Agreement, case and locality in the nominal and verbal domains

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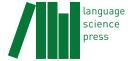
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Contents

Chapter 1

INSERT TITLE

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It has long been recognized that sentences with passive se obey a Person constraint: the subject cannot be 1st or 2nd person. I discuss a further constraint on the subject, manifest in Romanian: not only 1st or 2nd person pronouns, but all those DPs that must be marked by the prepositional object marker accompanied by clitic-doubling when functioning as direct objects are excluded from being subjects of se-passives. Following **Richards2008**, I propose that these DPs, which are high on the Person/Animacy scale, have a Person feature (manifested by clitic-doubling when they are case-licensed by v*), whereas those that can occur as subjects of se-passives lack the Person feature completely. The ban on +Person internal arguments in se-passives is due to the intervention of the Person feature associated with the external argument. I argue that the element saturating the external argument is differently projected in se-passives vs. participial passives, which explains the lack of an intervention effect in the latter case.

1 Introduction

As is well-known (**Belletti1982**; **Burzio1986**; **Manzini1986**; **Cinque1988**; Dobrovie-**Sorin1998**; 2006; D'**Alessandro2007**, a.o.), across the Romance domain there are two types of 'impersonal' constructions based on the reflexive clitic se: a passive construction, where the verb agrees with the internal argument (IA) and accusative cannot be assigned, and a bona fide impersonal, where se behaves as a subject clitic, like the counterpart of French on or German man. Whereas the passive construction is found in all Romance languages, the subject clitic se is only found in Italian and Ibero-Romance.

It has long been recognized that sentences with passive se obey a Person constraint: the IA cannot be 1st or 2nd person (**Burzio1986**; **Cinque1988**; **Cornilescu1998**;

D'**Alessandro2007**; **Mendikoetxea2008**; **Rezac2011**; Mac**Donald2017**, a.o.). **Cornilescu1998** noticed that certain 3$^{\text{rd}}$ person subjects are also excluded. I will argue that all these cases can be subsumed under a Person constraint of the following form:

(1) DPs that bear [Person] are banned as IAs of *se*-passives

After providing background on Romanian *se*-passives (§2) and arguing for the constraint in (1) (§3), I will derive this constraint from the configurational proper-ties of *se*-passives (§4-5), comparing them with participial passives, where no Per-son constraint is found: as *se*-passives lack a dedicated passivizing morpheme, un-like participial passives, the External argument (EA) is bound by a null pronom-inal marked +Person; this element blocks Person agreement between T and IA, leading to the failure of nominative licensing for those DPs that bear Person. The background assumption is that in order to be case-licensed, a DP must match in all of its φ-features with the case licensor (**Chomsky2000**; 2001).

2 Passive *se* in Romanian

Like other Romance languages, Romanian, in addition to passives based on the 'past'/ 'passive' participle, has a passive based on the reflexive clitic *se* (a marker also used for anticausatives, inherent reflexives, and middles). The following sen-tences exemplify this type, with the usual tests for a passive reading – agent-oriented adverbials (ex. (2a)), purpose clauses with control by the EA (ex. (2b)), and *by*-phrases (ex. (2c-d)).

(2) (*Regulamentul Camerei Deputaţilor*, II, 4,
http://www.cdep.ro/pls/dic/site.page?id=235)

    a. Asta s-a   făcut deliberat.
       this SE-has done deliberately

       'This has been done deliberately.'

    b. Aceste haine   se vând pentru a ajuta săracii.
       these   clothes SE sell for   to help poor-the

       'These clothes are sold to help the poor.'

    c. S-au   adus   mai   multe   îmbunătăţiri de   către
       SE-have.3PL brought several improvements by   experts
       specialişti.

       'A number of improvements have been brought by experts.'

    d. Convocarea   Camerei   Deputaților   se face de
        convocation-the chamber-the.GEN deputies-the.GEN SE does by
        către   președintele acesteia.
        president-the this(F).GEN
        'The summons of the Chamber of Deputies is done by its president.'

Regarding *by*-phrases, it should be noted that the complex preposition *de către* (< *de* 'of, from' + *către* 'towards') is specialized for demoted EAs, being found only in passives and eventive nominalizations.

Romanian also uses *se* to demote the EA of intransitive verbs – the so-called 'impersonal *se*' – see (3), where I also show that the participial passive cannot be used in this case:

(3)   {Se vorbește / *Este   vorbit} prea tare în   această cameră.
       SE speaks   is spoken too   loud in   this room

       'People speak too loud in this room.'

