

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 noun 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 împușca* ‘shoot’, *a curăța* ‘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 înțepa* ‘pierce’, *a uda* ‘get wet, water’, etc.
- (2) *cămașă* ‘shirt’, *mâneacă* ‘sleeve’, *rochie* ‘dress’, *palton* ‘topcoat’, *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
John 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’

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)’).

- 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 /
 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** peste gură!
 beat.IMP.2SG=CL.REFL.2SG.ACC on mouth
 (approx.) ‘Touch wood!’
- c. Ion **se** bate (cu pumnii) în 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 la cămașă
 John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG buttoned at shirt
 ‘John buttoned up his shirt’
- b. Maria **se** desface la 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). We owe to her the result that the relation between the reflexive SE and the PP is a “Figure-Ground” relation, hence the term “figure reflexive” used in this paper and elsewhere in the literature (e.g. Wood’s 2012 discussion on Icelandic).

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 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 la față* ‘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 în copac 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 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 in the Voice head 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

- b. Ion nu se mai poate spăla pe mâini
 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 pe mâini, darămite pe spate
 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 (9), instrumental adjuncts (10) and control into infinitive purpose clauses (10) 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).

- (9) Ion nu s-a spălat **de bunăvoie** pe spate,
 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’
- (10) Ion s-a spălat pe cap **cu** **șampon**
 John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG washed on head with shampoo
 ‘John washed his hair with shampoo’
- (11) Ion s-a spălat pe cap
 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
la picior **fără** **să** **vrea**
 at leg without SĂ.SUBJ want.SUBJ.3SG
 ‘John unwillingly hurt his leg’
- b. ??Ion **și**-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 pe mașină / la maiou
 John SE.ACC washes on car at T-shirt
 intended: ‘John washes his car /T-shirt’

- b. *Ion se defectează la mașină
 John SE.ACC spoils at car
 intended: ‘John spoils his car’
- (14) a. Ion **își** spală mașina / maioul
 John SE.DAT washes car.DEF shirt.DEF
 ‘John washes his car / T-shirt’
- b. Ion **își** defectează mașina 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 the syntax of the structure.

2.5 Possession expressed metonymically

There is no overtly expressed possessive relation. However an inherent possessive relation is necessarily expressed through the metonymic (inclusion) relation that holds between the accusative clitic, expressing the Possessor, and the locative PP body part expressing the Possessee (see also Niculescu 2013: 190). Notice that it is the possessor clitic, not the subject, which is required to express possession. Absence of the reflexive clitic eliminates the possessive reading. This confirms that the subject alone is not sufficient to establish the possessive connection, but rather that a more local constituent (the accusative/dative clitic) is required (cf. also the following English contrast: *He cut himself on the chin*/?*He cut on the chin*).

The Possessor is viewed as active and central (foregrounded) and must always be overtly expressed. The body-part Possessee is backgrounded, appearing as no more than *an aspect* of the possessor, a location with respect to which the Possessor is acting. Backgrounding of the body-parts is apparent in that the body part, a real Undergoer, appears as a PP, i.e. a *non-nuclear participant* for a transitive verb. Hence the PP may remain implicit if it is stereotypically associated with the verb. Expectedly, the PP is **obligatory** for body parts which are non-stereotypical for a particular verb (e.g. compare *a se spăla pe burtă* (‘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 pe ochi* (‘eat one’s heart out’)).

The PP is conceptualized as a Ground/Location with respect to which the Figure is acting. The body part is *not conceptualized as an independent referential phrase*, but rather the verb and the PP form a complex predicate (‘washing one’s hands’ / ‘washing one’s back’ are *particular manners of washing*) (cf. (15c) vs. (15d-e)). Possessive adjectives (15a) and demonstratives (15b) are normally excluded. The only admissible determiners are the articles (15c). Relative clause modifiers and qualifying adjectives are generally excluded.

