On the syntax of constructions with arb SE in Spanish

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0. Introduction

Clitic constructions present interesting problems regarding the status of the clitic as a morphological or a syntactic element and the role played by the clitic in the mapping between argument structure and syntactic configurations. These questions can now be approached in the light of recent ideas concerning the distinction between lexical and functional heads and the explosion of the structure of IP into functional projections such as those headed by TENSE and AGREEMENT (Pollock 1989, Chomsky 1989).

Our concern here is the structures in (1), which involve the impersonal clitic SE in Spanish, henceforth ARB (itrary) SE[1]:

(1) We are not considering here Psych-verbs of the type discussed by Belletti & Rizzi (1988). ARB SE seems to be incompatible with verbs of the *piacere* class (i) and only marginal with verbs of the *preoccupare* class (ii):

   (i) a.   A Juan le gusta la gente.
             to Juan to-him likes the people
             'Juan likes people'
        b. *A Juan SE le gusta
             to Juan ARB SE to-him likes
   (ii) a.   A Juan le preocupa la gente.
             to Juan to-him worries the people
             'Juan worries about people'
        b. ??? A Juan SE le preocupa
             to Juan SE to-him worries
             'One (SE) worries Juan'

The ungrammaticality of ARB SE in (i) and (ii) seems to interact with the obligatoriness of clitic doubling in verbs of the *piacere* class for ALL dialects of Spanish and in verbs of the *preoccupare* class for some dialects of Spanish. The idea that clitic doubling interferes with some syntactic processes involving movement is taken from Torrego (1989). It is not clear to me what the nature of the interference is in construction with ARB SE, but it may have to do with the assumption that Case is assigned to the doubled DP by moving into SPEC of an AGRP headed by the dative clitic *le* outside the VP. Our claim throughout this paper is that ARB SE is also the head of an AGRP which could well be a possible landing-site for the doubled DP. Hence, the ungrammaticality of (i) and (ii) (in some dialects of Spanish).

(1) a. (Trans) i. SE observa cambios en la economía.
                       SE observes-sg changes in the economy
                       'One (SE) observes changes in the economy.'
                   ii. SE observan cambios en la economía.
                       SE observe-pl changes in the economy
                       'One (SE) observes changes in the economy.'
     b. (Unerg)   SE bebe mucho las fiestas.
                       'One (SE) drinks a lot at parties.'
     c. (Unacc)   Con estos atascos SE llega siempre tarde.
                       'With these traffic-jams, one (SE) is always late.'
     d. (Cop)   No SE es feliz en una sociedad como la nuestra.
                       'One (SE) is not happy in a society like ours.'
     e. (Pass)   SE ha sido invitado a la fiesta.
                       'One (SE) has been invited to the party.'

Sentences containing ARB SE, like those above, are interpreted as having a non-specified (indefinite) subject which is always [+human] (see (Otero 1985, Campos 1989). This interpretation is close to English 'one' or 'they' and agentless passives with generic interpretation. In this ARB SE differs from *ergative se* illustrated in (2), where no indefinite human subject interpretation is observed:

(2) a. La puerta *se* abrió (por sí sola).
         the door ERG se opened by itself
         'The door opened (by itself).'
     b. El hielo *se* fundió.
         the ice ERG se melted
         'the ice melted.'

The sentences in (2) contrast with those in (3) with an overt AGENT *Juan*. Superficially, there are two differences between the sentences in (2) and those in (3): (i) *se* is present in (2) but not in (3), where the occurrence of *se* would lead to ungrammaticality, and (ii) *la puerta* 'the door' and *el hielo* 'the ice' are the SS subjects in (2) (as we can tell by looking at verbal agreement) but not in (3), where they are object complements of the verb, with *Juan* occupying the SS subject position.

(3) a. Juan abrió la puerta.
         'Juan opened the door.'
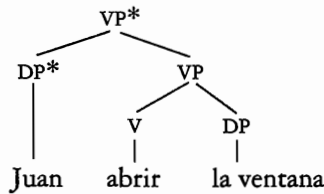   b. Juan fundió el hielo.
         'Juan melted the ice.'

It is generally agreed that we are dealing with the same verb *abrir* 'to open' in both (2a) and (3a). The lexical entry for this verb is as specified in (4a). It includes some essential information about its argument structure and about the linking of arguments to grammatical functions. The verb *abrir* 'to open' is associated with two θ-roles: an AGENT θ-role and a THEME θ-role. The AGENT θ-role corresponds to Williams's (1981) *external θ-role*. It is assigned (compositionally) by the VP to the element occupying the subject position. We are following the proposal in Koopman &

Sportiche (1988) that DP* in (4b) is the DS position for the subject, which can subsequently rise to its SS position in SPEC of AGRP (S) for Case reasons[2]. This proposal encompasses the idea that θ-roles are assigned under sisterhood and that all the arguments associated with a verb in its lexical entry are realized within the VP* at DS. The THEME θ-role corresponds to Williams's *internal* θ-role. It is assigned to the DP complement of the verb which is subcategorized for and assigned accusative Case by the verb.
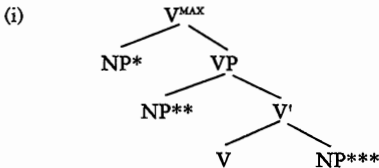
(4) a. abrir (*agent*, theme)
　　　　　 [___DP]
　　　　　 ACC

