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To Appear, *Syntax*

An implicit projected argument in Spanish impersonal and passive *se* constructions

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Abstract: This article argues for the presence of an implicit *projected* argument in Spec, Voice in Spanish impersonal and passive *se* constructions. The main empirical support comes from an available inalienable possession interpretation of the sole overt DP when it is a body part in both constructions. As we see, this interpretation is only possible in the presence of a syntactically present c-commanding possessor. I argue that the implicit projected external argument serves as the inalienable possessor of the body part. We also see how neither the periphrastic passive nor the anticausative *se* constructions in Spanish allows an inalienable possession interpretation of the sole overt DP when it is a body part. In these instances, no implicit argument projects in

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Spec, Voice, I claim. I discuss how the presence of a projected argument in Spec, Voice is responsible for *by*-phrase restrictions in impersonal and passive *se* constructions and person restrictions in passive *se* constructions; the lack of a projected implicit argument in Spec, Voice of both the periphrastic passive and anticausative *se* constructions is responsible for the lack of the person restrictions in both, and the lack of *by*-phrase restrictions in the periphrastic passive.

Key words: implicit arguments, Spanish, impersonal *se*, passive *se*, inalienable possession, *by*-phrases, person restrictions

1. Introduction

Spanish (and other Romance languages) has a variety of uses of *se*, a clitic pronoun homophonous with the 3rd person reflexive clitic pronoun. An example of reflexive *se* (Refl_{se}) is provided in (1). Two other uses, so-called *impersonal se* (Imp_{se}) and *passive se* (Pass_{se}) are provided in (2) and (3) respectively.¹

(1) Juan *se* vio (a sí mismo) en el espejo.

Juan Refl_{se} saw DOM self same in the mirror

“Juan saw himself in the mirror.”

(2) Se conoce a María como buena madre.

Imp_{se} knows DOM María as good mother.

“Mary is known as a good mother.”

¹ My impersonal *se* and passive *se* are referred to as [-arg] *si* and [+arg] *si* respectively in Cinque (1988), and as Nominative *si* and Accusative *si* respectively in Dobrovie-Sorin (1998, 2006).

- (3) Se destruyeron las casas.
 Pass_{se} destroyed the houses
 “The houses were destroyed.”

One salient property of both Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions is the indefinite or non-referential interpretation of the unpronounced subject. There is an implicit external argument interpreted similarly to *one* or *they* in English, *on* in French, or *man* in German (Dobrovie-Sorin 1998; see also Egerland 2003). The main focus of this article is on the syntactic realization of the non-referential implicit external argument of Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} in Spanish. Specifically, I address the question of whether said implicit argument is projected or not in Spec,Voice, the projection that introduces external arguments and which is associated with accusative Case checking (See Harley 2013, Legate 2014 and references therein). I argue that in these *se* constructions in Spanish, an indefinite, non-referential *pro* is *projected* in Spec,Voice.² In this respect, this article addresses a larger theoretical issue of the level of syntactic presence of implicit arguments.

Two important empirical foci of the debate on the projection or not of an implicit argument are (periphrastic) passives and unaccusatives. Based on contrasting patterns regarding licensing of agent-oriented adverbs and control into purpose phrases (among others, see Bhatt & Pancheva 2006, Alexiadou et al. 2006, 2015, Koontz-Garboden 2009 among others), there is a general

² It is well known that the non-referential implicit subject can receive a *generic* (or quasi-universal) and an existential (or *quasi-existential*) interpretation. I only discuss these interpretations briefly from a syntactic perspective in Section 4.2 below. For an account of these readings consistent with this proposal, see Authier (1988), Suñer (1990), Chierchia (1995).

consensus that there is a syntactically active agentive implicit external argument in the periphrastic passive, but not in unaccusatives (see Alexiadou et al. 2006, 2015, Schäfer 2008). Although there is a general consensus regarding the syntactic *activity* of the implicit external argument in the periphrastic passive, there is still a question regarding whether or not said implicit external argument is *projected* in the syntax or not. Bhatt & Pancheva (2006) provide an excellent review of the debate and overview of the arguments, concluding that an implicit external argument is not required to project to account for the relevant range of facts.

In this article, I argue that the implicit external argument of Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} is *projected* in the syntax. As I illustrate, both Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions in Spanish pattern with the periphrastic passive in Spanish with respect to licensing agent-oriented adverbs and controlling into purpose clauses; thus, they all have a syntactically active agent.³ Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions differ from the periphrastic passive, however, in one crucial way: Imp_{se} and Pass_{se}

³ The focus here is on implicit *agents* as a way to compare and contrast properties of the periphrastic passive with Pass_{se} and Imp_{se} in Spanish. Pass_{se} constructions, however, are not limited to verbs whose transitive counterparts have agentive external arguments, as illustrated in (i) from Medikoetxea (1999: 1670), glosses and translations mine.

- (i)a. Se han recibido varias quejas de los propietarios de pisos.

Pass_{se} have received various complaints from the owners of apartments

“Several complaints from apartment owners have been received.”

- b. Se temen las nuevas movilizaciones anunciadas.

Pass_{se} fear the new mobilizations announced

“The new mobilizations announced are feared.”

In (ia) the implicit external argument is a source, and in (ib) it is an experiencer. See footnote 32.

constructions license an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part DP; periphrastic passives—and anticausatives—do not. As we will see, the inalienable possession interpretation requires the syntactic presence of a c-commanding possessor; pragmatics does not suffice. I will conclude that in both Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions the implicit external argument is *projected*, but not in the periphrastic passive nor in the anticausative *se* (AntiC_{se}) construction. This proposal is illustrated in (4), where *se* heads Voice, following Cuervo (2003, 2014), Kempchinsky (2004), Folli & Harley (2005), Ordóñez & Treviño (2011), Armstrong (2013), a.o.

- (4) a. $[\text{VoiceP } \textit{pro} \text{ Voice}_{se}] \quad \rightarrow \text{Imp}_{se}/\text{Pass}_{se}$
 b. $[\text{VoiceP } \text{Voice}] \quad \rightarrow \text{Periphrastic passive}$
 c. $[\text{VoiceP } \text{Voice}_{se}] \quad \rightarrow \text{AntiC}_{se}$

AntiC_{se} differs from Imp_{se} , Pass_{se} and the periphrastic passive in not licensing purpose clauses nor agent-oriented adverbs, which I assume results from Voice being expletive, following Schäfer (2008) and Alexiadou et al. (2015). As I show, the (non-)projection of *pro* explains two other differences among these constructions: the (lack of) person and *by*-phrase restrictions.⁴

The structure of the paper is as follows: Section 2 reviews background diagnostics. In 2.1, I briefly discuss some basic properties of the three main *se* constructions discussed in this article: Imp_{se} , Pass_{se} , and AntiC_{se} . In 2.2, I introduce previous observations regarding the syntactic activity of an implicit agent in the periphrastic passive. We will see that Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} pattern

⁴ There are a variety of proposals that shows parallels with the present one with respect to these constructions having some type of external argument (see Suñer 1983, McGinnis 1998, D'Alessandro 2007, Mendikoetxea 2008), but none discusses inalienably possessed body parts.

with the periphrastic passive with respect to these diagnostics, and that all three contrast with AntiC_{se}. Section 3 constitutes the main empirical contribution of the article; it focuses on inalienably possessed body part DPs in each of these constructions. As we will see, Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} pattern together in licensing an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part DP; the periphrastic passive and AntiC_{se} pattern together in not being able to license one. In section 4, I discuss two direct consequences of the main proposal. In each case, the observed patterns are claimed to be tied directly to the presence vs. absence of *pro* in Spec,Voice. In 4.1, I show how the present analysis straightforwardly accounts for the well-known person restrictions with Pass_{se} (Cinque 1988, D'Alessandro 2007, Mendikoetxea 2008), and the lack of person restrictions in the periphrastic passive and AntiC_{se}. In 4.2, I illustrate how the present account offers an explanation of the *by*-phrase restrictions in both Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions and the lack of *by*-phrase restrictions in the periphrastic passive. I also discuss Imp_{se} in the periphrastic passive to support the overall claim that the *by*-phrase restrictions in Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} are tied to the presence of *pro* in Spec,Voice. In section 5, I offer a brief discussion of Italian *si* constructions to illustrate that the patterns observed here are not limited to Spanish. I discuss two points of variation between the two languages, which can arguably be related to whether or not *pro* has a D feature, following Landau's (2010) and Legate's (2014) discussion of implicit arguments.

