

# Anticausative and Passive *se* in Romanian and Spanish: a linguistic cycle

Jonathan E. MacDonald & Matthew Maddox\*  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  
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## 1. Introduction

• There are a variety of uses of *se* in Romance languages. The so-called *passive se* (Pass<sub>se</sub>) is illustrated for Romanian and Spanish in (1a) and (1b) respectively.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. S-au strîns bani. [Romanian Pass<sub>se</sub>]  
Pass<sub>se</sub>-have collected money  
“Money was collected.”
- b. Se vendieron los pisos. [Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub>]  
Pass<sub>se</sub> sold the flats  
“The flats were sold.”

## Two main empirical foci:

- i. On the similar patterns between Romanian and Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub>, and one telling difference, namely that Romanian Pass<sub>se</sub> allows *by*-phrases, while Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub> shows severe restrictions.
- ii. On the similar patterns between Old Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub> and Modern Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub> and one telling difference, namely that Old Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub> allows *by*-phrases, while Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub> shows severe restrictions.

## The central claim:

- i. There is an indefinite external argument *pro* in Pass<sub>se</sub> constructions (see Mendikoetxea 2008, MacDonald to appear a.o.)
- ii. The differences in *by*-phrase patterns result from a difference in the presence vs. absence of a D(eterminer) feature on the implicit external argument *pro* (Landau 2010, Legate 2014)

- (2) a. [<sub>VoiceP</sub> *pro* Voice<sub>se</sub> [VP V]] [Old Spanish/Romanian Pass<sub>se</sub>]  
b. [<sub>VoiceP</sub> *pro*<sub>[D]</sub> Voice<sub>se</sub> [VP V]] [Modern Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub>]

**One implication:** The change from D-less *pro* to *pro*<sub>[D]</sub> forms parts of a linguistic cycle (van Geldern 2011, etc. ).

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\* E-mail: [jonmacd@illinois.edu](mailto:jonmacd@illinois.edu); website: <http://www.linguistics.illinois.edu/people/jonmacd>  
E-mail: [mmaddox2@illinois.edu](mailto:mmaddox2@illinois.edu); website: <http://www.spanport.illinois.edu/people/mmaddox2>

<sup>1</sup> What we refer to as passive *se*, Cinque (1988) refers to as [+arg] *si*, and Dobrovie-Sorin (1998, 2006) refers to as Accusative *si*. What we refer to as impersonal *se* below, Cinque (1988) refers to as [-arg] *si* and Dobrovie-Sorin (1998, 2006) refers to as Nominative *si*.

## 2. Modern Spanish and Modern Romanian Pass<sub>se</sub>

• Modern Spanish and Modern Romanian Pass<sub>se</sub> constructions pattern the same in the following respects: **i.** The sole overt DP patterns like a grammatical subject; and **ii.** An inalienable possession interpretation of a body part is licensed in both.

### 2.1 Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub>

#### 2.1.1 General properties

• As illustrated in (3), the sole overt DP controls agreement (3a), no accusative clitics are possible (3b) and the differential object marker (DOM) *a* cannot appear (3c), all of which indicate that the sole overt DP is a grammatical subject.

- (3) a. Se vendieron/\*ó las paellas.  
Pass<sub>se</sub> sold.pl/sg. the paellas  
“The paellas were sold.”
- b. \*Se las vendieron.  
Pass<sub>se</sub> them sold.pl  
“They were sold.”
- c. \*Se vendieron a los niños.  
Pass<sub>se</sub> sold.pl DOM the kids  
Intended: “They kids were sold.”

#### 2.1.2 Implicit external argument

• There is an intuition that there is an implicit external argument in Pass<sub>se</sub> constructions, which when agentive can license agent-oriented adverbs and rationale clauses (Mendikoetxea & Battye 1990, Mendikoetxea 1999, Sánchez-López 2002 among others), as illustrated in (4).

- (4) Se vendieron los pisos deliberadamente para sacar dinero  
Pass<sub>se</sub> sold the flats deliberately for make money  
“The flats were sold deliberately to make money.”

• The implicit argument is not limited to agents, since it can receive a variety of different thematic roles, such as source or experiencer, as illustrated in (5a) and (5b) respectively, data from Mendikoetxea (1999: 1670).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> In example (5) and throughout the rest of the handout, glosses have been modified for consistency. Some translations have been modified as well.

- (5) a. Se han recibido varias quejas de los propietarios de pisos.  
 Pass<sub>se</sub> have received various complaints from the owners of apartments  
 “Several complaints from apartment owners have been received.”
- b. Se temen las nuevas movilizaciones anunciadas.  
 Pass<sub>se</sub> fear the new mobilizations announced  
 “The new mobilizations announced are feared.”