b.

```
                    VP*
              _____|_____
            DP*           VP
             |          __|__
             |         V     DP
             |         |      |
           Juan      abrir  la ventana
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　　We adopt Burzio's (1986) traditional analysis of ergative structures by which in sentences like those in (2) *se* is a morphological reflex of the loss of the external θ-role. Affixation of ergative *se* to the verb is a lexical process following Borer's (1984) claim that rules that suppress lexical features must be pre-syntactic in order to avoid violation of the Projection Principle (see Chomsky 1981: 29). *Ergative se* is therefore a marker of the derivation of ergative entries from transitive entries. Like transitives, ergative verbs subcategorize for a direct object, but, unlike transitives, they are only associated with one θ-role: the internal θ-role which is assigned to the direct object. According to *Burzio's generalization* (Burzio 1981: chap. 3; 1986: sec. 3.1) verbs which appear in structures where the external θ-role is not assigned to the subject cannot assign accusative Case to their object, which has to be assigned nominative

(2) Actually, the structure of VP* is more complex than it appears in (4b). Sportiche (1987) claims that there is another DP (or NP) position in the structure, which appears as SPEC of VP (NP**), as in (i) (from Sportiche (1987: 4):

(i)
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              V^MAX
          _____|_____
        NP*         VP
                 ____|____
               NP**       V'
                       ____|____
                      V        NP***
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NP* is the canonical DS structure position for the subject. In languages like English, where no Case can be assigned to the subject in that position, movement to SPEC of IP (or SPEC of AGRP (S) in Chomsky 1989) is obligatory. That is not the case in languages like Italian and Spanish, in which INFL (or TENSE in our framework) can assign Case to NP* under government. NP*** is the canonical DS object position. NP** is the SPEC of VP. That this position is needed is clearly shown by small clauses such as (i), according to Sportiche (1987: 4).

(i)　I consider [John [Bill's friend]]

Case, either by movement into SPEC of AGRP (S) or *in situ* (probably under govern-
ment by TENSE, as we shall see in Section 1). That is why in sentences with *ergative
se* like those in (2) the DS object surfaces as subject in SS.

We have said that sentences with ARB SE, unlike those with *ergative se,* are inter-
preted as having an indefinite human subject. We can now restate this intuition in
other terms: while the external θ-role associated with the subject is lost in sentences
with *ergative se,* there is evidence that points out to the fact that the external θ-role is
syntactically active in constructions with ARB SE. The contrast between the two
structures is illustrated in (5) and (6), where ARB SE, but not *ergative se,* is compatible
with expressions that require predicates that select an external (Agent) θ-role, such
as *agent-oriented adverbs* (5) and *purposive clauses* (6).

(5) a. SE trabaja voluntariamente.
         'One (SE) works voluntarily.'
     b. *La ventana se abre (por sí sola) voluntariamente.
         *the window ERG se opens (by itself) voluntarily

(6) a. SE trabaja para ganarse la vida.
         'One (SE) works to earn one's living.'
     b. *La ventana se abre (por sí sola) para airear la habitación
         *The window (ERG se) opens (by itself) to air the room

In spite of the different properties exhibited by sentences with *ergative se* and
those with ARB SE, we would like to claim that ergative *se* and ARB SE are the same ele-
ment *se.* In fact, a sentence such as (7) is ambiguous between an ergative reading, in
which the window opens without any human intervention (7a), and an ARB SE
reading, in which the opening of the window is caused by the action of an indefinite
human subject (7b). As is to be expected, with an ARB SE reading the sentence is per-
fectly compatible with *agent-oriented averbs* and *purposive clauses* (8)[3]:

(7) Se abrió la ventana.
     a. 'The window opened.'
     b. 'One (SE) opened the window.'

(8) a. SE abrió la ventana deliberadamente.
         'One (SE) opened the window deliberately.'
     b. SE abrió la ventana para admirar el paisaje.
         'One (SE) opened the window to admire the landscape.'

The differences between constructions with ergative *se* and those with ARB SE are
based on whether affixation of *se* to the verb is a lexical or a syntactic process. Affixa-
tion of *ergative se* takes place in the Lexicon, suppressing the external θ-role associat-
ed with the verb. ARB SE attaches to the verb in the syntax so the lexical features of
the verb remain unmodified. If the verb assigns an external θ-role to its subject, it

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(3) See Grimshaw (1989: Section 4) for arguments against the assumption that PRO in a purposive
clause is controlled by the passive morpheme in passive sentences, against Jaeggli (1986b) from whom we
have drawn our ideas on the interaction between ARB SE and purposive clauses.

will continue to do so when the clitic ARB SE is present as in (1a) and (1b). The next section explores the syntactic properties of constructions with ARB SE with regard to Case Theory and Theta Theory, leaving aside the occurrence of ARB SE with Transitive structures, which present some specific problems regarding the alternation between the two structures in (1a). Such problems will be dealt with in Section 2. Finally, Section 3 looks at the occurrence of ARB SE in untensed contexts, which present interesting asymmetries regarding the class of verbs that can be found in untensed sentences in Raising environments, as observed by Cinque (1988).

1. The syntactic properties of ARB SE

The sentences in (1) could be divided into two major groups: those in which the subject position (SPEC of AGRP or VP internal subject) is associated with an external θ-role (1a, 1b), and those in which the subject position is not associated with an external θ-role (1c-e). In this Section, we will first look at the status of ARB SE as a functional head, contrary to analyses that regard ARB SE (or rather its Italian equivalent) as an argument that requires Case and θ-role. We will then outline an analysis for the occurrence of ARB SE with the two major groups of structures mentioned above. The crucial idea developed here is that, although ARB SE 'absorbs' case, it is not associated with a θ-role at any level of representation so that the argument structure of the verb remains intact after cliticization of ARB SE (but see Section 3).

1.1.1. ARB SE as a Functional Head

Based on some asymmetries regarding the behaviour of the Italian equivalents of sentences like those in (1) in untensed contexts, Cinque (1988) distinguishes between two types of SI: an *argument SI*, which is associated with the external θ-role and (nominative) Case by virtue of being in a chain with the subject position ([NP, IP] in Cinque 1988) in sentences with transitive and Unergative verbs in untensed contexts, and a *non-argument SI*, which is not associated with a θ-role at any level of representation; rather it is some kind of marker in personal ([+finite]) AGR. This is so to avoid an analysis in which a clitic, namely SI, is associated both with the subject position ([NP, IP] in Cinque 1988) when the verb has an external θ-role, and with [NP, VP], when the verb is only associated with only the internal θ-role.

