

SE and the Unaccusative-Unergative Paradox *

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0 Introduction

This paper investigates properties of the clitic *SE* morpheme in Italian (henceforth, It), European Portuguese (henceforth, EP), and Romanian (henceforth, R), with special emphasis on derived reflexive constructions.¹ Our main purpose is to reconcile the paradoxical behaviour of derived reflexives in Romance, a class of predicates known to share properties with both unaccusative and unergative verbs, and in so doing, to offer an analysis of clitic *SE* which is capable of capturing its idiosyncratic properties.

The theoretical framework used is that of the Minimalist program as developed by Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001) and, for reflexive constructions, Hornstein (1999, 2001). We also assume late insertion of vocabulary items, along the lines of Halle and Marantz (1993).

We propose an account of derived reflexives which views these predicates as isomorphic with transitives and where reflexivity is the result of DP movement from one thematic position to another, as opposed to structure reduction or direct merge of the clitic *SE*. Consequently, clitic *SE* is argued to be the reduced spelled-out version of a lower copy of the unique DP argument present in a transitive derivation. Our analysis has several advantages. First, it is capable of capturing both unergative and unaccusative properties of derived reflexive constructions in Romance, which pure unaccusative or unergative approaches fail to do. Second, it provides an account of reflexivity which is not incumbent on properties of *SE* and thus does not rule out the presence of this morpheme in non-reflexive contexts. Specifically, we suggest *SE* in Romance is a phi-incomplete nominal, whose only relevant morpho-syntactic feature is a person (π) feature. This is a welcome result, as it is well-known that in Romance, clitic *SE* is used in a variety of non-reflexive constructions, such as impersonals, middles, anticausatives, idiomatic constructions, and, in some Romance languages, verbs that subcategorize propositional complements. Third, it can account for why *SE* - a reduced DP construed as the copy of a phi-complete DP in derived reflexives - is void of its otherwise indefinite semantics in precisely

these contexts and, furthermore, why the optional presence of emphatic DPs is also only licit in these constructions.

In section 1, we review previous analyses of derived reflexives in Romance and discuss the paradoxical syntactic behaviour of these constructions. In section 2, we offer a minimalist analysis of derived reflexives and further sharpen the properties of the *SE* morpheme in Romance. Section 3 discusses the status of emphatic reflexives and lack of an indefinite semantics for clitic *SE* in reflexive constructions. Section 4 offers an introspection into the behaviour of Romance inherent reflexives and discusses some of the predictions our analysis for derived reflexives makes with respect to this category of predicates. Section 5 shows how the proposed analysis reconciles the apparent unaccusative-unergative paradox and section 6 is a conclusion.

1 The paradox

It is well-known that derived reflexives force a coreferential interpretation of two distinct thematic roles associated with a predicate. In (1), *John* is both the Agent and the Patient of the verb *wash*, but note the obligatory presence of the morpheme *SE*, whether reinforced or not.

- (1) O João lavou - *(se) (a si mesmo) [EP]
 the John washed.3SG - *(SE)(to.ACC SELF same.M)
 ‘John washed himself.’

Previous analyses of Romance derived reflexives can be split into two major approaches, depending on whether the morpheme/clitic *SE* is treated as a syntactic argument or as a valence reducing morpheme. Regardless of whether thematic reduction is assumed or not, there is an additional schism which refers to the merge position of the unique non-clitic argument DP: internal argument versus external argument position.

The argumental approach, that is, analyses which view *SE* as a syntactic argument, are further divided between a transitive and an unaccusative perspective. Transitive/pronominal analyses (e.g. D’Alessandro 2001, Dobrovie-Sorin 1998, Fontana and Moore 1992, Rizzi 1986a, inter alia) assume that clitic *SE* is merged as the internal argument, or binds an empty nominal in the internal argument position, while the non-clitic DP is merged as the external argument of the transitive predicate. Unaccusative analyses (e.g. Kayne 1988, McGinnis 1999, Pesetsky 1995,

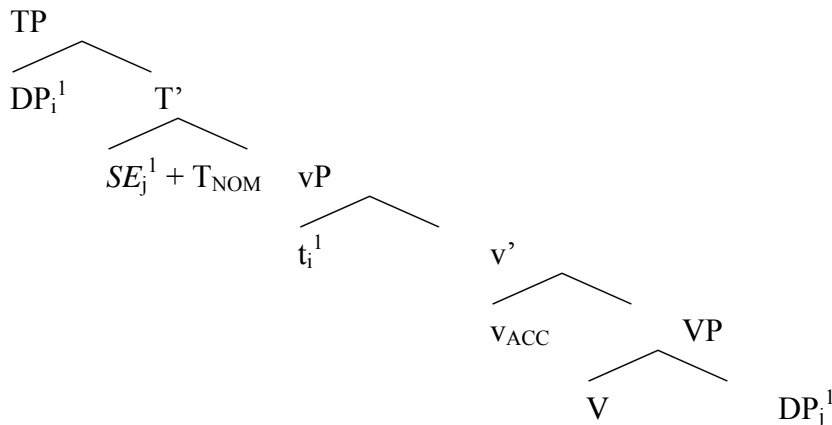
Sportiche 1998, inter alia) essentially assume that clitic *SE* is the external argument of a light *v* predicate devoid of Case properties and that the non-clitic DP is merged as the VP-internal argument. Both these analyses assume that the non-clitic DP enters a checking relationship with T which ensures Nominative Case on this DP and licensing (via binding) of clitic *SE* by this DP. They differ in that the transitive, but not the unaccusative perspective, assumes Accusative Case to be also checked in this derivation.

The non-argumental approach treats the *SE* clitic as a valence-reducing morpheme, whose presence has semantic but not syntactic import. These lexical approaches also differ in terms of whether the reflexive clitic signals the suppression of the external (e.g. Bouchard 1984, Grimshaw 1990, Marantz 1984, Rosen 1989) or the internal argument (e.g. Chierchia 1989, Grimshaw 1982, Reinhart 1997, Reinhart and Siloni 1999) and, consequently, whether the non-clitic DP is merged as an internal or external argument, respectively. Let us call the former perspective the unaccusative approach and the latter, the unergative approach.

To sum up, we can distinguish the following former approaches to reflexivization in Romance, derived as in (2).²

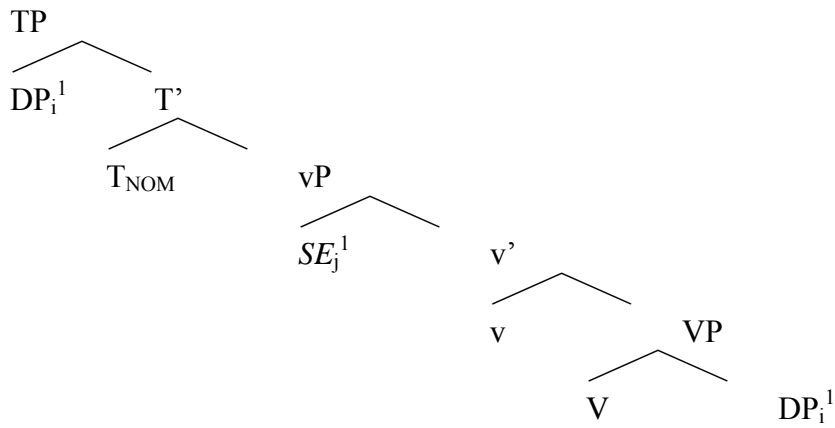
- (2) **i. Argumental approach**
a. Transitive/Pronominal approach (e.g. D'Alessandro 2001, Dobrovie-Sorin 1998, Fontana and Moore 1992, Rizzi 1986a, inter alia)

- *SE* is (or binds) the internal argument
- non-clitic DP is the external argument
- *v* assigns ACC, T assigns NOM



- b. Unaccusative approach** (e.g. Kayne 1988, McGinnis 1999, Pesetsky 1995, Sportiche 1998, inter alia)

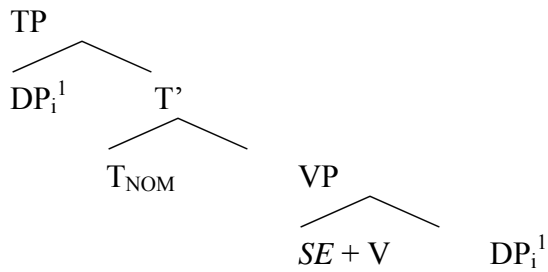
- *SE* is the external argument
- non-clitic DP is the internal argument
- *v* is Caseless, T assigns NOM



ii. **Non-argumental approach:**

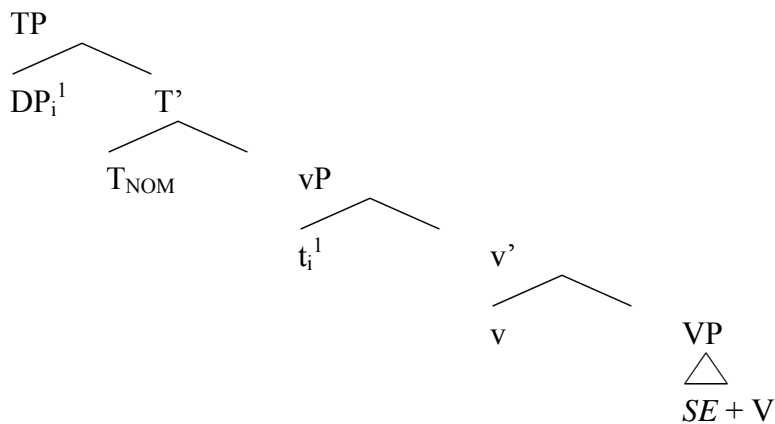
c. **Unaccusative approach** (e.g. Bouchard 1984, Grimshaw 1990, Marantz 1984, Rosen 1989)

- *SE* is a valence reducing morpheme which suppresses the external argument
- non-clitic DP is the internal argument



d. **Unergative approach** ((e.g. Chierchia 1989, Grimshaw 1982, Reinhart 1997, Reinhart and Siloni 1999)

- *SE* is a valence reducing morpheme which suppresses the internal argument
- non-clitic DP is the external argument



The different analyses summarized in (2) reflect the idiosyncratic nature of reflexive predicates, whose behaviour cannot be readily captured by properties typical of one type of

predicate only. As already noticed by Alsina (1996) and Reinhart and Siloni (1999), reflexive constructions in Romance show an unexpected paradoxical behaviour in that they *simultaneously pattern with both unaccusative and unergative predicates*. While Alsina assumes thematic reduction, claiming that such predicates show the need “to abandon the requirement of the one-to-one match between semantic roles and syntactic expressions” (1996:3), we argue for a minimalist derivation which maintains a transitive thematic structure (see section 2) and provides a straightforward explanation for the ‘paradoxical’ behaviour (see section 5). However, let us first consider a few syntactic tests that highlight the hybrid nature of Romance derived reflexives.