As shown by Dobrovie-**Sorin1998**, the impersonal *se* of Romanian is an instance of passive *se*. I will summarize her arguments below.

The label 'impersonal *se*' covers two types in Romance (cf. **Belletti1982**, **Manzini1986**, **Burzio1986** for Italian, Dobrovie-**Sorin1998**, 2006, 2017): (i) passivizing / 'accusative' *se*, found in all languages; (ii) an active impersonal construction, labelled 'nominative' *se* by Dobrovie-Sorin, found in Italian and Ibero-Romance, but not in Romanian or French.[1]

Let us now look at the evidence that Romanian only has the type in (i), unlike Italian or Spanish. First, nominative *se* can occur in transitive configurations, manifested by lack of agreement between the verb and the IA (4a) and accusative marking on the IA (5a, 6a); in Romanian, the verb must agree with the IA (4b) and accusative on the IA is not allowed (5b, 6b):

(4)   a. Italian (Dobrovie-**Sorin2017**: ex. (31c))
        In questa università si insegna le   materie   letterarie.
        in this   university SE teaches the humanities
        'Humanities are taught in this university.'

---

[1]For Italian, **Cinque1988** treats the two types as two varieties of nominative *si*, a [+arg] one that absorbs the external [F071?][F02D?]role and blocks accusative assignment (hence the 'passivizing' effect), and a [-arg] one, allowed with unaccusative and raising verbs; Dobrovie-**Sorin1998** argues that only Cinque's [-arg] *si* bears nominative.

b. Romanian (ibid.: ex. (32c))
În această universitate se predau   /*predă ştiinţele   umane.
in this   university   SE teach.3PL/ teaches sciences-the human

(5) a. Italian (ibid.: ex. (31d))
(Le materie   letterarie) le si   insegna in   questa
(the humanities) CL.3FPL.ACC SE teaches in   this university
università.

'(The humanities,) one teaches them in this university.'

b. * Romanian (ibid.: ex. (32d))
(*Ştiinţele umane)   le   se   predă /
(the   humanities) CL.3FPL.ACC SE teaches/ SE   CL.3FPL.ACC
se   le predă în   această universitate.
teaches in this   university

(6) a. Spanish (Dobrovie-**Sorin**2017: ex. (33)) En esta escuela se castiga
in this school SE punishes

a   los alumnos.
DOM the students

'In this school they punish the students.'

b. * Romanian (ibid.: ex. (34)) În şcoala   asta se pedepseşte pe
in school-the this SE punishes   DOM

elevi.
students

Secondly, nominative *se* can occur in copular constructions, including copular passives. Romanian impersonal *se* is excluded from these environments:

(7) a. Italian (Dobrovie-**Sorin**2017: ex. (31a))
Non si è mai contenti.
not SE is ever satisfied.MPL

'One is never satisfied.'

b. * Romanian (ibid.: ex. (32a))
Nu se este niciodată mulţumit   / mulţumiţi.
not SE is   never   satisfied.MSG/MPL

(8) a. Italian (Dobrovie-**Sorin**2017: ex. (31b))

> Spesso   si è traditi   dai   falsi amici.
> frequently SE is betrayed by-the false friends
>
> 'One is frequently betrayed by false friends.'

    b. * Romanian (ibid.: ex. (32b)) Adesea   se este trădat   de prieteni

>   frequently SE is   betrayed by false
>
> falşi.
> friends

    This property indicates that Romanian impersonal *se* involves an operation on the argument structure of the verb, acting as a Voice marker. As copular verbs do not have arguments of their own, but combine with a small clause (they are raising verbs), the Voice marker *se* cannot apply to such verbs.

    Thirdly, nominative *se* behaves like standard subjects with respect to control into complement clauses (see (9a)). Romanian disallows this type of control:

(9)   a. Spanish (Dobrovie-**Sorin2017**: ex. (8a))

> En ciertos estudios basados en fenómenos lingüísticos, se ha
> in certain essays   based   on linguistic   phenomena, SE has
>
> intentado reformar   la historia política y   social.
> tried   reconstruct.INF the history political and social
>
> 'In certain studies based on linguistic phenomena, one has tried to reconstruct the political and social history.'

    b. * Romanian (ibid.: ex. (90a))[2]