In fact, such a situation would be undesirable, but it is equally undesirable to have a clitic that can be either an argument or a nonargument depending on the structure it attaches to and depending on whether it appears in a tensed or an untensed environment. An obvious way round this problem would be an analysis in which ARB SE is not associated via chain with any structural position. This is the idea we would like to adopt here. We share with Cinque (1988) and former analyses of Italian SI constructions (such as Belletti 1982) the intuition that SI/SE is not generated in an argument position, but rather under INFL. Given the split of INFL into AGR and TENSE (following Pollock 1989 and Chomsky 1989), we would have to specify where exactly SE is generated. We depart from previous analysis in that, in our analysis, SE is neither an argument, nor is it associated with an argument position.

All this amounts to saying that SE is not a lexical head. In fact, ARB SE, unlike lexical heads, is devoid of referential content. It cannot by itself refer to a specific being/person. As such, it is unspecified for number, gender and person; its predicate takes the default values masculine, singular, as in (9). In the right context, the 'implicit' human subject can be made explicitly femenine (10a) or plural (10b), as observed by Otero (1985: fn. 35) (from whom we have taken the examples in 10), which provides further evidence that SE itself lacks any referential features.

(9)   SE viene contento
       SE comes happy-masc/sg
       'One (SE) comes happy.'

(10) a. Si SE está embarazada....
        if SE is pregnant-fem/sg
        'If one (SE) is pregnant...'
     b. Con libertad se ha de andar este camino puestos de la mano de Dios.
        (Santa Teresa *Vida* XXII)
        'With freedom ARB is to walk in this path placed (non-sg) in the hand
        of God.'

Another observation that points out to the status of ARB SE as a functional category is that it alters the normal assignment of agreement features to the verb. In all the structures in (1) the verb shows the default agreement features of verbal inflection in Spanish: 3rd.p.sg., except in transitive contexts, where the verb can be inflected in the plural showing what has been regarded as a special kind of agreement: 'agreement with object'. The two options are illustrated in (11) (see also 1a):

(11) a. SE lee los libros.
        SE read-sg the books
     b. SE leen los libros.
        SE read-pl. the books
        'One (SE) reads the books.'

It could be claimed that ARB SE heads its own functional projection outside the VP, in the same way as the Past Participle heads its own Functional Projection following (Belletti 1990; Kayne 1990b). However, adding a new functional projection to the structure of the sentence would be rather costly for the grammar. We should first see whether ARB SE can head a functional projection already needed in the grammar for independent reasons. Given the facts in (11), where ARB SE is alte-

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(4) The idea that ARB SE is the realization of the features of the head of an AGRP is related to Torrego's (1989) (1990) claims that the dative clitic *le* in Spanish is the lexicalization of an AGRP that has person features. On the other hand, Guéron (1989) has claimed that *se* in French is coindexed with a pro that occupies the dative position. All this suggests that there might be strong similarities between ARB SE and dative clitics. If this is so, it should not be seen as a coincidence that *le* is replaced by 'spurious' *se* when it co-occurs with an accusative clitic such as *lo* with ditransitive verbs, as in (i):

   (i) se/*le lo doy.
       to-him it give-I
       'I give it to him.'

ring the normal assignment of AGR features to the verb, we would like to claim that ARB SE is the head of AGRP in the structures in which it appears[4]. The rest of this paper is devoted to justifying such a claim.

1.1.2. An Analysis of Unergative and Unaccusative constructions with ARB SE
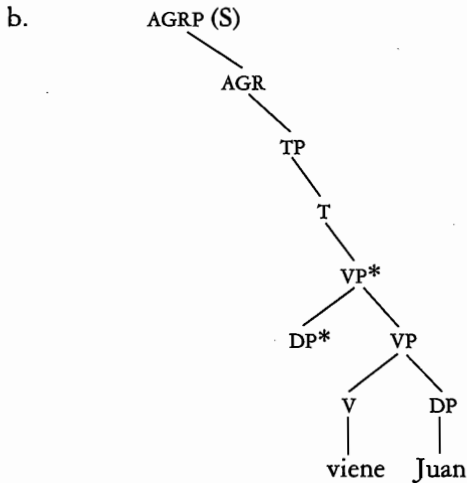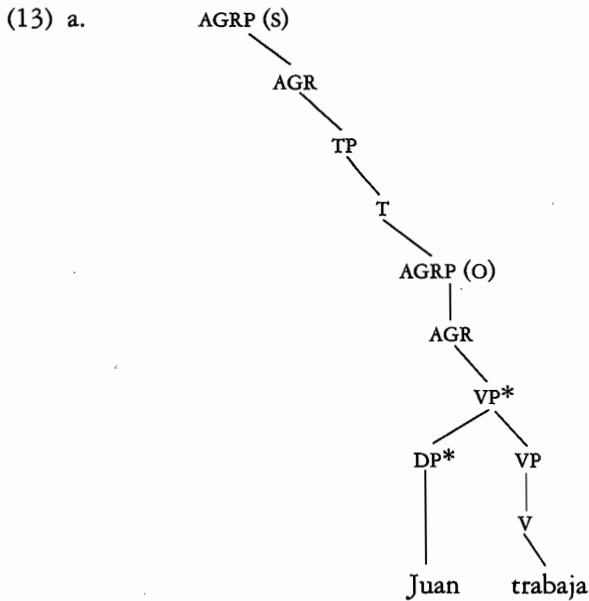
Let us look at the structure of a canonical Unergative sentence, such as that in (12a) and of a canonical Unaccusative sentence, such as that in (12b):

(12) a. Juan trabaja.
     b. Viene Juan.

We have adopted the analysis in Koopman & Sportiche (1988) by which the subject of a verb associated with an external θ-role is generated in its VP* internal position (DP*) (see 4b above). This is the case for Unergative structures, such as (12a). Koopman & Sportiche (1988: Sec. 1.4) further claim that there are two mechanisms for nominative Case assignment (although these two mechanisms are not available for all languages). Case can be assigned to an NP (or DP) (i) under *government* by a structural Case assigner, or (ii) as an instance of *SPEC-HEAD* Agreement, i.e. by Agreement of the NP (or DP) with a Case assigning head.

In languages like Spanish (but not in English) the two options mentioned above are available. The DP bearing the external θ-role, which is generated in the VP* internal subject position, can get nominative Case *in situ,* under government by TENSE, a mechanism which allows lexical DPs to surface in DP*, or it can move to SPEC of AGRP (S) where it can get nominative Case under SPEC-HEAD agreement. That is the case for *Juan* in (13a) below, the element bearing the external θ-role associated with the verb *trabajar* 'to work'. The corresponding representation for Unergative structures is that in (13a). We are following ideas in Chomsky (1989) about the structure of the sentence. In particular, we adopt the view that there are two AGRP: an AGRP (s)ubject and an AGRP (o)bject. The latter can be found even in languages that do not show overt morphological agreement with the object, although whether AGRP (O) is present or not in a particular structure depends on the properties of the verb in question, i.e. its argument structure and subcategorization frame.

We are taking the view in Chomsky (1989: Sec. 5) that whenever external θ-role is assigned to the subject position there is an AGRP (O), even if that AGRP (O) is vacuous and can be deleted at LF. Therefore, an AGRP (O) is present in the structure in (13a) with the Unergative verb *trabajar* 'to work'. For Unaccusatives, we are adopting the structure in (13b). The SS subject originates as DS object. The VP internal DP position (DP*) is present, as in Unergatives, although it is not a θ-marked position in structures with Unaccusative verbs. It is in DP* that *Juan* (13b) can get nominative Case under government by TENSE. The position is also needed as an intermediate step for *Juan* to SPEC of AGRP (S) if Case were to be assigned under agreement (see Sportiche 1987: Sec 2.3). The difference between Unergative and Unaccusative structures is that in the latter no accusative Case is assigned, under *Burzio's generalization,* by which verbs that are not associated with an external θ-role do not assign accusative Case. As a consequence, when DP* is empty at DS there is no AGRP (O). The corresponding structure is that in (13b).

(13) a.

