UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

ROMANCE LINGUISTICS SEMINARS

DOM and impersonals

Some notes from Romance

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Setting the stage

A common morpho-syntactic pattern of object splits across Romance

- differential object marking (DOM), with sensitivity to animacy and generally signaled via oblique morphology (Bossong 1985, 1991, 1998, Comrie 1989, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Cornilescu 2000, Lazard 2001, Aissen 2003, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, Iemmolo 2010, Tigău 2010, 2011, 2020, Darlymple and Nikolaeva 2011, López 2012, Fábregas 2013, Ormazabal and Romero 2013, d'Alessandro 2017, Hill and Mardale 2021, Zdrojewski 2023, Irimia and Mardale 2023, a.o.)

(1) a. Has encontrado ***(a)** la niña.
have.2SG found LOC/DAT=DOM DEF.SG.F girl
'You have found the girl.'

b. Has encontrado **(*a)** el libro.
have.2SG found LOC/DAT=DOM DEF.SG.M book
'You have found the book.'

STANDARD SPANISH

(Ormazabal and Romero 2013, ex.1a)

(2) Am văzut-(o) **pe** fată/**(*pe)** făină.
have.1 seen-CL.3F.SG LOC=DOM girl/LOC=DOM flour
'I have seen the girl/flour.'

ROMANIAN

Setting the stage

⇒ A complex question: what is the best analysis for oblique DOM?

⇒ Some problems:

- formalizations in terms of *scales* (see especially Bossong 1998, Aissen 2003, Richards 2008, a.o., for discussion) cannot easily derive the non-trivial exceptions to the expected animacy and specificity restrictions
- an obligatory raising operation (Baker 2015, López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013, Saab and Zdrojewski 2021, a.o.) is not without challenges either
  - such a raising operation (even to a lower position, just above the VP) is not easy to demonstrate for all languages and for all DOM categories (see, for example, the discussion about Romanian in Hill and Mardale 2021, etc.)
- restricting DOM to information-structure processes such as topic, (exclusion of) focus, etc. (Kallulli and Tasmowski 2008, Escandell-Vidal 2009, Darlymple and Nikolaeva 2011, a.o.) does not give the right results for various languages
  - for example insensitivy in Romanian or Spanish (López 2012, Irimia 2021, etc.)

DOM: objects vs. subjects

⇒ DOM: a strategy to disambiguate objects from subjects. The **discriminating** function.

⇒ a long line of research from the functionalist tradition (Silverstein 1976, Comrie 1981, 1989, etc.) to the formal generative one: Burzio's Generalization (Burzio 1986), Dependent Case (Marantz 1991, Baker 2015, Levin and Preminger 2015, a.o.), Optimality theory (Aissen 1999), the Distinctness Condition (Richards 2010), etc.

- "*Differential case assignment to subjects and direct objects serves the function of distinguishing subjects from direct objects...[Some] languages have differential case assignment only when confusion between subject and direct object is particularly likely.....*"(Comrie 1977: 16)
- "*The most natural kind of transitive construction is one is one where the A is high in animacy and definiteness, and the P is lower in animacy and definiteness; and any deviation from this pattern leads to a more marked construction.*"(Comrie 1981: 121)

(see also Lazard 2001: 897; Aranovich 2009: 620-622; Haspelmath 2019: 329)

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- "*It is those objects which are most in need of being distinguished from subjects that get overtly case marked.*"(Aissen 2003: 437)
- "*Many analyses of asymmetric differential object marking... argue that those objects which look too much like prototypical subjects are marked in order to distinguish them from subjects.*"(Malchukov and de Swart 2009: 348)

(see also Lazard 2001: 897; Aranovich 2009: 620-622; Haspelmath 2019: 329)

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- DOM as mechanism to avoid configurations that contain identical elements in an asymmetric c-command relation, which cannot be linearized (3).
  - A problematic linearization statement of the type <ϕP, ϕP> is avoided by adding a K head to the special (human, definite, etc.) object.
  - the K layer makes DOM (the special object) structurally distinct from the c-commanding subject.

(3) If a linearization statement <α, α> is generated, the derivation crashes (Richards 2010:5)

DOM: objects vs. subjects

⇒ DOM: a strategy to disambiguate objects from subjects. The **discriminating** function.

- the Case feature on special objects forces their presence (possibly by raising) into a domain where they enter into Case competition with a higher argument.
  - Let DP_1 and DP_2 be two nominals in the same domain. If DP_1 c-commands DP_2:
    - a. mark DP_1 [= in the clause, nominative/ergative] and/or
    - **b. mark DP_2 [= in the clause, accusative=DOM]** (Baker 2015, simplified)
- DOM as the spell out of an additional licenser in the clause (Kalin 2018).
  - Clauses generally have one licenser, eg.T; subjects are closer to the main licenser and get obligatorily licensed.
  - [uC] on objects with special features (animacy, specificity, etc.) needs the activation of an additional licenser (hence, their special shape).

⇒ clear prediction: the dedicated morphology seen with the special objects should not be possible on subjects

(4) a. Has encontrado ***(a)** la niña.
have.2SG found DOM DEF.SG.F girl
'You have found the girl.'

b. **(*A)** la niña ha leído el libro.
DOM DEF.SG.F girl have.3SG read DEF.SG.M book
'The girl read the book.' SPANISH

(5) a. Am văzut-(o) **pe** Maria.
have.1 seen-CL.3F.SG LOC=DOM Maria
'I saw Maria.'

b. **(*Pe)** Maria a ajuns la București.
LOC=DOM Maria have.3SG arrived at Bucharest
'Maria arrived in Bucharest.' ROMANIAN

⇒ What about configurations in which the external argument is not explicit? For example, passive constructions

- the prediction that DOM should be **ungrammatical** in such contexts is validated in some languages
  - for example, Turkish passives and impersonals
- but there are languages, such as some Romance languages, in which DOM **is** possible in structures with implicit agents

(6) a. Emrah Ayşe-**yi** gör-dü.
Emrah Ayşe-DOM see-PST
'Emrah saw Ayşe.'

b. Ayşe(***-yi**) (Emrah tarafından) gör-dül-dü.
Ayşe-DOM (Emrah by) see-PASS-PST
Intended: 'Ayşe was seen (by Emrah).'

TURKISH

Setting the stage

Some general observations

- the syntactic projection of the implicit argument cannot be motivated straightforwardly in all constructions with suppressed external arguments
- the agreement patterns indicate that the difference between passive and impersonal configurations is not as radical as traditionally thought

(see also Legate 2021 for cross-linguistic remarks)

Roadmap

1. DOM, passives and impersonals
2. *Se* constructions
3. The implicit agent
4. The implicit possessor
5. Impoverishing T
6. SE-DOM and agreement
7. Conclusions
8. Appendix

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- starting with the periphrastic passive, DOM is (overwhelmingly) ungrammatical in these configurations

(7) a. El rector felicitó ***(a)** las alumnas.
DEF.M.SG rector congratulate.PST.3SG DOM DEF.F.PL student.F.PL
'The rector congratulated the female students.'

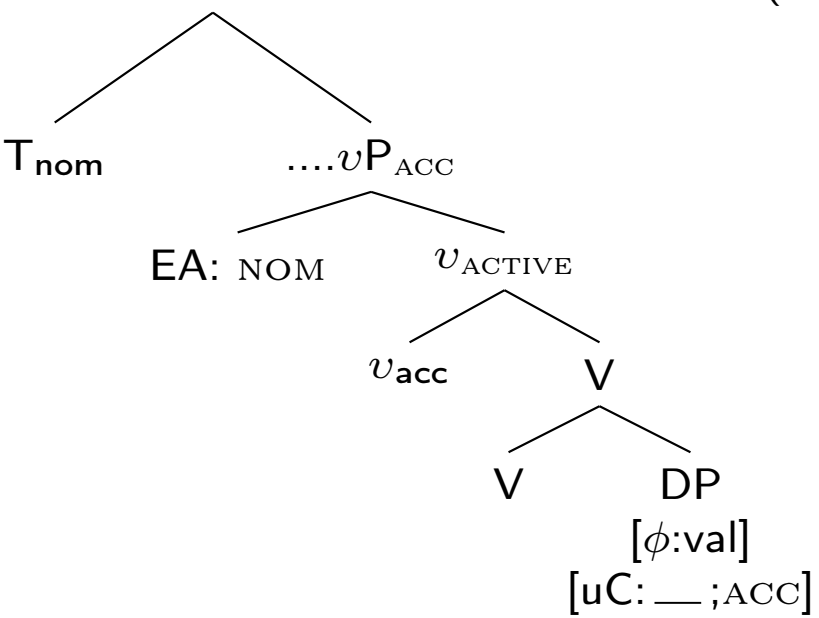
b. Fueron felicitadas **(*a)** las alumnas (por el rector).
be.PST.3PL congratulate.PST.PRT.F.PL DOM DEF.F.PL student.F.PL (by the rector)
Intended: 'The female students have been congratulated (by the rector).' SPANISH

(8) a. Profesorul i-a premiat ***(pe)** studenți.
professor.DEF.M.SG CL.3M.PL.ACC-have.3SG reward.PST.PRT DOM student.DEF.M.PL
'The professor rewarded the students.'