2. Background diagnostics

This section discusses some background properties of all of the constructions that are contrasted in this article. In 2.1, I discuss how to distinguish between Imp_{se}, Pass_{se}, and AntiC_{se} constructions in Spanish. In section 2.2, I discuss two diagnostics of implicit agents.

2.1 Diagnostics distinguishing Imp_{se}, Pass_{se} and AntiC_{se}

In this section, I provide background facts on several properties of Imp_{se}, Pass_{se} and AntiC_{se} in Spanish that have been previously observed in the literature and which will serve to distinguish them throughout the remainder of the article. This section is mainly for background purposes only, and is not intended to be an exhaustive list of properties of each construction; it serves as a way to differentiate them, since on the surface, they can appear, in many instances, to be formally identical. (See Mendikoetxea 1999,2012 and Sánchez López for more properties.)

I start by first contrasting Imp_{se}, on the one hand, with both Pass_{se} and AntiC_{se}, on the other. This is perhaps the most straightforward distinction to make among the three, because, as noted in the literature, the sole overt DP that occurs in Imp_{se} constructions is a grammatical object, while the sole overt DP that occurs in both Pass_{se} and AntiC_{se} is a grammatical subject. There are three patterns that make this clear: i. The differential object marker (DOM), limited to specific human direct objects is available with Imp_{se} (5a), but not with Pass_{se} (5b) nor with AntiC_{se} (5c); ii. A direct object clitic corresponding to the sole overt DP is grammatical with Imp_{se} (6a), while it is not with Pass_{se} (6b) nor with AntiC_{se} (6c);⁵ and iii. The DP in Imp_{se} does not control verbal agreement (7a), while it does in Pass_{se} (7b) and AntiC_{se} (7c).

(5) a. Se conoce a María como buena madre.

Imp_{se} knows DOM María as good mother.

“Mary is known as a good mother.”

⁵ It has been noted that the 3rd person masculine direct object clitic is ungrammatical for some dialects. In place of *lo*, they use *le*, even in non-leísta dialects. Nevertheless, there is variation here (see Mendikoetxea 1999, Mendikoetxea & Battye 2002, Ordóñez & Treviño forthcoming).

- b. *Se abrazaron (a) los niños.

Pass_{se} hugged DOM the kids

“The kids were hugged.”

- c. *Se quemaron (a) los niños.

AntiC_{se} burned DOM the kids

“The kids burned themselves.”

- (6) a. Se la conoce como buena madre.

Imp_{se} her knows as good mother.

“She is known as a good mother.”

- c. *Se las comieron.

Pass_{se} them ate

“They were eaten.”

- b. *Se lo quemó.

AntiC_{se} it burned

“It burned.”

- (7) a. Se ha/*han llamado a los bomberos.

Imp_{se} has.sg/*have.pl called DOM the firefighters.

“Someone has called the firefighters.”

- b. Se comieron/*comió todas las paellas anoche.

Pass_{se} ate.pl/ate.sg all the paellas last.night

“All the paellas were eaten last night.”

c. Se quemó/*quemaron el bosque por sí solo anoche.

AntiC_{se} burned.sg/burned.pl the forest by self alone last.night

“The forest burned by itself last night.”

Thus, following previous literature, I take the sole overt DP in Imp_{se} constructions to be a grammatical direct object, and the sole overt DP in both Pass_{se} and AntiC_{se} to be a grammatical subject. I claim that this split can be accounted for straightforwardly by assuming that Voice has accusative Case in the Imp_{se} construction, while it does not in the Pass_{se} and AntiC_{se} constructions.⁶ In the Imp_{se} construction, the sole overt DP checks accusative on Voice, while in both the Pass_{se} and AntiC_{se} construction, the sole overt DP does not; it checks Nominative on T.

Although Pass_{se} and AntiC_{se} can be more difficult to distinguish, there is a clear set of diagnostics (Mendikoetxea 1999, Schäfer 2008, Koontz-Garboden 2009). First, a wider range of verbs are available in Pass_{se} than in AntiC_{se}. AntiC_{se} is largely limited to change of state verbs which are related to transitive causative verbs, such as, *abrir* “open”, *cerrar* “close”, *derretir* “melt”, *hundir* “sink”, *ahogar* “drown”, *acostumbrar* “get used to”, *romper* “break” etc. Thus, transitive verbs that take an agentive external argument (Koontz-Garboden 2009 and references therein) do not appear in the AntiC_{se} construction. Nevertheless, change of state verbs could also appear in a Pass_{se} construction. This leads to cases of ambiguity between Pass_{se} and AntiC_{se}, as Mendikotxea (1999b:1643) notes for *quemarse* “burn” in (8).

⁶ Alternatively, little *v* is the external argument introducing head that is associated with accusative Case checking (Chomsky 2001). I assume that a Voice head is distinguishable from a CAUSE head (see Alexiadou et al. 2006, 2015, Harley 2013, Pylkkänen 2008, Schäfer 2008, Legate 2014). Nevertheless, for simplicity, I simply represent a single head Voice.

(8) Se quemó el bosque.

AntiC_{se} burned the forest

“The forest burned/The forest was burned.”

This ambiguity can, however, be resolved by adding certain adjuncts. For instance, the presence of *por sí solo* (“by itself”) picks out AntiC_{se} (Mendikoetxea 1999, Schäfer 2008, Koontz-Garboden 2009) while the presence of a purpose clause or an agent-oriented adverb picks out Pass_{se} (Mendikoetxea 1999).⁷ Thus, the *se* in (9a) is AntiC_{se}, while the *se* in (9b) is Pass_{se}.⁸

(9) a. Se quemó el bosque por sí solo anoche.

AntiC_{se} burned the forest by self alone last.night

“The forest burned by itself last night.”

⁷ Koontz-Garboden (2009) illustrates that in AntiC_{se} constructions whose single argument can be an animate undergoer, such as with a verb like *ahogar*, there are agent entailments which allow said single argument to control into purpose clauses. This illustrates that more than just the implicit argument of Pass_{se} (as well as the implicit argument of Imp_{se} and the periphrastic passive, as we will see below in (10)) can control into purpose clauses. Importantly, for the purposes of the present article, no such control into purpose clauses is possible in the absence of said animate undergoer in AntiC_{se} constructions, because there is no implicit agent. This contrasts with Imp_{se}, Pass_{se} and the periphrastic passive as discussed in the main text; thus, the purpose clause serves to pick out Pass_{se} when no animate undergoer is present in AntiC_{se}.

⁸ Example in (9b) from Mendikoetxea (1999b:1643), glosses and translations mine.

- b. Se quemó el bosque para acabar con la plaga.

Pass_{se} burned the forest for finish with the blight

“The forest was burned to finish with the blight.”

2.2 Diagnostics of agentivity

There are at least two diagnostics that are generally accepted as indicating the syntactic activity of an implicit agent: control into purpose clauses, and licensing of agent-oriented adverbs (see Bhatt & Pancheva 2006). Based on these diagnostics, it has been concluded that in the periphrastic passive, there is a syntactically active implicit agent. In the anticausative, there is no syntactically active implicit agent. In this section, we will see that Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} pattern with the periphrastic passive—in contrast to AntiC_{se}—with respect to a syntactically active implicit agent. It is important to highlight the parallel behavior between the Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} and the periphrastic passive constructions with respect to a syntactically active agent, since, as we will see in Section 3, these constructions differ in important ways.

Observe that the implicit external argument of the periphrastic passive can control into a purposes clause (10a) and license an agent-oriented adverb (10b).⁹

- (10)a. La puerta fue abierta para airear la habitación.

The door was opened for air.out the room

“The door was opened to air out the room.”

- b. La puerta fue abierta intencionalmente.

The door was opened intentionally

⁹ Examples in (10) from Mendikoetxea (1999a:1592), glosses and translations mine.

“The door was opened intentionally.”

In contrast, agent-oriented adverbs and purposes clauses are out in AntiC_{se} constructions, as illustrated in (11a) and (11b) respectively, from Mendikoetxea & Battye (2002:167).¹⁰

(11)a. *La ventana se abrió (por sí sola) voluntariamente.

The window AntiC_{se} opened (by self alone) voluntarily

“The window opened (by itself) voluntarily.”

b. *La ventana se abrió (por sí sola) para airear la habitación.

The window AntiC_{se} opened (by self alone) for air the room

“The window opened (by itself) to air out the room.”

Observe that both Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} license purpose clauses, in (12a) and (13a) respectively, and agent-oriented adverbs, as in (12b) and (13b) respectively.¹¹

(12)a. Se llamó a los bomberos para apagar el incendio.

Imp_{se} called DOM the firemen for put.out the fire

“They called the firemen to put out the fire.”

b. Se llamó a los bomberos deliberadamente.