```
        AGRP (S)
           \
          AGR
             \
             TP
               \
               T
                 \
                AGRP (O)
                    |
                   AGR
                      \
                      VP*
                     /    \
                  DP*      VP
                   |        |
                   |        V
                   |         \
                  Juan      trabaja
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b.

```
        AGRP (S)
           \
          AGR
             \
             TP
               \
               T
                 \
                 VP*
               /    \
            DP*      VP
             |      /   \
             |     V     DP
             |     |      |
            viene  Juan
```

When we looked at the differences between ARB SE and *ergative se*, we said that when ARB SE is present the normal assignment of θ-roles is not modified. What changes is the normal assignment of nominative Case. That is, ARB SE behaves like other clitics in Spanish in that it 'absorbs' one of the Cases associated with the verb (see Jaeggli 1986a). The only Case associated with the structures in (13) is nominative. Following Jaeggli (1986b) 'absorption' is defined as assignment of Case under government in the case of object clitics. Our claim here is that 'absorption' of nominative case by ARB SE is a different process. ARB SE absorbs nominative Case by virtue of being the overt morphological realization of the features of AGR in an AGRP (S).

If nominative Case is absorbed by ARB SE there is no Case available for the empty category that occupies the position occupied by *Juan* in (13) in structures with ARB SE like those in (14) (irrelevant details ommitted):

(14) a. $[_{\text{AGRP}} \text{ s } \text{SE}]$ ... $[_{\text{VP}^*} \text{ ec } [_{\text{VP}} \text{trabaja}]]$
    b. $[_{\text{AGRP}} \text{ s } \text{SE}]$ ... $[_{\text{VP}}^* [_{\text{VP}} \text{viene ec}]]$

Let us assume that that ec is PRO. However, PRO has to be ungoverned (Chomsky 1981). Let us further assume that when the features of AGR are absorbed by SE, AGR does not count as a governor since it can no longer assign nominative Case. In (14b), PRO can escape government by the verb by moving to SPEC of AGRP (S). On the contrary, in (14a) there is no way PRO can escape government. A solution for this problem is outlined by Kayne (1990a). Following Chomsky's revision of the Binding Theory in *Knowledge of Language* (Chomsky 1986), Kayne (1990a) argues that PRO can be governed within its maximal projection and if it is a subject. That is exactly the situation in (14a). We therefore conclude that the ec that bears the external θ-role in Unergative structures with ARB SE is PRO.

Let us consider now passive structures with ARB SE such as (1e), repeated here as (15):

(15) SE ha sido invitado a la fiesta.
    'One (SE) has been invited to the party'

We follow recent analysis of passivization (Jaeggli 1986b; Roberts 1987) in which the passive morpheme qualifies as an argument in that it absorbs the external θ-role and one of the structural Cases associated with the verb in its lexical entry (Jaeggli 1986b). In languages like Spanish, unlike German and Dutch, for example, the only Case that can be absorbed by the passive morpheme is accusative. Absorption of nominative Case by the passive morpheme in Spanish renders the structure ungrammatical, as we can see by comparing the Spanish and the German examples in (16):

(16) a. Es wurde getanzt.   (German)
      it was danced
      'There was dancing'
    b. *Fué dormido   (Spanish)
      was slept

In a sentence like (15) then the external θ-role and the accusative Case associated with the verb *invitar* 'to invite' in its lexical entry are absorbed by the passive morpheme *-(a)d(o)*. Passive has the effect of 'dethematizing' (see Roberts 1987) the structural subject position so that the structure of a passive sentence resembles that of an Unaccusative sentence like (13b) above. As in (14b), in (15) ARB SE is generated as the realization of the features of AGR in AGRP (S), where it absorbs nominative Case, and internal θ-role is assigned to an empty PRO that occupies the object position and has to move to SPEC of AGRP (S) to avoid being governed. The corresponding structure is that in (17), with both SE and the passive morpheme *-d* heading their maximal projections outside the VP:

(17) $[_{AGRP}$ S SE] ... $[_{ASPP}$ -d] $[_{VP}$ V $[_{DP}$ PRO]]
        nom   acc   int θ-role
                         ext. θ-role
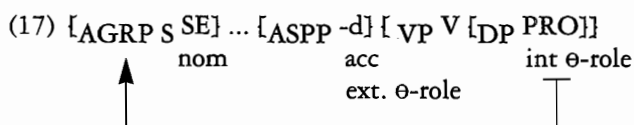
In summary, we have argued that ARB SE is a functional category that heads its own functional projection. In particular, ARB SE is the overt realization of the features of AGR in an AGRP, which so far we have taken to be AGRP (S). Based on such an assumption we have looked at the occurrence of ARB SE in both Unergative and Unaccusative contexts and we have concluded that the behaviour of ARB SE is the same in both contexts: ARB SE absorbs nominative Case by virtue of being the overt realization of AGR and it does not modify the normal assignment of the θ-role(s) associated with the verb in Unergative and Unaccusative contexts. In the next Section, we are going to look at the behaviour of ARB SE in transitive contexts.

2. ARB SE in transitive contexts

As we have pointed out above, occurrences of ARB SE in Spanish present the peculiarity that the verb may or may not agree with the DS object (see (1a) and (11) repeated here as (18)):

(18) a. SE lee los libros.
        SE read-sg the books
     b. SE leen los libros.
        SE read-pl the books
        'One (SE) reads the books.'

Alternations like that in (18) are not specific to Spanish. They are also found in other Romance languages, especially those which belong to the pro-drop parameter[5]. In (18a) the verb is inflected in the 3rd.p.sg. as in the other instances of ARB SE that we have looked at. We will refer to this instance of ARB SE as ARB *impersonal SE*. In

(5) Modern French not being a pro-drop language lacks the non-agreement option, where as we shall see the external θ-role is assigned to a PRO occupying the VP-internal subject position. The closest equivalent to this construction in French is that in (i) (from Guéron 1989: 2.1.2) with the expletive *il* occupying the subject position. This construction can only appear with transitive verbs and it observes the Definiteness Effect:

(i) Il se mange des/*les pommes.
    il se eat-sg some/the apples
    'One (SE) eats some/the apples.'

Italian, on the other hand, has both the agreement and the non-agreement option, as illustrated in (ii):

(ii) a. SI legge i libri.
        SI read-sg the books
     b. SI leggono i libri.
        SI read-pl the books
        'One (SE) reads the books.'

However, in Standard Italian the unmarked option is (iib), i.e. the agreement option, as opposed to Northern Italian dialects that show both possibilities. (iib) is also the unmarked option in Standard Peninsular Spanish.

