



Unagreement and Clitic Doubling: Realization of definiteness in external and internal arguments

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1 Unagreement: The phenomenon

- Unagreement is a phenomenon where verbal morphology inflected for the first (1-a) or second person plural (1-b) co-occurs with the external argument in the form of nominative definite plural DP.

(1) a. *Oi balarínes agapáme ta forémata.*
the ballerinas love.1_{PL} the dresses

‘We ballerinas love dresses.’

b. *Oi athlités koimáste norís.*
the athletes sleep.2_{PL} early

‘You athletes sleep early.’

Greek

- As NPs/DPs mainly trigger 3rd person agreement (2-b), their co-occurrence with verbal morphology encoding 1st and 2nd person (2-a) is surprising.

(2) a. *Oi balarínes agapáme ta forémata.*
the ballerinas love.1_{PL} the dresses

‘We ballerinas love dresses.’

b. *Oi balarínes agapáne ta forémata.*
the ballerinas love.3_{PL} the dresses

‘The ballerinas love dresses.’

- When the pronoun is overtly realized, the only possible agreement morphology on the verb is the one matching the pronoun.

(3) a. *Emeís oi balarínes agapáme/*agapáte/*agapóun ta forémata.*
we the ballerinas love.1_{PL}/*2_{PL}/*3_{PL} the dresses

‘We ballerinas love dresses.’

b. *Eseís oi athlités *koimómaste/koimáste/*koimoúntai norís.*
you the athletes sleep.*1_{PL}/2_{PL}/*3_{PL} early

‘You athletes sleep early.’

In the literature it has been controversially discussed whether construals involving unagreement are:

- instances of genuine absence of agreement (Villa-García 2010, Mancini et al. 2011, Ackema & Neeleman 2013) or
- the necessary ϕ -features are already contained:
 - within an additional silent pronoun, *pro* (Hurtado 1985, Suñer 1988, Torrego 1996, Torrego & Laka 2015) or
 - within the overt unagreeing DP itself (Stavrou 1995, Höhn 2016, 2017)

Proposal in this talk:

- I will provide further evidence for the *pro* analysis and argue that unagreement construals involve a distinct type of *pro* - **nominal pro**
- Unagreement effects arise as a consequence of availability of DP-internal nominal *pro* that is tracked by TP-internal verbal *pro*.

• **Roadmap:**

- **Section 2:** proposal for a distinction between two types of *pro*-drop: verbal and nominal *pro*
- **Section 3:** a set of syntactic tests demonstrating that silent person is active in Greek, which is a precondition for both types of *pro*
- **Section 4:** correlation of unagreement and clitic doubling (CD)
- **Section 5:** (i) proposal for a unified analysis of the two phenomena, (ii) an account of the nominal *pro* that is systematically tracked by the verbal *pro*
- **Section 6:** scrutinizing licensing conditions of nominal *pro* that are able to account for its presence in some *pro*-drop languages and absence in others, building on analyses of how definiteness is realized cross-linguistically and in the nominal domain in particular (Alexiadou 2014a, Alexopoulou & Folli 2019).

1.1 Background

- ***pro*-drop parameter** (Rizzi 1982, 1986a, 1986b; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998, 2021; Ritter 1995; Borer 1986, 1989; Barbosa 1995, 2011; Torrego 1998; Neeleman & Szendrői 2007; Shlonsky 2009; Roberts 2009, 2010; Holmberg 2005; Holmberg & Roberts 2013; Camacho 2013; Kučerová 2014):
 - **full/consistent *pro*-drop:** omission of subject pronouns without restrictions (Italian, Greek, Spanish)
 - **radical *pro*-drop:** omission of both subjects and objects (Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese)
 - **partial *pro*-drop:** omission of subjects under certain conditions (Hebrew, Finish, Marathi)
 - **non-*pro*-drop:** omission of subjects in matrix clauses generally not possible (English¹, German, Dutch)
- **Unagreement** is attested only in **full *pro*-drop** languages.
- Höhn (2016) notices further split with respect to the availability of this phenomenon:
 - present in some *pro*-drop languages (Spanish, Greek, Bulgarian)
 - absent in others (Italian, European Portuguese, Serbian)

2 Two types of *pro*-drop: Verbal vs. nominal *pro*

- Greek, Italian, and Serbian are prototype examples of languages allowing *pro*-drop in the **verbal domain**. I will refer to these canonical instances of the subject drop at clausal level as **verbal *pro***.

- (4) a. *pro éfere mia toúrta.*
pro bring.PST.3SG a cake
 ‘(He) brought a cake.’ ✓ verbal *pro*; Greek
- b. *pro ha portato una torta.*
pro AUX.3SG bring.PST.3SG a cake
 ‘(He) brought a cake.’ ✓ verbal *pro*; Italian
- c. *pro doneo je tortu.*
pro bring.PST.PTCP.3SG.M AUX.3SG cake
 ‘(He) brought a cake.’ ✓ verbal *pro*; Serbian

- However, in sharp contrast to Greek, Italian and Serbian do not allow *pro*-drop in the **nominal domain**, i.e., when the pronoun appears in the adnominal position. I will refer to these cases as **nominal *pro*** (see also Alexiadou 2016 for the distinction between verbal and nominal CD).

