

## ARB SE/SI IN TRANSITIVE CONTEXTS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

A. Mendikoetxea - Universidad de Deusto  
Adrian Battye - Université de Provence, Aix - University of York

### *0. Introduction*

The recent explosion of the structure of IP into projections such as those of TENSE and AGREEMENT (Pollock (1989); Chomsky (1989)) ha opened up interesting possibilities for an analysis of cliticization in Romance. Kayne (1990) has claimed that Romance clitics left-adjoin to a functional head. In particular, he claims that in finite clauses, Romance clitics left-adjoin to the functional head in which the verb is found after verb raising, yielding the order CLITIC - VERB, as illustrated in (1) where the clitic has moved out of its position in the VP and has adjoined to the left of TENSE.

(1) [TP CL<sup>i</sup> + V<sup>K</sup> + AGR + T]...[AGRP AGR e] ... [VP V<sup>k</sup>e DP<sup>i</sup>e]

The structure we are focusing on concern the well-known sentences in (2) for Spanish, which are also found in other Romance languages, especially those which are positively marked with respect to the pro-drop parameter:<sup>1</sup>

- (2) a. SE lee los libros.  
SE read-sg the books  
b. SE leen los libros

Se read-pl the books  
'One (SE) reads the books'

The structures in (2) contain what has normally been referred to in the literature as the 'impersonal' clitic *se*. To capture the fact that this clitic is normally associated with arbitrary (generic) interpretation, we will use the term ARB(itrary) SE for the occurrences of SE in (2). ARB SE in Spanish (as well as in other Romance languages) is not restricted to transitive contexts, like those in (2). Rather, it can be found with all major classes of verbs. But it is only with transitive verbs that we find the two possibilities illustrated in (2). In (2a) the verb is inflected in what appears to be the 3rd person singular. On the other hand, in (2b) there appears to be verbal agreement between the verb and the DP *los libros* 'the books'. Thus, the structure in (2b) shows what used to be called in the literature 'agreement with object'.<sup>2</sup> We will refer to those instances of ARB SE where no 'agreement with object' is observed as ARB impersonal SE (2a) and to those instances of ARB SE where there is agreement with object as ARB passive SE (2b).<sup>3</sup>

The idea that we are going to pursue here is that ARB SE is not base-generated within the VP that contains the verb *leer* 'to read' and the DP *los libros* 'the books'. Rather, we would like to claim that ARB SE is the head of a functional projection outside the VP. It is a functional head that absorbs one of the Cases associated with the verb and blocks external  $\theta$ -role assignment in a transitive context. The general idea is that when ARB SE absorbs nominative Case, accusative Case is assigned to the DP-object, as in those instances of ARB impersonal SE in (2a). On the other hand, when ARB SE absorbs accusative Case, nominative Case is assigned to the DP *los libros* which explains the agreement facts in examples of ARB passive SE, such as (2b).<sup>4</sup>

These ideas will be developed in the first part of this paper, which presents the theoretical framework we are proposing. Section 1 deals briefly with the interpretation of the sentences in (2) and the way they contrast with other occurrences of the clitic *se*, namely ergative *se*. Section 2 concerns the syntactic properties of ARB SE providing evidence for an analysis in which ARB SE shares properties of both functional and lexical heads in the sense that it is the lexicalization of an AGRP and it requires

θ-role and Case. We would like to claim that this analysis is valid for all those Romance languages that show alternation of the type found in (2)

Section 3 of the paper considers some potential problems for the general theoretical framework outlined in Section 2. In particular, it looks at the interaction between ARB SE and object clitics in a variety of Romance languages. In Spanish an accusative object clitic cannot replace the DP *los libros* 'the books' in (2a). Thus, the ungrammaticality of (2a) puts at stake our claim that *los libros* 'the books' is assigned accusative Case in (2a). The corresponding structure is also ungrammatical in a Northern Italian dialect, Genovese (3b), but not in standard Italian, with an inverted relative ordering of ARB SI and the accusative clitic *li* (3c).

- (3) a. \*SE los lee (Spanish)  
SE them reads  
b. \*SE i leza (Genovese)  
SE them reads  
c. LI SI legge (Italian)  
them SI reads  
'One (SI) reads them'

A possible solution will be outlined in terms of the relative ordering of clitics and potential violation of minimality conditions (in the spirit of Rizzi's (1990) Relativized Minimality); that is some kind of interference between a trace and its potential antecedent-governor.

### *1. ARB SE vs. ERGATIVE SE*

Sentences containing ARB SE in Spanish are interpreted as having a non-specified (indefinite) subject which is always [+human] (see Otero (1985); Campos (1989)). This interpretation is close to English 'one' or 'they' or even to agentless passive with generic interpretation. Campos (1989) claims that there is a difference in interpretation between the two structures in (2). The different meanings are illustrated in (4) where the English glosses emphasize the 'active' reading of the non-agreement structure (ARB impersonal SE) (4a) and the 'passive' reading of the

agreement structure (ARB passive SE) (4b) (examples from Campos (1989:)):<sup>5</sup>

- (4) a. Se canta canciones de protesta en las fiestas  
"se" sing (sg.) protest songs at the parties  
'One sings/they sing protest songs at the parties'  
\*(Protest songs are sung at the parties)
- b. Se cantan canciones de protesta en las fiestas  
"se" sing (pl.) protest song at the parties  
'One sings/they sing protest songs at the parties'  
(Protest songs are sung at the parties)

Evidence for this, according to Campos (1989), is found in that a question with an active verb requires an active construction as an answer and, conversely, a question with a passive verb requires a passive construction as an answer. (5a) with ARB impersonal SE is the correct answer for the question in (5) with an active verb. (5b), although grammatical, is semantically ill-formed (#) in the context.

- (5) ¿Que hacen en las fiestas de tu pais?  
What do they do at parties in your country?
- a. Se canta canciones de protesta en las fiestas
- b. #Se cantan canciones de protesta en las fiestas  
'Protest songs are sung in the parties'

If the question contains a passive construction, as in (6), then ARB passive SE (6b) is acceptable, but ARB impersonal SE (6a) is considered to be semantically ill-formed (from CAMPOS (1989: 3)):

- (6) ¿Que productos son exportados a Europa?  
'What products are exported to Europe?'
- a. #Se exporta vinos a Europa  
"se" export (different kinds of) wines to Europe'
- b. Se exportan vinos a Europa  
"se" export (pl.) wines to Europe  
'(Different kinds of) wines are exported to Europe'

It is this difference in interpretation that leads Campos (1989) to postulate two different kinds of *se* with two different corresponding syntactic structures: 'Impersonal active SE' which is a marker in INFL and thus gets non Case nor  $\theta$ -features, and 'Passive SE' which behaves like the passive morpheme in recent analysis of passivization (Jaeggli (1986); Roberts (1987)) absorbing the external  $\theta$ -role and accusative Case.<sup>6</sup>

In this Campos (1989) follows Otero (1985) who claims that together with this structural difference, there is a difference in the kind of generic interpretation associated with what we have called **ARB impersonal SE** and **ARB passive SE**. The former is associated with a quasi-existential interpretation and the latter with a quasi-universal interpretation (Otero (1985: sec. 5)).

Both assumptions: (i) that **ARB impersonal SE** has an 'active' meaning as opposed to **ARB passive SE**, which has a 'passive' meaning (from Campos (1989)) and (ii) that sentences with **ARB impersonale SE** are closer to a quasi-existential meaning as opposed to sentences with **ARB passive SE** which are closer to a quasi-universal meaning (from Otero (1985)) do not stand a closer examination. As for (i), the sentences in (5) and (6) are interchangeable for most speakers and the preference for one or the other seems to be related to pragmatic reasons, such as those governing the rules of conversation. Even if Campos (1989) was right in that the sentences marked with # in (5) and (6) were semantically ill-formed in those contexts, there is no reason to suppose that the 'semantic' difference between (5a) and (5b), on the one hand, and (6a) and (6b) on the other hand, should imply a corresponding syntactic difference.

The second assumption mentioned above involves poorly understood properties concerning the arbitrary (generic) interpretation of sentences with ARB SE. We will claim that both **ARB impersonal SE** and **ARB passive SE** show the same kind of arbitrary interpretation which can be akin to both that of the quasi-existential operator and that of the quasi-universal operator. The choice between the two types of interpretation seems to be linked to lexical and pragmatic idiosyncrasies and not to the syntactic configuration of the sentences in question.<sup>7</sup> Thus, (7) can have a quasi-universal reading, as expressed in (7a), but it can also have a quasi-existential reading (7b) in which the sentence is true if the

manipulation of the unemployment figures is done by a single member of staff.