1.1 Syntactic tests

Alsina (1996) compiles a collection of syntactic tests for Catalan and other Romance languages that point to either unaccusative or unergative behaviour of derived reflexives. With new data, we illustrate this point with two of his tests from each category and then add two more tests of our own.

First consider the unaccusative properties of reflexivized constructions. In particular, derived reflexives pattern with unaccusatives with respect to (i) auxiliary selection and (ii) embedding under causatives. For example, in Italian, reflexivized constructions, see (3a), and unaccusatives, see (3b), select the auxiliary *essere* ‘be’, whereas unergatives, see (3c), and transitives select the auxiliary *avere* ‘have’ (see also Burzio 1986, Grimshaw 1990).

- (3) a. Gianni si è perso. [It]
 Gianni SE is lost
 ‘Gianni has lost himself.’
- b. Gianni è arrivato. [It]
 Gianni is arrived
 ‘Gianni has arrived.’
- c. Gianni ha dormito. [It]
 Gianni has slept
 ‘Gianni has slept.’

In addition, when embedded under causatives, unaccusatives, see (4a), and derived reflexive predicates, see (4b), cannot delete their logical subject in Italian, whereas unergatives, see (4c), and transitives, see (4d), do so (see also Burzio 1986, Rizzi 1986b, inter alia). Note that reflexive *SE* is also excluded under causative embedding, as shown in (4b).

- (4) a. Il fumo farà uscire *(la gente) dalla casa. [It]
the smoke make.FUT exit *(the people) out.of.the house
‘The smoke will make people come out of the house.’
- b. Ho fatto travestir(*si) *(gli attori).³ [It]
have.1SG made disguise(*SE) *(the actors)
‘I made the actors disguise themselves.’
- c. Il maestro ha fatto lavorare molto. [It]
the teacher have.3SG made work much
‘The teacher made people/students work a lot.’
- d. Il maestro ha fatto aprire il libro. [It]
the teacher have.3SG made open the book
‘The teacher had the book opened.’

The unaccusative properties of derived reflexives suggest that the non-clitic DP which enters a checking relationship with matrix T is an internal argument. However, derived reflexive predicates also present unergative/transitive properties which indicate that the full DP is, in fact, an external argument. Belletti (1988) and Alsina (1996) notice that only objects of transitive verbs can be realized as bare indefinite nouns, while subjects cannot. As expected, unaccusatives allow their unique argument to appear bare, see (5a), while unergatives do not, see (5b). Interestingly, the subject of derived reflexives patterns with the subject of transitive and unergative verbs, see (5c).

- (5) a. Caiem **rochas** da montanha. [EP]
fall rocks from.the mountain
‘Stones are falling from the mountain.’

- b. * Trabalham **crianças.** [EP]
 work.3PL children
 ‘Children are working.’
- c. * Lavam-se **crianças** na banheira. [EP]
 wash.3PL-SE children in.the tub
 ‘Children are washing themselves in the tub.’

Furthermore, as noticed by both Alsina (1996) and Reinhart and Siloni (1999), the full DP of derived reflexives cannot trigger *ne*-cliticization in Italian, see (6). Given that *ne*-cliticization is only triggered by internal arguments (see discussion in Burzio 1986), *due* ‘two’ in (6) has to be an external argument.⁴

- (6) * Se ne lavano due ai bagni pubblici. [It]
 SE of-them wash.3PL two in.the bath public
 ‘Two of them are washing themselves in the wash house.’

There are additional arguments in support of an external argument status of the unique DP in reflexives and, consequently, of unergative/transitive properties of these predicates. Consider, for instance, expletive insertion, not discussed in Alsina (1996). It is well-known that expletive associates are internal arguments. Therefore, expletive insertion is expected in passive constructions, where the subject is an internal argument; this is indeed the case, as shown in (7) where we illustrate with data from French. Furthermore, if the subject of derived reflexives were also an internal argument, the data in (7) should be ambiguous between a passive and a reflexive reading. Given that this is not the case, the reflexive reading being barred in (7) as shown, we conclude that the full DP of derived reflexives is an external argument.

- (7) Il s’est lavé plusieurs enfants. [French]
 EXPL SE-is washed several children
 ‘Several children were washed.’
 ‘* Several children washed themselves.’

Moreover, based on agentivity, McGinnis (1999) argues for the presence of the external argument position (i.e., Spec,vP) in passives. The same argument could be used to argue for

Spec,vP in derived reflexives where an agentive reading is also possible. Consider the data in (8) which confirm this.

- (8) a. S-a murdărit în mod intenționat. [R]
 SE-AUX.3SG dirtied in manner intentional
- b. Sujou-se de propósito. [EP]
 dirtied.3SG-SE of purpose
 ‘S/He deliberately dirtied her/himself.’

To sum up, in reflexivized constructions, the subject DP seems to behave like an external argument (recall that it resists properties associated with internal arguments) while at the same time inducing unaccusative properties. The unaccusative-like properties indicate that T enters a checking relationship with the internal argument, which is unexpected in the presence of an external argument. We propose that this apparent paradox can be explained under an analysis which views derived reflexives as transitive predicates with a single argument DP satisfying two thematic roles (i.e., predicates of the type $V(x,x)$); specifically, if we assume a Hornstein-type analysis of reflexivization.

2. Analysis

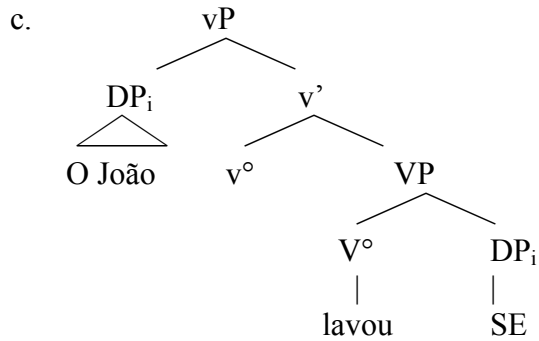
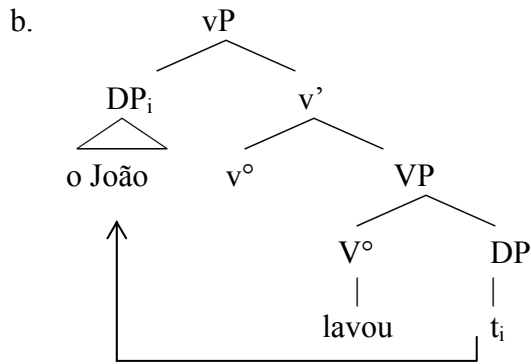
Hornstein (1999, 2001) discusses reflexivization in English and suggests an analysis in which thematic roles are features satisfiable via movement. Such an approach is consistent with a minimalist point of view, which renounces deep-structure and surface-structure as separate levels of representation and, in so doing, opens up the possibility of a non-complementary approach between theta theory and checking theory. We illustrate Hornstein’s perspective in (9) with the EP example in (1).

- (9) a.
-
- ```

graph TD
 VP --> V_deg[V°]
 VP --> DP
 V_deg --- lavou[lavou]
 DP --- oJoão[o João]
 style oJoão stroke-width:2px

```





The derivation in (9) contains a single argument DP which first merges with the transitive verb in (9a) and subsequently undergoes move and second merge in Spec,vP for thematic purposes, see (9b). If there are more theta-roles that require saturation than number of DPs present in the Numeration, DP-movement will ensure checking of all thematic positions. Specifically, while merge is preferred over move, given that the Numeration lacks an additional DP to satisfy the external/agentive theta-role as an instance of merge, the internal DP moves to this position, thereby creating a non-trivial chain with two identical copies and two thematic roles. Hornstein further argues that both copies will have to be pronounced to satisfy Case requirements.<sup>5</sup> Assume further that, in Romance, the lower copy is pronounced as *SE*, thereby yielding the outcome in (9c), and bears Case relevant to the properties of the verb. Specifically, we propose that *SE* in derived reflexives is the phonological spell-out of an A-bound trace that is Accusative or Dative, as in (10).<sup>6</sup>

- (10) a. Mihai           și-a                           spălat           mîinile.           [R]  
           Mihai.NOM   SE.DAT-AUX.3SG   washed       hands.ACC.the
- b. Mihai           s-a                           spălat           pe           mîini.<sup>7</sup>  
           Mihai.NOM   SE.ACC-AUX.3SG   washed       Prep.ACC   hands  
           ‘Mihai<sub>i</sub> washed his<sub>i</sub> / \*<sub>j</sub> hands.’

We return in section 3.2 to a brief discussion on the Accusative versus Dative Case of the A-bound trace in derived reflexives. However, at this point, at least the following two questions emerge: (i) what evidence is there for a movement as opposed to a binding analysis of clitic *SE*? and (ii) why is the lower copy spelled out as a ‘deficient’, underspecified argument (i.e., *SE*)?