- (5) a. *Emeís oi balarínes agapáme ta forémata.*
we the ballerinas love.1PL the dresses
 ‘We ballerinas love dresses.’
- b. *pro oi balarínes agapáme ta forémata.*
pro the ballerinas love.1PL the dresses
 ‘We ballerinas love dresses.’ ✓ nominal *pro*; Greek
- (6) a. *Noi ballerine amiamo i vestiti.*
we ballerinas love.1PL the dresses
 ‘We ballerinas love dresses.’
- b. **pro ballerine amiamo i vestiti.*
pro ballerinas love.1PL the dresses
 Intended: ‘We ballerinas love dresses.’ ✗ nominal *pro*; Italian

¹*pro*-drop is possible in English in cases of the so-called *diary-drop* (Haegeman 1990).

- (7) a. *Mi balerine volimo haljine.*
 we ballerinas love.1PL dresses
 ‘We ballerinas love dresses.’
- b. **pro balerine volimo haljine.*
pro ballerinas love.1PL dresses
 Intended: ‘We ballerinas love dresses.’ ✗ nominal *pro*; Serbian

- **Two types of *pro*:**
 - **TP-internal** verbal *pro*-drop
 - **DP-internal** nominal *pro*-drop
- This suggests that availability of nominal *pro*-drop yields unagreement at the clausal level and can be considered a precondition for unagreement effects.
- Italian and Serbian exhibit the **pronominal overtness requirement** at the **nominal level**, as exemplified above, and subsequently lack unagreement.
- Greek exhibits both verbal and nominal *pro*-drop, while Italian and Serbian surface with verbal *pro*-drop only.

	GREEK	ITALIAN	SERBIAN
verbal <i>pro</i> -drop	✓	✓	✓
nominal <i>pro</i> -drop	✓	✗	✗

Table 1: Differences between Italian, Greek, and Serbian

Questions

- What conditions the availability of unagreement?
- Why Italian allows drop in the verbal domain but not in the nominal domain?

3 Silent person in Greek

- In this section, I will demonstrate that zero person is licensed and syntactically active in the subject position in Greek (for the absence of zero person in the object position see the Appendix).
- These tests aim to access the **verbal TP-internal *pro*** in the subject position.

3.1 Silent person is syntactically active in the subject position

- In addition to the overt agreement morphology on the verb suggesting person feature being present as well as the argumentation above, there are further syntactic tests that we can apply to access the person feature.

3.1.1 Licensing of possessive and complex possessive

- Greek has the complex possessive DP *to diko mu* ‘my own’, consisting of the definite article *to*, possessive adjective *diko* ‘own’, and the possessive pronoun *mu* ‘my’ (Alexiadou 2005).
- Unagreement construals can license both simple (8-a) and complex possessives (8-b), which would be mysterious if person feature was not present.

- (8) a. *Oi glossológoi agapáme ta vivlíá mas.*
 the linguists love.1PL the.PL.FEM book.PL.FEM POSS.1PL
 ‘We linguists love our books.’
- b. *Oi glossológoi agapáme ta diká mas vivlíá.*
 the linguists love.1PL the.PL.FEM OWL.PL.FEM POSS.1PL book.PL.FEM
 ‘We linguists love our own books.’

- Crucially, plural on the possessive does not come from the noun *vivlíá* ‘books’, but from the subject, as singular subjects license singular possessive:

- (9) *Agapó ta vivlíá mou.*
 love.1SG the.PL.FEM book.PL.FEM POSS.1SG
 ‘I love my books.’

3.1.2 Licensing of complex reflexive

- Greek has the complex reflexive DP *o eaftós mu* ‘myself’, lit: ‘the self mine’, consisting of the definite article *o*, noun *eaftós* ‘self’, and the possessive pronoun *mu* ‘my’ (Iatridou 1988, Anagnostopoulou & Everaert 1999, Spathas 2010, Alexiadou 2014b, Angelopoulos & Sportiche 2022).
- Complex reflexive DPs are available in unagreement construals:

(10) a. *Oi glossológoi vlépoume ton eaftó mas ston kathréfti.*
 the linguists see.PRS.1PL the.ACC self 1PL.ACC PREP mirror

‘We linguists see ourselves in the mirror.’

b. *Oi glossológoi vlépete ton eaftó sas ston kathréfti.*
 the linguists see.PRS.2PL the.ACC self 2PL.ACC PREP mirror

‘You linguists see yourselves in the mirror.’

- If the person feature were absent in the subject position, we would not be able to account for licensing of first and second person complex reflexives in these contexts.

3.1.3 on time-phrases

- on time-phrases in Greek include a possessive clitic that agrees with the subject:

(11) *Írtha stin óra mou.*
 arrive.PST.1SG on time POSS.1SG

‘I arrived on time.’ lit: ‘I arrived on my time.’

- The same is possible in unagreement configurations, suggesting the presence of a silent person.

(12) a. *Oi glossológoi írthame stin óra mas.*
 the linguists arrived.PST.1PL on time 1PL

‘We linguists arrived on time.’

b. *Oi glossológoi írthate stin óra sas.*
 the linguists arrived.PST.2PL on time 2PL

‘You linguists arrived on time.’

