremely relevant to recover the clitic referent, since the forms *l'*, *ho*, *els*, and *les* are ambiguous – which is even more problematic if the dislocated topic is null or silent.

2.2. Conditions for PPA with *wh*- and other focalised or fronted objects

As we saw in §§ 1.1 and 1.2, besides clitics, *wh*-, and other focalised or preposed objects can also trigger PPA in current Majorcan Catalan.⁶

Moreover, according to Obenauer (1992, 1994), Déprez (1998: 7-13), and Rizzi (2001), PPA with the antecedent of a relative clause or with a *wh*-interrogative phrase is optionally possible in French, but only when the internal argument is specific (that is to say, contextually known, preestablished, presuppositional, or referential):

(17) French

- a. Combien de fautes a-t-elle faites?
 how-many of fault.F.PL have.3SG=L=CL.S.F.SG do.PTCP.F.PL
 ‘How many of these faults has she done?’ (specific reading)
- b. Combien de fautes a-t-elle fait?
 how-many of fault.F.PL have.3SG=L=CL.S.F.SG do.PTCP.M.SG
 ‘How many of these faults has she done?’ (specific reading)
 or ‘How many faults has she done?’ (nonspecific reading)

However, in Majorcan Catalan, the specificity condition does not seem to apply in order to license PPA within *wh*-constructions.⁷ PPA is possible even with expressions that reinforce the nonspecific cardinal interpretation:

(18) Majorcan Catalan

- a. Fins a quantes (de) faltes ha comeses?
 up to how-many of fault.F.PL have.3SG commit.PTCP.F.PL
 ‘Up to how many faults has (s)he committed?’
- b. Quantes (de) faltes manco ha comeses?
 how-many of fault.F.PL less have.3SG commit.PTCP.F.PL
 ‘How many fewer faults has (s)he committed?’

In fact, according to Déprez (1998), in French the specificity condition also applies to PPA with clitics, but this is neither the case for Majorcan Catalan, where PPA is found in several idioms, where the accusative clitic is not referential: *Ara l’hem {feta/*fet} bona!*, *L’heu {feta/*fet} com en Parreta!*, *L’has {esguerrada/*esguerrat}!*, etc. (all of which have the meaning of ‘{We/You} have really messed up!’).

Nevertheless, there is one condition that does apply to both French and Majorcan Catalan, in constructions with long-distance *wh*-movement: PPA is just possible with the most embedded participle, but not with the highest participle (nor

⁶ PPA with *wh*-movement has also been attested in Northern Catalan or *Rossellonès*, at least in the localities of Estagell, Montoriol and Mosset (perhaps due to French influence, although further investigation is needed for this dialect) (Bel 2002: 1136; Gavarró & Massanell 2013: 9).

⁷ By contrast, PPA_{OIS} (for those Majorcan speakers that allow it) is really subject to a similar condition: the *topicality* condition (see § 2.3.1).

with intermediate participles) – for French, see Branigan (1992: 37-39), Chomsky (1995: 325), Boeckx (2003: 60), Grohmann (2003: 287). This will be addressed in § 3.3, when presenting Georgi & Stark’s (2021) insights.

- (19) a. la lettre [qu’ il a {dit/*dite}
 the letter.F.SG that he have.3SG say.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.SG}
 [que Pierre lui a {envoyée/envoyé}]]
 that Pierre CL.DAT.3SG have.3SG send.PTCP.{F.SG/M.SG}
 ‘the letter he said Pierre sent him’
- b. French
 [Combien de fautes Jean a-t-il {dit/*dites}
 how-many of fault.F.PL Jean have.3SG=L=he say.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.PL}
 [que Paul a {faites/fait}]]
 that Paul have.3SG do.PTCP.{F.PL/M.SG}
 ‘How many faults has Jean said that Paul has done?’
- (20) Majorcan Catalan
 a. sa lletra [que ha {dit/*dita}
 the letter.F.SG that have.3SG say.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.SG}
 [que en Pere li ha {enviada/enviat}]]
 that PERS.ART.M Pere CL.DAT.3SG have.3SG send.PTCP.{F.SG/M.SG}
 ‘the letter he said Pere sent him’
- b. [Quantes (de) faltes ha {dit/*dites} en
 how-many (of) faults.F.PL have.3SG say.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.SG} PERS.ART.M
 Joan [que en Pau ha {fetes/fet}]]?
 Joan that PERS.ART.M Pau have.3SG do.PTCP.{F.PL/M.SG}
 ‘How many faults has Joan said that Pau has done?’

2.3. Conditions for PPA with the object *in situ*

According to the corpora analysis by Salvà (2021: 202-214),⁸ in Antoni M. Alcover’s old stage of Majorcan Catalan (years 1862-1932), one finds PPA_{OIS} systematically or categorically, in over 95 % of cases. In the intermediate stage from the *Cançoners popular de Mallorca*, there is optional PPA_{OIS}: with 44,17 % of clear PPA_{OIS}, 41,19 % of obvious lack of PPA_{OIS}, and 14,63 % of ambiguous cases. This optionality will gradually lead to the loss and almost disappearance of PPA_{OIS}: in the interviews corpora (by Joan Miralles and Jaume Corbera), PPA_{OIS} is found in a 2,50 % and 5,17 %, respectively.

Nowadays, in the subvariety spoken in Lluçmajor and Montuïri, which still (residually) allows PPA_{OIS}, this kind of agreement is not completely free: it is conditioned by two factors or constraints, which must be fulfilled at the same time: *i*) topicality, and *ii*) a condition regarding event structure and aspect. The former condition applies both to Friulian Rhaeto-Romance (De Cia 2022; *pace* Loporcaro 1998) and to this subvariety of Majorcan Catalan, but the latter condition seems to apply just to this Majorcan variety.

