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Passive *se* in Romanian and Spanish: a subject cycle.¹

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In this article, we discuss passive *se* constructions in Romanian and Spanish. We argue that there is a projected implicit external argument in passive *se* constructions in both languages based on an available inalienable possession interpretation of body parts. These constructions, however, differ from each other in one important way: Romanian passive *se* allows a *by*-phrase, while Spanish passive *se* shows severe restrictions. Moreover, we illustrate that in Old Spanish, passive *se* freely allowed *by*-phrases. Thus, Modern Romanian reflects an earlier stage of Spanish. We propose a linguistic cycle to explain these differences, where Spanish and Romanian are at different stages of that cycle. The approach offers an explanation for a general pattern within Romance where *by*-phrases are initially grammatical with passive *se*, but then become ungrammatical over time, a pattern to date that has not yet been explained. It also offers a theoretical account for why some languages do not develop passive *se* constructions.

KEYWORDS: body parts, passive *se*, *by*-phrases, Romanian, Old Spanish, Modern Spanish, linguistic cycles

1. INTRODUCTION

In this article, we compare the synchronic status of passive *se* (Pass_{se}) constructions in two Romance languages: Spanish and Romanian, examples of which are provided in (1a) and (1b), respectively.²

(1) (a) Se vendieron los pisos. [Spanish Pass_{se}]

Pass_{se} sold the apartments

‘The apartments were sold.’

(b) S-au strâns bani. [Romanian Pass_{se}]

Pass_{se}-have collected money

‘Money was collected.’

A widely held intuition about Pass_{se} is that there is an implied external argument (in contrast to Anticausative *se* (AntiC_{se}) constructions. See Haspelmath 1990; Mendikoetxea 2008; Schäfer 2008; Koontz-Garboden 2009, among others.) In fact, MacDonald (in press) offers empirical support for the *projection* of an implicit external argument in Spec, Voice in Pass_{se} (and the lack thereof in AntiC_{se}) from an available inalienable possession interpretation of the sole overt DP when it is a body part, an interpretation only available when a c-commanding possessor is present in the syntax.³

In this article, we apply the same diagnostic to Romanian, as well as expand on it. We see that both Romanian and Spanish Pass_{se} license an inalienable possession interpretation of the sole overt DP when it is a body part. They differ, however, in that Romanian allows *by*-phrases, while Spanish shows severe restrictions. We argue that we can account for the difference in the *by*-phrase patterns in terms of the properties of the projected implicit external arguments in Spec, Voice in Romanian and Spanish Pass_{se} . Following Legate's (2014) discussion of implicit arguments (see also Landau 2010), we claim that Romanian *pro* in Spec, Voice of Pass_{se} lacks a D(eterminer)-feature (i.e. *pro*) and Spanish *pro* in Spec, Voice of Pass_{se} has a D-feature (i.e. $\text{pro}_{[D]}$).

Furthermore we make a related novel empirical observation about Old Spanish: At an earlier period, Old Spanish Pass_{se} allowed *by*-phrases at a time when body parts were also licensed in Pass_{se} constructions. Old Spanish, we observe, patterns with Modern Romanian, as illustrated in (2), where *se* heads Voice , following previous approaches, such as Cuervo (2003, 2014), Kempchinsky (2004), Folli & Harley (2005), Basilico (2010), Ordóñez & Treviño (2011), Armstrong (2013), among others.⁴

- (2) (a) [$\text{VoiceP } \text{pro}_{[D]} \text{ Voice}_{se} [\text{VP } V]$] [Modern Spanish Pass_{se}]
 (b) [$\text{VoiceP } \text{pro} \text{ Voice}_{se} [\text{VP } V]$] [Old Spanish/Romanian Pass_{se}]

As we discuss, these observations have consequences for the widely assumed diachronic path of Romance *se* constructions, where reflexive *se* (Refl_{se}) develops

into AntiC_{se}, and AntiC_{se} into Pass_{se} (Geniušienė 1987; Haspelmath 1990; Cennamo 1993; Portilla 2007).⁵ The first consequence is that Pass_{se} needs to be divided into two separate stages. This conclusion comes from the observation that ungrammatical *by*-phrases in Modern Spanish Pass_{se} were once grammatical in Old Spanish Pass_{se}, a pattern already observed for Portuguese (Naro 1976), Italian (Cinque 1988, Cennamo 1993) and French (Heidinger & Schäfer 2010). Yet, despite these multiple cross-Romance observations, they have remained observations alone.

In this article, we offer an explanation for this pattern in terms of linguistic cycles (Roberts and Roussou 2003; van Gelderen 2003, 2011 and references therein). We take Modern Romanian and Modern Spanish Pass_{se} to illustrate that ‘[d]ifferences between languages arise because they are in different stages of a particular cycle’ (van Gelderen 2011:29). We therefore contribute to the idea that linguistic change is cyclic, an idea which, as van Gelderen (2011:3) points out, with the exception of the negative cycle, generative linguists have not seriously examined. Moreover, as we illustrate, the approach to the modified path in terms of a cycle provides a theoretical explanation for why some languages do not develop passive *se* constructions.

The structure of the article is as follows. Section 2 discusses the properties of Modern Spanish and Romanian Pass_{se} constructions. We see that they pattern together with respect to the main diagnostic for a projected null indefinite *pro* in

Spec, Voice adopted from MacDonald (in press): the ability to license an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part DP. We also expand on this diagnostic by discussing body parts in adjunct clauses. We also see, nevertheless, that Romanian and Spanish differ with respect to licensing *by*-phrases: Romanian Pass_{se} licenses *by*-phrases, while Spanish Pass_{se} shows severe restrictions. In Section 3, we discuss the patterns in Old Spanish. In order to distinguish between Pass_{se} constructions and AntiC_{se} constructions in the historical data, we recap diagnostics from the literature. Moreover, we contribute to these diagnostics by offering an additional one related to body parts: a body part interpreted as inalienably possessed can only occur in Pass_{se}, whether it is the sole overt DP or whether it occurs in an adjunct clause, not in AntiC_{se}. We offer evidence that there was a time in the development of Spanish Pass_{se} that looked like Modern Romanian Pass_{se}, namely when body parts were interpreted as inalienably possessed and when there were no *by*-phrase restrictions. In Section 4, we propose that these *by*-phrase patterns relate to a difference in the internal properties of the two implicit arguments, following Legate (2014). The implicit projected *pro* in Spec, Voice in Romanian and Old Spanish Pass_{se} lacks a D-feature, while the implicit projected *pro* in Spec, Voice in Modern Spanish Pass_{se} has a D-feature. In Section 5, we offer an account of the development of a D-feature in terms of a subject cycle à la Van Gelderen (2003, 2011), and we discuss a prediction

generated by the account regarding when a language will not develop a passive *se* constructions. In Section 6, we briefly recap our main findings.

2. MODERN SPANISH AND ROMANIAN *SE* CONSTRUCTIONS

In this section, we first discuss Spanish *se* constructions in general, paying special attention to Pass_{se} constructions. We then systematically compare and contrast Spanish Pass_{se} with Romanian Pass_{se} .

2.1 *Modern Spanish se constructions*

It is well known that Spanish has several *se* constructions (de Miguel 1992; Mendikoetxea 1992, 1999, 2008; Sánchez-López 2002 among others) that have been argued to have developed from ‘true’ reflexive *se* (Geniušienė 1987; Cennamo 1993; Monge 1954): AntiC_{se} , Pass_{se} and Impersonal *se* (Imp_{se}).⁶

Examples are provided in (3a), (3b) and (3c) respectively.

(3) (a) *Se abrieron las ventanas.* [AntiC_{se}]

AntiC_{se} opened the windows

‘The windows opened.’

(b) *Se vendieron los pisos.* [Pass_{se}]

Pass_{se} sold the flats

‘The flats were sold.’

(c) *Se ha llamado a los bomberos.* [Imp_{se}]

Imp_{se} has called DOM the firefighters

‘Someone has called the firefighters.’

The central difference between AntiC_{se} and Pass_{se} , on the one hand, and Imp_{se} , on the other, is that the sole overt DP in the former behaves like a grammatical subject, while in the latter it behaves like a grammatical object (Mendikoetxea 1992, 1999, 2008; Sánchez-López 2002 among others).⁷ In this article, we focus on the properties of Pass_{se} (although see Section 5.2 for a brief discussion of Imp_{se}). In Section 3.1 we contrast the properties of Pass_{se} with AntiC_{se} as a way to arm ourselves with diagnostics to determine whether an intransitive *se* construction is Pass_{se} or AntiC_{se} in the historical data.

Spanish Pass_{se} has the following properties, indicating that the sole overt DP is a grammatical subject (see Mendikoetxea 1999; Sánchez-López 2002 and references therein for data and discussion): i. the sole overt DP controls verbal agreement (4a); ii. a direct object clitic corresponding to the sole overt DP is ungrammatical (4b); and iii. the differential object marker (DOM) *a*, limited to specific human direct objects, is not available (4c).

(4) (a) *Se vendieron/*ó las paellas.*

Pass_{se} sold.pl/sg. the paellas

‘The paellas were sold.’

(b) **Se las vendieron.*

Pass_{se} them sold.pl

‘They were sold.’

(c) **Se vendieron a los niños.*

Pass_{se} sold.pl DOM the kids

Intended: 'They kids were sold.'