## 2.1 *Movement versus base-generation*

The merge position of clitics is not a matter of general consensus and pronominal clitics in Romance have often been analyzed as operators base-generated in the inflectional domain from whence they bind variables in argumental positions (Burzio 1986, Dobrovie-Sorin 1998, inter alia), or as base-generated in argumental positions from whence they undergo movement into the clitic domain (Kayne 1994, Uriagereka 1995, inter alia). Our analysis favours the latter approach and we suggest that empirical evidence from Italian supports a movement account for *SE*. Consider the data in (11), schematized as in (12).

- (11) a. Gianni difende sé/ se stesso. [It]  
 Gianni defends SE (SELF.M-emphatic)
- b. Gianni si difende.  
 Gianni SE defend
- c. \*Gianni si difende sé/ se stesso.  
 Gianni SE defends SE (SELF.M-emphatic)  
 ‘Gianni defends himself.’
- (12) a. DP<sub>i</sub> V SE (stesso)<sub>i</sub>  
 b. DP<sub>i</sub> SE<sub>i</sub> V  
 c. \* DP<sub>i</sub> SE<sub>i</sub> V SE (stesso)<sub>i</sub>

Derived reflexives in Italian can be formed as in (11a) or (11b), but not as in (11c). Given that, in (11), pre-verbal clitic *SE* and post-verbal stressed *SE* are in complementary distribution and are both equally capable of reflexivizing the predicate (i.e., both have the status of “*SELF* anaphors” in Reinhart and Reuland’s terms 1993), they are clearly instances of the same *SE* argument. While clitic *SE* moves to the TP domain in (11b) to satisfy morphophonological requirements on the formation of phrases (for various accounts see Chomsky 1995, Kayne 1994, Uriagereka

1995), there is no movement of emphatic *SE* in (11a), as in this case prosodic requirements of phrases are met due to emphasis (or extra structure). A copy theory of movement can account for the complementarity of distribution seen in (11): pre- and post-verbal *SE* form a movement chain with identical copies and choice in copy pronunciation rests with the phonological component. Under the operator-variable analysis, on the other hand, we would not expect *SE* to surface in the VP domain, given that operators do not occupy argumental positions.

As the operator-variable analysis cannot account for this complementarity of distribution without additional stipulations, we suggest that the copy theory of movement adopted here is in the right direction.<sup>8</sup>

## 2.2 Constraints on the lower copy

In section 2, we suggested that *SE* is the overt lower copy of a DP argument that satisfies two thematic roles via movement. However, this overt lower copy is cross-linguistically constrained to surface as an underspecified argument and never in its entire featural complexity, as shown in (13).

- (13) a. \* Gianni<sub>i</sub> lava Gianni<sub>i</sub> / lui<sub>i</sub>. [It]  
 b. \* O João<sub>i</sub> viu-o<sub>i</sub> / o João<sub>i</sub>. [EP]  
 c. \* Ion<sub>i</sub> spală pe Ion<sub>i</sub> / el<sub>i</sub>. [R]  
 ‘\*John<sub>i</sub> washes John<sub>i</sub> / him<sub>i</sub>.’

While the standard assumption with regards to the data in (13) is that they represent either a Condition C or a Condition B violation, given our proposal, this cannot be maintained. If Binding Theory were assumed to affect identical copies derived via movement, EPP-type movements should also trigger Condition C effects, clearly not the case. Let us assume instead that the data in (13) are ruled out by the general condition on A-chains put forth in Reinhart and Reuland (1993), henceforth R/R93, and defined in (14).

### (14) **General Condition on A-chains** (R/R93)

A maximal A-chain ( $\alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n$ ) contains exactly one link -  $\alpha_1$  - that is both +R and Case-marked

Given that derived reflexives contain an A-chain in which both copies are Case-marked and the higher copy ( $\alpha_1$ ) is ‘+R’, the lower copy cannot also be ‘+R’ and, consequently has to surface as an underspecified argument traditionally referred to as an anaphor, as in (15).

(15) John<sub>i</sub> washed himself<sub>i</sub>.

We next consider the mechanics for implementing the condition in (14) in derivations with reflexive predicates in Romance.

### 2.3 Deriving *SE* from a full DP

Following Halle and Marantz (1993), let us assume that prior to vocabulary insertion, syntactic objects that enter the derivation are just bundles of morphosyntactic/semantic features with no phonological features. After feature-checking/valuation within narrow syntax, the derivation undergoes Spell-Out and is submitted to the semantic and phonological components. It is within the phonological component that vocabulary insertion applies. Vocabulary insertion supplies phonetic content to morphemes but cannot modify the already existing feature values. While the procedure favours maximal feature match, items that are *underspecified* for the morphosyntactic feature complexes that they realize may also be inserted.

In the case of derived reflexives, say the derivation in (9), the unique DP *o João* ‘John’ is inserted from the Numeration with a complete set of phi-features (i.e.,  $\phi$ -complete). On its way from the internal argument to the external argument position, the DP checks phi-features on *v* and gets Accusative Case from *v* (Chomsky 2000). Case-valuation of the lower copy of *o João* ‘John’ is licit due to its being a phi-complete DP. In the external argument position, the DP further enters an Agree relationship with T and values phi-features in T (with or without pied-piping depending on language); the probe T in turn assigns Nominative Case to its goal (i.e., *o João* ‘John’ in Spec,*v*P). Given that all features have been valued, the narrow-syntactic derivation undergoes Spell-Out. However, vocabulary insertion in the phonological component has to observe the Condition on A-chains, an instance of syntax-filtered morphology.<sup>9</sup> Specifically for derived reflexives, while the lower copy is merged with phi-complete features, it cannot surface as such as this would violate the Condition on A-Chains given that both copies are valued for Case.

We propose that the *SE* clitic morpheme in Romance is sufficiently underspecified to qualify as a felicitous overt lower copy in an A-chain, in accord with the condition in (14). *SE* in

Romance lacks a complete set of phi-features; it is only specified for person (e.g. in French, *me*-1SG, *te*-2SG, *se*-3SG) but not for number (e.g. in French, *mes*-1PL, *tes*-2PL, *\*ses*-3PL) or gender. As such, we take *SE* to have just a person ( $\pi$ ) feature (see also Bonet 1995, Kayne 2001, Reuland 2001), which licenses its underspecified argument status.

In conclusion, *SE* being referentially defective is a suitable candidate for insertion as the lower copy of *o João* ‘John’ in (9), with the relevant  $\pi$  feature observed. The mechanics outlined above are schematized step-wise in (16) and (17), with copies in bold pronounced. ‘EA’ and ‘IA’ stand for ‘external argument’ in Spec,vP and ‘internal argument’ in Case-licensed position, respectively.

(16) *Output after feature-checking* (i.e., Case and theta-role saturation):

|                     |                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Spec,TP             | EA                  | IA                  |
| └───┬───┘           | └───┬───┘           |                     |
| $\alpha$            | $\alpha$            | $\alpha$            |
| NOM                 |                     | ACC                 |
| $\varphi$ -complete | $\varphi$ -complete | $\varphi$ -complete |

(17) *Vocabulary insertion after Spell-Out* (i.e., after (14) has applied):<sup>10</sup>

|                           |                     |                                       |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Spec,TP                   | EA                  | IA                                    |
| └───┬───┘                 | └───┬───┘           |                                       |
| <b>O João<sub>i</sub></b> | O João <sub>i</sub> | <b>SE<sub>i</sub></b>                 |
| NOM                       |                     | ACC                                   |
| $\varphi$ -complete       | $\varphi$ -complete | $\varphi$ - <i>in</i> complete: $\pi$ |

To sum up, under this approach *SE* is construed as a pronounced copy of an A-moved phi-complete DP.

#### 2.4 *A bonus*

Note that the analysis proposed in this section has the welcome result of divorcing reflexivity from any ‘anaphoric’ qualities of *SE*. *SE* is not inherently reflexive or anaphoric, these properties being epiphenomenal and related to a DPs “extension” into two distinct thematic slots. Specifically, under this proposal, anaphora and reflexivity are the result of an argument-sharing property typical of transitive verbs and not incumbent on certain reflexivizing properties of

various arguments or morphemes. As suggested, the only properties intrinsic to *SE* are its human argument semantics and a syntactic  $\pi$ -feature.

The bonus of an analysis that reduces the reflexive/anaphoric reading of *SE* to syntactic rather than lexical factors is that it enables us to assume a monosemous analysis of *SE* in Romance. Specifically, it is well-known that *SE* appears not only in reflexives (derived and/or inherent), but also in middles, unaccusatives derived from causatives (i.e., anticausatives), passives (in Romanian), and impersonal constructions in some languages. We propose, following the Strong Monosemy Principle (Cowper, 1995) and the One Form/One Meaning Principle (Johns, 1992), that in each of these languages there is only one lexical entry for *SE*, specified [+human] and marked for  $\pi$  which can surface in any context requiring a reduced (i.e., phi-incomplete DP). This underspecification of *SE* is what allows for its plurifunctionality (see also Embick 1997, 1998, Grimshaw 1997 inter alia).

While lack of anaphoric qualities permit a monosemous view of *SE*, the fact that this reduced DP is interpreted as an indefinite argument in all but derived reflexive constructions might prove inconsistent with this view. However, we suggest that the inconsistency is but apparent, having to do with whether *SE* is the phonological reflex of a phi-complete DP - as with derived reflexives - or a phi-incomplete/reduced DP - as in all other contexts of occurrence. Specifically, the inconsistency has to do with whether at the point of Merge what merges from the Numeration is a phi-complete set of features which later undergoes obligatory underspecification due to the General Condition on A-chanis, or a  $\pi$ -feature, respectively.

### **3 SELF logophors**

According to R/R93, a *SELF* logophor is an instance of a *SELF* anaphor (i.e., an inherently reflexive element) that fails to reflexively mark a predicate. In this section, we discuss the emphatic use of *SELF* logophors in Romance and tie it in with our analysis of derived reflexives. We first show that emphatic reflexives are adjuncts and not arguments and then proceed to elaborate on more general Case requirements with emphatics and reflexive predicates.

#### *3.1 The syntax of SELF logophors*

Emphatic reflexives in Romance are phrasal constituents which can be either APs or PPs optionally containing an AP. Consider the data in (18).