4 Correlation with Clitic Doubling

- A closer look into the pronominal systems of *pro*-drop languages reveals that the split between *pro*-drop languages allowing and disallowing unagreement correlates with the availability of clitic doubling.
- Namely, CD is systematically present in languages allowing unagreement and absent in languages not allowing unagreement.
- **Prediction:** if a language displays unagreement, the language also has CD.

GREEK

(13) a. *Oi mousikoí írthame argá.*
 the musicians arrive.PST.1PL late

‘(We) musicians arrived late.’

✓ UNAGR

b. *Ton vlépo ton eléfanta.*
 CL.MASC.SG.ACC see.PRS.1SG the.MASC.SG.ACC elephant.MASC.SG.ACC

‘(I) see the elephant.’

✓ CD

ROMANIAN

(14) a. *Pikurar-li adrem pini.*
 shepherd-DET.PL made.1PL bread

‘We shepherds made bread’

✓ UNAGR; (Höhn 2016)

b. *L-am vizdută Petri.*
 him-have seen Peter

‘I saw Peter.’

✓ CD; (Mišeska Tomić 2008)

SPANISH

(15) a. *Firmamos los linguistas la carta.*
 signed.1PL the linguists the letter

‘We linguists signed the letter.’ ✓ UNAGR; (Ackema & Neeleman 2013)

b. *Miguelito le regaló un caramelo a Mafalda.*
 Miguelito CL.DAT gave a candy a Mafalda

‘Miguelito gave Mafalda a piece of candy.’ ✓ CD; Anagnostopoulou (2006)

GALICIAN

(16) a. *Os estudantes fixestes pan.*
 DET.PL students made.2PL bread

‘You students made bread.’

✓ UNAGR; (Höhn 2016)

b. *Vimo-lo Kremlin.*
 saw.1PL-the Kremlin

‘We saw the Kremlin’

✓ CD; (Uriagereka 1988)

CATALAN

(17) a. *Els estudiants vam fer un pastís.*
 DET.PL students AUX.1PL make a cake

‘We students made a cake.’

✓ UNAGR; (Höhn 2016)

b. *Jo li regalo el llibre a en Joan.*
I DAT.3S offer.1s the book to the John

‘I am offering the book to John.’ ✓ [CD]; (Martín 2012)

BASQUE

(18) a. *Lagunak garaiz gatoz.*
friends early arrive.1PL

‘(We) the friends arrive early.’ ✓ [UNAGR]; Torrego & Laka (2015)

b. *Katu-ek sagu-ak harrapa-tu dituzte-la ikusi dut.*
cat-ERG mouse-ABS caught AUX.ABS.ERG-that seen AUX.1.ERG

‘I saw that the cats caught the mice.’ ✓ [CD]; Rezac et al. (2014)

BULGARIAN

(19) a. *Deca-ta otidohme v gradina-ta.*
children-the went.1PL to garden-the

‘(We) children went to the garden’ ✓ [UNAGR]; (Osenova 2001)

b. *Marija mu izprati pismo na rabotnika.*
Maria 3SG.M.IO sent letter to the.worker

‘Maria sent a letter to the worker’ ✓ [CD]; (Harizanov 2014)

- A sharp contrast in Italian and Serbian:

ITALIAN

(20) a. **I musicisti siamo arrivati tardi.*
musicians AUX.1PL arrived.1PL late

intended: ‘We musicians arrived late.’ ✗ [UNAGR]

b. **Lo vedrò domani Gianni.*
him see.FUT.1SG tomorrow Gianni

intended: ‘I will see G. tomorrow.’ ✗ [CD]; (Anagnostopoulou 2006)

SERBIAN

(21) a. **Muzičari smo stigli kasno.*
musicians AUX.1PL arrived.1PL late

intended: ‘We musicians arrived late.’ ✗ [UNAGR]

b. **Videla sam ga dečaka juče.*
saw.PST.PTCP.SG.FEM AUX.3SG 3SG.M.ACC boy.SG.ACC yesterday

intended: ‘I saw the boy yesterday.’ ✗ [CD]

	UNAGREEMENT	CLITIC DOUBLING
Greek	✓	✓
Aromanian	✓	✓
Spanish	✓	✓
Galician	✓	✓
Catalan	✓	✓
Basque	✓	✓
Bulgarian	✓	✓
Italian	✗	✗
Serbian	✗	✗

Table 2: Correlation of unagreement and clitic doubling

- I put forth the following generalization:

(22) *Unagreement and Clitic Doubling generalization*

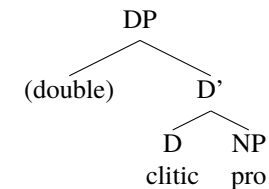
Unagreement languages are full *pro*-drop languages with Clitic Doubling

5 Unagreement and CD: Towards a Unified Analysis

5.1 Capturing parallelism: Big DP analysis of CD

- **Big DP:** Uriagereka (1988, 1995) introduces an idea that third person clitics are determiners that constitute a big DP together with the doubled DP.

(23)



- The clitic originates within the big DP (Uriagereka 1988, 1995) and undergoes subsequent (A-)movement to its host in the verbal complex (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1997, 2000; Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2004; Roberts 2010, Nevins 2011, Kramer 2014, Harizanov 2014).
- The clitic is often analyzed as an adjunct to the doubled argument (Nevins 2011, Kramer 2014), mimicking the adjunction of floating quantifiers to DP (Haegeman 2006).