⁸ See fn. 4.

Since I am a Majorcan native speaker from the village of Llucmajor, most of the insights presented below come from my own grammaticality judgements, derived from introspection, as is common in Generative Grammar studies.

2.3.1. PPA_{OIS} conditioned by topicality

According to De Cia (2022), in Friulian Rhaeto-Romance, PPA – including PPA_{OIS} – is not really optional (as claimed by Loporcaro 1998), but conditioned by the topicality of the object. In particular, PPA in this variety is only licensed if the direct object can be interpreted as a “given topic” (G-topic) or as an “aboutness-shift topic” (A-topic), in the sense of Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), but it is ungrammatical if the object is under “narrow focus” (either informative or contrastive) (21a).⁹ In (21b), I have translated the example provided by De Cia (2022: ex. (5)) regarding PPA_{OIS} into Majorcan Catalan – in the variety spoken in Llucmajor and Montuïri – and, strikingly, a similar constraint applies:

(21) CONTEXT: What have you received?

a. Friulian Rhaeto-Romance

O ai {cjapât/*cjapâdis} DOS MULTIS.
CL.S.1SG have.1SG receive.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.PL} two fines.F.PL
‘I’ve received two fines’

b. Majorcan Catalan from Llucmajor and Montuïri

He {rebut/*rebudes} DUES MULTES.
have.1SG receive.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.PL} two.F.PL fines.F.PL
‘I’ve received two fines’

However, there are some differences between Friulian and Majorcan PPA: *i*) in Friulian, PPA_{OIS} with G-topics or A-topics is mandatory; by contrast, in the variety of Llucmajor and Montuïri, PPA_{OIS} is conditioned but optional, non-compulsory (that is to say, the speaker can choose between doing or not doing PPA_{OIS}, but the first option is only available if the topicality condition is met); and *ii*) in Majorcan Catalan, PPA is indeed possible with objects with contrastive focus or with any kind of Wh-P, provided they are fronted, advanced, or preposed objects (see §§ 1.1, 1.2, and 2.2); so, in Majorcan Catalan, the topicality condition is not general: it only applies to PPA_{OIS} and to some local varieties (as the one spoken in Llucmajor and Montuïri).

Here I provide two more examples from Joan Miralles’ corpus (in the variety of Montuïri): (22) is an example of PPA_{OIS} with a G-topic (already presented in the interviewer question), while (23) is an example of PPA_{OIS} with an A-topic (introduced by the interviewee for the first time and further developed by him):

(22) Arxiu d’Història Oral Joan Miralles

—Els heu vists sempre, an es cossiers?
CL.ACC.3M.PL have.2PL see.PTCP.M.PL always DOM the cossier.M.PL
—Sempre... Sempre he vists es cossiers
always always have.1SG see.PTCP.M.PL the cossier.M.PL
i es dimoni.
and the devil

⁹ PPA_{OIS} is also ungrammatical if the object is a “contrastive topic” (C-topic), according to De Cia (2022).

‘Have you always seen the “cossiers”?’ ‘Always, I have always seen the “cossiers” and the devil’

- (23) Llavors he vists “hombres licenciados en carrera”¹⁰
 then have.1SG see.PTCP.M.PL men.M.PL graduated in degree
 de Montuïri: [...]; frares: [...]; metges: [...]; missers [...].
 from Montuïri friars doctors lawyers
 ‘Then I have seen graduated men from Montuïri: [...]; friars: [...]; doctors: [...],
 lawyers: [...]

Moreover, as pointed out in Salvà (2017: 55), when the *in situ* object is a negative polarity item (NPI), PPA_{OIS} is ungrammatical in this variety of current Majorcan Catalan, unless the NPI is restrictively modified by some deictic or anaphoric expression and could be interpreted as a G-topic:

- (24) example adapted from Antoni M. Alcover’s *Rondaies Mallorquines*
 No havia presa cap rabiada *(tan grossa) mai.
 not have.IMPF.{1SG/3SG} take.PTCP.F.SG any rage.F.SG so huge never
 ‘{I/(s)he} had never been so enraged’

The strategy of marking topical postverbal objects through the verbal agreement is neither exclusive of Friulian Rhaeto-Romance nor Majorcan Catalan: a similar phenomenon can be found in Sanvalentinense and Ripano (D’Alessandro 2017; 2020), and in some Bantu varieties like Manyika (Bax & Diercks 2012) and Swahili (Mursell 2018). As for the syntactic analysis, De Cia, following Mursell and D’Alessandro, claims that v/v^* in Friulian enters the derivation with [$u\phi$:_] features and with an extra [$u\delta$:_] feature, which looks (through the *Agree* operation) inside its c-command domain for the nearest DP/NP with a [Givenness] or [Aboutness] interpretable δ (discourse) feature. By contrast, Bax & Diercks prefer an analysis based on the incorporation of a pronominal clitic (which doubles the object) into the verb, which resembles Georgi & Stark’s (2021) analysis for PPA with clitics and within *wh*-constructions in French (see § 3.3), or the analysis I will assume in § 4 to explain the conditioned PPA_{OIS} of some speakers of current Majorcan Catalan.

