

THESIS

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPING *SE* PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION
WITH A *POR*-PHRASE

Submitted by

Jacwelyn Laci Rauch

Department of English

Department of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Summer 2018

Master's Committee:

Advisor: Gerald Delahunty Department of English

Advisor: Frédérique Grim Department of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures

Antonio Pedrós-Gascón

Nancy Berry

Copyright by Jacwylyn Laci Rauch 2018

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPING *SE* PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION WITH A *POR*-PHRASE

This research proposes to characterize a particular type of *se* construction as a developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase and attempts to address what linguistic niche it inhabits. The construction addressed has an argument as its subject that is the patient of the clause and a *por*-phrase that contains either an instrument or an agent that contributes to the event denoted by the verb phrase. In this paper, I give an overview of the different *se* constructions, followed by a discussion of voice. Next, I review literature on the passive and adopt a working characterization of the Spanish passive. I then look at development of the passive over time and the constraints typically associated it.

For this research, I use a corpus to get a data set of fifty entries that I analyze qualitatively and compare using simple percentages. Those data entries are then analyzed using three separate analysis tools that were adapted from Hopper and Thompson's transitivity categorization and Dowty's Proto-Agent Properties. Those tools allow me to develop theories on the niche that the developing *se* passive with a *por*-phrase inhabits with respect to the periphrastic passive. This research suggests that the developing *se* passive construction with the *por*-phrase fills some gaps left by the periphrastic passive. For that reason, it does not seem unlikely that the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase will become more common over time. Whether or not it will become a part of every variety is yet to be seen, but at the very least it is becoming a part of some varieties.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would not have been possible had it not been for the support of the people in my life. First, I would like to thank my mom for editing a slew of papers over the course of my school years and for encouraging me to follow my passion. I want like to thank my Uncle B. for helping me finish my thesis when I had reached a point of paralyzing writer's block. I want to thank my Grandpa John and Grandma Jan for their high expectations of me, my Grandma Carrie for encouraging me to keep trying, and my sister for standing with me even when others did not see the value in me standing my ground. I want to thank Abdulhadi Alshehri for all of his help in the early stages of my thesis, and I want to thank Ibrahim Algarni for his support during the times that I felt like breaking down. I cannot express enough thanks to my friends and family for their support and encouragement; they have all taught me valuable lessons about life.

Additionally, I am thankful to each of the members of my committee for their contributions not only to my thesis but also to my life. I would like to thank Frédérique Grim for stepping in and advising me even though it added a great deal of work to her already full plate. I want to thank Nancy Berry for assisting me in my development as a teacher. I would also like to thank Antonio Pedrós-Gascón for making sure that I didn't give up on finishing both degrees. There were times it seemed it would have been easier to just get one. I would especially like to thank Dr. Gerald Delahunty for his encouragement and support throughout this process. He has provided me with extensive personal and professional guidance, and he has challenged me to improve myself in a plethora of ways. Had it not been for him, I am sure that I would not have reached this point. I could not wish for a better advisor. He has taught me more than I could possibly give him credit for here.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of my dad.

Without your forethought and hard work, I would not have had the opportunities and experiences that have allowed me to reach this point in my life.

You have been with me in my heart throughout this journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DEDICATION	iv
1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background	2
1.2 Methodology.....	5
1.3 Significance of the Research and Expectation of Trends in the.....	7
1.4 Limitations	8
1.5 Summary.....	8
2. CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	9
2.1 Uses of <i>Se</i>	9
2.2 Voice	17
2.2.1 Forms of the Passive.....	20
2.2.2 Middle Passive	21
2.2.3 Passive <i>Se</i>	26
2.2.4 Passive Voice	27
2.2.5 Perspectives on the Inclusion of the <i>Por</i> -phrase with the <i>Se</i> Passive.....	33
2.2.6 Historical Development of the Passive and its Constraints.....	36
3. CHAPTER 3: METHODS OF ANALYSIS	50
3.1 The Corpus	50
3.1.1 Method of Searching	54
3.1.2 Selection of Data	54
3.1.3 Data Eliminated	55
3.2 Coding of Data	57
3.2.1 Transitivity	57
3.2.2 Description of the Transitivity Analysis Tool.....	64
3.2.3 Description of the Individuation Analysis Tool	74
3.2.4 Actors and Agentivity.....	78
3.2.5 Description of the Agentivity Analysis Tool	81
3.2.6 Example of the Scoring of Data	89
3.3 Statistical Analysis	92
4. CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS	93
4.1 Description of Analyses	93
4.2 Trends in the Data	129
4.3 Conclusions from the Data	144
5. CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION	147
5.1 Research.....	147
5.2 Expectations and Trends in the Data	149
5.3 Implications of the Research	150
5.4 Limitations.....	150
5.5 Future Research.....	153
REFERENCES	155

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the development of a particular type of *se* construction and its constraints. This construction is commonly used in some areas of the Spanish-speaking world, while it is rarely used in others. One example of the type of construction addressed in this research can be seen in (1.1).

(1.1) *Se están dictando cursos por profesoras especializadas*

‘Courses are being given by specialized professors.’

The construction has an argument as its subject that is the patient of the clause. This argument is referred to as Argument 2, or A₂, in this research. It also has a *por*-phrase that contains either an instrument or an agent (an agent in (1.1)) that contributes to the event denoted by the verb phrase. That argument is referred to as Argument 1, or A₁. In this research, this particular construction will be referred to as the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase.

Much research has been done regarding *se*, but it is difficult to differentiate between *se* middle and *se* passive constructions when the *se* passive construction does not have a *por*-phrase, and even when there is a *por*-phrase, the clause is often interpreted as a non-passive with a prepositional phrase. This research does not look at possible *se* passive constructions without *por*-phrases because of the difficulty in differentiating between the middle and passive without them. With that said, the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase is not universally acceptable in Spanish and is most common in Mexico and Spain, where a non-passive interpretation of the construction is less likely. This research attempts to address what linguistic niche the new *se* construction with the *por*-phrase inhabits and proposes to characterize it as a developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase.

1.1 Background

To begin, *se* is used in a number of different constructions in Spanish for many different purposes. Torres (2004) gives an overview of these, including the reflexive, the reciprocal, the causative, the agentive intransitive, the middle-state of mind, the middle dynamic, the middle inchoative, the indefinite agentive-middle passive, and the impersonal (p. 12). Not all linguists agree with her categorizations of the *se* constructions, but her overview, which will be addressed in Chapter 2, is a good start to demonstrate the diversity of *se* so as to clarify the difficulty of differentiating *se* constructions from one another.

This particular study focuses on a construction that is not used in many varieties, specifically the developing *se* passive construction with the *por*-phrase, which is to be compared with the periphrastic passive, formed with *ser* ‘be,’ a past participle and an optional *por*-phrase. According to Shibatani (1988), “voice is to be understood as a mechanism that selects a grammatically prominent syntactic constituent – subject – from the underlying semantic functions (case or thematic roles) of a clause” (p. 3). It essentially clarifies the relationship between the arguments and the verb. With respect to the *se* middle and passive voice constructions, those relationships are sometimes hard to distinguish from one another. Therefore, defining them is necessary. According to Lyons (1968), many of the voice systems of Indo-European languages have a middle voice that “marks the action as one whose principal effects devolve upon the actor itself” or a middle voice that behaves deponently, reciprocally, reflexively, or nucleonically (cited in Klaiman, 1988, p. 35). This is important in this study because in Spanish *se* generally denotes actions related to the middle voice.

In Chapter 2, I discuss this rather wide characterization of the middle voice and its relationship to the *se* passive construction, which has been referred to as the “reflexive passive,”

“passives with *se*,” and the “Romance reflexive” by Siewierska (1984: 162), Melis (2007: 50), and García (1975: 8), respectively. The *se* passive construction has been described in a number of ways. Melis (2007) identifies it by saying that it includes a transitive verb, an active subject (generally an agent) that has been elided, and an object, which in an active sentence is generally the patient, which has been promoted to subject (p. 50). García (1975) says that *se* “[rules] out the possibility of there being two different participants in the event (p. 8).

I use several grammatical and semantic properties to characterize the passive voice. First, according to Siewierska (1984), the passive voice is a construction in which:

- a) there is a corresponding active, the subject of which [logically] does not function as the passive subject
- b) the event or action expressed in the passive is brought about by some person or thing, which is not [represented by] the passive subject, but the subject of the corresponding active
- c) the person or thing referred to in (b), if not overt, is at least strongly implied (p. 256).

