ON A CLASS OF FIGURE REFLEXIVES IN ROMANIAN:
Ion se spală pe mâini 'John washes his hands'

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Figure reflexive constructions

The **aim of the paper** is to discuss a class of transitive-prepositional reflexive constructions, tied to the sphere of *inalienable possession*. The characteristic property of this pattern is the sometimes implicit, but often overt and obligatory presence of a *locative PP* which embeds a body-part nominal in a VP which is otherwise monotransitive. Typical verbs occurring in this pattern are those in (1); the class can be extended by taking into consideration 'extended inalienable possession' nouns – i.e., nouns which represent metonymic extensions of body parts (see (2)) and which may also appear inside the PP. Metaphorical extensions in idiomatic constructions are also available.

(1)   *a spăla* 'wash', *a tăia* 'cut', *a lovi* 'hit', *a scărpina* 'scratch', *a scobi* 'scoop', *a freca* 'rub', *a împuşca* 'shoot', *a curăţa* 'clean', *a defecta* 'spoil, go bad', *a răni* 'to injure', *a bate* 'beat', *a strica* 'spoil', *sterge* 'dry, wipe', *a arde* 'burn', *a frige* 'burn, fry', *a înţepa* 'pierce', *a uda* 'get wet, water', etc.

(2)   *cămaşă* 'shirt', *mânecă* 'sleeve', *rochie* 'dress', *palton* 'overcoat', *bluză* 'blouse', etc.

Here are some relevant examples. In (3) the PP is *optional*[1], in (4) it is *obligatory*, in (5) the PP is *obligatory* and the interpretation is *idiomatic*.

(3)   a.   **S**-a   spălat **pe** spate/**pe** mâini/ **pe** obraz/ **în** urechi
                SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG washed on back on hands on cheek in ears
                'He washed his back/his hands/ his cheek / his ears'

        b.   **S**-a   tăiat   **la** deget/ **pe** obraz
                SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG cut   at finger on cheek
                'He has cut his finger/his cheek'

        c.   Ion   **se**   vopsește   (**la** păr)
                Joh   SE.ACC dyes   at hair
                'John dyes his hair'

(4)   a.   Ion   **s**-a   stricat **la** stomac
                John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG spoiled at stomach
                'John (has) upset his stomach'
                *Ion   **s**-a   stricat
                John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG upset

        b.   Ion   **se**   freacă **la** ochi/*Ion   **se**   freacă
                John   SE.ACC rubs   at eyes   John   SE.ACC rubs
                'John is rubbing his eyes'

        c.   Ion   **se**   curăță **în** urechi / *Ion **se**   curăță
                John   SE.ACC cleans in ears   John SE.ACC cleans
                'John is cleaning his ears'

(5)   a.   Ion   **s**-a   stricat   **la** cap/

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[1] Some verbs are specified for particular body parts and therefore the overt expression of the body part is not required and may be understood in context: *a se rade (pe obraz)* ('shave (one's cheek)'), *a se vopsi (la păr)* ('dye (one's hair)').

		John	SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG	gone.bad	at head

'John has gone mad'

      *Ion   **s**-a   stricat

      John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG gone.bad

b.   Bate-**te**   **<u>peste</u> <u>gură</u>**!

      beat.IMP.2SG=CL.REFL.2SG.ACC on mouth

      (approx.) 'Touch wood!'

c.   Ion   **se**   bate   (cu pumnii) **<u>în</u> piept**

      John   SE.ACC beats   (with fists) in breast

      'John is showing off'

The set in (6) features examples of extended inalienable possession; the PP is obligatory in this configuration.

(6)   a.   Ion   **s**-a   încheiat   **<u>la</u> <u>cămașă</u>**

           John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG buttoned   at shirt

           'John buttoned up his shirt'

    b.   Maria **se**   desface **<u>la</u> bluză**

           Mary   SE.ACC undoes at shirt

           'Mary is undoing the buttons on her blouse'

Many of the properties of this construction have been identified by Manoliu-Manea (1993, 1996). In agreement with Talmy (1978), she establishes the important result that at a more abstract conceptual level, the reflexive SE and the PP stand in a Figure-Ground configuration, hence the term 'figure-reflexive' used in this paper and elsewhere in the literature (e.g., Wood's 2012 discussion on Icelandic). In this interpretation, the reflexive possessor is conceptualized as a Figure, i.e., as a more dynamic entity which undergoes a change along some dimension (e.g., in an example like (1a), it gets to be cleaner by washing). On the other hand, the locative PP is a Ground, i.e., a reference entity, specifying which part or aspect of the Possessor is operated on.

1.2 Goals of the paper

The paper further examines the properties of the construction and proposes *a syntactic interpretation of the data*. From a syntactic perspective, two properties stand in need of an explanation:

(i) the first is the status of the PP (an argument or an adjunct), given that the verb is monotransitive;

(ii) the second is to explain how the possessive interpretation arises in a structure where a possessive constituent is not present, and, as will be seen, is not welcome either.

The **second aim** of the paper is to extend the category of figure reflexives from transitive to unaccusative verbs. We will mostly discuss *change of state* constructions (*Ion **s**-a albit **<u>la</u> <u>față</u>** 'John turned white in the face'), but the analysis may be naturally extended along these lines to *change of location* constructions (*Ion **s**-a urcat **<u>în</u> <u>copac</u>** să culeagă cireșe* 'John climbed the tree to pick cherries').

1.3 Proposal

Figure reflexive constructions are unified by the fact that their internal argument is conceptualized as a *prepositional small clause, which introduces the Figure-Ground relation*. In the analysis we propose that all of these constructions are also Voiced, in the sense that an external argument position is projected even if it may be non-thematic. In other words, the proposal is that transitive and SE unaccusatives differ only in the kind of Voice head (thematic or expletive) that they project (Schäfer 2008). What looks like the internal argument of the transitive verb is actually the subject of the Figure-Ground small clause.

Transitive verbs project a thematic Voice head which introduces an Agent in the structure. Unaccusatives introduce an expletive, i.e., non-thematic, Voice projection, whose role is simply to signal that the event structure of transitives and derived unaccusatives is the same, *consisting of a causing subevent (an activity) and a result state*.

The discussion of unaccusatives is theoretically relevant in that it strengthens the suggestion that there is a connection between the expletivization of Voice and derived reflexive unaccusativity. Change of state unaccusatives share the syntactic configuration of transitives, differing through the presence of expletive Voice. This assumption is sufficient to account for the difference between basic and derived reflexive unaccusatives. We thus agree with Wood and Marantz (2017) who suggest that all argument-introducing heads have thematic and expletive variants.

The paper is structured as follows: in sections 2 and 3 we discuss the transitive reflexive construction (its empirical properties and its syntactic analysis), followed by change of state unaccusatives in section 4; section 5 is devoted to the anticausative alternation.

2. TRANSITIVE FIGURE REFLEXIVES. EMPIRICAL PROPERTIES

2.1 The dative paraphrase

Most of the inalienable possession accusative-reflexive structures above (e.g., (7a)) may be paraphrased by a transitive possessive dative-(reflexive) construction (7a'), generally available in Romance, but extensively used in Romanian to cover inalienable, as well as alienable possession. Romanian is also different in that it possesses specific dative reflexive morphology, while elsewhere in Romance the same SE/SI clitic is used (see MacDonald 2015 for a recent discussion). Accusative figure-reflexive idioms usually resist this dative alternation, as shown by the unacceptability of (7b') below. However, when the dative paraphrase is possible, the two alternatives are truth-conditionally equivalent, but they are used in different contexts, and evince semantic and pragmatic properties which follow from their very different syntax. Some of these differences will be discussed below.

(7) a. Ion   **se**   spală   **pe** mâini
         John   SE.ACC washes on hands
    a'. Ion   **îşi**   spală   mâinile
         John   SE.DAT washes hands.DEF
         'John is washing his hands'
    b.   Ion   **s-**a   stricat   **la** cap
         John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG gone.bad   at head
         'John has gone mad'
    b'. *Ion   **şi-**a   stricat   capul
         John   SE.DAT=AUX.PERF.3SG gone.bad   head.DEF

The dative reflexive is, thematically, a Possessor and, in *alienable* possession contexts may be replaced by a DP-internal genitive Possessor without destroying grammaticality, as in (8b). The Possessor dative is not part of the a-structure of the verb, rather, it is launched by the direct object Possessee (Landau 1999).