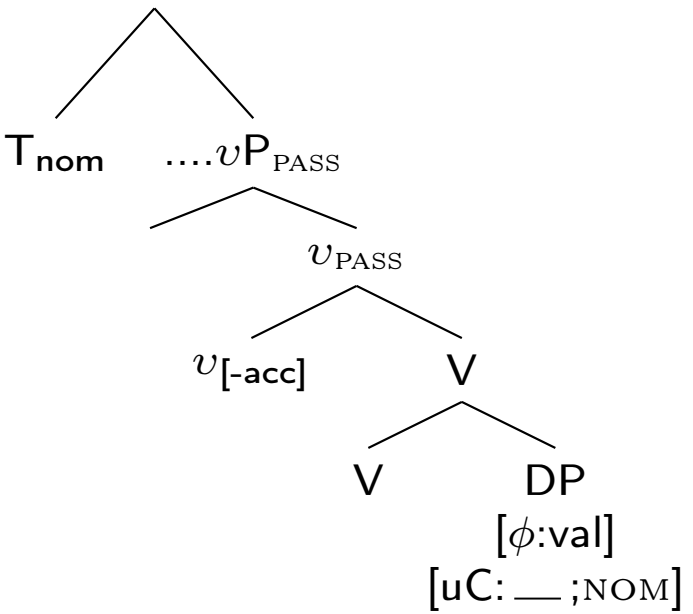
b. *Au fost premiați **(*a)** studenți (de către profesor).
have.3PL be.PST.PRT reward.PST.3M.PL DOM student.F.PL (by professor)
Intended: 'The students have been rewarded (by the professor).' ROMANIAN

- the passive 'deprives' the predicate of its structural accusative Case licensing capacity (Chomsky 1981 and a long subsequent line of research)
- absorption of the external theta role; the external argument is removed (the agent can only be realized as a **by-phrase**)
- given that the accusative Case cannot be licensed on the direct object in vP, the latter will be licensed by T, receiving nominative Case (instead of the expected accusative)

(9)



(10)



- in turn, DOM is possible in another type of configuration with a suppressed external argument, namely the *se* construction
- but not in all Romance languages

(11) a. Se vio [a] los sospechosos.
SE see.PST.3SG DOM DEF.M.PL suspectM.PL
'Somebody saw the suspects.'

b. Aquí se recibe [a] los embajadores.
here SE receive.3SG DOM DEF.M.PL ambassadorM.PL
'Here people receive the ambassadors.'

c. Se ayuda [a] los niños.
SE help.PST.3SG DOM DEF.M.PL childM.PL
'One helps the children.'

d. Se ha estudiado mucho [a] Cervantes en esta Universidad.
SE have.3SG study.PST.PRT much DOM Cervantes in this university
'Cervantes was studied a lot in this university.'

(SPANISH; examples from Fábregas 2021; Ordóñez and Treviño 2016)

1. DOM and the *se* construction

- in turn, DOM is possible in another type of configuration with a suppressed external argument, namely the *se* construction
- but not in all Romance languages

(12)

a. *Se invită **pe** Ion la recepție.
SE invite.PST.3SG DOM Ion at reception
Intended: 'Ion is invited to the reception.'

b. *Se premiază **pe** elevii merituoși.
SE reward.3SG DOM student.DEF.M.PL well deserving.M.PL
Intended:'The well deserving students are rewarded.'

c. *Se primește **pe** ambasadori la Palatul prezidențial.
SE receive.3SG DOM ambassador at palace presidential
Intended:'The ambassadors are received at the presidential palace.'

d. *Se deranjează **pe** vecini mereu.
SE disturb.3SG DOM DOM neighbour.M.PL always
Intended: 'One always disturbs the neighbours.'

e. *Nu se arestează **pe** nimeni.
NEG SE arrest.3SG DOM nobody
Intended: 'Nobody is getting arrested.'

(ROMANIAN)

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2. *Se* constructions

- SE: reduced pronominal element with a variety of uses (reflexive, reciprocal, anticausative, middle passive/impersonal, etc.)
- only the non-paradigmatic (default 3person singular form of the pronominal) contexts analyzed here
- overt, lexical subject is not permitted
- unpronounced, implicit external argument, interpreted as indefinite, non-specific, arbitrary, impersonal, non-referential; but restricted to [+human] (similar to *one* or *they* in English, *man* in German (see especially Dobrovie-Sorin 1998. MacDonald and Melgares 2021b, a.o.)
- non-paradigmatic *se* traditionally taken to allow two interpretations - the passive and the impersonal one
- passive *se*: [+arg] in Cinque (1988) or accusative *se* in Dobrovie-Sorin (1998)
- impersonal *se*: [-arg] in Cinque (1988) or nominative *se* in Dobrovie-Sorin (1998)

(13) Se destruyeron las casas.
SE destroy.PST.3PL DEF.F.PL house.PL
'The houses were destroyed.'

(14) a. Se destruyó las casas.
SE destroy.PST.3SG DEF.F.PL house.PL
'Somebody destroyed the houses.'
b. Se vio a los niños.
SE see.PST.3SG DOM DEF.M.PL child.M.PL
'Somebody saw the children.'

SE impersonal: at least in traditional accounts, assumed to be structurally different from the passive variant in the sense that

- the verb is obligatorily third person *singular*
- the sole overt DP in passive *se* is a grammatical subject, while the sole overt DP in *se* impersonal is a grammatical object
- nominative SE (Naro 1976, Belletti 1982, Burzio 1986, Manzini 1986, a.o.) binds an empty category in the subject A-position, therefore there is no agreement with the verb (Dobrovie-Sorin 1998: 403)

2. *Se* constructions

- 'the postverbal NP (in examples such as (14), our note) does not agree with the verb, which indicates that this NP cannot be a subject, and therefore must be analyzed as a direct object. Given that direct objects need accusative Case, this Case is not available for *si*, which must therefore be assumed to be nominative.' (Dobrovie-Sorin 1998: 404)
- nominative and accusative *si* must be treated as homonyms rather than instantiations of the same element. (Dobrovie-Sorin 1998: 404)
- nominative *se* is a legitimate syntactic controller
- (Naro 1976: nominative *si* is a later development, due to diachronic reanalysis from accusative *si*; (*se* taken to occupy the subject position)
- DOM can only be realized under nominative, impersonal *se*
- some languages, such as Romanian, lack nominative *se*

(15) a. *Criam-**se** avestruzes **despreocupado**.
grow.3PL-SE ostriches unconcerned.M.SG
'One raises ostriches unconcerned.'

b. **Cria**-se avestruzes **despreocupado**.
grow.3SG-SE ostriches unconcerned.M.SG
'One raises ostriches unconcerned.'

(EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE; Martins and Nunes 2016, ex. 29)

- *"The discussion above suggests that se is to be analyzed as a syntactic subject in impersonal se constructions, but not in passive se constructions. Arguably related to this distinction is the fact that only impersonal se licenses a subject-oriented secondary predicate, as illustrated in (15-b)"* (Martins and Nunes 2016, pag. 11)
- in some dialects of EP, *se* can be doubled by a strong nominative pronoun

(16) Chama-**se**-lhe **a gente** espigas.
call.3SG-DOM-CL.ACC.3SG **the people** spike
'We call it spikes.'
(Martins and Nunes 2016, ex. 28)

(17) Como se pôde/*pôdem **ve-los** (**a** eles)?
how SE can.3SG/3PL see-CL.ACC.3M.PL DOM they
'How was it possible to see them?'
(adapted from Martins and Nunes 2016)

The PERSON restriction

- an important difference between *se* constructions and periphrastic passives
- PERSON-related categories - e.g., first or second person tonic pronouns in Italian (Cinque 1988, d'Alessandro 2017, a.o.), categories that would require DOM as objects in Romanian and Spanish (Taraldson 1995, Cornilescu 1998, Mendikoetxea 2008, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2015, Giurgea 2019, Dobrovie-Sorin 2021, a.o.) are *not grammatical* in SE-passive/impersonals
- the periphrastic passive does not impose this restriction examples from MacDonald 2017

(18) *Me vendí (al diablo).
me sold.1SG to-the devil
Intended: 'I was sold (to the devil).'

(19) (Yo) fui vendido (al diablo).
I was.1SG sold (to-the devil)
'I was sold (to the devil).'

Some questions

- is there a deep structural difference between impersonal *se* and passive *se*?
- what does this difference tell us about DOM?
- do the same diagnostics indicated for European Portuguese go through in other languages?
- when it comes to agreement patterns, Romance languages show a much more complex pattern, which does not necessarily signal a difference from *se* passive. How are these facts to be explained?

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3. The implicit agent

- is there an implicit agent, syntactically active, in *se*-DOM constructions?
- if yes, of what type?

(20) Strong implicit arguments (SIA): null D(P)s: PRO, pro

(21) Weak implicit arguments (WIA): null ϕ(P)s: Passive agent, implicit object (Landau 2010: 359)

- SIAs can enter into more syntactic dependecies than WIAs: can bind, control, license secondary predicates
- WIAs can control (and even so, in restricted circumstances)
- what is important is whether an IA is projected in the syntax and not it just being syntactically active
- Bhatt and Pancheva (2006), Landau (2010), Saab (2014), Šereikaitė (2021, 2022), Legate (2021), a.o.: syntactic projection of IAs
  - licensing of secondary predicates
  - binding of pronominal variables
  - possibility of reflexivization

- the challenge is that *se*-DOM fails all these tests in various languages (ex. Spanish)

(22) Se felicitó/*felicitaron **a** las alumnas$_j$ *orgulloso(s)$_k$.
SE congratulate.PST.3SG/PST.3PL DOM DEF.F.PL student.F.PL proud.M(PL)
Intended:'Somebody$_k$ congratulated the female students$_j$ proud$_k$.'

(23) Se felicitó/*felicitaron **a** las alumnas$_j$ *según su$_k$ deseo.
SE congratulate.PST.3SG/PST.3PL DOM DEF.F.PL student.F.PL following his.SG wish
Intended:'Somebody$_k$ congratulated the female students according to his/their$_k$ wish.'

(24) Se felicitó/*felicitaron **a** las alumnas$_j$ *uno$_k$ a
SE congratulate.PST.3SG/PST.3PL DOM DEF.F.PL student.F.PL one.M.SG to
otro$_k$]
other.M.SG
Intended: 'They$_k$ congratulated the female students$_k$ to each other$_k$.' SPANISH

(the ungrammaticality of (24) has an independent explanation; the reciprocal requires the overt reflexive *se* which cannot co-occur with non-paradigmatic *se*)

- the problem cannot be due to the fact that null elements do not license these categories

(25)
a. *Ayer se besó **a** Maria borracho.
yesterday SE kissed.PST.3SG DOM Maria drunk.M.SG
Intended: 'One/someone kissed Mary drunk.'
b. *Aquí se lava (a sí mismo).
here SE wash.3SG DOM he self
Intended: 'One washes oneself.'
c. *Aquí se puede sejar su saco.
here SE can3SG leave.INF. his coat
Intended: 'One can leave his coat here.'