> În unele studii s-a   încercat a reface,   pe   baza
> in certain essays SE-has tried   to reconstruct based-on some
>
> unor   fenomene lingvistice, istoria   politică şi   socială.
> phenomena linguistic history-the political and   social

    Further evidence for unifying passive and impersonal *se* in Romanian comes from *by*-phrases: intransitive verbs with impersonal *se* do sometimes allow *by*-

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[2]Note that this example becomes grammatical if *se* occurs on the lower verb too:

i. (..)   s-a încercat a se   reface (…)
    SE-has tried   to   SE reconstruct

If the EA in *se*-passives is projected as a PRO$_{arb}$, as proposed in §4-5 below, one may analyze the double use of *se* as reflecting agreement in 'impersonality' between PRO$_{arb}$ in the matrix and the controlled PRO; on a movement theory of control (see **Hornstein1999**), this example can be analyzed as involving movement of PRO$_{arb}$ between positions characterized by the same Voice configuration, marked by *se* (see §6). In Spanish and Italian, *se* is not a voice marker, but a nominative clitic, representing the EA itself, therefore it does not appear on both verbs.

phrases (on condition that the verb is agentive). Here are some examples attested on the Internet:

(10) a. (http://www.verticalonline.ro/autoritatile-comuniste-si-
        reorganizarea-comunelor-in-1968-i)
        Să
        SBJV not forget.1PL that at this moment
        nu   uităm că
        SE speaks by authorities about a new   reorganization
        la   acest moment *se vorbeşte de către* autorităţi
        administrative-territorial
        de o nouă reorganizare administrativ-teritorială.

        'Let's not forget that at this moment the authorities are talking about
        a new administrative and territorial reorganization.'

     b. (www.primariatantareni.ro/images/stories/ziar_ianuarie.pdf)
        Modul   în care   este primit   sau i
        manner-the in which is   received(M) or   3SG.DAT SE
        se vorbeşte de către anumiţi salariaţi   …
        speaks   by   employees certain employees
        'The manner in which certain employees receive him or talk to him…'

A potential problem for the unification of passive and impersonal *se* in Romanian comes from the fact that impersonal *se* is allowed with verbs typically considered to be unaccusative:

(11) a. De la   această boală se   moare.
        from this disease SE   dies
        'People die from this disease.'
     b. Nu se vine   îmbrăcat aşa la lucru.
        not SE comes dressed   so to work
        'One does not come to work dressed like that.'

There are two possible ways of handling this problem. One is to assume that intransitive verbs such as *cădea* 'fall', *veni* 'come', and *muri* 'die' are not necessarily unaccusative in Romanian, but may project an EA, which can be demoted by passivization (see Dobrovie-**Sorin1987**, 1994), a view that is supported by the fact that the unaccusativity diagnostics are not very strong in Romanian – there is

no auxiliary alternation and no *ne/en*-cliticization; resultative participles are the clearest test, but they may represent a formation dependent on the verb meaning (change of state) and not on the way its arguments are projected. Note, furthermore, that even a handful of transitive and unergative verbs can be used to build resultative participles: *nemâncat* 'un-eaten' = 'who hasn't eaten', *nedormit* 'un-slept' = 'who hasn't slept', *nebăut* 'un-drunk' = 'who hasn't drunk'. Note also that in a system of argument structure such as Ramchand's (2008), where a single argument can occupy more than one thematic position, realizing a composite role (e.g. Initiator + Undergoer, Undergoer + Resultee), we may assume that the subject of verbs such as *cădea* 'fall', *veni* 'come', and *muri* 'die' moves from an IA-position to SpecvP (or SpecInitP, in Ramchand's terminology), which is the position targeted by demotion.

The other potential solution is to allow demotion to apply to the IA for those verbs that do not project an EA-thematic layer (vP). **Bruening2012**, discussing passives of unaccusatives in Lithuanian and other languages, proposes that the passivizing head may select not only a VoiceP (= vP in Chomsky's 1995, 2000 terminology) with an unsaturated selectional feature, but also a VP with an unsaturated selectional feature. In order to exclude demotion of arguments other than the deep object (e.g. PPs, oblique cases), this unsaturated feature must somehow be further specified – Bruening describes this as selection for +N (written [S:N]). If we consider oblique and PP complements to involve different specifications for this feature, Bruening's procedure successfully accounts for the restriction of demotion to deep objects.