(8) a. Ion   **îşi**   rezolvă problemele   cu   succes
         John   SE.DAT solves problems.DEF with   success
    b.   Ion   rezolvă problemele   **lui** cu   succes
         John   solves problems.DEF his.GEN with   success
         'John solves his problems successfully'

2.2 Transitivity

The dative structure in (7a') or (8a) is clearly transitive and its SVO structure shows the verb to be monotransitive (as explained, the dative is not an argument of the verb). While in French and Italian SE/SI is the hallmark of an unaccusative construction, as shown by auxiliary selection (Fr. *être* / It. *essere* in reflexive constructions), in Romanian, some of the uses of SE are *transitive*, i.e., SE is a marker of reflexivization, showing that the two arguments of the transitive verb are coreferential, without, however, reducing one of the two arguments.

As suggested above, we claim that the accusative figure-reflexive construction is equally monotransitive, except that its internal argument is the small clause which encodes the Figure-Ground configuration. The reflexive pronoun merges as the subject of the small clause and raises into the main

clause, becoming a *derived direct object*. Since Romanian is a clitic-doubling, DOM language, the derived direct object clitic may be doubled by a strong emphatic (9b) or reflexive pronoun (9c). The possibility of DOM and clitic doubling proves that the main verb is transitive beyond reasonable doubt.

(9) a. **Ion** **se** poate încă spăla **el însuși** <u>pe picioare</u>
John SE.ACC can still wash.INF he himself on feet
'John himself is still able to wash his feet'

   b. Ion nu **se** mai poate spăla <u>pe mâini</u>
John not SE.ACC still can wash.INF on hands
nici **pe** **el însuși**, nici **pe** **altcineva**
neither DOM him himself nor DOM someone.else
'John is no longer able to wash his own hands, let alone someone else'

   c. Ion nu **se** mai poate spăla **pe** **sine** /**singur**
John not SE.ACC still can wash.INF DOM himself by.himself
nici <u>pe mâini</u>, darămite <u>pe spate</u>
not.even on hands let.alone on back
'John is no longer able to wash his hands on his own, let alone wash is back'

2.3 Agentivity

The subject is agentive, in as much as agent-oriented adverbs (10a), instrumental adjuncts (10b) and control into infinitive purpose clauses (11) are all possible. However, intentionality is not required (12a), as has also been noticed for other transitive structures. Lack of intentionality is more obvious when one compares the SE construction with its dative paraphrase: intended action is expressed by the dative structure (12b), not the accusative one (12a).

(10) a. Ion nu **s-a** spălat **de bunăvoie** <u>pe spate</u>,
John not SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG washed willingly on back
pentru că **îl** **durea** **rana**
because CL.ACC.3SG.M hurt.IMPERF.3SG wound.DEF
'John didn't willingly wash his back, because his wound still hurt him'

   b. Ion **s-a** spălat <u>pe cap</u> **cu** **şampon**
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG washed on head with shampoo
'John washed his hair with shampoo'

(11) Ion **s-a** spălat <u>pe cap</u>
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG washed on head
pentru a **face** **o impresie** **bună** **Mariei**
for A.INF make.INF an impression good Mary.DAT
'John washed his hair to impress Mary'

(12) a. Ion **s-a** rănit
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG wounded
<u>la picior</u> **fără** **să** **vrea**
at leg without SĂ.SUBJ want.SUBJ.3SG
'John unwillingly hurt his leg'

   b. ??Ion **şi-a** rănit
John SE.DAT=AUX.PERF.3SG wounded
piciorul fără să vrea
leg.DEF without SĂ.SUBJ want.SUBJ.3SG

2.4 Restriction to inalienable possession

The accusative Figure-Ground construction is restricted to inalienable and extended inalienable possession (13), sharply contrasting with the dative construction which accommodates any possessive relation (14). With the accusative Figure-Ground construction, non-alienable possession nouns are out.

(13) a. *Ion **se** spală <u>pe maşină</u> / <u>la maiou</u>

		John	SE.ACC washes on car	at T-shirt

intended: 'Johnwashes his car /T-shirt'

    b.   *Ion   se   defectează   <u>la mașină</u>

          John   SE.ACC spoils   at car

          intended: 'John spoils his car'

(14)   a.   Ion   **îşi**   spală   <u>mașina / maioul</u>

          John   SE.DAT washes   car.DEF shirt.DEF

          'John washes his car / T-shirt'

    b.   Ion   **îşi**   defectează   <u>mașina</u> în fiecare iarnă

          John   SE.DAT spoils   car.DEF in every winter

          'John spoils his car every winter'

The more restricted domain of the accusative figure-reflexive construction will be shown to follow from its constrained syntax.

2.5 Possession expressed metonymically

As already mentioned, the accusative figure-reflexive construction shows no overt possessive or genitive constituent. In particular, the body part in the PP cannot be modified by a possessive or genitive constituent (15a). Inherent possession is however *configurationally expressed in the small clause*, through the metonymic relation (inclusion) that holds between the accusative clitic, expressing the Possessor/Figure, and the locative PP body-part expressing the Possessee/Ground (see also Niculescu 2013: 190). However, the essential property of the construction is the integration of the small clause in the thematic and conceptual structure of the main verb, through raising of the small clause subject into the derived object position of the main verb (see below). This allows the small clause subject (i.e., the Possessor/Figure clitic) to establish a more local head-complement connection with the main verb (cf. also the following English contrast: ??*He cut on the chin / He cut himself on the chin*).

The Possessor is foregrounded through raising and must always be overtly expressed. The body-part Possessee is backgrounded, appearing as no more than *an aspect* of the Possessor, more specifically, a location with respect to which the Possessor is being modified through the Agent's activity. The Possessee body part is also syntactically backgrounded remaining in the lower small clause. Hence the PP may remain implicit if it is stereotypically associated with the verb (see fnt. 1). Expectedly, the PP is **obligatory** for body parts which are non-stereotypical for a particular verb (e.g., compare *a se spăla <u>pe burtă</u>* ('wash one's belly') / *a se spăla (pe mâini)* ('wash one's hands')), as well as in more idiomatic readings (e.g., *a se zgâria <u>pe ochi</u>* ('eat one's heart out', lit. 'to scratch one's eyes')).

The PP is conceptualized as a Ground, expressing the aspect with respect to which the Figure is being changed. The body-part is not conceptualized as an independent referential phrase. Hence, possessive modifiers (15a), demonstrative determiners (15b), qualifying adjectives (15c) and modifying relative clauses are all ruled out. The only admissible determiners are the articles (15d). Typically, the PP-body-part *semantically incorporates* forming a *complex predicate* with the verb. 'Washing one's hands', 'washing one's feet' etc. represent stereotypical activities, and simply denote *particular manners of washing*. Referential interpretation of the body part are also contextually possible (15d).

(15)   a.   *Ion (**se**)   spală (pe)   mâinile   **sale**

          John   SE.ACC washes on   hands.DEF   his.POSS.ADJ

          intended: 'John washes his hands'

    b.   *Ion **se**   spală   <u>**pe**   mâinile</u>   **astea**

          John   SE.ACC washes on   hands.DEF   these

          intended: 'John washes these hands'

    c.   *Maria se   spală pe   <u>mâinile</u>   frumoase

          Mary   SE.ACC washes on   hands.DEF   beautiful

          Intended: 'Mary is washing her beautiful hands'

    d.   A   reușit să   **se**   spele   <u>**pe** un picior</u> /

> AUX.PERF.3SG managed SĂ.SUBJ SE.ACC wash.SUBJ.3SG on a leg
> <u>piciorul</u> stâng, dar nu și <u>pe celălalt</u>,
> leg.DEF left but not also on the.other
> care era rănit
> which be.IMPERF.3SG wounded
> 'He managed to wash one leg / his left leg, but not the other one, which was hurt'

As insightfully noticed by one of the reviewers, the restrictions true of the body-part PP in the Romanian accusative figure-reflexive construction are also true of the body-part DO in the possessive dative construction of *other* Romance languages, as extensively documented in Guéron (2006). The resemblance is not accidental since both the Romance possessive dative construction and the Romanian construction under analysis are restricted to expressing *inalienable possession* and, as discussed above, this imposes certain restrictions on the semantics of the body-part constituent (see Guéron 2006 for details).