(18b), on the other hand, there appears to be verbal agreement between the verb and the DP *los libros* 'the books'. The structure in (18b) shows what used to be called in the literature 'agreement with object'. We will refer to this instance of ARB SE as *ARB passive SE*, where the terms *ARB impersonal SE* and *ARB passive SE* are simply used as convenient labels.

We have said that ARB SE is the realization of AGR in an AGRP (S). The unaccusative sentences we have looked at so far contained just one AGRP, the one corresponding to the subject (maybe with the exception of passives). However, it is assumed by Chomsky (1989) and Belletti (1990) that in a transitive context two Agreement Phrases are present in the structure: an AGRP (S)ubject and an AGRP (O)bject. We would like to claim that the alternation in (18) depends crucially on the possibility that ARB SE may be generated as the overt realization of either AGRP (S) or AGRP (O).

When ARB SE is the lexical realization of AGRP (S), the structure of the sentence resembles that of an Unergative structure like that in (13a). ARB SE absorbs nominative Case in the way described in Section 1, forcing the verb to adopt the default features associated with verbal agreement. Accusative Case is assigned to the DP complement of the verb (either within VP or in SPEC of AGRP (O)) *los libros* 'the books' in (18a), which also receives the internal θ-role from the verb[6]. The external θ-role is then assigned to PRO in the VP-internal subject position. The corresponding structure for constructions with *ARB impersonal SE* is, therefore, that in (19):

(19) $[_{AGRP S}$ SE] ... $[_{AGRP O}$ AGR] $[_{VP*}$ PRO $[_{VP}$ V DP]
        nom   ext θ-role   int θ-role
                                            acc

When ARB SE is an instatation of the features of AGR (O), it absorbs accusative Case from the verb when the verb moves on its way to AGRP (S). When that happens the DP object must get the other Case available in a transitive context, either by movement into SPEC of AGRP (S) or under government by TENSE (see Roberts 1990). To be assigned nominative Case under government, the DP-object would have to move out of its DS position into a VP*-adjoined position (which is a different position from that occupied by PRO), since the VP-internal subject position is occupied by PRO, as in (20)

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(6) The claim that the DP *los libros* 'the books' is assigned accusative Case in instances of *ARB impersonal SE* such as (ia) is controversial if we take into account examples like (ib), in which *los libros* cannot be replaced by the accusative clitic *los*:

(i) a. SE lee los libros.
       'One (SE) reads the books.'
   b. *SE los lee
      SE them reads
      'One (SE) reads them'

See Battye and Mendikoetxea (1990) for a discussion about the apparent incompatibility between ARB SE and accusative clitics in Spanish and other Romance languages. The main argument there is that although accusative Case is assigned to *los libros* 'the books' in (ia), we cannot have an accusative clitic replacing the DP because that would involve a violation of minimality, with SE and *los* as potential governors for an empty category.

(20) $[_{\text{AGRP S}} \text{AGR}] [_{\text{TP}} \text{T}] [_{\text{AGRP O}} \text{SE}] [_{\text{VP*}} \text{PRO} [_{\text{VP}} \text{V } t^i] [[\text{DP}^i]$
          acc   ext θ-role   nom
                                   int θ-role

The structure in (20), however, presents several problems. Notice that we have
two different elements occupying the subject position: PRO in the VP-internal sub-
ject position bearing the external θ-role and the DS DP-object which can either oc-
cupy the inverted subject position (adjoined to VP* or move to SPEC of AGRP (S) to
get nominative Case. That the two subjects cannot form a chain is clear since a chain
with two θ-roles would involve a clear violation of the Theta Criterion. This is
exactly the problem encountered by analyses of the Italian equivalent to Spanish
ARB passive SE (let us call it *ARB passive SI*) which regard SI as a clitic associated with
the subject position (Burzio 1986: 47-48; Cinque 1988: sec. 4). These analyses have
to account for the presence of two overlapping chains that intersect in subject posi-
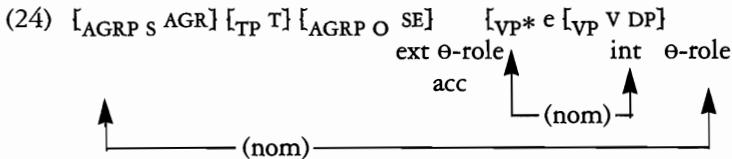tion, as in (21) (in the spirit of Cinque 1988):

(21) $[_{\text{NP}} \text{e}^i] [_{\text{INFL}} \text{SI}^i] [_{\text{VP}} \text{leggono} [_{\text{NP}} \text{i libri}^i]]$

   (a)   External θ-role - nom Case
   (b)   Internal θ-role - nom Case

A further problem concerns extraction of the DP out of VP*. Sentences like those
in (22) with the DP triggering agreement in pre-verbal position are perfectly gram-
matical in Spanish with *ARB passive SE* (though they are somehow less natural than
those in which the DP triggering agreement follows the verb). The fact that the non-
agreement equivalent with *ARB impersonal SE* is ungrammatical, as in (23), suggests
that the preposed DP is actually occupying the position in SPEC of AGRP (S) and not
the TOPIC position.

(22) a. Los pisos SE alquilan rápidamente en verano.
         the flats SE rented-pl quickly in summer
         'One (SE) rents flats quickly in summer.'
     b. Las paredes SE pintaron de blanco.
         the walls SE painted-pl in white
         'One (SE) painted the walls in white.'

(23) a. *Los pisos SE alquila rápidamente en verano
         the flats SE rent-sg quickly in summer
     b. *las paredes SE pintó de blanco
         the walls SE painted-sg in white

Following Sportiche (1987: sec. 2.3), VP* is a barrier for extraction, except from
DP*, the VP-internal subject position (see fn. 2). Movement of a DP-object out of VP*
is only possible through DP*, when DP* is empty at DS. Consequently, when there is
a PRO in DP*, extraction of a DP-object would involve crossing a subject, rendering
the structure ungrammatical. We are forced to assume that no PRO is involved in
structures with *ARB passive SE* if we want to provide an account for the assignment of
nominative Case to the DP-object and the overt agreement features in the verb.