I do not intend to decide here between these two possible solutions. I would simply like to stress again that the demoted subject must be an argument of the V – see the exclusion of raising verbs such as *părea* 'seem' in (12) and the copula in (7b) and (8b) above – which clearly indicates that *se*-impersonals represent a Voice-type phenomenon (an operation on the argument structure of the V).

(12) * În această oglindă se pare tânăr
       in this   mirror SE seems young

       Intended meaning: 'People look young in this mirror'

The fact that *se*-impersonals of seemingly unaccusative verbs represent the same passive construction as with unergatives is demonstrated by the fact that *by*-phrases are permitted:

(13) www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/...

> proiectul de acord   la care
> project-the of agreement to which
> *s-a ajuns de către* cele 47 de state membre ale Consiliului Europei
> SE-has   arrived   by the
>
> 47 states member GEN Council-the.GEN Europe-the.GEN

Only verbs that are lexically marked by *se* – inchoatives, inherent reflexives – do not allow an impersonal *se*-construction – thus, (14a) does not have an impersonal reading; moreover, two co-occurring *se*'s as in (14b) are excluded:

(14) a. Se sperie   de întuneric / Se grăbeşte
          SE frightens of darkness SE   hurries
          = 'He/she is frightened by darkness. / He/she hurries.'
          ≠ 'People are frightened by darkness. / People hurry.'
      b. *Se   se   sperie / grăbeşte
          SE SE frightens hurries
          Intended meaning: 'People are frightened by darkness. / People hurry.'

Depending on the general analysis of *se*-verbs, this may be explained either as a morphological ban on co-occurring *se*'s, or as the result of the fact that there is a single *se* marker, which, depending on other properties of the configuration in which it is inserted, yields the inchoative, reflexive or passive reading (see §6 on further suggestions).

To conclude, *se*-impersonals in Romanian belong to the general class of *se*-passives, which are based on the demotion of the 'subject' (EA, + deep object of unaccusatives). Unlike participial passives, *se*-passives do not require the existence of an IA (see (3) above and (15)):

(15) {S-a   propus / *A fost   propus} ca   votul să
      SE-has proposed   has been proposed that   voting-the SBJV be.SBJV.3
      fie   secret
      secret
      'It was proposed that the voting should be secret.'

We may thus say that *se*-passives are chiefly used as an impersonalization strategy, in order to demote the EA, whereas participial passives are also used to promote the IA. Impersonal passives are also attested in other languages (Icelandic, German, etc.).

3 A Person Constraint on the subject of *se*-passives in Romanian

It is known that *se*-passives are only possible in the 3rd person, across Romance languages. This also holds for Romanian:

(16)   (Dobrovie-**Sorin2017**: ex. (124c,e,f))

    a. * Sunt prietenul tău. Nu mă invit   ţipându-se   la mine.
          am   friend-the your not me invite.1sG shouting-SE at me

    b. * În ultima   vreme te   examinezi prea des   la şcoală.
          in latest-the time   you.ACC see.2sG   too often in school
          *for the meaning: 'Lately you have been getting examined too much in school'

    c. * În ultima   vreme ne   invităm şi noi   la petreceri.
          in latest-the time   we.ACC invite.1PL too we.NOM at parties
          * for the meaning: 'Lately we too have been getting invited to parties'

But there are further constraints on the subjects of *se*-passives. **Cornilescu1998** noticed that not only +Participant pronouns, but also 3rd person pronouns and proper names are excluded. She noticed that these are the very same DPs that require the prepositional object marker (*pe*) when they function as direct objects – see, in (17), pronouns, proper nouns, as well as certain specific definite DPs, mostly containing a possessor (see (17c-d)):

(17)   a.   La noi întotdeauna se întâmpină {musafirii / *Ion /*el} la gară
         at us always   SE welcome.3 guests-the / Ion he   at station
         'In our family/department/…, guests/*Ion/*he are/is always welcomed at the station.' (**Cornilescu1998**: ex. (16))

    a'.   Am   întâmpinat musafirii / *Ion / *el
         have.1 welcomed   guests-the / Ion / he
         'We welcomed the guests / *Ion / *him.'

    a''. L-am   întâmpinat pe   Ion / pe   el.
         him-have.1 welcomed   DOM Ion / DOM he
         'We welcomed Ion / him.'

b. Ieri   s-au   adus   {prizonierii   / mulţi prizonieri /
yesterday SE-have.3PL brought prisoners-the / many prisoners /
prizonieri/*ei} la tribunal /   *s-a   adus {Ion /   el}   la
prisoners/they to court   *se*-has brought Ion/ he   to court
tribunal