2.3.2. PPA_{OIS} conditioned by event structure and aspect

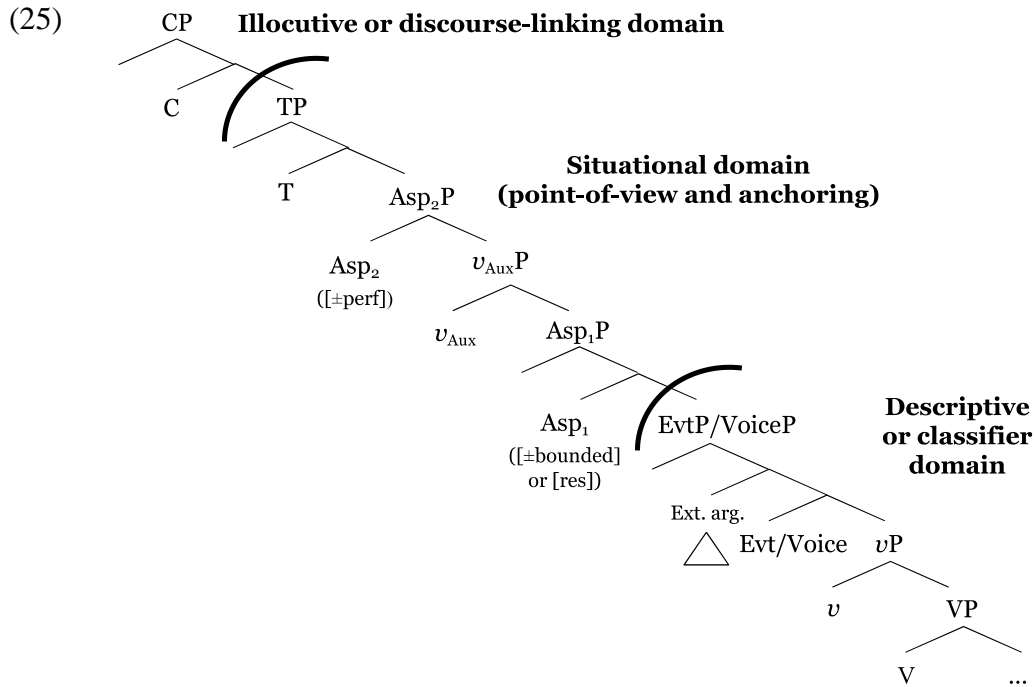
Besides topicality, for those Majorcan speakers that even today admit PPA_{OIS}, there is a second factor or constraint that must be fulfilled in order to license it: the object (or internal argument) needs to be affected by the complete perfection of a dynamic event, with [+bounded] or [resultative] aspect.

In (25), I assume – following Iatridou *et al.* (2001), Pancheva (2003), and Larsson (2009) – that there is an Aspect_I functional head in the clausal spine, immediately above the Event Phrase (EvtP)¹¹ – so, above the descriptive, classifier, or

¹⁰ This sentence is an example of “insertional code-switching”: it features the quotation of an NP in Spanish that is inserted in a Catalan sentence.

¹¹ I follow Ramchand (2018) in assuming that there is an Event head (Evt) in the clause spine that takes, as its complement (vP), descriptions of states of affairs and produces neo-Davidsonian events with time and world parameters. This Evt head is also responsible for

propositional domain, which is the area where *Aktionsart* (or “inner aspect”) happens and where the internal arguments are introduced. Asp_1 is located below the auxiliary verb (v_{aux}) present in the perfect or compound tenses. I also assume that Asp_1 , when c-commanded by v_{aux} , is lexicalised with participle morphology (/d/). Over v_{aux} , there is an $Aspect_2$ functional head, which is related to the perfective/imperfective distinction (“external aspect”) that can affect the auxiliary verb in compound tenses: *havia cantat* / *hagué cantat*.



Asp_1 (or “intermediate aspect”) can have an unbounded value ([−bounded] in (26), either with a continuous reading or with an ingressive reading), a [+bounded] value (27) (either with an hodiernal perfective reading or with an experiential perfect reading), or even a [resultative] value (28).¹² Only if Asp_1 has a [+bounded] or a [resultative] value, PPA_{OIS} can be licensed in current Majorcan Catalan. See Salvà (2017), (2018) and (2021: 232-252) for more details and for some apparent exceptions.

(26) [−bounded] Asp_1 :

a. ———++[++]——→ (continuous aspect)

He	{menat/*menada}	sa furgoneta	tot s' horabaixa.
have.1SG	drive.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.SG}	the van.F.SG	all the afternoon
'I've been driving the van all afternoon'			

introducing the external argument, so it would be the equivalent of Voice head (Kratzer 1996; Pytkäinen 1999; Harley 2013).

¹² As usual, the arrow to the right indicates the timeline. Brackets mark the starting point and the ending point of a certain time lapse interval of a dynamic event (marked with several ‘++++’). This interval is what a certain aspect (perspective or point-of-view) focuses on.

- b. ———[++]+——→ (ingressive aspect)

Hem {cantat/*cantada} aquesta cançó a les sis.
 have.1PL sing.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.SG} this song.F.SG at the six
 ‘We sung this song at six’

- (27) [+bounded] Asp_I: ———[—++++—]——→

Has {cantada/cantat} aquesta cançó
 have.2SG sing.PTCP.{F.SG/M.SG} this song.F.SG
 {en dos minuts / tres vegades}.
 in two minutes three times

‘You sung this song {in two minutes / three times}’

- (28) [resultative] Asp_I: ———+++++[xxx]——→

Ja he {untades/untat} ses persianes. (= 8a)
 already have.1SG spread.PTCP.{F.PL/M.SG} the blind.F.PL
 ‘I have already greased the blinds’

Therefore, PPA_{OIS} is also ungrammatical with pure stative constructions:

- (29) Na Teresa sempre ha {temut/*temudes} ses bubotes.
 PERS.ART.F Teresa always have.3SG fear.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.PL} the ghost.F.PL
 ‘Teresa has always been afraid of ghosts’