• More recently, MacDonald (to appear) offers an empirical argument for the *projection* of said implicit argument based on the interpretation of body parts as inalienably possessed in Pass<sub>se</sub> constructions.

- (6) a. El professor hizo una pregunta. Se levantaron unas/las manos.  
 The professor made a question. Pass<sub>se</sub> raised some/the hands  
 “The professor asked a question. Some of their/Their hands raised.”
- b. De las almohadas se alzaron unas cabezas greñudas.<sup>3</sup>  
 From the pillows Pass<sub>se</sub> lifted some heads disheveled  
 “From the pillows, they lifted their disheveled heads.”
- c. Al ritmo de la música se movieron los pies, las manos, los dedos,  
 To.the rhythm of the music Pass<sub>se</sub> moved the feet, the hands, the fingers  
 la cabeza, la cadera o hasta el cuerpo de algunos de los escuchas.<sup>4</sup>  
 the head, the hip o until the body of some of the listeners  
 “To the rhythm of the music, they moved their feet, their hands, their  
 fingers, their head, their hip, even some of the listeners moved their body.”

**Question:** How do the data in (6) count as evidence for the *projection* of an implicit argument?

**First:** Observe in (7), also observed for other Romance languages (Guerón 1985, 2006, Nakamoto 2010), for a body part to be interpreted as inalienably possessed in Spanish, it must have a c-commanding possessor, where coindexation indicates inalienable possession.

- (7) El hermano<sub>i</sub> de Juan<sub>j</sub> cerró los ojos<sub>i/\*j</sub>.  
 the brother of Juan closed the eyes  
 “Juan’s brother closes his eyes.”

<sup>3</sup> Online at: [http://minerva.ufpel.edu.br/~avelino.oliveira/HIP/Poema\\_Pedag%F3gico.pdf](http://minerva.ufpel.edu.br/~avelino.oliveira/HIP/Poema_Pedag%F3gico.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> Online at <http://tiemposdeenfoque.wordpress.com/2010/06/02/cierra-festival-de-mayo-2010-con-la-ofunam-y-leonardo-villeda/>.

**Second:** as Guerón (1985, 2006) observes for French, in Spanish, a pragmatically salient possessor cannot license an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part DP. Consider the contrast between (8a) and (8b) in a context where a father is talking to his daughter and answering her question about why she can run so fast.

- (8) a. *pro* tienes las piernas largas.                      b. #Las piernas son largas.  
*pro* have the legs long                                      The legs are long.  
 “You have long legs.”                                      “The legs are long.”

**Note:** This is not the case for alienable possessed objects, as indicated in (9).

- (9) a. Juan tiene el coche ahí                                      b. El coche es muy feo.  
 Juan has the care there                                      the car is very ugly  
 “Juan has the car over there.”                                      “The car is very ugly.”

**Conclusion:** Since the sole overt DP in Pass<sub>se</sub> can be a body part interpreted as inalienably possessed, then there must be a possessor syntactically present. We take this to be the *projected* implicit argument in Spec, Voice, as in (10).

- (10)                      [VoiceP *pro*<sub>[D]</sub> Voice<sub>se</sub> [VP V]]                      [Modern Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub>]

## 2.2 Romanian Pass<sub>se</sub>

### 2.2.1. General properties

- Observe in (11), like in Spanish, that the sole overt DP controls agreement, data (11a) based on Dragomirescu (2013:169), and no accusative clitic can appear (11b) (see also Dobrovie-Sorin 1998).

- (11) a. Se \*construiște/construiesc locuințe noi  
 Pass<sub>se</sub> \*built.3sg./built.3pl houses.nom new.nom.pl  
 “New houses are built.”
- b. \*Le se construiesc.  
 Them.acc.pl. Pass<sub>se</sub> built.3pl  
 Intended: “They are built.”

- Observe in (12), from Dobrovie-Sorin (1998:405), that the DOM *pe* is not possible, indicating that the sole overt DP is not a direct object.

- (12) \*In școala asta se pedepsește pe elevi.  
 in school this Pass<sub>se</sub> punishes DOM students.the  
 “In this school they punish the students



**Conclusion:** Since the sole overt DP in Pass<sub>se</sub> can be a body part interpreted as inalienably possessed, then there must be a possessor syntactically present. We take this to be the *projected* implicit argument in Spec, Voice, as in (17).

(17) [VoiceP *pro* Voice<sub>se</sub> [VP V]] [Romanian Pass<sub>se</sub>]

## 2. One difference between Romanian and Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub>

• Romanian freely allows *by*-phrases. (18) illustrates that *by*-phrases are grammatical in Romanian Pass<sub>se</sub>, datum in (18a) from Geniušienė (1987:267), and data in (18b) and (18c) from Cornilescu & Nicolae (2015:323/321/327).<sup>5</sup>

- (18) a. Vesela se spală de el  
dishes Pass<sub>se</sub> wash by him  
“Dishes are washed by him.”
- b. Toate schimbările cerute s-au făcut de către manageri  
All changes.the requested Pass<sub>se</sub>-have made by toward managers  
“All the requested changes have been made by the managers.”
- c. Declarația s-a făcut chiar de prim-ministru  
Declaration.def Pass<sub>se</sub>-has made even by prime minister  
“The statement was made by the prime minister himself.”