'Yesterday {the prisoners / many prisoners / *they} were brought to
the court / {*Ion/*he} was brought to the court.' (ibid.: ex. (17))

b'. Au   adus   prizonierii   / mulţi prizonieri / prizonieri
have.3PL brought prisoners-the / many prisoners / prisoners/
/   *ei /*Ion/*el la tribunal
they/Ion/he to court
'They brought the prisoners / many prisoners / prisoners /
*them/*Ion/*him to the court.'

b''. I-au   adus   pe ei   / L-au   adus   pe Ion /
them-have.3PL brought DOM they / him-have.3PL brought DOM Ion /
pe   el
DOM he
'They brought them/Ion/him.'

c. * S-a   adus   mama   lui
    SE-has brought mother-the his
    'His mother was brought.'

c'. * Am   adus   mama   lui
     have.1 brought mother-the his

c''. * Am   adus-o   pe mama   lui
      have.1 brought-her(CL) DOM mother-the his
      'I brought his mother.'

d. Am   convocat profesorii /   *(L-)   am
   have.1 summoned teachers-the CL.MS.ACC-have.1 summoned (DOM)
   convocat   *(pe) profesorul tău
   teacher-the your
   'We summoned the teachers / *your teacher.'

d'. S-au   convocat profesorii / *S-a convocat profesorul
    SE-have.3PL summoned teachers-the / SE-has summoned teacher-the

tău
your

'The teachers were summoned / *Your teacher was summoned.'

The correlation discovered by Cornilescu must be further refined in view of examples such as (18), where we see that animate indefinite pronouns, which also require prepositional object marking, may occur as subjects of *se*-passives:

(18)   a.   Se va   aduce cineva   cu   experienţă.
            SE will.3SG bring somebody with expertise

            'Somebody with good expertise will be brought.'

       b.   Aduc   *(pe) cineva   cu   experienţă.
            bring.3PL (DOM) somebody with expertise

       c.   Se ştia   de mult timp că   se va   aresta cineva
            SE know.IMPF.3SG for much time that SE will.3SG arrest somebody
            de   la   vârf
            from top

            'It had been known for a long time that somebody from the top would be arrested.' (www.gsp.ro/..., on-line comment)

The difference between animate indefinite pronouns and the DPs in (17) is that for the latter, the differential object marking is realized not only by the preposition, but also by clitic doubling, whereas animate indefinite pronouns do not take clitic doubling (see (18b)). We thus arrive at the following empirical generalization:

(19)   The DPs which cannot be subjects of *se*-passives = those DPs that have to be marked by the prepositional object marking accompanied by clitic doubling when they function as DOs.

1st and 2nd person pronouns always require doubling and *pe*-marking when functioning as direct objects, thus being covered by (19):

(20)   a.   * Aduce mine
              brings me.ACC(STRONG)

       b.   Mă   aduce pe   mine
            me.ACC.CL brings DOM me.ACC(STRONG)

Differential object marking in Romanian is dependent on multiple factors (see Dobrovie-**Sorin1994**; **Cornilescu2000**; **Mardale2008**; Tigău 2010; 2014; a.o.): animacy, specificity, pronominal character, and inflectional properties. Clitic doubling is correlated with definiteness and specificity (see Marchis & **Alexiadou2013**): specific and definite DPs are clitic-doubled (i) when they are *pe*-marked or (ii) when they are preverbal (irrespective of whether they are topicalized or focus-fronted). Non-specific pronouns such as *cineva* 'somebody', *nimeni* 'nobody', *cine* 'who' are *pe*-marked in virtue of being pronominal and animate, but they are not clitic-doubled, as they are not specific.

Now, I would like to propose that the DPs characterized by (19) – the requirement for clitic doubling and *pe*-marking when functioning as direct objects, and the impossibility of being subjects (IAs) in *se*-passives – differ from the other nominals in bearing a Person feature:

(21)   a.   DPs that require clitic-doubling + *pe*-marking in DO position are +Person.

   b.   +Person DPs cannot be subjects of *se*-passives.

[Person] can be + or –Participant. 3rd person nominals (using traditional terms) can be either DPs bearing [Person = -Participant] or DPs lacking [Person].