- (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 **pe** mâinile **astea**
 John SE.ACC washes on hands.DEF these
 intended: ‘John washes these hands’
- c. A reușit să se spele peun picior /
 AUX.PERF.3SG managed SĂ.SUBJ SE.ACC wash.SUBJ.3SG on a leg
piciorul stâng, dar nu și pe celălalt, care era rănit
 leg.DEF left but not also on the.other which be.IMPERF.3SG wounded
 ‘He managed to wash one leg / his left leg, but not the other one, which was hurt’
- d. Ion spală mâinile (statuetelor)
 John washes hands.DEF statuettes.DEF.GEN
 ‘John is washing the hands of the statuettes’

- e. O manicuristă dă și unghiile cu oă
 a manicurist gives also nails.DEF with nail.polish
 ‘A manicurist also paints people’s nails with nail polish’

These restrictions do not hold for the alternative dative construction. The internal argument accepts any determiner, and may be qualified by possessive/qualifying adjectives, relatives, etc., i.e. the direct object is treated as a fully independent referential phrase.

- (16) a. Spală-ți superbele mâini // mâinile 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 cămașă 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
 Ion SE.DAT washes hands.DEF injured
 ‘John is washing his injured hands’
- c'. ??Ion se spală pe mâinile rănite
 Ion 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 conceptualized as 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 designate 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 possibly idiosyncratic differences of conceptualization.

- (17) a. S-a tăiat la deget/ *?pe deget
 SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG cut at finger on finger
 ‘He cut his finger’
- b. S-a tăiat pe / *în obraz când se bărbieră
 SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG cut on in cheek when SE.ACC shave.IMP.3SG
 ‘He cut himself on the cheek/?? in the cheek 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 *impingent 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. Băiețelul a mâncat mărul până la capăt [apple consumed, no apple left]
 ‘The little boy ate the apple up’
 b. Băiețelul a tăiat mărul [apple cut, not necessarily to a particular degree]
 ‘The little boy cut the apple’
 c. Băiețelul a lovit mărul cu piciorul [apple impinged, not necessarily affected]
 ‘The little boy kicked the apple’
 d. Băiețelul 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 established 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 remark is that some verbs express a *potential for change* (*touch, sweep*) while others *entail a change* in the Undergoer (*build, eat, destroy*).

Let us examine accusative figure reflexives from this perspective. This pattern clearly brings out the event structure of all *vPs headed by the verbs* in (1) regarding affectedness. The appearance of the body part as a locative construction and the split realization of the Undergoer as a Possessor + Possessee structure clearly show that the internal argument of the verbs in (1) is conceptualized as a *Path* constituent (Ground), travelled along by the Theme (not an Undergoer).

Typical examples of DO Paths are *a traversa strada* (‘cross the street’), *a sări gardul* (‘jump the fence’). 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).

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 object is conceptualized as a Path as clearly shown by the alternation between the reflexive accusative (20a) and the reflexive dative (20b) construction. As may be seen, Path object are only *potentially affected/changed* by in the event expressed by the verb. Potentially affected objects do not or do not always measure out the event, hence the VP containing them may be interpreted as an activity (or as an accomplishment) (20c).

- (20) a. S-a spălat **pe mâini** de mai multe ori, dar pata de cerneală nu a dispărut [acc-reflexive]
 b. **Și**-a spălat **mâinile** de mai multe ori, dar pata de cerneală nu a dispărut [dat-reflexive]
 ‘He washed his hands several times, but the inkspot didn’t come out’
 c. S-a tot spălat **pe mâini**, dar pata de sânge nu ieșea [acc-reflexive, activity]
 ‘She kept washing her hands, but the blood-stain wouldn’t come out’

However, the characteristic of the construction under discussion is that the Ground is an integral part of the Figure, so that a change in the Ground is, by the very fact of the inclusion relation, a change in the Figure as well. The main effect of affectedness for the inalienable possession constructions is that the contact with, and activity of, the Figure on the Ground may *end up destroying the inclusion relation, separating the body part from the body* (Manoliu-Manea 1993; 1996).