Imp_{se} called DOM the firemen deliberately

“They deliberately called the firemen.”

¹⁰ Glosses have been modified for consistency with the rest of the article.

¹¹ Examples in (13) from Mendikoetxea & Battye (2002:167), with modified glosses.

(13)a. No se escriben novelas para contar la vida, sino para transformarla.

No Pass_{se} write novels for tell the life, but for transform.it

“Novels aren’t written to tell one’s life, but to transform it.”

b. Se leen los libros voluntariamente.

Pass_{se} read the books voluntarily

“Books are read voluntarily.”

Given these diagnostics, I conclude that there is an implicit agent in the periphrastic passive, Imp_{se} and Pass_{se}, but not in the AntiC_{se}. This does not entail, however, as Bhatt & Panchevea (2006) correctly observe, that said agent must be projected in the syntax.

3. Inalienably possessed body parts

Romance languages have an inalienable possession construction like the ones in (14), where the subject is interpreted as the *inalienable possessor* and a body part is interpreted as *inalienably possessed* (Gueron 1985, 2006, Rigau & Picallo 1999, Nakamoto 2010).¹²

(14)a. El estudiante levantó la mano.

The student raised the hand

“The student raised his hand.”

b. María cerró los ojos.

¹² The body part is typically definite, although an indefinite body part is licensed when reference is to one of multiple such body parts, like arms, hands, legs etc. (Rigau & Picallo 1999:1008).

María closed the eyes.

“María closed her eyes.”

- c. Las chicas alzaron la cabeza.

The girls lifted the head

“The girls lifted their heads.”

- d. Sofía tiene las piernas largas.

Sofía has the legs long

“Sofía has long legs.”

- e. Juan perdió la vida en un accidente de coche.

Juan lost the life in an accident of car

“Juan lost his life in a car accident.”

For concreteness, I will follow a movement—a.k.a. possessor raising—analysis of these inalienable possession constructions (Kratzer 1992, Kempchinsky 1992, Landau 1999, Nakamoto 2010, Deal 2013 a.o.), although nothing hinges on this. I assume that the possessor raises from a position internal to the body part DP. This approach accounts directly for some well-known properties of this inalienably possessed body part construction, the first of which is that the closest c-commanding DP is interpreted as the inalienable possessor of the body part (see Guerón 1983). Thus, in (15a) and in (15b) *Juan* is not interpreted as the possessor of the body part, only *María* and *el hermano* “the brother” are respectively, indicated by coindexation.

- (15)a. Juan_i dijo que María_j había cerrado los ojos_{*i/j}

Juan said that María had closed the eyes

“Juan said that María had closed her eyes.”

- b. El hermano_i de Juan_j cerró los ojos_{i/*j}.

the brother of Juan closed the eyes

“Juan’s brother closes his eyes.”

Importantly, as Guéron (1983) points out, pragmatics is not enough for establishing the inalienable possession relation. Consider the contrast between (16a) and (16b) in a context where a parent is talking to his daughter and answering her question about why she can run so fast.

- (16)a. *pro* tienes las piernas largas.

pro have the legs long

“You have long legs.”

- b. Las piernas son largas.

The legs are long.

“The legs are long.”

(16a) is felicitous in this context, where the interlocutor (*pro* “you”) is the daughter, because it can express that the legs in question are inalienably possessed by the interlocutor daughter. In contrast, (16b) is odd, precisely because the legs are not interpreted as inalienably possessed by the interlocutor daughter. In (16a), *pro* “you” serves as the syntactically present possessor. In (16b), there is no such syntactically present possessor. Consider a parallel contrast between (17a) and (17b) in a context where a man asks his wife why he can’t find a hat that fits him.

(17)a. *pro* tienes la cabeza grande.

pro have the head big

“You have a big head.”

b. La cabeza es grande.

The head is big.

“The head is big.”

As a reply to the question, (17a) is felicitous where the interlocutor (*pro* “you”) is the man, since it can express that the head under discussion is inalienably possessed by the man. In contrast, (17b) is infelicitous because it does not express that the head under discussion is inalienably possessed by the man. In (17a), *pro* “you” serves as the syntactically present possessor. In (17b), there is no such syntactically present possessor.

It is important to note that if the DP internal possessive pronoun *tu* is used in (16b) and (17b), an inalienable possession interpretation of the body part is available, as well. A DP internal possessor serves as the syntactically present possessor. Also, consider a different context where two parents are discussing why their daughter can run so fast, where the daughter is not a discourse participant. For some, in this context, (16b) improves. The crucial difference is that the potential inalienable possessor, namely, the daughter, is no longer a discourse participant. Being a discourse participant ensures that the potential possessor is human, on the assumption that in order to be a discourse participant you either must be human or anthropomorphized. When the potential possessor is no longer a discourse participant, it is easier for said potential possessor to be treated as if not a human. Being human is relevant since in a context where parents are looking at a statue, or a painting, of their daughter, both non-human objects, (16b), on an

interpretation that the legs belong to the rest of the statue/individual in the painting is felicitous for some. (16b) also improves for some speakers in a context of a tailor, looking at a person in designing their garb. I assume these two contexts can be assimilated. That is, the tailor is looking at the person as if a frame, or hanger, or statue, as if a non-human object on which to hang clothes. Being human is crucial for an inalienable possession interpretation of a *body part*. This becomes salient when contrasting inalienable possession of body parts with possession of inanimate non-body parts as in (18), for instance.

(18)a. Juan tiene el coche en el taller.

Juan has the car in the shop

“Juan has his car in the shop.”

b. El coche es barato.

the car is cheap

“The car is cheap.”

In (18a), Juan is understood as being the possessor of the car. As illustrated in (18b), even though there is no possessor syntactically present, the car can still be interpreted as being possessed by Juan. Possession of inanimate objects does not require the syntactic presence of a possessor, in contrast to inalienable possession of body parts. Body parts pattern grammatically differently from non-human inanimate possessed items. Thus, for the relevant inalienable possession interpretation of a body part, the possessor must crucially be (treated as) human.

In each context above, an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part is only available with a syntactically present possessor. Even when pragmatics strongly suggests an

inalienable possession relation, it is not enough to license the inalienable possession interpretation of the body part. This is a crucial point. I conclude from this discussion that for a body part to be interpreted as inalienably possessed, it must have a *syntactically* present c-commanding possessor. The movement analysis handles this straightforwardly.

With this conclusion, we are positioned to make the main empirical observation. Before doing so, however, two points should be addressed. First, there is a possible alternative explanation of the data discussed so far. As Landau (2010) correctly observes, if a relation turns out to only hold between arguments of the same predicate, there is a lexical saturation analysis that would undermine a claim that a projected argument in the syntax is necessary. Specifically, in the present case, if the external argument needed only to be predicated of by the verb and the direct object body part for the inalienable possession interpretation, it could be enough for the implicit argument to be lexically saturated to derive this interpretation, thereby precluding syntactic projection. This might explain why no inalienable possession interpretation of the body parts in (16b) and (17b) is available, for instance. On this lexical saturation possibility, as Landau (2010) notes, we would expect the relevant relation to only hold between arguments of the same predicate. Observe in (19), however, a possessor and their body part are not required to be arguments of the same predicate for an inalienable possession interpretation to obtain.

(19) a. Juan tiene una mosca en el pelo.

Juan has a fly in the hair.

“Juan has a fly in his hair.”

b. Se le abrió la boca.

AntiC_{se} him.Dat opened the mouth

“His mouth opened on him.”

- c. Pedro levantó la mano de María.

Pedro raised the hand of María.

“Pedro raised Maria’s hand.”

- d. María me cerró los ojos.

María me.Dat closed the eyes

“María closed my eyes.”

In (19a), the possessor is the external argument, while the inalienably possessed body part is the complement of an adjunct preposition. In (19b), the inalienably possessed body part is the internal argument, while the unselected dative is the possessor. In (19c) a full DP within the body part internal argument is interpreted as the inalienable possessor of the body part. In (19d) an unselected dative is interpreted as the inalienable possessor of the internal argument body part. A lexical saturation analysis cannot handle these data.