- (7) En esta oficina SE manipula/manipulan las cifras del desempleo.  
In this office SE manipulate-sg./manipulate-pl. the figures of-the unemployment  
'In this office, one/they (SE) manipulate the unemployment figures'
- a. For all x, x a person, x manipulates unemployment figures in this office.
  - b. There is an x, x a person, such as x manipulates unemployment figures in this office.

Summarizing, we take sentences with **ARB impersonal SE** and those with **ARB passive SE** as having the same (arbitrary) interpretation, where by 'arbitrary' we simply mean that sentences containing **ARB SE** are interpreted as having a non-specified (indefinite) subject, regardless of whether the interpretation of the sentence is closer to that of a quasi-existential operator or to that of a quasi-universal operator.

In this **ARB SE** differs from **ergative se**, illustrated in (8) for Spanish, where no indefinite human subject interpretation is observed:

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

We follow Burzio's classic analysis of these constructions for Italian, in which **ergative se** is a morphological reflex of the **LOSS** of the external  $\theta$ -role normally associated with verbs like *aprir* 'to open'. The crucial difference between constructions with **ergative se** and constructions with **ARB SE** is that the external  $\theta$ -role is not lost in sentences containing **ARB SE**. Thus, sentences with **ARB SE**, unlike those with **ergative se** are compatible with **agent-oriented adverbs** (9) and **purposive clauses** (10).

- (9) a. SE lee/leen los libros voluntariamente.  
SE read-sg/read-pl the book voluntarily  
'One reads the books voluntarily'
- b. \*La ventana se abrió (por sí sola) voluntariamente  
the window se-erg opened (by itself) voluntarily  
\*the window opened (by itself) voluntarily
- (10) a. No SE escribe/escriben novelas para contar la vida, sino para transformarla.  
not SE write-sg/write-pl novelas for to-tel the life, but for to-change.it  
'One (SE) does not write novels to describe life, but to change it'
- b. \*La ventana se abrió (por sí sola) para airear la habitación  
the window se-erg opened (by itself) for to-air the room  
\*The window opened (by itself) to air the room

Agent-oriented adverbs such as 'voluntarily', 'clumsily', 'deliberately', etc. only appear in predicates that select an Agent  $\theta$ -role (Chomsky (1986: 119)). Since agents are always selected as external  $\theta$ -roles, we can attribute the ungrammaticality of (9b) to the assumption that when ergative *se* appears in a structure non external  $\theta$ -role is assigned to the subject position. The presence of ARB SE, however, is not incompatible with the assignment of the external  $\theta$ -role. Similarly, **purposive clauses** require their PRO to be controlled by an element bearing a  $\theta$ -role. (see Jaeggli (1986)). In (10b) *la ventana* 'the window' is not a possible controller and there is not an element in the structure that bears the external  $\theta$ -role and can control PRO.

Summarizing, in those structures with ergative *se* the external  $\theta$ -role normally associated with a verb like *abrir* 'to open' is somehow 'inert'. On the contrary, in those structures with ARB SE the external  $\theta$ -role appears to be syntactically 'active'. Also, it seems logical to think that if the properties of ergative *se* are 'to blame' for the loss of the external  $\theta$ -role in ergative constructions, the properties of ARB SE must have something to do with its presence in ARB SE constructions. In fact, it could be claimed that ergative *se* and ARB SE are the same element but that affixation of ergative *se* to the verb takes place in the Lexicon, unlike affixation of ARB

SE, which takes place in the Syntax. In the next Section we explore the syntactic properties of ARB SE.

## 2. The syntactic properties of *arb se*

We have said in the previous Section that the properties of ARB SE are 'to blame', somehow, for the presence of the external  $\theta$ -role in a structure containing this clitic. The external  $\theta$ -role is normally associated with an argument in subject position, whether this position is SPEC of AGRP (S) (Chomsky (1989)) or SPEC of VP (as suggested by Koopman & Sportiche (1988)).<sup>8</sup> However, in certain configurations, such as passive structures, the external  $\theta$ -role is 'absorbed' by an element that does not occupy an argument position, such as the passive morpheme (Jaeggli (1986), Roberts (1987)). If we assume that in transitive structures like the ones we are concerned with here (see (2)), the external  $\theta$ -role is assigned to ARB SE, we will have to consider the two possibilities mentioned above, i.e. either ARB SE is assigned the external  $\theta$ -role by virtue of occupying the subject position as described above, or ARB SE 'absorbs' the external  $\theta$ -role normally assigned to the subject position in the same way as the passive morpheme.

### 2.1. ARB SE as subject argument

The idea that ARB SE occupies the position normally filled by the subject in a canonical transitive structure has been rejected in the literature on the basis of well-known facts about what elements can intervene between a structural subject and the VP. In (11) the negative particle *no* intervenes between a canonical subject *Juan* and the verb *lee* 'reads' (11a), but it cannot intervene between ARB SE and the verb, rather *no* must precede ARB SE (11b). Equally, in (12a) an adverb, *raramente* 'rarely', intervenes between *Juan* and the verb, but it cannot intervene between ARB SE and the verb (12b); it has to be positioned at the beginning or at the end of the sentence.<sup>9</sup>



- (11) a. JUAN no lee  
 Juan not reads  
 'Juan doesn't read'  
 b. \*SE no lee / No SE lee  
 'One (SE) doesn't read'
- (12) a. JUAN raramente lee  
 'Juan rarely reads'  
 b. \*SE raramente lee / (raramente) SE lee (raramente)  
 'One (SE) rarely reads'

Nothing would prevent in principle an analysis in which SE was linked to the subject position via cosuperscripting, although not occupying the subject position itself, rather a position in the inflection. That was the approach adopted by Belletti (1982). This approach has the disadvantage that *ARB impersonal SE* and *ARB passive SE* (or their Italian equivalents) are derived from different properties and principles of the grammar. While *ARB impersonal SE/SI* is linked to the subject position as the realization of (pronominal) INFL in a pro-drop language, *ARB passive SI/SE* is a different kind of element which acts as a kind of passivizing morpheme. More recently, attempts at providing a unified account of both instances of ARB SE/SI, while maintaining that ARB SE/SI is linked to the subject position, run into serious problems. These analyses (see Burzio (1986: 47-48)) and Cinque (1988: Sec. 4)) have to account for the presence of two overlapping chains containing two  $\theta$ -roles that intersect in subject position (12).

- (12)  $e^i$  [INFL  $SI^i$ ] [VP leggono [DP  $i$  libri $^i$ ]]
- |     |     |
|-----|-----|
| (a) | (b) |
|-----|-----|

- (a) Internal Th-role - nom. Case  
 (b) External Th-role - nom. Case

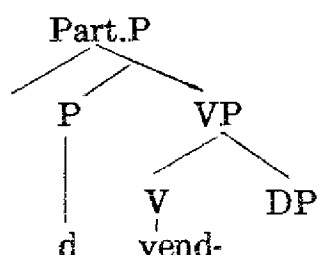
It seems that whatever way we look at it, we cannot maintain the position that ARB SE is either occupying the subject position itself or linked to that position via co-superscripting. In the next Section we will examine the second possibility mentioned above, namely that ARB SE 'absorbs' the

external  $\theta$ -role associated with a structure in a similar way to the passive morpheme, which heads its own functional projection.<sup>10</sup>

## 2.2. ARB SE as an 'absorber' of the external $q$ -role

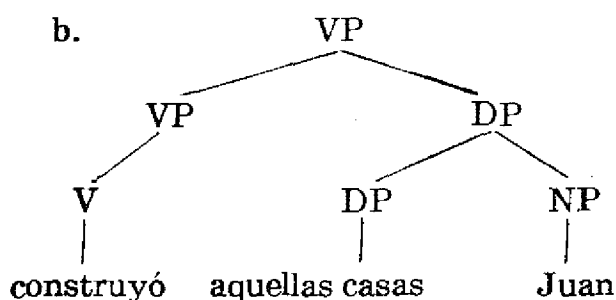
It has been claimed recently that the passive morpheme heads its own functional projection outside the VP and that it is in that position where it absorbs the external  $\theta$ -role and (accusative) Case in languages like Spanish and Italian (13). The recent proliferation of functional projections could in principle allow for the creation of a new functional projection headed by the clitic SE, similar in its properties to the Participial Phrase in (13). However, adding a new functional projection to the structure would be rather costly for the grammar. We should first see whether ARB SE can be related to some functional projection already needed in the grammar for independent reasons.