3. Previous theoretical accounts within the Minimalist Program

At the end of § 1.2, there is a summary of the *Agree* operation proposed by Chomsky (2000, 2001) within the Minimalist Program. This search-and-value operation, which works under c-command (with downward probing and upward valuation), directly accounts for those cases of mandatory or generalised PPA_{OIS} (for instance, the systematic agreement that one finds in Altamurano, Salentino, Corese, Neapolitan Campanian, or Northern Calabrese, or in Old Majorcan Catalan, until the end of the 19th century), but Chomsky’s *Agree* cannot explain why some Romance varieties do not allow PPA_{OIS}:

- (30) a. He {comido/*comida} una manzana. (Spanish)
 b. Ho {mangiato/*mangiata} una mela. (Italian)
 c. He {menjat/*menjada} una poma. (General Catalan)
 have.1SG eat.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.SG} an apple.F.SG
 ‘I have eaten an apple’

3.1. D’Alessandro & Roberts (2008, 2010)

For D’Alessandro & Roberts (2008, 2010), the answer to this puzzle are “phases” – and Chomsky’s (2001, 2008) Phase Impenetrability Condition – which provide “morpho-phonological domains of materialisation”: PPA can be materialised iff both the participle and the object are within the same morpho-phonological domain (namely, within the complement of a phase head, like *v** or C).

For instance, in Italian transitive constructions with the object *in situ*, since the participle (raised to v^* , a phase head) and the object (inside the VP) are in different domains, PPA could not manifest morpho-phonologically or post-syntactically, even if the *Agree* operation has taken place in the syntax. On the contrary, unaccusative, passive, and reflexive constructions would have a defective v (which is not a phase head) and, therefore, whether the participle rises to v or not, the participle and the internal argument would be in the same domain of materialisation (namely, TP, which is the complement of C, a phase head), so PPA can materialise morpho-phonologically (e. g., *Sono arrivate tre ragazze* ‘Three girls have arrived’). In those Romance varieties allowing PPA_{OIS}, the participle of transitive constructions would not rise as much as in Italian, but would remain in a low enough position, within the same domain of morpho-phonological materialisation as the object, so PPA would be externalised post-syntactically.

However, I find some drawbacks to their proposal:

i) If V does not move up to v^* , we would have to assume that v^* can be lexicalised with a null exponent in these varieties, which needs further support.

ii) To determine if the participle raises or not, we can observe the adverbs placement. However, unlike Eastern Abruzzese, Majorcan Catalan behaves just like General Catalan and standard Italian, even if PPA_{OIS} in transitive constructions is still possible in some Majorcan villages:

(31) General Catalan

a. Ho	he	entès	poc.
CL.N	have.1SG	understand.PTCP.M.SG	little
a.' *Ho	he	poc	entès.
CL.N	have.1SG	little	understand.PTCP.M.SG

Italian

b. L'	ho	capito	poco.
CL.ACC.3M.SG	have.1SG	understand.PTCP.M.SG	little
b'. ^{???} L'	ho	poco	capito.
CL.ACC.3M.SG	have.1SG	little	understand.PTCP.M.SG

Eastern Abruzzese

b. Le	so	poche	capite.
CL.ACC.3M.SG	be.1SG	little	understand.PTCP.M.SG
‘I barely understood it’			

And conversely, as Longenbaugh (2019) observes, in French, the participle is located in a very low structural position (below *bien* ‘well’) and can appear below even lower adverbs (such as *presque* ‘almost’, *à peine* ‘barely’, or *souvent* ‘often’) (Pollock 1989; Cinque 1999), but French does not allow PPA_{OIS}.

iii) Unlike Italian and Majorcan Catalan, in Spanish and in General Catalan, even if the internal argument of unaccusative constructions (which would have a defective v) is located within the same morpho-phonological domain as the participle, PPA is never morpho-phonologically materialised in this kind of construction:

- (32) a. Spanish
 María todavía no ha {llegado/**llegada*}.
 María yet not have.3SG arrive.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.SG}
- b. General Catalan
 La Maria encara no ha {arribat/**arribada*}.
 PERS.ART.F Maria yet not have.3SG arrive.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.SG}
- c. Majorcan Catalan
 Na Maria encara no ha {*arribada*/arribat}.
 PERS.ART.F Maria yet not have.3SG arrive.PTCP.{F.SG/M.SG}
- d. Italian
 Maria non è ancora {*arrivata*/*arrivato}.
 Maria not be.3SG yet arrive.PTCP.{F.SG/*M.SG}
- e. French
 Maria n' est pas encore {*arrivée*/*arrivé}.
 Maria CL.NEG be.3SG not yet arrive.PTCP.{F.SG/*M.SG}
 'Maria has not arrived yet'

Moreover, as stated by Longenbaugh (2019), D'Alessandro & Roberts' analysis cannot explain why presentational constructions (that is to say, expletive/impersonal unaccusative constructions) in French do not admit PPA – cf. (32e) with (14b), repeated here as (33):

- (33) French
 Il est {arrivé/**arrivées*} trois filles. (= 14b)
 CL.S.3M.SG be.3SG arrive.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.PL} three girl.F.PL
 'Three girls have arrived'

iv) Regarding transitive constructions with a clitic, in spite of the object clitic and the participle being within the same morpho-phonological domain – TP or Sportiche's (1996) CIP – Spanish, unlike Italian or Catalan, does not allow PPA:

- (34) a. Spanish
 La caja la he {escondido/**escondida*}.
 the box.F.SG CL.ACC.3F.SG have.1SG hide.PTCP.{M.SG/*F.SG}
- b. General Catalan
 La capsa l' he {*amagada*/'amagat}.
 the box.F.SG CL.ACC.3F.SG have.1SG hide.PTCP.{F.SG/'M.SG}
- c. Majorcan Catalan
 Sa capsa l' he {*amagada*/*amagat}.
 the box.F.SG CL.ACC.3F.SG have.1SG hide.PTCP.{F.SG/*M.SG}
- d. Italian
 La scatola l' ho {*nascosta*/*nascosto}.
 the box.F.SG CL.ACC.3F.SG have.1SG hide.PTCP.{F.SG/*M.SG}
 'The box, I have hidden it'

v) In *wh*-constructions, the *wh*-object (moved to the specifier of CP) and the participle are in different domains, so PPA is expected to be impossible, as in current Italian and Spanish. Despite this, in Majorcan Catalan and French, PPA is possible

with *wh*-movement (under the conditions presented in § 2.2). Someone could then try to appeal to some lower copy (or trace) of the *wh*-object, but then we could not explain why Italian and Spanish do not allow *wh*-PPA.