Second, there is an additional interpretation when the inalienable possessor and the body part are in fact arguments of the same predicate, but only with *some* verbs. The interpretation is one where the body part’s movement is “triggered by an impulse from the central nervous system of the individual whose body-part is affected.” Authier (1992:9, n. 9). That is, with these verbs, the possessor exercises some amount of control over the motion of their body part by sending a signal to initiate the movement of the body part through internal biological mechanisms. The sentences in (14a-c) with the verbs *levantar* “raise”, *cerrar* “close” and *alzar* “lift” illustrate this additional interpretation of the body parts, which I will refer to as *motion from internal biological mechanisms*. So, for instance in (14a) on this motion from internal

biological mechanisms interpretation, the student does not use his left hand to raise his right hand for instance; he raises his hand through normal internal biological mechanisms, as if to answer a question. In (14b) on this interpretation, María sends a signal to her eyes to close via internal biological mechanisms; she does not use her fingers to physically force them to close, nor is there any external force that closes them. This contrasts with the verbs *tener* “have” and *perder* “lose” in (14d-e), where, although the inalienable possessor and the body part are arguments of the same predicate, no such additional motion from internal biological mechanisms interpretation is available, presumably a result of some lexical property, or lack thereof, of these verbs.

Likewise, if the possessor and the body part are not arguments of the same predicate, as in (19), an inalienable possession interpretation still obtains although the additional motion from internal biological mechanisms interpretation is not available. This is particularly salient in (19c-d) where we have the same verbs as in (14a-b), which, when the possessor and body parts are coarguments, there is a motion from internal biological mechanisms interpretation. In (19c), there is inalienable possession of the hand by María, but she herself is not moving it. She does not send any signal to her hand to move; Pedro moves it. In (19d) the eyes are inalienably possessed by me, but I do not close them myself. I do not send any signal to my eyes to close them. María closes them with her fingers, for instance.

Now, the novel observation: when a body part, the sole overt DP can receive an inalienable possession interpretation in *Imp_{se}* and *Pass_{se}*, as illustrated as in (20) and (21) respectively.¹³

¹³ We find the following example in Sánchez López (2002:28): *Siempre se nace con poco pelo*. “One is always born with little hair.” She offers this sentence to illustrate that only a generic interpretation is available when *Imp_{se}* appears with unaccusative verbs. See Section 4.2 below and footnote 29. There is no reference to inalienable possession, or its consequences.

(20)a. Se levanta la mano para hacer una pregunta en clase.

Imp_{se} raise the hand for make a quesiton in class

“One raises their hand to ask a question in class.”

b. No se toca el sobaco en la mesa de cenar.

No Imp_{se} touch the armpit in the table of eat.dinner

“You don’t touch your armiput at the dinner table.”

c. Cuando se pierde la vida de ese modo, es muy triste.

When Imp_{se} loses the life of that way, is very sad

“When one loses their life in that way, it is very sad.”

(21)a. El professor hizo una pregunta. Se levantaron unas/las manos.

The professor made a question. Pass_{se} raised some/the hands

“The professor asked a question. Some of their/Their hands raised.”

b. De las almohadas se alzaron unas cabezas greñudas.¹⁴

From the pillows Pass_{se} lifted some heads disheveled

“From the pillows, they lifted their discheveled heads.”

c. Al ritmo de la música se movieron los pies, las manos, los dedos,

To.the rhythm of the music Pass_{se} moved the feet, the hands, the fingers

la cabeza, la cadera o hasta el cuerpo de algunos de los escuchas.¹⁵

¹⁴ Online at: http://minerva.ufpel.edu.br/~avelino.oliveira/HIP/Poema_Pedag%F3gico.pdf. Here is another “... y se movieron los pies al compás de la música y los cantes...” found at <http://el-lejano-oeste.blogspot.com/2010/07/con-las-manos-y-con-los-pies.html>.

the head, the hip o until the body of some of the listeners
“To the rhythm of the music, they moved their feet, their hands, their fingers,
their head, their hip, even some of the listeners moved their body.”

In each example in (20) and (21), the body parts are interpreted as inalienably possessed. If it is the case that an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part is only available in the presence of a c-commanding possessor, then, we must conclude that in both Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} there is a syntactically projected possessor that can be interpreted as the inalienable possessor of the body part.^{16,17} Recall that in order to be interpreted as an inalienable possessor of a body part, the possessor must be human. This is consistent with what has been said about the implicit argument of these Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions, namely, that they are human (see, for instance, Suñer 1990, Mendikoetxea 2008 and references therein), or some non-human that becomes a(n anthropomorphized) discourse participant, such as when an owner talks to a pet (see Sánchez López 2002:23, referencing an observation by Kański 1992). Moreover, since the body parts in (20) and (21) are interpreted as in motion from internal biological mechanisms, we can conclude that the possessor and body part are co-arguments.

¹⁵ Online at <http://tiemposdeenfoque.wordpress.com/2010/06/02/cierra-festival-de-mayo-2010-con-la-ofunam-y-leonardo-villeda/>.

¹⁶ Rivero (2002:9) notes that the implicit argument of Imp_{se} can control into passive complements, a diagnostic for the syntactic projection of a controller, following Jaeggli (1986).

¹⁷ Importantly, the *se* constructions in (20) and (21) are not AntiC_{se} constructions, since as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the transitive counterparts of these verbs take an agentive external argument. Such verbs do not to enter into the anticausative construction.

Importantly, Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} contrast with both the periphrastic passive and AntiC_{se} constructions, which do not allow an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part DP. This is illustrated for the periphrastic passive in (22).

(22) a. La cabeza fue levantada (por Juan).

The head was lifted (by Juan)

“The head was lifted (by Juan).”

b. ?La vida fue perdida de un modo trágico.

The life was lost of a way tragic

“The life was lost tragically.”

c. Los pies fueron movidos (por los estudiantes).

The feet were moved (by the students)

“The feet were moved (by the students).”

Both (22a) and (22b) are grammatical, but not on the intended inalienable possession interpretation of the body part. In (22a), Juan moves some head with his hands, for instance. The same goes for the students’ feet in (22b).¹⁸ In (22c), the sentence is somewhat odd; there is only a reading where the world came to an end, an interpretation of *la vida* as all of life.

¹⁸ An anonymous reviewer notes that if there is no inalienable possession interpretation available with these sentences then it ought to be possible to generate semantically odd sentences with a continuation that presupposes inalienable possession. The reviewer provides the following examples to illustrate. The continuation is semantically odd, as expected.

i. #Los pies fueron movidos por los estudiantes. De hecho, los estudiantes corrieron rápidos.

As expected, were the head in (22a) part of a doll someone owned, an alienable possession interpretation would be available, but because the body part is understood as a non-human inanimate object. This comes out even more clearly in example (23), where the car in a periphrastic passive can be interpreted as possessed by someone, in contrast to body parts.

(23) El coche fue movido.

The car was moved

“The car was moved.”

We now turn to AntiC_{se} constructions. First consider an AntiC_{se} construction with an unselected dative that can be interpreted as the inalienable possessor of the mouth in (24).

(24) Mientras dormías, se te abrió la boca (por sí) sola.

While slept AntiC_{se} you.Dat opened the mouth (by self) alone.

“While you were sleeping, your mouth opened up by itself.”

Consider a context where sentence (24) can be stated felicitously. Your child is taking a nap on the couch and you are observing him when his mouth suddenly opens. When your child wakes, you can turn to him and say (24), where an inalienable possession interpretation between the

The feet were moved by the students. Of fact, the students ran quickly.

#“The feet were moved by the students. In fact, the students ran quickly.”

interlocutor—your child—syntactically present as *te* “you” and the mouth obtains. In contrast, in the same discourse context, (25), without the dative possessor, is infelicitous.

- (25) Mientras dormías, se abrió la boca (por sí) sola.
While slept AntiC_{se} opened the mouth (by self) alone.
“While you were sleeping, your mouth opened up by itself.”

The mouth is not interpreted as belonging to your child. It can be interpreted as a mouth as part of a doll, for instance, but not the mouth inalienably possessed by your child.

Consider another example in a context where a model is no longer selected for a photo shoot because he is told that he looks too old. He asks what it is that makes him look too old. The director of the shoot can state (26) to answer him felicitously.

- (26) Se te ha arrugado la piel.
AntiC_{se} you.Dat has wrinkled the skin
“Your skin has wrinkled.”

An inalienable possession interpretation between the interlocutor—the model—syntactically present as *te* “you” and the skin obtains. In the same discourse context, however, again, upon removal of the dative, as in (27), the sentence becomes infelicitous, precisely because the skin is not understood as inalienably possessed by the model.

- (27) Se ha arrugado la piel.

AntiC_{se} has wrinkled the skin

“You skin has wrinkled.”