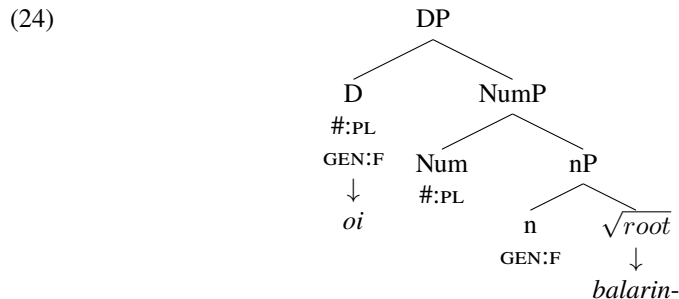
- Differences observed between Romance and Greek in the domain of CD (Anagnostopoulou 1994, 2006) stem from differences in generating Big DP² forms (Roberts 2010, Nevins 2011).

5.2 Building the complex DP

- In this section, I will introduce structural make up of the **complex DP** serving as an **input for unagreement effects**.
- **Feature distribution:**
 - I assume GENDER features to be located on the nominalizing head n (Kramer 2015, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Deal 2016), and NUMBER in a separate layer (#) encoding plurality (Ritter 1995, Alexiadou 2019a, 2019b).
 - The pronoun occupies a specifier position of the complex DP and contributes person (π) features [AUTHOR, PARTICIPANT].

Step 1: DP *oi balarines* ‘we ballerinas’

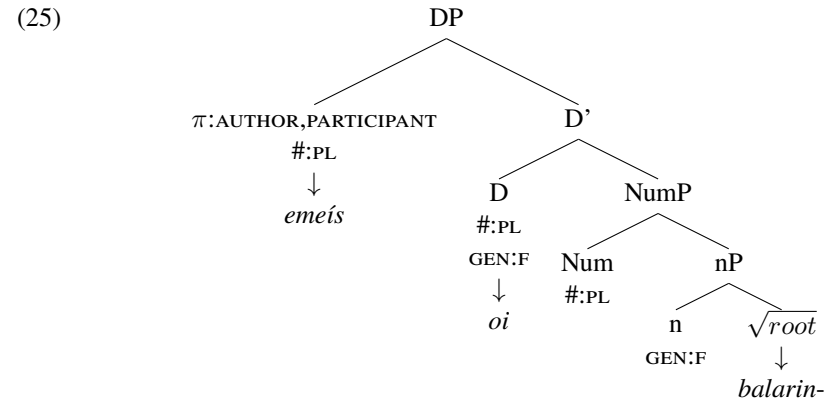
- Interpretable ϕ features distributed across the nominal extended projection are collected in D (Danon 2011, Shlonsky 2012, Norris 2014, Landau 2016) → the definite article (*oi*) encodes plural number and feminine gender



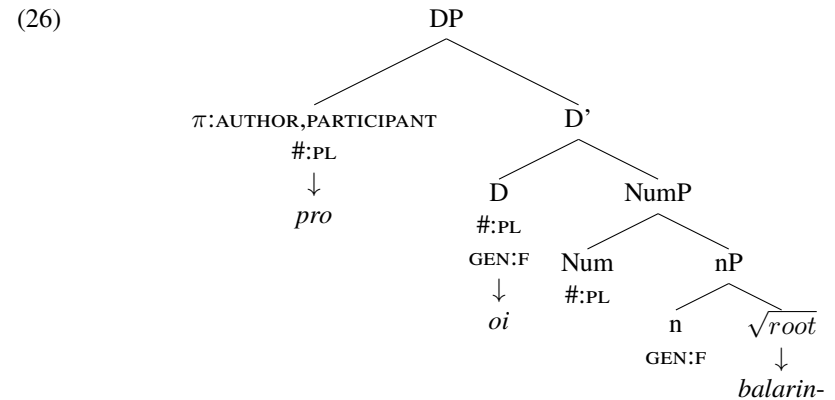
Step 2: Merging the pronoun

- The pronoun carrying interpretable person features [AUTHOR, PARTICIPANT] merges occupying Spec,DP position.

²For the implementation of the Big DP hypothesis in various languages see also Cecchetto 2000, Cornilescu & Dobrovie-Sorin 2008, Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2008.



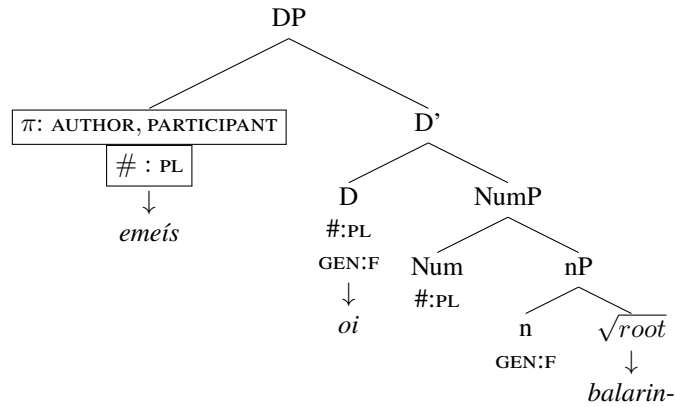
The structure involving nominal *pro*



5.3 Subject-verb agreement and deriving unagreement effects

- I follow Landau's (2016) proposal that D is **the exclusive contact point** between external probes (v/T) and nominal ϕ -features.
- **Proposal**
 - Once the complex DP is assembled, the only node accessible for agreement is the highest D.
 - In this case, the highest D is occupied by the personal pronoun.
 - Thus, only the pronoun is visible for purposes of agreement:

(27)

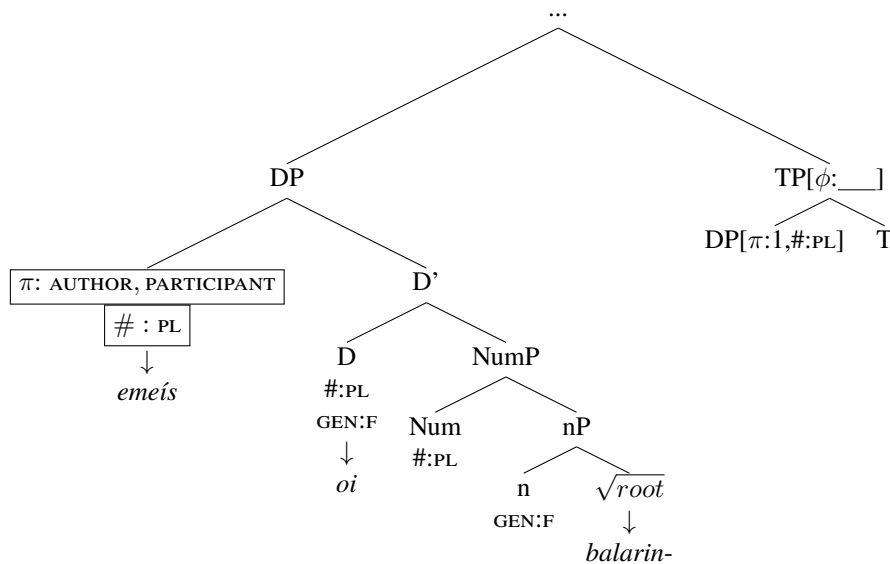


- The verb in Greek moves to T; the overt preverbal subject undergoes A-movement (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998 and subsequent literature).
- Abstracting away from other layers in the verbal domain, I represent here only those relevant for the current discussion.

Step 1: Pre-agreement

- The fully specified pronoun merges TP-internally. The verb moved to T agrees with it and gets its features valued.

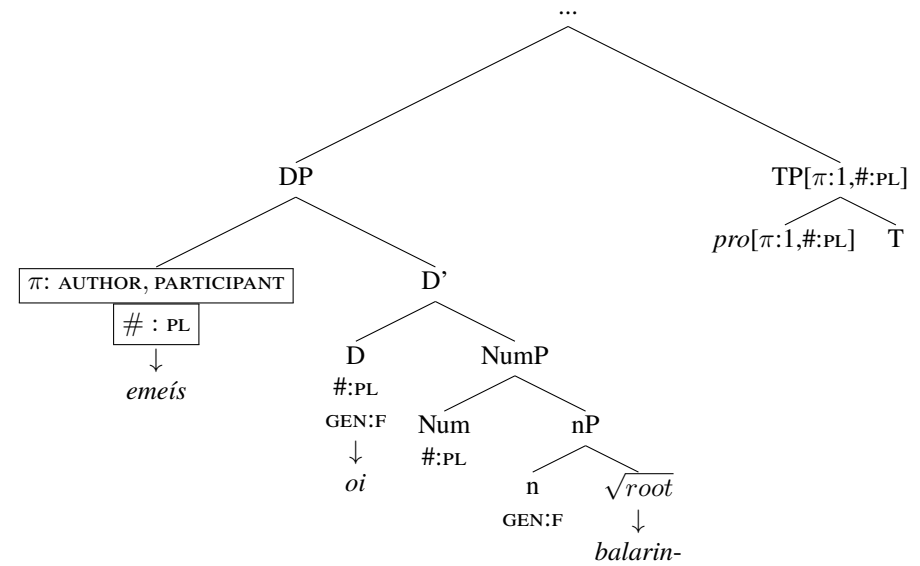
(28)



Step 2: Post-agreement

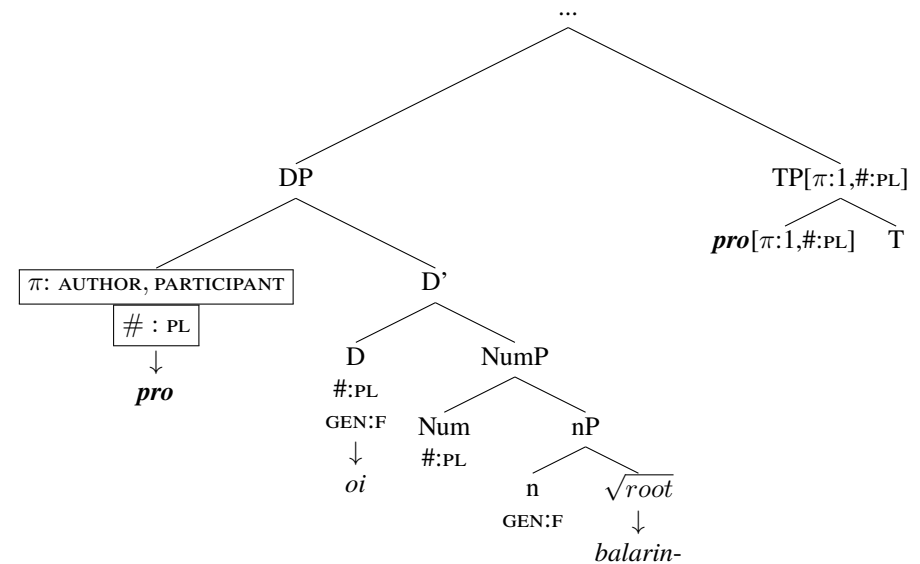
- The verb agrees with the TP-internal (verbal) *pro*