• In Spanish, however, the situation is more complex. (see discussions in Otero 1986, de Miguel 1992, Mendikoetxea 1999, Sánchez-López 2002 and references therein). There seems to be a tendency that generically interpreted DPs within the *by*-phrase, if grammatical at all, are grammatical.

• What is clear, nevertheless, is that referential DPs are ungrammatical. This is illustrated by the contrast in (19) and (20), data taken from Sánchez López (2002:60), and expanded to include the pronouns *ti/mi/ella*.

- (19) a. Esta obra se escribió por un autor totalmente desconocido.  
This work Pass<sub>se</sub> wrote by an author totally unknown  
“This work was written by a totally unknown author.”

<sup>5</sup> Dragomirescu (2013:171) notes that in Old Romanian, up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the expression of the agent in Pass<sub>se</sub> was more frequent than it is nowadays. This is consistent with the general tendency found where *by*-phrases initially appear grammatically with Pass<sub>se</sub>, then no longer do. See Naro (1976) for Portuguese, Cennamo (1993) for Italian and Heidinger & Schäfer (2010) for French, and Section 3.3 for Spanish.

- b. \*Esta obra se escribió por Cervantes/ti/mi/ella.  
This work Pass<sub>se</sub> wrote by Cervantes/you/me/her  
“This work was written by Cervantes/you/me/her.”

- (20) a. Este cuadro se pintó por un experto retratista.  
This painting Pass<sub>se</sub> painted by an expert portrait.painter  
“This painting was painted by an expert portrait painter.”

- b. \*Este cuadro se pintó por Goya/ti/mi/ella.  
This painting Pass<sub>se</sub> painted by Goya/you/me/her  
“This painting was painted by Goya/you/me/her.”

• Note also that the same patterns hold in all Pass<sub>se</sub> constructions in Spanish, even when the external argument of the non-Pass<sub>se</sub> is not an Agent, illustrated by the experiencer *by*-phrase in (21) from Mendikoetxea (1999:1683-1684), and in (22).

- (21) a. Las nuevas movilizaciones anunciadas se temen por toda la sociedad.  
the new mobilizations announced Pass<sub>se</sub> fear by all the society  
“The new mobilizations announced are feared by the whole society.”

- b.\*Las nuevas movilizaciones anunciadas se temen por mis padres.  
the new mobilizations announced Pass<sub>se</sub> fear by my parents  
“The new mobilizations announced are feared by my parents.”

- (22) a. \*Esta explicación no se entiende por nosotros.  
This explanation no Pass<sub>se</sub> understand by us  
“This explanation is not understood by us.”

- b. ?Esta explicación no se entiende por nadie.  
This explanation no Pass<sub>se</sub> understand by noone  
“This explanation is not understood by noone.”

### 3. Old Spanish

• In this section, we will show **i.** that in Old Spanish, body parts were licensed in the same way as in Modern Spanish, **ii.** body parts were licensed in Pass<sub>se</sub> constructions, and **iii.** Body parts were licensed at the same time there were no restrictions on *by*-phrase in Pass<sub>se</sub> constructions.

• Before looking directly at the data, we must have a way to distinguish anticausative *se* (AntiC<sub>se</sub>) constructions from Pass<sub>se</sub> constructions, since there are noted cases of formal identity (see Mendikoetxea (1999b) among others).

### 3.1 AntiC<sub>se</sub> vs. Pass<sub>se</sub>

**First:** AntiC<sub>se</sub> is largely limited to transitive change of state verbs, such as *abrir* “open”, *cerrar* “close”, *derretir* “melt”, *hundir* “sink”, *ahogar* “drown”, *acostumbrar* “get used to”, *romper* “break”, etc., which do not require an agentive external argument in their transitive counterpart (Koontz-Garboden 2009 and references therein).

• However, a change of state verb could still be Pass<sub>se</sub>. That is, the *se* construction in (23) could be either Pass<sub>se</sub> or AntiC<sub>se</sub>.

- (23)            Se quemó el bosque.  
                  Se burned the forest.  
                  “The forest burned.”

**Second:** The presence of *por sí solo* (“by itself”) (Mendikoetxea 1999, Schäfer 2008, Koontz-Garboden 2009) or a Cause *por*-phrase,<sup>6</sup> picks out AntiC<sub>se</sub> while the presence of a rationale/purpose clause picks out Pass<sub>se</sub> (Mendikoetxea 1999). Thus, the *se* in (24a) is AntiC<sub>se</sub>, while the *se* in (24b) is Pass<sub>se</sub>, examples from Mendikoetxea (1999b:1643).