Additionally, there is an intuition that there is an implicit external argument in Pass_{se} 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 (5).

- (5) Se vendieron los pisos deliberadamente para sacar dinero
 Pass_{se} sold the flats deliberately for make money
 'The flats were sold deliberately to make money.'

Of course, 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 (6a) and (6b) respectively, data from Mendikoetxea (1999: 1670).⁸

- (6) (a) Se han recibido varias quejas de los propietarios de pisos.
 Pass_{se} have received various complaints from the owners of apartments
 'Several complaints from apartment owners have been received.'
- (b) Se temen las nuevas movilizaciones anunciadas.
 Pass_{se} fear the new mobilizations announced
 'The new mobilizations announced are feared.'

(6a) also illustrates that Pass_{se} can be formed with a verb whose non-Pass_{se} counterpart is ditransitive.

More recently, the intuition that there is an implicit external argument in Pass_{se} in Spanish has found syntactic support from the interpretation of body parts. MacDonald (in press) observes that when the sole overt DP in Pass_{se} is a body part, the body part can receive an inalienable possession interpretation, an illustration of which is in (7).

(7) (a) El profesor hizo una pregunta. Se levantaron unas/las manos.

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

‘The professor asked a question. Some of their/Their hands raised.’

(b) De las almohadas se alzaron unas cabezas greñudas.⁹

From the pillows Pass_{se} 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

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

dedos, la cabeza, la cadera o hasta el cuerpo de algunos de los

escuchas.¹⁰

fingers, the head, the hip or 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.’

Based on data like those in (7), MacDonald (in press) concludes that there is a syntactically projected implicit external argument in Pass_{se} (in contrast to AntiC_{se}; see Sections 3.1 and 5 below). Consider how this conclusion is reached.

As previously noted 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, as illustrated in (8), where coindexation indicates inalienable possession.

- (8) El hermano_i de Juan_j cerró los ojos_{Si/*j}.
 the brother of Juan closed the eyes
 ‘Juan’s brother closes his eyes.’

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 (9a) and (9b) in a context where a father is talking to his daughter and answering her question about why she can run so fast.

- (9) (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.’

(9a) is felicitous in this context, where the interlocutor (*pro* ‘you’) is the daughter, because it can express that the legs in question are inalienably possessed by the daughter. In contrast, (9b) is odd, precisely because the legs are not

interpreted as inalienably possessed by the daughter.¹¹ In (9a), *pro* ‘you’ serves as the syntactically present possessor. In (9b), there is no such syntactically present possessor. A body part is interpreted as inalienably possessed only when the possessor is present in the syntax. Thus, since there is an inalienable possession interpretation of the sole overt DP in Pass_{se} in (7), the possessor must be syntactically present.

2.2 Romanian *se* constructions

Like Spanish, Romanian has AntiC_{se} and Pass_{se} constructions. However, unlike Spanish, Romanian lacks an impersonal *se* construction (an indication of which is the inability of DOM *pe* from appearing in Romanian *se* constructions, among others, as extensively discussed in Dobrovie-Sorin 1998, 2006; see (41b) below). Romanian Pass_{se} patterns with Spanish Pass_{se} in licensing agent-oriented adverbs and rationale clauses, as illustrated in (10). (10a) is from Dobrovie-Sorin (1998:426) and (10b) from Cornilescu & Nicolae (2015:329).

(10) (a) S-au strâns bani pentru a-i ajuta pe săraci.

Pass_{se}-have collected money for to-them help DOM poor.the

‘Money was collected in order to help the poor.’

(b) Casa s-a distrus cu bună știință/în mod intenționat

House.the Pass_{se}-has destroyed with good science/in way intentional

de către foștii chiriași pentru a o cumpăra la un preț cât mai scăzut

by to former tenants for to it buy at a price how more low

‘The house was deliberately/knowingly destroyed by the former tenants so that they could buy it at a very low price.’

Additionally, as in Spanish, when the sole overt DP in Pass_{se} in Romanian is a body part, it can be interpreted as inalienably possessed, as illustrated in (11).

(11) (a) Se ridică mâna pentru a pune o întrebare în clasă

Pass_{se} raises hand.the for to ask a question in class

‘One raises one's hand to ask a question in class.’

(b) Nu se mișcă buzele când se citește.

No Pass_{se} move lips.the when Pass_{se} read

‘You don't move your lips when you read.’

Observe in (12) that Romanian has the same construction as Spanish, where the subject can be interpreted as the possessor of a body part direct object. Data in (12a-b) from Manoliu-Manea (1996:725-726).

(12) (a) Petru ridică mâna. (c) Ai picioare lungi.

Peter raises hand.the have legs long

‘Peter is raising his hand.’ ‘You have long legs.’

(b) A întors capul

has turned head.the

‘He turned his head.’

Just like in Spanish, the possessor must c-command the body part. In (13) Peter is not understood as opening his eyes, only his brother, as the coindexation indicates.

(13) Fratele_i lui Petru_k a deschis ochii_{i/*k}.

brother.the his Peter has opened eyes.the

‘Peter’s brother opened his eyes.’

Importantly, pragmatics does not suffice to license an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part. Thus, in a context where a father answers his daughter’s question about why she can run so fast, (14a) is felicitous, while (14b) is not.

(14) (a) Ai picioare lungi. (b) #Picioarele sunt lungi

have legs long legs.the are long

‘You have long legs.’ ‘The legs are long.’

We conclude from this that body parts in Romanian pattern the same as in Spanish: they require a syntactically present c-commanding possessor for an inalienable possession interpretation.

It appears then that with respect to the licensing of agent-oriented adverbs, rationale clauses, and an inalienable possession interpretation of body parts in Pass_{se} constructions, Romanian and Spanish pattern the same.¹² Adopting the conclusions from MacDonald (in press) regarding Spanish, we assume that for both Spanish and Romanian Pass_{se} there is an implicit projected external

argument, which we take to be *pro* in Spec, Voice, as illustrated in (15), where *se* heads Voice.

(15) [VoiceP *pro* Voice_{se} [VP V]] [Spanish and Romanian Pass_{se}]

Given this conclusion, a question arises in light of one important difference between Romanian and Spanish Pass_{se}, related to the licensing of *by*-phrases. *By*-phrases are grammatical in Romanian Pass_{se} (Geniušienė 1987; Dindelegan 2013; Cornilescu & Nicolae 2015), while there are severe restrictions on *grammatical by*-phrases in Pass_{se} in Spanish (see de Miguel 1992; Mendikoetxea 1999; Sánchez-López 2002).

(16) illustrates that *by*-phrases are grammatical in Romanian Pass_{se}, datum in (16a) from Geniušienė (1987:267), and data in (16b) and (16c) from Cornilescu & Nicolae (2015:323/321/327).¹³

(16) (a) Vesela se spală de el
dishes Pass_{se} wash by him

‘Dishes are washed by him.’

(b) Toate schimbările cerute s-au făcut de către manageri
All changes.the requested Pass_{se}-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_{se}-has made even by prime minister

‘The statement was made by the prime minister himself.’

In Spanish, however, the situation is more complex. The discussion is still open regarding the exact conditions under which *by*-phrases are grammatical in *Pass_{se}* constructions in Spanish (although see discussions in Otero 1986, de Miguel 1992, Mendikoetxea 1999, Sánchez-López 2002 and references therein). There may be a tendency, nevertheless, that generically interpreted DPs within the *by*-phrase, if grammatical at all, are grammatical.¹⁴ What is clear, nevertheless, is that referential DPs are ungrammatical. This is illustrated by the contrast in (17) and (18), data taken from Sánchez López (2002:60), and expanded to include the pronouns *ti/mi/ella*.

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

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

‘This work was written by a totally unknown author.’

(b)*Esta obra se escribió por Cervantes/ti/mi/ella.

This work *Pass_{se}* wrote by Cervantes/you/me/her

‘This work was written by Cervantes/you/me/her.’

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

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

‘This painting was painted by an expert portrait painter.’

(b) *Este cuadro se pintó por Goya/ti/mi/ella.

This painting *Pass_{se}* 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_{se} constructions in Spanish, even when the external argument of the non- Pass_{se} is not an Agent, illustrated by the experiencer *by*-phrase in (19) from Mendikoetxea (1999:1683-1684), and in (20).

- (19) (a) Las nuevas movilizaciones anunciadas se temen por toda la
 the new mobilizations announced Pass_{se} fear by all the
 sociedad
 society
 ‘The new mobilizations announced are feared by the whole society.’
- (b)*Las nuevas movilizaciones anunciadas se temen por mis padres.
 the new mobilizations announced Pass_{se} fear by my parents
 ‘The new mobilizations announced are feared by my parents.’
- (20) (a)*Esta explicación no se entiende por nosotros.
 This explanation no Pass_{se} understand by us
 ‘This explanation is not understood by us.’
- (b)?Esta explicación no se entiende por nadie.
 This explanation no Pass_{se} understand by noone
 ‘This explanation is not understood by noone.’

In Section 4, we argue that the variation can be accounted for in terms of different features of projected *pro*, where *pro* in Spec,Voice of Romanian lacks a D-feature and *pro* in Spec,Voice of Spanish has a D-feature. Before turning to the analysis, however, we will see that Old Spanish Pass_{se} patterns just like Modern

Romanian Pass_{se} in licensing an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part at a time when referential *by*-phrases were grammatical.