(29)



Unagreement effect

(30)



• **Mechanics:**

- Following the same principles as above, the verb agrees with the pronoun - verbal *pro*.
- The sole argument of the verb is the verbal *pro*.
- An overt DP is always dislocated in Greek and occupies a peripheral position of the clause.
- Verbal *pro* within TP tracks nominal *pro* in the overt dislocated DP and agrees with it as the pronoun is the topmost layer.
- Verbal and nominal *pro* are simultaneously present and form an **agreement chain**.
- The rest of the DP (*oi balarínes*) is not accessible, hence it never participates in the agreement relationship.
- **Unagreement emerges only as an effect of the nominal *pro***, while the verb fully agrees with the silent verbal *pro*.

6 Approaching the Greek-Italian split

- **Recall:** Italian does not allow nominal *pro*-drop.

	ITALIAN	GREEK
verbal <i>pro</i> -drop	✓	✓
nominal <i>pro</i> -drop	✗	✓

Table 3: Differences between Italian and Greek

- **Question:** What blocks the drop of the pronoun and unagreement in Italian?

6.1 Difference in the nominal syntax

- **Proposal:** At the center of unagreement puzzle lies the question of why the definite article in the extended projection of the nominal phrase can be omitted in English (31-a) and Italian (31-b), but has to be overtly realized in Greek (31-c).

- (31) a. we (the) ballerinas
 b. noi (le) ballerine Italian
 c. emeís *(oi) balarínes Greek

- There is a sharp contrast between Greek and Italian with respect to (at least) four phenomena³:

	ITALIAN	GREEK
clitic doubling	✗	✓
unagreement	✗	✓
demonstratives with an article	✗	✓
multiple determiners	✗	✓

Table 4: Further differences between Italian and Greek

6.1.1 Demonstrative pronouns

- In addition to CD and unagreement, Italian patterns with English and departs from Greek in disallowing definite articles with demonstrative pronouns.
- In Greek, on the other hand, the definite article is obligatory for the demonstrative pronoun⁴ to surface.

- (33) **questo il libro*
 this the book
 Intended: ‘this book’ Italian

- (34) *afto to vivlío*
 this the book
 ‘this book’ Greek

³These phenomena do not necessarily correlate in all languages. For instance, Spanish has CD and unagreement but not MD, which suggests that these differences are subject to further finer distinctions in the nominal syntax of these languages.

⁴Further evidence comes from German adnominal demonstratives, where omitting the D-pronoun results in an ungrammatical form (32-b), which is an option readily available in Greek (32-a). Thus, in the same way it is possible to omit the overt pronoun that yields unagreement, omitting of the demonstrative is available in Greek, in contrast to German.

- (32) a. *Chthes gnórisa énan athlití. (Aftós) o athlitís éinai éxypno.*
 yesterday met a.M athlete.M DEM.M the.M athlete.M is smart.M
 ‘I met an athlete. This athlete is smart.’ Greek
- b. *Gestern habe ich einen Sportler kennengelernt. *(Der) Sportler ist klug.*
 yesterday have I a.M athlete.M met DEM.M athlete.M is smart
 ‘I met an athlete. This athlete is smart.’ German

6.1.2 Multiple determiners

- Similarly, Italian and English do not allow multiple determiners, in contrast to Greek (Alexiadou 2014a).

(35) a. **il libro il rosso*
the book the red

Intended: ‘the red book’

Italian

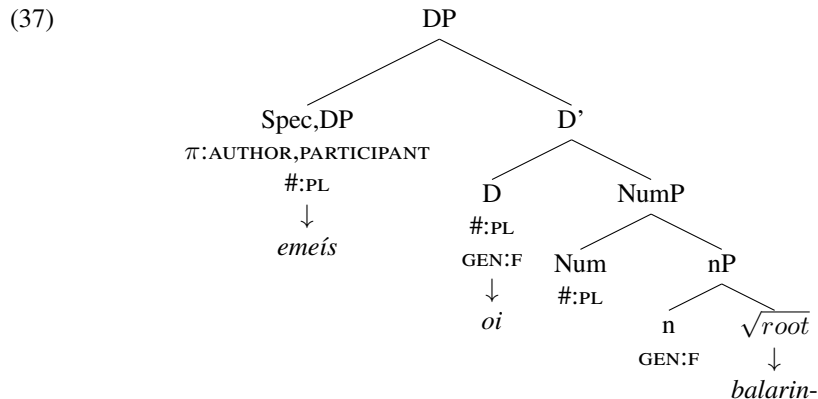
b. *the red the book

(36) *to vivlio to kokino*
the book the red

‘the red book’

Greek

- As demonstrated in Alexiadou (2014a) and Alexopoulou & Folli (2019), English and Greek differ in the realization of the D head. While in English it can be realized as null, in Greek it is obligatorily overt, which gives rise to multiple determiners in modification contexts in Greek and rules them out in English.
- As Greek bare nouns are NumberPs (Alexiadou 2014a, Alexopoulou & Folli 2019), they cannot be doubled unless a definite article is introduced (Alexiadou 2014a).
- In the same way, the pronoun in Greek cannot co-occur with the noun in the absence of an overt determiner. However, this possibility is readily available in English, as the determiner may remain silent.