These restrictions do not hold, however, for the Romanian possessive dative construction, which can express both alienable and inalienable possession. The internal argument accepts any determiner, and may be qualified by possessive and qualifying adjectives, relatives, etc., i.e., the direct object is treated as a fully independent referential phrase.

(16) a. Spală-**ți** <u>superbe**le**</u> <u>mâini</u> // <u>mâinile</u> **astea**/
wash.IMP.2SG=SE.DAT.2SG superb.DEF hands hands.DEF these
tale murdare și vino la masă
your.POSS.ADJ dirty and come.IMP.2SG to dinner
'Wash your beautiful hands // these dirty hands of yours and come to dinner'
b. Spală-**ți** cămașa **albă** pentru petrecere
wash.IMP.2SG=SE.DAT.2SG shirt.DEF white for party
'Wash your white shirt for the party'
c. Ion **își** spală mâinile rănite
John SE.DAT washes hands.DEF injured
'John is washing his injured hands'
c'. ??Ion **se** spală **pe** mâinile rănite
John SE.ACC washes on hands.DEF injured
'John is washing his injured hands'

2.6 Selection of the body-part preposition

As mentioned, the PP is a place-designating phrase. This also accounts for the selection of the preposition, which is not determined by the verb, but by the body-part. The preposition is chosen so as *to denote* a *particular type of location*, a point (*la* 'at'), a surface (*pe* 'on'), a volume (*în* 'in'), etc. A degree of idiomaticity is also apparent, as well as possible idiosyncratic differences of conceptualization.

(17) a. **S**-a tăiat **la** deget/ *?**pe** deget
SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG cut at fingeron finger
'He cut his finger'
b. **S**-a tăiat **pe / *în** obraz când se bărbierea
SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG cut on in cheek when SE.ACC shave.IMPERF.3SG
'He cut himself on the cheek/?? inthecheek while shaving'
c. **S**-a scărpinat **în/ ?? la** ureche
SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG scratched in at ear
'He scratched himself in the ear'

2.7 Affectedness

The main semantic difference between the two patterns under analysis (accusative figure-reflexives and their dative paraphrases) regards affectedness.

Affectedness has been loosely defined as a persistent *change in* or *impingement on* an event participant. A more precise definition considers it to be "a relationship between a *theme participant* that undergoes a change and a *scale participant* that measures the change" (Beavers 2011: 335, highlight ours). This definition allows one to successfully speak of *degrees of affectedness*, as a result of monotonically weakening the truth conditions about the result state of Theme on the scale. That affectedness is a matter of degree is apparent in examples like:

(18)   a.   Băieţelul a mâncat mărul până la capăt. [apple consumed, no apple left]
                'The little boy ate the apple up'
        b.   Băieţelul a tăiat mărul   [apple cut, not necessarily to a particular degree]
                'The little boy cut the apple'
        c.   Băieţelul a lovit mărul cu piciorul.   [apple impinged, not necessarily affected]
                'The little boy kicked the apple'
        d.   Băieţelul a atins mărul   [apple manipulated, not necessarily affected]
                'The little boy touched the apple'

Verbs usually contain, in their lexical conceptual structure, some scalar dimension along which the Theme may or must undergo a change, as in the following types of affectedness proposed by Beavers (2011: 339):

(19)   a.   x changes in some observable property (*clean/paint/fix/break x*)
        b.   x transforms into something else (*turn/carve/change/transform x*)
        c.   x moves to and stays at some location (*move /push/roll x*)
        d.   x is physically impinged (*hit/kick/punch/rub/slap/wipe/scrub/sweep x*)
        e.   x goes out of existence (*delete/eat/consume/reduce x*)
        f.   x comes into existence (*build/design/construct/create/fashion x*)

The properties in (19) are not unrelated; they are all prototypical properties of direct objects. Almost all are also conditioning factors on middle and passive formation. As far as degrees of affectedness are concerned, an important difference holds between verbs which express a *potential for change* (*touch, sweep, rub*), and verbs which *entail a change* in the Theme (Undergoer) (*build, eat, destroy*). Verbs whose internal argument is conceptualized as Path (e.g., *cross the desert, read a book*) fall into the first category. Thus, Path objects do not pass the entailment test, i.e., in their case, change is potential, not entailed. *The settlers just crossed the desert, but nothing is different about it* (Beavers 2011: 346). A consideration of the accusative vs. the dative possessive constructions from the point of view of their event structure and of how affectedness is expressed reveals significant differences between them.

We propose that in the accusative figure-reflexive construction the internal argument is ultimately conceptualized as a *Path*. This is suggested by the fact that the body part Possessee, included in the (raised) Possessor, is syntactically realized as a locative or goal *PP*, partly or fully travelled along by the Agent (see examples (20a), (20b)). The verbs in (1) are conceptualized as verbs that express *surface contact with an object x*, which is physically impinged on (*hit, kick, punch, rub, slap, wipe, scrub, seep x*). The accusative object is analysed as a Path, which may but need not be affected by the event; compare example (20c) with (20a), (20d), (20e). Potentially affected objects do not, or rather, do not always, measure out the event, hence the VP containing them may be interpreted as an activity (20a) or as an accomplishment (20b), (20e). Notice example (20b) in particular, where a stereotypical body part (i.e., the body) may be left out, while the (second) PP explicitly says that the whole of the Possessor's body has been cleaned. The (second) PP is a delimiter which measures out the event securing an accomplishment reading.

(20)   a.   Ion   **s**-a   încheiat   <u>la camaşă</u>)   pe jumătate
              John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG buttoned   (at shirt)   on half
              'John half buttoned (his shirt)'
        b.   Ion   s-a   spălat   (<u>pe corp</u>)   din cap   până în picioare
              John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG washed on body   from head to   feet

          'John washed (his body) from top to bottom'

c.	Ion	**se**	freacă	<u>la ochi</u>	de cinci minute
	John	SE.ACC	rubs	at eyes	for five minutes

          'John has been rubbing his eyes for five minutes'

d.	Ion	**s-a**	tăiat	<u>la picior</u>
	John	SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG	cut	at leg
	și	îl	doare	rana
	and	CL.ACC.3SG.M	hurts	wound.DEF

          'John cut his leg and his wound hurts'

e.	**S-a**	descheiat	<u>la palton</u>	în cateva secunde
	SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG	unbuttoned	at overcoat	in a-few seconds

          '(S)he unbuttoned her/his overcoat in a few seconds'

Through its very different syntax, the possessive dative construction presents a different event structure of the same event. In this case it is the body-part, a direct object DP, which is the internal argument interpreted as a Path, potentially being changed by the Agent's activity. So, while in the accusative figure reflexive construction, it is the reflexive clitic (Possessor) that gets the Path interpretation, in the dative construction, it is the Possessee direct object which is understood as a Path, and which is potentially affected in the event. The Possessor dative is only indirectly affected, in as much as, if one part of a body is affected, the whole body will also be (Lambert 2010). The Path interpretation is confirmed by examples like (21).

(21)	a.	Ion	**și-a**	încheiat	<u>cămașa</u>	pe jumătate
		John	SE.DAT=AUX.PERF.3SG	buttoned	shirt.DEF	on half

          'John half buttoned his shirt'

	b.	Maria	**și-a**	încheiat	<u>bluza</u>	până la gât
		John	SE.DAT=AUX.PERF.3SG	buttoned	blouse.DEF	up to neck

          'John buttoned her blouse to the neck'

Given its syntax, the possessive dative construction of these and similar verbs also allows for a re-conceptualization of the event. Namely, the body-part direct object may be understood as a Theme or Undergoer, *which is expected to be affected as a result of the Agent's* activity. The main effect of affectedness for inalienable possession constructions is that the Agent's operation on the body-part Possessee may *end up destroying the inclusion relation Possessor/Possessee typical of inalienable possession, in which case the body part is separated from the body* (Manoliu-Manea 1993, 1996), as in the sentences below.