3. OLD SPANISH

The main goal of this section is to illustrate that at a previous stage in its development, Pass_{se} in Spanish patterned with Modern Romanian along the lines just discussed in Section 2.2. We will see that there appear to be no obvious *by*-phrase restrictions in Old Spanish; specifically, referential *by*-phrases were grammatical, in contrast to Modern Spanish. Moreover, we see strong evidence that Pass_{se} also licensed an inalienable possession interpretation of body parts.

Before discussing these data directly, however, it is important to briefly discuss how to differentiate Pass_{se} from AntiC_{se} , since there are instances of formal ambiguity between the two (see Mendikoetxea 1999 among others). Thus in Section 3.1, we first mention previously proposed diagnostics for distinguishing Pass_{se} from AntiC_{se} . We then offer an additional diagnostic based on interpreting body parts as inalienably possessed, something possible in Pass_{se} , but not in AntiC_{se} .

3.1. *Distinguishing Pass_{se} from AntiC_{se}*

Anticaustives have an extensive literature (see Haspelmath 1990; Levin & Rapport 1995; Alexiadou et al. 2006; Schäfer 2008; Koontz-Garboden 2009; Cuervo 2014; and references therein). In this section, we do not exhaustively review all properties of AntiC_{se} , only those that will help distinguish between

AntiC_{se} and Pass_{se}, on the one hand, and those that will help us identify Pass_{se} in the Old Spanish texts.

First, AntiC_{se} 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). Additionally, ditransitive verbs do not appear in the AntiC_{se} construction.¹⁵

Second, *por*-phrases (i.e. ‘by’ phrases) that appear with AntiC_{se} are interpreted as Causes, as illustrated in (21) (see Alexiadou et al. 2006, Schäfer 2008, Koontz-Garboden 2009).¹⁶

(21) Se abrió la ventana por el viento.

AntiC_{se} opened the window by the wind

‘The window opened from the wind.’

Now, given that change of state verbs can also appear in a Pass_{se} construction, there are cases of formal ambiguity. This ambiguity, however, can be resolved by the presence of certain adjuncts. The presence of *por sí solo* (‘by itself’) (Mendikoetxea 1999, Schäfer 2008, Koontz-Garboden 2009) or a Cause *por*-phrase, picks out AntiC_{se} while the presence of a rationale/purpose clause picks out Pass_{se} (Mendikoetxea 1999). Thus, the *se* in (22a) is AntiC_{se}, while the *se* in (22b) is Pass_{se}, examples from Mendikoetxea (1999b:1643).

- (22) (a) Se quemó el bosque por sí solo/por la sequía.
 AntiC_{se} 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_{se} burned the forest for finish with the blight
 ‘The forest was burned to finish with the blight.’

Consider another contrast recently observed by MacDonald (in press), regarding the interpretation of body part DPs in AntiC_{se} and Pass_{se} in Spanish. In contrast to Pass_{se}, when the sole overt DP in AntiC_{se} is a body part, it cannot be interpreted as inalienably possessed. It can, however, in the presence of a dative possessor. First consider AntiC_{se} constructions with a dative that can be interpreted as an inalienable possessor of a body part, as in (23).

- (23) Mientras dormías, se te abrió la boca por sí sola.
 While slept AntiC_{se} you.Dat opened the mouth by self alone.
 ‘While you were sleeping, your mouth opened up by itself.’

Consider a context where sentence (23) can be stated felicitously. Your child is taking a nap on the couch and you are observing him when his mouth suddenly opens. When your child wakes, you can turn to him and say (23), where an inalienable possession interpretation between the interlocutor—your child—syntactically present as dative *te* ‘you’ and the mouth obtains. In contrast, (24) is

infelicitous (indicated by #) in the same discourse context when there is no dative possessor.

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

While slept AntiC_{se} opened the mouth by self alone.

‘While you were sleeping, your mouth opened up by itself.’

The mouth is not interpreted as belonging to your child. It can be interpreted as a mouth as part of a doll, for instance, but not the mouth inalienably possessed by your child.¹⁷

Here we expand both on previous literature and on MacDonald (in press), by offering another diagnostic for distinguishing between formally ambiguous instances of AntiC_{se} and Pass_{se} related to the inalienable possession interpretation of body parts. Consider the data in (25), in which there is a combination of a body part and an adjunct that picks out either Pass_{se} or AntiC_{se}.

(25) (a) Se abrió la ventana con la mano para airear la habitación.

Pass_{se} opened the window with the hand for air.out the room

‘The window was opened by hand to air our the room.’

(b) *Se abrió la ventana por sí sola/por el viento con la mano.

AntiC_{se} opened the window by self alone/by the wind with the hand.

‘The window opened by hand by itself/by the wind.’

(25a) illustrates that, in the presence of a rationale/purpose clause, a body part in an instrumental adjunct receives an inalienable possession interpretation. Recall

that a rationale/purpose clause picks out Pass_{se} . In contrast, (25b) illustrates that, in the presence of *por sí sola* or a Cause *por*-phrase, a body part in an instrumental adjunct does not receive an inalienable possession interpretation. Recall that *por sí sola* or a Cause *por*-phrase pick out AntiC_{se} . Thus, body parts are licensed with Pass_{se} , but not with AntiC_{se} . These patterns are the expected ones.

Now, one might counter that the problem with (25b) does not have to do with inalienable possession, however, but with two semantically conflicting *por*-phrases: one that indicates that the window opened with a hand and one that indicates that it opened by itself/from the wind. We can control for this potential semantic clash by keeping the body part an argument and using a Cause adjunct PP. First consider (26) in the context of someone explaining what happened to Mary, who is holding her hand.

- (26) (a) Pues, una cerilla se le encendió por sí sola en la mano
 well, a match AntiC_{se} her.dat ignited by self alone in the hand
 ‘Well, a match ignited by itself in her hand.’
- (b) *?Pues, una cerilla se encendió por sí sola en la mano
 well, a match AntiC_{se} ignited by self alone in the hand
 Intended: ‘Well, a match ignited by itself in her hand.’

In (26) the *por sí sola*-phrase ensures that this is an AntiC_{se} construction. As (26a) illustrates, the body part noun *mano* ‘hand’ in the adjunct is licensed when

the dative possessor *le* ‘her’ is present. As (26b) illustrates, when the dative is not present, the body part is not licensed on an inalienable possession interpretation. There is no semantic clash here. Consider another example in (27) in a context where a doctor is carrying out an experiment with sleeping individuals, administering different medication while they sleep to see what the consequent effects are.

(27) (a) *Se les abrieron los ojos con un medicamento.*

AntiC_{se} them.dat opened the eyes with one medication

‘With one medication, their eyes opened.’

(b) **?Se abrieron los ojos con un medicamento.*

AntiC_{se} opened the eyes with one medication

‘With one medication, their eyes opened.’

The *con*-phrase introduces a Cause, ensuring that these *se* constructions are AntiC_{se} constructions. As (27a) illustrates in the presence of the dative *les* ‘them’, the sole overt body part DP can be interpreted as inalienably possessed. As (27b) illustrates, without dative *les* ‘them’, the body part is not licensed on an inalienable possession interpretation. It appears, then, that a body part can only receive an inalienable possession interpretation in AntiC_{se} in the presence of a dative, while in Pass_{se} an inalienable possession interpretation of the body part is licensed without a dative.

Not only does this discussion of the interaction between body parts and PP adjuncts that pick out different *se* constructions corroborate the conclusions from MacDonald (in press), it also allows us to add another test for disambiguating formally indistinguishable Pass_{se} and AntiC_{se} : the presence of a body part that is interpreted as inalienably possessed, whether it is the sole overt DP or whether it is in an adjunct. Pass_{se} licenses this interpretation; AntiC_{se} does not. This will prove an important diagnostic in the historical data.¹⁸

3.2 *Pass_{se} in Old Spanish*

In this section we discuss the properties of Pass_{se} constructions in Old Spanish. The data were extracted manually from a corpus of texts and via electronic searches in the CORDE. The historical period covered by the corpus is 1207 to 1550.¹⁹ The texts that were used come from a variety of genres and registers.²⁰ We begin with body parts in Section 3.2.1 and then turn to *by*-phrases in Section 3.2.2.

3.2.1 *Body parts in Old Spanish*

In this section, we first illustrate that inalienably possessed body parts appear to have the same grammatical distribution in Old Spanish as in Modern Spanish, namely, that they required a syntactically present possessor. We then turn to their distribution in *se* constructions. We see occurrences of body parts with a dative occurring with change of state verbs, much like we see in Modern Spanish. We also see instances of body parts both as the sole overt DP and in adjunct PPs in *se*

constructions with change of state verbs. Based on the discussion in the previous section, we infer that these are most likely instances of Pass_{se}. More importantly, we see cases where a body part appears in a non-change of state verb in an adjunct clause, which we conclude must be cases of Pass_{se}. We take these findings as evidence for the projection of an implicit external argument in Old Spanish Pass_{se} following the conclusions from Section 3.1 above.

First, observe cases where the subject is interpreted as the inalienable possessor of a body part direct object in (28).²¹

(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... Alzó la

great was the day in the court of-the Campeador...raised the

mano, a la barba se tomó.

hand to the beard Refl_{se} 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)

Of course, an inalienable possession interpretation is not limited to instances where the possessor and the body part are coarguments of the same predicates, as shown in (29).