Assuming that a syntactically present possessor is necessary for the inalienably possessed body part interpretation, we can conclude that in the Imp_{se} and the Pass_{se} construction, there is a syntactically present implicit argument, but not in the periphrastic passive nor in the AntiC_{se} construction. Moreover, since the periphrastic passive, Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} pattern together in controlling into purposes clauses and licensing agent-oriented adverbs, yet they differ with respect to inalienable possession, it is reasonable to conclude that different properties are involved. Thus, whatever property allows control into purposes clauses and the licensing of agent-oriented adverbs is not responsible for licensing an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part. I assume that control into purpose clauses and the licensing of agent-oriented adverbs is related to Voice being thematic—and it introduces an external argument variable for the event containing instructions on how to interpret it, namely as an agent, or experiencer etc., following Alexiadou et al. (2015)—while the inability to control into purposes clauses and to license agent-oriented adverbs is related to Voice being expletive. Thus, Voice in the periphrastic passive, Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} is thematic (indicated by the [θ] diacritic on Voice in 28a-b) while it is expletive in AntiC_{se} (indicated by no [θ] diacritic on Voice in 28c). To account for the inalienable possession facts, I claim that in Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} Voice projects a *pro* in its Spec, while it does not in the periphrastic passive nor in the AntiC_{se}. This proposal is given in (28).¹⁹

(28) a. [Voice_P *pro* Voice_{[θ]se}] → Imp_{se}/Pass_{se}

¹⁹ Recall that Voice in Imp_{se} bears accusative Case, but not in Pass_{se} or AntiC_{se}.

- b. [VoiceP Voice_[θ]] → Periphrastic passive
- c. [VoiceP Voice_{se}] → AntiC_{se}

4. Two consequences of projected *pro*

The projected external argument *pro* in Spec,Voice serves as the inalienable possessor of the body part in Imp_{se} and Pass_{se}. There is no projected external argument *pro* in the periphrastic passive, nor in AntiC_{se}.²⁰ In this section, I discuss two consequences of this approach that are tied directly to the presence vs. absence of *pro*. In 4.1, I address person restrictions in Pass_{se}, where it has been noted that a 1st or 2nd person DP is ungrammatical (see Burzio 1986, Cinque 1988, Taraldson 1995, D'Alessandro 2007, Mendikoetxea 2008). In contrast, a 1st or 2nd person DP *is* grammatical in both the periphrastic passive and the AntiC_{se} construction. In 4.2 I discuss *by*-phrase restrictions that occur in Imp_{se} and Pass_{se}, but which do not in the periphrastic passive. These patterns can be tied directly to the presence vs. absence of *pro* in Spec,Voice.

4.1. Person restrictions

It has been observed for Spanish (Taraldson 1995 and Mendikoetxea 2008)—and Italian (Burzio 1986, Cinque 1988, D'Alessandro 2007)—that when the sole overt DP in Pass_{se} is either 1st or 2nd person the result is an ungrammatical sentence, as illustrated in (29a) and (30a), respectively. (29a) is grammatical on an irrelevant reflexive interpretation and (30a) is

²⁰ Pujalte & Saab (2012) and Saab (2014) propose an alternative in which there is no projected external argument in AntiC_{se} or in Imp_{se} and Pass_{se}, only a nonsaturated subcategorization feature on *v* (here Voice). *se* is a PF repair strategy to save a crashed derivation from the unsaturated subcategorization feature. The inalienable possession patterns complicate their story.

grammatical on an irrelevant distinct lexical interpretation with the meaning of saying goodbye.

In contrast, observe in (29b) and (30b) respectively, that a 1st and 2nd person DP in the periphrastic passive is grammatical.

(29)a. *Me vendí (al diablo)

me.1 sold (to.the devil)

Intended: “I was sold (to the devil).

b. (Yo) fui vendido (al diablo).

(I) was.1 sold (to.the devil)

“I was sold (to the devil).

(30)a. *Te despediste (del trabajo).

you.2 fired (from.the work)

Intended: “You were fired (from work).

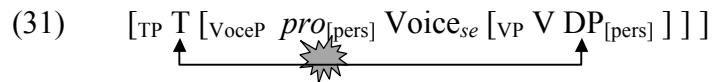
b. (Tu) fuiste despedido (del trabajo).

(You) were.2 fired (from.the work)

“You were fired (from work).

I follow the basic line of analysis proposed in D’Alessandro (2007) and Mendikoetxea (2008) who conclude that the ungrammaticality of 1st and 2nd person in Pass_{se} arises from two DPs competing for Agree with T for person, an account in line with approaches to the P(erson) C(ase) C(onstraint) where two elements attempt to establish a syntactic relation with the same functional head (see Bejar & Rezac 2003, Anagnostopoulou 2005, Rezac 2006, Nevins 2007). I

will follow the technical execution of Bejar & Rizac (2003) and Rizac (2006) for the PCC to account for these facts (although see Anagnostopoulou 2005, Nevins 2007, Adger & Harbour 2007, López 2008 for technically distinct approaches that are also compatible with the present proposal). On said account, when two weak elements both have person features, they must Agree with some functional head in *person* in order to check Case.^{21,22} If either cannot person-Agree, then that pronominal cannot check Case and the derivation crashes. Rizac (2006) assumes that the closest pronominal to the C(ase) A(gree) locus, in the present instance, T, blocks the farther pronominal from person-Agree. Applied to the present set of facts, the situation with 1st or 2nd person is illustrated in (31), where *pro* in Spec,Voice, being closer to T, blocks person-Agree with T by a farther 1st or 2nd pronominal. The arrow indicates an attempt at person-Agree.



Why doesn't a 3rd person DP give rise to a person restriction? Following fairly standard approaches, we can assume that 3rd person lacks a person feature altogether (see Kayne 2000, Harley & Ritter 2002, Rizac 2006, based on Benveniste 1971, although cf. D'Alessandro 2007,

²¹ They assume that phi-features do not form an atomic phi-block, but that person and number probe and Agree independently, in that order. Assuming that *pro* in Spec,Voice is unspecified for number, T's number feature will be valued in Pass_{se} by the overt DP.

²² In order for this approach to go through, I must assume that *pro* in these constructions is specified for person. For a variety of views with respect to the person feature of *se/si* or of an associated *pro*, see Cinque 1988, Bonet 1991, de Miguel 1992, Kayne 2000, Rivero 2002, Kempchinsky 2004, D'Alessandro 2007, Mendikoetxea 2008, Ordoñez 2012.

Nevins 2007), and therefore does not need to person-Agree with T for Case, as illustrated in (32). Thus, *pro* in Spec,Voice is free to person-Agree with T.

(32) [TP T [VoiceP *pro*_[pers] Voice_{se} [VP V DP]]]

Why is there no person restriction in the periphrastic passive? On the present account this is because there is no projected *pro* in Spec,Voice, and thus, 1st and 2nd person pronominals are free to person-Agree with T. Since they can person-Agree with T, they can check Case and the derivation converges. The lack of *pro* and the lack of person restriction is illustrated in (33) for the (simplified structure for a) periphrastic passive.²³

(33) [TP T [VoiceP Voice_{se} [VP V DP_[pers]]]]



This approach also makes the prediction that there should be no person restrictions in AntiC_{se} constructions either, since, no *pro* projects in Spec,Voice. On the assumption that change of state verbs like *quemarse* and *ahogarse* are AntiC_{se} constructions, the data in (34) illustrate that, on a non-agentive interpretation, 1st and 2nd person are grammatical, as expected.²⁴

²³ The structure in (33) can easily accommodate recent proposals, such as Folli & Harley (2007, 2012), Bruening (2013), Legate (2014), without affecting the main point.

²⁴ More recently, Cuervo (2014) argues that verbs of inherently directed motion in Spanish that appear with *se* are fundamentally AntiC_{se} constructions. If she is correct, then, it is not surprising that there is no person restriction with these verbs either. See Cuervo 2014:55 for data.

(34)a. Me ahogé (por accidente).

AntiC_{se} drowned (by accident)

“I drowned (by accident).”

b. Me quemé (por accidente).

AntiC_{se} burned (by accident)

“I burned myself (by accident).”

Recall from above that verbs whose transitive counterpart takes an agentive subject cannot appear in AntiC_{se} constructions. These verbs should only allow a reflexive meaning with a 1st or 2nd sole overt DP, since they are not allowed in AntiC_{se} constructions and since Pass_{se} does not allow the sole overt DP to be in 1st or 2nd person as discussed above. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to this expectation. Consider one example in (35) that illustrates that only a reflexive interpretation is available with these verbs, as expected.

(35)a. Me asesiné.

AntiC_{se} assassinated

“I assassinated myself.”

b. Te asesinaste.

AntiC_{se} assassinated

“You assassinated yourself.”