(Saab 2014; 29)

(26) Felicitó **a** las alumnas$_j$ ✓orgulloso$_k$/✓según su$_k$ deseo.
congratulate.PST.3SG DOM DEF.F.PL student.F.PL proud.M.SG/following his.SG wish
'He$_k$ congratulated the female students$_j$ proud$_k$/according to his$_k$ wish.'
(*standard Spanish)*

- agent oriented adverbials, obligatory control in infinitives, or control into certain types of adjuncts are possible

(27) a. Se felicitó/*felicitaron **a** las alumnas$_j$ *con*
SE congratulate.PST.3SG/PST.3PL DOM DEF.F.PL student.F.PL with
calma.
calm
Lit.:'The female students were congratulated calmly.'

b. Se felicitó/*felicitaron **a** las alumnas$_j$ antes
SE congratulate.PST.3SG/PST.3PL DOM DEF.F.PL student.F.PL before
de inaugurar la cerimonia.
of begin.INF DEF.F.SG cermony
Lit.:'The female students were congratulated before starting the ceremony.'

c. Se quiere castigar a los culpables.
SE want.3SG punish.INF DOM DEF.M.PL culprit.M.PL
'Someone/one wants to punish the culprits. (Saab 2014; 30)

- but agent oriented adverbials and control into certain types of adjuncts are possible in periphrastic passives too
- and obligatory control can be derived via predication (Landau 2010, Pujalte and Saab 2012, Saab 2014, a.o.)

(28) a. Las alumnas fueron felicitadas *con*
DEF.F.PL student.F.PL be.PST.3PL congratulate.PST.PRT.F.PL with
calma.
calm
Lit. 'The students were congratulated calmly.'

b. Las alumnas fueron felicitadas *antes de*
DEF.F.PL student.F.PL be.PST.3PL congratulate.PST.PRT.F.PL before of
iniciar la cerimonia.
begin.INF DEF.F.SG ceremony
Lit. 'The students were congratulated before starting the ceremony.'

3. The implicit agent

- *by*-phrases might be possible, but only with nonreferential generically interpreted DPs

(29) a. Se agredió [a] una periodista de TVE (*por un futbolista).
SE assault.PST.3SG DOM a.F.SG repprter of TVE by a football-player
Intended: 'A TVE reporter was assaulted by a football player.'

b. Esta obra se escribió por un autor totalmente desconocido.
this work SE write.PST.3SG by a author totally unknown
Intended: 'This work was written by a totally unknown author.'

c. *Esta obra se escribió por Cervantes.
this work SE write.PST.3SG by Cervantes
Intended: 'This work was written by Cervantes.' (MacDonald 2017: 38b, 39)

3. The implicit agent

- additional mechanisms are needed in order to derive these properties under various accounts which postulate the syntactic projection of a null pronominal in *se*-constructions:
- extensive discussion in Saab 2014, Fábregas 2021, a.o.
  - pro_{arb} (following Cinque 1988, etc.)
  - PRO_{arb} (following Mendikoetxea 1992, etc.)
  - a null generic (Mendikoetxea 2008)
  - a special type of weak implicit argument (Landau 2010), etc.
- other possibilities include a pronominal which is partially projected in the syntax (Legate 2021, a.o.)
- or the possibility that the implicit agent might not be a null pronoun merged in a syntactic position; its presence for the interpretation is due to an existentially bound variable (see the discussion in Dobrovie-Sorin 2021, a.o.)
- MacDonald (2017), in turn, proposes another diagnostic to probe the syntactic projection of the implicit agent, based on inalienable possession

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4. The implicit possessor

MacDonald (2017): a novel argument for the syntactic projection of the implicit agent in the SE-passive/impersonal, but not the periphrastic passive

- contrasts between the SE-passive/impersonal and the periphrastic passive with respect to the interpretation to inalienably possessed body parts
- only in the SE-passive is the inalieble possession interpretation obtained

(30) a. El profesor hizo una pregunta. Se levantaron unas/las manos.
the professor made a question. SE_{PASS} raised.3PL some/the hands
'The professor asked a question. Some of their/Their hands raised.'

b. El profesor hizo una pregunta. Fueron levantadas unas/las manos.
the professor made a question. be.3PL raised.F.PL some/the hands
'The professor asked a question. Some of their/Their hands were raised.'

(MacDonald 2017, ex.21a, glosses adapted)

(31) a. De las almohadas se alzaron unas cabezas greñadas.
from the pillows SE_{PASS} lifted some heads disheveled.
'From the pillows, they lifted their disheveled heads.'

b. La cabeza fue levantada (por Juan).
the head be.3SG lifted.F.SG (by Juan)
'The head was lifted (by Juan).'

(MacDonald 2017, ex.22a, glosses adapted)

4. The implicit possessor

MacDonald (2017):

- inalienably possessed DPs need the presence in the syntax of a c-commanding element, standing for the possessor
- only in the SE-passive/impersonal the possessor is *syntactically* projected
- SE-passive/impersonal contains *pro* in Spec, Voice, signaling the implicit EA which functions as the c-commanding possessor; *se* is merged in (thematic) Voice
- in periphrastic passives: the implicit EA is not present in the syntactic representation
- thus, licensing of inalienable possession is possible only in the SE-passive/impersonal, not in the periphrastic passive

(32) $[_{\text{VoiceP}}$ *pro* $\text{Voice}_{[\theta]\textbf{se}}] \Rightarrow SE_{IMPERS}/SE_{PASS}$

(33) $[_{\text{VoiceP}}\ \text{Voice}_{[\theta]}] \Rightarrow$ periphrastic passive (MacDonald 2017: ex. 4a, b; p. 355)

- this structural distinction is taken to derive, among others, the PERSON restriction in SE-passives/impersonals, as opposed to the periphrastic passive

The PERSON restriction

- PERSON-related categories - e.g., first or second person tonic pronouns in Italian (Cinque 1988, d'Alessandro 2017, a.o.), categories that would require DOM as objects in Romanian and Spanish (Taraldson 1995, Cornilescu 1998, Mendikoetxea 2008, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2015, Giurgea 2019, Dobrovie-Sorin 2021, a.o.) are *not grammatical* in SE-passive/impersonals
- the periphrastic passive does not impose this restriction
- MacDonald (2017) discusses only first and second person (as third person is assumed to be the lack of PERSON)

(34) *Me vendí (al diablo).
me sold.1SG to-the devil
Intended: 'I was sold (to the devil).'

(35) (Yo) fui vendido (al diablo).
I was.1SG sold (to-the devil)
'I was sold (to the devil).'

(MacDonald 2017: ex. 29a-b, p.368)

The PERSON restriction

- *pro* in Spec, Voice blocks AGREE between a first or second person object and T; *pro* is closer to T than the object
  - (note, however, that the [PERSON] restriction does extend to (certain types of) third person DPs)

(36) $[_{TP}$ T $[_{VoiceP}$ $pro_{[PERS]}$ $Voice_{se}$ $[_{VP}$ V $DP_{[PERS]}$]]]

(MacDonald 2017: ex. 31, p.369)

- As the periphrastic passive does not contain *pro* in Spec, Voice, AGREE between T and first and second person pronouns can proceed

(37) $[_{TP}$ T $[_{VoiceP}$ $Voice_{se}$ $[_{VP}$ V $DP_{[PERS]}$]]] (MacDonald 2017: ex. 33, p.369)

4. The implicit possessor. Some problems

However, there are some questions related to the validity of this test

- first, inalienabe possession cannot be easily tested with DOM, which is normally restricted to animate DPs
- second, there are languages in which DOM is not grammatical with the overt possessor clitic; see (38) from Romanian
- the restriction only holds with possessor dative clitics (38), not with goal dative clitics (39)

(38) *Ion **și** (l)-a văzut **pe** prieten.
Ion SE.DAT CL.3.SG.ACC.M-have.3.SG seen DOM friend
Intended: 'Ion has seen his friend.'

(39) Ion nu **și**- a trimis **pe** nimeni în ajutor.
Ion NEG SE.DAT have.3SG sent DOM=DAT nobody in help
'Ion has not sent anybody to himself as help.'

- the structure (38) in cannot be fixed by clitic doubling, which is otherwise a repair strategy in co-occurrence restrictions produced by DOM
- see the extensive discussion in Cornilescu (2020) with respect to configurations similar to (40)

(40) Comisia *i* *(*l*)-a repartizat **pe**
board.def.f.sg CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.M.ACC-has assigned LOC=DOM
fiecare rezident *unei* foste profesoare a lui.
each resident some.DAT.SG.F former.F.DAT professor.F.DAT of his
'The board assigned each resident to a former professor of his.'

(Cornilescu 2020, ex. 6; glosses adapted)

4. The implicit possessor. Some problems

- thirdly, there are languages in which the possessor of inalienable body parts is available in periphrastic passives, for example German
- the German *werde* passive is similar to the Romance periphrastic passive in that
  - it does not allow the accusative Case (the object must be nominative)
  - does not impose a PERSON restriction (1st and 2nd person nominatives are allowed and the auxiliary shows person inflection), as seen in (42)

(41) Der Professor stelle eine Frage. Ein paar Hande
DEF.M.SG professor ask.PST.3SG a question. A pair hand.PL
wurden gehoben.
become.PST.3PL raise.PST.PRT.PL
'The professor asked a question. A pair of hands raised.'

(42) **Ich** werde bewundert.
I.NOM become.1SG admire.PST.PRT.SG
'I am admired.'

4. The implicit possessor. Some problems

- a non-trivial observation is that the implicit possessor test goes through in reduced *de*-supine structures in Romanian, especially if there explicit time reference
- for for example, in *tough* constructions the *de*-supine has *passive* behavior (see the extensive discussion in Soare 2002, Giurgea 2008, Giurgea and Soare 2002, Giurgea and Soare 2010a, 2010b, a.o.)
- these configurations cannot contain an implicit external argument projected in the syntax; the object (normally) raises to a position preceding the matrix predicate, agreement obtains and there is no person restriction

4. The implicit possessor. Some problems

- examine the simplified structures below for *tough*-constructions (omitting details that are not relevant here; see Giurgea and Soare 2002, Giurgea and Soare 2010a, 2010b, Giurgea 2016, a.o.)