Cornilescu1998 gives a different interpretation of the generalization, based on denotational type: she proposes that the DPs that require *pe*-marking and cannot be subjects of *se*-passives are DPs that cannot have a property denotation. She argues that animate subjects of *se*-passives must have a property denotation because they must stay in the IA-position, where they undergo semantic incorporation. However, we do find definite DPs as subjects of *se*-passives – see *profesorii* 'the teachers' in (17d´), *musafirii* 'the guests' in (17a), and *prizonierii* 'the prisoners' in (17b) – which clearly cannot be interpreted as pseudo-incorporated property-denoting nominals.

Treating the constraint on subjects of *se*-passives as a Person constraint, as in (21), allows for an explanation in terms of case licensing of IAs via Agree (to be developed in the next sub-section). As for the requirement of clitic-doubling, on the assumption that object licensing involves Agree with v*, the clitic can be seen as the manifestation of rich agreement on v*, where rich agreement includes Person (for the view of Romance object clitics as probes in v*, see **Roberts2010**).

The two sides of the generalization in (19) are instantiations of the following broader cross-linguistic generalization:

(22)   DPs that are high on a Person/Animacy/Definiteness hierarchy

    i. are banned in certain structural case environments;
    ii. require distinctive marking when functioning as direct objects.

Both types of phenomena have been treated in terms of differential licensing of +Person DPs in various studies – see, for (i), Sigurðsson (2004; 2011; 2012), Sigurðsson & **Holmberg2008** on Icelandic low nominatives with quirky subjects, and **Rezac2011** on various instances of Person-Case constraints. Regarding (ii), see Van der **Wal2015** on differential object marking in Bantu.

A general account of splits among 3rd person nominals along the animacy+definiteness scale as presence/absence of [Person] has been proposed by **Richards2008**.

4 An intervention-based account of the Person constraint

Discussing other instances of Person constraints (PCC and related phenomena), **Rezac2011** proposes the following general explanation, which I will adopt:

(23) a. A DP must match in all of its (relevant) φ-features with its case licensor (assuming case licensing via Agree; see **Chomsky2000**; 2001).
      b. In PC environments, Person matching is impossible, whereas Number matching is possible.[3]
      c. a+b → the DPs bearing [Person] are ruled out in these environments.

0a is a standard assumption in Minimalism. What needs an explanation is (23b): why is Person matching impossible in certain environments? Using the same Chomskyan framework, **Rezac2011** proposes an intervention-based account: assuming that subject licensing is performed by T, failure of Person matching is due to the existence of a closer goal for T's Person probe; i.e. an element that c-commands IA and is c-commanded by T (an *intervener*), and bears [Person] – see α in (24):

(24) $[T_{[uPerson,\ uNumber]}\ [..\ \alpha\ _{+Person}\ [...\ IA_{+Person\ +Number}\ ..]]]$

For the selective licensing of IAs, depending on +/- Person, it is crucial that this element α lacks Number, so that it does not block Number agreement. A DP that does not bear Person can undergo full feature matching with T, in spite

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[3]The relevance of Person can be seen not only in PCC effects, but also in the licensing of subjects of raising predicates with experiencer arguments: as shown by Anagnostopoulou (2003; 2005) and Marchis & **Alexiadou2013**, the Person feature of the dative experiencer creates defective intervention effects in Greek and Romance languages, which can be removed via cliticization.

of the existence of α, so it complies with the licensing condition in (23a). Given that in Romanian the so-called 'impersonal *se*' is an instance of passive *se* (see §2, where I summed up Dobrovie-Sorin's (1998) arguments), one may wonder how verb agreement is realized in this configuration. As I have not found any evidence for stipulating a null cognate IA in these configurations (as Dobrovie-**Sorin1998** does) – see especially the use of impersonal *se* in unaccusatives in (11) and (13) above – I propose that number agreement fails to apply if no suitable goal is found, without causing a crash of the derivation, and the 3$^{\text{rd}}$ person singular of the verb represents a default form. For arguments that failure of agreement does not lead to a crash of the derivation, see **Preminger2014**. Note that the same default form is to be assumed for examples such as (15), where the IA is a finite clause, which, as such, lacks φ-features.