(29) (a) Mançebos avia hi livyanos que sse tomaron de las manos...

boys were there lascivious that Refl_{se} took by the hands

‘Lascivious boys were there who went hand-in-hand...’

(*Santa Maria*, 1215)

(b) Lava la tiesta en la onda: de sus pecados se sintio monda...

washes the head en the wave from her sins Inher_{se} felt clean

‘She washes her head in the waves: she felt cleansed of her sins...’

(*Santa Maria*, 1215)

(c) 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)

(d) Et non tengades que el donarie se dize por seer homne fermoso

and not have that the grace Pass_{se} 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)

In each case in (29), importantly, there is a syntactic possessor present to license the inalienable possession interpretation of the body part. In (29a) it is *mançebos* ‘boys’. In (29b) it is the null subject, which refers back to *María*, introduced in

previous discourse (not shown here). In (29c) it is the null subject first person singular, and in (29d) it is *homne*, ‘man.’

As we saw for modern Spanish, datives in Old Spanish can also license an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part, as illustrated in (30).

(30) (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 corazón*
 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_{Se}
pudiesse cobrar.
 could recover

‘And the boy saw that they wanted to take out his heart 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 hacen el fornicio...
 that CI-Dat.2S cut the members that make the fornication
 ‘...that you cut off the members that do the fornication...’
 (*Milagros*, 1260)

We also see datives serving as the possessor of a body part with change of state verbs with *se*, as in (31).

- (31) (a) Partieron se le las tellas de dentro del coraçon.
 split AntiC_{se} CI.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_{se}CI.Dat the articulations and
 desfácese todo.
 falls-apart-Anic_{se} 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_{se} CI.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_{se}

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)

In addition to the change of state verbs in (31) where a dative appears to license the inalienable possession interpretation of a body part, there are instances of change of state verbs with *se*, without a dative clitic, and in which the sole overt DP is a body part, as illustrated in (32).

(32) (a) así como el enfermo en que se corrompe la cólora e

thus how the sick in which Anti_{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 fenchar...

...the stomachs en every place Pass_{se} can fill

‘...stomachs can be filled up everywhere....’

(*Calila e Dimna*, 1251)

There are also instances of change of state verbs with *se* in which a body part appears in an adjunct and is interpreted as inalienably possessed, as illustrated in (33).

- (33) (a) *Otrossí muestra doblamiento de que sse dobla de ssomo*
 furthermore displays folding of that Pass_{se} 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_{se} split
 ‘Crabs have little food (in them), but it is flavorful, and they are split
 with one's hands.’ *(Arte cisoría, 1423)*

While the data in (32) and (33) could be taken as counterexamples to the generalization that body parts cannot appear with AntiC_{se} constructions in Old Spanish, we must recall, first, that a change of state verb with *se* could still be a Pass_{se} construction. Second, as discussed in Section 3.1, we concluded that a body part interpreted as inalienably possessed with a change of state verbs with *se* was a diagnostic for distinguishing AntiC_{se} and Pass_{se}. Concretely, a body part can be

interpreted as inalienably possessed only with Pass_{se}. Thus, it is possible that, in fact, the examples in (32) and (33) above are examples of Pass_{se}.

Now consider non-change of state verbs with *se* in (34).

- (34) (a) *assi se echan de la boca las palabras & las razones*
 thus Pass_{se} 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_{se} 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_{se} enclosed
 ‘Then he took out a very small book that was enclosed in his hand.’
 (Amadis de Gaula, 1482-1492)

In (34a), the adjunct clause *de la boca* ‘from the mouth’ indicates the source from which the words and reasons are thrown. The context indicates that this is in

reference to talking. In (34b), the body parts clearly refer to parts of a human, since the discussion is about how to build a home. Finally, in (34c), a small book is described as enclosed within a hand, clearly the hand that belongs to the person who just pulled it out.

In our estimation, there is evidence that body parts are licensed in Pass_{se} constructions under the same conditions as in Modern Spanish. The examples of Pass_{se} and body parts that we have discussed span from 1252 to 1500. As we will see in Section 3.2.2, during the same period referential *by*-phrases were grammatical in Pass_{se} constructions.

3.2.2 *By-phrases in Old Spanish*

Both *por* and *de* were prepositions of agency in Old Spanish. *Por* overtakes *de* during the modern period, after the 16th century (Mendeloff 1964:278). *Por* was also used with Causes. The Cause interpretation is illustrated below in (35) with the change of state verbs with *se*, data taken from Monge (1995:44).

(35) (a) ...o logar o a cosas que's fazen por uiento.

...or place where are things that-AntiC_{se} 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

and it that-AntiC_{se} makes by the heaven of Saturn unmakes-Pass_s by

el cielo de la Luna. E lo que's faze por el cielo de

the heaven of the moon and it that-AntiC_{se} makes by the heaven of

Jupiter desfaze's por el cielo de Venus.

Jupiter unmakes-AntiC_{se} 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, illustrated in (36).

(36) (a) ¡Dios lo mande, que por vós se ondre oy la cort!

God it orders that by you Pass_{se} 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_{se} her for us seem deed

‘... Spain, Because for her to be lost by us would seem a great feat.’

(Fernán González, 1250-1266)

(c) E esto que dixiemos de las ganancias que se fazen por las huestes,

and this that say of the earnings that Pass_{se} make by the armies

e por las cavalgadas en razon del derecho del rey o

and by the cavalries in reason of-the right of-the king or

del señor del lugar.

of-the lord of-the place

‘And this we say of the earnings that are made by armies, and by cavalries for the reason of the right of the king or the lord of the place.’

(Espéculo, 1260)

(d) La primera es de como se deven recibir e por quien.

the first is of how Pass_{se} should receive and by whom

‘The first (law) is about how they should be received and by whom.’

(Espéculo, 1260)

(e) ...de guisa que non se enbargue nin se destorve por él

of manner that not Pass_{se} impede nor Pass_{se} 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)

(f) dezimos que non se puede escusar por él de non yr...

say that not Pass_{se} can excuse by him of not go

‘...we say that he cannot be excused by him to not go.’

(Espéculo, 1260)

(g) ... e non se defendiere por él...

and not Pass_{se} defend by him

‘... and that he not be defended by him...’ *(Espéculo, 1260)*

(h) Lo que...vos dezides, no se entendie por nos.

it that you say not Pass_{se} understand by us

‘What you say is not understood by us.’ (Milagros, 1260)

Importantly the *por*-phrases that occur in these Pass_{se} constructions can be referential (e.g. *vós* ‘you’ in (36a), *él* in (36g), *nos* in (36h, Cited by Kärde 1943:90) etc.) in contrast to what we have seen for Modern Spanish in Section 2.1 above. Note that these *by*-phrases with *se* constructions occur as early as 1207, and as Monge (1954) observes as late as the 16th century. Some of his examples with referential *by*-phrases are in (37).

(37) (a) *por que se acabasse lo que se dixo por el propheta.*

because Pass_{se} finish it what Pass_{se} said by the prophet

‘Because what was said by the prophet was finished.’

(*Evangelios y Epístolas*, 1493)

(b) *...todo lo que por vos, señora, se ha dicho....*

all it that by you lady Pass_{se} has said

‘... everything that was said by you, lady...’ (*Amadis*, 1482-1492)

(c) *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_{se} made by all those gentlemen heard was

‘That amusing and earnest speech made by Amadis was heard willingly

by all those gentlemen.’

(*Amadis*, 1493)

(d) ...que por mi se pueda alcanzar que no la hiciese.

that by me Pass_{se} 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)

(e) Quanto por mi se desea, Huye do jamas se vee.

how-much by me Pass_{se} desires flees to-where never Pass_{se} sees

‘However much is desired by me flees whence never it is seen.’

(Obras de amores, 1490-1550)

There is clear evidence that at a previous stage referential *by*-phrases were grammatical in Old Spanish. Yet, as we have seen above, they no longer are. This is consistent with patterns previously observed for Portuguese (Naro 1976), Italian (Cinque 1988, Cennamo 1993), and French (Heidinger & Schäfer 2010), where *by*-phrases were grammatical with Pass_{se}, but then became ungrammatical.

Thus, the *by*-phrase restrictions in Pass_{se} that hold in Modern Spanish did not hold in Old Spanish. The examples of referential *by*-phrases noted in this section span a period from around 1207 to 1550. In the previous section, we saw examples of inalienably possessed body parts in Pass_{se} from 1252 to 1500. These facts point to a stage of Spanish Pass_{se} that looked like Modern Romanian Pass_{se}. We conclude that there was a stage in the development of Spanish Pass_{se} that paralleled Modern Romanian Pass_{se}.

4. THE PROPOSAL: A D(ETERMINER)-FEATURE

We claim that the variation between Romanian Pass_{se} and Modern Spanish Pass_{se} can be accounted for in terms of different internal properties of the projected *pro* in Spec, Voice . *Pro* in Romanian lacks a D(eterminer)-feature and *pro* in Modern Spanish has a D-feature, following the analysis of Legate (2014) for a variety of languages.²² We claim that the change from Old Spanish to Modern Spanish can also be accounted for in the same way: *pro* in Spec, Voice of Old Spanish Pass_{se} lacks a D-feature and *pro* in Spec, Voice of Modern Spanish Pass_{se} has a D-feature. This is illustrated in (38).²³

- (38) (a) [$\text{VoiceP } pro \quad \text{Voice}_{\text{se}} [\text{VP } V]$] [Old Spanish/Modern Romanian Pass_{se}]
 (b) [$\text{VoiceP } pro_{[\text{D}]} \quad \text{Voice}_{\text{se}} [\text{VP } V]$] [Modern Spanish Pass_{se}]

In this respect, we see both synchronic variation and diachronic change among implicit arguments parallel to differences between implicit arguments argued for independently in Landau (2010) and Legate (2014): the presence vs. absence of a D-feature.²⁴ As we claim in Section 5.2.1 below, the development of a D-feature on *pro* in Spec, Voice results from a subject cycle à la Van Gelderen (2004, 2011), reflecting a process she refers to as renewal.