(43) [$_{\text{PredP}}$ teorie [Pred^{0} [$_{\text{MoodP}}$ greu [[$_{\text{Mood}}$ **de**] [înțeles ~~teorie~~
theory hard DE.SUP understand.PST.PRT
(de către studenți)]]]]]]
by student.PL
Lit. 'theory hard to understand (by the students)'

(44) [$_{\text{PredP}}$ teoria [$_{\text{PredP}}$ este [Pred^{0} [$_{\text{MoodP}}$ greu [[$_{\text{Mood}}$ de]
theory.DEF.F.SG be.3SG hard DE.SUP
[înțeles ~~teoria~~ (de către studenți)]]]]]]
understand.PST.PRT (by student.PL
'The theory is hard to understand (by the students).'

(45) Mâinile sunt mai ușor **de** ridicat decât picioarele.
hand.DEF.F.PL be.3PL more easy DE.SUP raise.PST.PRT than leg.DEF.N.PL
Lit. 'The hands are easier to raise than the legs.' (it is easier to raise the hands than to lift the legs)'

4. The implicit possessor. Some problems

- inalienable possession also obtains in constructions in which the past participle is embedded under various types of matrix predicates without *de*, showing agreement in gender and number
- here the *be* auxiliary which constructs the periphrastic passive can be omitted

(46) Întâi trebuie (să fie) ridicate mâinile cu grație,
first must.3SG SBJV be.SBJV.3 raise.PST.PST.F.PL hand.DEF.F.PL with grace,
apoi trebuie (să fie) îndoiți genunchii în plié.
then must.3SG SBJV be.SBJV.3 bend.PST.PST.F.PL knee.DEF.N.PL in plié
'First, the hands must be raised with grace, then the knees must be bend in the plié pose.'
(instructions in a ballet class)

- this indicates that the availability of the inalinable possession interpretation does not depend on the syntactic presence or absence of an implicit external argument
- inalienable possession, instead, seems to correlate with aspectual specifications (easier to obtain with set time reference)
- a non-negligeable matter is also how a certain configurations interacts with referentiality (eg., nominals with existential interpretation is harder to obtain the periphrastic passive)

(see also some observations in Dobrovie-Sorin 2021)

The implicit possessor. Summary

- the presence or absence of the inalienable possession interpretation does not depend on the syntactic projection of the implicit external argument
- inalienable possession can be obtained in configurations which lack an implicit external argument projected in the syntax

Roadmap

1. DOM, passives and impersonals
2. *Se* constructions
3. The implicit agent
4. The implicit possessor
5. Impoverishing T
6. SE-DOM and agreement
7. Conclusions
8. Appendix

5. When T is impoverished

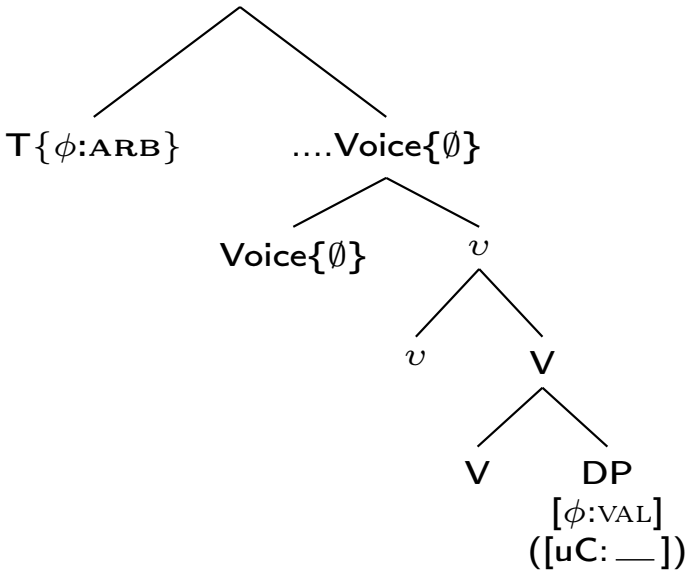
- another important line of research derives the special properties of non-paradigmatic SE without assuming the syntactic projection of an implicit external argument (in the form of *pro* or some other structurally reduced (pro)nominal element)
- relevant discussion by Otero (1986)
  - SE seen as the surface manifestation of part of the content of INFL
  - its role is to absorb the definiteness of a finite INFL, in the sense that it absorbs the plus value of [DEF] in a finite INFL
  - the D feature in T in null subject languages links the null subject to a discourse referent, an aboutness topic (MacDonald and Melgares 2021a, Holmberg 2010, Roberts 2010, Frascarelli 2007, Wolfsgruber 2021, a.o.)
  - the indefinite non-referential interpretation of the implicit external argument: results because it is not linked to the discourse

5. When Voice and T are impoverished

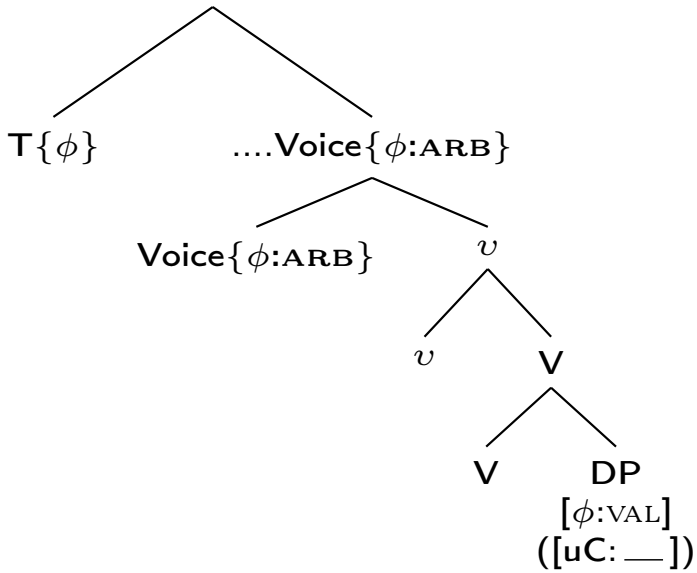
- recent implementation by Dobrovie-Sorin (2021) for *passive* SE, building on Legate (2014)
  - Voice and T can carry semantically interpretable (inherently valued) ϕ-features that restrict the implicit initiator θ-role, through the underspecified value ARB
  - the implicit initiator can be existentially closed (an initiator understood as an arbitrary 3 person)
  - these two heads might not contain ϕP in their Spec, as the features in the heads themselves restrict the initiator
  - when Voice/T are inherently endowed with the ARB value, the interpretation at LF is that of introducing an implicit, arbitrarily - interpreted (i.e., referentially underspecified Initiator): $\{\phi$**:ARB**$\}$

Impoverishing Voice and T

(47)



(48)



Passive SE

- Dobrovie-Sorin (2021) Voice is 'devoid of features' in the sense that it does not introduce an initiator (Voice{$\emptyset$})
- the value in T is {ϕ:ARB} $\rightarrow$ [PERSON] restriction holds

Periphrastic passive

- Dobrovie-Sorin (2021) Voice is specified as {ϕ:ARB} - it restricts the initiatot
- T contains ϕ features $\rightarrow$ no [PERSON] restriction

5.Impoverishing Voice and T

- these configurations are assumed to hold for periphrastic passives and SE-passives only, such that Burzio's Generalization can be respected
- impersonal-SE (nominative SE) must have a different internal structure

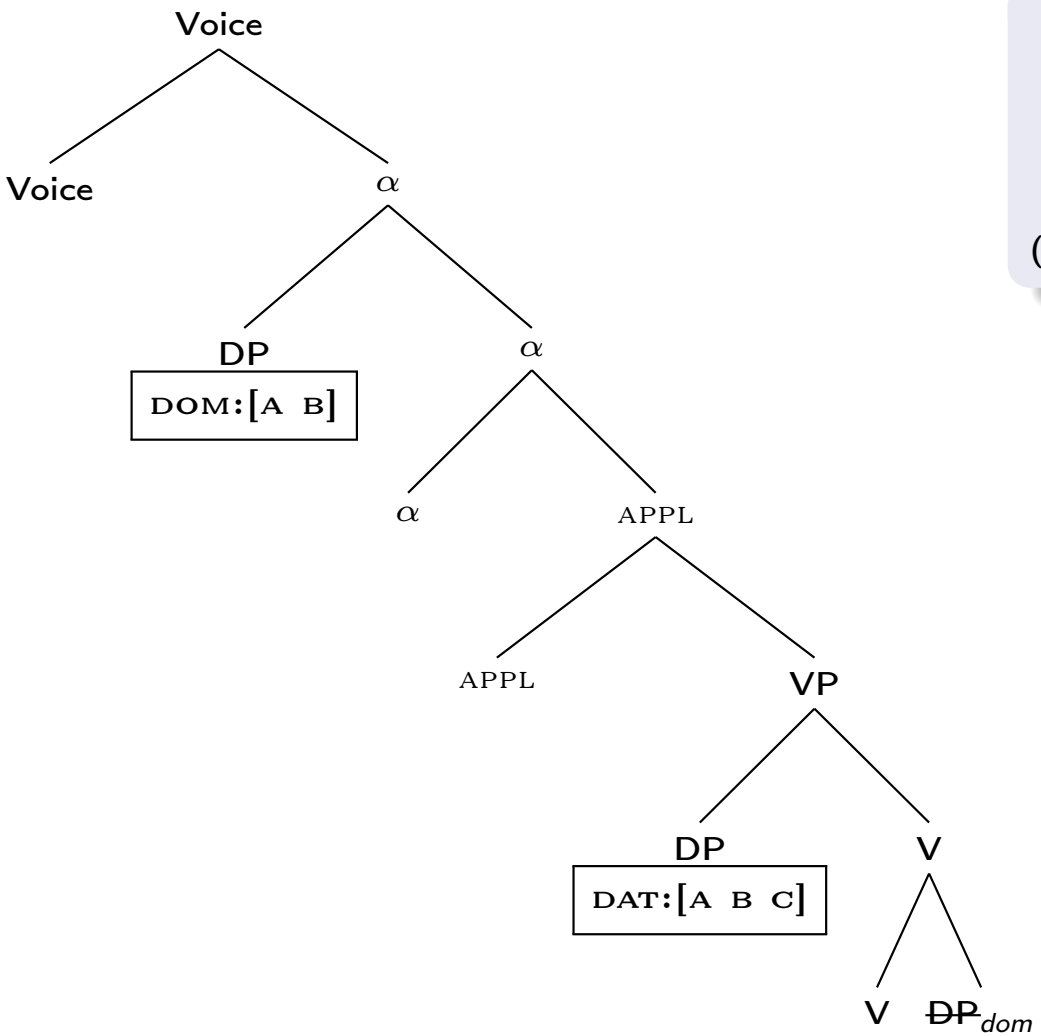
- Dobrovie-Sorin (2021, p.137): '{ϕ:*ARB*} *supplies an implicit Initiator, making it impossible for the Initiator to merge in Spec, Voice and at the same time blocking Accusative Case assignment: since the features of Voice are already valued, no* AGREE *relation can be established between Voice and* DP_{Theme} *and correlatively* DP_{Theme} *cannot be assigned Accusative Case. This forces* DP_{Theme} *to internally Merge into Spec-Voice. From this position,* DP_{Theme} *enters an Agree relation with Tense, thereby valuing the unvalued features of Tense and getting Case-checked [as nominative] at the same time.*'