Siewierska (1984) continues saying that passives “syntactically may differ from actives in word order, case marking, verbal morphology, and in the appearance of some additional word or particle” (p. 3). Tallerman says that the prototypical passive cross-linguistically (1) “applies to a transitive clause (the active clause) and forms an intransitive clause,” (2) promotes the [active] object to [passive] subject, (3) demotes the [active] subject to an oblique or deletes it, and (4) causes morphological changes in the verb ‘to signal passivization’” (1998, p. 180).

Thematic roles are also relevant to the discussion of the passive voice. Frawley (1992) says that there are three main thematic roles that “concern the logical actor or doer of the predication,” which are agents, authors, and instruments (p. 203). The passive characterization

and each of these actors will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. Based on that information, I adopted a working characterization of the passive in Spanish in which I refer to the entity that functions as the subject in an active and corresponds to the entity in the *por*-phrase in the passive, as Argument 1 or A₁. The object in the active, which corresponds to the subject in the passive, is referred to as Argument 2 or A₂. In this research, the passive is characterized by:

- (1) an Argument 1 that does not show agreement with the verb and is demoted from subject position (Subject position in Spanish is typically to the left of the verb; however, Spanish subjects can also appear to the right of the verb). The Argument 1 is either absent or present in an oblique headed by *por*, 'by.' A complete passive allows for the inclusion of the A₁ in the *por*-phrase.
- (2) an Argument 2 in the subject role (as evidenced by subject/verb agreement, not necessarily by position)
- (3) a change in the clause, either by the use of different verbal morphology and/or the appearance of an additional word or particle, such as *ser* 'be' or *se*

This passive characterization will be further explained in Chapter 2.

The inclusion of the *por*-phrase mentioned in (1) above, is one of contention amongst grammarians. According to Melis (2007), admitting the *por*-phrase with the agent is a restriction of "the reflexive passive" often discussed among grammarians (p.70). Croft (2001), on the other hand, says that the A₁ "may be expressed as an oblique," but notes that the overt expression of the A₁ is "rejected by some speakers" (p. 313). García (1975) also acknowledges this phenomenon saying that "the impersonal *se* is found to co-occur with an expressed agent" (p. 15). However, she goes on to explain that it "is not characteristic of a careful style of speech" and that "the 'regular passive'... is not a frequent... device of Spanish" (p. 16).

With that said, since the ‘regular passive,’ which is the periphrastic passive, is already not frequently used, it is important to look into the development of the passive in Spanish over time. Melis (2007) studied the gradual development of the passive use of *se* that we see today and the decline of the periphrastic passive (p.53). Her research shows the change over time of the periphrastic and *se* passives each of which has its own constraints. The final aspect of importance with respect to this research is those constraints. According to Butt and Benjamin (2000), there are eight constraints on the periphrastic passive. All of these constraints and a few others will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Knowledge of these constraints allows me to better analyze the trends that I found in my data. All of this research motivated me to address the particular niche in which the developing *se* passive construction with the *por*-phrase came about.

1.2 Methodology

For this research, my methodology is an adaptation of corpus linguistics research with primarily qualitative analysis of the data supported by minimal statistical analysis. Essentially, I used a corpus to get a data set of fifty entries that I analyzed qualitatively and compared using simple percentages. With respect to my data, fifty data entries containing *se* constructions with *por*-phrases were found using Mark Davies’ Corpus del Español (www.corpusdelespanol.org). Those data entries were then analyzed using three separate analysis tools that were adapted from Hopper and Thompson’s transitivity categorization and Dowty’s Proto-Agent Properties.

Hopper and Thompson’s transitivity categorization is comprised of the following ten parameters:

	HIGH	LOW
A. Participants	2 or more participants, A [agent] and O [object].	1 participant
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

(Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 252).

When I created my data analysis tool from this, I removed Parameters A and E for reasons I will discuss in Chapter 3. Parameter J, Individuation of O, includes six criteria, which are as follows:

INDIVIDUATED	NON-INDIVIDUATED
proper	common
human, animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
singular	plural
count	mass
referential, definite	non-referential (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 253).

These two groups of parameters make up two analysis tools. The final analysis tool is based on Dowty's Agent Proto-Role properties:

Properties of the Agent Proto-Role:

- (a) volitional involvement in the event or state
- (b) sentience (and/or perception)
- (c) causing an event or change of state in another participant
- (d) movement (relative to the position of another participant)
- (e) exists independently of the event named by the verb (Dowty, 1991, p. 572).

With respect to Dowty's Proto-Roles, I omitted parameters (d) and (e) and divided parameter (c) into two parameters for reasons discussed in Chapter 3.

1.3 Significance of the Research and Expectation of Trends in the Data

In this research, I have thoroughly explored the use of the *se* passive construction with the *por*-phrase and have determined some of the parameters that seem to affect its use in the varieties in which it is being used now. The developing *se* passive construction with the *por*-phrase is a relatively recent addition to Spanish, and many varieties do not allow it. However, this research suggests that the developing *se* passive construction with the *por*-phrase fills some gaps left by the periphrastic passive, discussed in Chapter 4. For that reason, it does not seem unlikely that the *se* passive construction will become more common over time. Whether or not it will become a part of every variety is yet to be seen, but at the very least it is becoming a part of some varieties.

My initial expectation was that the *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases would exploit niches not filled by the periphrastic passive. Therefore, I assumed that the constraints on the periphrastic passive would not hold for the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-

phrase. My results suggested some interesting trends, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

1.5 Summary

This research attempts to identify the niche this new *se* construction with the *por*-phrase inhabits and characterize it as a developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase. Linguists have done a large amount of research on *se* constructions, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between middle and passive *se* constructions. In this research, I adapt characterizations of passivity, agentivity, and transitivity to form analysis tools with which to judge the *se* passive constructions with a *por*-phrase. Those tools allow me to develop theories on the niche that the developing *se* passive with a *por*-phrase inhabits with respect to the periphrastic passive.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter will discuss the particle *se* in Spanish and its use with respect to the passive. I begin with a discussion of *se* and its uses so as to delineate the passive use of *se* being addressed in this study. I continue with a discussion of voice as it relates to Spanish, which leads into a description of the two forms of the passive in Spanish: the periphrastic passive and the *se* passive. I then discuss the differing views with respect to the passive and middle voices in Spanish. That explanation is followed by an explanation of when the passive is used in Spanish. After that, I give a brief description of the development of the passive over time. Finally, I discuss the constraints on the passive and use those constraints to develop a data analysis tool for the study of the data.

2.1 Uses of *Se*

Se can be used in a number of situations for a variety of reasons. In this section, I will discuss some of the different uses of *se*. I will give examples of each use and describe the way in which some authors address each of the uses of *se*.

One use of *se* is in the reflexive construction, an example of which is (2.1).

(2.1) *Ella se compró un regalo*

‘She bought herself a gift’

In English, reflexives are associated with the use of *myself*, *yourself*, *himself*, *herself*, and *themselves*. In this case, *comprar* is a ditransitive verb, so the sentence requires a subject, an object, and an indirect object. In this case, the *se* in the phrase indicates that the subject and the indirect object denote the same entity. It is the third person reflexive pronoun.

Another use of *se* is as an allomorph of *le*; that is, its use as a third person indirect object pronoun when it is placed to the left of a third person direct object pronoun, such as *lo* or *la*.

Example (2.2) shows a sentence that has both an indirect object and a direct object.

(2.2) *Mandé una carta a mis padres*

‘I sent my parents a card’

If we replace the direct and indirect objects with their respective direct and indirect object pronouns, we have example (2.3), which is ungrammatical.

(2.3) **Les la mandé*
Them-DAT it-3FEM:SG send-PRETERITE:1SG
‘I sent it to them.’

In the English gloss, ‘it’ serves as the direct object pronoun, and ‘them’ serves as the indirect object pronoun. The usual Spanish equivalents of these two pronouns are *la*, the feminine singular direct object pronoun, and *les*, the plural indirect object pronoun. However, in Spanish when a third person indirect object pronoun is followed by a third person direct object pronoun, the third person indirect object pronoun changes to *se*. This change only happens in this specific case, and it happens regardless of gender or number. This allomorphic change yields (2.4).