- (18) a. Maria guarda [DP sé / se stessa] [It]  
 Maria looks.at [DP SE (SELF.F)]  
 ‘It is herself that Maria is looking at.’
- b. Gianni si lava [PP \*(da) sé]. [It]  
 Gianni SE washes [PP \*(by.ACC) SELF]  
 ‘It is himself that Gianni is washing.’
- c. O João viu-se [PP \*(a) si (mesmo)] [EP]  
 the John saw- SE [PP \*(to.ACC) SELF (same.M)]  
 ‘It is himself that John is looking at.’
- d. Victor se spală [PP \*(pe) sine (însuși)] [R]  
 Victor SE washes [PP\*(Prep.ACC)SELF (in.SELF.SG.M.)]  
 ‘It is himself that Victor is washing.’
- e. [DP Victor (însuși)] se spală. [R]  
 [DP Victor (in.SELF.SG.M.)] SE washes  
 ‘It is Victor himself that is washing (himself).’

Notice that, in Romanian, the emphatic AP modifies the subject DP (18e) or the noun phrase within the emphatic PP associated with the internal argument position (18d), depending on whether emphasis is placed on the Agent or Patient, respectively.<sup>11</sup> In all three languages, these APs inflect for phi-features identical to those of the unique argument DP.

Semantically, emphatics mark contrastive focus (i.e., they are “focus logophors” in the sense of R/R93). Since no more than one XP can be contrastively focused in a sentence (Erteschik-Shir 1998), it is not surprising that no more than one such emphatic can appear in the argument structure of a predicate, see (19).

- (19) a. \* [DP Ion însuși] se spală [PP pe sine însuși]. [R]  
 [DP Ion (in.SELF.SG.M.)] SE washes [DP Prep.ACC SELF in.SELF.SG.M.]  
 ‘\* It is John himself that it is himself that is washing.’

- b. \* [DP Gianni stesso] lava [DP sé stesso]. [It]  
 [DP Gianni (SELF.M)] washes [DP SE (SELF.M)]  
 ‘\* It is John himself that it is himself that is washing.’

Syntactically, while APs are clearly adjuncts, the status of the PP emphatics is less clear. In principle, these could be either adjuncts or arguments. However, there are various syntactic diagnostics that show that reflexive emphatics are *not* argumental in Romance. First, these emphatics fail to reflexively mark the predicate, see data in (20) which are ungrammatical in the absence of *SE*.<sup>12</sup>

- (20) a. Ion \*(se) spală **pe sine.** [R]  
 Ion \*(SE) washes Prep.ACC SELF
- b. O João lavou-\*(se) **a si** [EP]  
 the John washes-\*(SE) to.ACC SELF
- c. Gianni \*(si) lava **da sé.** [It]  
 Gianni \*(SE) washes by.ACC SELF  
 ‘It is himself that John is washing.’

Consequently, these PP emphatics are *SELF* logophors, specifically instances of *non-argumental* reflexives (i.e. *SELF* anaphors, R/R93).

Second, extraction phenomena also show that emphatic PPs behave like adjuncts. Cinque (1990), Schütze (1995), and Hornstein (2001) discuss various extraction diagnostics to determine the adjunct versus argument status of syntactic phrases. Here, we show that extraction of *SELF* logophors out of factive (21a) and interrogative (21b,c) weak islands is barred. The inability of these logophors to extract out of weak islands confirms their adjunct status.

- (21) a. \* Pe sine regret că s-a murdărit Mihai. [R]  
 Prep.ACC SELF regret that SE-AUX.3SG dirtied Mihai  
 ‘Himself I regret that Mihai got dirty.’



b. \* Pe sine m-am întrebat de ce [R]  
 Prep.ACC SELF SE.1SG-AUX.1SG asked why  
 se spală Victor.  
 SE washes Victor  
 ‘Himself I wondered why Victor washes.’

c. \*Da sé mi chiedevo perché Gianni si [It]  
 by SELF me asked why Gianni SE  
 stesse lavando.  
 was washing  
 ‘By himself I wondered why Gianni had washed himself.’

Based on the facts that PP *SELF* logophors are unable to reflexively mark predicates and fail to extract out of weak islands, we conclude that, in Romance, these are adjuncts and not arguments.

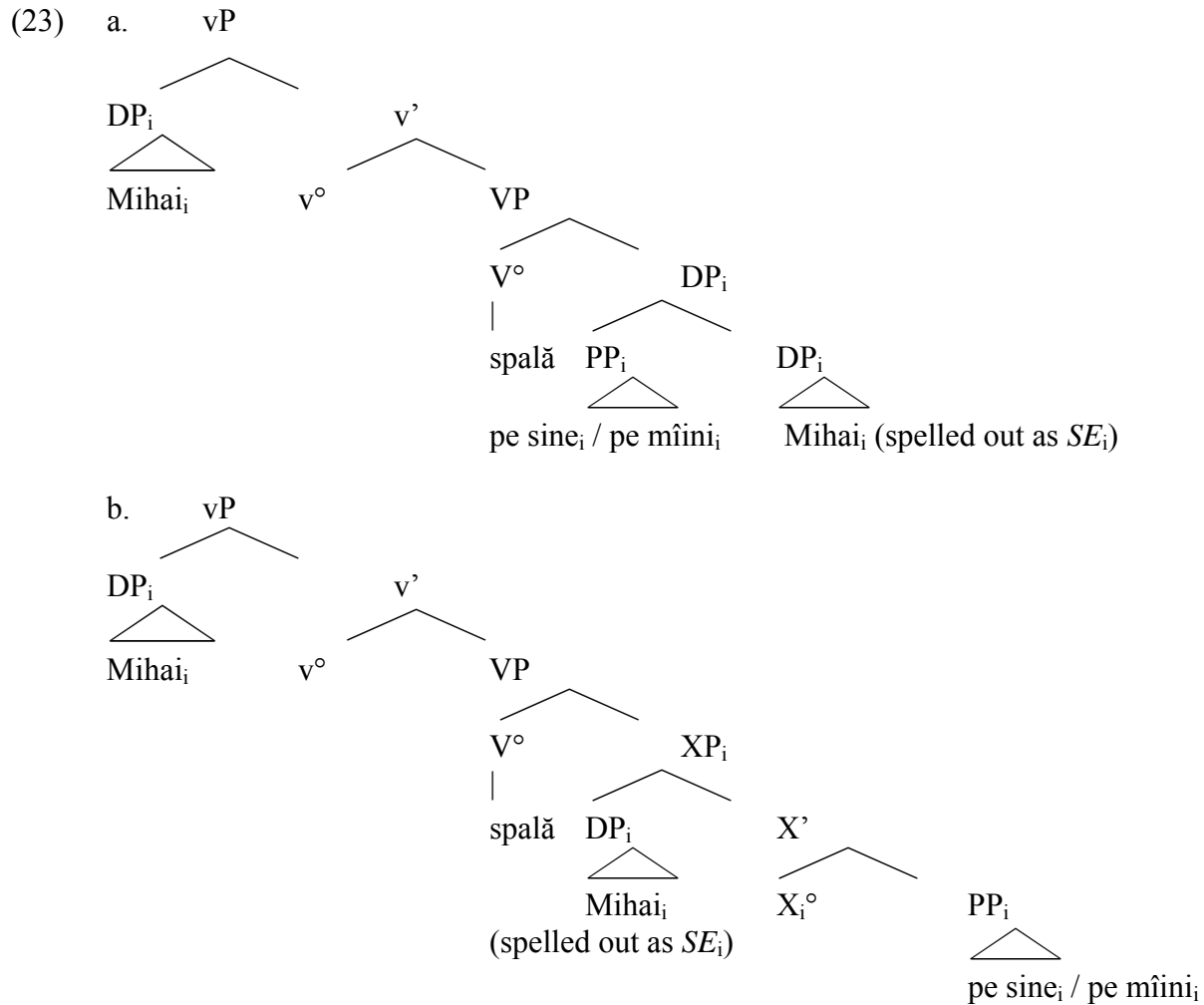
### 3.2 *Accusative versus Dative SE*

In the previous section, we argued that PP emphatics are not arguments of the derived reflexive predicate. In this section we address the structure of these adjunct PP and its correlation to Case. Notice first that these optional adjunct PPs are either *SELF* anaphors or objects of inalienable possession, but never objects of alienable possession. This is shown in (22).

(22) Mihai se spală [pp pe sine / mîini / \* copil]. [R]  
 Mihai SE washes [pp Prep.ACC SELF / hands / \* child]  
 ‘Mihai<sub>i</sub> is washing HIMSELF / his<sub>i</sub> hands / \*his<sub>i</sub>/the child.’

(22) shows that the adjunct PP is either identical with the non-clitic DP ‘Mihai’, and consequently expressed as a *SELF* logophor, or has a part-whole relationship with this DP, and consequently is an object of inalienable possession. These facts indicate an analysis in which the emphatic PP is merged in the domain of the DP ‘Mihai’. Two structural possibilities come to mind: the first, a canonical adjunction structure, as in (23a), the second, a Larsonian structure, more in the spirit of the Minimalist program, as in (23b), in which the emphatic PP adjunct is merged with X, a projection whose specifier contains the initial merge site of the DP ‘Mihai’. In the spirit of Larson (1988), Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002), and Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001), the

emphatic PP is a modifier by virtue of the relationship it entertains with X, rather than by virtue of its structural position.<sup>13</sup> Either way, the PP will be coindexed with the unique DP of the derived reflexive construction. Emphatic PPs (i.e., *SELF* logophors) then are not inherently reflexives any more than *SE* is. Their structural position is what ensures that they agree in phi-features with *SE*, the lower copy of the unique DP (e.g. ‘Mihai’ in (22)).



In (23), the predicate is reflexively marked by virtue of the same mechanism as the one proposed in section 2. The non-clitic DP moves from its initial merge position to a second thematic position in Spec,vP; consequently, it will be interpreted as both the Agent and the affected object of ‘wash’ and will form an A-chain that contains two spelled-out copies.