- (24) a.        Se quemó el bosque por sí solo/por la sequía.  
                  AntiC<sub>se</sub> burned the forest by self alone/por the drought  
                  “The forest burned by itself/from the drought.”
- b.        Se quemó el bosque para acabar con la plaga.  
                  Pass<sub>se</sub> burned the forest for finish with the blight  
                  “The forest was burned to finish with the blight.”

**Third:** We propose here another diagnostic, related to the interpretation of body parts as inalienably possessed. An inalienable possession interpretation of a body part is available in Pass<sub>se</sub>, while it is not in AntiC<sub>se</sub> (MacDonald to appear) whether the body part is the sole overt DP or in an adjunct clause.

• Observe in (25) that in the presence of a purpose clause—indicating that we have Pass<sub>se</sub>—the body part in the adjunct can be interpreted as inalienably possessed.

- (25) a.        Se abrieron las ventanas con la mano para airear la habitación.  
                  Pass<sub>se</sub> opened the window with the hand for air.out the room  
                  “The window was opened by hand to air our the room.”
- b.        Se rompieron todas las tablas con el pie para conseguir el cinturón negro.

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<sup>6</sup> Some speakers prefer *con* “with” over *por* “by” when introducing a Cause.

Pass<sub>se</sub> broke all the boards with the foot for to.get the belt black  
“All the boards were broken with his/her foot to get a black belt.”

- In contrast, observe in (26) and (27), that in the presence of a *por sí solo* (26) and *por-CAUSE* phrases (27), a body part can only be interpreted as inalienably possessed in the presence of a dative clitic (a. examples).

**Context:** stating (26) to your child after they awake from a nap.

- (26) a. Mientras dormías, se te abrió la boca por sí sola.  
While slept AntiC<sub>se</sub> you.Dat opened the mouth by self alone.  
“While you were sleeping, your mouth opened up by itself.”
- b. #Mientras dormías, se abrió la boca por sí sola.  
While slept AntiC<sub>se</sub> opened the mouth by self alone.  
“While you were sleeping, your mouth opened up by itself.”

**Context:** Doctors administer different medication to see the effect on patients

- (27) a. Se les abrieron los ojos con un medicamento.  
AntiC<sub>se</sub> them.dat opened the eyes with one medication  
“With one medication, their eyes opened.”
- b. \*?Se abrieron los ojos con un medicamento.  
AntiC<sub>se</sub> opened the eyes with one medication  
“With one medication, their eyes opened.”

**Note:** Romanian AntiC<sub>se</sub> and Pass<sub>se</sub> pattern the same way as Spanish AnttiC<sub>se</sub> and Pass<sub>se</sub> with respect to the licensing of an inalienable possession interpretation of body parts.

### 3.2 Old Spanish body parts

- Importantly, body parts seemed to pattern grammatically the same in Old Spanish, namely that they required a syntactically present possessor.

- In (28), the possessor is overtly present, *mio Cid* in (28a), *el Campeador* in (28b), in (28c), null *pro* referring back to *María* from previous discourse, in (28d) 1<sup>st</sup> person singular *pro*, and in (28e) it is *homne* “man.”

- (28) a. Meció mio Cid los ombros e engrameó la tiesta...

shrugged my Cid the shoulders and raised the head  
 "My Cid shrugged his shoulders and raised his head..." (Cid, 1207)

b. Grant fue el día en la cort del Campeador... Alçó la  
 great was the day in the court of-the Campeador...raised the  
 mano, a la barba se tomó.  
 hand to the beard Refl<sub>se</sub> took  
 "Great was that day in the court of the Campeador...He (the Cid) raised  
 his hand and took hold of his beard." (Cid, 1207)

c. Lava la tiesta en la onda: de sus pecados se sintio monda...  
 washes the head en the wave from her sins Inher<sub>se</sub> felt clean  
 "She washes her head in the waves: she felt cleansed of her sins..."  
 (Santa Maria, 1215)

d. et olvidó de como tenía los pies sobre las culebras...  
 and forgot of how had the feet on the snakes  
 "And he forgot that he had his feet over the snakes..."  
 (Calila e Dimna, 1251)

e. Et non tengades que el donarie se dize por seer homne fermoso  
 and not have that the grace Pass<sub>se</sub> says by be man handsome  
 en la cara.  
 in the face  
 "And do not assume that grace is so called for being a man with a  
 handsome face." (Conde Lucanor, 1335)

• We also see that a dative clitic can serve as a possessor, as in (29).