Formally, we adopt Bruening's (2013) approach to *by*-phrases, which relies heavily on syntactic selection by feature checking. Informally, we follow Legate (2014), who discusses parallel patterns of *by*-phrase (in)compatibility in several languages and explains the patterns in terms of the internal make up of implicit arguments. Concretely, for what she terms *impersonal constructions* in Polish,

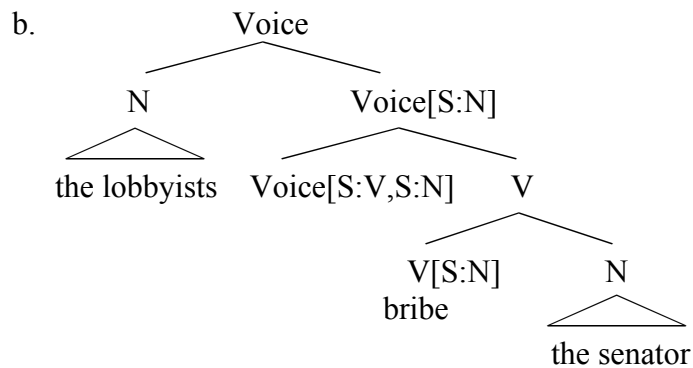
Breton, and Irish she argues that the implicit external nominal expression in Spec, Voice has a D-feature.²⁵ Since the nominal expression has a D-feature, it is an argument, on the assumption that a determiner turns a predicate into a syntactic argument (see, for instance, Longobardi (1994), among others).²⁶ As an argument, the nominal expression can saturate the external argument position. As she shows, in the impersonal constructions in these languages, *by*-phrases are not allowed. In contrast, for what she terms *grammatical object passives* in Icelandic and Ukrainian, she argues that the implicit external nominal expression in Spec, Voice does not have a D-feature. Since it is not an argument, it does not saturate the external argument slot, and *by*-phrases are allowed. We believe that Legate's analysis in terms of the internal properties of implicit arguments and their (in)ability to satisfy the argument structure properties of a predicate is the right approach. Nevertheless, we adopt the formal mechanisms from Bruening (2013) to explain the patterns in these *se* constructions.

Bruening (2013) proposes a feature checking account of argument selection in which a selectional feature is checked off when the appropriate category merges with it. A selectional feature no longer projects if it is checked, only non-checked selectional features project, and an unchecked feature leads to a crashed derivation.

Bruening assumes that Voice, the external argument introducing head, has two selectional features, one of category V and one of category N. Following his

notation, Voice is Voice[S:V],[S:N] (cf. Adger 2003). Thus, for the sentence in (39a), Bruening (2013:22) provides the structure in (39b), which illustrates selection by feature checking.

(39) a. The lobbyists bribed the senator.



Upon merger, *the senator* checks the selectional N feature of V, which then does not project. Upon merger of Voice with V, the selectional V feature of Voice is checked and it does not project, and so on for *the lobbyists*. With respect to the passive, Bruening claims that there is a Pass projection that selects for a Voice head with an unchecked N feature. A Voice head with an unchecked N feature is an unsaturated Voice projection for Bruening (2013:22). He assumes that Pass, when no *by*-phrase is present, saturates the external argument of Voice by existentially binding it. In checking terms, since Pass selects for a Voice head with an unchecked N feature, Pass checks said feature.

Bruening (2013) also assumes that the *by*-phrase selects for an unsaturated Voice projection, namely a Voice projection with an unchecked N feature, just

like the Pass head.²⁷ When the *by*-phrase combines with Voice[S:N], it does not check the selectional feature of Voice's N feature, however; thus, Voice's N feature projects. This happens, Bruening claims, because the *by*-phrase is an adjunct, and this reflects the intuition that the category with which an adjunct combines is the category that projects. The *by*-phrase's selectional feature, in contrast, is checked by Voice[S:N]. Moreover, he assumes that Pass combines with the resulting Voice[S:N] projection and Pass checks the selectional feature of Voice, just like when no *by*-phrase is present in the passive.

We adopt this basic syntactic account, but follow Legate (2014), who refines it by arguing that only a nominal with a D-feature can saturate the external argument slot, not a nominal without a D-feature. Concretely, in the present context, in checking terms, we assume that Voice, apart from a selectional V feature, contains a selectional D feature (cf. Müller 2010; Alexiadou et al. 2015). Thus, only *pro*_[D] can check Voice's selectional feature; *pro* without a D-feature cannot. Consider how this accounts for the patterns.

When *pro*_[D] merges in Spec,Voice, Voice's selectional D-feature is checked. A *by*-phrase cannot appear, because the *by*-phrase selects for an unsaturated Voice head, that is, a Voice[S:D]. In contrast, when *pro* merges in Spec,Voice, it does not check Voice's selectional D-feature, because *pro* lacks a D-feature. In this case, the *by*-phrase can combine with Voice[S:D], since it is unsaturated. Recall, nevertheless, that the *by*-phrase does not check the selectional feature of Voice;

the Pass head does this. In the present cases, however, there is no Pass head. Moreover, as Bruening assumes, a projection with an unchecked selectional feature is not an appropriate argument for any higher functional head. For instance, T selects for a projection with all its features checked off. This raises the question of what checks Voice's selectional D feature in Pass_{se} constructions when *pro* is in Spec, Voice.

The intuition we pursue is that *se* is responsible for checking Voice's selectional D-feature when *pro* or the *by*-phrase cannot. This is consistent with the intuition in Pujalte & Saab (2012) and Saab (2014), in which the presence of *se* saves a derivation with an unsaturated external argument position. Our account differs technically, however. As we discuss further below in Section 5.2, we assume that *se* in Pass_{se} constructions of the type in Romanian and Old Spanish still has a D-feature even though it heads Voice. This is not an uncommon situation in a subject cycle (Van Gelderen 2003, 2011). We capitalize on this and on the idea that *se* establishes some syntactic relation with T (see Belletti 1982; D'Alessandro 2007; Roberts 2010; Holmberg 2010; among others); minimally it moves to adjoin to T. We suggest that *se* saves the derivation by carrying its D feature with it to T. Thus, T with *se* has a D feature (i.e. T_{se[D]}) and this configuration can check Voice's unchecked D feature when T_{se[D]} merges with Voice[S:D], saving the derivation.²⁸

Briefly consider two sets of noted differences between modern Spanish *se* constructions and modern Romanian *se* constructions, which have the potential of being explained in terms of the presence of a D-feature on *pro* in Spanish *se* constructions and its absence in Romanian *se* constructions. The first comes from the observation in Dobrovie-Sorin (1998:424) that Romanian *se* can appear with the infinitive in (40a), which she notes cannot in Italian, and as we illustrate in (40b), cannot in Spanish.

- (40) a. Ieri Ion a plecat înainte de a se cânta
 Yesterday Ion has left before of to SE sing.
 ‘Yesterday John left before people sang.’
- b. *Ayer, Juan salió después de cantarse.
 Yesterday, Juan left after of to.sing.SE
 ‘Yesterday, Juan left after people sang.’

A possible explanation of this contrast can be framed in terms of argument saturation. In Romanian, *pro* introduced in Spec, Voice in (40a) of the infinitive does not saturate the external argument slot, in which case PRO can merge as an external argument. In Spanish, in contrast, since *pro*_[D] is merged in Spec, Voice in (40b), the external argument slot is saturated, leaving it impossible for PRO to merge.²⁹

The second set of data illustrate a contrast between Spanish and Romanian *se* constructions regarding the presence of the differential object marker (DOM).

Spanish *se* can appear with it, Romanian *se* cannot, as illustrated in (41a) and (41b) respectively, from Dobrovie-Sorin (1998: 405).

(41) a. En esta escuela se castiga a los alumnos.

In this school SE punishes DOM the students

‘In this school they punish the students.’

b. * In școala asta se pedepsește pe elevi

In school this SE punishes DOM students

Adopting an updated take on Burzio’s generalization (along the lines of Legate 2014, although distinct), accusative Case manifested via DOM marking is available when there is a syntactic external argument. Only a *D-pro* counts as an argument and can license accusative Case. *D-less-pro* cannot.

5. THE DIACHRONY OF *SE* CONSTRUCTIONS: LINGUISTIC CYCLES

In this section, we discuss the diachronic path of *se* constructions in more detail.

The widely assumed path, not limited to Romance languages, nor to Indo-European languages, (see Geniušienė 1987; Haspelmath 1990; Cennamo 1993; among others) is provided in (42).

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

We propose a modification of the path by dividing Pass_{se} into two stages, Pass_{se1} and Pass_{se2} , based on the *by*-phrase patterns discussed in Section 3 and the analysis offered in Section 4. The modified path is illustrated in (43), for which we provide additional support in Section 5.1 below.