Romanian has an additional possibility of expressing possession, both inalienable and alienable; consider (24).

(24) a. Mihai își spală mâinile. [R]  
 Mihai SE.DAT washed hands.ACC.the  
 ‘Mihai<sub>i</sub> is washing his<sub>i</sub> hands.’

b. Mihai își spală merele. [R]  
 Mihai SE.DAT washed apples.ACC.the  
 ‘Mihai<sub>i</sub> is washing his<sub>i</sub> apples / the apples for himself.’

Note also in (25) that the possessed objects of (24) cannot be deleted, while we have shown that the adjunct PPs of (22) may be left out.

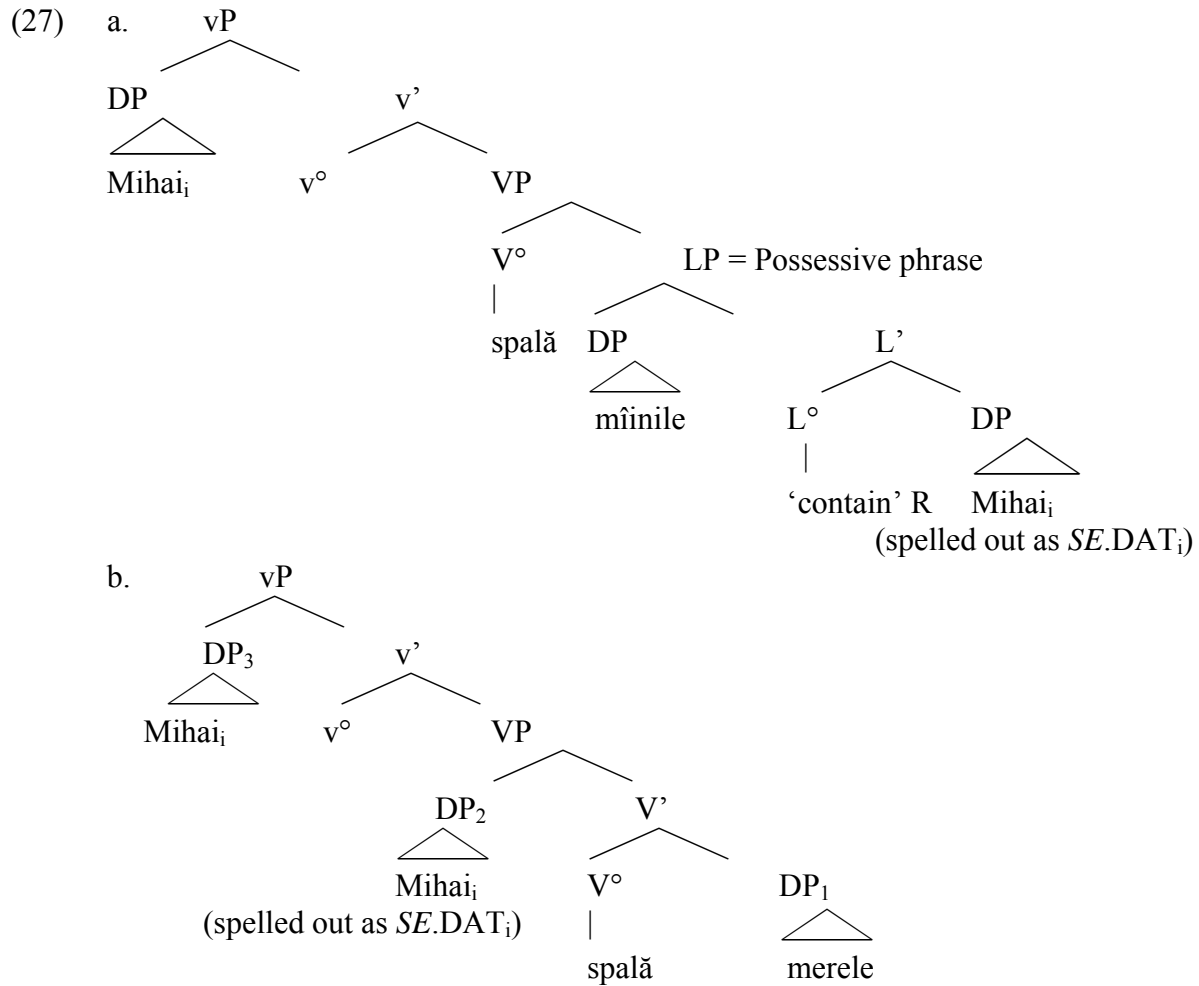
(25) Mihai își spală \*(merele) / \*(mâinile). [R]  
 Mihai SE.DAT washed apples.ACC.the / hands.ACC.the  
 ‘Mihai<sub>i</sub> is washing his<sub>i</sub> apples / his<sub>i</sub> hands.’

At first sight, we might be tempted to conclude that constructions like (24) are ditransitive predicates. However, note further that in structures with inalienable objects, the dative possessor may not be deleted, while this is not the case for alienable objects; compare (26a) with (24b) and (26b).

(26) a. Mihai \*(își) spală mâinile. [R]  
 Mihai SE.DAT washed hands.ACC.the  
 ‘Mihai<sub>i</sub> is washing his<sub>i</sub> hands.’

b. Mihai spală merele. [R]  
 Mihai washed apples.ACC.the  
 ‘Mihai is washing the apples.’

The above observation suggests that constructions of the type in (24) do not involve an isomorphic structure. Rather, it seems that (24a) contains a transitive predicate whose internal argument is a possessive phrase, represented as in (27a) following proposals in Alexiadou (1999), while (24b) contains a ditransitive predicate, represented as in (27b).



The LP in (27) is Alexiadou's (1999) possessive locative phrase - LP - in which, the inalienable possession occupies the specifier of a locative phrase headed by an empty 'containment' relationship, while the possessor is an inherently Case-marked complement of L.<sup>14</sup> (27b), on the other hand, involves a ditransitive predicate, with both the Accusative and the Dative object as complements of the verb, with DP<sub>1</sub> as the affected object, DP<sub>2</sub> as the Beneficiary and DP<sub>3</sub> as the Agent. As with Accusative *SE*, we assume Dative *SE* to be the lower copy of an A-chain, an assumption strengthened by the behaviour of similar Italian data.

The Italian example in (28a) would also presumably involve *SE* with (abstract) Dative Case, a proposal reinforced by its non-reflexive Dative counterpart in (28b) and by the presence of the affected object *le mani* 'the hands', which has an Accusative Case value, thereby precluding the possibility of Accusative *SE*.

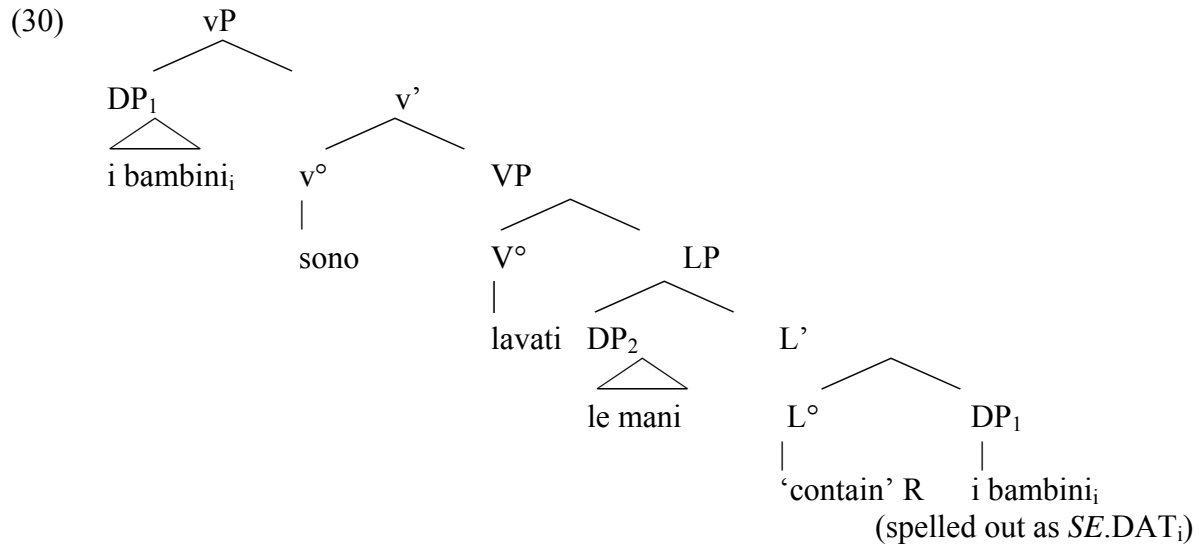
- (28) a. Maria si lava le mani. [It]  
 Maria SE.DAT washes the hands.F.PL  
 'Maria<sub>i</sub> is washing her<sub>i</sub> hands.'

- b. Maria gli lava le mani. [It]  
 Maria CL.DAT.M washes the hands.F.PL  
 ‘Maria is washing his hands for him.’

Note that examples such as (29) show past participial agreement with the Nominative DP *i bambini* ‘the children’, regardless of whether this DP is pre-verbal, as in (29a), or post-verbal, as in (29b).

- (29) a. I bambini<sub>i</sub> si<sub>i</sub> sono lavati le mani<sub>i</sub>. [It]  
 the children.M.PL SE.DAT are washed.M.PL the hands.F.PL  
 ‘The children<sub>i</sub> washed their<sub>i</sub> hands.’
- b. Prima di pranzo, si<sub>i</sub> sono lavati le mani<sub>i</sub> [It]  
 before of lunch SE.DAT are washed.M.PL the hands.F.PL  
 i bambini<sub>i</sub>.  
 the children.M.PL  
 ‘Before lunch, the children<sub>i</sub> washed their<sub>i</sub> hands.’