And here, again, the dative and accusative patterns differ. The accusative pattern which overtly expresses the Figure-Ground relation cannot express separation, since the PP is already conceptualized as an independent Location. By contrast, in the dative construction the body-part is a DO and may be reconceptualized as a Patient/Undergoer in sentences expressing *separation*. In such examples, the two sentences are not mutually entailing any more, as shown by the sharp contrast in (21).

- (21) a. Ion s-a tăiat la deget [acc-reflexive]
 Ion SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG cut at finger
 ‘John cut his finger’
 b. Ion și-a tăiat degetul [dat-reflexive]
 Ion 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.

- (22) a. a-și rupe picioarul [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
 ‘to fracture 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:

- (23) a. a-și scrânti picioarul [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 are introduced by a functional prepositional head *p*:

- (24) [_{PP} FIGURE [_P *p* [_{PP} P GROUND]]]

Arguments merged in Spec, *pP* will generally A-move to a higher position such as Spec, *vP*, Spec, *T_{OP}*, Spec, VoiceP, etc.

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

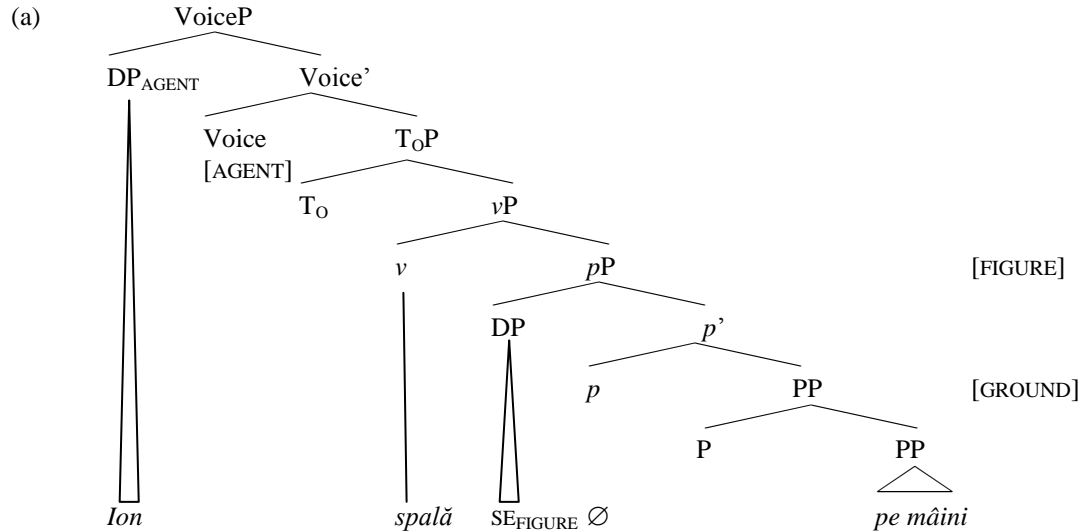
(iii) Romanian SE always has an unvalued accusative case feature (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994). As the configuration is transitive, a *T_{OP}* (as defined in Pesetsky and Torrego 2004) is licensed, projected below the VoiceP which introduces the external argument, but above the lexical VP. SE will raise from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