One may also envisage the possibility of relating the difference in case licensing between +Person and -Person DPs to a stronger constraint on Agree involving Person, rather than to a particular type of intervener. Such a constraint has been proposed by **Baker2008**. Based on extensive crosslinguistic data, Baker postulates a special condition on Person agreement as a universal principle (called the 'structural condition on Person Agreement' – SCOPA): the controller (goal) must merge with a projection of the agreeing head (target/probe); in other words, Person agreement requires Spec-Head or Comp-Head configurations[4]. Within this system, one might explain the ban on +Person IAs of *se*-passives by the fact that they cannot raise to SpecTP. But, although there is some evidence that IAs of *se*-passives in other Romance languages, and possibly also in Romanian, do not occur in a non-topical preverbal subject position (see §7 below, ex. (71), and Raposo & **Uriagereka1996**; **Cornilescu1998**; Dobrovie-**Sorin2006**), there is no evidence that +Person subjects in Romanian *need* to occupy SpecTP. As is well known (see Dobrovie-**Sorin1987**; 1994; **Cornilescu1997**; **Alboiu2002**), any type of subject can occur in the postverbal thematic position in Romanian, the preference for pre- or postverbal positions depending on information structure and stylistic factors – see examples of +Person subjects (personal pronouns, proper names) in postverbal position in a presentational (thetic) context (25a), as a narrow focus (25b) or as part of the 'comment' in sentences with a non-subject topic (25c):

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[4]Baker's exact formulation reads as follows:(i) "A functional category F can bear the features +1 or +2 if and only if a projection of F merges with a phrase that has that feature, and F is taken as the label of the resulting phrase." (**Baker2008**)

(25) a. Deodată ați   sunat voi   la uşă.
        suddenly have.2PL rung you$_{pl}$ at door
        'All of a sudden you rang the doorbell.'

    b. Vei   vorbi TU cu   directorul.
        will.2SG talk   you with manager-the
        'YOU will talk to the manager.'

    c. Ideea   o formulase   deja   Roberts într-un articol celebru.
        idea-the it had-expressed already Roberts in   an   article

        famous
        'Roberts had already expressed the idea in a famous article / The idea
        had already been expressed by Roberts in a famous article.'

Under Baker's theory, one should assume a doubling preverbal *pro* (carrying
the Person feature of the subject) for all these examples, but this does not account
for the fact that the postverbal placement is precisely used in order to increase
the match between the syntactic structure and the information-structural inter-
pretation: as both the thematic and the information-structural interpretation of
the subject are achieved in the postverbal position in examples such as (25), a dou-
bling *pro* would not be justified by any interface effect. Therefore, I think Roma-
nian, as well as other null-subject SV/VS-languages, are potentially problematic
for Baker's SCOPA; other problems come from complementizer agreement.[5]

Even if we embrace Baker's framework, we still need to explain why IAs can-
not raise to SpecTP in *se*-passives. I assume that the explanation would still resort
to some sort of intervention; i.e. to a configuration of the type in (24).

An intervener-based account is also suggested by the fact that we are dealing
with a passive configuration. The obvious candidate for the intervener is the ele-
ment that saturates the external role. I thus adopt the following proposal, which
derives the ban on +Person subjects under the assumptions in (23) above:

(26) The element that saturates the EA in *se*-passives bears a [Person] feature
      (non-participant).

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[5]**Baker2008** recognizes the problem of complementizer agreement (with the embedded subject
in West Germanic varieties, and with the matrix subject in some Niger-Congo languages –
Lokaa, Kinande); the solution he proposes is that SpecCP is occupied by Person operators, but
there is no independent evidence for the existence of such operators in any of the situations
where complementizer agreement occurs.

This element can be conceived of either as a null arbitrary pronoun (see, on the implicit EA of passives in general, **Collins2005**; **Landau2010**; and on Romance *se*-passives, Mac**Donald2017**; a.o.) or as the passivizing head itself, under analyses in which EA existential binding is realized by a verbal functional head or verbal morphology (see Baker et al. 1989; **Bruening2012**; a.o.).

As both *se*-passives (SePass) and participial passives ('regular' passives or 'copular' passives,[6] henceforth PartPass) rely on EA demotion, we have to explain why intervention is only found with SePass:

(27) Romanian

 a. * În ultima vreme ne invităm şi noi la petreceri.
   in latest-the time we.ACC invite.1PL too we.NOM at parties
   *for the meaning: 'Lately we too have been getting invited to parties.'

 b. În ultima vreme suntem invitaţi şi noi la petreceri.
   in latest-the time are.1PL invited also we at parties
   'Lately we too have been getting invited to parties.'

 c. * S-a adus Ion la judecată.
   SE-has brought Ion to judgment

 d. A fost adus Ion la judecată.
   has been brought Ion to judgment
   'Ion has been brought to trial.'