Person is always realized separately from definiteness

- Proposal:** Definiteness can be realized without triggering person readings. Personal pronouns, however, as prime realizations of person features, always trigger definiteness as a by-product.

- Italian expresses kind readings via a definite determiner that applies to a plural noun (Chierchia 1998). The same holds for Greek (Lazaridou-Chatzigoga & Alexiadou 2019):

(38) a. *Le ballerine amano i vestiti.*
the ballerinas love.3PL the dresses

‘Ballerinas love dresses.’

Italian

b. *Oi balarines agapoun ta forémata.*
the ballerinas love.3PL the dresses

‘Ballerinas love dresses.’

Greek

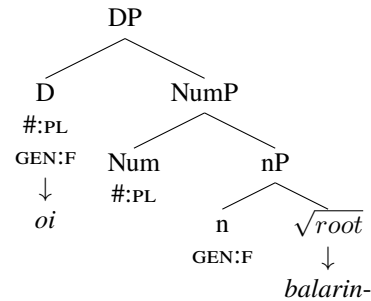
- The same form *le ballerine* and *oi balarines* will be used to express **canonical definiteness** (e.g., for referring to specific ballerinas who are present in the room).
- Person** reading, however, is **absent** in both cases - the speaker may be a member of the kind but need not to.
- The two languages differ in the realization of the D head - in Greek it has to be overt, while in Italian it is realized as zero:

(39) a. *emeis oi balarines*

b. *noi ∅ ballerine*

- In Greek, only the definite article can occupy the D position. Evidence for this comes from demonstrative pronouns, multiple determiners, and adnominal constrictors.
- The only possible configuration is the following:

(40)



- **unagreement** as an **effect of the licensed nominal *pro*** → at the same time, the verb agrees with the verbal *pro*
- the correlation between unagreement and CD as an indication that the two phenomena should receive a unified analysis and are suggestive of the complex interaction of verbal arguments
- **absence of the nominal *pro*** in some languages that have verbal *pro* as a **consequence of the nominal syntax** and the behavior of bare nouns (Alexiadou 2014a, Alexopoulou & Folli 2019)
- pronouns that can be realized as nominal *pro* are adjuncts within the DP structure → languages that do not license DP-internal adjuncts do not give rise to nominal *pro*

- Both personal (41-a) and demonstrative (41-b) pronouns are banned from the D position in Greek and cannot attach directly to NumP, which ungrammaticality of the following examples clearly suggests:

- (41) a. *emeís balarínes
 b. *aftés balarínes

- In Italian, D slot is initially empty. As a result, a variety of elements can occupy the D position: (i) definite determiner, which can give rise to kind and canonical definite readings, (ii) personal pronoun, (iii) demonstrative pronoun.
- Merging the pronoun results in an immediate definiteness as a by-product.

Why is nominal *pro* blocked?

- In **Greek**, the overt pronoun is realized as a full DP and merges as an **adjunct** → can be realized as *pro* since *pro* is a silent constituent (full XP).
- In **Italian**, the overt pronoun realizes the **D head** → *pro*-drop is blocked as it applies to the constituent and not to a single layer in the structure.

7 Summary

- In this talk I argued for:
 - the simultaneous existence of **two types of *pro*** - canonical **verbal TP-internal *pro*** and **nominal DP-internal *pro***
 - the presence of an **agreement chain** between the verbal and nominal *pro*, where verbal *pro* tracks the nominal *pro*

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Appendix

- This sections aims to show that, in contrast to subject position, silent person is not licensed in the object position in Greek.
- I attribute this state of affairs to Greek being subject-*pro* but not object *pro*-drop language.
- I will first present recent analysis of unagreement in Höhn (2016). In the next step I will show that this proposal overgenerates as it falsely predicts unagreement effects in the object position in Greek, contrary to the fact.

Parameterized extended nominal projection (Höhn 2016)

- Höhn (2016) proposes that availability of unagreement depends on the **Pers head** hosting person features in the extended nominal projection:
 - entirely absent in languages without unagreement (Type I APCs) → definiteness, demonstrativity, person features bundled on D
 - present in languages allowing unagreement where it receives **zero spell-out** (Type II APCs) → definiteness on D, demonstrativity and person features bundled on the PersP; the pronoun in PersP realizes only person features and it does not a full establish DP, acquires person and gender features via agreement with rest of the DP
 - Thus, the structure of *we students* and its Greek counterpart *emeís oi foitités* is the following:

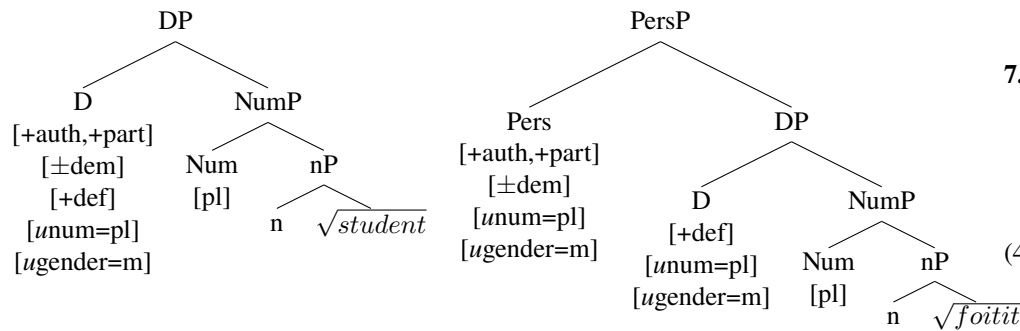


Table 5: Type I APC (English) vs. Type II APC (Greek) (Höhn 2016)

7.1 No silent person in Greek objects

- In contrast to subject positions, unagreement readings do not emerge in the object position in Greek and first/second person readings of object DPs is not possible in the absence of an overt pronoun:

- (42) a. *Eíde tous glossológous.*
 see.PST.3SG the.PL.ACC linguist.PL.ACC
 ‘(He) saw the linguists.’ **not:** ‘(He) saw us linguists.’

- This is further corroborated by Small Clause environments where person readings cannot arise:

- (43) *I kathigítria theoreí tous foitités éxypnous.*
 the professor consider.PRS.3SG the.PL.ACC students.PL.ACC smart
 ‘The professor considers the students smart.’ **not:** ‘The professor considers us students smart’

- For person reading to arise in the object position, **the pronoun has to be overt.**
- Thus Höhn’s (2016) analysis according to which unagreement depends on the extended projection of the nominal phrase and emerges in those languages that can leave person layer unpronounced overgenerates. If *oi glossólogoi* ‘we linguists’ contained hidden person feature, we would expect person readings to arise irrespectively of the argument position, contrary to the fact.
- The data above show that DPs without overt person morphology cannot trigger person readings in the object position.
- Thus, subject position emerges as a necessary requirement for licensing unagreement in Greek.

7.1.1 Evidence from ECM and Small Clauses

- Cases that may resemble unagreement construals in the object position should not be considered unagreement. These forms involve right dislocation rather than CD, as suggested by an intonational break as well.

- (44) a. *Mas epainoún tous glossológous.*
 CL.1PL.ACC praise.3PL the.PL linguists
 ‘(They) praise us, linguists.’
 b. *Mas ektimá tous glossológous.*
 CL.1PL.ACC appreciate.3SG the.PL linguists
 ‘(He) appreciates us, linguists.’

- Two syntactic tests help us distinguish between CD and right dislocation (Anagnostopoulou 1994, Sportiche 2005): ECM and Small Clause constructions.

- Namely, if there was a silent person accompanying the nominal *oi foitités* ‘the students’, the first person plural clitic would be able to double it in both ECM⁵ (46-a) and Small Clause (46-b) environments. However, this is ruled out, suggesting that person feature is not present.

(46) a. **I kathigíttria mas thélei oi foitités na gráfoume áristes*
 the professor CL.1PL wants the students SUBJ write.1PL excellent
diatrivés.
 theses

‘The professor wants us students to write excellent theses.’

b. **I kathigíttria mas theoreí tous foitités éxypnous.*
 the professor CL.1PL consider the students smart

‘The professor considers us students smart.’

- In contrast, construals involving overt pronouns are readily available for doubling. Thus, CD counterpart of right dislocations in (44) are the following:

(47) a. *Mas epainoún emas tous glossológous.*
 CL.1PL.ACC praise.3PL 1PL.ACC the.PL linguists

‘(They) praise us linguists.’

b. *Mas ektimá emas tous glossológous.*
 CL.1PL.ACC appreciate.3SG 1PL.ACC the.PL linguists

‘(He) appreciates us linguists.’

7.2 Summary

- Nominal *pro* has been identified as a precondition for unagreement in the beginning.

⁵The picture might be slightly more complicated here. While *oi foitités* ‘the students’ can appear as the subject of the subjunctive triggering first person plural on the verb, which suggests its presence in the structure, it is unavailable for the subsequent cliticization in the matrix clause (see also Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2019, as the unagreement configuration is grammatical in the subjunctive when the clitic is absent:

(45) a. *I kathigíttria thélei emeís oi foitités na gráfoume áristes diatrivés.*
 the professor wants us the students SUBJ write.1PL excellent theses

‘The professor wants us students to write excellent theses.’

b. *I kathigíttria thélei oi foitités na gráfoume áristes diatrivés.*
 the professor wants the students SUBJ write.1PL excellent theses

‘The professor wants us students to write excellent theses.’

- There is an additional requirement that emerges in Greek - a DP involving a nominal *pro* has to be in the subject position. I attribute this result to Greek being subject-*pro*-drop and not object-*pro*-drop language.

- **Prediction:** languages that have object agreement and object-*pro* are candidates to display unagreement in the object position. This prediction is confirmed in Basque:

(48) a. *pro irabazleak agurtu gaituzte.1PL / zaituztete.2PL / dituzte.3PL*
pro winners-the greeted us-have-them / you-have-them / them-have-them

‘They greeted us/you/the winners.’

Torrego & Laka (2015)