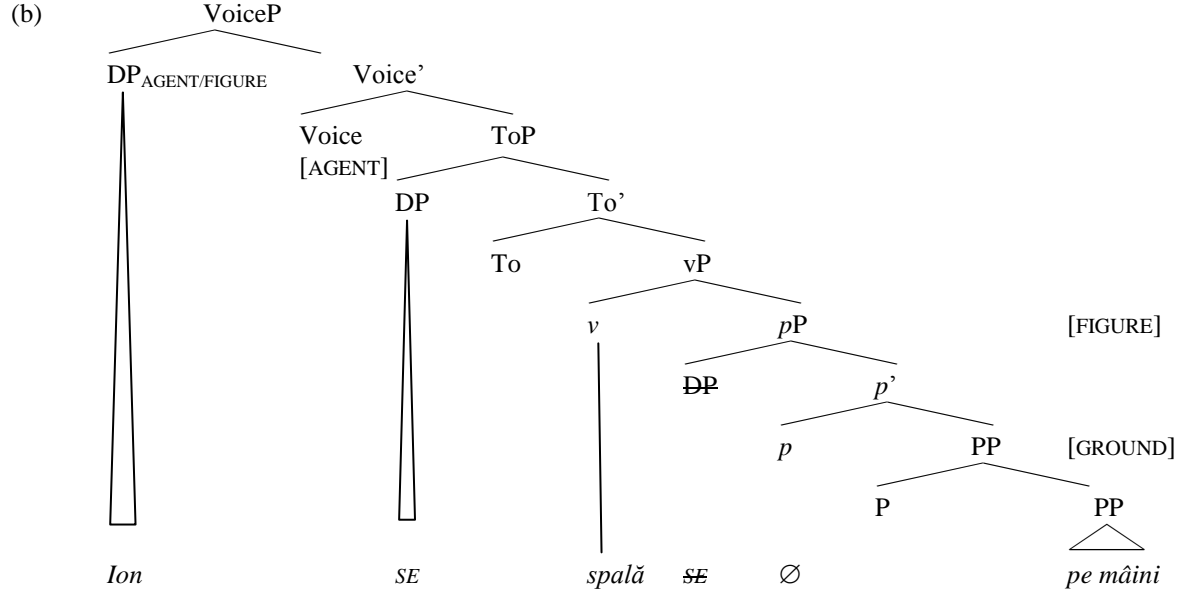
(iv) Since the construction is Agentive, the Voice head is theta-marking and assigns the Agent role.

(v) Since SE *reflexivizes the predicate*, indicating the coreference of two arguments, the subject is ultimately interpreted as both Agent and Figure (Possessor).

The configuration observing the properties established above has the derivation in (25).

- (25) Ion **se** spală **pe mâini**
 Ion SE.ACC washes on hands
 ‘John washes his hands’





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

4. EXTENDING THE ANALYSIS: UNACCUSATIVE FIGURE REFLEXIVE 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 obligatory 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 are mostly adjective-based, with a few noun-based exceptions (*a se îngloda* 'sink into mud', *a se afunda* 'to sink to the bottom').

- (26) *a se albi* 'whiten', *a se îngălbeni* '(turn) yellow', *a se înroși* '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 împușina* 'lessen', *a se împlini* 'gain/put on weight', *a se îngroșa* 'thicken', *a se îngloda* 'sink into mud', *a se afunda* 'sink', *a se însănătoși* 'become healthy', *a se înzdrăveni* 'become stronger', *a se betegi* 'grow weaker', *a se ofili* 'wither', *a se ologi* 'became lame/crippled', *a se ascuți* 'become sharper', *a se subția* '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):

- (27) a. Maria albește rufele
 Maria 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’
- (28) 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 (29), cases where the preposition is obligatory and the sentence may get a different reading (or the variant without the PP is ungrammatical) (30), and finally examples where the interpretation is idiomatic and the PP is an obligatory part of the idiom (31)².

- (29) a. Ion s-a înroșit **(la față)**
 John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG reddened (in face)
 ‘John turned 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 împușinat/
 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)’
- (30) a. Ion **se** înroșește 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** înroșește
 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

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

- (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’

- 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
- (31) 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:

- (32) a. Ion s-a luminat la față
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG brightened at face
'John's face brightened up'
- a'. Fața 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 înroșit în gât
John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG reddened in throat
'John's throat has turned red (=sore)'
- b'. Gâtul lui Ion s-a înroșit
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 indicates which aspect of the Ground 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 (32a-a'), (32b-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 (26) are *degree achievements* and describe changes in the degree/extent to which an individual possesses some property. In the simple cases, illustrated so far, degree achievements express *change of an individual over time*. The locative small clause metonymically defines 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 form the basis for the semantic analysis of this degree achievement verb class.

It may be noticed that the use of the metonymic construction for specifying the entity which is affected/described in the degree achievement construction goes far beyond the body part structures already illustrated, which exhibit the more common type of degree achievement: *changes of an individual over time*.