(43) $\text{Refl}_{se} > \text{AntiC}_{se} > \text{Pass}_{se1} > \text{Pass}_{se2} > \text{Imp}_{se}$

In this article, we focus only on the steps from Refl_{se} to Pass_{se2} . We illustrate how they appear to result from a subject cycle à la Van Gelderen (2003, 2011). By approaching the steps in terms of a cycle, we provide a context for understanding the development of $\text{pro}_{[D]}$ from D-less *pro*. This relates directly to a crucial aspect of a cycle: renewal. Moreover, assuming that renewal underlies this development generates a prediction regarding the class of languages that will *not* develop Pass_{se1} from AntiC_{se} . We discuss this prediction in Section 5.2.3. and offer initial data that suggest that the prediction is on the right track.

5.1 *Independent support for two Pass_{se} stages*

One basis for the non-modified diachronic path of *se* constructions in (42) is the existence of languages that stop off at some point along the path. So, for instance, in Romance, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese are all known to have each of the constructions, while Romanian and French stop off at Pass_{se} ; they lack Imp_{se} (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1998, 2005).³⁰ We are not aware of any Romance language that stops off at AntiC_{se} , but Geniušienė (1987:258) lists the following non-Romance languages, among others, that do: English, German, Nivkh, Khmer, Eskimo, and Fula.³¹ Given our proposed modification, we would expect to find at least one language that has stopped off at Pass_{se1} and one language that has stopped off at Pass_{se2} stage. We claim that Romanian and French, respectively, are such languages.³²

First, if these languages have stopped off at one of the two Pass_{se} stages, then we would expect that neither of them would have developed Imp_{se} constructions. As mentioned above and as discussed extensively by Dobrovie-Sorin (1998, 2005), this is the case for both Romanian and French.

Second, observe that French Pass_{se} allows an inalienable possession interpretation of the sole overt DP when it is a body part, as in (44a), and when the body part is in an adjunct, as in (44b).³³

(44) (a) Les pieds se bougent sur la piste de danse.

the feet Pass_{se} move on the floor of dance

‘On the dance floor, ones’s feet move.’

(b) Les crevettes se mangent avec les mains.

The shrimp Pass_{se} eat with the hands

‘Shrimp are eaten with one’s hands.’

In this respect, French and Romanian Pass_{se} pattern together. They differ, however, with respect to *by*-phrases. While Romanian allows *by*-phrases (examples in 16 above), French does not, as illustrated in (45), from Authier & Reed (1996:514).³⁴

(45) *En général, ces débats s’enregistrent par Anne, qui est notre technicienne

in general these debates Pass_{se} -record by Anne who is our technician

la plus qualifiée.

the most qualified

‘Generally, these debates are recorded by Anne, who is our most qualified technician.’

The widely assumed diachronic path of *se* constructions in (42) is too coarse to accommodate this difference. As Heidinger & Schäfer (2010) show, there was a period when French did allow *by*-phrases in Pass_{se} ; it no longer does. In fact, as mentioned above, this is a change that we have seen for Spanish and which has been documented for Portuguese (Naro 1976) and Italian (Cinque 1988, Cennamo 1993) as well.³⁵ The modified path offered in (43) better represents this change.

5.2 *A subject cycle*

In this section, we see that the steps from Refl_{se} to Pass_{se2} look like they result from a subject cycle à la Van Gelderen (2003, 2011). Concretely, in a subject cycle a pronoun is reanalyzed as part of the verb. As discussed by Van Gelderen (2003, 2011), there are two interrelated consequences of this. One is that the pronoun that is being reanalyzed as part of the verb loses features. Initially it loses its status as phrase, a full DP, at which point it is a D head. As a D head, it can become part of the verb. Finally, it loses its D-feature altogether. Ultimately the pronoun undergoes complete feature loss and disappears. The other interrelated consequence is that once the pronoun is no longer in the subject position as a result of being reanalyzed as part of the verb, this position is left open for what Van Gelderen (2003, 2011) calls *renewal*. Renewal refers to the filling up of the empty syntactic position with another pronoun. As the pronoun reanalyzed as part

of the verb loses its features, a new pronoun in the empty position simultaneously contributes the features that are no longer provided by the reanalyzed pronoun.

The two important aspects in the *se* constructions that we focus on here are *se*'s loss of features and the renewal of these features in terms of the development of *pro* to *pro*_[D]. We see that as *se* loses its features, *pro* renews them simultaneously in parallel. We first discuss renewal.

5.2.1 Renewal in Spec, Voice

Recall the modified diachronic path repeated below in (46) in terms of how we analyze VoiceP for each *se* construction.

- (46) (a) [_{VoiceP} *pro*_[D] Voice_{se} [_{VP} DP]] [Refl_{se}]
 (b) [_{VoiceP} Voice_{se} [_{VP} DP]] [AntiC_{se}]
 (c) [_{VoiceP} *pro* Voice_{se} [_{VP} DP]] [Pass_{se1}]
 (d) [_{VoiceP} *pro*_[D] Voice_{se} [_{VP} DP]] [Pass_{se2}]

(46a) represents Refl_{se} constructions, widely assumed to be located at the beginning of the path of *se* constructions. We assume that *pro* in Spec, Voice is the definite referential null subject found in consistent null subject languages, represented as *pro*_[D].³⁶ Recall from Section 3.1 that AntiC_{se} constructions do not license an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part in contrast to Pass_{se1}, Pass_{se2}, and, as illustrated in MacDonald (in press), Imp_{se}. Following MacDonald (in press), we take this to mean that there is no projected implicit external argument in AntiC_{se} constructions, while there is in Pass_{se1} and Pass_{se2}.³⁷

The lack of projected external argument is represented by the empty specifier in (46b). The projected implicit argument in Pass_{se1} and Pass_{se2} is represented as *pro* and $pro_{[D]}$, respectively in (46c) and (46d).

We assume that the development of AntiC_{se} from Refl_{se} resulted from the reanalysis of *se* as a marker of intransitivity, following Monge (1954), Kemmer (1988), Cennamo (1999), and Pountain (2000) (see also Faltz 1977, 2008 where it is inferred). The lack of *pro* in Spec, Voice and the single DP complement of V in (46b) reflect the intransitive structure underlying AntiC_{se} .

From AntiC_{se} to Pass_{se1} , we claim that *renewal* takes place. The empty Spec of Voice is renewed by D-less *pro* giving rise to Pass_{se1} , a construction that licences *by*-phrases. We assume that the development from D-less *pro* to $pro_{[D]}$ also results from the renewal process, giving rise to Pass_{se2} , a construction that no longer licenses *by*-phrases. As we discuss below in Section 5.2.2, the gain of the D-feature from *pro* to $pro_{[D]}$ goes hand in hand with the loss of the D-feature from $se_{[D]}$ to *se*, a situation that is common in cycles, as discussed in Van Gelderen (2003, 2011). At this point, Voice of Pass_{se2} looks like VoiceP of Refl_{se} , in which there is a $pro_{[D]}$ in its Spec . Pass_{se2} represents a return to the beginning of the cycle. The renewal taking place in Spec, Voice is represented below in (47) as a function of the diachronic path of *se* constructions.³⁸

- (47) (a) $\text{Refl}_{se} > \text{AntiC}_{se} > \text{Pass}_{se1} > \text{Pass}_{se2}$
 (b) $pro_{[D]} > \emptyset > pro > pro_{[D]}$

5.2.2 Feature loss of *se*

Many have argued that the Old Spanish reflexive pronoun was a full phrasal DP (Rivero 1986, 1991, 1997; Barbosa 1993, 1996; Fontana 1993, 1997; Halpern & Fontana 1994; Halpern 1995; Maddox in progress). At some point in the past, it was reanalyzed as a functional morpheme, on our account as the head of Voice (see also Cuervo 2003, 2014; Kempchinsky 2004; Folli & Harley 2005; Ordóñez & Treviño 2011; Armstrong 2013; among others, who assume that *se* heads a Voice projection), resulting in modern Spanish clitic *se*. As a Voice morpheme, nevertheless, in reflexive constructions, it still retains uninterpretable person features, since they vary as a function of the referent in Spec, Voice. Namely Refl_{se} surfaces as *me* when there is a first person singular referent and as *te* when there is a second person singular referent, etc. Observe for AntiC_{se} that *se* surfaces as *me* when there is a first person singular referent and as *te* when there is a second person singular referent, etc., as illustrated in (48), just like we see for Refl_{se} , suggesting no feature loss in the development from Refl_{se} to AntiC_{se} .

- (48) (a) Me ahogué. (b) Te ahogaste
 1st drowned 2nd drowned
 ‘I drowned.’ ‘You drowned.’

Recall that we assume that the development of AntiC_{se} from Refl_{se} resulted from the reanalysis of *se* as a marker of intransitivity. As a marker of intransitivity, *se* is not necessarily expected to lose features. The minimum expectation is that the

resulting structure is intransitive. The intransitive status of AntiC_{se} is represented in our structure in (46b) by the lack of *pro* in Spec, Voice and the single DP complement of V.