Finally, although it is proposed that Imp_{se} also has *pro* in Spec,Voice, there are no person restrictions, as illustrated in (36), where 1st and 2nd person accusative clitics are grammatical.

(36) Se me/te conoce como un vago.

Imp_{se} me/te knows as a lazy

“I/you are known as a lazy person.”

There is a straightforward account of the lack of person restrictions in Imp_{se} constructions; since the person restrictions arise when two pronominals attempt to person-Agree with the *same* CA locus (Rezac 2006), there is simply no competition in Imp_{se} constructions, since *pro* in Spec,Voice Agrees with T and the grammatical object Agrees with Voice, a distinct CA locus.

4.2 *by*-phrase restrictions

The main goal of this section is to argue that the *by*-phrase (“por” in Spanish) restrictions in both Spanish Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} noted in the literature (see Otero 1986, de Miguel 1992, Mendikoetxea 1992, 1999), where some *by*-phrases are grammatical and some are not, arise as a result of the projection of *pro* in Spec,Voice. As we will see, there are no *by*-phrase restrictions in the periphrastic passive which, on the present proposal, results from the lack of *pro* in Spec,Voice. Further support for this conclusion comes from a discussion of the periphrastic passive itself with Imp_{se} (what I refer to as periphrastic passive_{se}); we will see that the *by*-phrase restrictions disappear here as well, which I argue is the result of *pro* no longer surfacing in Spec,Voice; it surfaces as sister to V, the lexical verb.²⁵

A *by*-phrase is generally fine in the periphrastic passive with proper names (37a, 38a), while this is not the case in Pass_{se} (37b) nor Imp_{se} (38b), data from Mendikoetxea (1999:1636-1637).

²⁵ All data in this section are from (authors who are) speakers of Peninsular Spanish dialects.

(37)a. Los trabajos fueron pasados a ordenador (por Sandra).
 the jobs were passed to computer (by Sandra)
 “The work was written up on the computer (by Sandra).”

b. Se pasaron los trabajos a ordenador (*por Sandra).
 Imp_{se} passed the jobs to computer (by Sandra).
 “They wrote up the work on the computer (by Sandra).”

(38)a. Una periodista de TVE fue agredida (por un futbolista).
 A reporter of TVE was assaulted (by a football.player)
 “A TVE reporter was assaulted (by a soccer player).”

b. Se agredió a una periodista de TVE (*por un futbolista).
 Imp_{se} assaulted DOM a reporter of TVE (*by a football.player)
 “They assaulted a TVE reporter (*by a soccer player).”

No concrete conclusions have been drawn about the exact conditions under which *by*-phrases are grammatical or ungrammatical in Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions in Spanish (although see discussions in Otero 1986, De Miguel 1992, Mendikoetxea 1999, Sanchez-López 2002 and references therein). Nevertheless, there may be a tendency that non-referential generically interpreted DPs within the *by*-phrase, if grammatical at all, are grammatical, while referential DPs are not. This is illustrated by the contrast in (39) and (40), from Sánchez López (2002:60).

(39)a. Esta obra se escribió por un autor totalmente desconocido.

This work Pass_{se} wrote by an author totally unknown

“This work was written by a totally unknown author.”

- b. * Esta obra se escribió por Cervantes.

This work Pass_{se} wrote by Cervantes

“This work was written by Cervantes.”

- (40)a. Este cuadro se pintó por un experto retratista.

This painting Pass_{se} painted by an expert portrait painter

“This painting was painted by an expert portrait painter.”

- b. * Este cuadro se pintó por Goya.

This painting Pass_{se} painted by Goya

“This painting was painted by Goya.”

I claim that these restrictions on the *by*-phrase in Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} result from the syntactically projected *pro* in Spec,Voice, and the lack of restrictions in the periphrastic passive result from the lack of a syntactically projected *pro* in Spec,Voice.²⁶ Support for this proposal comes from the periphrastic passive_{se} construction in (41) from Otero (1986:82).²⁷

²⁶ D’Alessandro (2007:88) claims that a *by*-phrase is not possible in either construction in Italian because “*si* represents the external argument.” There is a technical question about how *si*, when merged in Spec,ResP and clitic moved to T, can represent the external argument, however.

²⁷ Glosses modified to make consistent with the rest of the article. Translation is mine. Ordóñez & Treviño (2011) discuss a construction where an Imp_{se} appears with a periphrastic passive. The construction they discuss has different properties. For instance, there is an overt post-verbal DP

(41) Se es explotado (por los poderosos)

Imp_{se} is exploited (by the powerful)

“One is exploited (by the powerful).”

Observe that when Imp_{se} appears in the periphrastic passive, the *by*-phrase restrictions are lifted. Thus all of the ungrammatical *by*-phrases from above are grammatical:

(42)a. Cuando se es sentenciado por el juez Marcos...

When Imp_{se} is sentenced by the judge Marcos

present. A dative clitic is also required and the sole post-verbal DP, whether animate or inanimate, surfaces with the preposition *a*. Additionally, there is no restriction to a generic interpretation. Illustrated in (i) from Ordóñez & Treviño (2011:314).

i. ya todas las cosas con las que se le fue acusado *a jorge del castillo* ya fueron cubiertas
already all the things with which SE to-him was accused-PASS to jorge del castillo already
were covered (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s4G3k-kevcE>, comment by minu328)

In fact, based on the obligatory generic interpretation of the periphrastic passive_{se}, as discussed below, they treat their construction as distinct. On their final analysis, they argue for a *pro* in Spec of an Impersonal Voice head; *se* spells out the Voice head. Their analysis, as far as I can tell, is not at odds with the current analysis. On the account advocated here, if their analysis is correct, one would expect (i) that the overt DP, if a body part, could be interpreted as inalienably possessed and (ii) similar *by*-phrase patterns as those observed above should obtain. The relevant data is not in their article, nor have I come across speakers who use that construction.

“When one is sentenced by judge Marcos....”

- b. Si *se* es pintado por Goya, uno *se* hace famoso.

If *Imp_{se}* is painted by Goya, one *se* makes famous.

“If one is painted by Goya, one becomes famous.

- c. Si *se* es agredida por un futbolista, todo el mundo *se* enter.

If *Imp_{se}* is assaulted by a football.player, all the world *se* informs

“If you are assaulted by a soccer player, the whole words finds out.”

In the periphrastic passive_{se} construction, I claim that no *pro* projects in Spec,Voice even in the presence of *Imp_{se}*; *pro* surfaces as a sister to V, as would the sole overt DP in a periphrastic passive without *se* (see 33 above), as in (43).

(43) [TP T [VoiceP Voice_{se} [VP V *pro*]]]

The representation in (43) is consistent with the main proposal of the article, whereby no *pro* projects in Spec,Voice in the periphrastic passive. Moreover, following Bruening (2013) and Legate (2014), it also explains why there are no longer any *by*-phrase restrictions even in the presence of *Imp_{se}*; nothing saturates the argument slot introduced by Voice, thus the *by*-phrase is free to do so. *Pro*, as sister to V, saturates the internal argument position.

Consider support for the analysis of the periphrastic passive_{se} construction in (43). Cinque (1988) observes that, in the Italian *Imp_{se}* and *Pass_{se}* constructions, if *pro* is a non-subject, and if it is interpreted impersonally, it will receive a generic interpretation (although stated in GB terms). That is, when *pro* gets an internal theta-role and it is interpreted impersonally, it will *only* receive

a generic interpretation; it will not receive an existential interpretation. What this means for the periphrastic passive_{se} structure in (43) is that there should only be a generic interpretation, since *pro* receives an internal theta-role as a sister to V. This has already been observed to be the case by Suñer (1990). Assuming that the imperfective form of the verb gives rise to a generic interpretation and the perfective form gives rise to an existential interpretation, only when the verb is in imperfective is the periphrastic passive_{se} grammatical, as in (44); in the perfective the periphrastic passive_{se} is ungrammatical, as in (45), data from Suñer (1990: 222-223).²⁸

(44)a. Se es perseguido por las fuerzas del mal.

Imp_{se} is persued by the forces of.the evil

“One is pursued by the forces of evil.”

b. En los campos de concentración, se era torturado en nombre de la ciencia.

In the camps of concentration, Imp_{se} was tortured in name of the science

“In concentration camps, one was tortured in the name of science.”

c. Cuando se ha sido engañado una vez, se tiene más cuidado.

When Imp_{se} has been fooled one time, Imp_{se} has more care

“When one has been fooled once, one is more careful.”

(45)a. *En el medioevo, se fue explotado por los poderosos.