(29) a. et eill et aquellos omnes li deuen besar la mano  
 and he and those men CL-Dat.3S should kiss the hand  
 "Both he and those men should kiss her (the Infanzona's) hand."  
 (Vidal Mayor, 1247-1252)

b. e le tomará postema a la garganta, e morrá luego?"  
 and CL-Dat.3S take abscess to the throat and die later  
 "And he will get an abscess in his throat and later die?"  
 (Calila e Dimna, 1251)

- c. Et el raposo vió que'l querían sacar el coraçón  
 and the boy saw that-CL-Dat.3S wanted take the heart  
 e que si gelo sacassen non era cosa que se  
 and that if Cl.Dat.3S-Cl.Acc.3S took not was thing that Pass<sub>se</sub>  
 pudiesse cobrar.  
 could recover  
 "And the boy saw that they wanted to take out his hear and that if they  
 took out his heart it was not a thing that could be recovered."  
 (*Conde Lucanor*, 1335)
- d. que te cortes los miembros que facen el fornicio...  
 that Cl-Dat.2S cut the members that make the fornication  
 "...that you cut off the members that do the fornication..."

• Observe in (30), that the dative also licenses an inalienable interpretation of body parts in change of state verbs with *se*.

- (30) a. Partieron se le las tellas de dentro del coraçón.  
 split AntiC<sub>se</sub> Cl.Dat.3S the fabric from inside of-the heart  
 "The fabric of his heart split from within." (*Cid*, 1207)
- b. cuando es quebrantado el plego cáensele las juntaduras e  
 and when is broken the joint fall-AntC<sub>se</sub>Cl.Dat the articulations and  
 desfácese todo.  
 falls-apart-Anic<sub>se</sub> everything  
 "When the joint is broken the articulations fall from him and everything  
 falls apart." (*Calila e Dimna*, 1251)
- c. e que se le mudará el corazón por las mezclas de los malos.  
 and that AntiC<sub>se</sub> Cl.3S move the heart by the schemes of the bad  
 "And his heart will be moved by the schemes of the wicked."  
 (*Calila e Dimna*, 1251)
- d. De lo que contesció a don Pero Meléndez de Valdés cuando se  
 of it that happened to don Pedro Meléndez of Valdés when AntiC<sub>se</sub>  
 le quebró la pierna.  
 Cl.3S broke the leg

"On what happened to Don Pedro Melénez of Valdés when he broke his leg."  
(*Conde Lucanor*, 1335)

**Conclusion:** Body parts appear to have the same distribution in Old Spanish – they require the syntactic presence of a possessor.

**Important observation 1:** There are instances of *se* with change of state verbs without a dative clitic where a body part is interpreted as inalienably possessed, as in (31) and (32).

• In (31), the body part is the sole overt DP.

- (31) a. así como el enfermo en que se corrompe la cólora e  
thus how the sick in which se corrupts the disease and  
la sangre e la flema..."  
the blood and the phlegm  
"... just as the sick person in whom disease, blood, and phlegm become  
corrupted."  
(*Calila e Dimna*, 1251)
- b. ...los vientres en cada lugar se pueden fenchir...  
...the stomachs en every place se can fill  
"...stomachs can be filled up everywhere...." ( *Calila e Dimna*, 1251)

• In (32), the body part is in an adjunct phrase.

- (32) a. Otrossí muestra doblamiento de que sse dobla de sso  
furthermore displays folding of that Pass<sub>se</sub> folds from top  
con la mano.  
with the hand  
"Furthermore, it displays folding in that it is folded from the top with  
one's hand."  
(*Setenario*, 1252-1270)
- b. Los cangrejos tienen poca vianda... e con las manos se departen  
the crabs have little food and with the hands Pass<sub>se</sub> split  
"Crabs have little food (in them), but it is flavorful, and they are split  
with one's hands."  
(*Arte cisoria*, 1423)

**Conclusion:** These data are not % 100 conclusive. However, if it is the case that **i.** Old Spanish body parts patterned grammatically like Modern Spanish, and **ii.** as discussed in section 3.1, body parts interpreted as inalienably possessed only occur with Pass<sub>se</sub>, even when the verb is change of state, then these data could be indicate that the *se* in (32) is Pass<sub>se</sub>.

**Important observation 2:** Now observe in (33) non-change of state verbs where a body part is interpreted as inalienably possessed without there being a dative clitic. In each case, the body part is in an adjunct phrase.