(13) *vendido* 'sold'



First of all let us look at the motivation for the claim that ARB SE, unlike pronominal object clitics in Spanish, is generated outside VP. (14b) represents the structure of VP in a canonical transitive sentence like (14a). The verb *construir* 'to build' is associated with two arguments: an internal argument *aquellas casas* 'those houses', which is assigned accusative Case, and an external argument *Juan* bearing the Agent  $\theta$ -role, which gets nominative Case through SPEC-HEAD agreement in AGRP (S) or under government by TENSE (following Roberts (1990))

- (14) a. Juan construyó aquellas casas.  
       'Juan those houses'



When *aquellas casas* 'those houses' is missing from the structure in (14) an object clitic, namely *las* replaces the lexical DP to avoid violation of the Projection Principle (see Chomsky (1986: 116)), so that (15a) without the clitic is ungrammatical, unlike (15b). However, Spanish being a pro-drop language, if *Juan* is missing from the structure in (14) no overt lexical item is needed to replace it (see (16)).

- (15) a. \*Juan construyó \_\_  
           Juan built
- b. Juan LAS construyó \_\_  
           Juan them-fem-pl built  
           'Juan built them'
- (16) a. Construyó aquellas casas.  
           (pro) built those houses  
           'He/She built those houses'
- b. LAS construyó \_\_  
           Them-fem-pl built  
           'He/She built them'

If ARB SE is not needed to replace *aquellas casas* in (15), there seems to be no position in the VP the clitic could occupy in a transitive structure. It must therefore be generated outside the VP. This position cannot be SPEC of AGRP (S) for reasons we have outlined above (see Section 2.1.). We are then forced to conclude that ARB SE must be generated in one of the functional projections intervening between SPEC of AGRP (S) and VP.

There is, in fact, some evidence that ARB SE shares some properties with functional heads. First of all, we have seen that it alters the normal assignment of the agreement features to the verb in the structures in which it appears. Thus in (2a), repeated here as (17a), the verb shows the default agreement features of verbal inflection: 3rd. pers. sg. in Spanish. In (2b), repeated below as (17b), the verb shows what seems at first sight a special kind of agreement: 'agreement with object'".

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

ARB SE, as opposed to lexical elements is devoid of referential content. It cannot by itself refer to a specific being/person. As such it is unspecified for numer, gender and person, so that its predicate takes the default values of masculine, singular, as in (18) with the copula. The 'implicit' referent can be made, in the right context, explicitly feminine (19a) or plural (19b) (taken from Otero (1985: fn. 35)), which provides further evidence that SE 'per se' lacks any number and gender features.

- (18) SE está contento.  
SE is happy-masc/sg  
'One (SE) is happy'

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

Having seen that ARB SE shares some of the properties of functional heads, we would like to claim that it also shares an  $\theta$ -role. In this, once again, ARB SE behaves like the passive morpheme 'absorbing' the

external  $\theta$ -role and Case. Let us now see the mechanisms of Case and  $\theta$ -role assignment.

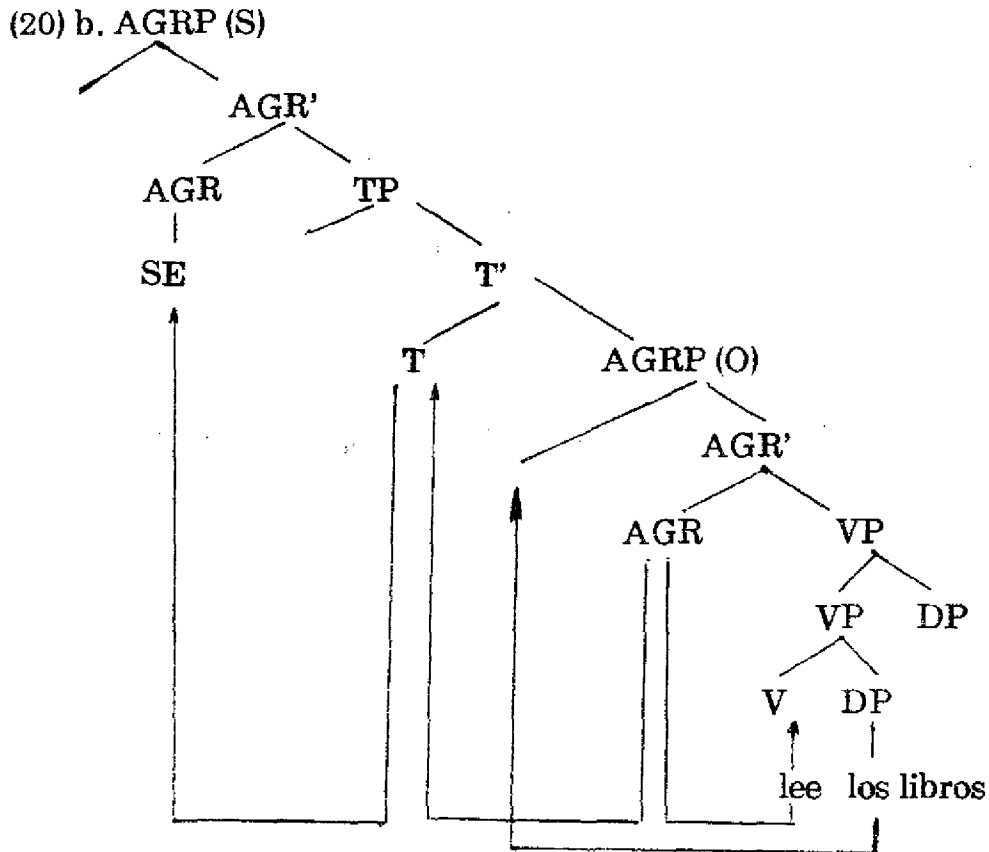
As we have said repeatedly the most striking fact about the sentences in (2) (and (17)) is that they show special properties of verbal agreement. It is logical to think that the presence of ARB SE is somehow affecting the normal assignment of agreement features to the verb. It is assumed by Chomsky (1989) and by Belletti (1990) that in a transitive context two Agreement Phrases are present in the structures, an AGRP (S)ubject and an AGRP (O)bject. The hypothesis that we are pursuing here is that ARB SE in transitive contexts is base-generated as the morphological overt realization of either AGRP (S) or AGRP (O) in transitive contexts and that the alteration found in (2) depends crucially on this possibility<sup>12</sup>.

When SE is generated as the realization of the AGR features in AGRP (S), it absorbs nominative Case and blocks the assignment of the external  $\theta$ -role to the SPEC of AGRP (S) position, where by blocking we simply mean that it is assigned that  $\theta$ -role in the same way as the passive morpheme is assigned the external  $\theta$ -role in recent theories of passivization (Jaeggli (1986); Roberts (1987))<sup>13</sup>. Since SE is the realization of the AGR P(S), the verb is forced to adopt the fault features (3rd.p.sg) corresponding to the sentence in (2a) (repeated as (20a)) with ARB impersonal SE.