Impoverishing Voice and T

- to extend the 'Voice/T Impoverishing hypothesis' to the impersonal would imply that Burzio's Generalization does not hold
- this is implicitly assumed in accounts which do not make use of *pro* (other types of reduced pronominal categories, etc.) in Spec, Voice/T (Mendikoetxea and Battye 1990, Otero 1986, Pujalte and Saab 2012, Saab 2014, a.o.)
- recent research on passives and impersonals has concluded that Burzio's Generalization does not appear to hold universally (Legate 2014, 2021, Šereikaitė 2021, 2022, Bhatt 2003 for Indo-Aryan, a.o.)
- given that Romance DOM is not just a run-of-the-mill structural accusative, what does severing Voice from structural accusative Case licensing mean?

Voice and DOM

(49) DOM licensing (Bárány 2018, ex. 45, adapting López 2012)



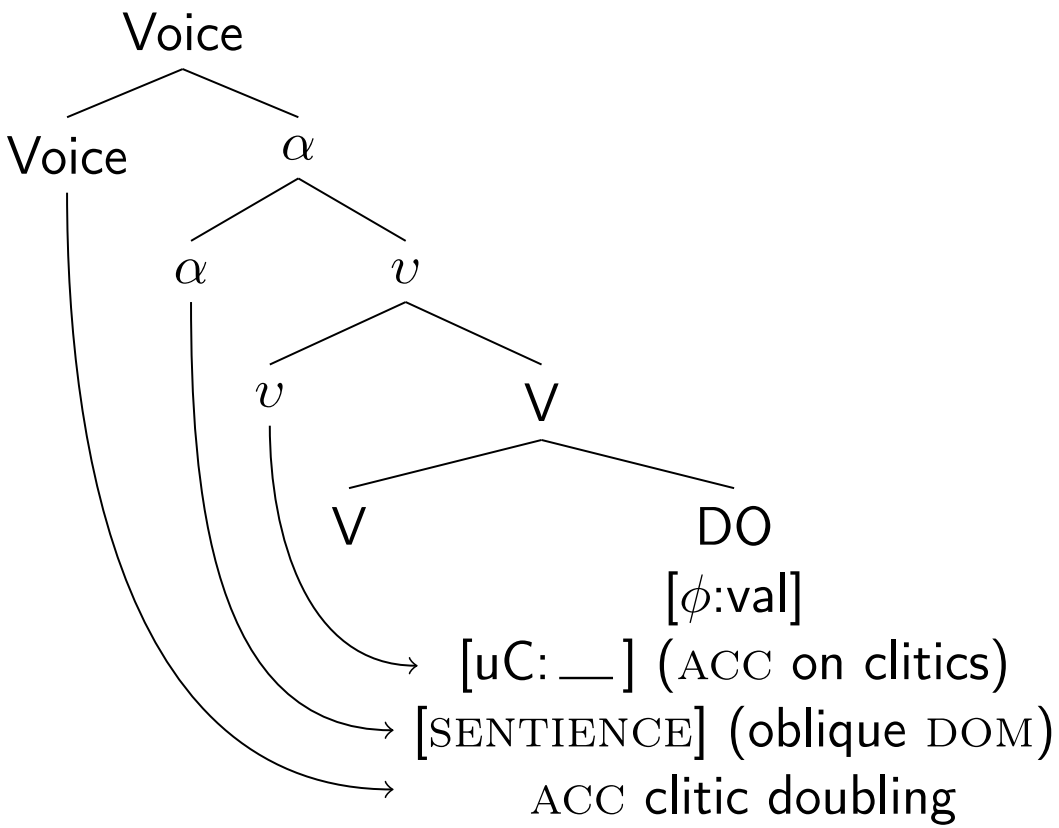
SPELL OUT RULES FOR SPANISH

- [A B] ↔ /-a/
- [A] ↔ /∅/

(Bárány 2018, ex. 47)

1. DOM is licensed ([A B]) when the DP raises to Spec, α (López 2012, a.o.)
2. IOs are assigned dative ([A B C]) case by APPL
3. as ACC and DAT are the only internal arguments with structural Case, a single spell-out rule applies to both

(50)



- using both v and Voice to encode both non-differential accusative Case on clitics, DOM and accusative clitic doubling
- building on Cornilescu (2000), DOM involves additional licensing beyond accusative Case
- López (2012): α head bundling aspectual, sentience, discourse-related features is crucial in the licensing of differentially marked objects

(Irimia 2021, etc.)

Some possiblities

(51) $[_{\text{TP}}\ \text{T}_{\{\phi:\textbf{ARB}\}}\ [_{\text{VoiceP}}\ \text{Voice}_{\textbf{\{}\emptyset\textbf{\}}}\ [_{\alpha\textbf{P}}\ \text{DP}_{\text{DOM}}\ \alpha\ [_{v\textbf{P}}\ v_{[\text{ACC}]}\ [_{\text{VP}}\ \text{V}\ \text{DP}_{\textbf{[uC:}_\textbf{\ ,\ DOM]}}\ ]]]]]$

(*se*-DOM)

(52) $[_{\text{TP}}\ \text{T}_{\{\phi:\textbf{ARB}\}}\ [_{\text{VoiceP}}\ \text{Voice}_{\textbf{\{}\emptyset\textbf{\}}}\ \ldots.\ [_{v\textbf{P}}\ v_{[\text{ACC}]}\ [_{\text{VP}}\ \text{V}\ \text{DP}_{\textbf{[uC:}_\textbf{\ ,\ *DOM]}}\ ]]]]$

(*se* without DOM, α missing. But accusative Case might be possible)

(53) $[_{\text{TP}}\ \text{T}_{\{\phi:\textbf{ARB}\}}\ [_{\text{VoiceP}}\ \text{Voice}_{\textbf{\{}\emptyset\textbf{\}}}\ \ldots.\ [_{\text{VP}}\ \text{V}\ \text{*DP}_{\textbf{[uC:}_\textbf{\ ,\ DOM]}}\ ]]]$

(*se* without DOM and without accusative Case)

(54) $[_{\text{TP}}\ \text{T}_{\{\phi:\textbf{ARB}\}}\ [_{\text{VoiceP}}\ \text{Voice}_{\textbf{\{}\emptyset\textbf{\}}}\ [_{\alpha\textbf{P}}\ \text{DP}_{\text{DOM}}\ \alpha\ \ldots\ [_{\text{VP}}\ \text{V}\ \text{DP}_{\textbf{[uC:}_\textbf{\ ,\ DOM]}}\ ]]]]$

(*se* with DOM, but no structural accusative)

- (54) would be possible if DOM were a special/exceptional licensing strategy, which does not depend on the licensing of structural accusative
- Ordóñez and Treviño (2016): this is what some varieties of Latin American Spanish show

5. Romanian non-paradigmatic *se*

- Romanian, as opposed to Western Romance, does not allow DOM in non-paradigmatic SE configurations
- Dobrovie-Sorin (Dobrovie-Sorin): Romanian exhibits only *accusative se*
- Pană Dindelegan (1974): Romanian exhibits nominative SE but its uses are more restricted
- if *se*-constructions can be unified under the assumption that they involve impoverishing of the D feature in T, how would Romanian (and other languages of the accusative-*se* pattern) be accounted for?
- besides DOM, paradigmatic *se* also blocks the predicates *be* and *have*, the passive, as well as accusative clitics

(55) a. Se premiază (*pe) elevii care au luat
SE reward.3 DOM student.DEF.M.PL that have.3PL take.PST.PRT
note mari.
grade.F.PL big.PL
'The students who got good grades are rewarded.'

b. *Se este fericit/fericiți.
SE be.3SG happy.M.SG/M.PL
Intended: 'People/one/we is/are happy.'

c. *În acei ani nu se avea mâncare.
In that.M.PL year.M.PL NEG SE have.IMPF.3SG food
'People didn't have food in those years.'

d. *Se este lăudat/lăudați mereu.
SE BE.3SG praise.PST.PRT.M.SG/praise.PST.PRT.M.PL always
Intended: 'People/one/we is/are always praised.'

e. *Se îl admiră.
SE CL.3MSG admire.3
Intended: 'He/it is admired.'