- (33) a. assi se echan de la boca las palabras & las razones  
 thus Pass<sub>se</sub> thrown from the mouth the words and the reasons  
 del triuio apuesta mient.  
 of-the trivium orderly  
 "...Thus from the mouth are thrown the words and the reasoning of the  
 trivium in an ordered manner...." (General Estoria, 1275)
- b. Non se faz la fazienda por cabellos peinados, nin por ojos fermosos  
 not Imp<sub>se</sub> makes the house by hairs made-up nor by eyes beautiful  
 nin çapatos dorados  
 nor shoes golden  
 "One's home is not built with made-up hair, nor with beautiful eyes nor  
 golden shoes..." (Libro de Alexandre, 1240-1250)
- c. Entonces sacó un libro tan pequeño que en la mano se encerrava.  
 then took a book so small that in the hand Pass<sub>se</sub> enclosed  
 "Then he took out a very small book that was enclosed in his hand."  
 (Amadís de Gaula, 1482-1492)

**Main observation:** In Old Spanish an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part was available in Pass<sub>se</sub>.

### 3.3 Old Spanish *by*-phrases

- We show that there no restrictions on *by*-phrases in Old Spanish. That is, referential *by*-phrases were possible.
- Observe first in (34) *por*-phrases with change of state verbs, interpreted as causes.

- (34) a. ...o logar o a cosas que's fazen por uiento.  
 ...or place where are things that-AntiC<sub>se</sub> make by wind  
 "... or a place or things that are made by the wind."  
 (Libro complido, 1254)

- b. E lo que's faze por el cielo de Saturno desfaze's por el  
 and it that-AntiC<sub>se</sub> makes by the heaven of Saturn unmakes-Pass<sub>s</sub> by the  
 cielo de la Luna. E lo que's faze por el cielo de  
 heaven of the moon and it that-AntiC<sub>se</sub> makes by the heaven of  
 Jupiter desfaze's por el cielo de Venus.  
 Jupiter unmakes-AntiC<sub>se</sub> by the heaven of Venus  
 "And what is made by the heaven of Saturn is unmade by the heaven of  
 the moon. And what is made by the heaven of Jupiter is unmade by the  
 heaven of Venus."  
 (*Libro complido*, 1254)

• We also find *por*-phrases with non-change of state verbs with *se*, illustrated in (35).

- (35) a. ¡Dios lo mande, que por vós se ondre oy la cort!  
 God it orders that by you Pass<sub>se</sub> honors.3S today the court  
 "God orders it, that by you today the court be honored!" (*Cid*, 1207)
- b. ... Espanna, Que perder se ella por nos semejarya fazanna  
 ...Spain because lose Pass<sub>se</sub> her for us seem deed  
 "... Spain, Because for her to be lost by us would seem a great feat."  
 (*Fernán González*, 1250-1266)
- c. ...de guisa que non se enbargue nin se destorve por él  
 ...of manner that not Pass<sub>se</sub> impede nor Pass<sub>se</sub> disrupt by him  
 el fecho de su señor.  
 the deed of his lord  
 "... so that his lord's task be not impeded nor disrupted by him."  
 (*Espéculo*, 1260)
- d. ... e non se defendiere por él...  
 and not Pass<sub>se</sub> defend by him  
 "... and that he not be defended by him..." (*Espéculo*, 1260)
- e. Lo que...vos dezides, no se entendie por nos.  
 it that you say not Pass<sub>se</sub> understand by us  
 "What you say is not understood by us."  
 (*Milagros*, 1260)

• The data in (36) come from Monge (1954).

- (36) a. Con mucha voluntad aquella graciosa y esforzada habla que por Amadis  
with much will that amusing and earnest speech that by Amadís  
se fizo de todos aquellos señores oída fue.  
Pass<sub>se</sub> made by all those gentlemen heard was  
"That amusing and earnest speech made by Amadis was heard willingly by  
all those gentlemen." (Amadis, 1493)
- b. ...que por mi se pueda alcanzar que no la hiciese.  
that by me Pass<sub>se</sub> can accomplish that not it do  
"... that by me it can not be accomplished that he (the Black Knight) not do  
it." (Las sergas de Esplandián, 1475-1500)
- c. Quanto por mi se desea, Huye do jamas se vee.  
how-much by me Pass<sub>se</sub> desires flees to-where never Pass<sub>se</sub> sees  
"However much is desired by me flees whence never it is seen."  
(Obras de amores, 1490-1550)

**Conclusion:** *por*-phrases in Old Spanish did not have the same restrictions as in Modern Spanish in Pass<sub>se</sub>.

**Main point:** At a time when *por*-phrases in Pass<sub>se</sub> had no restrictions in Old Spanish (from +/- 1207 - +/- 1550), Pass<sub>se</sub> also licensed inalienable possession interpretation of body parts. In this respect, Old Spanish patterned like Modern Romanian.

#### 4. The D(eterminer) feature

##### 4.1 The proposal

- For all Pass<sub>se</sub> in Old Spanish, Modern Romanian, and Modern Spanish, a body part can be interpreted as inalienably possessed. We take this to mean that there is a *projected* implicit external argument *pro* in each of these constructions.
- We claim that the different patterns observe for Old Spanish and Modern Romanian Pass<sub>se</sub> vs. Modern Spanish with respect to the licensing of *by*-phrase relate to the presence vs. absence of a D(eterminer)-feature on the external argument *pro*, following Legate's (2014) work on what she terms *impersonal constructions* in Polish, Breton, and what she terms *grammatical object passives* in Icelandic and Ukrainian.