(2.4) *Se la mandé*

‘I sent it to him/her/it/them (the referent depends on context)’

Another use of *se* is the impersonal. The impersonal use indicates an unknown animate subject, usually indicated by the use of *someone* or *one* in English. In the impersonal, *se* does not imply that the subject and the direct object are the same entity as in the reflexive example above. (2.5) is an example of the impersonal.

(2.5) *Aquí se vende bicicletas*

‘Here one sells bicycles’

The reflexive interpretation of this sentence is impossible given that both the subject and the object cannot have the same referent since the action cannot be both carried out and received by the same referent. In addition, the verb is in the third person singular and the object *bicicletas* is third person plural, which rules out the possibility of *bicicletas* being treated as the subject of the sentence. In this example, *se* essentially serves the purpose of indicating that the referent of the subject is not known or is irrelevant. On the other hand, if an interlocutor were to say a similar sentence without using *se*, the implication would be quite different. Example (2.6) differs from (2.5) above only in the exclusion of *se*.

(2.6) *Aquí vende bicicletas*

‘Here he/she/it sells bicycles’

If an interlocutor were to use example (2.6), the other interlocutors would search for the antecedent within the context, be it a previous sentence or something that an interlocutor previously said. In this case, the antecedent would be a third person singular noun, based on the third person singular conjugation of the verb. This shows that the addition of *se* can be used to allow for the exclusion of a specific subject within the context. In this situation, there does not seem to be a clear way to define *se*, although some authors would argue that it is an indeterminate pronoun that functions as the subject of the sentence (Cid, 2004, p. 250). Not all authors believe that *se* functions as a subject in examples like (2.5). García says that “*se* is consistently correlated with the exclusion of an additional participant” (1975, p. 30). In (2.5), the participant that is being excluded is the subject.

Other uses of *se* fall in between the impersonal and reflexive uses, and some authors would refer to all of them as middle. However, as can be seen in Table 2.1 below, Torres (2004) mentions six uses of *se* other than the three already mentioned.

Table 2.1: Overview Chart of the uses of Spanish *se* not including the allomorphic use.

Animate subject					Inanimate subject		No subject
1. Reflexive Reciprocal is also included here.	2. Causative	3. Agentive Intransitive	4. Middle-State of mind	5. Middle-Dynamic	6. Middle-Inchoative	7. Indefinite agentive-Middle passive	8. Impersonal
El fraile se inculpó en el juicio	Él va a cortarse el pelo	El fraile se retractó –Se refiere a ti	Él se alegra de que vengas – Él se está mareando	Él se salió de la carretera - Se murió de cáncer	Se ha roto la taza – Este tejido se estropea en seguida	Se quemó el bosque para acabar con la plaga	No se sabe nada nuevo – Se detuvo a los ladrones
The friar blamed himself at the trial.	He's going to get his hair cut.	The friar withdrew – It refers to you	It makes him happy that you are coming – He's getting dizzy	He got himself off the road –He died of cancer	The mug broke – This fabric breaks down immediately	The forest was burnt to stop the plague.	One does not know anything new – Someone detained the thieves
The subject is both agent and patient	The subject neither agent nor patient. It is the author.	The subject is the agent, and there is not a patient.	The subject is an animate experimenter.	The subject is the agent and animate experimenter.	The subject is an inanimate experimenter.	The subject is the patient, which is not the same as the animate, unknown agent.	There is not a subject and the agent is animate and unknown.
Transitive structure + Transitivity		Intransitive structure - Transitivity					Either structure
+ Internal argument				- Internal argument			

(Adapted from Torres, 2004, p. 12 with translation in English).

The causative use of *se* has a subject that causes an action to occur but is neither the patient nor the agent, rather it is the actor that brings about the event (Torres, 2004, p. 12). This can be seen in the example (T2) from column two in Table 2.1.

(T2a) *Él se va a cortar el pelo* (Torres, 2004, p. 12).

‘He’s going to get his hair cut’

Typically, the person that will be doing the cutting is not the same as the person getting their hair cut, making the referent of the subject the cause since the subject represents the entity that brings about the situation. However, it is important to note that there is some ambiguity in this sentence because a reflexive reading could be possible given the right context. Example (T1b) shows this type of context.

(T2b) *Él se va a cortar el pelo porque no tiene dinero suficiente para ir al barbero*

‘He’s going to cut his own hair because he doesn’t have enough money to go to the barber’

In this particular context, it is clear that the referent of the barber will not be cutting the referent of the subject’s hair. Because of this, the reflexive reading of the example is possible.

According to Torres (2004), the next group includes verbs that have transitive counterparts when *se* is not present and the possibility of an external argument is blocked when *se* is present (p.13). This can be seen in (T3).

(T3) *El fraile se retractó* (Torres, 2004, p. 12).

‘The friar withdrew’

Retractar means to ‘take back’ or ‘recant,’ and it is a transitive verb. The addition of *se* allows for the elimination of the need for a second argument. In this way, *se* allows for a reduction in

transitivity (Torres, 2004, p.13). The inclusion of *se* also results in a slight change in the semantics of the word. *Retractarse* is an intransitive verb that means to ‘withdraw.’

The next use of *se*, the middle-state of mind, addresses experiencer subjects in relationship to state of mind verbs. This can be seen in (T4).

(T4) *Él se alegra de que vengas* (Torres, 2004, p. 12).

‘He is happy that you are coming’

The referent of the subject of the sentence, *él*, experiences a state of mind. According to Torres (2004), the referent of the subject of this *se* clause does not have control over the action (p. 13). In this case, the subject then could not be the agent.

The middle-dynamic use includes a subject whose referent can be an experiencer or an agent. However, this use is different from the middle-state of mind in that the middle-dynamic use does not indicate an effect on the mental state of the referent of the subject. Instead, the middle-dynamic use represents a change of state through a process, which is linked to an animate or inanimate cause relevant to the realization of the change in state (Torres, 2004, p. 14). Two examples of this are shown in (T5a) and (T5b).

(T5a) *Se murió de cancer*

‘He/she/it died of cancer’

(T5b) *Él se salió de la carretera*

‘He got himself off the road’ (Torres, 2004, p. 12).

In (T5a), cancer is the inanimate cause that results in the realization of a change in state in the referent of the subject. Example (T5b) differs from (T5a) in that *él* is both the agent and animate experiencer of the change in state.

The middle-inchoative, referred to in Table 2.1, has inanimate entities as subjects, as in (T6a) and (T6b). Mendikoetxea (1999) claims that in these constructions the cause of the action is related to an intrinsic property of the subject or that the event occurs without it being clear what the cause of the event is (cited in Torres, 2004, p.15).

(T6a) *Este tejido se estropea en seguida*

‘This fabric breaks down immediately’

(T6b) *Se ha roto la taza*

‘The mug broke’ (Torres, 2004, p. 12).

In example (T6a), the *tejido* ‘fabric’ has an intrinsic property that makes it prone to breaking down quickly; therefore, the makeup of the *tejido* is part of the cause of the action. In example (T6b), on the other hand, no clear cause of the event can be found in the example.

Finally, the indefinite agentive-middle passive has an unknown animate agent that is not identified in the clause and a patient as the subject of the clause. This can be seen in (T7a) and (T7b).

(T7a) *Se quemó el bosque para acabar con la plaga* (Torres, 2004, p. 12).

‘The forest was burnt to stop the plague’

(T7b) *Se quemaron los bosques para acabar con la plaga*

‘The forests were burnt to stop the plague’

In (T7a), the verb *quemar* is conjugated in the third personal singular, which means that it shows subject/verb agreement with *el bosque*, which is third person singular. In (T7b), *quemar* is conjugated in the third person plural to show subject verb agreement with *los bosques*, which is third person plural. In both of these examples, the patient shows agreement with the verb. This is what differentiates these types of *se* constructions from impersonal *se* constructions, in which the

patient is not considered the subject of the sentence. This is either because the patient does not agree with the verb or because the interlocutor chooses an impersonal reading of the context. It is important to note that in some cases there is ambiguity between the impersonal and the middle passive uses of *se*, particularly when both the patient is third person singular. Example (T8) below can be used to show this.

(T8) *No se sabe nada nuevo* (Torres, 2004, p. 12).