We do see feature loss from AntiC_{se} to Pass_{se1} , nevertheless. *Se* no longer has uninterpretable person features. *Se* does, we assume, have an interpretable person feature, which restricts *pro* in its Spec to third person. (See Legate 2014 for a way to capture this technically. See also footnote 3.) Moreover, we assume that in Pass_{se1} , *se* still has a D-feature, even though it heads Voice . This is not unexpected for a subject cycle, as discussed in Van Gelderen (2003, 2011), since not all features are all immediately lost when a pronoun is reanalyzed as part of a head. If we assume that *se* in Pass_{se1} still has a D-feature we are able to explain two related issues. The first brings us back to Section 4 and the checking of Voice 's selectional D-feature in Pass_{se1} . If *se* has a D-feature, *se* can check it, as we suggest above. The second relates to a question about why, if renewal is what gives rise to Pass_{se1} , can't $pro_{[D]}$ directly renew Spec, Voice , giving rise to Pass_{se2} directly from AntiC_{se} ? Our answer relies on both feature loss of *se* and of renewal in Spec, Voice , two processes that occur simultaneously in parallel. Since the pronoun that is involved in renewal—here *pro*—contributes features that the pronoun reanalyzed as part of the verb can no longer contribute—here $se_{[D]}$ —the former will only renew the features that the latter is losing. So, if at Pass_{se1} stage, *se* still has a D-feature, then there is no need for $pro_{[D]}$ to renew. It is only when *se*

further loses this D-feature that *pro* can renew this D-feature. This, we claim, is the change from Pass_{se1} to Pass_{se2} , in which *pro* gains a D-feature giving rise to $pro_{[D]}$ in Spec, Voice. From Pass_{se1} to Pass_{se2} , as part of the feature loss of the reanalyzed pronoun typical in a subject cycle, we speculate that *se* loses its D-feature.³⁹

Although our main focus of the diachronic path ends with Pass_{se2} , we consider here further feature loss in Imp_{se} constructions, since it lends general support to the claim that *se* loses features as we move to the right of the diachronic path in (43). Concretely, in Imp_{se} , there are cases where *se* loses its interpretable third person feature. This is evidenced by the lack of a requirement for a third person referent in Spec, Voice. The data in (49), from rural Brazilian Portuguese, taken from Nevins (2007:308), and in (50), from a dialect of peninsular Spanish, taken from Benito Moreno (2014:107), illustrate that in the presence of *se*, the external argument is not third person.

(49) Eu se machuquei

I reflexive-cl. hurt.past-1sg.

‘I hurt myself.’

(50) Se laváis to los días a desgusto

se wash.2PL all the days to unpleasure

‘Every day you guys take a shower while complaining.’

Nevins (2007:308 fn 27) notes that the data in (49) suggests that *se* lacks a person feature.⁴⁰ The data in (50) suggest same thing. We claim here that this is not an unexpected result if a subject cycle is underlying the diachronic path of *se* constructions in which *se*, as a pronoun reanalyzed as part of the verb, loses its features.

(51) illustrates the simultaneous processes of renewal in Spec, Voice and feature loss of *se* running in parallel as a function of the modified diachronic path of *se* constructions from Refl_{se} to Pass_{se2} . We illustrate only the D-features here.⁴¹

- (51) (a) $\text{Refl}_{se} > \text{AntiC}_{se} > \text{Pass}_{se1} > \text{Pass}_{se2}$ [Diachronic path]
 (b) $se_{[D]} > se_{[D]} > se_{[D]} > se$ [Feature loss]
 (b) $pro_{[D]} > \emptyset > pro > pro_{[D]}$ [Renewal]

As *se* loses its features, they are simultaneously renewed by *pro* in Spec, Voice. From this perspective, at least the portion of the modified diachronic path of *se* constructions from Refl_{se} to Pass_{se2} looks like a subject cycle à la Van Gelderen (2001, 2011). Consider a specific prediction generated from this subject cycle approach to *se* constructions.

5.2.3 A prediction from renewal

An integral part of the any cycle is renewal. Renewal underlies the development of Pass_{se1} from AntiC_{se} on our account. Crucially, prior to renewal a syntactic position is left empty from the reanalysis of the pronoun as part of the verb. An expectation arises from this story. If a language uses a reflexive element in

anticausatives, like Romance, but the reflexive element has not been reanalyzed as part of the verb and is an independent DP, we would expect renewal *not* to take place, because there would be no empty position to fill. On the present approach, this entails that in this language, no Pass_{se} construction would develop from AntiC_{se}. We suggest here that German is such a language.

Schäfer (2008) (see also Geniušienė 1987; Alexiadou et al. 2015; and reference therein) argues that the reflexive element *sich* in German anticausatives is an independent DP, based on its free worder status, that it has (abstract) case, and that the auxiliary *have*, in contrast to *be*, surfaces just like it does with transitive predicates. Schäfer (2008) (see also Alexiadou et al. 2015) proposes the structure in (52) in which *sich* is located in Spec, Voice.

(52) [VoiceP *sich* Voice_{se} [VP DP]] [German anticausative]

Importantly, German does not have Pass_{se} constructions (Florian Schäfer p.c.; see also Geniušienė 1987). If the development of Pass_{se} relies crucially on renewal and German anticausatives are analyzed as in (52), there is no empty position where renewal can take place, and no Pass_{se} will develop. These German facts fall out from the present proposal.

Consider another set of facts from Germanic that suggests that this explanation is on the right track. Languages such as Swedish and Norwegian have two reflexive elements, an independent DP (i.e. *seg* and *sig* respectively) and an affixal form derived historically from a reflexive (i.e. *-s*) (Geniušienė 1987,

Florian Schäfer p.c.). While you can find the independent DP reflexive in both ‘true’ reflexives and anticausatives, you do not find it in passives (or impersonals). Passives only occur with the affixal reflexive element (Geniušienė 1987).⁴² As far as we are aware, there has been no previous explanation of these facts. On the present story, this situation is not unexpected. The independent DP cannot appear in passives, because there is no empty position for renewal to take place. In contrast, the affixal forms do not occupy a syntactic position, in which case, one is left open for renewal to take place. We take these patterns in Germanic as support for the proposal that the diachronic path of *se* constructions, at least from Ref_{se} to Pass_{se2} , results from a subject cycle à la Van Gelderen (2003, 2011).

6. RECAP

In this article we have argued that Romanian and Spanish Pass_{se} constructions project an implicit external argument. They differ, however, in the internal properties of said implicit projected external argument; in Spanish it has a D(eterminer)-feature, while in Romanian it lacks a D-feature. Moreover, we saw that in Old Spanish the projected implicit argument in Pass_{se} patterned with Modern Romanian in not having a D-feature. We have argued that we can understand this change in terms of a linguistic cycle, one crucial part of which is renewal. This approach also offers an explanation for why some languages do not develop a Pass_{se} construction.

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FOOTNOTES

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² 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*.

³ Alternatively, little *v* is the external argument introducing head (Chomsky 2001). There is evidence that an external argument introducing Voice head must be distinguished from a CAUSE head, often called *v* (see Alexiadou et al. 2006; Pylkkänen 2008; Schäfer 2008; Harley 2013; Legate 2014).

⁴ We also assume that *se*, as the head of Voice, can modify the external argument position, without saturating it, specifically restricting the external argument to third person, following Legate's (2014) account of the Acehnese prefix *geu-* as

Voice. She assumes that *geu-*, semantically, is an instance of predicate restriction à la Chung & Ladusaw (2004).

⁵ The present discussion focuses on Romance, however, as Geniušienė (1987) and Haspelmath (1990) note, the path of *se* constructions is attested outside Romance and Indo-European languages.

⁶ Spanish, and other Romance languages, have other *se* constructions as well: middle, inherent, aspectual, reciprocal and antipassive, for instance. These are not discussed here.

⁷ One indication that the sole overt DP in Imp_{se} construction is a grammatical object is that the differential object marker *a* can appear, as in (3c). Another is that it does not control agreement.

⁸ In example (6) and throughout the rest of the article, glosses have been modified for consistency. Some translations have been modified as well.

⁹ Online at:

http://minerva.ufpel.edu.br/~avelino.oliveira/HIP/Poema_Pedag%F3gico.pdf.

¹⁰ Online at <http://tiemposdeenfoque.wordpress.com/2010/06/02/cierra-festival-de-mayo-2010-con-la-ofunam-y-leonardo-villeda/>.

¹¹ See MacDonald (in press) for specific contexts where examples like (9b) are more felicitous and arguments for why the increase in felicity in said contexts does not constitute counterevidence.

¹² As is well known the implicit external argument of the periphrastic passive also licenses agent-oriented adverbs and rationale clauses, but not an inalienable possession interpretation of body parts as shown in MacDonald (in press).

¹³ Dragomirescu (2013:171) notes that in Old Romanian, up to the 19th century, the expression of the agent in Pass_{se} was more frequent than it is nowadays. This is consistent with the general tendency found where *by*-phrases initially appear grammatically with Pass_{se}, then no longer do. See Naro (1976) for Portuguese, Cennamo (1993) for Italian and Heidinger & Schäfer (2010) for French, and Sections 2.2 and 3.2.2 for Spanish.

¹⁴ *By*-phrases in Imp_{se} constructions pattern the same as *by*-phrases in Pass_{se} constructions in Spanish.

¹⁵ Levin (1993:29) notes that verbs of change of possession do not enter into the causative alternation.

¹⁶ Some speakers prefer *con* ‘with’ over *por* ‘by’ when introducing a Cause.