(22)	a.	**Și-a**	tăiat	singur	<u>degetul</u>
		SE.DAT=AUX.PERF.3SG	cut	by.himself	finger.DEF
		care	se	infectase	
		which	SE	had.infected	

          'He cut off his finger which had got infected'

	b.	**Și-a**	scos	singur	<u>un dinte</u>
		SE.DAT=AUX.PERF.3SG	removed	by.himself	a tooth
		care	îl	durea	
		that	CL.ACC.3SG.M	hurt	

          'He pulled out a tooth of his that hurt'

Interestingly, the accusative figure-reflexive construction simply cannot express an event of separating the body part from the body. In the accusative construction the body (i.e., reflexive constituent) is an obligatory constituent, and the body-part PP is either overt or implicit (3c); the fact is that the accusative construction, which does not have an alternative Agent/Undergoer interpretation, cannot express the separation of the part from the whole. The contrast between the two patterns is illustrated in (23). In such examples, the two sentences are clearly not mutually entailing any more, having different truth conditions.

(23) a. Ion **s-a** tăiat **la** deget [acc-reflexive]
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG cut at finger
'John cut his finger'

b. Ion **și-a** tăiat degetul [dat-reflexive]
John SE.DAT=AUX.PERF.3SG cut finger.DEF
'John cut his finger off'

Verbs which conceptualize their object only as an Undergoer and where change is entailed, rather than potential appear only in the dative construction and have no accusative figure-reflexive paraphrase.

(24) a. a-**și** rupe piciorul [dat-reflexive, DO]
A.INF=SE.DAT break.INF leg.DEF

a'. *a **se** rupe **la** picior [acc-reflexive, PP]
A.INF SE.ACC break.INF at leg
'to break one's leg'

b. a-**și** frânge gâtul [dat-reflexive, DO]
A.INF=SE.DAT fracture.INF neck.DEF

b'. *a **se** frânge **la** gât [acc-reflexive, PP]
A.INF SE.ACC fracture.INF at neck
'tofracture one's neck'

With such verbs, the use of the SE pattern may be a mark of an idiomatic figurative reading, as shown by the following contrast:

(25) a. a-**și** scrânti piciorul [dat-reflexive, DO]
A.INF=SE.DAT dislocate.INF leg.DEF
'to sprain one's leg'

b. a **se** scrânti **la** cap [acc-reflexive, PP]
A.INF SE.ACC dislocate.INF at head
'to go crazy'

Having discussed the empirical properties of the accusative figure reflexive construction, we may turn to its syntactic analysis.

3. TRANSITIVE FIGURE-GROUND REFLEXIVE: SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS

The derivation of accusative figure reflexive constructions has the features depicted below, stemming from their established empirical properties.

(i) The accusative reflexive construction is a means of expressing *inalienable possession*. The inalienable possession component is syntactically analysable as a *prepositional small clause*, which is the *internal argument of the verb* and which introduces the Figure-Ground relation. The idea that a prepositional small clause is a natural configuration for the Figure-Ground relation goes back to Talmy (1978). Svenonius (2007) proposes that Figures merge in the specifier of the functional prepositional head *p:*

(26) [$_p$PFIGURE [$_{p'}$*p* [$_{PP}$ P GROUND]]]

Arguments merged in Spec, *p*P will generally A-move to a higher position such as Spec,*v*P, Spec, T$_O$P, Spec, VoiceP, etc.

(ii) As seen above, the accusative figure-reflexive construction is transitive and SE exhibits argumental properties (an independent θ-role, accusative case, doubling). Taking into account the argumental nature of SE in this construction, it should merge in a θ-position and be θ-interpreted. We
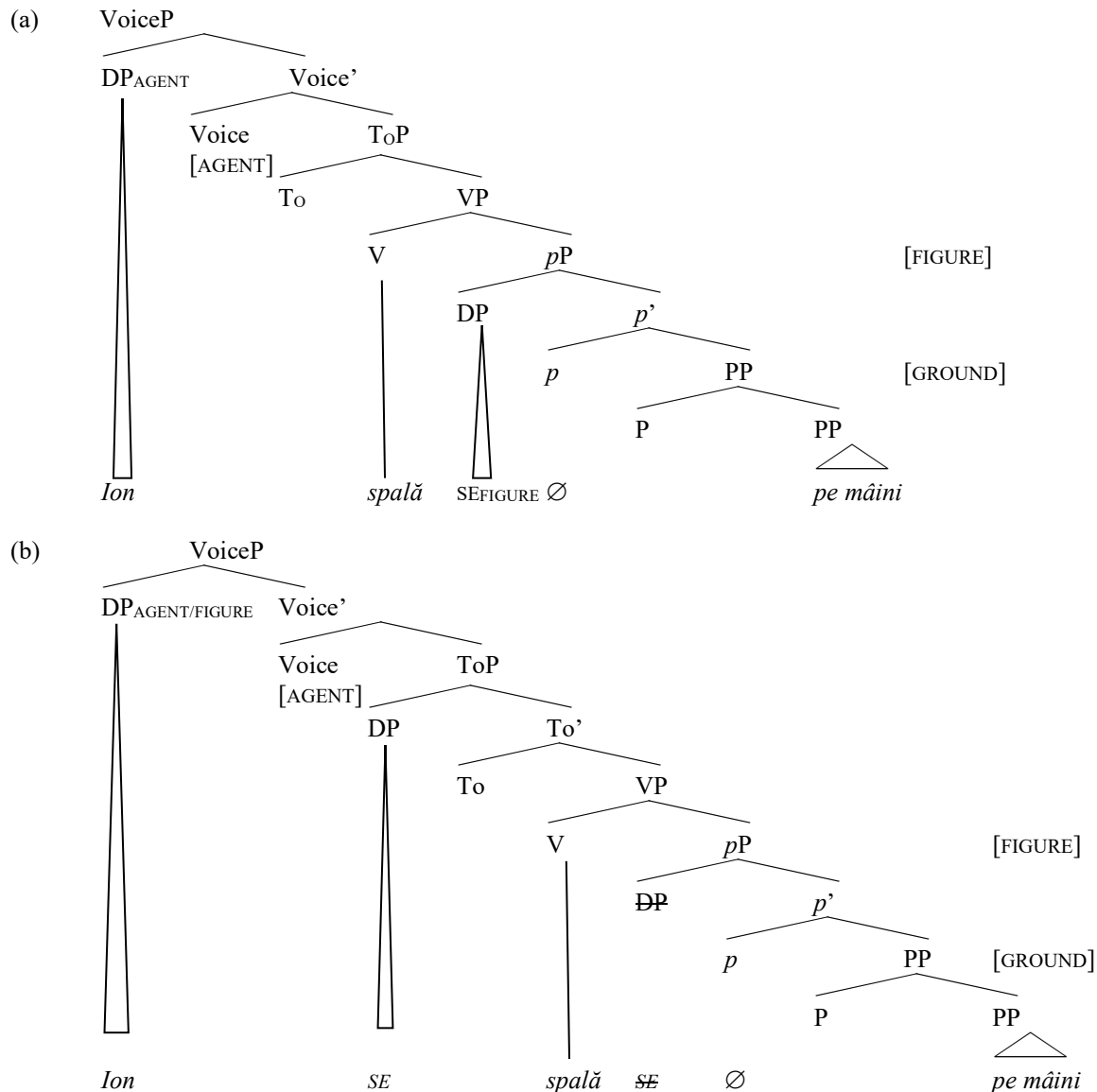
propose that SE merges as the specifier of the prepositional small clause, and it is assigned the Figure role.

(iii) Romanian SE always has an unvalued accusative case feature (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). As the configuration is transitive, a T$_O$P (= Tense-Object phrase, as defined in Pesetsky and Torrego 2004) is licensed, projected below the VoiceP which introduces the external argument, but above the lexical VP. SE will raise from its merge position to Spec, T$_O$P where it values its Case feature. Finally, SE goes up to the Person-Tense domain, and agrees with the (coreferential) external argument, which completes its φ-features (i.e., Number, assuming that SE is inherently provided only with a 3rd person and accusative case feature).

(iv) Since the construction is Agentive, the Voice head is θ-marking and assigns the Agent role.

The configuration observing the properties established above has the derivation in (27).