- (37) a. [<sub>VoiceP</sub> *pro*    Voice<sub>se</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V]]      [Old Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub>/Modern Romanian Pass<sub>se</sub>]  
 b. [<sub>VoiceP</sub> *pro*<sub>[D]</sub> Voice<sub>se</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> V]]      [Modern Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub>]

- The basic intuition is the presence of the D-feature makes *pro*<sub>[D]</sub> an argument and more referential (something we come back to); the lack of a D-feature means that *pro* is not an argument and less referential (Legate 2014).
- As an argument, *pro*<sub>[D]</sub> saturates the external argument position; in contrast, D-less *pro* cannot.
- Following Bruening (2010) who proposes that the nominal within the *by*-phrase in periphrastic passives saturates the external argument position and when there is no *by*-phrase present, the external argument slot is existentially closed, we can explain the patterns.
- Technically this is cashed out in terms of feature checking in the syntax. Voice has a nominal c-selectional feature (see Schafer 2008, Alexiadou et al 2015 for similar proposal for *se* constructions), which can be checked by an external argument.
- Legate (2014) adopts this basic idea, but refines it a bit by distinguishing between phi-bundles in Spec,Voice and phi-bundles with a D layer. It is only in the presence of the D layer that the nominal in Spec,Voice saturates the external argument slot.
- We follow this line, which within Bruening's (2012) theory, entails that D-less *pro* cannot check the c-selectional feature, in which case, the DP within the *by*-phrase can. *Pro*<sub>[D]</sub>, in contrast, does check the c-selectional feature, in which case, no *by*-phrase can appear.

**The patterns explained:**

- i. *pro*<sub>[D]</sub> saturates the external argument position and thus no *by*-phrase is possible, as in Modern Spanish
- ii. *pro* (D-less) does not saturate the external argument position and *by*-phrases can appear freely, and saturate it, as in Old Spanish Pass<sub>se</sub> and in Modern Romanian Pass<sub>se</sub>

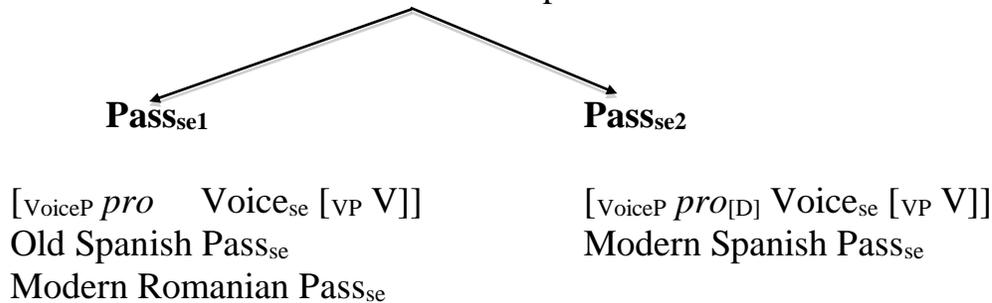
**5. A linguistic cycle**

- It has been observed that Pass<sub>se</sub> and AntiC<sub>se</sub> are part of a possibly universal path (Geniušienė 1987, Haspelmath 1990, Cennamo 1993 among others), as illustrated in (38)

(38)  $\text{Refl}_{se} > \text{AntiC}_{se} > \text{Pass}_{se} > \text{Imp}_{se}$

- Given the patterns observed for Old vs. Modern Spanish, based on the *by*-phrases, something more needs to be said.<sup>7</sup>

(39)  $\text{Refl}_{se} > \text{AntiC}_{se} > \text{Pass}_{se} > \text{Imp}_{se}$



**The main idea:** Two linguistic cycles interacting, the object agreement cycle giving rise to *se* constructions and the subject agreement cycle (van Gelderen 2001, 2014), of which Pass<sub>se1</sub> and Pass<sub>se2</sub> form part.

### 5.1 The object agreement cycle

- A DP object is reanalyzed as part of verbal inflection (Maddox 2016a,b). In our case, the Old Spanish reflexive was a full DP direct object, but then was reanalyzed as Voice.
- We assume that this reanalysis also led to learners reanalyzing *se* itself as a marker of detransitivization. This gives us the first step in the diachronic path of *se* constructions, illustrated below.