¹⁷ Note a contrast in a context where a teacher is giving instructions about classroom/playground behavior to a new student. The teacher can be addressing the student and state (i), but not (ii).

(i) No se mueve ningún dedo en clase (cuando hablo).

No Pass_{se} move none finger in class (when speak)

‘No moving a finger in class (when I speak).’

(ii) *No se rompe ningun hueso en el recreo.

No AntiC_{se} break none bone in the recess.

‘No breaking any bones during recess.’

While a body part cannot take an interlocutor as a possessor, the interlocutor can be understood to fall within the denotation of the null implicit external argument of (i), in as much as it is interpreted generically as everyone or the like. Although a generic interpretation is available in (ii), the body part is not licensed, because there is no projected implicit external argument.

¹⁸ Romanian patterns just like Spanish with respect to the contrasts between AntiC_{se} and Pass_{se} regarding the inalienable possession interpretation of body parts.

¹⁹ Generally, the dates of Old Spanish are assumed to extend roughly from the 10th century to the beginning of the 15th century.

²⁰ Note that Bogard (2006) studies the development of *se*-constructions in Spanish from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. Some of our data overlap with Bogard’s.

²¹ The texts are cited in the following format: (*Title*, year).

²² Where we posit *pro*, Legate (2014) posits a phi-bundle. Moreover, she assumes that D projects a DP layer. We remain agnostic with respect to whether D on *pro* projects a DP layer or not.

²³ The structure in (38a) is fundamentally the same as what Legate (2014) calls *the grammatical object passive*, which is one of two non-active voices in Acehnese. The one in (38b) is fundamentally the same as what Legate (2014) refers to as the *impersonal*. Note also that diachronic claims parallel to ours have been made previously, namely that nominal structures ‘grow’ DPs over time. See Börjars, Harries, & Vincent (2016) and references therein for Germanic. See also footnote 25.

²⁴ The diagnostics discussed in Landau (2010) to distinguish between an implicit argument with a D-feature and one without do not return consistent results in Romance *se* constructions, which, in our mind raises a question about the universality of the diagnostics proposed there.

²⁵ It is interesting to note that Legate (2014), who argues that in the Irish impersonal the implicit external argument has a D-feature, also notes that in the diachrony of Irish, evidence for a grammatical object voice can be found. That is, there is evidence that at an earlier stage, the implicit external argument lacked a D-feature, but then developed one.

²⁶ She also assumes that the presence of a D-feature relates to referentiality, something that we discuss in greater detail for *se* constructions in MacDonald et al. (in progress).

²⁷ ‘Semantically *by* takes a function with an open individual argument and supplies its own argument to saturate that function...’ (Bruening 2013:24). A *by*-phrase selects for a projection that takes an external argument role and fills in its own argument for that role.

²⁸ To avoid a countercyclic derivation we assume sideward movement (Nunes 2001) of *se* to T and it is this complex $Tse_{[D]}$ head that then merges with Voice[S:D]. Alternatively, a head movement à la Matushanksy (2006), in which the clitic *se* moves to and merges with the root label that results from T merging with Voice, namely, with $[_{T[S:D]} T \text{ Voice}[S:D]]$ is possible, if we allow the unchecked [S:D] on Voice to continue to project (in conflict with Bruening’s 2013 assumption). When $se_{[D]}$ merges with $T_{[S:D]}$, the projected [S:D] from Voice could be checked.

²⁹ As general support for the overall approach suggested above dependent on external argument saturation, note that anticausative *se* can appear grammatically in these infinitives in Spanish: *La rama se cayó antes de romperse*. ‘The branch fell before breaking.’ Assuming, as we do that there is no $pro_{(ID)}$ in Spec, Voice, in $AntiC_{se}$ constructions, PRO can merge freely. Below in Section 5.1, we claim that there is a $pro_{[D]}$ in French $Pass_{se}$, which, on our account, predicts that French should pattern with Spanish in these infinitival instance. Our informant finds the following ungrammatical on a non-reflexive interpretation of *se*: **Les crevettes*

ont été lavées avant de se manger avec les mains. ‘The shrimp were washed before they were eaten with one’s hands.’ Note also that, like Spanish, AntiC_{se} can appear, as expected: *La branche est tombée avant de se casser.* ‘The branch fell before breaking.’

³⁰ French has an impersonal *il* construction, where *il* is an expletive, but it patterns differently from the Imp_{se} constructions in Spanish, Italian, and from the French Pass_{se} construction (see 46b below), by not licensing an inalienable possession interpretation of a body part: **Il se mangent les crevettes avec les mains.* ‘Shrimp is eaten with the hands.’

³¹ Another motivation for the path is typological implications: if a language has an Imp_{se} construction it also has Pass_{se} and AntiC_{se}. If a language has Pass_{se} it has AntiC_{se}, etc. The inverse does not hold. We believe that since the change that takes place to *pro*—from indefinite *pro* to indefinite *pro*_[D]—in these constructions affects a single lexical, namely, the renewed pronoun discussed in Section 5.2 below, we will not find languages that have both Pass_{se2} and Pass_{se1}, since there will not be two lexical items indefinite *pro* and indefinite *pro*_[D]. What we might expect is exactly the situation found in the literature in Spanish, in which sometimes *by*-phrases are reported grammatical and sometimes they are reported as ungrammatical (see de Miguel 1992; Mendikoetxea 1992, 1999, 2008;

Sánchez-López 2002), suggesting that this change, to a certain extent, is still in progress.

³² If Imp_{se} develops from Pass_{se2}, as the path in (43) indicates, this would entail that in Imp_{se}, *pro* in Spec, Voice would have a D-feature, as it does in Pass_{se2}. We would then expect that in Imp_{se} constructions, *by*-phrases would be disallowed. This is the case for Spanish, as discussed above, and as previously noted for Portuguese (see Naro 1976), and Italian (see Cinque 1988; D’Alessandro 2007).

³³ The data in (46) are from Continental French. Canadian French may pattern differently. See Authier & Reed (1996) on some properties of one Canadian French dialect.

³⁴ (47) is acceptable in some varieties of Canadian French.

³⁵ Modern Catalan can likely also be added to this list since it shows patterns similar to Modern Spanish, where *by*-phrases with Pass_{se} are only allowed in formal/written register; see Wheeler et al (1999), though further diagnostics need to be applied.

³⁶ We represent the ‘true’ reflexive *se* construction as fundamentally transitive. This contrasts with approaches that adopt an unaccusative approach to these constructions, as in Marantz (1984), Kayne (1988), Pesetsky (1995), McGinnis (1997), among others.

³⁷ There is also in Imp_{se}. See MacDonald (in press) for this conclusion as well as for further arguments and implications of the fact that AntiC_{se} differs from these other *se* constructions in this respect.

³⁸ Of course, one difference is that *pro*_[D] in Refl_{se} is *definite*, while *pro*_[D] in Pass_{se2} is indefinite. In MacDonald et al (in progress), we illustrate how the subject cycle discussed here is embedded within another cycle that ultimately gives rise to a definite *pro*_[D] in Imp_{se} constructions.

³⁹ In *agreement* cycles, Van Gelderen (2001, 2011) assumes that the *phi*-features of the reanalyzed pronoun, at some point, change from *interpretable* to *uninterpretable* when part of the verb, due to *feature economy* (see Van Gelderen 2001, 2011 for details). It is when the reanalyzed pronoun has uninterpretable features that the renewed pronoun provides interpretable features, in order to check the uninterpretable feature of the reanalyzed pronoun. This might be applicable to the present situation, in which case, instead of *se* losing the D-feature, it becomes uninterpretable, and *pro* develops a D-feature to check the uninterpretable D-feature on *se*. While this is a possibility, it raises the question of why the DP complement to V in passives couldn't check the uninterpretable D-feature on *se*? Moreover, we know that *se*'s features are ultimately lost altogether, which would entail loss of D, whether interpretable or uninterpretable. Thus, we adopt what we consider to be the more conservative analysis.

⁴⁰ Kayne (2000:148) observes facts in Milanese parallel to Brazilian Portuguese and makes a similar point. Fornaciari (1884:243-244) notes the same patterns in Tuscan.

⁴¹ If the reasoning throughout this section is on track, we would expect that *se* in AntiC_{se} also has a D-feature. This is indicated in (51).

⁴² A parallel set of well known facts comes from Latin. Latin had an affix *-r* which occurred with deponent verbs, but which was also used to form reflexives, anticausatives, and passives (Woodcock 1959; Geniušienė 1987; Cennamo 1999; Pieroni 2000; Werner & Leiss 2006; Cennamo et al. 2015). Latin also had an accusative reflexive *sē*, the ancestor of Romance *se*. Latin *sē* behaved like a full independent DP; it could undergo movement, be coordinated, be modified, and be separated from the verb (Faltz 2008; Maddox in progress). While Latin *sē* could occur in reflexive and anticausative constructions, there is controversy whether or not it occurred in passives (see Muller 1924; Kärde 1943; Monge 1954; Cennamo 1999; Adams 2013). Our account predicts that *sē* could not be used in passive. Moreover, given the body part diagnostic proposed above in Section 3.1, we would expect no inalienably possessed body parts in *sē* constructions without some possessive pronoun or dative to license the interpretation, like in Modern Spanish and Modern Romanian anticausatives. Our initial search returns no clear instances of inalienably possessed body parts in Latin *sē* constructions, although

further search is required, something being carried out in MacDonald et al. (in progress).