(27) Ion   **se**   spală   **pe** mâini
      John SE.ACC washes on hands
      'John washes his hands'

(a)

VoiceP
├─ DP$_{AGENT}$ → *Ion*
└─ Voice'
   ├─ Voice [AGENT]
   └─ T$_O$P
      ├─ T$_O$
      └─ VP
         ├─ V → *spală*
         └─ *p*P   [FIGURE]
            ├─ DP → SE$_{FIGURE}$ ∅
            └─ *p*'
               ├─ *p*
               └─ PP   [GROUND]
                  ├─ P
                  └─ PP → *pe mâini*

(b)

VoiceP
├─ DP$_{AGENT/FIGURE}$ → *Ion*
└─ Voice'
   ├─ Voice [AGENT]
   └─ ToP
      ├─ DP → SE
      └─ To'
         ├─ To
         └─ VP
            ├─ V → *spală*
            └─ *p*P   [FIGURE]
               ├─ ~~DP~~ → ~~SE~~ ∅
               └─ *p*'
                  ├─ *p*
                  └─ PP   [GROUND]
                     ├─ P
                     └─ PP → *pe mâini*

The derivation is straightforward and hopefully accounts for the properties identified above.

4. EXTENDING THE ANALYSIS: UNACCUSATIVE FIGUREREFLEXIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In what follows, we extend the analysis to unaccusatives, claiming that the same structure underlies these configurations, except that the Voice projection is expletive.

4.1 The data

The same inalienable possession Figure-Ground component is also found in constructions with a large number of *change of state unaccusative verbs*. Even if these are otherwise one-argument verbs, a locative PP is possible and often required to express a particular meaning. Thus, as with the transitive construction, an extra argument is apparently added to the one argument of change of state predicates. As with reflexive transitive verbs, the additional PP contains a Possessee DP, while the one argument of the unaccusative predicate expresses the Possessor. The unaccusatives found in this pattern (28) are mostly adjective-based, with a few noun-based exceptions (*a se îngloda* 'sink into mud', *a se afunda* 'to sink to the bottom').

(28)   *a se albi* 'whiten', *a se îngălbeni* '(turn) yellow', *a se înroşi* 'redden', *a se lumina* 'brighten, light up', *a se întuneca* 'darken', *a se închide* 'close', *a se deschide* 'open', *a se rări* 'thin out', *a se împuţina* 'lessen', *a se împlini* 'gain/put on weight', *a se îngroşa* 'thicken', *a se îngloda* 'sink into mud', *a se afunda* 'sink', *a se însănătoşi* 'become healthy', *a se înzdrăveni* 'become stronger', *a se betegi* 'grow weaker', *a se ofili* 'wither', *a se ologi* 'became lame/crippled', *a se ascuţi* 'become sharper', *a se subţia* 'grow thinner', etc.

All of these verbs have transitive counterparts (*a închide ceva/a se închide* 'close (something)'), and some also have bare unaccusative counterparts (*a albi/a se albi* 'whiten'; *a îngălbeni/a se îngălbeni* 'yellow'), so that there are also triplets, composed of a transitive verb, a bare unaccusative verb and a complex unaccusative verb (see Dragomirescu 2009, 2010, Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2017 for the full inventory of verbs occurring in the transitive/unaccusative alternation):

(29)   a.   Maria   albește   rufele
              Mary   whitens   laundry.DEF
              'Mary is bleaching the laundry'
        b.   Părul   albește   **cu** vârsta
              hair.DEF   whitens   with age
              'One's hair grows grey with age'
        c.   Părul   **se**   albește   **cu** vârsta
              hair.DEF   SE.ACC   whitens   with age
              'One's hair grows grey with age'
(30)   a.   Maria   înroșește   ouăle
              Mary.NOM   reddens   eggs.DEF
              'Mary is reddening the eggs'
        b.   Ouăle   **se**   înroșesc
              eggs.DEF   SE.ACC   redden
              'The eggs are reddening'
        c.   *Ouăle   înroșesc
              eggs.DEF   redden

From the point of view of the current discussion it is of interest that *change of state verbs* require a supplementary PP to express the inalienable possession meaning component of the sentence. Note that the PP is obligatory unless the idiomatic interpretation is otherwise signalled. The examples have been grouped into cases where the PP is optional (31), cases where the PP is obligatory and the sentence may get a different reading (or the variant without the PP is ungrammatical) (32), and finally examples where the interpretation is idiomatic and the PP is an obligatory part of the idiom (33)[2].

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[2] Other extensions of the locative pattern, which do not include possession, also exist:

(31) a. Ion **s**-a înroșit (**la** față)
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG reddened (in face)
'Johnturned red in the face'

b. Maria **s**-a ofilit (**la** chip)
Mary SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG withered (in face)
'Mary's face has withered/Mary has withered in the face'

c. De o vreme Ion s-a împuținat/
for a while John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG lessened
s-a împlinit (**la** trup)
SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG become.fuller (in body)
'For a while John has grown thinner/fuller (in the body)'

(32) a. Ion **se** înroseşră **în** gât când are febră
John SE.ACC reddens in throat when has fever
'John turns red (=sore) in the throat when he is feverish'

a'. Ion **se** înroseşte
John SE.ACC reddens
'John turns red' (a ≠ a')

b. Ion **s**-a luminat **la** față
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG brightened at face
când a intrat Maria
when AUX.PERF.3SG entered Mary
'John's face brightened up when Mary entered'

b'. *Ion s-a luminat
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG brightened

c. Ion **s**-a cam îngroșat **la obraz**
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG rather thickened at cheek
'John's cheek has thickened (i.e., He has become rather rude)'

c'. *Ion **s**-a cam îngroșat
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG rather thickened

(33) a. Ion **s**-a închis **în** sine
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG closed in himself
'John has shrunk into himself'

a'. *Ion **s**-a închis [starred in the intended reading]
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG closed

b. Ion **s**-a cufundat **în** sine
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG plunged in himself
'John has plunged into himself'

b'. *Ion **s**-a cufundat [starred in the intended reading]
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG plunged

4.2 On the role of the PP in the anticausative construction

Even if the verb is basically a change of state one, the locative PP is obligatory. This raises the problem of the integration of the PP into the argument structure of the anticausative verb. To understand the role of the Figure-Ground component in the anticausative configuration, consider the following systematic paraphrase of the extended Figure-Ground pattern:

(34) a. Ion **s**-a luminat **la** față
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG brightened at face

(i) a. Ion **se** înglodează **în datorii** / *Ion se înglodează
John SE.ACC sinks in debts John SE.ACC sinks
'Ion is sinking into debt'

b. Ion **se** afundă **în lectură** / *Ion **se** afundă
John SE.ACC plunges into reading John SE.ACC plunges
'John is plunging into reading'

'John's face brightened up'
a'.	Faţa	lui Ion	**s**-a		luminat
	face.DEF.NOM	GEN John	SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG		brightened

'John's face brightened up'
b.	Ion	**s**-a		înroşit	**în** gât
	John	SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG		reddened	in throat

'John's throat has turned red (=sore)'
b'.	Gâtul	lui Ion	**s**-a		înroşit
	throat.DEF	GEN John	SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG		reddened

'John's throat has turned red (=sore)'

The paraphrases clearly show that the PP actually specifies *which subpart of the subject entity* is actually affected by the change, so that the locative PP is in fact (part of) a possessive/partitive construction. Thus the Figure-Ground structure indicates which aspect of the Figure (Possessor) actually undergoes the change. This interpretation is confirmed by the existence of one argument sentences with a subject body part and a DP-internal Possessor (i.e., the existence of pairs like (34a-a'), (34b-b')). Since what actually changes is the subpart, the body part in the examples above, it is hardly surprising that the body part must be overt rather than inferred.

From a semantic perspective, all the verbs in (28) are *degree achievements* and describe changes in the degree/extent to which an individual possesses some property specified by the adjective-based verb. In the simple cases, illustrated so far, degree achievements express *change of an individual over time*. The locative PP small clause metonymically introduces the object that undergoes the change (the Possessee) promoting the Possessor to the role of subject of the main verb. Events of change in an individual over time (along some dimension specified by the verb) form the basis for the semantic analysis of this degree achievement verb class.

It may be noticed, however, that the use of the metonymic (Possessor-Possessee) configuration for specifying the entity which is affected/described in a degree achievement sentence goes far beyond the body-part structures already illustrated, which only constitutes the most common type of degree achievement: *changes of an individual over time*.

In addition, there are also so-called *spatial extent readings* (35), with similar possessive paraphrases (35a-a').