- (20) a. SE lee los libros.  
SE read-sg. the books

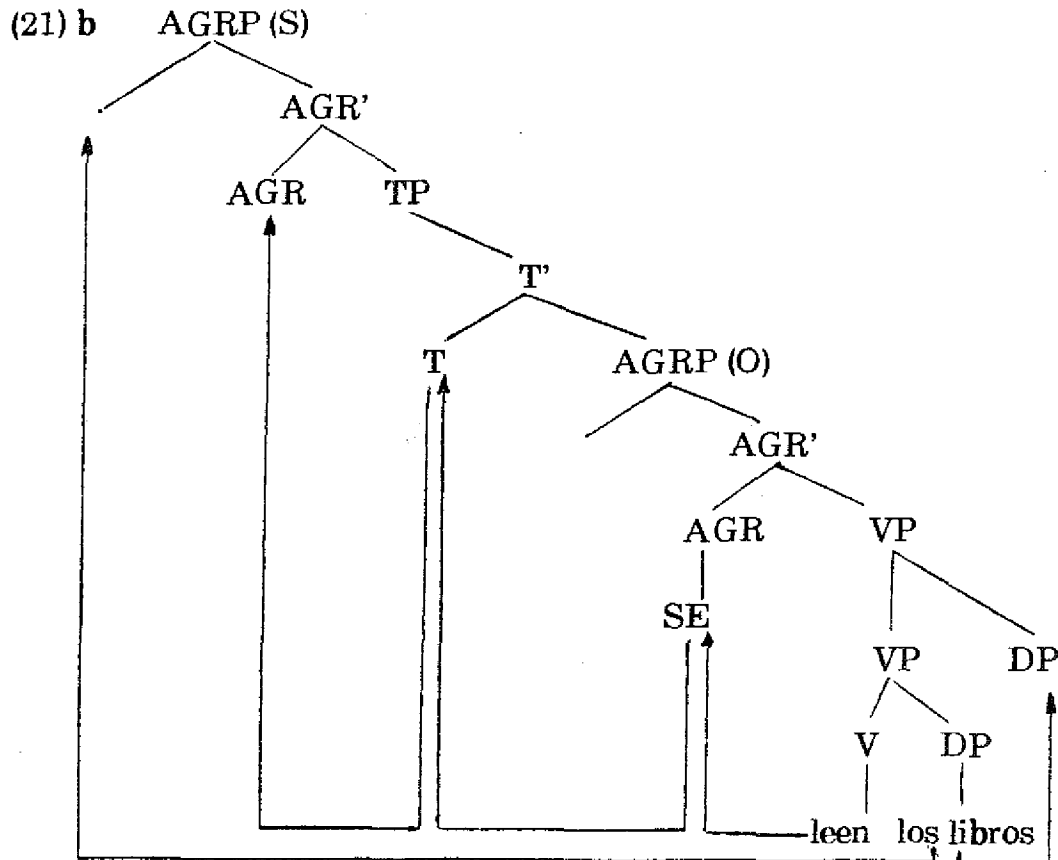
The DP *los libros* is assigned accusative Case in the normal fashion, probably by movement into the SPEC of AGRP (O), assuming that accusative Case is discharged in AGRP (O) (see Chomsky (1989)).

On the other hand, when ARB SE is an instantiation of the features of AGR (O), it absorbs accusative Case from the verb when the verb moves to AGRP (O) on its way to AGRP (S). When that happens the DP object must get the other Case available, nominative, either by moving into SPEC of AGR (S) or under government by T (see Roberts (1990)) when it occupies the VP-adjoined position, forcing the agreement on the verb (21).



- (21) a. SE leen los libros.  
 SE read-pl. the books  
 b. AGRP (S)

Let us assume that when the verb adjoins to SE provides it with its Case features, verb and SE form a kind of unbreakable cluster on their way to AGR and TENSE. The prediction that follows is that nothing can intervene between SE and the Verb in those sentences with ARB passive SE (2b) where the verb shows 'agreement with object'. This prediction is tested in the data in (22), where speakers of Spanish show a strong preference for (22a) in which a dative clitic intervenes between SE and *vende* 'sell-sg' over (22b) in which a dative clitic intervenes between SE and *venden* 'sell-pl'. And this was true even for speakers who claimed never to use structures with ARB impersonal SE in transitive context.<sup>14</sup>



- (22) a. SE *les* vende libros (a los chicos)  
 SE to-them sell-sg books (to the boys)  
 'One (SE) sells books to the boys'
- b. ??? SE *les* venden libros (a los chicos)  
 SE to-them sell-pl books (to the boys)

This does not seem to be a peculiarity of Spanish. Guéron (1989: Sec. 2.2.10) has claimed independently that structures with *se-moyen* in French (see (fn. 1)) are incompatible with dative clitics, as opposed to structures with *se-subjet* (our ARB impersonal SE) found in other Romance languages. Guéron explains the ungrammaticality of (23a) by saying that French *se-moyen* is coindexed with a *pro* occupying the position of a dative argument. According to this analysis, there is no position available for a dative clitic in (23a) and the sentence is ungrammatical. On the contrary, *se-subjet* is coindexed with SPEC of IP in her framework which leaves the

dative position available for cliticization. In our analysis, we can account for the ungrammaticality of (22b) and (23a) without having to postulate two different structures for **ARB passive SE** (roughly, her *se-moyen*) and **ARB impersonal SE** (*se-subjet*).<sup>15</sup> Also, it is not clear how Guéron's (1990) analysis would account for the grammaticality of (23b), with a dative **pro**. Notice that the ungrammaticality of the Spanish equivalent to (23b) can be straightforwardly accounted for within our framework in terms of the obligatoriness of clitic doubling in some dialects of Spanish (24).

- (23) a. \*Les pommes se leur donnent  
the apples se-moyen to-them give-pl.  
b. Les pommes se donnent aux enfants.  
the apples se-moyen give-pl to-the children  
'One (SE) gives apples to the children'
- (24) ??? SE les dan manzanas a los niños  
SE to-them give-pl apples to the chicos

### Section 3

Although the exemplification in sections 1 and 2 has been almost exclusively drawn from Spanish, we would like to claim tentatively that the general framework we have outlined above for **ARB impersonal SE** in transitive contexts is valid for other Romance languages.<sup>16</sup> There are some difficulties with this analysis when one comes to examine the details of **ARB impersonal SE** in transitive context. We would, however, like to suggest that these are only apparent problems and that they do not impinge on the analysis that has been previously proposed. These problems are concerned with the appearance of **ARB impersonal SE** together with a DP direct object (see 3.1) and the interaction of third person object (see 3.1) and the interaction of third person object clitic (such as *lo/la/los/las* in Spanish) in conjunction with **ARB impersonal SE** (see 3.2).



### *3.1 ARB Impersonal SE and Overt Direct Object*

The first of these apparent problems can be quickly dispensed with; it turns around structures like those in (2a) where we have **ARB impersonal SE** and, as a consequence, no agreement with the object. This is a configuration which not all Spanish informants like (see, for instance, note 14). Similar difficulties are found with (25a) for some Italian informants:

- (25) a. SI legge i libri  
*Si reads the books*  
b. SI leggono i libri  
*SI read the books*

Informants from the North of Italy, in particular, seem to find (25a) and similar structures where **ARB impersonal SE/SI** appears together with a DP direct object an unacceptable (if not ungrammatical) configuration. These Italian informants, as well as many of our Spanish informants with corresponding Spanish data, quite frequently "correct" strings like (25a) to "agreement with object" configurations like (25b).

Configurations similar to (25a) in Genovese like the following

- (26) SE leza i libri  
*SE reads the books*

seem to pose no problem whatsoever for informants<sup>17</sup> and, indeed, this kind of judgement is much more in line with the prediction that the framework outlined in Section 1 and 2 makes. There should in principle be nothing syntactically wrong with these configurations in which nominative Case is assigned to **ARB impersonal SE/SI** and accusative Case to the direct object DP. As was noted with respect to the examples in (22) above, when a dative clitic is present, judgements concerning these configurations with **ARB impersonal SE** in Spanish, at least, improve. Thus we have to conclude that constructions with **ARB impersonal SE/SI** in Spanish and Italian, where the direct object DP is assigned accusative Case, are not fully exploited in these Romance varieties and there is, perhaps, some, as yet, unfathomable stylistic preference which says avoid nominative marked SI/SE if accusative Case is available.

### 3.2 ARB Impersonal SE/SI and Accusative Clitics

The second apparent problem with respect to ARB impersonal SE/SI is linked to the first and centres around the possibility of pronominalizing the direct object in contexts where ARB impersonal SE/SI is present. At this point the data become rather complex. The basic prediction of our framework is that there should be no problems at all; if we are saying that ARB impersonal SE/SI can be marked nominative and that, subject to variation among speakers, the DP direct object can receive accusative Case, then the null hypothesis should be that there is no problem concerning the cliticization of the direct object. At least with first and second person direct object clitics, this null hypothesis makes the right predictions:

- (27) a mi/ti SI chiama (*Italian*)  
      *me/you SI calls*  
      b Finalmente me/te SE vedde (*Genovese*)  
      *at last me/you SE sees*  
      c SE me/te llama (*Spanish*)  
      *SE me/you calls*

The ordering of the clitic in Spanish is the opposite of that found in Genovese and Italian, but as far as can be ascertained the respective ordering here are in no way exceptional for that language.

The next logical step is to ask what happens when there is a third person direct object and it is precisely at this point that the data become decidedly murky. In the next section (3.2.1) we will set out a possible account of why the data in these contexts seem to have exceptional behaviour. Our exemplification will be drawn from Italian, Genovese and Portuguese. In the subsequent section (3.2.2.) we will consider the more problematical data of Spanish and the Veneto Romance variety, Coniglianese.