5. Romanian non-paradigmatic *se*

- one possibility: in order to be activated, the discourse-related projections needs to establish a relationship with T, and the two heads cannot have mismatching features
- as T is deficient, α cannot be activated (radical impoverishment), thus DOM cannot be licensed
- *be* and *have*, being perfective, need to raise to low Asp (α) so that they can be correctly interpreted (extending the analysis proposed by d'Alessandro (2017))
- the question is whether what is not activated is only α or v too
- what type of D feature does v host? (which we will go back to)
- impossibility of accusative clitics does not indicate, in itself, that accusative case is not available (given that the cluster *se*-(accusative) clitic might be problematic for independent reasons
- the fact that the (periphrastic) passive is not possible might indicate that $v_{[\text{ACC}]}$ might be present (given that the periphrastic passive involves the suppression of structural accusative licensing)

Romanian non-paradigmatic *se*

- Saab (2014): the problem with non-paradigmatic *se* is that C-T is fully defective; thus, the possibility arises of fully agentive v without a DP in its specifier position
- it is precisely this strategy which is not allowed in Romanian, where all heads need to agree in referentiality
- the non-discharged [D] feature creates a PF failure; the PF repair strategy is the insertion of a D-clitic to satisfy the [D] feature on v

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6. SE-DOM and agreement

Oblique DOM in SE-constructions generally correlated with the absence of agreement

- DOM considered to be possible only with impersonal or nominative SE
- standard Spanish or European Portuguese: clear examples illustrating this correlation

(56) Se felicitó/*felicitaron **a** los soldados.
SE congratulate.PST.3SG/PST.3PL DOM DEF.M.PL soldier.M.PL
'Someone congratulated the soldiers.' or
'The soldiers were congratulated.'
(STANDARD SPANISH)

(57) Como se pôde/*pôdem ve-los **a** eles?
how SE can.3SG/3PL see-CL.ACC.3M.PL DOM they
'How was it possible to see them?'
(EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE, **adapted from Martins and Nunes 2016**)

6. SE-DOM and agreement: patterns of variation

However, it has been observed that the ban on agreement is not *strict* across SE-DOM languages

- agreeing DOM with SE has been documented in American Spanish varieties (Martín Zorraquino 1979; Ordóñez and Treviño 2011, 2016; MacKenzie 2013; Gallego 2016; Fábregas 2021:151; Ormazabal and Romero 2022, a.o.)
- generally, in these varieties, both the agreeing and the non-agreeing structures are possible (Ordóñez and Treviño 2016; Ormazabal and Romero 2022)
- even the peninsular Spanish picture appears to be much more fluid than what normative grammars indicate (Ormazabal and Romero 2022, a.o.)

(58) a. Se rescat<u>ó</u> [a] los alpinistas.
SE rescue.PST.3SG DOM DEF.M.PL mountaineer.PL
'The mountaineers were rescued.'

b. Se rescat<u>aron</u> [a] los alpinistas.
SE rescue.PST.3PL DOM DEF.M.PL mountaineer.PL
'The mountaineers were rescued.' (MEXICAN SPANISH Ordóñez and Treviño 2016: ex.7,8; glosses adapted)

(59) No se pued<u>en</u> nombrar [a] los embajadores.
NEG SE can.3PL appoint.INF DOM DEF.M.PL ambassador.PL
'The ambassadors cannot be appointed.' (Fábregas 2021: ex.405, p.150)

Less discussed are the languages in which agreement is *obligatory* with DOM in SE constructions

- many Romance dialects in southern Italy are of this type (data from joint work with Cristina Guardiano, Gaia Sorge and Vincenzo Stalfieri)
- marked objects must agree, just like the unmarked ones

(60) a. quànnu scura, si ciàmanu / *ciàma **e** picciridi ppi manciàri.
when darken.3SG SE call.3PL call.3SG DOM.DEF.PL kid.PL for eat
'When it's dark, the children are called for dinner.'

b. ppi Ppàsqua, a Scicli si nesci **o** Gghiòia.
for Easter at Scicli SE exit.3SG DOM.DEF.SG.M Gioia
'At Easter, the 'Gioia' is carried out in Scigli.'

c. ppi Ppàsqua si pripàranu / *pripara i / ******e** viscotta.
for Easter SE make.3PL make.3.SG DEF.PL DOM.DEF.PL biscuit.PL
'The biscuits are made at Easter.' (RAGUSA, SICILY)

Less discussed are the languages in which agreement is *obligatory* with DOM in SE constructions

- many Romance dialects in southern Italy are of this type (data from joint work with Cristina Guardiano, Gaia Sorge and Vincenzo Stalfieri)
- marked objects must agree, just like the unmarked ones

(61) a. quànnu c è n problema si cèccunu /*cecca **e**
when there be.3SG a.M problem.M.SG SE seek.3PL seek.3SG DOM.DEF.PL
ddutturi.
doctor
'When there is a problem, one seeks the doctors.'

b. u quàttru ri febbràiu si nesci **a** Ssant Àita.
DEF.SG fourth of February SE exit.3SG DOM saint Agata
'On the fourth of February, Saint Agata is carried out.'

c. ppi Nnatàli si màngiunu / *màngia i / ***e** scacciàti.
for Christmas SE eat.3PL eat.3SG DEF.PL DOM.DEF.PL scacciati.PL
'The *scacciati* are eaten at Christmas.' (CATANIA, SICILY)

Less discussed are the languages in which agreement is *obligatory* with DOM in SE constructions

- many Romance dialects in southern Italy are of this type (data from joint work with Cristina Guardiano, Gaia Sorge and Vincenzo Stalfieri)
- marked objects must agree, just like the unmarked ones; in Francavilla also note past participle agreement (besides auxiliary agreement) with both classes (DOM is not possible with overt definites in the language)

(62) a. Sə kjamənə/??kjamə **a** killə.
SE call.3PL/call.3SG DOM that.M.PL
'Those ones are (being) called.'

b. Primə sə kjamə **a** Paskælə e po sə kjamənə purə i figljə.
first SE call.3SG DOM Pasquale and then SE call.3PL even DEF.M.PL son.M.PL
'One calls Pasquale first, and then the sons are called.'

c. alla skolə s'è kkotə **a** maghestə / s ennə akkuotə i maghestə.
at.DEF.F.SG school SE-be.3SG welcome.PST.PRT.F.SG DOM teacher.F.SG / s be.3PL welcome.PST.PRT.F.PL DEF.F.PL teacher.F.PL
'The teacher was welcomed at school.'/'The teachers were welcomed at school.'
(FRANCAVILLA IN SINNI)

6. SE-DOM and agreement

Can these patterns be unified?

- Ormazabal and Romero (2022): presence or absence of agreement is a consequence of agreement attraction under linear adjacency; thus, a processing problem
- plural agreement can be seen with other types of postverbal nominals which are linearly adjacent to the verb, regardless of their syntactic status

(63) Se trabaj**an** los fines de semana.
SE work.3PL DEF.PL end.PL of week
'One works the weekends.' (Ormazabal and Romero 2022)

- This explanation cannot be easily extended to the southern Italy data
- Plural agreement is **obligatory** with DOM in SE-constructions, while not accepted with other types of liniarly adjacent postverbal nominals

6. Ordóñez and Treviño (2016)

Agreement with DOM in non-paradigmatic SE constructions is dependent on

- lack of structural accusative Case licensing in SE
- the agreement relation the clitic double establishes with T such that it might block agreement between T and DOM
- data from Mexican Spanish

(64)

a. Se rescat<u>ó</u> [a] los alpinistas.
SE rescue.PST.3SG DOM DEF.M.PL mountaineer.PL
'The mountaineers were rescued.'

b. Se rescat<u>aron</u> [a] los alpinistas.
SE rescue.PST.3PL DOM DEF.M.PL mountaineer.PL
'The mountaineers were rescued.'

(MEXICAN SPANISH Ordóñez and Treviño 2016: ex.7,8; glosses adapted)

(65) Generalization on the distribution of DOM: Whenever DOM is required for transitive verbs without *se*, it is also required for transitive verbs with *se* constructions.

6. Ordóñez and Treviño (2016)

- in Mexican Spanish (MS) accusative clitics are not allowed in *se*-constructions
- the clitic doubling DOM must show up as *dative* (differential marking on clitics), even if MS is *not* a leísta variety
- dislocated objects must take DOM, even if inanimate, and only the dative resumptive clitic is possible, and agreement with DOM does not obtain

(66)

a. **A** Juan **lo** vieron contento.
DOM Juan CL.ACCM.3M.SG see.PST.3PL happy.M.SG
'Juan, they saw him happy.'

b. **A** Juan *se* ***lo**/✓**le** vio contento.
DOM Juan SE CL.ACC.3M.SG/CL.DAT.SG see.PST.3SG happy.M.SG
'Juan, somebody saw him happy.'

c. **A** estos terrenos *se* ***los**/✓**les** vendió a un buen
DOM these lots SE CL.ACC.3M.PL/CL.DAT.PL sell.PST.3SG at a good
precio.
price
'These lots, somebody sold them at a good price.'
(MEXICAN SPANISH, **adapted from Ordóñez and Treviño 2016: ex.12, 13)**

6. Ordóñez and Treviño (2016)

- given that structural accusative cannot be licensed in *se*-constructions, differentially marked objects are licensed via inherent Case, by an AGR projection
- AGR must be deployed whenever animacy is present in the vP; inanimates, in turn, are licensed by T
- *se* merged in v/Voice; an indefinite subject *pro* appears in VoiceP and is bound by an arbitrary impersonal pronoun, which corresponds to the subject theta-role. This restricts T to 3 person, but the number feature is not affected
- as AGR licenses DOM, the prediction would be that T could never agree with DOM, as DOM is found in the domain of a lower licenser, namely AGR
- what about languages, such as MS, in which there is agreement with DOM?
- Ordóñez and Treviño (2016): agreement is not possible in in MS, if DOM is dislocated
- dislocated structures can be rendered grammatical only if DOM is clitic doubled with the differential form of the clitic (the dative form) and agreement disappears

(67) $[[\text{pro}_{\text{arb-3}\pi}]_i\ \text{T}_{3\pi}\ [\text{t}_i\ v\text{/Voice}\ \textit{se}\ [\text{AGR}_{[+\text{DOM}]}\ [_{\text{VP}}\ \text{T}\ [\text{DP}_{[+\text{DOM}]}\ ]]]]]$

(ex. 23 and 27, adapted)

6. SE-DOM and agreement

- Ordóñez and Treviño (2016) propose the generalization in (69)
- what is blocking probing of tense to DOM is the clitic itself
- the presence of the clitic is a diagnostic for movement of DOM to Spec of AGR
- AGR contains an optional EPP feature triggering movement of DOM, creating a configuration of clitic doubling; then the clitic is split from DOM and moves to T (70)
- then, given that AGR_{dom} is *strong*, it creates a phase; thus T cannot agree with DOM