Some of these problems could be solved parametrising the Phase Impenetrability Condition – that is to say, allowing for each language or variety to determine which functional heads are (or not) phase heads, appealing to D’Alessandro & Scheer’s (2015) “modular PIC”. However, this seems like an *ad hoc* or stipulative solution; see Bonet & Mascaró (2016) and Bonet *et al.* (2019) for further criticism.

3.2. Longenbaugh (2019)

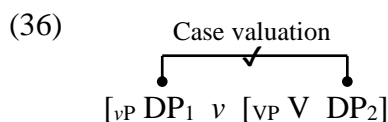
Longenbaugh (2019) does not distinguish between v^* and a defective v – which, for us, is a minimalist advantage, *pace* Chomsky (2001), D’Alessandro & Roberts (2008, 2010), and Georgi & Stark (2021). He makes further assumptions, based on some already existing hypotheses:

i) He assumes Preminger (2014)’s *Obligatory Operations (ObOp) hypothesis*: syntactic operations (*Merge X*, *Move X*, or *X-Agree*) are associated with structural conditions on their application. If these conditions are met in the course of the derivation, the operation must necessarily be applied; if not, the operation is skipped and the derivation continues (it does not crash). Longenbaugh further assumes with Müller (2010) that the operations available for a specific syntactic head are codified on it through features ($[\bullet X \bullet]$ for *Merge X*, $[\circ X \circ]$ for *Move X*, or $[X: _]$ for *X-Agree*), so a feature will be discharged by applying the associated operation.

ii) Based on the Free Rider constraint (Chomsky 1995, 2001; Bruening 2001; Rezak 2013) and on the multitasking conditions (Pesetsky & Torrego 2001; Van Urk & Richards 2015), Longenbaugh (2019) assumes the following economy constraint:

(35) *Feature Maximality*: Given head H with features $[F_1] \dots [F_n]$, if XP discharges $[F_i]$, XP must also discharge each $[F_j]$ that is capable of.

iii) He also assumes that morphological Case on NPs/DPs is determined configurationally (Marantz 1991), not through agreement between functional heads (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001). Thus, the unvalued Case feature of an NP/DP is valued when this nominal is merged in a special syntactic configuration in relation to another NP/DP, also with an unvalued Case feature. For instance, in a nominative-accusative language, given the configuration in (36), once the external argument (DP_1) has been merged, the internal argument (DP_2) will be valued with *dependent* (marked, accusative) Case and the external argument will remain unvalued – although this is not seen as a problem and the derivation can go on.

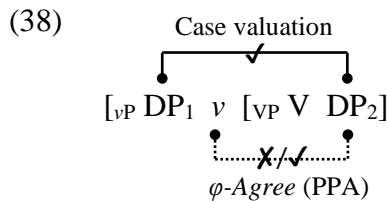


iv) Besides this, Longenbaugh assumes Bobaljik’s/Moravcsik’s theory of Case and agreement (Bobaljik 2008; Preminger 2014): A parameter for the different languages or varieties sets the cut point that determines if a specific NP/DP is

accessible or not for the φ -Agree operation, according to the revisited Moravcsik's hierarchy:

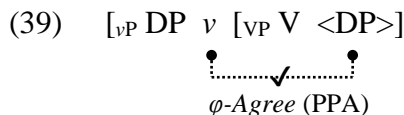
- (37) unvalued Case > dependent Case > lexical/oblique Case.

For instance, in Italian or French, the φ -Agree operation on v can only access unvalued Case, but not dependent Case (nor lexical/oblique Case), so PPA_{OIS} is not possible in these languages. By contrast, in Altamurano or in Neapolitan Campanian, the parametric cut point in the hierarchy is set after dependent Case, so the direct object (DP₂, with dependent Case) is indeed accessible for the φ -Agree operation on v and, therefore, these varieties allow PPA_{OIS}.



v) Regarding unaccusative constructions, Longenbaugh considers that the [\bullet D \bullet] feature on v can be satisfied in two ways:¹³ *a*) moving the internal argument (through *Internal Merge*) to [Spec, v P] – which would be a categorical unaccusative construction (with a preverbal subject), as the ones we saw in (32): *Maria non è ancora arrivata* – or *b*) merging (through *External Merge*) a (non-thematic, non-argumental) expletive: either a null/silent locative expletive (*LOC*, like in Italian: *LOC Sono arrivate tre ragazze*) or an explicit expletive (like *there* in English or *il* in French) – which would be a presentational (orthetic) unaccusative construction. Notice that Longenbaugh assumes that most expletives are firstly merged in [Spec, v P], following Richards (2005, 2007), Deal (2009), and Wu (2018) – pace Chomsky (2000, 2001).

In the first case (*Internal Merge* of the internal argument), the Feature Maximality constraint will mean that, at the same time, the [φ :] feature on v must (by ObOp) also be discharged by agreeing with the same DP (the internal argument), which is accessible for the φ -Agree operation (since in this configuration the DP continues with its Case unvalued); hence, in this categorical unaccusative construction, PPA occurs, both in Italian and French.