- (a) ‘One does not know anything new’
- (b) ‘Nothing new is known’

Because this example has a third person singular object, and the verb is conjugated in the third person singular, there are two possible interpretations of the clause. In (a), *nada nuevo* is interpreted as the object of the clause, and the subject of the clause is an unknown agent represented by ‘one.’ In (b), however, *nada nuevo* is interpreted as the subject of the clause, which gives (b) a passive reading. If the patient in these clauses were third person plural, the difference between the impersonal and the middle passive use of *se* would be clear. This can be seen in (T8c).

(T8c) *Se detuvo a los ladrones* (Torres, 2004, p. 12).

‘Someone detained the thieves’

Here, the patient *a los ladrones* is third person plural, but the verb is conjugated in third person singular. This differs from (T7b) in that for the middle passive use of *se*, there is subject/verb agreement with the patient. The lack of subject/verb agreement in (T8c) indicates that the only reading possible is an impersonal one.

What Torres refers to as the middle passive is the focus of this study. Some researchers believe that sentences like (T7a) and (T7b) are passives and that an agent is implied (Melis,

2007), others argue that they are clear middles and that *se* reduces valence (García, 1975), which means that the sentence would not allow for an agent. Before addressing the issue of what is middle and what is passive, one must first understand the concept of voice.

2.2 Voice

In this section, I will first address what voice is. Then I will describe the passive voice in opposition to the active voice. I will give an operational schema for the prototypical passive based on the research about the active-passive opposition. Finally, I will address the middle voice and give an overview of its functions.

Voice is a grammatical category that “[marks] the relationship a word or phrase has to the whole sentence” (Tallerman, 1998, p. 50). Voice marks these relationships through the use of syntax, morphology, and lexis. Essentially, it is:

a mechanism that selects a grammatically prominent syntactic constituent –subject—from the underlying semantic functions (case or thematic roles) of a clause. In accusative languages, the basic strategy is to select an agent as a subject, and the active voice refers to the form resulting from this choice of agent as a subject. The active voice in accusative languages constitutes the unmarked voice (Shibatani, 1988, p. 3).

Since Spanish, like English, is an accusative language, agents are generally chosen as subjects; therefore, the active is more commonly used than the passive. An example of a typical active sentence can be seen in (2.7).

(2.7) *Juan destruyó la casa*

‘Juan destroyed the house.’

In both the Spanish and English, *Juan* is the subject and agent of the sentence, and *la casa* is the object and patient. When dealing with patients and agents in active sentences, Spanish has a

SVO (subject-verb-object) word order that typically has the agent in the subject position and the patient in the object position. This word order can be seen clearly in (2.7). *Juan*, the agent, comes first in subject position. The verb comes next and is followed by the patient, *la casa*. However, it is important to note that, though the SVO word order is most common, the subject of the sentence does not always come before the verb in Spanish. One example of this can be seen in (2.8).

(2.8) *Me gusta la piña*

Me:1SG:Dat like:3SG:Pres the:F:3SG pineapple:F:3SG:

‘I like pineapple’

In this example, the verb is conjugated in the third person singular to agree with *la piña*, which is also third person singular. The verb cannot agree with *me* because it is first person singular. In this case, even though the sentence is active, the subject comes after the verb. Furthermore, the object, which is an experiencer, is at the beginning of the sentence. This makes the word order OVS instead of the usual SVO.

“In the proto-typical passive form a patient functions as a subject and an agent is syntactically unencoded (or, even if it is encoded, its grammatical prominence is marginal)” (Shibatani, 1988, p. 3). One example of this can be found in (2.9).

(2.9) *La casa fue destruida*

‘The house was destroyed’

This example has SV word order and there is subject/verb agreement between *la casa* and *fue*, which are both third person singular. The past participle *destruida* also agrees in gender and number with the subject *la casa*. The referent of *la casa* is the entity that is destroyed, so *la casa*

is the patient rather than the agent, and the agent in this sentence is unencoded. If the agent were to be included in the sentence it would appear as in (2.10).

(2.10) *La casa fue destruida por Juan.*

‘The house was destroyed by Juan’

The grammatical prominence of *por Juan* is marginal because it is an oblique, which differs from the active where agents appear as subjects. Passives like the one above are not common constructions in Spanish.

Having said that the passive constructions are not as common as active constructions, it is important to note that some of the data entries in this study appear to have an active that is less frequent than its passive. In the situations where the passive appears more often than the active, the actor that brings about the action is not generally encoded or it is an instrument. One example of this can be seen in (2.11) below.

(2.11) *funciones multinacionales que se rigen por normas.*

‘multinational functions that are governed by norms’

The use of the *se* passive construction here is more frequent while the active shown in (2.12) is not as frequent at all.

(2.12) *Las normas rigen las funciones multinacionales*

‘Norms govern multinational functions’

The use of the verb *regirse* with an oblique that contains an instrument is a much more common construction than the construction that uses the instrument as a subject. In (2.12) *normas*, the instrument, is the subject, so it is the less common construction in this case, whereas (2.11) is more common. Having made clear the passive active distinction, it is important to describe the forms of the passive in Spanish.

2.2.1 Forms of the passive

In this section, I will describe the forms of the passive in Spanish. First I will describe the prototypical passive, which is known as the periphrastic passive. Then, I will describe the passive *se* construction.

Siewierska notes that passives “syntactically may differ from actives in word order, case marking, verbal morphology, and in the appearance of some additional word or particle” (1984, p. 3). All of this depends on the language. In Spanish, there are two ways in which the passive can be formed. Verbal morphology and the addition of an auxiliary verb indicate the periphrastic passive. It is formed with *ser* ‘to be,’ the past participle of the verb, and an optional *por* ‘by’-phrase. In the prototypical passive, the patient is the subject and the agent may or may not be syntactically encoded. One example of the prototypical passive with a syntactically unencoded agent in Spanish is (2.9).

(2.9) *La casa fue destruida*

‘The house was destroyed’

Example (2.10) shows a sentence with a syntactically encoded agent. As mentioned earlier, the agent is in an oblique.

(2.10) *La casa fue destruida por Juan.*

‘The house was destroyed by Juan’

The *se* passive is another possible passive construction. Not all researchers agree on the classification of some *se* constructions as passive, but it is my contention that the *se* construction formed by a transitive verb and showing agreement between the patient and verb may be becoming a passive, as evidenced by a discernible movement toward the acceptance of the inclusion of a *por*-phrase in the construction in some varieties of Spanish. With the *se* passive,

the additional particle indicating the passive is *se*. An example of the *se* passive from the data analyzed in this study can be seen in (2.13).

(2.13) *Se están dictando cursos por profesoras especializadas*

‘Courses are being given by specialized professors.’

This particular example is from Colombia. Notice that the agent is included in the *por*-phrase and the patient is the subject as evidenced by the subject/verb agreement between *cursos* and *están*, both third person plural. The active counterpart of this clause can be seen in (2.14).

(2.14) *Profesoras especializadas están dictando cursos*

‘Specialized professors are giving courses.’

This active counterpart to example (2.13) is the more frequent form of this particular sentence, which differs from examples (2.11) and (2.12), mentioned earlier, in that for those sentences the passive was more frequent. This is because the actor in example (2.13) is an animate, human agent, whereas in example (2.12), the actor is an instrument. This is because the type of A₁ oftentimes affects the acceptability of active or passive variations of a sentence. The *se* passive construction mentioned above is not uncommon in many European languages. In fact, “the use of a reflexive morpheme in Indo-European passives is generally attributed to the original active/middle voice system of Indo-European” (Siewierska, 1984, p.163). Indo-European is the language from which Latin originated, which is where Spanish comes from, so since one use of *se* is as a reflexive pronoun, it makes sense that the uses of different *se* constructions could parallel the Indo-European active/middle voice system. For this reason, it is important to address the middle voice in Spanish. It is also important because it appears that the middle voice is where the *se* passives originated.

2.2.2 Middle voice

In this section, I will describe the middle voice. I will then discuss the functions associated with the middle voice and demonstrate the *se* constructions that correspond to middle voice functions.

According to Lyons (1968) “The use of middle voice is to mark situations in which ‘the ‘action’ or ‘state’ *affects* the subject of the verb or his interests.’” (cited in Klaiman, 1988, p. 31). This can be seen in the middle voice example (2.15a).

(2.15) *Se rompió el vaso*

(a) ‘The glass broke.’