There are several possibilities we have to investigate: (i) EA is projected in SePass (and bears a Person feature) but not in PartPass; (ii) EA is projected in both types of passive, but only in SePass does it bear a Person feature; (iii) EA +Person is projected in both types of passives, but only intervenes in SePass, because in PartPass IA first raises to a higher position, either by itself, to the Spec of the passivizing participial head, or as part of the whole VP, as proposed by **Collins2005**, who dubs this operation 'smuggling'; (iv) EA is not projected in a thematic position, but is existentially bound by a passivizing head, and it is this head itself that bears the intervening Person feature in SePass, but not in PartPass.

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[6]I don't use the term 'copular passive', because the passive syntax comes entirely from the participle – it can be found in attributive contexts and non-copular small clause contexts, and *be* is not a passive auxiliary; Romanian, in which auxiliaries are clitics, clearly shows this (the *be* which appears in 'copular passives' is not a clitic, but a regular full verb).

I will show that an account in terms of (iii) faces empirical problems. On the other hand, the idea that the element that saturates the EA bears a Person feature in SePass but not in PartPass is supported by the well-known generalization that the EA of *se*-passives is restricted to animates (**Burzio1994**, **Cornilescu1998**, Dobrovie-**Sorin2017**, Zribi-**Hertz2008**, a.o.):

(28) Romanian
Oraşul { a fost distrus / * s-a distrus} de
city-the has been destroyed SE-has destroyed by earthquake
(către) cutremur .

'The city was destroyed by the earthquake.'

We have seen, in §3, that the differences in case/agreement properties of DPs depending on animacy can be described in terms of a difference between +Person and absence of Person. Pursuing this line of thought, we may interpret the restriction of EA in SePass to humans as the effect of the presence of a Person feature on the element that saturates the EA.

In order to further clarify the structure of the two types of passives and the nature of the intervener, we need to address the issue of *by*-phrases. As we have seen in §2, not only PartPass, but also SePass allow *by*-phrases in Romanian (see examples (2c-d), (10), (13)).[7] The DP introduced by the agentive preposition (Romanian *de către/de* 'by') is an obvious candidate for what has been called, in (26), 'the element that saturates the EA'. However, there is no evidence that *by*-phrases in SePass occupy a different position than in PartPass. In both configurations, when the subject remains postverbal, *by*-phrases follow it in the unmarked order:

(29) S-au formulat *plângeri de către* autoritatea contractantă.
SE-have.3PL expressed complaints by

authority-the contracting
'Complaints have been expressed by the contracting authority.'
(www.cnsc.ro/wp-content/uploads/bo/2014/BO2014_0290.pdf)

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[7]*By*-phrases in *se*-passives can also be found in Spanish (see Mac**Donald2016**) and some varieties of French (see Authier & **Reed1996**; Zribi-**Hertz2008**); they are generally more restricted than in regular (participial) passives.

       Au   fost formulate   plângeri   de către   autoritatea
       have been expressed.FPL complaints(F) by authority-the contracting
       contractantă.

a′. S-au   propus   numeroase ipoteze   de către
    SE-have.3PL proposed many   hypotheses by researchers
    cercetători din   domenii foarte variate.
    from   domains very   varied

    'Many hypotheses have been proposed by researchers from various
    domains.' (http://revistateologica.ro/vechi/articol.php?r=79& a=4952)

b′. Au   fost propuse   numeroase ipoteze   de către
    have been proposed.FPL many   hypotheses(F) by researchers
    cercetători din   domenii foarte variate.
    from   domains very   varied

If the *by*-phrase, or the DP introduced by *by*, had occupied the thematic EA position, higher than the IA, we would have expected it to occur after the IA in the unmarked order. **Collins2005** proposed that the DP introduced by *by* occupies the thematic EA position, the preposition spells out a head Voice and the VP, including the IA, raises to SpecVoice; this derives the order V-IA-EA. Collins argues that, due to VP-raising above the EA, the intervention effect of the EA is removed, and the IA can enter Agree with T (therefore he calls this operation 'smuggling'):

(30) $[_{\text{VoiceP}}\,[_{\text{VP}}\,\text{V IA}]\,[\,[_{\text{Voice0}}\,\text{by}]\,[_{v\text{P}}\,\text{EA}\,[v\,t_{\text{VP}}]]]]$

Note now that the order predicted by smuggling is found not only in PartPass (where there is no intervention), but also in SePass.

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