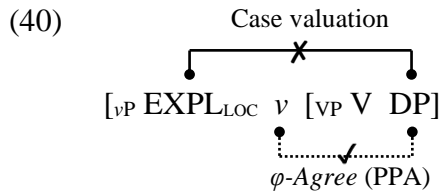


In the second case (*External Merge* of an expletive), Longenbaugh (2019) distinguishes two kinds of expletives, depending on whether they are Case competitors or not. On the one hand, there are expletive pronouns like *il* (in French) or *det* (in Scandinavian), which enter the derivation with an unvalued Case feature, so they are Case competitors. Therefore, given the configuration in (36) – but now with an expletive entered as DP₁ – the internal argument (DP₂) will receive dependent case.

¹³ There would be a third option: merge (through *External Merge*) an argumental DP (with unvalued Case) in [Spec, v P]; but this would be a transitive or an unergative construction.

Consequently, PPA with the internal argument of a presentational (orthetic) unaccusative construction will be blocked, in a language like French (33).

On the other hand, there are locative expletives like *there* (in English) or *der* (in Scandinavian), which enter the derivation with lexical or inherent Case, so they are not Case competitors. Therefore, the configuration in (36) is not given and the internal argument remains with its Case feature unvalued, so it is accessible for the φ -Agree operation (provided v has a $[\varphi: _]$ feature) and PPA must (by ObOp) occur. For Italian, Longenbaugh simply assumes that this language has a silent locative expletive (with lexical or inherent Case).



Nevertheless, Longenbaugh (2019) does not explain why, in varieties such as Valencian Catalan – which admits PPA with clitics (*L'he comprada hui*) and therefore seems to have a v with a $[\varphi: _]$ feature – PPA is not possible in unaccusative constructions: we should expect PPA to be possible at least in categorical unaccusative constructions, given the configuration in (39). Moreover, in presentational (orthetic) unaccusative constructions, since in this variety the auxiliary verb agrees in person and number with the internal argument (14), we should expect Valencian Catalan to behave like Italian (not French), allowing PPA too, contrary to the facts.

vi) As for PPA with clitics (in Italian and French) and with *wh*-objects (in French), Longenbaugh (2019) assumes that, in both languages, v always carries, along with features $[\bullet D \bullet]$ and $[\varphi: _]$, also the displacement features $[\circ Cl \circ]$ and $[\circ wh - \circ]$, which attract to the second or to the first vP specifier the nearest relevant clitic or *wh*-object. In fact, when v is merged to the structure, two possible derivational paths open:

(a) If one chooses to merge the external argument first (through *External Merge*, discharging the $[\bullet D \bullet]$ feature on v), the configuration in (36)/(38) will be met and the internal argument will get dependent Case, so agreement will not have access to it (in these languages) and PPA will remain blocked. In the next step, $[\circ Cl \circ]$ or $[\circ wh - \circ]$ can be discharged, moving (through *Internal Merge*) the clitic or the *wh*-object into a second specifier of vP .

(b) If one chooses to merge the clitic or the *wh*-object as the first vP specifier (through *Internal Merge*, discharging the $[\circ Cl \circ]$ or the $[\circ wh - \circ]$ feature in the first place), the configuration in (36) is not created, so the internal argument still has its Case feature unvalued, which turns it accessible for agreement and, therefore, PPA occurs. By Feature Maximality, $[\circ Cl \circ]/[\circ wh - \circ]$ and $[\varphi: _]$ are discharged simultaneously. Afterwards, the $[\bullet D \bullet]$ feature on v is discharged by merging (through *External Merge*) the external argument in a second specifier of vP . Now the configuration in (36) is met and the internal argument gets dependent Case.

According to Longenbaugh, the fact that the derivation can follow these two different paths explains the optionality that, in general, PPA presents with clitics or with *wh*-objects. However, there are some problems with his proposal:

On the one hand, if both Italian and French v has a $[\circ wh - \circ]$ feature, how come

there is no PPA with *wh*- objects in current Italian? Longenbaugh (2019: 22) proposes that this would be a manifestation of the so-called *anti-agreement* effect (Ouhalla 1993): in several languages (for instance, in the Berber family), the overt materialisation of agreeing ϕ features depends on whether the DP controlling the agreement has A' features or not; if it has, the agreement is usually poorer or impossible. According to Baier (2018), anti-agreement would be a consequence of a post-syntactic (morphological) rule of impoverishment or deletion (Halle 1990; Bonet 1991; Halle & Marantz 1993).

On the other hand, regarding path (b), given the Feature Maximality economy constraint, one could ask why it has not been possible for [\bullet D \bullet] to be discharged simultaneously (and not separately) with features [\circ Cl \circ]/[\circ *wh*- \circ] and [ϕ :_]. In fact, this exhaustive multi-dischargement would imply that it would no longer be possible to merge an external argument and that the object clitic could not receive dependent case, with the additional problem that accusative clitics, by definition, must bear dependent Case. Therefore, in a rigorous application of Longenbaugh's proposal, the derivation in (b) should crash – see Newman (2020) for the same claim.

This would imply that the only available derivation for transitive constructions with clitics or *wh*- objects would be the one in (a): the external argument is merged in the first place, valuing the object with dependent Case and blocking PPA (if the language has no access to dependent Case). However, since PPA with *wh*-objects and/or with clitics is indeed possible in French and Italian, the explanation needs to be completely different, like the one proposed by Georgi & Stark (2021).