The problem now is what happens with the external θ-role if there is no PRO occupying the VP-internal subject position. Let us assume that when ARB SE absorbs accusative Case, it also absorbs the external θ-role associated with the verb, as was suggested in traditional analysis of this structure such as Belletti (1982). *ARB passive SE* is then like the passive morpheme in Spanish: an element that heads a functional projection immediately dominating VP* and that has the property of absorbing accusative Case and the external θ-role of the verb it attaches to. The structure is illustrated in (24), where the arrow indicates movement of the DS DP-object to get nominative Case, either in DP* or in SPEC of AGRP (S) (here, as above, we are not indicating the process of verb movement to T and AGR (S)):

(24) $[_{AGRP\ S}\ AGR]\ [_{TP}\ T]\ [_{AGRP\ O}\ SE]$ $[_{VP*}\ e\ [_{VP}\ V\ DP]$
                                        ext θ-role   int   θ-role
                                        acc
                                            —(nom)—
                 ————(nom)————

In fact, Delfitto (1990) has claimed that in Italian the passive morpheme and what he calls following Cinque (1988) *argumental Si* (our *ARB passive SE*) are the same abstract element[7]. Hence the impossibility of having both *ARB passive SE* and the passive morpheme in the same structure (25):

(25) *SE son leídos los libros
       SE are read-pl the books

Cliticization of *ARB passive SE* is a form of syntactic affixation, close to the attachement of the passive morpheme to a verb. Let us assume that Verb and SE form some kind of unbreakable cluster on their way to TP and AGRP (S). The prediction that follows is that nothing can intervene between *ARB passive SE* and the verb in structures like that in (24). Some evidence for this is provided by double object constructions with verbs like *vender* 'to sell'. A dative clitic *les* 'to them' can intervene between *ARB impersonal SE* and the verb (26a), but not between *ARB passive SE* and the verb (26b). This was true even for speakers that claimed never to use structures with *ARB impersonal SE* in transitive contexts[8].

(26) a. SE *les* vende libros a los chicos.
           SE to-them sell-sg books to the boys
           'One (SE) sells books to the boys.'

(7) Delfitto's ideas (1990: Sec. 5) reduce both impersonal and passive morphology to the same abstract morpheme. The only difference between the two is at the interpretative level, where the external θ-role absorbed by the passive morpheme is 'unspecified for a denotational value' (Delfitto 1990: 51), whereas that of SI is interpreted as generic. With this assumption, Delfitto accounts for the impossibility of having by-phrases with constructions with ARB SI.

(8) The claim that sentences like (26b) (repeated here as (i)) are ungrammatical may be too strong. Some speakers hesitated in their judgements, although agreeing in that there was a difference in grammaticality between (i) and its equivalent with *ARB impersonal SE.* Since these were speakers that claimed never to use *ARB impersonal SE* in transitive, the fact that they regarded sentences like (i) as marginally grammatical can be explained by analogy with other constructions with *ARB passive SE.*

(i) ?/*SE *les* venden libros a los chicos
     SE to-them sell-pl books to the boys

b. *SE *les* venden libros a los chicos
   SE to-them sell-pl books to the boys

The data in (26) are not a peculiarity of Spanish. A similar observation has been made by Guerón (1989: sec. 2.2.10) regarding French *se-moyen* structures. Also, in Galician only ARB *impersonal SE* (27b), but not ARB *passive* SE (27c), is compatible with the presence of the dative clitic *lles* 'to them' intervening between the verb and ARB SE (27) (examples takes from Alvárez et al's *Gramática Galega*, p.177):

(27) a. Desde alí non SE vían as nenos.
        from there not SE saw the children (dat/acc)
        'From there one (SE) could not see the kids.'
     b. Desde alí non SE *lles* vía.
        from there not SE to-them/dat see-sg
        'From there one (SE) could not see them.'
     c. *Desde alí non SE *lles* vían.
        from there not SE to-them/dat see-pl.

In summary, we share with Cinque (1988) the intuition that ARB *passive SE*, as well as Italian *passive SI*, has a certain argumental status in that it absorbs accusative Case and the external θ-role. Our analysis differs from Cinque's in that ARB *passive SE* is not linked with any argument position via chain. Therefore, ARB SE in this constructions cannot be regarded as an argument. In our analysis, then, the problem of the overlapping chains intersecting in subject position does not arise (see 21 above). Since ARB SE is never an argument, the distinction between argument and non-argument SI proposed by Cinque (1988) does not hold here. Such a distinction was based on some asymmetries found in the behaviour of Italian SI in untensed contexts. In the next Section we will look at how our analysis can account for those asymmetries.

3. ARB SE in untensed contexts

Cinque (1988: Sec. 1) has observed that sentences containing the clitic (ARB) SI in Italian are uniformily excluded from untensed *control* clauses. The same is true of ARB SE in Spanish, as we can see in (28):

(28) a. (Trans)   *Es posible observarSE cambios en la economía
                  'It is possible (for one) to observe changes in the economy.'
     b. (Unerg)   *Es posible beberSE mucho en las fiestas
                  'It is possible (for one) to drink a lot at parties.'
     c. (Unacc)   *Con estos atascos es posible llegarSE siempre tarde
                  'With these traffic jams it is possible (for one) to be always late.'
     d. (Cop)   *No es posible serSE feliz en una sociedad como la nuestra
                  'It is not possible (for one) to be happy in a society like ours.'
     e. (Pass)   *Es posible haberSE sido invitado a la fiesta
                  'It is possible (for one) to have been invited to the party.'

Cinque's account for the ungrammaticality of Italian SI in control untensed structures is that Italian SI must be part of a CHAIN assigned nominative Case. The prediction is that SI can only occur in environments in which nominative Case is assigned to the subject, hence not in infinitival control structures like those in (28).

Cinque (1988: Sec. 1) concludes that if Italian SI is banned from untensed *control* structures because it cannot get (nominative) Case, it should be possible to find SI in those untensed contexts in which nominative Case is assigned to the subject of the infinitival clause, such as Raising and Aux-to-Comp. However, this prediction is fulfilled only in part because the only grammatical sentences are those containing a Transitive or an Unergative verb in the untensed clause, but not the others. The examples in (29) are taken from Cinque (1988: 524-525):

(29) a. (Trans)   Sembra non essersi ancora scoperto il vero colpevole.
                 'It seems one not to have yet discovered the true culprit.'
    b. (Unerg)   Sembra non essersi lavorato a sufficienza.
                 'It seems one not to have worked sufficiently.'
    c. (Unacc)   *Sembra essersi arrivati troppo tardi
                 'It seems one to have arrived too late.'
    d. (Cop)   *Sembra non essersi benvenuti qui
                 'It seems one not to be welcome here.'
    e. (Pass)   *Sembra non essersi stati invitati da nessuno
                 'It seems one not to have been invited by anyone.'