It is well-known that in Italian, like in Spanish and French, past participial agreement cannot be the result of a long-distance relationship. Rather, past-participial agreement is assumed to necessitate a Spec-head relationship and thus to require movement of the argument it agrees with. We suggest that the agreement facts in (29) are straightforwardly accounted for under an analysis which assumes Dative *SE* to be the lower copy of an A-chain as is shown in (30). It is this lower copy of *i bambini* ‘the children’ - spelled out as *SE* - that triggers the agreement facts, regardless of whether the Nominative DP is pre- or post-verbal.<sup>15</sup>



While our discussion of Dative *SE* is far from comprehensive, it shows that *SE* is indeed Case-marked in derived reflexive constructions.<sup>16</sup> As the Minimalist program assumes Case-checking to be incumbent on phi-completeness and we have argued that *SE* is phi-deficient (i.e., it is marked exclusively for a  $\pi$  feature), we suggest that Case-marking of *SE* is a direct correlation of its being a copy of a phi-complete DP. Specifically, at the point of Case checking, the DP that values Case is phi-complete (see discussion in section 2).

#### 4 Brief excursus on inherent reflexives

In this section, we offer a brief introspection into some properties of inherent reflexive (i.e., pronominal) verbs in Romance in order to further shed light on our overall discussion concerning derived reflexives and properties of *SE*.<sup>17</sup>

##### 4.1 Inherent reflexives and *SELF* logophors

An interesting difference between derived reflexives and inherent reflexives in Romance is that the latter cannot appear with emphatic logophors of the type discussed in section 3.1; consider the data in (31):

- (31) a. Victor se uită (\* pe sine) la televizor. [R]  
 Victor SE watches (\*Prep.ACC SELF) at television  
 ‘Victor is watching TV.’
- b. O João suicidou-se (\* a si mesmo) [EP]  
 the John suicides-SE (\*to SELF same)  
 ‘John committed suicide.’
- c. Gianni si vergogna (\* da sé) di Luisa. [It]  
 Gianni SE ashames (\*by SELF) of Luisa  
 ‘Gianni is ashamed of Luisa.’

We suggest that the incompatibility of *SELF* logophors with the class of “*reflexiva tantum*” verbs is due to both semantic and syntactic factors.

Cornilescu (2000) noticed that the Romanian particle/preposition *pe* ‘PE’ can only be used when a person-denoting DP receives an object level reading. In other words, *pe*-DPs can only name individuals, which are semantically of type  $\langle e \rangle$ , and can never be predicates, which are of type  $\langle e, t \rangle$ . Given that logophoric PPs in Romanian are always accompanied by this individual level preposition, it follows that they must be associated with an argumental DP that is  $\varphi$ -complete. For derived reflexives, we have argued that emphatic logophors attach to copies of fully referential DPs that are spelled out as deficient *SE* due to a general condition on A-chains (see section 2). The fact that inherent reflexives are incompatible with emphatic logophors suggests that their semantic requirements of attaching to a  $\varphi$ -complete DP are not met; specifically, that *SE* of inherent reflexives is not semantically of type  $\langle e \rangle$ . Structurally speaking then, in inherent reflexive predicates, *SE* cannot be assumed to merge as an internal argument.

The non-argumental status of *SE* with inherent reflexives is further supported by theta-theoretic considerations and our more general discussion in the next section where we provide some tests which suggest that *SE* in these predicates is a lexically suppressed argument.

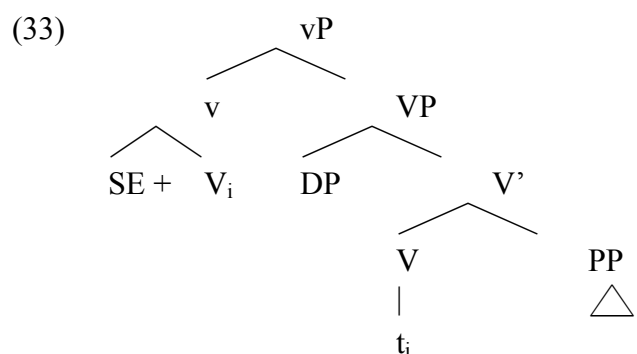
#### 4.2 Evidence for a Romance *antipassive*

The large majority of inherent reflexives in Romance show evidence for a PP within VP. Specifically, as shown in footnote 17, “*reflexiva tantum*” predicates are understood to hold of a

PP, regardless of whether this is expressed overtly or just implied. For example, in (32), the PP is part of the overall proposition, even if not overtly expressed.

- (32) a.   Studentții    se abțin        (de la comentarii).                   [R]  
           students-the SE abstain    (from of comments-the)  
           ‘The students abstain from commenting.’
- b.   Os alunos    lembraram-se        (do exame).                   [EP]  
           the students remembered-SE    (of.the exam)  
           ‘The students remembered the exam.’
- c.   Giorgio       si     astiene        (dal voto).                   [It]  
           Giorgio       SE    abstains        (from the vote)  
           ‘George abstains from voting.’

We propose that this PP is, in fact, an internal argument and suggest that Romance pronominal verbs are antipassive structures.<sup>18</sup> Baker (1988) argues that antipassives possess an incorporated argument, which can be expanded by an optional oblique phrase. We consider *SE* to be a lexically suppressed argument ‘expandable’ by a PP, as in (33).<sup>19</sup>



The structure in (33) is at once consistent with the incompatible emphatic facts observed in the previous section, which suggest *SE* is non-argumental, and capable of accounting for the obligatory PP reading associated with these pronominal verbs.<sup>20</sup>

Let us next consider three types of syntactic evidence in support of our analysis. The first piece of evidence is that pronominal verbs allow their past participle to modify the DP within the oblique PP, a property associated with internal argument DPs. This is shown in (34) and (35).



(34) a. Studentul s-a gîndit la soluția asta ieri. [R]  
 student-the SE-AUX.3SG thought at solution-the this yesterday  
 ‘The student thought of this solution yesterday.’

b. soluție gîndită  
 ‘a thought (of) solution’

(35) a. O João esqueceu-se dos livros. [EP]  
 the John forgot-SE of.the books  
 ‘John forgot the books.’

b. livros esquecidos  
 ‘forgotten books’

The second piece of evidence concerns extraction out of weak islands. Given general conditions on trace-licensing (see Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1990), it is well-known that arguments but not adjuncts can be extracted out of weak islands. The examples in (36) - (37) show that, when contrastively focused, the PP of inherent reflexives can be extracted across an interrogative or a factive weak island, which further supports the argumental status of these PPs:

(36) a. CON I BIMBI mi domando se Gianni si sia incontrato. [It]  
 with the kids SE.1SG wonder if Gianni SE is met.M.SG  
 ‘With the kids I wonder whether Gianni has met.’

b. DI GIANNI rimpiango di non essermi ricordata [It]  
 of Gianni regret of not be-SE.1SG remembered.F.SG  
 ‘Of Gianni I regret not having thought of.’

(37) DE ION regret că nu mi-am amintit [R]  
 of Ion regret that not SE.DAT.1SG-AUX.1SG remembered  
 ‘Of Ion I regret not having thought of.’

The third piece of evidence is that some inherent reflexives allow for minimal pairs without a suppressed accusative argument; consider the data in (38) and (39):

- (38) a. Ion gîndește rezolvarea problemei. [R]  
 Ion thinks solution.ACC problem.DAT
- b. Ion se gîndește la rezolvarea problemei.  
 Ion SE thinks at solution problem.DAT  
 ‘Ion is thinking of the solution for this problem.’
- (39) a. O João esqueceu os livros [Brazilian Portuguese]  
 the John forgot the books
- b. O João se esqueceu dos livros  
 the John SE forgot of.the books  
 "John forgot the books."

In examples (38) and (39), the inherent reflexive alternates with a non-reflexive predicate according to the schema in (40). Note that the internal argument of both (40a) and (40b) contain the same DP, indicated by the shared subscript.

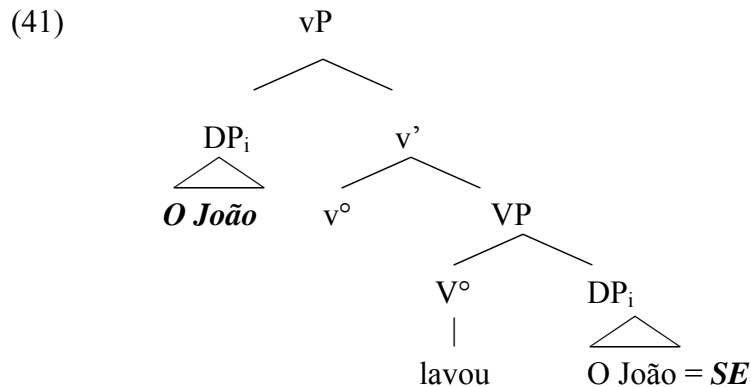
- (40) a. V [DP DP<sub>i</sub>] = internal argument  
 b. SE V [PP DP<sub>i</sub>] = internal argument

To sum up, in this section we have shown various tests to confirm the argumental status of the PP present with inherent reflexives in Romance. These findings, together with the unavailability of *SELF* logophors with pronominal verbs, confirms the non-argumental status of *SE* with these predicates. While, in Romance, inherent reflexives and derived reflexives both require the clitic morpheme *SE*, we have shown that these two types of predicates have different syntactic and semantic properties and consequently cannot be structurally isomorphic. Inherent reflexives, while dyadic in nature, are antipassive constructions in which *SE* is not an argument, while derived reflexives, are not only dyadic, but show evidence for argumental *SE* as a DP which is simultaneously the bearer of two thematic roles.

## 5 Revisiting the unaccusative-unergative paradox

In section 1 of this paper we reviewed various properties of derived reflexive constructions that pointed towards the seemingly paradoxical conclusions that these predicates are at once unaccusative and unergative. The analysis proposed in section 2 maintains a dyadic, transitive structure for these predicates, in which a unique DP satisfies two thematic roles via movement and in so doing, values features of both *v* and T. In this section, we discuss the benefits of our analysis vis-à-vis this idiosyncratic behaviour.