The subject is affected by the action. While this description explains the purpose of using the middle voice, it does not adequately describe the large number of separate functions that fall under the category of middle voice. Furthermore, as more examples of the developing *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases appear, examples like the one above will have a more ambiguous middle/passive distinction since it is possible to interpret the sentence above as passive, which can be seen in (2.15b).

(2.15) *Se rompió el vaso*

(b) ‘The glass was broken.’

Lyons’ (1968) characterization of the voice system says that many of the Indo-European languages have a middle voice that behaves:

reflexively (Subject does action to itself); reciprocally (referents of a plural Subject do action to one another); nucleonically (Subject does action to object which is in, moves into, or moves from Subject’s sphere); deponently (action involves Subject’s disposition); or otherwise marks the action as one whose principal effects devolve upon the actor itself

(e.g., Subject does action to someone or something in such a way as to affect itself) (cited in Klaiman, 1988, p. 35).

It is interesting to note that Lyon's characterization of the middle includes the reflexive, reciprocal, and nucleonic uses of *se*, which are not considered middles in Torres' characterization from Section 2.1. Since Spanish is an Indo-European language, it is not surprising that it has a middle voice. What is surprising is that many of the functions cited above correlate with a single marker, *se*.

The first function mentioned in Lyons' characterization is the reflexive, which was described earlier and can be seen in (2.1).

(2.1) *Ella se compró un regalo*

'She bought herself a gift'

In this case, the subject and indirect object refer to the same entity. This is clear because the pronoun *se* is a reflexive pronoun. In this case, it is an indirect object pronoun, and *un regalo* is the direct object in the sentence, so *se* has to be the indirect object. Furthermore, if the referent of the pronoun *se* were someone other than the subject of the sentence, the indirect object pronoun *le* would be used. Therefore, there is no other interpretation of *se* than as the reflexive pronoun of *ella*.

Next, the reciprocal can be seen in (2.17).

(2.17) *Se aman*

'They love each other.'

Because Spanish has morphological markers on the verb indicating subject/verb agreement, it is clear that the subject is third person plural. The referents of that subject carry out the action on each other.

The third function mentioned in Lyons' characterization is the nucleonic function, which is generally used with parts of the body in Spanish, for example, the hair, the hands, or the leg, etc. This function addresses situations in which "the undergoer is the property of – or belongs to – the Subject" (Klaiman, 1988, p. 32). An example of the nucleonic function can be seen in (2.18).

(2.18) *Él se cortó el pelo*

'He got his hair cut' or 'He cut his hair himself'

It is important to note that example (2.18) is ambiguous; it could mean either 'he cut his hair himself,' in which case the *se* particle could be translated as 'himself,' or more commonly, 'he had someone cut his hair.' Either meaning could be acceptable depending on the context. The example in which he had someone cut his hair is important for this analysis because it shows movement toward the *se* passive since the subject in that example is less agentive and represents the cause. This differentiation between cause and agent becomes important when addressing the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase in the data analysis section of this research.

Lyons' final function is the deponent function. Some deponent verbs "denote bodily or physical disposition," such as *irse* 'go' (Klaiman, 1988, p. 32). Other deponent verbs "denote emotive or mental disposition," such as *imaginarse* 'imagine' or *acordarse* 'remember' (Klaiman, 1988, p. 32). In Spanish, deponent verbs sometimes cannot appear without the particle *se*. One example of a deponent verb can be seen in (2.19). This particular sentence does not have a transitive counterpart and cannot appear without one of the reflexive pronouns.

(2.19) *Él siempre se queja.*

'He always complains'

Lyons' characterization of Indo-European middles correlates closely to the uses of *se* in Spanish. Along with the functions above, Siewierska believes that there is another function attributed to the middle *se* in Spanish, which is the "passive," in which the "subject does nothing [and] is affected in consequence of the action" (Siewierska, 1984, p.163). An example in Spanish of the passive resulting from middle voice morphology, or the middle passive, can be seen in (2.20).

(2.20) *Se están dictando cursos*

'Courses are being given.'

The addition of these functions has been embraced by "Lyons (1968), Barber (1975) and Klaiman (1982) (among others)" (Siewierska, 1984, p.163). "According to Kemmer (1993b:73), the middle category is placed on a continuum formed by prototypical one-participant events and prototypical two-participant events, roughly half-way between reflexives and one-participant events" (Calude, 2004, p. 2). Kemmer leaves room for the possibility of middle categories in languages expanding to encompass aspects of passive structures. Kemmer explains that

at one end of the continuum, we have events that are characterized as having one participant, both physically and conceptually, and hence no degree of distinguishability between participant roles. Middle events are similar to this, with the exception that they have some minimal degree of distinguishability between participant roles. Reflexive events have two distinct participants conceptually, but only one physically (the actions they depict are self-directed). Finally, at the other end of the continuum, we find events which encompass two distinct participants, both conceptually and physically, and have a high degree of distinguishability between participant roles" (Calude, 2004, p. 2).

However, the inclusion of the passive in a characterization of the middle is somewhat problematic for some authors since passive and middles are different. It, therefore, becomes necessary to clarify if *se* is in fact a passive marker.

2.2.3 Passive *se*

While it is clear that *se* is a middle marker in Spanish based on the characterization of the middle above, it is more controversial whether or not *se* has developed into a passive marker as well. Because of the existence of sentences like example (2.20), some researchers would argue that *se* has in fact developed into a passive marker, and they have seen fit to refer to this structure in a plethora of ways.

(2.20) *Se están dictando cursos*

‘Courses are being given’

This type of structure has been called the “reflexive passive” by Siewierska because of the use of a reflexive pronoun as part of the construction. According to Siewierska (1984) “reflexive passives are found mainly in the Slavic, Germanic, and Romance branches of Indo-European” (p. 162). Since Spanish is a Romance language, it would not be out of the realm of possibility for a “reflexive passive” to develop in the language. Another term for this type of *se* construction is “passives with *se*.” Melis (2007) says that they are identified by the inclusion of a transitive verb, the elision of the active subject, generally an agent, and the promotion to subject of the object, which in an active sentence is generally the patient (p. 50).

García (1975) has a broader view of *se*, which she divides into two overarching categories, the ‘regular’ reflexive and the “Romance reflexive.” She says that *se* “[rules] out the possibility of there being two different participants in the event: if the verb is transitive, the normal interpretation of the verb-ending as agent is blocked; if intransitive, possible forces

operative in the background are ruled out” (García, 1975, p. 8). This means that with sentences like (2.20) above, the subject is not interpreted as an agent because it is clear that subject-verb agreement is not between an agent and the verb. In an example like (2.21) below, García (1975) claims that the agent is ruled out, either “by the inanimacy of the subject or by a circumstance which makes it impossible for the subject to perform on it/himself the action denoted by the verb (p. 6). She ultimately argues that *se* is a valence reducer (p. 6), which allows for the agent to be excluded from the sentence.

(2.21) *Aquí se baila*

‘One dances’ or ‘There is dancing’

While *se* reduces the valence of the sentence, the doer of the action is not always excluded from the sentence. In some cases, it is included as an oblique, as in (2.13), repeated here for convenience.

(2.13) *Se están dictando cursos por profesoras especializadas*

‘Courses are being given by specialized professors’

Regardless of what the construction is called, it appears *se* has gone from being a simple reflexive marker to being both a middle and possibly a passive marker in some varieties of Spanish. From this point on, possible passive constructions with *se* will be referred to as the developing *se* passive construction or just *se* passives. However, in order to address *se* passive constructions in this study, it is important to establish a characterization of the passive by which to analyze the degree of voice of a particular construction.

2.2.4 Passive voice.

In this section, I will discuss some categorizations of the passive in the literature and the connection to the different types of actors that can appear in the *por*-phrase. I will then use the

categorizations to decide how to address the possible passives in my research. One characterization says that the passive voice is a construction:

- a) which has a corresponding active the subject of which does not function as the passive subject
- b) the event or action expressed in the passive is brought about by some person or thing, which is not the passive subject, but the subject of the corresponding active
- c) the person or thing if not overt is at least strongly implied (Siewierska, 1984, p. 256).

Siewierska (1984) continues saying that passives “syntactically may differ from actives in word order, case marking, verbal morphology, and in the appearance of some additional word or particle” (p. 3). Based on Siewierska’s conceptualization of the passive, it is unclear what functions as the passive subject and what functions as the active subject. Her categorization appears to allow for passives with subjects and objects that have semantic roles other than agents and patients. She also implies that passive constructions have to have a corresponding active.