(35)	a.	Cărarea	**se**	îngustează	**spre** vârf
		trail.DEF.NOM	SE.ACC	narrows	towards summit

'The trail narrows towards the summit'
	a'.	Partea	dinspre vârf	a	cărării	**se**	îngustează
		part.DEF.NOM	towards summit	GEN	trail	SE.ACC	narrows

'The part of the trail towards the summit narrows'
	b.	Râul	**se**	lărgeşte	mult	**la** capăt
		river.DEF.NOM	SE.ACC	widens	a.lot	at end

'The river widens a lot at the end'
	c.	Drumul	**se**	îmbunătăţeşte	**între**	Iaşi şi Vaslui
		road.DEF.NOM	SE.ACC	gets.better		between Iaşi and Vaslui

'The road gets better between Iaşi and Vaslui'

Such readings do not involve measuring change over the temporal extent of an event, but rather over the *spatial extent of an individual* – in the cases cited, changes affect a particular subpart of the *trail* (35a), the *river* (35b) or the *road* (35c).

Finally, Deo, Francez and Koontz-Garboden (2013) also comment on a class of 'functional readings' of degree achievements, where no change in some individual is involved, whether over time or space. Here are two examples of this type, where the entity which is described, rather than affected, is again specified through the metonymic relation between the subject and the locative PP, as shown by the same possessive paraphrase.

(36)	a.	Intriga	**se**	dezintegrează	**în** partea	a doua a	romanului

| | | plot.DEF | SE.ACC disintegrates | in part | second GEN |
| novel.DEF.GEN | | | | | |

'The plot disintegrates in the second part of the novel'

| | a'. | Intriga | părții | a doua a romanului | **se** | dezintegrează |
| | | plot.DEF | part.GEN | second GEN novel.DEF.GEN | SE.ACC | disintegrates |

'The plot of the second part of the novel disintegrates'

| | b. | Acțiunea | **se** | complică | **în** actul | al II-lea al | piesei |
| | | plot.DEF | SE.ACC | complicates | in act.DEF.ACC | second GEN | play.DEF.GEN |

'The plot becomes more complex in the second act of the play'

| | b'. | Acțiunea | actului | al II-lea | **se** | complică |
| | | plot.DEF | act.DEF.GEN | second | SE.ACC | complicates |

'The plot of the second act becomes more complex'

Such examples can be construed as expressing differences with respect to some attribute (coherence, complexity) between subparts of an extended individual (the *plot*, the *script*) along some abstract structuring dimension.

The full range of uses of degree achievements thus requires moving from a semantics based on change in an individual over the course of an event to a more abstract semantics, based on comparing values of functions at different points along an ordered domain (for a detailed semantic analysis of degree achievements, see Deo, Francez and Koontz-Garboden 2013). From the present perspective, what counts is the pervasiveness of *metonymically defining the entity which is affected*, always viewed as *a subpart of some more salient whole* (appearing in subject position).

4.3 Non-agentivity

The verbs discussed in this section are unaccusative. Unlike the transitive figure-reflexive structures discussed in the previous sections, the examples in (31)-(33) above are non-agentive. This can be seen in the absence of the *by*-phrase (37a), the impossibility of agent-oriented adverbs (37b), and of control into purpose clauses (37c).

| (37) | a. | *Ion | **s-a** | luminat | **la** față | de către | Petru |
| | | John | SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG | brightened | at face | by | Peter |

intended: 'John's face brightened up by Peter'

| | b. | *Ion | **se** | înroșeşte | **în** gât | cu | bună ştiinţă |
| | | John | SE.ACC | reddens | in throat | with | good awareness. |

intended: 'John's throat willingly turned red (=sore)'

	c.	*Ion **se**	înroşeşte	**în** gât
		John SE.ACC	reddens	in throat
		pentru a-i		face	plăcere	doctorului
		for A.INF=CL.DAT.3SG		do.INF	pleasure	doctor.DEF.DAT

intended: 'John turns red (=sore) in the throat to please his doctor'

4.4 No dative paraphrase

Lack of agentivity is also suggested by the absence of an adequate dative paraphrase. Recall that the dative paraphrase clearly shows the monotransitive argumental structure of the verb. Thus, with unaccusatives, the dative construction is clearly ill-formed in the intended reading.

(38)	a.	Maria	**s-a**	albit	**la** față
		Mary	SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG	whitened	at face
		când	l-a		văzut
		when	CL.ACC.3SG.M=AUX.PERF.3SG		seen

'Mary turned white in the face when she saw him'

	b.	*Maria	**şi-a**	albit	fața
		Mary	SE.DAT=AUX.PERF.3SG	whitened	face.DEF
		când	l-a		văzut
		when	CL.ACC.3SG.M=AUX.PERF.3SG		seen

actualreading: 'Mary whitened her face when she saw him'≠ **(38a)**

(39) a. Maria **se** înroșeșă **în** gât când are febră
Mary SE.ACC reddens in throat when has fever
'Mary turns red (=sore) in her throat when she is running a fever'

b. *Maria **îşi** înroșeșă gâtul când are febră
Mary SE.DAT reddens throat.DEF.ACC when has fever
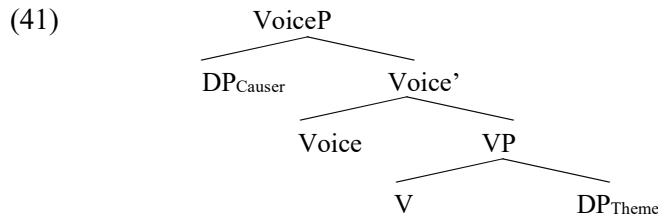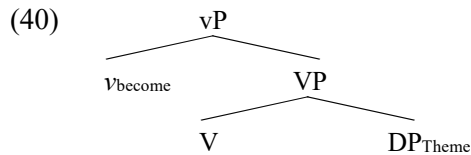actualreading: 'Mary reddens her throat when she is running a fever'≠ **(39a)**

It may safely be concluded that the verbs under analysis fall into the class of complex reflexive unaccusatives (as defined, for instance, in Schäfer 2009).

4.5 Syntactic derivation

Taking stock of the properties reviewed above, we now turn to the syntactic analysis of unaccusative figure reflexives.

(i) The unaccusative configuration shares the Figure-Ground component with the transitive one, and this common element will have the same prepositional small clause representation. The prepositional small clause is the internal argument of the anticausative verb, just as it was the internal argument of the transitive verb.

(ii) More recent research on the causative alternation (Harley 1995, Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer 2006, Schäfer 2008, 2009, Martin and Schäfer 2014 i.a.) has led to the view that both causative and anticausative predicates have *the same bi-eventive structure* (as different from older studies, e.g., Dowty 1979). This point of view has been voiced time and again at least since Harley (1995). Both causative and anticausative verbs subcategorize the same internal argument and differ as to whether or not they also overtly express the second argument. Lexical causatives and anticausatives involve the same nominal or adjectival root (expressing a resultant state predicated of the Theme), which is incorporated into the V, but anticausatives involve a *become* projection (leaving the causer out) (40), while causatives involve a Cause projection, which introduces the Causer (41).

(40)

```
            vP
          /    \
   v_become    VP
             /    \
            V      DP_Theme
```

(41)

```
           VoiceP
          /      \
   DP_Causer     Voice'
               /       \
           Voice        VP
                      /    \
                     V      DP_Theme
```

More needs to be said about languages that have not only bare anticausatives, but also about the reflexive component of other types of morphologically marked anticausatives.

Bare and complex unaccusatives represent different syntactic configurations in spite of the fact that they largely encode the same meaning (see below). Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer (2006) view the alternation as a Voice alternation. Bare unaccusatives have no Voice component. Reflexive anticausatives have one more layer of structure, an expletive *VoiceP*. The reflexive is assumed to merge in Spec,VoiceP, a proposal which cannot be adopted for Romanian, where SE is a 'low clitic' (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2015).

We follow the literature (Schäfer 2008 for German; Wood 2012 for Icelandic; Labelle and Doron 2010 for French i.a.) in assuming that derived SE unaccusatives have an expletive Voice projection, so that, syntactically, they look like transitive, rather than unaccusative configurations, but we propose a slightly different implementation of this view, in agreement with the properties of Romanian SE.

We continue to treat expletive Voice as a head that may accommodate a DP, *but may not assign it a θ-role*. Rather, in the course of the derivation, this expletive phrase will be filled by movement.