(68) a. Los libros se vendieron.
DEF.M.PL book.M.PL SE sell.PST.3PL
'The books were sold.'

b. * **A** los alpinistas, se rescataron.
DOM DEF.M.PL mountaineer.PL SE rescue.PST.3PL
Intended: 'The mountaineers were rescued.'

c. **A** los alpinistas, se *les* rescató ayer.
DOM DEF.M.PL mountaineer.PL SE CL.DAT.3PL rescue.PST.3SG yesterday
'The mountaineers, somebody rescued them yesterday.'
(ex. 39, 40, 41, adapted)

(69) **Generalization 2**, Whenever clitic doubling is realized, tense cannot probe DOM. (p.20)

(70) [*se* CL_i rescató [$_{\upsilon P}$ υ [a los alpinistas]$_i$ [CL_i+AGR_{DOM} [t VP]]] (ex. 45)

6. SE-DOM and agreement

- *'in other words, a v dominated by se in which clitic doubling occurs is a phase, while a vP in which the EPP feature for* AGR *does not attract the clitic is not, and thus allows probing of tense in T. (71)'* (p. 22)
- for the analysis to go through, it must be the case that in all instances in which default agreement obtains *there is a covert clitic*
- and, to capture MS structures in which there is agreement with DOM, it must be the case that AGR is not strong in this language and does not contain an EPP feature; as DOM does not need to raise, no clitic configuration obtains, T can probe into vP and agree with DOM (72)

(71) *se rescataron [CL]$_i$+Y **T$_{[plural]}$** **[**v **phase** a los alpinistas vP [t$_i$ +Agr$_{DOM}$[t$_i$ VP]] (ex. 47)

(72) *se* rescataron T$_{plural}$ Y [vP t v [AGR [-EPP] [$_{dom}$a los alpinistas] VP]]]] (ex. 50)

6. SE-DOM and agreement

- if structural accusative Case is not available, what about languages in which accusative clitics *are* possible in *se*-constructions?
- are there independent ways to diagnose the strong vs. weak phasal status of the DOM licenser?
- is it the case that agreement with DOM is blocked only when a silent clitic is merged in the configuration? Are there independent ways to prove the presence of the silent clitic?

(73)

a. Se **los/las** vio.
SE CL.ACC.3M/F.PL see.PST.3SG
'They (masculine/feminine) were seen.' (STANDARD SPANISH)

b. Se'**ls** sol poder veura.
SE-CL.ACC.3M.PL use.3SG can.INF see.INF
'One tends to be able to see him.' (CATALAN, Anna Pineda p.c.; Mendikoetxea and Battye 1990)

c. Se **lo** escuchó.
SE CL.ACC.M.3PL listen to.PST.3SG
'He was listened to.' (PERUVIAN SPANISH)

d. Se **los** escucharon.
SE CL.ACC.M.3PL listen to.PST.3PL
'They were listened to.' (ARGENTINE SPANISH, Andrś Saab, p.c)

....

6. SE and accusative clitics

- Mendikoetxea and Battye (1990): what is problematic, in some languages, are configurations in which non-paradigmatic SE and (accusative) clitics are in linear adjacency
- once the linear adjacency is removed, the (accusative) clitic is allowed
- thus, the problem cannot be that accusative case is not available in *se*-constructions
- linear adjacency is problematic because *se* and the clitic end up in the same complex, but their features might clash, especially if the accusative clitic contains referential features

(74) a. *Como **se-os** pôde/pôdem ve (**a** eles)?
how SE-CL.ACC.3M.PL can.3SG/3PL see DOM they
Intended: 'How was it possible to see them?'

b. Como se pôde/*pôdem **ve-los** (**a** eles)?
how SE can.3SG/3PL see-CL.ACC.3M.PL DOM they
'How was it possible to see them?'
(EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE, **adapted from Martins and Nunes 2016**)

- various other languages confirm Mendikoetxea and Battye's (1990) observations

(75) a. *A elli, **si i** / **i si** pò cunnosce.
DOM they SE CL.ACC.3M.PL / CL.ACC.3M.PL SE can know
Intended: 'They, one can know them.' (CORSICAN)

b. A elli, **si** pò cunnosce**li**.
DOM they SE can know-CL.ACC.3M.PL
Lit: 'As for them, one can know them.'

6. SE and accusative clitics

- MacDonald and Melgares (2021a) confirm these results
- the problem is the accusative clitic specified as [+D(efinite)], when found within the domain of the phrase made impersonal by *se*]
- the dative form is the result of a post-syntactic morphological operation, similar to the repair strategies seen in PCC
- just like in the other languages, the dative form does not correspond to a syntactic dative, but to an accusative
- once the accusative clitic is removed from the domain of *se*, the structures become grammatical

(76)
a. **Los /*les** veo por aquí mucho.
CL.ACC.M.3PL /CL.DAT.3PL see.1SG for here much
'I see them around here a lot.'

b. **Se *los/✓les** ve por aquí mucho.
SE CL.ACC.M.3PL/CL.DAT.3PL see.3SG for here much
'You see them around here a lot.'

c. En Navidad, **se** suele poder abrazar**lo/*le**.
in Christmas SE use.3SG can hug.INF-CL.ACC.M.3SG/CL.DAT.3SG
'In Christmas, one tends to be able to hug him.' (about Santa Clause)

d. En Navidad, **se** suele poder**lo/*le** abrazar.
in Christmas SE use.3SG can.INF.-CL.ACC.M.3SG/CL.DAT.3SG hug.INF

e. En Navidad, **se *lo/✓le** suele poder abrazar.
(HONDURAN SPANISH;ex.5)

6. SE and accusative clitics

- T contains a [D] feature (as already discussed) which links the null subject to a discourse referent (an aboutness topic in Frascarelli's terms); in *se* constructions this feature is removed (Otero' 1986 impoverishment)
- the accusative clitic, if specified as [+D], cannot be within the domain $T_{SE[-D]}$
- the domain is CP phase that contains $T_{SE[-D]}$

(77) $[_{CP}$ ....$T_{se\text{-}D}$ .....*lo*$_{[+D]}$ .... $[_{VoiceP}$ ...*pro* Voice ....]]

(78) $[_{CP}$ ....$T_{se\text{-}D}$ .....*le* .... $[_{VoiceP}$ ...*pro* Voice ....]]

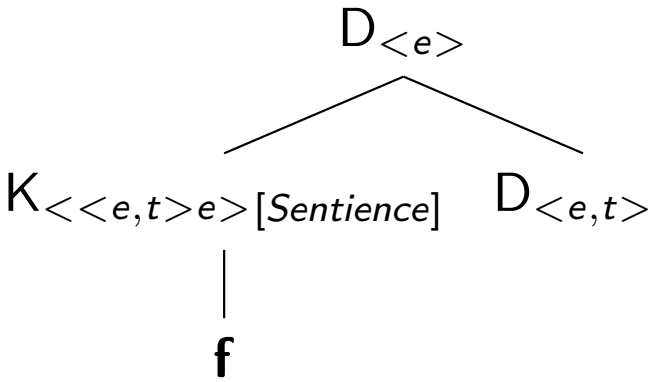
(MacDonald and Melgares 2021b, 39a, b)

- given that we have evidence regarding the possibility of licensing the structural accusative in *se*-constructions, what about agreement?
- we cannot postulate the presence of a silent clitic in those contexts/languages, where agreement is not possible, without having solid evidence
- why is agreement obligatory with DOM in some languages, while being blocked in others? What about optionality?
  - two parameters: the labeling category in DOM
  - whether DOM can raise above the EA or not

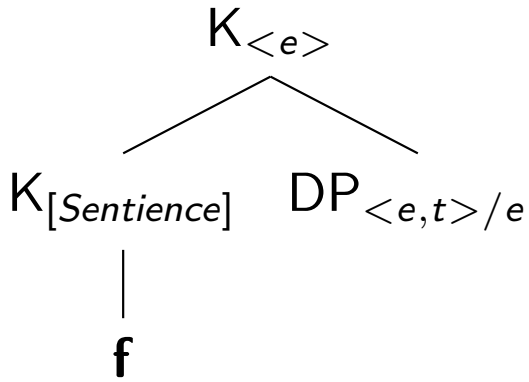
1. The labeling problem

- Label for DOM: is sentience an index on D or does it project its own layer - e.g., K (López 2012: ex.13, p. 78)?

(79)



(80)



- what is relevant is referential D (strong D), the higher D in the extended functional projection of nominals

(81) [DOM DOM [**D1P** D1 [TopP/FocP TOP/FOC [D2P..D2....]]]]

(Hill and Mardale 2021, ex. 47)

1. The labeling problem

- in standard Spanish, DOM definites have distinct referential properties from unmarked definites
- in *se* constructions, the theme cannot be easily dropped when when it is an object that normally needs DOM

(82) a. Pedimos los libros$_i$, y (*ellos$_i$) llegaron enseguida.
ask.1PL DEF.M.PL book.M.PL, and they arrive.PST.3PL right away
Intended: 'We ordered the books, and they arrived right away.'

b. Ana ama a los hijos$_i$, y *(ellos$_i$) lo saben
Ana ask.1PL DOM DEF.M.PL and they CL.3M.SG know.3PL
Ana loves the kids, and they know it.'

(83) Por fortuna, se rescató dal incendio (*el niño/el quadro)
for luck SE rescue.PST.3SG from.the fire (the child/the painting)
'Luckily, it/*he was rescued from the fire.'