While grammatically, it seems that this would be the case, I would argue that in some cases a construction may be more likely to appear in its passive form than its active form or may not appear in an active form at all. One example of this from English can be seen in (2.22) and (2.23).

(2.22) *He was rumored to be a rich man.*

(2.23) **Someone rumored him to be a rich man.*

In this particular case, the passive construction is the common usage, while the active construction is not grammatical. Constructions that have a passive that is more likely to appear than the active or that have no active counterpart are important in this study because some of the

data used in this study may not often appear in the active voice in some varieties of Spanish. In other varieties of Spanish, some of the data in this study may never appear in the active voice.

Also based on the above description of the passive, we cannot assume that the “person or thing” referred to in Siewierska’s definition is the agent since many researchers argue that agents have to be animate and “things” are not generally animate. This broad definition of the passive allows for “things” other than agents to be part of a passive clause, specifically part of the *por*/'by'-phrase. This can be seen in (2.24).

(2.24) *I was cut by the knife on my counter.*

In this particular example, the action is brought about by a “thing,” *the knife*. Since the referent of the knife is not animate, it would not be considered an agent by all researchers. Instead, it is an instrument. The inclusion of “things” that are not prototypical agents is important because, in the data for this study, the noun phrases in the *por*-phrases are not all agents. Instead, there is a wide range of “people and things”, including instruments and agents, that appear in the *por*-phrases. One aspect of Siewierska’s categorization of the passive that is lacking is a detailed description of the grammatical ramifications of the passivization of an utterance.

Tallerman says that “the prototypical passive cross-linguistically (1) applies to a transitive clause and forms an intransitive clause, (2) promotes the [active] object to [passive] subject, (3) demotes the [active] subject to an oblique or deletes it, and (4) causes morphological changes in the verb “to signal passivization” (1998, p. 180). While Siewierska’s categorization says that the “person or thing” that brings about the event or action expressed in the passive is at least strongly implied if not overt, Tallerman says that it is demoted to an oblique or deleted (p. 256). This is important with respect to this study because the option to demote the subject of the

active voice to an oblique is not available in the *se* passive construction in all varieties of Spanish, but it appears that it may be becoming so.

Furthermore, with respect to the “person or thing” discussed in Siewierska’s categorization of the passive, Frawley (1992) says that there are three main thematic roles that “concern the logical actor or doer of the predication” (p. 203). While they are not the main focus of this research, it is important to specify that possible thematic roles for the subject of an active, or the noun phrase in the oblique of the corresponding passive include agents, authors, and instruments. An example of an agent in Spanish can be found in (2.25).

(2.25) *Sara tiró la basura*

‘Sara threw out the trash.’

Another role is that of author, which is described as a doer that “has all of the characteristics of an agent, but is not the direct cause of the act” (Frawley, 1992, p. 205). Furthermore, “animacy, intentionality, and responsibility are not required of the author,” making the author the “enabler, or the indirect cause” (Frawley, 1992, p. 206). An example of author can be seen in (2.26).

(2.26) *Sara flotaba a lo largo del río*

‘Sara floated down the river’

Frawley also addresses a third doer, an instrument, which is “the means by which a predicate is carried out,” and it “must be *acted upon by something else* in order to participate in the situation” (Frawley, 1992, p. 208). An example of this can be seen in (2.27).

(2.27) *El cuchillo me cortó*

‘The knife cut me’

Since an instrument has to be acted on so that it can make the event occur, they are less active participants than authors. “Naturally human beings come at the most active, agentive pole, with inanimate objects located at the other end. Such things are acted upon but do not act, and they stay where they are until disturbed” (Halliday, 2003, p. 165). Frawley states that “agency may be best understood as a gradient of directness of execution of the predicate: agent > author > instrument” (1992, p. 207).

Based on the above descriptions of the passive and the discussion of thematic roles, I have established the following characterization with which to judge the Spanish passive. It is broad enough to include prototypical passives and the controversial *se* passive. In the description below, I do not subscribe to any one specific theory. Also, because of the variety of entities that appear in the *por*-phrases in the data and for the purpose of expediency, the entity that functions as the subject in an active, which corresponds to the entity in the *por*-phrase in the passive, will be referred to as Argument 1 or A₁, and the object in the active, or the subject in the passive, will be referred to as Argument 2 or A₂ in this research. In Spanish, the passive is typically characterized by:

1) an Argument 1 that is demoted from subject position (Subject position in Spanish is typically to the left of the verb, which can be seen in (2.28), where *mi mamá* appears to the left of the verb, but this is not always the case as can be seen in (2.29), where *mi mamá* appears to the right of the verb.) and does not show agreement with the verb. The Argument 1 is either absent or present in an oblique headed by *por*, ‘by’ (A complete passive allows for the inclusion of the A₁ in the *por*-phrase.)

(2.28) *Mi mamá comió papas fritas*

‘My mom ate French fries’

(2.29) *Dice mi mamá que soy obstinada*

‘My mom says I am stubborn’

2) an Argument 2 in the subject role (as evidenced by subject/verb agreement, not necessarily by position)

3) a change in the clause, either by the use of different verbal morphology and/or the appearance of an additional word or particle, such as *ser* ‘be’ or *se*

This characterization completely fits the prototypical passive and its relationship to the active, which can be seen in (2.30) and (2.31).

(2.30) *Juan destruyó las casas*

‘Juan destroyed the houses’

(2.31) *Las casas fueron destruidas (por Juan)*

‘The houses were destroyed (by Juan).’

Example (2.30) is the active sentence and (2.31) is the passive. The agent, *Juan*, positioned to the left of the verb in the active, is expressed in the oblique *por Juan* in the passive. This corresponds to (1) of the passive characterization. The patient, *las casas*, is in the subject role in the passive sentence as evidenced by the subject/verb agreement between *las casas*, a third person plural entity, and *fueron* the third person plural conjugation of the verb *ser*. This corresponds to (2) of the passive characterization. Finally, the addition of a form of *ser* and the use of the past participle, e.g. *fue destruida*, corresponds to (3) in the passive characterization above. This change from active to passive is indicated by the appearance of an additional word along with a change in verbal morphology, specifically to a past participle that agrees with the subject in both gender and number. As is apparent, the characterization above fits the prototypical passive.

This characterization also fits the *se* passive even though the verbal morphology does not change because the particle *se* is used. This can be seen in (2.14) and (2.13), repeated here for convenience.

(2.14) *Profesoras especializadas están dictando cursos*

‘Specialized professors are giving courses’

(2.13) *Se están dictando cursos por profesoras especializadas*

‘Courses are being given by specialized professors.’

Example (2.14) is active and (2.13) is passive. The agent *profesoras especializadas*, positioned to the left of the verb in the active sentence, is expressed in the oblique *por profesoras especializadas* in the *se* passive sentence. This corresponds to (1) in the passive characterization above. The patient, *cursos*, is expressed in the subject role as evidenced by the subject/verb agreement between *cursos*, a third person plural entity, and *están* the third person plural conjugation of the verb *estar* along with the positioning of *cursos* to the left of the verb in the passive sentence. This corresponds to (2) in the above passive characterization. Finally, the addition of the particle indicates a change from active to passive and corresponds to (3) in the passive characterization above. This shows that both the periphrastic and the *se* passive fit the characterization of the passive above. It is important to point out that the acceptability of sentences that include a *por*-phrase like (2.13) above, has been a point of discussion among linguistics, which I address in the next section.

2.2.5 Perspectives on the inclusion of the *por*-phrase with the *se* passive

In this section, I will discuss the perspectives on the inclusion of the *por*-phrase in the developing *se* passive construction.

According to Melis (2007), “nowadays, the reflexive passive is subject to a restriction that is often discussed among grammarians: the difficulty of admitting the agent phrase with *por*” (p.70). While it is true that admitting agent phrases with *por* is generally restricted in Spanish, there are authors who have shown that the phenomenon does exist. According to Croft (2001), A, which I refer to as the A₁ in my research, “may be expressed as an oblique” (p. 313). Croft goes on to say that the overt expression of the A₁ is “rejected by some speakers,” but the example below is “an attested utterance (overheard 23 May 2000):

(36) **Se** am **-a** **por** la gente
 3REFL love **-3SG** **by** the people

‘He/She/It [King Juan Carlos (implied)] is loved by the people’” (2001, p. 313).