(40)  $\text{Refl}_{se}$                        $\text{AntiC}_{se}$   
 [VoiceP *pro*<sub>[D]</sub> Voice<sub>se</sub> [VP DP ] ] → [VoiceP                      Voice<sub>se</sub> [VP DP ] ]

- Part of the object agreement cycle is that the DP loses features as it is reanalyzed as Voice, minimally it is no longer a D. There is evidence that suggests that the features of *se* continue to be lost while it heads Voice, also expected as part of an object agreement cycle. We take examples like the one in (41), one of several similar examples from Benito Moreno (2014:107), from certain dialects of Spain, as an illustration.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> In fact, it has been previously noted that French (Heidinger & Schäfer 2010), Portuguese (Naro 1976) and Italian (Cinque 1988, Cennamo 1993) that *by*-por phrases were once grammatical in Pass<sub>se</sub> constructions but then became ungrammatical.

<sup>8</sup> See Nevins (2007:308 fn 27) who makes the same conclusion about Brazilian Portuguese *se*, based on a parallel situation. See also Kayne (2000:148) who observes parallel facts in Milanese.

(41) Se laváis to los días a desgusto  
 se wash.2PL all the days to unpleasure  
 “Every day you guys take a shower while complaining.”

- One aspect of reanalyzing a DP as part of the verbal inflection is that the direct object is now open for another DP, a process that van Gelderen (2011, 2014) refers to as *renewal*. One might take the reflexive double as indicative of *se* in these constructions being part of the verbal inflection (Maddox 2016a,b.)

(42) Juan se lavó a sí mismo.  
 Juan Refl<sub>se</sub> washed DOM self same.  
 “Juan washed himself.”

## 5.2. The subject agreement

- Renewal is also part of the subject agreement cycle. A Spec position is left open for another pronoun to merge there.

- It is with AntiC<sub>se</sub> that the subject cycle begins, we suggest, the empty spec is filled with a null (non-referential) indefinite *pro*, as in (43)

(43) AntiC<sub>se</sub> Pass<sub>se1</sub>  
 [VoiceP Voice<sub>se</sub> [VP DP]] → [VoiceP *pro* Voice<sub>se</sub> [VP DP]]

- Why would *pro* develop a D-feature. We tentatively suggest that this is related to the  $\mu$ D feature in T, proposed to account for consistent null subject languages (Holmberg 2010, Roberts 2010). This will ultimately give rise to a definite referential subject, illustrated in (44).

Pass<sub>se1</sub>/Imp<sub>se</sub>  
 (44) [VoiceP *pro*<sub>[D]</sub> Voice<sub>se</sub> [VP DP]]

- In this context, Imp<sub>se</sub> constructions take on relevance as noted for Italian (Cinque 1988, Cennamo 1993, D’Alessandro 2007), in which there is a 1<sup>st</sup> person plural interpretation available. Consider the examples in (45) from Cennamo (1993:37).

(45) a Si decide di ubriacar-si/ci tutti  
 Imp<sub>se</sub> decide of get.drunk-Imp<sub>se</sub>/us all  
 “We/they all decided to get drunk.”

b. \*Si decide di ubriacar-vi/ti/mi  
 Imp<sub>se</sub> decide of get.drunk-you.pl/you.sg/me  
 “I/you decided to get drunk.”

- In fact, Cennamo (1993:36) concludes from data like these that “the first person plural pronoun is part of the referential domain of *si*, and not just a matter of pragmatics” (see also the discussion in D’Alessandro 2007).<sup>9</sup>
- In (41), in Spanish we see the same definite/referential external argument in certain dialects of peninsular Spanish.
- If our hypothesis that it is the consistent null subject status of these languages that drives the development of D (and even perhaps D-less *pro* as well), then, there is a predication. Languages going through the diachronic path of *se* constructions will only develop  $\text{Pass}_{\text{se}2}$  and  $\text{Imp}_{\text{se}}$  if they are at the same time a consistent null subject language, a similar conclusion to what Belletti (1982) arrived at. This is a strong prediction, one which we have not yet tested thoroughly and systematically.

## 6. Brief recap

- Modern Romanian and Old Spanish  $\text{Pass}_{\text{se}}$  patterned the same in licensing an inalienable possession interpretation of body parts and allowing *by*-phrases to appear.
- Modern Spanish  $\text{Pass}_{\text{se}}$  still licenses and inalienable possession interpretation of body parts, but like other Romance languages *by*-phrases have been restricted (or out altogether).
- We argued that these patterns can be accounted for in terms of the internal properties of the *projected* implicit external arguments in these constructions, namely, the presence vs. absence of a D(eterminer)feature.
- Finally, the diachronic change, we suggest can be modeled in terms of linguistic cycles, following work by van Gelderen (2011).

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<sup>9</sup> It is possible that in Standard Italian *pro* in these *se* constructions has developed the D-feature to a greater degree than in Standard Peninsular Spanish, since in Standard Italian no *by*-phrases are grammatical at all, and the implicit argument can bind a reflexive. See AUTHOR (accepted) for this suggestion.

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