### 3.2.1 Default Marked Verbs and Licensing

In Genovese no combination of ARB impersonal SE and an accusative third person clitic seems possible, hence the ungrammaticality of both possible orders of clitic in (28):

- (28) a. \*i SE leza<sup>18</sup>  
          *them SE reads*  
      b. \*S'i leza  
          *SE them reads*

The puzzling aspect of these data is that, while strings such as those in (26) are judged perfectly fine by informants, no grammatical output can be found for a version of this structure when the third person direct object is cliticized. Whether this direct object in [+/- animate] would appear to make no difference whatsoever to the grammaticality judgements.

Italian configurations like those shown in (28) for Genovese provide an interesting point of comparison because the direct object clitic is compatible with ARB impersonal SI, but only when it precedes SI as in (29b); the opposite ordering of *si* and direct object clitic produces ungrammaticality:

- (29) a. \*SI li legge  
          *SI them reads*  
      b. Li SI legge  
          *them SI reads*

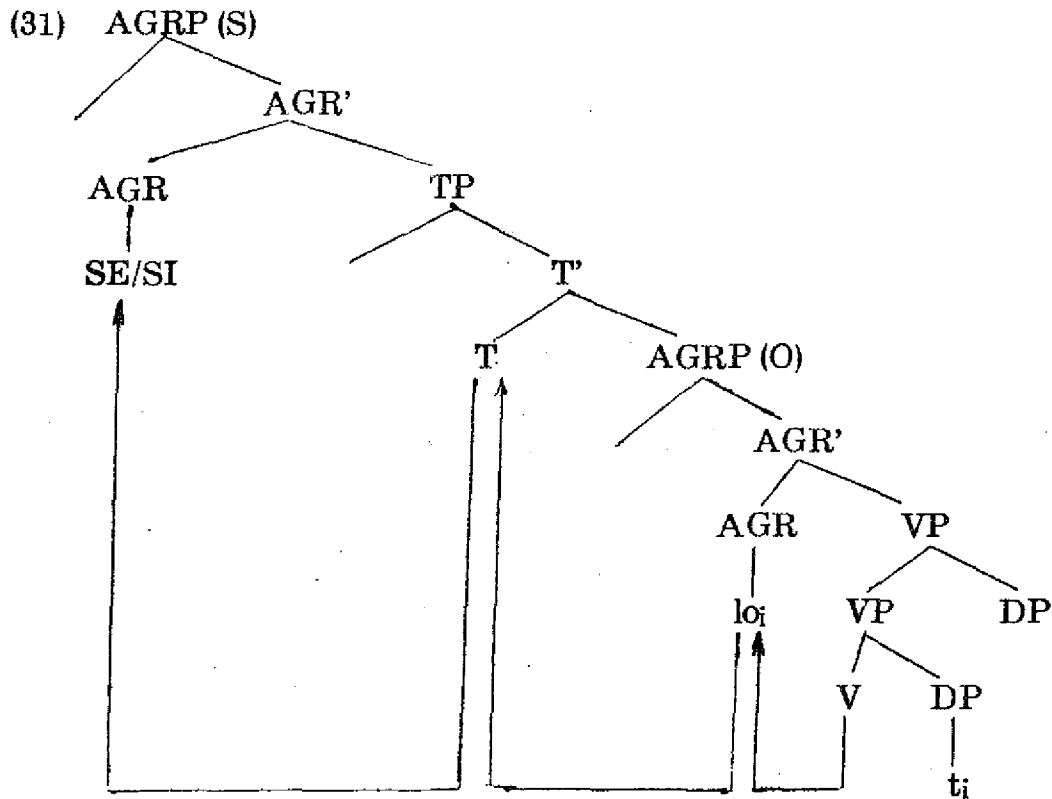
It is even more noteworthy that all Italian informants accept (29b) even those who categorically refuse to accept (25a). Such a state of affairs suggest very strongly that it was right to conclude in 3.1 that nominative Case can be assigned to SI and accusative to the direct object, but that stylistic constraints lead some informants to dislike (25a). All this being said, we would venture to suggest that the surface ordering here of direct object clitic *li* before the ARB impersonal SI is felt to be somewhat exceptional and the resulting structure is, at least, stylistically marked.

It might be mentioned at this juncture that there is no general ban on combinations of SE/SI plus direct object clitic when SE/SI has an interpretation other than ARB impersonal SE/SI and is, for instance, a benefactive dative as in the following examples from Italian, Genovese and Spanish:

- (30) a. Il caffè, Gianni se l'è preso  
*the coffee, G himself it-is taken*  
'The coffee, G has had it all for himself'
- b. U Paulu, u se l'e akkatou, u libru  
*the P he himself it-is bought, the book*  
'Paul, he's bought it for himself, the book'
- c. El café, Juan se lo ha tomado  
*the coffee J himself it-has taken*  
'The coffee, J has it all for himself'

To fully understand what is happening here it will be necessary to make a more detailed comparative study of clitics and clitic position across Romance, however the following speculation comes to mind: the impossibility of structures such (28a) and (29a) arise because of problems associated with the agreement feature of the verb or, more precisely, because of the lack of agreement features on the verb. In the discussion surrounding the Spanish ARB impersonal SE structures in (20), it was stressed that when SE became associated with nominative Case no phi-features were available to mark agreement on the verb which consequently assumed a default marking (i.e. third personal singular).

Now in the light of the structural outline that we are proposing as underlying ARB impersonal SE/SI configurations, it would be possible to suggest that the unmarked order for the ARB impersonal SE/SI and the direct object clitics would be precisely that order which never shows up in the two varieties we are discussing here, namely *\*si li legge* and *s'i leza*.



It seems that if we want to maintain the framework proposed so far, some other account independent of the configuration in (31) has to be found for the ungrammaticality of data of this kind. Structurally the configuration is predicted to be sound. What we would like to propose is that the default marking on the verb in these contexts is of crucial importance in understanding why certain orders of **ARB impersonal SE/SI** and the direct object clitic are ungrammatical.

In these configurations no morphological information attaches to the verbal root to provide suffixes for person or number. Therefore, in a sense, the person and number of the tensed verb in an **ARB impersonal SE/SI** structure may be argued to be morphologically empty categories. There seems to be every reason to believe that empty morphological categories of this kind behave like empty syntactic categories which require antecedents to licence them. Clearly the ideal candidate for the antecedent of the empty morphological categories in the **ARB impersonal SE/SI** construction would be SE/SI, but if another clitic intervenes between the

SI/SE and the verbs as in (31) then it too could potentially be identified as the antecedent providing its person feature and the person feature of the verb are compatible.

Thus we would propose that in \**S'i leza* (Genovese) and \**Si li legge* (Italian) what causes ungrammaticality is the intervening object clitic which is third person and clearly could be construed as a potential antecedent for the apparent person feature of the verb. The configuration *li si legge* in Italian, of course, gets round this problem by allowing an inverted order. In the resulting structure the accusative clitic is moved out to a position from which it need not interfere with identification of the features on the verb which will be identified by SE/SI. Note that in the Spanish examples (27c) the first person clitic can intervene between **ARB impersonal SE** and the verb because its person feature and that of the verb are incompatible and so there is no possible interference in this case. Similarly in the examples above of benefactive dative SE/SI there is no problem at all with the intervening third person clitics simply because in

we are dealing with a normal referential subject.