It is clear that Case considerations do not play a role in the ungrammaticality of (29c-e), since nominative Case is available for SI in those contexts as well. It is the asymmetry observed in (29) that leads Cinque (1988: Sec. 2) to the conclusion that there are two types of SI: a [+arg] SI which is only possible with verbs that assign an external θ-role and which acts as a 'dethematizer', and a [-arg] SI which is possible with all verb types and whose role is "to supplement personal Agr with the features able to "identify" (...) the content of pro as an unspecified (generic) personal pronominal" (Cinque 1988: 530). Since [-arg] SI is some kind of marker of personal Agr and since personal Agr is banned from untensed contexts, the ungrammaticality of (29c-e) is straightforwardly accounted for[9]. On the other hand, the grammaticality of

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(9) A similar conclusion has been reached by Otero (1985). However, Otero (1985) interprets all occurrences of ARB SE in Spanish as instances of what Cinque (1988) calls [-arg] SI. In Otero's framework the functional role of Spanish ARB SE is "to 'absorb' the plus value of [+Def] in a finite INFL" (Otero 1985: 91). As such, SE is predicted never to occur in infinitival clauses since a non-finite INFL is never [+Def], as illustrated in (i):

(i) a. *Es posible comerSE todos los días   b. *Impidieron comerSE todos los días
     is possible to-eat-SE all the days   stopped-they to-eat-SE all the days
     ('It is possible for one (SE) to eat every day.')   ('They stopped one (SE) from eating everyday')

We agree with Otero (1985) that the sentences in (i) are ungrammatical. However, we will claim that whether we can have ARB SE in untensed contexts or not depends crucially on whether the Case requirements of SE can be satisfied, which makes it possible for SE to appear in some raising contexts (a possibility not discussed by Otero 1985).

(29a, b) follows from the assumption that these are instances of [+arg] SI, which requires external θ-role and nominative Case.

The same asymmetry is found in Spanish. The examples in (30) are the Spanish translations of the Italian sentences in (29):

(30) a. (Trans) Parece no haberSE descubierto al verdadero culpable.
     b. (Unerg) Parece no haberSE trabajado lo suficiente.
     c. (Unacc) *Parece haberSE llegado demasiado tarde
     d. (Cop)   *Parece no serSE bienvenido aquí
     e. (Pass)   *Parece no haberSE sido invitado por ninguno

How can our analysis account for the data in (30), as well as for the *control* structures in (28)? Let us first look at untensed control structures like those in (28). It is clear that AGRP (S) does not play any role in infinitival clauses in Spanish, since Spanish infinitives, unlike Portuguese infinitives, are uninflected. Let us assume that AGRP (S) is absent from infinitival clauses. Since we have claimed that ARB SE is the realization of the features of AGR (S) (except in transitive contexts, where we can also have *ARB passive SE*), the ungrammaticality of (28b-e) follows straightforwardly.

As for (28a), there is no way to tell whether this is an instance of *ARB impersonal SE* or an instance of *ARB pasive SE*, since, as we have said, Spanish infinitives do not show verbal agreement. If it was *ARB impersonal SE* the sentence would be ruled out for the same reason that rules out (28b-e), i.e. the absence of AGRP (S). However, there is nothing preventing *ARB passive SE*, from being realized as the functional head of AGRP (O) in an untensed context. The ungrammaticality of (28a) (supposing that it contained *ARB passive SE*) would then follow from the fact that there is no way of assigning nominative Case to the DP *cambios en la economía* 'changes in the economy' in clear violation of the Visibility Condition (Chomsky 1986: 93-95). There is not SPEC of AGRP (S) where the DP can move to obtain nominative Case under SPEC-HEAD agreement and [-finite] TENSE cannot assign nominative Case because it does not qualify as a governor (see Koopman & Sportiche 1988).

Let us now look at *Raising* environments. According to Cinque's (1988) analysis SI is possible in untensed Raising contexts only when the infinitival verb is associated with an external θ-role, such as in Transitive and Unergative contexts. This appears to be the only difference between the Italian structures in (29a, b) and those (29c-e), on the one hand, and between the Spanish structures in (30a, b) and those in (30c-e), on the other hand. However, Delfitto (1990: Sec. 3) has pointed out that it is the presence of the auxiliary *essere* in (29b) that brings about a considerable improvement in grammaticality in untensed Raising contexts with ARB SI in Unergative structures. Without *essere,* the sentence is clearly ungrammatical (31) (from Delfitto 1990: 22)[10]:

(10) Delfitto (1990) takes the data in (31) as evidence for the claim that Italian SI is never assigned nominative Case, and therefore, never in a chain with the subject position ([NP, IP] in his framework). His claim is that (31b) shows a marked Case-assignment mechanism by which TENSE is able to assign nominative Case to SI when the auxiliary *essere* is in COMP (see Delfitto 1990: Part I, fn 2). In this, Delfitto's analysis is contradictory. If SI is never associated with nominative Case by virtue of the fact that it is just a marker in INFL (like Cinque's 1988's [-arg] SI), why should it be allowed to get nominative Case when *essere* is present? And, why is this not true for sentences with no external θ-role?

(31) a. *In questo ufficio sembra lavorarsi troppo
          'In this office it seems one to work too much.'
      b. (?) In questo ufficio sembra essersi lavorato troppo
          'In this office it seems one to have worked too much'.

· Such contrast in ungrammaticality seems to be specific to Unergative verbs. In fact, with Unaccusatives, Passives and Copula the structure is ungrammatical independent of the presence/absence of *essere* (see Delfitto 1990: 23). As for transitive contexts, the reverse is true: the presence/absence of *essere* does not affect the grammaticality of the structure, as in (32) (from Delfitto 1990: 24):

(32) a. In questo paese non sembrano leggersi molti libri.
          'In this country do not seem si-to read many books.'
      b. In questo paese non sembrano essersi letti molti libri.
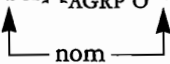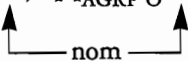   'In this country do not seem si-to have read many books.'

The same is true for Spanish. Without the auxiliary *haber* the structure in (30b) with an Unergative verb in a raising context is ungrammatical, as in (33b). As in Italian, structures with Unaccusatives, Passives and the Copula remain ungrammatical no matter whether *haber* is present or not (34). On the contrary, the presence/absence of the auxiliary does not affect the grammaticality of structures with ARB SE and transitive verbs in raising environments, as in (35).

(33) a. ?En esta oficina parece no haberSE trabajado mucho.
          in this office seems not to-have-SE worked much
      b. *En esta oficina parece no trabajarSE mucho
          in this office seems not to-work-SE much

(34) a. *Parece haberSE llegado demasiado tarde
          seems to-have-SE arrived too late
      b. *Parece llegarSE demasiado tarde
          seems to-arrive-SE too late

(35) a. En este país no parecen haberSE leído muchos libros.
          in this country not seem to-have-SE read many books
          'In this country SE does not seem to have read many books.'
      b. En este país no parecen leerSE muchos libros.
          in this country not seems to-read-SE many books
          'In this country SE does not seem to read many books.'