Let us first consider the unergative properties of derived reflexives, which we noticed included the following facts about the non-clitic subject DP: (i) it cannot appear as a bare DP, (ii) it cannot undergo *ne*-cliticization, (iii) it cannot tolerate expletive insertion, and (iv) it can be interpreted as an Agent. All of these properties point towards the non-clitic DP as an external, Spec,vP argument, rather than an internal argument. This is predicted by our analysis, which assumes the upper copy in Spec,vP (or Spec,TP in languages that require subject externalization due to EPP) to be phonologically realized as the phi-complete version of the A-chain. This is discussed in section 2 and schematically shown in (9) and (41), with pronounced DP copies in bold.



Recall next the unaccusative properties of derived reflexives. They include auxiliary selection, which has to be the same as for passive and unaccusative predicates in languages that show the *have-be* split, and obligatory DP subject with predicates embedded under causatives. We will discuss each of these in turn.

### 5.1 Auxiliary selection

Of the languages under consideration, we look at Italian, as it is the only one to show the *have-be* split in terms of auxiliary selection. Consider the data in (42) which show that *essere* ‘be’ is selected with reflexive predicates (42a), on a par with passives (42b) and unaccusatives (42c). Note, in addition, that the past participle agrees with the subject DP.

- (42) a. Luca si è lavato. [It]  
 Luca.M SE is washed.M  
 ‘Luca has washed.’
- b. La casa è stata acquistata.  
 the house.F is been.F bought.F  
 ‘The house has been bought.’
- c. Vincenzo è arrivato.  
 Vincenzo.M is arrived.M  
 ‘Vincenzo has arrived.’

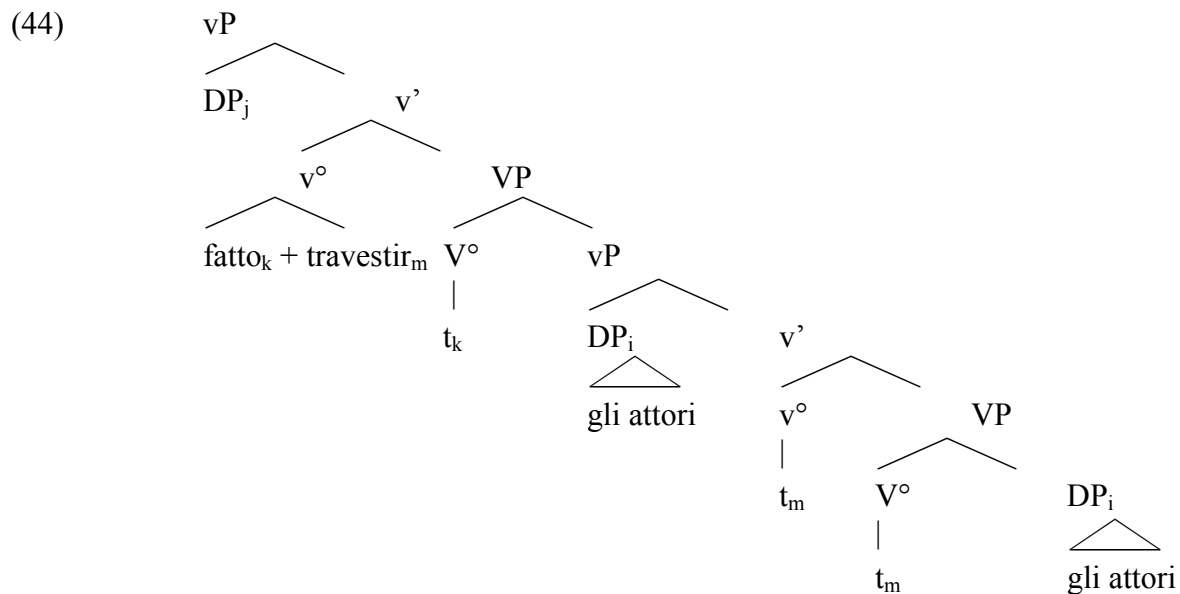
It is well-known that morphological realization of *v* as ‘be’ or ‘have’ is incumbent on the initial Merge position of the subject DP: VP-internal or VP-external, respectively. Specifically, verbs with ‘high transitivity’, for which phi-features of T are valued by DP in Spec,vP select ‘have’, while verbs with ‘low transitivity’, for which phi-features of T are valued by a VP-internal DP, select ‘be’. Furthermore, the past participial facts also support the claim that in (42), the initial Merge position of the subject DP is VP-internal, as they indicate movement across the past participle from a lower position (see also discussion in section 3.2). These facts are easily brought to terms with our analysis which views the DP subject which values features on T as having been initially merged in a VP-internal position - thus triggering insertion of ‘be’ and participle agreement.

## 5.2 *Causative constructions*

As far as derived reflexives are concerned, with respect to causative constructions, we need to be able to account for the following two facts: (i) the presence of the obligatory DP subject, also present with unaccusative predicates but excluded with transitive and unergative predicates, and (ii) mandatory absence of *SE*. Both these properties are illustrated in (43).<sup>21</sup>

- (43) Ho fatto travestir(\*si) \*(gli attori). [It]  
 have.1SG made disguise(\*SE) \*(the actors)  
 ‘I made the actors disguise themselves.’

Given that the obligatory presence of *gli attori* ‘the actors’ in (43) is an unaccusative property further reinforces the claim that the subject DP of derived reflexives is merged VP-internally. What about the impossibility of the clitic *SE*? We suggest that the mandatory absence of this clitic is due to the particular properties of the causative construction in Italian; specifically, to its status as a monoclausal complex predicate (i.e., a restructuring predicate), as suggested by a number of authors (e.g. Burzio 1986, Zubizarreta 1985, inter alia). As restructuring verbs, we propose that causative constructions in Italian have the structure in (44).<sup>22</sup>



The idea that in Romance certain verbs can take VP complements is not novel (see Burzio 1981, 1986, Vergnaud 1971, Wurmbrand 1998, inter alia), but as Zubizarreta (1985) noted, it fails to account for a number of things, among which the fact that agent-oriented adverbs can modify the embedded verb, as in (45).

- (45) Ho fatto pulire la stanza meticolosamente. [It]  
 have.1SG made clean the room meticulously  
 ‘I had the room thoroughly cleaned.’

In addition, Zubizarreta (1985: 262) shows that, with transitives, the subject DP can surface as a by-phrase, as in (46).

- (46) Ho fatto pulire la stanza da Franco. [It]  
 have.1SG made clean the room by Franco  
 ‘I made Franco clean the room’

Both (45) and (46) indicate the presence of the external argument, at least semantically. Note that this also accounts for the reflexive reading of (43), in which ‘the actors’ are both Agents and Patients. However, if semantically speaking, the agentive thematic role is present in the derivation then, according to the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (Baker 1996), it should also be present in syntax. Or (44) suggests precisely that: the presence of the two distinct thematic slots in the derivation, both of which need to be satisfied by an argument. However, we propose that *v* embedded under causatives is incapable of valuing Accusative Case, it is a weak/deficient *v* in the sense of Chomsky (2001). The deficiency of this *v* accounts for several facts. First, it guarantees raising of the lower lexical verb in (44) to the matrix *v*, thus saturating the “affixal” flavour of Italian *fare* ‘make’ noticed by various authors, as discussed. Second, it accounts for the absence of subject DPs with transitive and unergative predicates embedded under causatives, along the lines of a Burzio Generalization (1986) type account: informally, if no Accusative, no subject and vice-versa. Lastly, and more importantly, for our analysis, it explains the absence of *SE*. Crucially, given that derived reflexives embedded under causatives contain an A-chain with just one Case-marked copy, the Condition on A-chains will not apply and the unique DP will be spelled out as phi-complete. The Case of this phi-complete DP will always be Accusative as it is valued by the matrix *v*, rather than the matrix T, and will always be necessary, in order to satisfy unvalued phi-features on matrix *v*.<sup>23</sup> Our account then can felicitously reconcile the absence of *SE* and the obligatory presence of the embedded subject DP in (43).

## 6 Conclusions

In this paper we proposed an account which views derived reflexives as transitive predicates for which a unique DP satisfies two thematic roles via movement. We further claimed that *SE* is a monosemous argument with a  $\pi$  feature which is inserted in the phonological component whenever a reduced (i.e. phi-incomplete) nominal is required. Crucially, *SE* lacks inherent reflexive properties, a claim consistent with recent proposals in the literature (e.g. Rivero and Milojević Sheppard 2003). Reflexivity is then epiphenomenal to lexical properties of *SE* (see also Reuland, 2001; Déchaine & Wiltschko, 2002), being the result of DP-movement conjoining two thematic positions, rather than of structure reduction. We showed that such an analysis captures the apparent unaccusative-unergative paradox observed with derived reflexive predicates. Specifically, the fact that these constructions share properties with both unaccusative and unergative verbs is seen as a direct consequence of the fact that the unique DP available in the Numeration is first merged as an internal argument and consequently as an external argument, thus valuing features of both *v* and *T*.

In addition, we argued for a Case-marked *SE* in derived reflexives on the basis of the Dative versus Accusative alternation and concluded that this deficient nominal values Case by virtue of being the copy of a phi-complete DP. Association with a fully referential DP was also shown to be responsible for lack of an indefinite semantics and the availability of *SELF*-logophors with *SE*, excluded in contexts in which *SE* is indefinite (e.g. impersonals, middles, anticausatives, etc.) or non-argumental (i.e., inherent reflexives). As with reflexivity, the idiosyncratic properties of *SE* are epiphenomenal to the inherent properties of *SE* and can be related to the point of insertion of this reduced nominal: (i) in the Numeration, in which case we get an indefinite reading and no emphatics or (ii) in the phonological component, in which case emphatics are optional and the indefinite reading is ruled out. The latter construal is present in derived reflexives where *SE* is a copy of a phi-complete DP which has valued Case and consequently surfaces as deficient due to an obligatory underspecification requirement operative on A-chains.