It has just been proposed that the 'special' order of direct object clitic and **ARB impersonal SI** in Italian allows grammatical configurations to result because the third person direct object clitic no longer interferes with the identification of the empty morphological categories on the verb. Nonetheless, as Lepschy (1986) has noted, it is possible to find very rare examples of apparent agreement between the verb and the direct object clitic in context containing **ARB impersonal SI** as in (32):

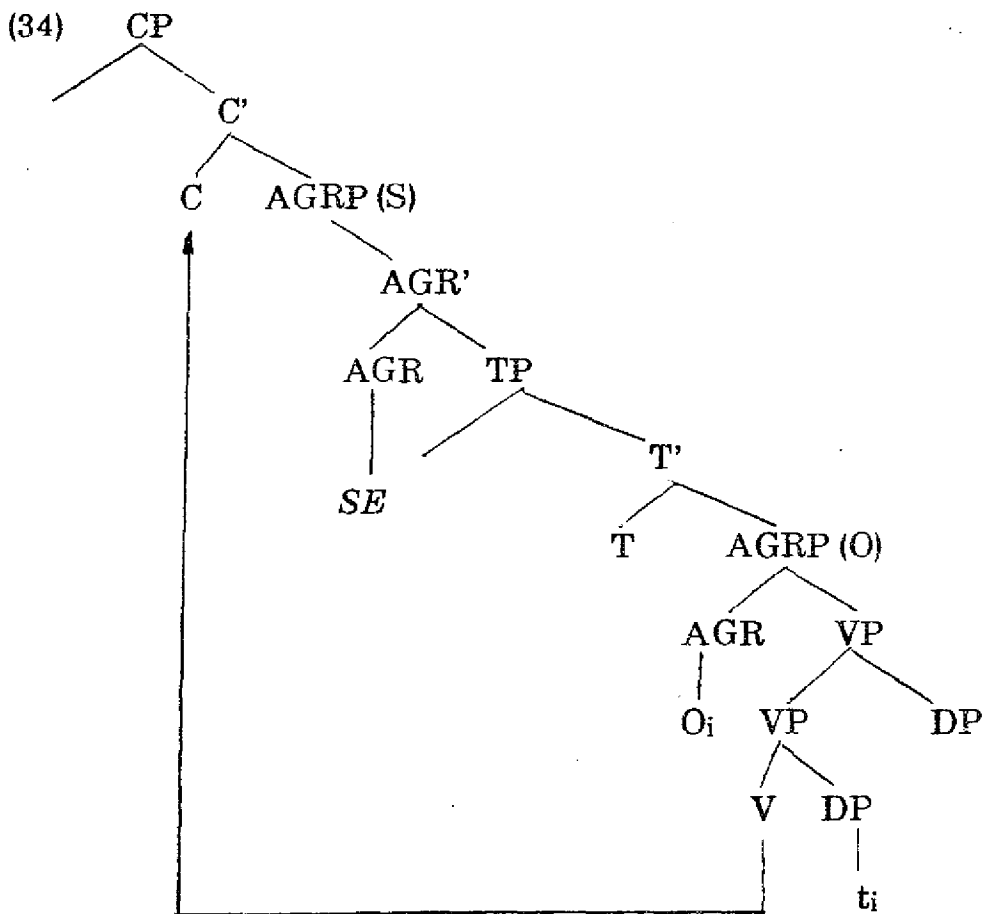
- (32) *Li Si comprano* (Lepschy, 1986:147)  
*them SI buy*  
'One buys them'

We take these data as confirming that in these syntactic configurations the direct object clitic can to some extent interfere with the number marking of the default marked verb. Genovese data do not seem to have developed what in the terms of this analysis is a marked option of inverting the order of **ARB impersonal SE** and the direct object clitic and so under no circumstances does a well-formed surface structure exist.<sup>19</sup>

Portuguese data on this point are superficially more difficult to interpret because the ordering of the clitic is very different. Thus we find contrasts like:

- (33) a. *Fala-se Italiano* (Portuguese)  
*talks-SE Italian*
- b. *Se habla Italiano* (Spanish)  
*SE talks Italian*
- c. *Si parla italiano* (Italian) (Duarte 1983:159)  
*Si talks Italian*

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, the enclisis in Portuguese is due to the verb moving to the C position as indicated here:



After movement to the C position, it must be proposed that clitics incorporate into the verbal head. Be that as it may, what is important in this proposal is that at the outset Portuguese has exactly the same order of ARB impersonal SE, direct object clitic and verb as Italian and Genovese. The subsequent movement of V to C obscures this initial ordering. Indeed it might be argued that the negative particle *não* (not) and the complementizer *que* prevent this movement from taking place, and it is precisely in these contexts that the underlying order of clitics and verb shows up:

- (35) a. O João magoou-o           (\*O João o magoou)  
           *the J hurt-him*
- b. O João não o magoou   (\*O João magoou-o)  
           *the J not him hurt*
- c. Eles disseram que o João o magoou  
           *they said that the J him hurt*

(\*Eles disseram que o João magoou-o) (ibid:159-60)

Portuguese seems to have no problems with ARB impersonal SE appearing in conjunction with a direct object DP:

- (36) a. Lê-se as revistas           b. Não se lê as revistas  
           *reads-SE the journals*       *not SE reads the journals*
- c. Vê-se os rapazes           d. Não se vê os rapazes  
           *see-SE the boys*           *not SE sees the boys*

However if these direct objects are realized as clitics instead of DPs, then the resulting strings are judged bad (with some inter-speaker variation):<sup>20</sup>

- (37) a. \*Lê-se-as                   b. \*Não se as lê  
           *reads-SE-them*           *not SE them reads*
- c. \*Vê-se-os                 d. \*?Não se os vê  
           *sees-SE-them*           *not SE them sees*



If anything the negative versions here were judged slightly better than the positive ones, but in both cases the things were considered ungrammatical. Thus we would like to argue that despite the surface differences, Portuguese, like Italian and Genovese, does not allow a third person accusative clitic to intervene between ARB impersonal SE and the verb even at levels of representation other than surface structures.<sup>21</sup>

Portuguese, unlike Italian, but like Genovese, possesses no reordering rule which would permit the clitic to precede the ARB impersonal SE, hence the ungrammaticality of (38)

- (38) a. \*Vê-os-se  
      *sees-them-SE*  
      b. \*Não os se vê.  
          *not them SE sees*

### 3.2.2 More Problematical Cases: Spanish and Coniglianese

The interaction of ARB impersonal SE/SI and accusative direct object clitics presents a more complex phenomenology in Spanish than that seen in 3.1.1. The picture is made more complicated by the fact that we must distinguish the cases where the accusative clitic has a [+animate] or a [-animate] referent. If we take the second of these cases first we find, as before, that combinations of ARB impersonal SE and third person accusative clitics do not produce grammatical strings (n.b. *lo/la/los/las* must be interpreted with an inanimate referent):

- (39) a. \*SE lo lee                      b. \*SE la lee  
      *SE it reads*                      *SE it reads*  
      c. \*SE los lee                    d. \*SE las lee  
      *SE them reads*                    *SE them reads*

Spanish is like Genovese, but unlike Italian, because it has no strategy for re-aligning these clitic configurations and so there is no possibility of saving them by inverting their order as in *\*lo se lee/\*la se lee* etc.

Matters become complex however when an animate referent is picked out by the third person accusative clitic. There appear to be two distinct varieties of Spanish with respect to this point; we will label them Castillian<sub>1</sub> and Castillian<sub>2</sub>. As a consequence of animate direct objects being prefixed by the definite marker *a* in Spanish, the possibility exists (at least in the masculine paradigm) of pronominalising the direct object with a dative clitic (obligatorily in the singular and subject to variation in the plural). The resulting paradigms with ARB impersonal SE are the following:

(40)	Castillian <sub>1</sub>		Castillian <sub>2</sub>	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem
	SE { le } ve	SE la ve	SE { le } ve	SE la ve
	{ *lo }		{ *lo }	
	<i>SE him sees</i>	<i>SE her sees</i>	<i>SE him sees</i>	<i>SE her sees</i>
	SE { les } ve	SE las ve	SE { les } ve	SE las ve
	{ *los }		{ *los }	
	<i>SE them sees</i>	<i>SE them sees</i>	<i>SE them sees</i>	<i>SE them sees</i>

In Castillian<sub>1</sub> a masculine referent whether singular or plural has to be picked out by a dative clitic, in Castillian<sub>2</sub> the dative clitic is necessary in the singular, but in the plural the use of accusative or dative clitic seems to be in free variation. We do not feel that these data call into question the framework that has been worked out in Section 1 and 2, nor do they necessarily call for a reappraisal of the approach adopted to account for the problems posed by combinations of ARB impersonal SE/SI and third person accusative clitic. Rather we feel that these data suggest that in Spanish a more nuanced approach to the feature composition of accusative clitic pronouns is required (as was implicit in Torrego's class lectures at Girona 1990).

Basically it can be seen from the above data that when the accusative clitic approximates most closely to the third person singular masculine marking of the verb, which is homophonous with the default marking, then ungrammaticality results. If one of these marking changes, then (with varying degrees) acceptability results. If the person changes from masculine to feminine, there is no problem at all. Presumably in Spanish

the feminine marking on the [+animate] accusative clitic is sufficient to prevent the interference effect which rules out the masculine singular example. The marking of number has an effect on grammaticality judgements only for the speakers of Catillian<sub>2</sub>. In Castillian<sub>1</sub> it is only variation in the gender feature on the [+animate] accusative clitic which affects the grammaticality judgments.