The grammaticality of (35) is accounted for in our framework by the assumption that SE is generated as the lexical realization of the features of AGR (O), where it gets accusative Case, nominative Case being assigned to the DP *muchos libros* 'many books' after raising. With Unergatives and Unaccusatives, we have claimed that ARB SE is the realization of the features of AGRP (S). Under the assumption that no AGRP (S) is present in infinitival clauses, the ungrammaticality of (34) and (33b) is straightforwardly accounted for, as well as the ungrammaticality of the Control structures in (28). In fact, under that assumption (33a) should be ungrammatical, too. Thus, the

problem here is not why the absence of *haber* makes structures with ARB SE ungrammatical in raising contexts with Unergative verbs, as in (33b), but why the presence of *haber* brings about an improvement in acceptability in (33a).

In both Unergative and Unaccusative structures in (33) (34) there is no AGRP (S), where ARB SE could be base-generated absorbing nominative Case. The difference between the structures in (33) with Unergative verbs and those in (34) with Unaccusative verbs is that there is an AGRP (O) in Unergative structures, but not in Unaccusatives (see 13b). Now, imagine that when AGRP (S) is missing from the structure, ARB SE can be the lexical realization of the features of AGRP (O). However, ARB SE has to satisfy its Case requirements: it has to be assigned Case. In Unergative structures no accusative Case is available. ARB SE has to be assigned nominative Case. The acceptability of (33a) follows from the assumption that the presence of the auxiliary *haber* is somehow providing ARB SE with its Case features. The presence of *haber* enables the embedded infinitival TENSE (probably after movement to TP) to assign nominative Case to ARB SE (in AGRP (O)) under government, as in (36a). Without *haber* infinitival TENSE cannot assign nominative Case to ARB SE in AGRP (O), rendering the structure ungrammatical, as in (36b)[11]:

(36) a. parece [$_{TP}$ (-fin) T] [$_{AUX P}$ haber] [$_{AGRP O}$ SE] [$_{VP}$ V DP]
         └── nom ──┘

     b. *parece [$_{TP}$ (-fin) T] [$_{AGRP O}$ SE] [$_{VP}$ V DP]
         └──── nom ────┘

In conclusion, to satisfy its Case requirements ARB SE must have Case. Whether it can appear in untensed contexts or not depends crucially on whether it can get Case or not in such contexts. Notice that it is essential for our assumption that ARB SE does NOT get Case by virtue of being in a chain with the subject position. If it were so, there would be no way of explaining the ungrammaticality of (34) by resorting to Case. Rather, we have claimed that ARB SE 'absorbs' Case by virtue of being the morphological realization of an AGRP. Assuming that AGRP (S) is missing from untensed contexts we are able to explain the ungrammaticality of those structures in which ARB SE is obligatorily generated in AGRP (S) (e.g. Unaccusatives). We are also

(11) A legitimate question to ask would be why ARB SE does not move to AGRP (S) of the matrix sentence in order to get nominative Case. Torrego (1989) has observed that Spanish *parecer*, unlike Italian *sembrare*, seems to disallow clitic climbing, as observed in (i) (from Torrego 1989: 5):

(i) a.   Parecen haber*lo* dejado en el garaje.   b. ??? *Lo* parecen haber dejado en el garaje.
         they seem to have-it left in the garage   it seem to-have left in the garage
                                                         'They seem to have left it in the garage.'

This is due, according to Torrego (1989), to the special status of *parecer* as a verb. In her analysis, *parecer* is a modal-like verb, which is base-generated in INFL, but does not L-mark IP. Thus, IP is a barrier for extraction, except for the subject, which, once raised, is allowed to antecedent-govern its trace after incorporation of the lower verb into *parecer* at LF (see Torrego 1989 for details). If we adopt this analysis, it is clear that if ARB SE is in the embedded AGRP (O) in this constructions, as we have claimed, there is no possiblity for it to move up to the matrix AGRP (O) without crossing IP.

able to account for the grammaticality of Unergative structures with ARB SE in raising contexts with *haber* by assuming that ARB SE is not obligatorily generated in AGRP (S) when there is an AGRP (O) in the structure that can be assigned Case.

4. Conclusion

The main idea we have pursued here is that ARB SE is never an argument in the sense that it does not occupy an argument position, nor is it linked (via chain) with any argument position. However, we have claimed that ARB SE, as opposed to *ergative se* plays some role in the Syntax, i.e. it is not simply a marker. In particular, ARB SE absorbs Case and it does so by virtue of being the morphological overt realization of the head of an AGRP.

In *Section 1*, we looked at the syntactic properties of ARB SE in Unergative and Unaccusative structures. The conclusion to be drawn is that ARB SE is the realization of AGRP (S) in those contexts. Thus, it absorbs nominative Case, but it does not modify the normal assignment of θ-roles to the structure. In Unergative contexts the external θ-role is assigned to an empty PRO in the VP-internal subject position and in Unaccusatives the internal θ-role is assigned to an empty PRO in the complement position within the VP that has to move out of the VP to escape government.

Section 2 looked at the occurrence of ARB SE in transitive contexts, which present the peculiarity that the verb may or may not agree with the lexical DP in the structure. The structure of the non-agreement option, which we called *ARB impersonal SE* resembled that of Unergative structures discussed in *Section 1*, with ARB SE absorbing nominative Case and the external θ-role being assigned to the empty PRO occupying the VP-internal subject position. The structure of the agreement option, which we called *ARB passive SE*, differed from that of *ARB impersonal SE* in that ARB SE was generated as the functional head of an AGRP (O) and therefore, absorbed accusative Case. Also, no PRO was presents allowing the VP-internal subject position to remain empty so that assignment of nominative Casse to the lexical DP was possible. We claimed that *ARB passive SE* behaved like the passive morpheme in that it absorbed accusative Case and the external θ-role.

We finally looked at the behaviour of ARB SE in untensed contexts. *Section 3* was rather sketchy, but the facts seemed to support the assumption that ARB SE needs Case and that it can be generated as the functional head of either an AGRP (S) or an AGRP (O). Evidence was provided against Cinque's analysis that there are two types of SI in Italian: an argument SI and a non-argument SI, which is banned from occurring in untensed contexts. Rather, we claimed that whether ARB SE can appear in untensed contexts or not depends crucially on whether it can 'absorb' Case or not. The conclusions, then, supported our original assumption that ARB SE is never an argument, nor is it associated with an argument position at any point of the derivation.

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