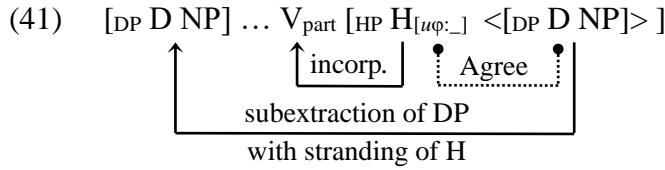
3.3. Georgi & Stark (2021)

The central claim of these authors is that PPA cannot be unified under Chomsky's *Agree* operation, but is rather an epiphenomenon: PPA can be the by-product of two syntactic mechanisms.

On the one hand, in languages like Italian and French, there are unaccusative constructions auxiliated with *ESSERE/ÊTRE* in the compound tenses, where PPA is very robust, consistent, and mandatory (32d-e), and independent of specificity, which indeed would be explained by means of the *Agree* operation – unaccusative *v* (unlike transitive *v**) would have a [$u\phi$:_] probe.

On the other hand, there are transitive constructions auxiliated with *AVERE/AVOIR*, where PPA is allowed only with clitics (in Italian and French) and, in French, also with *wh*-objects. This kind of PPA is not stable or constant, but displays much optionality and variation, and several factors (like specificity) can play an important role. For Georgi & Stark (2021), this second type of PPA would not be explained by *Agree*, but by another syntactic mechanism – based on work by Aoun *et al.* (2001), Boeckx (2003), and Donati & Cecchetto (2011) – namely, “resumption by subextraction, stranding, and incorporation” of a functional head *H* (originating from the highest layer of a big-DP internal argument) into the participle, as can be seen in (41). Notice that *H* would act, in turn, as a probe with [$u\phi$:_] features that would be valued, through *Agree*, by the interpretable ϕ features of the DP.¹⁴

¹⁴ For more clarity, I quote Georgi & Stark (2021: 38): “According to this approach, the resumptive and its associate DP start out as one constituent, i.e. nominal arguments have an additional layer, a head that combines with the DP. We will call this head *H*. *H* bears the ϕ -features of its sister DP due to a ϕ -Agree relation between *H* (bearing a ϕ -probe) and the DP”.



Crucially, this last mechanism cannot be applied to already moved constituents, which are “islands for subextraction”, in accordance with the Freezing Principle (Wexler & Culicover 1980) and the Condition on Extraction Domains (Huang 1982). Therefore, in a long-distance dependency, PPA is only possible with the most embedded participle, as we saw at the end of § 2.2 for French and current Majorcan Catalan.

For Georgi & Stark, every DP enters the derivation with such a functional head H. Unlike unaccusative v , transitive v^* is not a $[uφ:]$ probe. Optionally, v^* can have an edge feature ($[uEF]$), which allows the movement of the internal argument through a second specifier of v^*P , as an intermediate landing site, before moving higher in the structure. Now three possibilities open: *a*) if there is no edge feature, the HP object can stay *in situ* or move higher in the structure without passing through the second specifier of v^*P , in which case PPA cannot happen; *b*) the whole HP moves through the second specifier of v^*P , in which case the head H would remain silent (although this remains quite unexplained for us) and PPA would not happen (since subextraction of the small DP and stranding of H are prior conditions for incorporation to happen); or *c*) only the DP is moved or subextracted from the HP, stranding H as a resumptive pronoun, which then would be incorporated into the participle, giving rise to PPA.

In this way, Georgi & Stark try to explain that, in transitive constructions, there can only be PPA if there has been movement of the internal argument (with clitics or with *wh*- objects), and that this kind of agreement is generally optional, since the movement can occur either with the whole HP (with no PPA) or only with the DP (with PPA by means of H incorporation). Moreover, for these authors, in the PPA case (with DP-movement), a specific interpretation of the DP necessarily arises; by contrast, if there is no PPA, the structure and the interpretation is ambiguous: specific (if the whole HP moves through the second specifier of v^*P) or nonspecific (if v^* does not bear an edge feature and the HP does not make this intermediate movement).

4. Theoretical proposal and concluding remarks

I am convinced that it is impossible to explain all the variation that exists in the several Romance languages or varieties and for so many types of constructions with a single “magical” or “omnivorous” operation (namely, *Agree*). Thus, I share with Georgi & Stark’s (2021) the core idea that PPA is an epiphenomenon, which can be regarded as the by-product of several syntactic mechanisms. One of these mechanisms is *Agree* (Chomsky 2000, 2001), with most of Longenbaugh’s (2019) modifications. Another one is “resumption by subextraction, stranding, and incorporation” of a functional head H (Georgi & Stark 2021). But PPA could also be the result of a third mechanism, namely *Concord* or *Reverse Agree* – see *ii*) below.

Given spatial limitations, I can only offer, in the subsequent paragraphs, a cursory examination of my proposal. A more comprehensive treatment will be provided in future work.

i) We indeed need *Agree* – with downward probing and upward valuation by the internal argument (Chomsky 2000, 2001) – to explain the strong or robust PPA that one can find in unaccusative constructions, in languages like Italian and French (32d-e), and also to explain PPA_{OIS} in transitive constructions, for those Romance varieties (including Alcover’s Majorcan Catalan) which exhibit mandatory, generalised, systematic, or non-conditioned PPA_{OIS}, where *Agree* would have access to dependent Case, in accordance with Longenbaugh (2019). Thus, I accept many of Longenbaugh’s assumptions: Marantz’s (1991) configurational assignment of Case, the parametric theory of Case and agreement by Bobaljik/Moravcsik, the Feature Maximality economy constraint (in its strict terms), and the existence of a unique Evt/Voice head (the equivalent to Longenbaugh’s unique *v*),¹⁵ without distinguishing between unaccusative and transitive flavours or versions of this head – *pace* Chomsky (2001) and D’Alessandro & Roberts (2008, 2010). In all these languages or varieties, Evt/Voice head would be a probe with [*u*φ: _] (gender and number) features, even in transitive constructions – unlike what Georgi & Stark (2021) assume.