Data from the Conigliano variety of Veneto<sup>22</sup> are perhaps the most problematical of all to deal with, simply because the ‘forbidden’ configuration of ARB impersonal SE accusative clitic and verb is perfectly grammatical in this Romance variety:

- (41) a. *se lo vede*   b. *se la vede*  
      *SE it see*   *SE it see*

We can only speculate as to why this configuration of clitics is possible. A possible line of reasoning might be to suggest that, as in Spanish, the feature composition of these clitics needs to be examined in greater detail, and in particular the feature make-up of *se* in the Veneto varieties. Quite possibly it may be an arbitrary subject clitic like *on* in French, which could be argued to supply the verb with person and number features and therefore, in the contextx which interest us here, the Veneto variety does not have default marked verbs and so an accusative clitic intervening between *se* and the verb does not interfere with the licensing of empty categories attached to the verbal root (similar reasoning could be applied to the second Friulan example in note 19).

## Conclusion

This article has set out in the context of Government-Binding theory a very general syntactic framework for the generation of ARB impersonal SE/SI and Passive SE/SI structures. It has been argued that this framework allows us to capture the fundamental unity underlying these configurations with SE/SI in a number of Romance varieties. Potential problems for this analysis with respect to the distribution of third person accusative clitics in conjunction with ARB impersonal SE/SI have been

shown to be explicable by referring to the idea of interference in the licensing of an empty morphological category; they do not fundamentally call into question the framework that has been set out.

## NOTES

1. Modern French not being a pro-drop language lacks the alternation between the two structures in (2). In particular, it lacks structures like (2a), repeated here as (1a), where the verb shows default verbal agreement features as a result of the fact that neither the clitic SE nor the DP *los libros* 'the books' agree with the verb, as we shall see in Section 2

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

The closest equivalent in French to the Spanish sentence in (1) is (2) (from Guéron (1989: 2.1.2.)) with an expletive *il* occupying the subject position. Unlike (1), the structure in (2) is subject to heavy constraints. It can only appear with transitive verbs and it observes the Definiteness Effect, which excludes definitive direct object DPs.

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

As for the other member of the pair in (1), the closest equivalent in French is what has been referred to in the literature as *se-moyen*, illustrated in (3) (see Guéron (1989: 2.2)). Again, this structure in French is subject to stronger constraints than the Spanish structure in (1b). Unlike (1b) French *se-moyen* is compatible with Specific (non-generic) Time reference, as we can see by the ungrammaticality of (3b). For a recent account of these constructions see Guéron (1989).

- (3) a. Les pommes se mangent en automne.  
the apples se eat-pl in autumn  
'One eats the apples in autumn'  
b. \*Les pommes se sont mangés a quatre heures  
the apples se are eaten at four hours  
'One (SE) ate the apples at four o'clock'

Italian has the two structures in (1), as illustrated in (4). However, in Standard Modern Italian the unmarked option is (4b) which shows verbal 'agreement with object' (see Cinque (1988)), as opposed to Northern Italian dialects that show both options. It seems that (1b) is also the unmarked option in Standard Peninsular Spanish.

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

2. Cf. Contreras (1973); Otero (1976).

3. The terms **ARB impersonal SE** and **ARB passive SE** are used merely as convenient labels to distinguish between the two options. They are not meant to suggest deep differences in the functional role of SE, which we claim to be equivalent in both constructions.

4. The general underlying idea that **ARB impersonal SE** is assigned nominative Case, while **ARB passive SE** is assigned accusative Case is present in the traditional analysis of these constructions in Belletti (1982).

5. All through this work translation word by word of the examples is given. When citing examples taken from other authors, we will respect the translations provided by the authors themselves.

6. In fact, Campos (1989) distinguishes three of *se*. The third type is what he calls 'Impersonal passive *se*' which shares characteristics with the two other types of *se* he distinguishes. It is found with intransitive verbs, but also with transitive verbs that show no 'agreement with object'. In fact, sentences like (1a) are ambiguous between an 'Impersonal active *se*' reading and an 'Impersonal passive *se*' reading. The ambiguity disappears when the verb shows Specific Time reference so that (1b) can only be an instance of 'Impersonal passive *se*'.

- (1) a. SE canta canciones de protesta.  
'One sings/They sing protest songs'  
b. SE exporto vinos a Europa el año pasado.  
'It was exported wines to Europe last year'

7. The same conclusion has been reached by Delfitto (1990: Chap.1: Sec. 1) for Italian ARB SI. He claims that the choice between the existential and the quasi-universal

interpretation cannot be linked to aspectual and thematic constraints, contra Cinque (1988).

8. Another possible structural position for the subject is SPEC of TP if we adopt Pollock's (1989) framework.

9. Other tests involve coordination (1a), question inversion (1b), etc. (Burzio, 1986).

- (1) a. \*La gente y SE leerán libros  
the people and SE will-read-pl the books  
b. \*¿Leerá los libros SE?  
will-read-sg the books SE

10. It could also be claimed that ARB SE has neither Case nor  $\theta$ -role. This is the analysis developed by Otero (1985) for those instances of ARB impersonal SE. However, we will see later on that Case considerations are essential to distinguish between the constructions with ARB impersonal SE and those with ARB passive SE

11. ARB SE also modifies the aspectual features of the verbs it attaches to. Spanish has two kinds of simple past tenses: the preterite, used for punctual time reference, and the imperfect, which presents a verbal action without referring to its beginning and end (like English 'was -ing' or 'used to'). In non-transitive contexts constructions with ARB se in the preterite are more marked than those with the imperfect as we can see in (1) and (2). The facts in (1b) and (2b) do not seem to be related to the thematic properties of verb (contra Cinque (1988)). In (1) the verb is unergative, that its external  $\theta$ -role is associated with the subject. The verb in (2) is unaccusative, no external  $\theta$ -role is associated with the subject.

- (1) b. Aquí SE trabajaba hasta los sábados.  
here SE worked-impft. even on Saturday  
'One (SE) used to work here even on Saturday'  
a. ??Aquí SE trabajó ayer a las ocho  
here SE worked-prt yesterday at eight
- (2) a. A este parque SE venía a pasear los domingos  
to this park SE came-impft for to-stroll on Saturday  
'To this park, one (SE) used to come for a stroll on Sunday.'  
b. \*A este parque SE vino a pasear ayer a las ocho  
to this park SE came-prt. for to-stroll yesterday at eight

We do not have an explanation why these restrictions are found in (1) and (2). It would also be interesting to see why these restrictions are not found in transitive contexts with ARB SE. Notice that in transitive contexts the restriction is found in another type of *se*, namely middle *se*, illustrated in (3):

- (3) a. Este libro se lee fácilmente.  
      'This book (se) reads easily'  
      b. \*Este libro se leyó fácilmente.  
          this book se reads-prt. easily

12. The idea that a clitic is the realization of Agreement is also found in other parts of the grammar of Spanish. In particular, Torrego (1990) claims that the dative clitic *le* is the lexicalization of an AGRP that has person features. Curiously, Guéron (1990) has claimed that *se* in French is coindexed with a *pro* that occupies the position normally filled by a dative argument (see fn.1), which suggests that there might be strong similarities between ARB SE and dative clitics. If this is so, it should not be seen as a coincidence that *le* is replaced by 'spurious' *se* with *distransitive* verbs like that in (1).