Before deciding on the proper representation, let us notice that the anticausative SE has very different properties from transitive SE, as discussed above. In the unaccusative configuration the reflexive clitic *cannot be doubled by a strong reflexive* and is *not assigned a theta role*, i.e., it is *not an argument*. However, in Romanian at least, it still contributes an *unvalued accusative* feature. We have shown elsewhere (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2015) that in a model like D'Alessandro's (2007), where SE/SI is an argument which merges or passes through different functional positions before reaching the Tense/Person field, Romanian SE never moves higher than the inner Aspect/accusative-assigning functional projection (T_OP in the notation proposed by Pesetsky and Torrego 2004). In other words it never occupies the Spec, ApplP or Spec, VoiceP positions. Voice selects T_OP as in the transitive configuration. Anticausative SE merges in Spec, T_OP to value its accusative feature. The configuration proposed is given in (42) below. It differs from the transitive configuration in that SE is not an argument and VoiceP is expletive. SE is a syntactic word which blocks the assignment of the Acc case to another DP. On the other hand, a bare unaccusative configuration contains neither a Voice phrase nor an accusative licensing projection. The specifier of the *v*P will accommodate the Specifier of the prepositional small clause (*p*P).

(42) Ion   **se**   luminează   **la** faţă
      John   SE.ACC   brightens   at face
      'John's face is brightening'
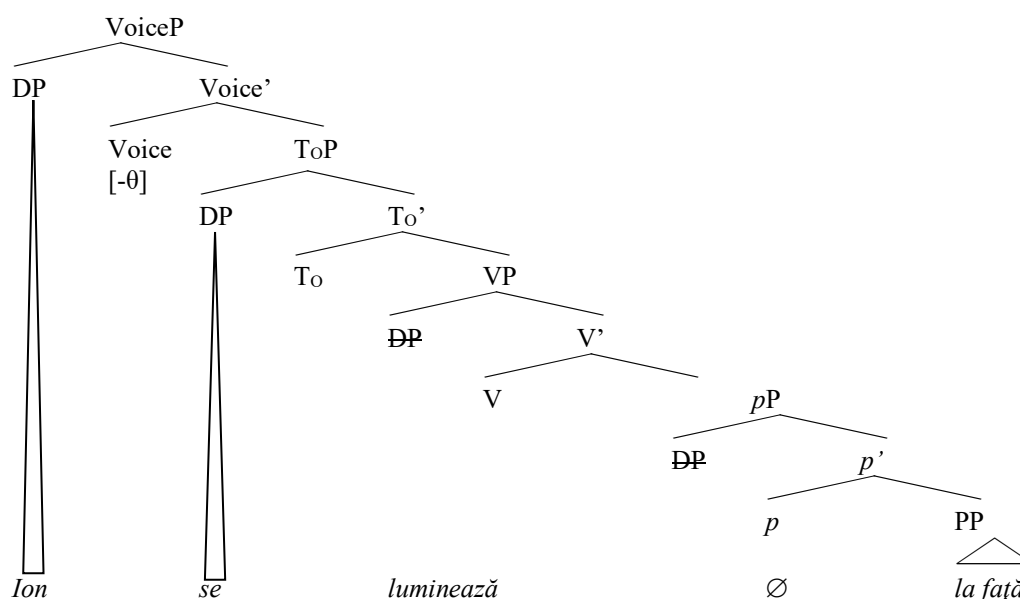
The lexical argument merges in the Spec, *p*P where it is assigned the Figure role in the Figure-Ground configuration. Next, it raises to Spec,*v*P, probably being assigned a second Theme role since it is the specifier of a verb which lexically encodes a Path. From this position, the lexical argument can easily target Spec, TP. When both the lexical argument and the reflexive pronoun reach the T-domain, there is agreement in ϕ-features between the derived subject and the reflexive clitic.

5. MORE ON THE ANTICAUSATIVE ALTERNATION

5.1 Older confirmed results

Some of the verbs listed in (28) have bare unaccusative counterparts. This raises the problem of accounting for the possible semantic differences between them. The difference between bare and reflexive change of state unaccusative verbs (as in (43a)/(43b)) has generally been described as having to do with internal vs. external causation (see Labelle 1992, Dobrovie-Sorin 2015 a.o.) and with

differences in the level of spontaneity, assuming that externally caused events and less spontaneous events prefer SE-marked unaccusatives (Haspelmath 1993). Haspelmath (1993) actually claims that there is a universal scale of spontaneity.

(43) a.   Ion   a   albit   <u>la</u> păr cu vârsta
           John   AUX.PERF.3SG   whitened   at hair with age
      a'.   ?Ion   **s**-a   albit   <u>la</u> păr cu vârsta
           John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG whitened   at hair with age
           'John's hair has whitened with age'
      b.   Ion   **s**-a   albit   <u>la</u> faţă când a văzut-o.
           John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG whitened   at face when has seen=CL.ACC.3SG.F
           'John's face has whitened when he saw her'

The examples in (43) show that the natural process of one's hair whitening with age is suitably described by the bare unaccusative, while the unexpected, externally caused whitening of somebody's face prefers the derived unaccusative.

Opinions often diverge on the interpretation of this difference in other languages, as well as in Romanian (see Dragomirescu 2009, 2010, Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2017 for a review of the literature on Romanian and an analysis of all verb classes that show the reflexive alternation). At one end of the spectrum, Labelle and Doron (2010) find systematic contrasts between the two structures and attribute *different event structures* to simple vs. complex reflexive anticausative; in their view, the reflexive anticausatives only have the result sub-event, while the bare unaccusatives exhibit the process + result small clause configuration and focus on the process. At the other end of the spectrum Martin and Schäfer (2014) claim that marked and unmarked anticausatives compete, but do not differ in meaning (i.e., in their truth conditional semantics). Possible differences can be derived from the lexical meaning of the verb (the nature of the process described), as well as from more general semantic-pragmatic principles.

5.2 More recent results

Given what has been said so far, we will consider significant only differences in the meaning of the *same verb* when used in the alternating anticausative structures. Verbs which have only one form have a wider, unmarked interpretation, as can be seen in the examples below:

(44) a.   Universul   **se**   **măreşte**   <u>în</u> întindere
           universe.DEF.NOM   SE.ACC extends   in surface
           'The surface of the Universe is extending'
                                                     (reflexive anticausative, only internal cause)
      b.   Casa   **a**   **explodat** şi este în ruină
           house.DEF.NOM AUX.PERF.3SG exploded and is in ruin
           'The house has exploded and it is in ruin'
                                                     (bare anticausative, only external cause)

We assume that, for alternating verbs, semantic differences should follow from the absence/presence of the (expletive) Voice P, and have the status of suspendable implicatures.

Thus, reinterpreting Haspelmath's (1993) proposal from a syntactic perspective, his claim that reflexive anticausatives describe events of lower spontaneity which require a (sometimes additional) external causer is plausibly related to a configuration which requires an external argument – or at least a placeholder of it. Furthermore, as noticed by Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2013), since reflexive anticausatives syntactically suggest the existence of a causer, it is possible to *negate the causer*, without also negating the change of state, i.e., the caused event:

(45) A: Ce   s-a   întâmplat aici?
           what   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG   happened here
           'What happened here?'
      B: **S**-au   spart   nişte geamuri

SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3PL broken some windows
'Some windows broke'

A: Cum adică **S-AU** spart?
how exactly SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3PL broken
'What do you mean by they broke?'

B: Le-a spart cineva și am impresia
CL.ACC.3PL.F=AUX.PERF.3SG broken someone and have impression.DEF
că tu
that you
'Someone has broken them and I think it was you'

The same authors remark that simple unaccusatives do not allow the negation of the causer, separately from the caused event (unless some modifier is used):

(46) Apa a fiert. #NU A fiert
water.DEF AUX.PERF.3SG boiled not AUX.PERF.3SG boiled
Vrei să spui că tu ai fiert-o
want SĂ.SUBJ say.SUBJ.2SG that you AUX.PERF.2SG boiled=CL.ACC.3SG.F
'The water boiled. No, it DID NOT boil. What you mean to say is that you have boiled it'

Such data naturally follow from the assumption that complex anticausatives project an expletive VoiceP[3].