In addition, there are also so called *spatial extent readings* (33), with similar paraphrases (33a-a').

- (33) 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** lărgeste mult la capăt
 river.DEF.NOM SE.ACC widens a.lot at end
 'The river widens a lot at the end'
- c. Drumul **se** îmbunătățește între Iași și Vaslui
 road.DEF.NOM SE.ACC gets.better between Iași and Vaslui
 'The road gets better between Iași and Vaslui'

Such readings do not involve measuring change over the temporal duration of an event, but rather over the *spatial extent of an individual* – in the cases cited, changes affect a particular subpart of the *trail* (33a), the *river* (33b) or the *road* (33c).

Finally, Deo, Francez and Koontz-Garboden (2013) also comment on a class of 'functional readings' of degree achievements, where no change in an individual is involved, whether over time or space. Here are two examples of this type, where the entity 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.

- (34) 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 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 discussed in the previous sections, the examples in (29)-(31) above are non-agentive. This can be seen in the absence of the *by*-phrase (35a), the impossibility of agent-oriented adverbs (35b), and of control into purpose clauses (35c).

- (35) 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 înroșește în gât cu bună știință
 John SE.ACC reddens in throat with good awareness.
 intended: ‘John’s throat willingly turned red (=sore)’
- c. *Ion se înroșește 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.

- (36) 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 și-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
 actual reading: ‘Mary whitened her face when she saw him’ ≠ (36a)
- (37) a. Maria se înroșește 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 își înroșește gâtul când are febră
 Mary SE.DAT reddens throat.DEF.ACC when has fever
 actual reading: ‘Mary reddens her throat when she is running a fever’ ≠ (37a)

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).

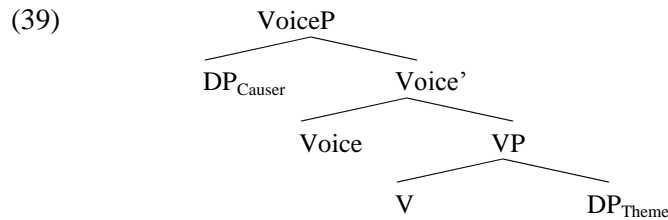
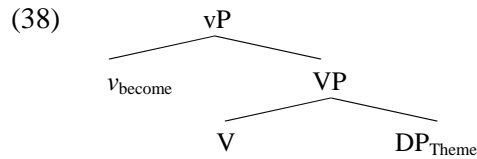
4.5 Syntactic derivation

Taking stock of the properties reviewed above, we may 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 over which the theme is predicated) and incorporated into the V, but anticausatives involve a *become* projection (leaving the causer out) (38), while causatives involve a Cause projection, which introduces the Causer (39).



More needs to be said about languages that have not only bare anticausatives, but also of the reflexive 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).

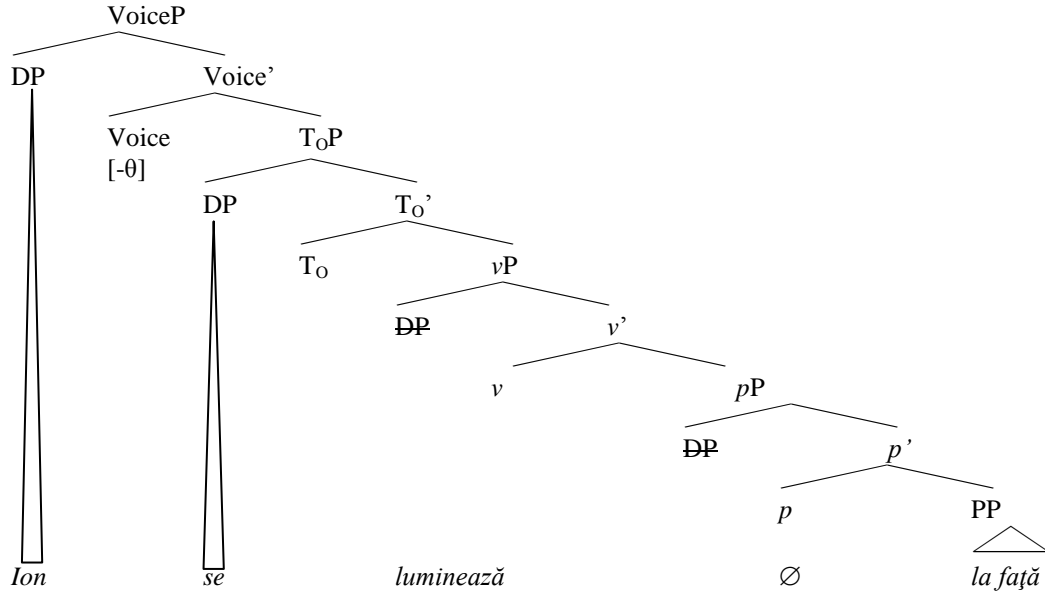
We follow the literature (Schäfer 2008 for German; Wood 2012 for Icelandic; Labelle and Doron 2010 for French i.a.) in assuming that derived SE unaccusatives have an expletive Voice projection, so that, syntactically, they look like transitive, rather than unaccusative configurations, but propose a slightly 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 theta 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*. 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 (40) 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 ν P will accommodate the Specifier of the prepositional small clause (p P).