- if the problem resides with referential D, one prediction would be that languages in which DOM is not possible with overt definite morphology should allow agreement
- in the strong referential definite [+D] would clash with the [-D] in T and thus AGREE would be blocked; as DOM is licensed by α, it does not need to enter into an AGREE relation with T; thus, the derivation would converge with singular agreement
- the definite-less DOM languages examined here are all agreement languages (Francavilla, Corsican, etc.)
- in turn, in Sardinian when the higher definite (built on the *s*-stem) is used with *se*, only singular agreement is possible

(84) a. alla skolə s'è kkotə **a** maghestə
at.DEF.F.SG school SE-be.3SG welcome.PST.PRT.F.SG DOM teacher.F.SG
/ s ennə akkuotə i maghestə.
/ s be.3PL welcome.PST.PRT.F.PL DEF.F.PL teacher.F.PL
'The teacher was welcomed at school.'/'The teachers were welcomed at school.' (FRANCAVILLA IN SINNI)

b. Si avvisata **a** sos carabineris.
SI call.3SG DOM DEF.M.PL carabineri.PL
'Somebody is calling the carabinieri.' (SARDINIAN)

- in turn, in clitic-doubling configurations, if the clitic is [+D] agreement is predicted not to be possible
- even if left in-situ, the [+D] is transmitted to DOM, and when AGREE is attempted, it will crash due to mismatching [D] features
- if the clitic does not have [+D], agreement is predicted to go through
- for example, clitics have been associated with be agreement markers (and not D heads) in Argentine Spanish; as expected, plural agreement with clitic doubled DOM does go through

(85)

a. *A elli, **si i** / **i** **si** pò cunnosce.
DOM they SE CL.ACC.3M.PL / CL.ACC.3M.PL SE can know
Intended: 'They, one can know them.'

b. A elli, **si** pò cunnosce**li**.
DOM they SE can know-CL.ACC.3M.PL
Lit: 'As for them, one can know them.' (CORSICAN)

c. Se **los** escucharon a los niños.
SE CL.M.ACC.3PL listen to.3PL DOM DEF.M.PL child.M.PL
Lit: 'The children were listened to.' (ARGENTINE SPANISH)

2. DOM raising
   - López (2012): in standard Spanish, DOM cannot c-command the EA
   - typical examples like (86), the differential object quantifier cannot bind a variable inside the EA.
   - however, there are languages in which DOM can c-command the EA
   - interestingly, agreement with DOM is possible/required in the latter languages
   - this indicates a problem related to minimality: if DOM cannot raise out of the domain of α, T establish an AGREE relation in the domain of a different licenser

(86) Ayer vio su$_{*i}$ padre **a** cada$_i$ niño.
yesterday saw his father DOM every boy
'Yesterday his father saw every boy.'
(SPANISH, López 2012, ex.13 adapted)

(87) a. a so$_j$ maiṣtra ciamàu **a** ttutti i piccirriḍi.
DEF.F.SG POSS.3 teacher call.PST.3SG DOM all DEF.M.PL child.M.PL
'Their teacher called all the children.'
b. ..., si ciàmanu / *ciàma **e** picciriḍi ppi manciàri.
..., SE call.3PL call.3SG DOM.DEF.PL kid.PL for eat
'When it's dark, the children are called for dinner.'
(RAGUSA)

6. SE, DOM and agreement

- accusative is available in *se* constructions (that allow DOM)
- agreement with DOM does not depend on the presence of a silent clitic pronoun
- understanding the internal structure of differentially marked objects in individual languages can be a starting point in explaining agreement patterns

Roadmap

1. DOM, passives and impersonals
2. *Se* constructions
3. The implicit agent
4. The implicit possessor
5. Impoverishing T
6. SE-DOM and agreement
7. Conclusions
8. Appendix

7. Conclusions

- not all configurations that allow DOM with non-paradigmatic *se* give evidence of the syntactic projection of an implicit external argument in the syntax
  - DOM is thus, independent of the external argument, as least in some languages
- passive and impersonal constructions with *se* might not be that different after all (see also Ormazabal and Romero 2022)
- as the patterns can be obtained under a T impoverishment hypothesis, the question is whether an additional implicit pronominal in Spec, Voice/T is also necessary

Roadmap

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Moldovan clausal *de*-supine

Moldovan (Romanian spoken in the Republic of Moldova) impersonal containing a *clausal* supine

- the embedded supine clause permits sentential negation (*nu*, as opposed to lexical *ne*-), adverbial clitics, pronominal clitics, objects that are differentially marked, material under topicalization and focus (Sandfeld and Olsen 1936, Hill 2002, Gabinschi 2010, Dragomirescu 2013, 2015, Hill and Alboiu, Pană Dindelegan ed.2016, Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2016, Costea 2021, Dragomirescu and Hill 2022, a.o.)
- an overt lexical subject is not possible; only an arbitrary interpretation can be obtained

(88) a. Trebuie **de**-*i* chemat **pe**$_{\text{DOM}}$ oameni.
must.IND.PRES.3SG DE.SUP-CL.ACC3M.PL call.PST.PRT people.PL
'One should summon the people.'

b. Trebu(ie) **de** nu *le* mai dat apă.
must.IND.PRES.3SG DE.SUP NEG CL.DAT.PL more give.PST.PRT water
'One should stop giving them water.' (Costea 2021: ex. 4b, p.201)

c. *Ion trebuie **de**-*i* chemat **pe**$_{\text{DOM}}$ oameni.
Ion must.IND.PRES.3SG DE.SUP-CL.ACC3M.PL call.PST.PRT people.PL
Intended:'Ion should summon the people.'

Clausal *de*-supine

- various impersonal modal verbs (*trebuie* 'must', *se poate* 'it is possible', etc.), non-thematic and lacking intrinsic ϕ features, are allowed as the matrix predicate
- although the clausal *de*-supine contains a full clausal spine with functional projections above the TP, and can be replaced by the *să*-subjunctive (Hill and Alboiu 2016, Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2016, Costea 2021, a.o.), its C domain is defective - the subject cannot be licensed
- the supine itself: non-finite and tenseless

(89) a. Trebu(ie) [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ ca [$_{\text{TopP}}$ **pe** *cei mai slabi* [$_{\text{FocP}}$ *mereu*
must.IND.PRES CA DOM the more weak.M.PL always
[$_{\text{FocP}}$ **de**-[$_{\text{FinP}}$ *i* [$_{\text{IP}}$ ajutat să crească]]]]].
DE.SUP-CL.ACC.3M.PL help.PST.PRT SĂ.SBJV grow.SBJV.3PL
'One should always help those weaker than oneself to grow (stronger).'
(Costea 2021: ex.1, p.199; glosses adapted)

b. Așa că (*ei) trebuie (*ei) **de** le
so that they.M.NOM must.3SG they.M.NOM DE.SUP CL.DAT.PL
lăsat (*ei) poarta deschisă...
leave.PST.PRT they.M.NOM door.DEF.SG open.F.SG
Intended: 'They should leave the gate open for them...'
(adapted from Dragomirescu and Hill 2022: ex.4, p.58)

Standard Romanian *de*-supine

- just like in Moldovan, built from the complementizer *de* and the uninflected (masculine singular) past participle
- allows only a more reduced structure (this more reduced structure is possible in Moldovan too)
- non finite, tenseless, cannot license the subject
- it can be found embedded under various impersonal and modal predicates, aspectual verbs, seen in *though*-constructions, restructuring configurations, reduced relative clauses, etc. (Soare 2002, 2007, Soare and Dobrovie-Sorin 2002, Giurgea and Soare 2002, Giurgea and Soare 2010a, 2010b, Dragomirescu 2013, a.o.)
- possible with DOM in clear restructuring contexts where the matrix predicate licenses structural accusative
  - in (90), both the pronominal clitic and the adverbial clitic must climb to the domain of the main predicate

(90) *Îl* *mai* avem **de** (*îl mai) invitat doar
CL.3SGM.ACC more have.1PL DE.SUP CL.3SGM.ACC more invite.PST,PRT only
pe Ion.
DOM Ion
'We only have to invite Ion...'

Standard Romanian *de*-supine

- DOM, however, appears to be harder, when the *de*-supine is embedded under impersonal predicates
- not all speakers accept the structures below, proposing instead the removal of DOM, or replacement by the *să* subjunctive in (91-a)

(91) a. Nu este ușor **de** găsit **pe** altcineva.
NEG be.3SG easy DE.SUP find.PST.PRT DOM other somebody
'It's not easy to find somebody else.'

b. Au terminat **de** chemat **pe** toată lumea.
have.3PL finis.PST.PRT DE.SUP call.PST.PRT DOM all.F.SG people.F.SG
'They finished calling everybody.'

De-supine. The implicit agent

(92) Trebuie de-*i* ajutat **pe** copii$_i$
must.3SG DE.SUP-CL.ACC.3PL help.PST.PRT DOM child.M.PL
*binevoitor(i)$_j$/*potrivit instrucțiunilor sale$_j$.
*well.intended.M.SG/M.PL/*according to instruction.DAT.PL his$_j$
'It is necessary to help the children$_i$ *well-intended$_j$/*according to his$_i$ instructions.'

(93) Trebuie de scris lucrarea
must.3SG DE.SUP write.PST.PRT paper.DEF.F.SG
*odihnit/ți//*potrivit instrucțiunilor sale.
*rested.M.SG/M.PL//*according to instruction.DAT.PL his
'It is necessary to write the paper *rested$_j$/*according to his instructions.'

(94) Trebuie de ajutat **pe** săraci ?de către cei cu
must.3SG DE.SUP help.pst.prt DOM poor.M.PL by those with
dare de mână.
give.INF.F.SG of hand
Intended: 'It is necessary to help the poor by the wealthy ones$_j$.' (MOLDOVAN)

De-supine. The implicit agent

- are there solid reasons to postulate a PRO_{arb} for the Romanian *de*-supine, or would Voice$\{\phi$:ARB$\}$ (enriched with other characteristic aspects of the structure) suffice? (see especially Dragomirescu 2013, Cornilescu and Cosma 2014, 2013 for discussion of the status of the subject in Romanian *de*-supines)
- regular control configurations can be derived under predication without the need of PRO_{arb}
- Landau (2010): what is harder to derive is partial control (PC)[1]

(95) The chair found it frustrating to gather without a concrete agenda.

(96) Rachel found in embarrassing to kiss in public. (Landau Landau: 369)

- partial control seems to be possible in examples such as the following

(97) Maria consideră că e greu de ajutat $\underset{\text{DOM}}{\boxed{\text{pe}}}$ toată lumea.
Maria consider.3SG that be.3SG difficult DE.SUP help.PST.PRT all people.
'Maria always considers it difficult to help everybody.'

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THANK YOU!

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