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<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this paper, we use 'derived reflexives' to refer to reflexive constructions derived from transitive predicates, where the subject DP is the bearer of two thematic roles. This class of predicates is to be kept distinct from that of 'inherent reflexives' (i.e., "reflexiva tantum" in Pesetsky's 1995 terms) which refers to the class of pronominal verbs in Romance where the subject DP is the bearer of just one theta-role (see discussion in section 4).

<sup>2</sup> In (2), the subscript index refers to syntactic coindexation, the superscript index refers to semantic coindexation.

<sup>3</sup> Note that sentences like (4b) are ambiguous in Italian between a passive and a reflexive reading, as also discussed by Burzio (1981, 1986). As expected, in the passive but not in the reflexive reading, the agentive role can be realized as a *by*-phrase. Compare (i) and (ii).

(i) Luisa fa sempre radere Giovanni [It]

Luisa makes always shave Giovanni  
 a. 'Luisa always makes Giovanni shave himself.'  
 b. 'Luisa always has Giovanni shaved.'

(ii) Luisa fa sempre radere Giovanni dal barbiere. [It]

Luisa makes always shave Giovanni by barber  
 a. '\* Luisa always makes Giovanni shave himself.'  
 b. 'Luisa always has Giovanni shaved by the barber.'

<sup>4</sup> Unsurprisingly, (6) is possible with a passive reading.

<sup>5</sup> It is debatable that *SE* surfaces as a Case requirement. Typically, structural case is not compulsorily discharged (e.g. transitives with propositional complements or psyche-verbs with Dat-PP but no Nominative arguments), whereas *SE* is obligatory. Rather, structural Case has bonus-like qualities which presumably reflect more meaningful language constraints, such as for example, a 'transitivity requirement' recently argued for by Bowers (2002) or Roberge (2002).

<sup>6</sup> Note that Cinque (1988) and Dobrovie-Sorin (1998) have also argued for Case-marked *SE* on different grounds.

<sup>7</sup> ‘PE’ is a dummy preposition associated with Romanian [+human] direct objects. Authors disagree whether it marks Accusative, specificity, presuppositionality, or a combination thereof; see also discussion in section 4.

<sup>8</sup> Recall that under our analysis, the *SE* argument is not inherently a *SELF* anaphor (i.e., it lacks any inherent reflexive properties); crucially, the *SE* argument ‘reflexivizes’ the predicate by virtue of being the lower copy of a unique DP argument.

<sup>9</sup> We assume the General Condition on A-chains applies in narrow syntax but is not a syntactic requirement per se. Specifically, operations in narrow syntax occur to avoid illicit objects at the two interface levels: the conceptual-intentional level, semantic in nature, and the articulatory-perceptual level, phonological in nature. This condition then has to be ‘imposed’ as an interface requirement, which we speculate to be semantic in nature and presumably related to processing capabilities of the human brain.

<sup>10</sup> We assume all instances of *SE* in derived reflexives to be Case-marked Accusative unless we specify a different Case (see discussion in section 3.2).

<sup>11</sup> The availability of emphatics for both Agent and Patient further reinforces the claim that derived reflexives are structurally transitive.

<sup>12</sup> Note in passing that AP emphatics also fail to reflexively mark the predicate:

- (i) Ion însuși spală. [R]  
 Ion himself washes  
 ‘Ion himself is washing.’  
 ‘\*Ion is washing himself.’

<sup>13</sup> The XP could be viewed as the dyadic PP of Hale and Keyser (2002), in which the DP ‘Mihai’ is structurally the specifier of PP but, by all other accounts, the internal argument of the transitive verb. It is beyond the scope of this paper to develop these issues further.

<sup>14</sup> Alexiadou (1999) proposes that L assigns inherent Dative case to its complement DP. Given that LP is a ‘possessive’ phrase, the case assigned is more probably Genitive. However, due to the fact that Romanian does not distinguish morphologically between Dative and Genitive case, we will continue to use the Dative label.

<sup>15</sup> Note that these facts cannot be tested for Romanian which does not show the familiar auxiliary alternation of most Romance languages, nor with Portuguese for which Dative *SE* is not an option, see (i).

- (i) A Maria lavou-(\*se) as mãos. [EP]  
 the Maria washes-(\*SE.DAT) the hands.  
 ‘Maria is washing her hands.’

<sup>16</sup> See also work by Cinque (1988), Dobrovie-Sorin (1998), Rivero and Milojević Sheppard (2003), inter alia, who also argue for Case-marked *SE* but on different grounds.

<sup>17</sup> See (i) for examples from this class of verbs for the three languages under consideration:

- (i) a. Romanian:  
 a se abține (de la ceva) - ‘to SE abstain (from something)’;  
 a se gândi (la ceva) - ‘to SE think (of something)’;  
 a se milogi (de cineva) - ‘to SE beg (of something.)’;  
 a se rușina (de ceva, cineva) - ‘to SE ashamed (of something, someone)’;  
 a se sinucide - ‘to SE suicide’;  
 a-și aminti (de ceva, cineva) - ‘to SE.DAT remember (of something, someone)’;  
 a-și reveni (de la ceva) - ‘to SE.DAT come round (from something)’;  
 etc.  
 b. Italian:  
 astenersi (da(l fare) qualcosa) - ‘to abstain-SE (from something)’;

|                                     |                                             |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| pentirsi (di (aver fatto) qualcosa) | - ‘to repent-SE’ (of something)’;           |
| ricordarsi (di qualcosa/qualcuno)   | - ‘to remember-SE (of something, someone)’; |
| sbagliarsi (su qualcosa/qualcuno)   | - ‘to think wrong-SE (about sth/someone)’;  |
| suicidarsi                          | - ‘to suicide-SE’;                          |
| vergognarsi (di qualcosa/qualcuno)  | - ‘to ashame-SE (of something, someone)’;   |
| etc.                                |                                             |

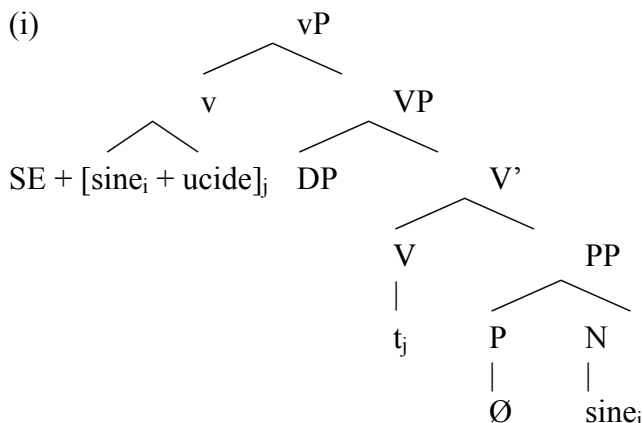
c. Portuguese :

|                                        |                                            |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| arrepender-se (de qualquer coisa)      | - ‘to regret-SE (of something)’;           |
| demandar-se (sobre qualquer coisa)     | - ‘to wonder-SE (about something)’;        |
| enganar-se (com qualquer coisa/alguem) | - ‘to be mistaken-SE (with sth./someone)’; |
| esquecer-se (de qualquer coisa/alguem) | - ‘to forget-SE (of something/someone)’;   |
| lembrar-se (de qualquer coisa/alguem)  | - ‘to remember-SE (of sth./someone)’;      |
| suicidar-se                            | - ‘to suicide-SE’;                         |
| tratar-se (de qualquer coisa)          | - ‘to take care-SE (of something)’;        |
| etc.                                   |                                            |

<sup>18</sup> See also Masullo (1992) for an antipassive analysis of Spanish inherent reflexives and Wehrli (1986) who argues for *SE* as a lexicalized internal argument.

<sup>19</sup> As noticed by Belletti and Rizzi (1988), inherent reflexives in Italian do not form a unitary class. They argue that the Nominative DP of these predicates is base-generated as an internal argument, a point supported by auxiliary selection facts. Consequently, in (33), we merge this DP VP-internally, rather than as the specifier of vP. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to provide an in-depth analysis of inherent reflexives in Romance, it is crucial, however, to note that the PP is also an internal argument.

<sup>20</sup> In fact, the only pronominal verb that cannot surface with a PP argument in these languages is the verb for ‘to commit suicide’. A speculative explanation comes to mind once we consider the morphological build up of this verb. For example, in Romanian, the verb is composed of the units *sine* ‘SELF’ and *ucide* ‘to kill’. We suggest that in Lexical Conceptual Structure (in the sense of Hale and Keyser 1987) this pronominal verb does, in fact, select a PP. However, incorporation (or, more accurately “conflation” à la Hale and Keyser 2002) of the N root into the V root occurs as in (i), possibly because of lack of an appropriate Preposition, a plausible claim given that *pe* is semantically incompatible with these verbs, as discussed in section 4.1.



<sup>21</sup> These properties are only relevant for Italian. Romanian and Portuguese both require *SE* under causative embedding. This is not unexpected given that in these languages causative verbs take propositional complements and are not monoclausal constructions (i.e., restructuring contexts).

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<sup>22</sup> Wurmbrand (1998) proposes that restructuring verbs select VP rather than vP complements. However, languages vary as to the amount of structure restructuring verbs can allow for. Ghomeshi (2002) argues for a vP complement to restructuring verbs in Persian and, in Romanian, complements to canonical restructuring verbs like *a încerca* ‘try’ take IP complements, see (i).

- (i) Victor încearcă [IP să cînte la trombon]. [R]  
Victor tries [IP SUBJ play.3SG at trombone].  
‘Victor is trying to play the trombone.’

<sup>23</sup> Accusative Case on the subject DP of derived reflexive embedded under causatives can be detected when *gli attori* ‘the actors’ in 943) is expressed as a clitic, as in (i); note that clitic climbing is possible and that it triggers participle agreement.

- (i) Li ho fatti travestire. [It]  
CL.ACC.3.M.PL. have.1SG made.M.PL disguise  
‘I made them disguise themselves.’