- (40) Ion **se** luminează **la față**
 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, ν 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, T. 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 (26) 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 (41a)/(41b)) has generally been described as having to do with internal vs. external causation (see Labelle 1992; Dobrovie-Sorin 2015, among many) and with differences in the level of spontaneity, with externally caused events and less spontaneous events preferring SE-marked unaccusatives (Haspelmath 1993). Haspelmath claims that there is a universal scale of spontaneity.

- (41) a. Ion a albit **la păr** cu vârsta
 John AUX.PERF.3SG whitened at hair with age
 a'. ?Ion s-a albit **la păr** cu vârsta
 John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG whitened at hair with age
 ‘John’s hair has grown grey with age’
 b. Ion s-a albit **la față** 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’

Examples (41) show that the natural process of one's hair going grey is 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 2016 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 alternative anticausative structures. Verbs which have only one form have a wider, unmarked interpretation, as can be seen in the examples below:

- (42) a. Universul **se** **mărește** în 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** și 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:

- (43) A: Ce s-a întâmplat aici?
 what SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG happened here
 ‘What happened here?’
- B: S-au spart niște 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=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):

- (44) 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.F.3SG
 ‘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 VoiceP³.

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* (45) or *external argument comitatives* (46), the interpretation cannot be anticausative, but it shifts to a true reflexive reading or a passive reflexive (cf. (47)).

- (45) a. Ion s-a albit la față cu pudră
 John SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG whitened at face with powder.
 ‘John has whitened his face with powder’

³Still 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.

- (46) b. *Ion a albit la față cu pudră
John AUX.PERF.3SG whitened at face with powder
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'
- (47) b. *Ion ar albi la păr cu un machior bun.
John AUX.COND.3SG whiten at hair with a make-up.artist good
a. Ouăle s-au înroșit cu vopsea. [SE-passive]
eggs.DEF SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3PL redden with dye
'The eggs have been redden 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 obvious in the examples below.

- (48) 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'
- (49) 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 să ude
John even not SE.ACC=AUX.PERF.3SG tired SĂ.SUBJ water.SUBJ.3SG
florile
flowers.DEF
'John didn't even bother to water the flowers'
- (50) a. ??Ion înverzește la față 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 față când aude ce și-a
John SE.ACC turns.green at face when hears what SE.DAT=AUX.PERF.3SG
mai cumpărat fratele lui
more bought brother.DEF his.GEN
'John turns green in the face when he hears what his brother bought'
- (51) a. ??Ion a albit la față când a aflat vestea
John AUX.PERF.3SG whiten at face when AUX.PERF.3SG found news.DEF
b. Ion s-a albit la față, 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.

- (52) 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’
- (53) 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’
- (54) 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 [reflex.]
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 theta 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. 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 cobori / a se cobori* ('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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