This particular example has an A₂ that is not present in the text because the referent, ‘King Juan Carlos,’ is implied from the context. The A₁, which in this case is an agent because it is both human and is the doer of the action, is present in the oblique *por la gente*.

Other authors have documented *se* passive constructions that include the *por*-phrase with an agent as well. García (1975) states that “a blend between the [regular passive and the impersonal] has developed in some varieties..., namely, the impersonal *se* is found to co-occur with an expressed agent, as in

Se firmaron las paces por los embajadores

‘The peace was signed by the ambassadors...’”(p. 15).

Here, there is an A₂ to the right of the verb and an agent in the oblique *por los embajadores*.

García (1975) goes on to explain that the above example “is not characteristic of a careful style of speech” and that “the ‘regular passive’, on which it rests, is not a frequent... device of Spanish” (p. 16). The ‘regular passive,’ which is what García calls the periphrastic passive, is

one aspect of the mix from which the *se* passive construction developed. She also points out that the periphrastic passive is not commonly used in Spanish. In fact, “the [periphrastic] passive in Spanish is restricted to journalistic prose, radio, and television news and sports speech, and literary prose. The construction is virtually non-existent in colloquial, conversational Spanish” (Schulz, 1982, p. 76). Since the periphrastic passive itself is not very common, the *se* passive constructions are particularly interesting from a research perspective, especially given that they often appear in registers where the periphrastic passive does not appear, for example in speech. Due to the grammatical complexity of the periphrastic passive comparative to the developing *se* passive, it seems intuitive that the *se* passive would be preferred over the periphrastic passive, particularly in speech.

Despite García’s claim that *se* passives with *por*-phrases are not “characteristic of a careful style of speech,” I contend that in some varieties, including the Mexican and Cuban varieties, the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase is being used in situations where a careful style of speech might be used, for example, as might be found in interviews (1975, p. 16). The reflexive passive, which is what I refer to as the *se* passive, is the predominant passive construction in both spoken language and written texts; in fact, there are grammarians who suggest that the recent increase in the use of the *se* passive is threatening to make the periphrastic passive disappear (Real Academia Española 1973, §3.5.2c y 3.12.9) (cited in Melis, p. 50). However, this increase in *se* passive constructions over the time referred to by the Real Academia Española has appeared to be mostly restricted to *se* passive constructions without the *por*-phrase. With that said, there are a number of varieties of Spanish, including the Mexican and Cuban varieties, that appear to be moving toward allowing the inclusion of the *por*-phrase.

I agree with those grammarians who believe that the periphrastic passive will probably give way to the *se* passive, at least in some varieties like the Mexican and Cuban varieties. In this research, I show that prototypical agents in *se* passive constructions in those varieties actually exist, which may allow for the *se* passive to slowly make the periphrastic passive obsolete. However, this is not happening in all varieties of Spanish. It cannot be claimed with certainty that all varieties will adopt the changes that have been made in a few varieties. However, it is clear that a construction that was previously marginal is becoming more and more common, and with the increase in the frequency of the use of the *se* passive construction, there is a possibility of the periphrastic passive becoming obsolete. In order for the *se* passive to make the periphrastic passive obsolete, the inclusion of a prototypical agent in a *por*-phrase should be a viable option in the *se* passive construction and this change should take place in most, if not all, varieties because the periphrastic passive is the only passive construction for which the inclusion of the agent in a *por*-phrase is acceptable in all varieties. In order to get a full understanding of the *se* passive construction, it is important to address the agentivity of the entities in the *por*-phrase by developing a characterization for the actors that are able to appear in the *por*-phrase. It is also important to develop a characterization of the transitivity of the entire sentence. Both of these aspects of *se* passive constructions will be described in the methods sections 3.2.4.1 and 3.2.4.3. It is also useful to get a clearer idea of the historical development of the Spanish passive in general.

2.2.6 Historical development of the passive and its constraints

In this section, I discuss the literature related to the development of the passive in Spanish. I show that the periphrastic passive was previously the preferred form of the passive and that the constraints on the *se* passive have previously kept it from making the periphrastic

passive obsolete. I also discuss the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase, which I believe to be replacing the periphrastic passive in some varieties of Spanish, and the treatment it has received by the authors studying its historical development.

Melis (2007) is a study of the *se* passive construction, which she refers to as the “reflexive passive” (p. 50). It is important to note before addressing her findings that the *se* constructions used in her analysis may or may not have been able to include *por*-phrases with A₁S, and her research did not indicate how many of the constructions included *por*-phrases. While some of the constructions in her research could be truncated passives, it is also possible that many of the *se* passives she refers to could be interpreted as middles and therefore would not be *se* passive constructions according to the characterization outlined above in Section 2.2.4. The types of constructions that Melis considers *se* passive will be discussed later in this section.

Melis (2007) studied the gradual development of the passive use of *se* that we see today. The texts used in her analysis include two chronologies, one from the thirteenth century and one that includes a group of texts produced between 1435 and 1582 (Melis, 2007, p. 53). She further divided the chronologies into groups of texts that correspond to specific portions of the 13th, 15th, and 16th centuries. According to Melis, it was not necessary to include data past the 16th century since the uses of *se* at that point were comparable to the uses of *se* nowadays (2007, p. 53). The following table indicates the change over time of the periphrastic and reflexive passives without taking into account the causative versus agentive events, which will be addressed later. The data is broken down into three stages with stage one consisting of two time periods and stages two and three corresponding only to one time period each.

Table 2.2: Diachronic research of the competition between the two passives

	<i>Periphrastic passive</i>	<i>Reflexive passive</i>
1 st stage		
13 th century	(285) 66%	(147) 34%
Middle of the 15 th century	(290) 73%	(106) 27%
2 nd stage		
Transition 15 th -16 th century	(298) 53%	(267) 47%
3 rd stage		
Second half of the 16 th century	(74) 20%	(302) 80%

(Melis, 2007, p. 55).

Table 2.2 shows that the most frequent form of the passive voice in the thirteenth century was the periphrastic. This changed, however, and the percentage of periphrastic passive use by the second half of the sixteenth century was less than one third of what it had been. On the other hand, the use of the *se* passive grew from thirty-four to eighty percent between the thirteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth century. According to Melis (2007), in the transition between the 15th and 16th centuries, *se* passive use quickly expanded until, at the end of the 16th century, the *se* passive ended up being the preferred way to express the passive and has continued to be the preferred passive in the 21st century (p. 51-53). Although the data show growth in the use of the *se* passive, it is important to note that these numbers may be inflated because Melis included a number of constructions that could be considered middle constructions. She is also referring to constructions that may or may not have *por*-phrases with A_{1S} since historically their inclusion in *se* passives was restricted. These concerns will be addressed later in this section.

Aside from doing research on periphrastic versus reflexive passives, Melis also researched the development of two passive categorizations: causative or agentive. Causative *se* passives, according to Melis, are passives in which the event is provoked by a cause rather than

an agent (2007, p. 52). According to Melis, causes denote generally inanimate entities that are often characterized by “diffuse limits” and “remote properties” in comparison with those entities that usually ‘participate’ in events” (2007, p. 63). She elaborates saying that typically causatives choose inanimate subjects from nature that are neither sentient nor volitional (Melis, 2007, p. 57). This is in contrast with agentives, which according to Melis, have implied agents that are human and act voluntarily and intentionally (2007, p. 51). Melis (2007) says that causative verbs denote a change in state, which can be physical (*engordar* ‘to fatten,’ *ensuciar* ‘to dirty’ *secar* ‘to dry,’ *purificar* ‘to purify,’ *romper* ‘to break’) or mental (*aburrir* ‘to bore,’ *enojar* ‘to anger,’ *alegrar* ‘to make someone happy,’ *preocupar* ‘to worry,’ *asustar* ‘to scare’) (p. 56-57). Examples of Melis’ physical and mental changes of state can be seen in (2.32) and (2.33), respectively.

(2.32) *El oro se purifica con fuego*

‘Gold is purified with fire’

(2.33) *Él se aburrió de ver películas*

‘He got tired (became bored) of watching movies’

Notice that the cause is included in an oblique that is not headed by *por*. While the obliques in (2.32) and (2.33) are the clear causes of the changes of state in the examples, these types of constructions were not included in my research because the inclusion of the *por*-phrase is what connects the *se* passive to the periphrastic passive. Furthermore, many of the verbs referred to here as causative passives would not be considered passive by all grammarians. Many grammarians only consider a passive authentic if it has an agent that acts voluntarily and intentionally (Melis, 2007, p. 51). However, Melis points out that there are authors that include both agents and causes when defining the passive (Barber 1975:21; Harris 1978:186; Siewierska

1984:258; Mendikoetxea 199a 25.1.3) (cited in Melis, 2007, p. 51). It is important to note that some of the causatives used by Melis appear to be middles rather than passives, as in (2.34).