However, some languages (like Spanish and Catalan) would have an Evt/Voice head *without* [*u*φ: _] features – diachronically lost. Therefore, in these languages (with some exceptions, like Majorcan Catalan), PPA is impossible in unaccusative constructions (32a-b).

ii) Both in Spanish and in General Catalan, in spite of Evt/Voice not being a [*u*φ: _] probe, PPA is mandatory in periphrastic passive constructions:

- (42) a. Spanish
 La ciudad fue {destruida/*destruido}.
 the city.F.SG be.PST.3SG destroy.PTCP.{F.SG/*M.SG}
 ‘The city was destroyed’
 b. General Catalan
 La ciutat va ser {destruïda/*destruït}.
 the city.F.SG AUX.PST.3SG be.INF destroy.PTCP.{F.SG/*M.SG}
 ‘The city was destroyed’

These passives require PPA in the same way as adjectives need to agree with their argument in copular sentences, such as in (43), or in contexts of direct modification (inside the DP/NP), such as in (44), which can be accounted for through an operation like *Concord* (Baker 2008; Giusti 2008, 2009; Cardinaletti & Giusti 2015) or *Reverse Agree* (Zeijlstra 2012; Bjorkman & Zeijlstra 2014, 2019), with upward probing – by some kind of Pred(icative) head – and downward valuation.

- (43) a. Spanish
 María es muy {simpática/*simpático}.
 María be.3SG very friendly.{F.SG/*M.SG}
 ‘Mary is very friendly’
 b. General Catalan
 La Maria és molt {simpàtica/*simpàtic}
 PERS.ART.F Maria be.3SG very friendly.{F.SG/*M.SG}
 ‘Mary is very friendly’

¹⁵

See fn. 11.

- (44) a. Spanish
 dos habitaciones {espaciosas/*espacioso}
 two room.F.PL spacious.{F.PL/*M.SG}
 ‘two spacious rooms’
 b. General Catalan
 dues cambres {espaïoses/*espaïós}
 two room.F.PL spacious.{F.PL/*M.SG}
 ‘two spacious rooms’

iii) Regarding PPA with clitics and with *wh*-objects, considering the problems of Longenbaugh’s (2019) proposal (mentioned at the end of § 3.2), I adopt an analysis based on Georgi & Stark (2021) mechanism, but with some differences. Certainly, “resumption by subextraction, stranding, and incorporation” of a functional head *H* can account for several facts: *a*) *wh*-PPA can only occur with the most embedded participle of a long-distance dependency; *b*) the optionality of many instances of PPA; and *c*) some cases of PPA are conditioned (§ 2), depending on the morphological richness of the clitic, person/gender/number hierarchies, perceptual or functional factors (as the ones mentioned at the end of § 2.1, which allow to disambiguate some clitic structures), the specificity condition (in French), or the topicality condition together with the values of *Asp*₁ ([+bounded] or [resultative]) (in some subvariety of current Majorcan Catalan).

Unlike Georgi & Stark (2021), I do not assume that the specific/nonspecific interpretation of the object depends on it moving through a second specifier of *Evt*/VoiceP or not. In Majorcan Catalan, *wh*-constructions can exhibit PPA independently of the specificity of the internal argument – see (18) in § 2.2. Moreover, in Catalan, VOS sentences like the one in (45b) (with a rhematic postverbal subject) and the ungrammaticality of a VSO order (45c) show that the internal argument must *always* raise over the external argument in this language (Solà i Pujols 1992; Vallduví 2002), without giving a specific reading to the object.

- (45) General Catalan
 a. En Joan canta cançons.
 PERS.ART.M Joan sing.3SG song.F.PL
 ‘Joan {sings / is singing} songs’
 b. Canta cançons en Joan.
 sing.3SG songs.F.PL PERS.ART.M Joan
 ‘It is Joan who {sings / is singing} songs’
 c. *Canta en Joan cançons.
 sing.3SG PERS.ART.M Joan song.F.PL

Furthermore, I do not assume that *every* DP enters the derivation with a functional head *H*_[uφ:], even silent. *H*_[uφ:], if present, would be always phonetically materialised, provided it agrees with its DP complement in F.SG, F.PL, or M.PL.

Conversely, I propose that every language or variety can choose, parametrically, which NP/DP/QP/Wh-P internal arguments can enter the derivation with an *H*_[uφ:] head, as a strategy for marking information structure and, sometimes, also aspect.

For example, in current Majorcan Catalan, *H*_[uφ:] could be projected: *a*) with

object clitics (especially, but not only, if they are 3FEM); *b*) with objects bearing a [+*w/h*-] feature or some other δ (discourse) feature that triggers object fronting; and *c*) for those speakers who admit conditioned PPA_{OIS}, H could be also projected with those internal arguments that have a [Givenness] or [Aboutness] topical δ feature, provided Asp₁ in the numeration has a [+bounded] or [resultative] feature.

At the other extreme, languages like Spanish do not use this strategy (H incorporation) at all.

Finally, it would be interesting to see how Friulian Rhaeto-Romance behaves regarding PPA in long-distance dependencies: if PPA_{OIS} in Friulian is really explained by the *Agree* operation (where Evt/Voice would have [*u* ϕ :_] and [*u* δ :_] probing features, acting as a unique package, as claimed by De Cia 2022), agreement should be possible with an upper participle. By contrast, if agreement is not possible with an upper participle, the resumptive mechanism should be preferred – see Salvà (2021: 271-279) for further details.

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