5.3 No external argument

At the same time, SE-unaccusatives also clearly show that their *Voice position is expletive*, i.e., no DP merges in this position. As known, Wood and Marantz (2017), following Bruening (2013), bring solid evidence that the presence of a *by*-phrase is not the only indicator of a thematic external argument position. Rather there is a family of adjuncts which correlate with the presence of an external argument: in addition to the *by*-phrase, this family of adjuncts includes *instrumental agents* and *external argument comitatives*. These adjuncts are licensed by SE-verbs, but are not licensed by bare unaccusatives, as expected. Crucially, when a SE-verb occurs with *instrumental agents* (47) or *external*

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[3] Still further, if reflexive anticausatives have the same syntactic configuration as causatives, in particular as true reflexives, then in context their derived subject should be interpreted as an Agent-Theme, deriving a true reflexive reading:

(i) a. Din păcate, Ion **s-a** înecat pentru că
unfortunately John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG drowned because
nu știa să înoate [anticausative]
not know.IMPERF.3SG SĂ.SUBJ swim.SUBJ.3SG
'Unfortunately, John got drowned because he did not know how to swim'

b. **S-a** înecat ca să-și
SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG drowned in.order SĂ.SUBJ=SE.DAT
salveze copilul. [reflexive causative]
save.SUBJ.3SG child.DEF
'He drowned in order to save his child'

Conversely, potential Agents may be reinterpretable as Themes, if the subject position is focused and alternatives need to be supplied:

(ii) a. Astăzi copilul a reușit să **se** spele
today child.DEF.NOM AUX.PERF.3SG managed SĂ.SUBJ SE.ACC wash.SUBJ.3SG
singur pe cap!
alone on head
'Today, the child managed to wash his hair by himself!'

b. Nici vorbă! Nu **S-A** spălat, ci **L-AM**
no word not SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG washed but CL.ACC.3SG.M=AUX.PERF.1SG
spălat eu!
washed I
'No way! He did not wash, I washed him'

Thus, the presence of the VoiceP facilitates the rebracketing of the construction as a causative reflexive, as well as the negation of the causer, distinct from the negation of the caused event.

argument comitatives (48), the interpretation *cannot be anticausative,* but it shifts to a true reflexive reading or a passive reflexive (cf. (49)).

(47) a. Ion   **s-a**   albit   **la** faţă cu pudră
         John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG whitened   at face with powder
         'John has whitened his face with powder'
     b. *Ion   a   albit   la faţă cu pudră
         John   AUX.PERF.3SG whitened   at face with powder
(48) a. Ion   **s-ar**   putea albi   **la** păr
         John   SE.ACC=AUX.COND.3SG can   whitened   at hair
         cu   un   machior   bun.
         with   a   make-up.artist good
         'John may whiten his hair with (the help of) a good make-up artist'
     b. *Ion   ar   albi   la păr cu   un machior   bun
         John   AUX.COND.3SG whiten   at hair with   a make-up.artist   good
(49) Ouăle   **s-au**   înroșit cu   vopsea   [SE-passive]
     eggs.DEF   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3PL redden   with   dye
     'The eggs have been reddened with dye'

5.4 More on the anticausative alternation with degree achievements

Restricting ourselves to the verbs under analysis, and more generally to the class of reflexive degree achievements, some possible implicatures of the reflexive vs. the bare variant *of the same verb* may follow from the fact that the IA moves to Spec, VoiceP, occupying the position of an external argument. Hence, as suggested in traditional grammars, the IA is more "like a subject" (a similar effect is found in middles, for the same reason). The semantic effect is that of an *intense participation of this derived subject in the event*. Higher involvement may lead to higher responsibility for the change resulting from the event. Differences of involvement and responsibility are clearly visible in the examples below.

(50) a. Ion   obosește când deschide   mereu ușa   la musafiri
         John   gets.tired when opens   always door.DEF   at guests
         'John gets tired when he keeps opening the door to the guests'
     b. În ultima vreme **s-a**   obosit prea mult
         lately   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG tired   too much
         'Lately he has tired himself out too much'
(51) a. Ion   ostenește când udă   florile
         John   gets.tired when waters flowers.DEF
         'John gets tired when he waters the flowers'
     b. Ion nici   nu   **s-a**   ostenit
         John even   not   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG tired
         să   ude   florile
         SĂ.SUBJ   water.SUBJ.3SG flowers.DEF
         'John didn't even bother to water the flowers'
(52) a. ??Ion înverzește   **la** faţă când aude ce   și-a
         John   turns.green   at face when   hears what   SE.DAT=AUX.PERF.3SG
         mai   cumpărat   fratele   lui
         more   bought   brother.DEF   his.GEN
     b. Ion   **se**   înverzește   **la** faţă când aude ce
         John   SE.ACC turns.green   at face when   hears what
         și-a   mai   cumpărat   fratele   lui
         SE.DAT=AUX.PERF.3SG more   bought   brother.DEF   his.GEN
         'John turns green in the face when he hears what his brother bought'
(53) a. ??Ion a   albit **la** faţă când a   aflat vestea
         John   AUX.PERF.3SG whiten at face when   AUX.PERF.3SG found news.DEF
     b. Ion   **s-a**   albit la faţă, când a

John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG whiten at face when AUX.PERF.3SG
aflat   vestea
found news.DEF
'John turned white in the face when he found out the news'

Generally, a review of the available examples shows that changes in the selectional restrictions, often resulting in idiomatic readings, are associated with the complex reflexive structure as also noticed by Labelle and Doron (2010), presumably because the subject is felt to be responsible for the ensuing results.

(54) a.   Mașina grăbea   spre   casă   [non-reflexive]
          car.DEF hurry.IMPERF.3SG   towards house

a'.   *Ion grăbea   spre casă
        John hurry.IMPERF.3SG towards house

b.   Mașina   **se**   grăbea   spre   casă   [reflexive]
        car.DEF.NOM   SE.ACC hurry.IMPERF.3SG   towards house

b'.   Ion   **se**   grăbea   spre   casă
        John   SE.ACC hurry.IMPERF.3SG   towards house
        'The car hurried towards the house / John hurried towards the house'

(55) a.   În ultima vreme,   Ion   a   știrbit de tot [non-reflexive]
          lately   John   AUX.PERF.3SG jagged completely
        'Lately, John has completely lost his teeth'

b.   Autoritatea   lui   **s-a**   știrbit /
        authority.DEF   his.GEN SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG diminished
        *a   știrbit   de tot [reflexive: OK / non-reflexive: *]
        AUX.PERF.3SG diminished   completely
        'His authority completely diminished'

(56) a.   Trenul   a   pornit devreme /   de la sine [non-reflexive]
          train.DEF   AUX.PERF.3SG set.out early   by   itself
        'The train set out early / by itself'

b.   Ion   **s-a**   pornit cu noaptea în cap /*de la sine [reflexive]
        John   SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG set.out with night in head by himself
        'John set out very early / by himself'

6. CONCLUSIONS

(i) Figure reflexive constructions are unified by the fact that their internal argument is a prepositional small clause, which introduces the Figure-Ground relation. The analysis is economical, being based on one syntactic structure, the difference lying in the presence/absence of a θ-feature on the Voice functional head (cf. *The Chomsky-Borer Conjecture*, as defined in Baker 2008).

(ii) All of the figure reflexives are Voiced constructions (i.e., they contain an external argument position). The Voice head is thematic in transitive constructions, but non-thematic in unaccusative configurations. The thematic VoiceP is filled by External Merge, the non-thematic VoiceP is filled by Internal Merge. The VoiceP always selects an accusative case projection (T_OP), as proposed in Pesetsky and Torrego (2004). There is evidence that Romanian SE is best viewed as a DP-phrase, which merges in a specifier position and must value its accusative feature before reaching the Person/Tense domain (see Dobrovie-Sorin 2015).

(iii) The discussion of unaccusatives strengthens the suggestion that there is a connection between the expletivization of Voice and derived reflexive unaccusatives. Change of state unaccusatives share the syntactic configuration of transitives, differing through the presence of expletive Voice. This assumption is sufficient to account for the difference between *basic* and *derived reflexive* unaccusatives. Thus, we may conclude with Wood and Marantz (2017) that all argument-introducing heads have thematic and expletive variants.

(iv) The analysis of change of state unaccusatives may be naturally extended to *change of place* unaccusatives. Change of place unaccusative verbs expectedly develop reflexive doublets using

the same mechanism, with semantic effects similar to those produced in the case of change of state unaccusatives. Here are examples of such doublets: *a urca / a se urca* ('to climb (up)')*, a coborî / a se coborî* ('climb down'), etc. Semantic effects are less apparent with change of location verbs since the PP is an obligatory constituent in this case.

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