²⁸ The contrast between (44c) and (45c) illustrates that verb form alone can be insufficient to give rise to an existential vs. a generic interpretation. Other elements can give rise to one or the other interpretation. See, for instance, Suñer 1990, Mendikoetxea 2012. What is important for the present discussion is the interpretation itself, not what elements give rise to it.

In the medieval, Imp_{se} was exploited by the powerful

“In medieval times, one was exploited by the powerful.”

- b. * En este país, se fue perseguido en los años setenta.

In this country, Imp_{se} was pursued in the years seventy

“In this country, one was pursued in the seventies.”

- c. * Si se ha sido invitado a comer tres veces el mes pasado...

If Imp_{se} has been invited to eat three times the month past

“If one has been invited to eat three times last month...”²⁹

This contrasts with Imp_{se} constructions where *pro* is an external argument. Both a generic (46a) and an existential (46b) interpretation are available, from Mendikoetxea (1999:1644).

- (46)a. Cuando se empieza a ver el humo, se avisa a los bomberos

When Imp_{se} starts to see the smoke, Imp_{se} warn *a* the firefighters

“When you start to see smoke, you call the firefighters.”

- b. Ya se ha avisado a los bomberos. Los ha llamado la vecina de abajo.

Already Imp_{se} has warned *a* the firefighters. Them has called the neighbor of below

“They firefighters have already been called. The downstairs neighbor has called them.”

It appears that the obligatory generic interpretation of *pro* in the periphrastic passive_{se} construction is related to its position as sister to V.³⁰ This may be related to *pro* remaining in its

²⁹ As expected, unaccusatives in Spanish with Imp_{se} also only allow a generic interpretation as de Miguel (1992) discusses extensively. See also Sánchez López 2002: 31.

theta-position. In fact, Holmberg (2005) concludes that on a generic interpretation, null subject *pro* in Finnish remains in situ, in its theta-position. He puts forth the data in (47) as support.

- (47) a. Oppilas tietää ettei pysty ratkaisemaan tehtävää.
 student knows that-not can solve assignment
 ‘The student knows that he can’t solve the assignment.’
- b. Oppilas tietää ettei tehtävää pysty ratkaisemaan.
 student knows that-not assignment can solve
 ‘The student knows that the assignment can’t be solved.’

Holmberg (2005) claims that in (47a) *pro* in Spec,T is bound by the subject in the matrix clause. In (47b), *pro* remains in Spec,Voice, since *tehtävää* “assignment” is in Spec,T to check the EPP feature.³¹ A generic interpretation is only available in (47b) where *pro* is in its theta-position.

³⁰ Cinque (1988) also points out that Rizzi’s (1986) null direct object *pro*, a sister to V, adds support for this generalization since it only receives a generic interpretation. Suñer (1990) compares the periphrastic passive_{se} construction and the null direct object constructions in Spanish and concludes that the same *pro* is involved. I also assume that the same *pro* is involved.

³¹ Rizzi (1986) observes that null direct object *pro* behaves like a generic object, and does not appear to undergo quantifier raising. Suñer (1990:218-219,n.15) illustrates the same behavior for Spanish null direct object *pro*. De Miguel (1992:168) illustrates that the implicit external argument of the Imp_{se} construction shows the same behavior as well. I take this as suggestive that on a generic interpretation, *pro*, as sister to V or in Spec,Voice, remains in situ.

If Cinque (1998) is correct that non-subject *pro* interpreted impersonally is obligatorily generic and if Holmberg (2005) is correct that *pro* is interpreted generically when it remains in its theta-position, then, given the obligatory generic interpretation of the periphrastic passive_{se} in Spanish, it is possible that *pro* is sister to V, as claimed in (43) above. If *pro* is sister to V, it is not in Spec, Voice. If *pro* is not in Spec, Voice, no *by*-phrase restrictions surface in the periphrastic passive even in the presence of Imp_{se}. I take this as support for the conclusion that the *by*-phrase restrictions in Spanish are related to the projected *pro* in Spec, Voice in Imp_{se} and Pass_{se}.³² The lack of *by*-phrase restrictions in both the periphrastic passive without *se* and the periphrastic passive_{se} constructions are related to the lack of *pro* in Spec, Voice.

³² *By*-phrase restrictions have been observed for Greek passive verbs with non-active morphology as well, as discussed in Alexiadou et al. (2015), as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer. Given their discussion, it is clear that the *by*-phrase restrictions in Greek are different from the *by*-phrase restrictions in Spanish. First, only a restricted class of transitive verbs can form the passive with non-active morphology in Greek. See Alexiadou et. al (2015) for details. This is not the case for Spanish Pass_{se}, where virtually any class of transitive—and some ditransitives; see footnote 3—can enter into a Pass_{se} construction (Mendikoetxea 1999:1667). Second, they argue that only *by*-phrases that express a cause are compatible with these passives formed with non-active morphology in Greek. This is not the case with Spanish Pass_{se} constructions, as indicated in the text. See, for instance, examples (39a) and (40a). Note, moreover, as indicated in footnote 3, stative predicates that take experiencer external arguments in their transitive counterpart can enter the Pass_{se} construction, and, as observed by Mendikoetxea (1999:1683-1684), can be expressed via a *by*-phrase, as in (ia). Moreover, the same *by*-phrase restrictions as noted above in the text apply, as illustrated in (ib).

5. A brief note on Italian *si* constructions

In this section, I briefly discuss data from Italian *si* constructions to illustrate that the patterns observed above are not limited to Spanish. Given constraints on space, I limit myself to Imp_{se}, Pass_{se} and the periphrastic passive constructions. Moreover, I do not reproduce all of the data that have already been thoroughly presented and investigated in previous literature (see Belletti 1982, Cinque 1992, Dobrovie-Sorin 1998, D'Alessandro 2007). I limit myself to data that illustrate that the same patterns that hold in Spanish *se* constructions, as discussed above, also hold in Italian *si* constructions. We will also see a limited amount of variation between Italian and Spanish. I suggest that we can make sense of this variation in terms of the internal properties of *pro* in these constructions, namely whether *pro* has a D feature or not, if approached from the perspective of implicit arguments as discussed in Landau (2010) and Legate (2014).

Italian has both Pass_{se} and Imp_{se} constructions (see Belletti 1982, Cinque 1992, Dobrovie-Sorin 1998, D'Alessandro 2007) and it is well known that Italian Pass_{se} is limited to 3rd person (Cinque 1998, D'Alessandro 2007; see D'Alessandro 2007 for data and discussion).

(i) a. Las nuevas movilizaciones anunciadas se temen por toda la sociedad.

the new mobilizations announced Pass_{se} fear by all the society

“The new mobilizations announced are feared by the whole society.”

b. * Las nuevas movilizaciones anunciadas se temen por mis padres.

the new mobilizations announced Pass_{se} fear by my parents

“The new mobilizations announced are feared by my parents.”

Consequently, I do not expect the presence of *pro* in Spec,Voice to necessarily be able to explain the *by*-phrase restrictions in Greek.

It is also well known that *by*-phrases are ungrammatical in these constructions (see Cinque 1998, D'Alessandro 2007), an example of which is provided in (48), from D'Alessandro (2007:48).³³

- (48) In Italia si mangiano gli spaghetti (*da tutti).
in Italy Imp_{si} eat.3rd.pl the spaghetti (*by everybody)
‘‘In Italy spaghetti is eaten by everybody.’’

In Section 4 above, I tied these facts in Spanish to the presence of *pro* in Spec,Voice, independent evidence for which comes from an inalienable possession interpretation of body parts. We expect that in Italian *si* constructions body parts can receive an inalienable possession interpretation where the body part is interpreted as in motion from internal biological mechanisms. This is the case, as illustrated for Imp_{se} in (49a) and for Pass_{se} in (49b).

- (49) a. Non si alza la mano per ferire qualcuno in questa classe.
Not Imp_{si} raise the hand to hurt someone in this classroom
‘‘You do not raise your hand to hurt someone in this classroom.’’
b. Si mossero i piedi e le anche al ritmo della musica.
Pass_{si} move the feet and the hips to.the rhythm of.the music
‘‘Your feet and hips move to the rhythm of the music.’’

³³ (48) represents the combination of two separate sentences from D'Alessandro (2007:48), her (28) and (30). Glosses modified for consistency with the rest of the article. As expected *by*-phrases can freely appear in the periphrastic passive (see D'Alessandro 2007:48) and there are no person restrictions: *Sono stato venduto come schiavo*. ‘‘I have been sold as a slave.’’

Importantly, pragmatics is not enough to license the inalienable possession interpretation in Italian, either, as illustrated in (50), which is infelicitous as a response to a question from a man who asks his wife why he can't find a hat that fits him.