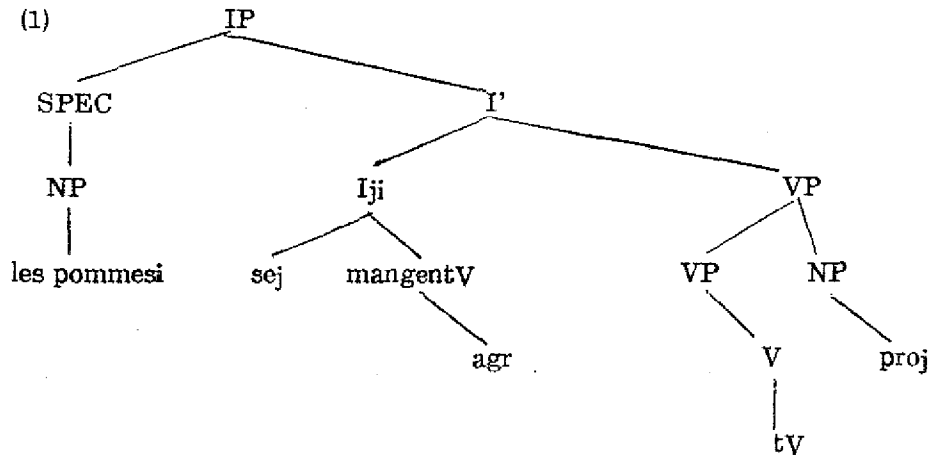
- (1) *se*/\**le* lo doy  
      to-him it give-I  
      'I give it to him'

13. ARB SE behaves here like the passive morpheme in that it is assigned the  $\theta$ -role compositionally assigned by the whole VP (see Baker, Johnson and Roberts, 1989) (1):

- (1) a. SE vende/venden libros           AGENT  
      'One (SE) sells books'  
      b. SE ve/ven los edificios       EXPERIENCER  
      'One (SE) sees the buildings'  
      c. SE recibió/recibieron las carta   GOAL  
      'One (SE) received the letters'

14. Catalan speakers of those dialects of Catalan which lack ARB impersonal SE claimed that they regarded both structures in (22) ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of (22b) with ARB passive SE is immediately accounted for in our framework. As for the Catalan equivalent for (22a) it is clear that the structure should be impossible in a language that lacks ARB impersonal SE. The fact that some speakers of Spanish that claimed never to use sentences with ARB impersonal SE in transitive contexts appear to accept (22b) with a dative clitic between ARB SE and the verb will have to be explained by analogy with other examples of ARB passive SE.

15. In fact, Guéron (1989) gives the following structure for constructions with *se-moyen* (1), where INFL is coindexed with both the argument formed by *se* and *pro* and *les pommes* 'the apples' in SPEC of IP. French not being a pro-drop language, agreement is only possible with the element occupying SPEC of IP.



In fn. 17, Guéron claims that in a pro-drop language agreement should be possible with either *se-pro* and the element in SPEC of IP, which would allow for both the interpretations *se-moyen* and that of *se-sujet* (ARB impersonal SE). As suggested by Guéron, we can reinterpret the two indexes in INFL in terms of the framework developed by Chomsky (1989), where a transitive sentence contains two AGR nodes. This is exactly the analysis we have developed here, independently from Guéron (1989): a structure with two AGR nodes allows for the possibility of two potential subjects in constructions with ARB SE.

16. At the time of writing we have managed to check our predictions against data from Spanish, Italian, Genovese, Trentino and the Veneto dialect of Conegliano. The data from these Romance languages and varieties will be treated in the subsequent sections.

17. Other Romance varieties/languages of Northern Italy also allow structures of this kind without problems. The following example was in Pisa:

1. Si ripara borse e scarpe  
*Si repairs bags and shoes*

It should be noted, however, that the analysis of these configurations from Pisano and Genovese may not be as straightforward as it appears (see Battye 1990 for further reflections on this point).

18. If a third person singular direct object is involved then, on the surface at least, configurations like these do seem to be possible:

1. u SE leza fasilmente, u libru.  
*it SE reads easily the book*



Despite appearances, it would be wrong to interpret *u* in this example as an accusative third person clitic. It is in fact a subject clitic (which happens to be homophonous to the direct object clitic). That *u* is a subject clitic can be ascertained by negating the above sentence:

2. a. *u nu SE leza fasilmente, u libru*  
*it not SE reads easily the book*
- b. *\*n'u SE leza fasilmente, u libru.*  
*not-it SE reads easily the book*

The only grammatical output here is with the negative following the clitic *u* and since only subject clitic precede the negative *nu* in genovese, the conclusion must be that *u* is indeed a subject clitic.

19. Further data which are suggestive that the combination of ARB impersonal SE and a direct object clitic are somehow problematical comes from data in Friulan, alluded to in R. Kayne (1990):

1. *SI vjodilu* (Benincà 1989:572)  
*SE see-it*

This is one of the rare examples (leaving aside Portuguese) of enclisis to the tensed verb in modern Romance. That it should appear just in those contexts which interest us here is good evidence that the approach being pursued here is sound. However it should be added that an alternative version of (1) is exactly what our analysis predicts should not be possible:

2. *SI lu vjodi* (ibid)  
*SE it see*

This is a problematical example which may be treaded in the same way as the Veneto data in 3.2.2 below.

20. We are particularly grateful to Graça Vincente for her patient help with the data of Portuguese.

21. It must be noted at this point that the inclusion of a dative clitic in a configuration where there is also ARB impersonal SE and third person accusative clitic produces a marked amelioration in grammaticality. Consider the contrast in :

1. a. *\*Dá-se-o ao rapaz*  
*gives-SE it to-the boy*
- b. *Dá-se-lho*  
*gives-SE-to-him-it*

It is tempting to suggest, following Kayne (Class lectures Girona 1990) that the combination of dative clitic and accusative clitic changes normal c-command relations. It is by reference to this idea that Kayne explains the possibility of clitic doubling in Italian when an accusative clitic is present:

2. *Chelo do a Gianni.*  
*to-him it (I)-give to G*

But doubling is unacceptable when no accusative clitic is present:

3. *??Gli do il libro a Gianni.*  
*to-him (I)-give the book to G*

22 We thank Graziella Saccon for providing these data for the Conegliano variety. Cecilia Poletto has confirmed to us that the problematical configurations given here are common throughout the Veneto Romance varieties.

## REFERENCES

- BAKER, M. JOHNSON, K. ROBERTS, I. (1989) 'Passive Arguments Raised' *L. I.*, 20, 2, 219-251.
- BATTYE, A.C. (1990) 'Quirky agreement in Genovese', unpublished paper delivered at the First Languages Seminar, Université de Genève, July 1990.
- BELLETTI, A. (1982) 'Morphological Passive' and Pro-drop: The Impersonal Construction in Italian' *Journal of Linguistic Research*, 2, 4, 1-33.
- BELLETTI, A. (1990) 'Generalized Verb Movement', ms., Université de Genève.
- BENINCA, P. (1989) 'Friaulisch: Interne Sprachgeschichte 1 - Grammatik', in G. Holtus et al (eds) *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen.
- BURZIO, L. (1986) *Italian Syntax, A Government-Binding Approach*, Reidel: The Netherlands.
- CAMPOS, H. (1989) 'Impersonal Passive 'se' in Spanish' *Linguisticae Investigationes XIII*: 1, 1-21.
- CHOMSKY, N. (1986) *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin and Use*, Praeger, New York.
- CHOMSKY, N. (1989) 'Some Notes on the Economy of Derivation and Representation' *MIT Working Papers*, 10, 43-75.
- CINQUE, G. (1988) 'On Si Constructions and the Theory of Arb' *L. I.* 19, 4, 521-581.
- CONTRERAS, H. (1973) 'Grammaticality versus Acceptability: The Spanish SE Case' *L. I.* 6, 1, 83-87.

- DELFITTO, D. (1990) *Generics and variables in Syntax* ms. Tesi di Perfezionamento, Pisa.
- DUARTE, Ines Silvia (1983) 'Variação paramétrica e ordendos clíticos', *Revista da Faculdade de Letras, N<sup>0</sup> especial*, Univ. classica de Lisboa, Lisboa.
- GUERON, J. (1989) 'Le clitique SE et la grammaire des pronoms indéfinis' to appear in J. Guéron and J. Y. Pollock (eds) *Linguistique Comparée et Théorie du Liage*.
- JAEGGLI, O. (1986) 'On Passive' *L. I.* 17, 4, 587-622.
- KAYNE, R. (1990) 'Romance Clitics and the Theory of Arb' to appear in *Proceedings of NELS*, 20.
- KOOPAM, H. & SPORTICHE, D. (1988) *Subjects* ms. UCLA.
- LEPSCHY, G. C. (1986) 'Aspects of Italian Constructions with SI', *The Italianist*, No. 6:139-151.
- OTERO, C. P. (1976) 'On Acceptable Agrammaticality: A Rejoinder' *L. I.* 7, 2, 342-360.
- OTERO, C. P. (1986) 'Arbitrary Subjects in Finitive Clauses' in I. Bordelais, H. Contreras and K. Zagona (eds) *Generative Studies in Spanish Syntax*, Dordrecht: Foris, 81-110.
- POLLOCK, J-Y (1989) 'Verb Movement, Universal Grammar and the Structure of IP' *L. I.*, 20, 3, 365-424.
- ROBERTS, I.G. (1987) *The Representation of Implicit and Dethematized Subjects* Foris: Dordrecht.
- ROBERTS, I.G. (1990) *Verbs and Diachronic Syntax* (ms.) Université de Genève.
- TORREGO, E. (1990) Lecture notes, GISSI, Girona.