(50) La testa è grande.

The head is big

“The head is big.”

(51) illustrates that when *si* appears in the periphrastic passive, *by*-phrases are grammatical. The datum in (51) is from Belletti (1982: 22) (see also D'Alessandro 2007:39); glosses are mine.

(51) Si è spesso maltrattati dalla polizia

Imp_{se} is often maltreated by.the police

“One is often maltreated by the police.”

There is a *projected pro* in Spec,Voice in both Italian and Spanish Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions, but not in the periphrastic passive. Nevertheless, two points of contrast are worth discussing in the context of the properties of implicit arguments (see Landau 2010, Legate 2014).

Landau (2010) argues that there are two classes of implicit arguments: Weak Implicit arguments and Strong Implicit Arguments. They differ with respect to the absence vs. presence of a D feature, respectively. One diagnostic for the presence of a D feature suggested by Landau (2010), based on Reuland's (2001) work, relies on the ability to bind anaphora: when binding of

an anaphor takes place, the antecedent has a D feature.³⁴ Applying this to Italian, it can be concluded that *pro* has a D-feature, since it is known that reflexives are grammatical in *si* constructions, as illustrated in (52) from Cinque (1988:538), glosses mine.

- (52) Quando non si comprende nemmeno se stessi, ...
When not Pass_{se} understand even themselves
“When one does not even understand oneself, ...”

Moreover, following Legate (2014), we can take the fact that *by*-phrases in Italian *si* constructions are ungrammatical (see 48 above) as corroboration of this conclusion. Legate (2014) argues that a D feature (or layer) on a nominal is required to saturate the argument position of Voice (following Landau 2010, who builds on Longobardi 1994 among others).³⁵ When this happens a *by*-phrase cannot appear, because the *by*-phrase needs to saturate the external argument position as well, following Bruening (2010).³⁶ She discusses what she calls

³⁴ He also puts forth licensing of secondary predicates as a diagnostic for the presence of a D feature. In these constructions in Spanish a secondary predicate is licensed on a generic interpretation, but not on an existential interpretation (see de Miguel 1992). Landau (2010) reports similar facts for Italian.

³⁵ Technically, for Legate (2014), it is a phi-bundle in Spec,Voice.

³⁶ Bruening (2013) cashes out argument saturation syntactically in terms of selectional feature checking. Regarding the (un)grammaticality of *by*-phrases, Cinque (1988:529, fn.11) suggests that a parameter may be involved regarding whether or not passive morphology “can optionally

the grammatical object voice. She illustrates in several languages that the nominal in Spec,Voice lacks a D feature and a *by*-phrase is allowed. In contrast, in what she calls the impersonal, she claims that the nominal in the Spec,Voice has a D feature. She illustrates that in each of these cases, a *by*-phrase is ungrammatical. She claims that the crucial property is the absence vs. the presence of a D feature, respectively, since in the absence of a D feature, the nominal does not saturate the external argument position; a nominal only saturates the external argument if it has a D feature. If Landau's (2010) and Legate's (2014) analyses are correct, they corroborate the conclusions made independently above, based mainly on inalienable possession of body parts, that in Italian *si* constructions, there is a *projected* implicit argument.

Applying the same diagnostics to Spanish returns mixed results. First consider reflexive binding in *se* constructions. As Otero (1986) observes, reflexive pronouns are not licensed in Imp_{se} constructions in Spanish, illustrated in (53), examples from Otero (2002:172).

- (53) a. Aquí se habla siempre de *sí/uno.
 Here Imp_{se} talks always of self/one
 "One always talks about himself/oneself."
- b. Se está orgullo de *sí/uno mismo.
 Imp_{se} is proud of self/one
 "One is proud of himself/oneself."

count as an argument." Linking the (un)grammatical presence of a *by*-phrase to argumenthood is the approach that Bruening (2013), Legate (2014), and the present article take.

The reflexive *sí* is ungrammatical, while indefinite *uno* is grammatical. It is tempting to relate the ungrammaticality of *sí* to the indefiniteness of the implicit external argument and the lack of a “non-definite objective pronoun” in Spanish, corresponding to English *oneself*, as suggested by Otero (1986:92).³⁷ However, since indefinite *uno* can bind a reflexive, as in (54b), it is not clear that this is the correct approach. I suggest that the lack of reflexive binding is related to the lack of a D feature on *pro*. Data in (54) from Otero (2002:175).³⁸

(54)a. Se tiene vergüenza de *sí/uno mismo.

Imp_{se} has shame of self/one

b. Uno tiene vergüenza de sí/uno mismo.

One has shame of self/one

“One has shame of himself/oneself.”

Strictly speaking, if the lack of anaphor binding in Spanish *se* constructions indicates that *pro* in Spec, Voice does not have a D feature, then, we expect that *by*-phrases should be grammatical. Recall, however, that the story is more complex. With a highly referential noun, like a proper name or pronoun, the *by*-phrase is ungrammatical. When the *by*-phrase contains an

³⁷ Suñer (1983, fn.26) suggests a similar explanation for why the implicit external argument cannot serve as an antecedent to a possessive. It is subject to the same problem noted above.

³⁸ Moreover, obligatorily reflexive (a.k.a. pronominal/inherent *se*) verbs in Spanish cannot appear with Imp_{se}. When interpreted impersonally, *uno* surfaces as subject. In this case, *uno* is interpreted just like the implicit external argument of Imp_{se}, but can license a reflexive. Thus, being indefinite is not the reason why a reflexive is not licensed.

indefinite, however, its grammaticality often improves, as noted above in Section 4.2. Even among indefinite *by*-phrases, however, judgments are not uniform, as illustrated in (55).

- (55)a. Se agredió a una periodista de TVE (*por un futbolista).
Imp_{se} assaulted DOM a reporter of TVE (*by a football.player)
“They assaulted a TVE reporter (*by a soccer player).”
- b. Este cuadro se pintó por un experto retratista.
This painting Pass_{se} painted by an expert portrait.painter
“This painting was painted by an expert portrait painter.”

Moreover, it has been noted that *by*-phrases in these *se* constructions are found more often in writing—such as in journalistic and legal documents—than in spoken language (Mendikoetxea1999), as in (56), from Sanchez-López (2002:61) who cites Ricós (1998:199), glosses and translations mine.³⁹

- (56) ...ya habiéndose solicitado y acordado por el ayuntamiento la inclusión
...already having.Pass_{se} requested and agreed by the town.hall the inclusion
“...its inclusion having been requested and agreed by the town hall...”

³⁹ The *by*-phrase judgments reported here come from authors who are native speakers of Peninsular Spanish. Suñer (1981) discusses *by*-phrases in Spanish with stative passives and passives with “*estar*” and observes a relation between resultant states and the actions expressed by the predicates in licensing agents in a *by*-phrase.

If we take seriously Legate's (2014) approach, we are forced to conclude that *pro* in Spec,Voice in these constructions sometimes has a D feature. Yet, we would then expect that anaphora could sometimes be bound, which is not the case. Importantly, these facts do not weaken the claim for the presence of a *projected pro* in Spec,Voice in Spanish Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions. They simply raise a question, in the context of Landau's (2010) and Legate's (2014) discussion of implicit arguments, about the nature of the D feature on the *projected* implicit argument in these Spanish *se* constructions, a question left for future research.

6. Conclusions

In this article, I have argued that the implicit external argument of Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} in Spanish is *projected* in the syntax. As illustrated, both Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions pattern with the periphrastic passive with respect to licensing agent-oriented adverbs and controlling into purpose clauses, facts that have been taken to indicate the syntactic activity—although not necessarily the syntactic projection—of an implicit agent. As we have seen, however, Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions in Spanish differ from the periphrastic passive—and from AntiC_{se}—in one crucial way: Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions license an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part DP; periphrastic passives and AntiC_{se} do not. This is a novel observation, which has consequences for the projection or not of an implicit external argument, since the inalienable possession interpretation requires the syntactic presence of a c-commanding possessor. I have claimed that *pro* projects in Spec,Voice in Imp_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions, but not in the periphrastic passive or the AntiC_{se} constructions. As we have seen, this difference explains other divergent behaviors among these constructions, specifically the lack of person restrictions in the periphrastic passive and the AntiC_{se} constructions and lack of *by*-phrase restrictions in the

periphrastic passive. Finally, it was briefly illustrated that the same patterns are found in Italian *si* constructions. The two points of variation were suggested to be related to the internal properties of projected *pro* in these constructions in Italian vs. Spanish.

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