(2.34) *Los niños se ensucian cuando juegan afuera.*

‘Kids get dirty when they play outside’

Although the verb *ensuciar* can be transitive, here it is a middle with no implied agent because it is used with *se* and the referent of *los niños* is intrinsically prone to getting dirty. This can also be the case with many of the other causative verbs used in Melis’ research. This is important because it is not clear if Melis included middle constructions with these verbs in her passive category.

Part of Melis’ research on the passive is shown in Table 2.3 below. The sentences are first categorized as either causative or agentive which are each further divided into periphrastic and reflexive passives, which I refer to as *se* passives. This results in four different categorizations of sentences: Causative periphrastic passives, causative reflexive passives, agentive periphrastic passives, and agentive reflexive passives. The percentages in the table show the historical development of the reflexive passives and the percentages of periphrastic passives in each category. The percentages in each row equal two hundred percent, one hundred percent for causative events and one hundred percent for agentive events. It is also important to note that the table only includes the historical development up through the second half of the sixteenth century because, according to Melis, the uses of *se* at that point were comparable to the uses of *se* nowadays (2007, p. 53).

Table 2.3: Progression of *se* from causes toward agents

	Causative events		Agentive events	
	<i>Periphrastic passives</i>	<i>Reflexive passives</i>	<i>Periphrastic passives</i>	<i>Reflexive passives</i>
1 st stage				
13 th century	(66) 36%	(117) 64%	(219) 88%	(30) 12%
15 th century (middle)	(32) 39%	(50) 61%	(258) 82%	(56) 18%
2 nd stage				
Transition (15 th -16 th)	(25) 20%	(102) 80%	(273) 62%	(165) 38%
3 rd stage				
16 th century (2 nd half)	(4) 3%	(112) 97%	(70) 27%	(190) 73%

(Melis, 2007, p. 65).

Table 2.3 shows that as time passed, the uses of reflexive passives increased for both the causative and agentive events. The percentages of causative reflexive passives started out much higher and ended up accounting for almost one hundred percent of the causative events by the second half of the sixteenth century. By that time, the use of the reflexive passive for agentive events jumped from only twelve percent in the thirteenth century to seventy-three percent by the second half of the sixteenth century.

Melis' research demonstrates that the periphrastic passive, at one time the principal form of the passive, had already begun to decline by the end of the sixteenth century, as evidenced by the fact that it accounts for only twenty percent of the usage of passives in Table 2.2 above (2007, p. 65). Table 2.3 above also shows that the reflexive passive became the most prevalent form of the passive by the 1600s. Melis says that those numbers are the same as the numbers nowadays, but I would argue that the development of the *se* passive has continued because *por-* phrases have started to emerge in the *se* passive construction.

Although Melis brings to light some very interesting trends with respect to the passive, there are aspects of her analysis that appear to be lacking. The most noteworthy one was the four-part test Melis used to verify if a sentence was passive. Each sentence had to have a transitive verb whose subject had been eliminated and whose former object had been moved into the subject position, which was tested by subject verb agreement between the patient and the verb (Melis, p. 50, 2007). However, by choosing to include only sentences whose underlying subject had been eliminated, she left out a number of passive sentences that would have informed her research because some *se* constructions have A₁s that are included in the sentence as an oblique. This can be seen in (2.13), repeated here for convenience.

(2.13) *Se están dictando cursos por profesoras especializadas*

‘Courses are being given by specialized professor’

It is also important to point out that it is difficult to tell the difference between a middle and a passive when using her test for passivity. In many cases, middle and passive *se* constructions look the same unless there is a *por*-phrase with an A₁, which makes it clearer that the construction is passive. For this reason, it is possible that she included middles in her passive research, which would have inflated her numbers. To avoid including middles in my analysis, I chose to address only passives with a *por*-phrase containing the A₁, which is the entity that would be the subject in the active sentence though not necessarily the agent since some of the *por*-phrases in my analysis included instruments as well.

Even though Melis indicated that the *se* passive construction became the predominant way to form the passive, there are still some aspects of the development of the *se* passive that are important to address. The *se* passive has some constraints that the periphrastic passive does not have. During the latter half of the 20th century, Monge (1955: 43) pointed out that “*se*

expressions are overwhelmingly preferred when the agent is impersonal, for known (and particularly for explicitly mentioned) agents, the favoured expression is by means of *ser* + past participle” (cited in García, 1975, p.15). This shows that even sixty years ago, the inclusion of the *por*-phrase with the *se* passive construction was not common. This is because the inclusion of a *por*-phrase with the *se* passive is a relatively new phenomenon in some varieties of Spanish and a phenomenon that does not exist in others.

On the other hand, it is very rare to see the periphrastic passive associated with a cause; in fact many authors affirm that the periphrastic passive always presupposes a human agent (for example, Maldonado 1999:292) (Melis, 2007, p.69). The unlikelihood of a periphrastic passive being associated with a cause could be part of what allowed the *se* passive to expand since the *se* passive are more common with causative events than with agentive events. According to Melis, the situation in which the periphrastic passive is most often preferred over the *se* passive construction is when the entity in the *por*-phrase has the properties of a prototypical agent (Mendikoetxea 1999b, §26.3.1.2-3; Cabañas Maya 2005) (cited in Melis, 2007, p. 69). That makes sense since the inclusion of *por*-phrases in *se* passive constructions is not yet an accepted convention in all varieties of Spanish. However, Melis says, based on her research, that today the *se* passive is the preferred passive form even though the periphrastic passive is used when the A₁ in the passive construction is an agent that is concrete, intentional, and prominent in the discourse (2007, p. 71).

Aside from the unlikelihood of periphrastic passives being used with causative events, there are other constraints that may have allowed for the growth of the *se* passive. According to Butt and Benjamin (2011), there are eight constraints on the periphrastic passive and they are:

- (a) The passive must not be used when the subject of the passive sentence would be an indirect object (in the active sentence)... Nor should the passive with *ser* be used when the object of the verb in the active sentence takes the third-person pronoun *le* or *les*...
- (b) The passive is not usual when the subject of *ser* has no article...
- (c) The passive is rarely used with a present or imperfect tense to denote a single action...
- (d) The passive is not used in reciprocal constructions...
- (e) A phrase consisting of preposition + noun or pronoun cannot become the subject of a Spanish passive sentence... Spanish sentences cannot end with prepositions...
- (f) The Spanish passive cannot be used in constructions that involved verbs of seeing, hearing, etc., followed by an infinitive...
- (g) Unattributed beliefs or opinions of the sort ‘it is said that...’, ‘it is believed that’, ‘people thought that’, are translated by a *se* construction: *se dice que*, *se cree que*, *se pensaba que*...
- (h) The passive is not used with a large number of verbs....As a general rule it seems that verbs commonly used in everyday conversation are less likely to appear in the passive form than verbs usually associated with formal or written language...(p. 394-395).

The Spanish periphrastic passive differs greatly from the passive in English. In English, the promotion of both direct and indirect objects to subject position is acceptable. Constraint (a) above indicates that this is not possible in Spanish, as can be seen in (2.35).

(2.35) **Ella fue enviada una carta*

‘She was sent a letter (“neither Spanish nor intelligible”)’ (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 394).

The sentence above would be grammatical with the exclusion of *ella*, and it would only mean ‘a letter was sent.’ If *ella* were replaced with the indirect object pronoun *le*, the sentence would read ‘a letter was sent to her.’ However, there is no grammatical way to use the indirect object as the subject in Spanish passives.

The pronouns *le* and *les* present other issues for the periphrastic passive as well. As explained in (a) above, when the object of the verb in the active sentence requires the use of the pronouns *le* or *les*, the passive with *ser* cannot be used. This can be seen in (2.36) below.

(2.36) **Fue pegada por su marido*

‘(she) was hit by her husband’ (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 394).

The verb *pegar* in Spanish uses *le* and *les* as its direct object pronouns. This is in contrast with verbs like *abandonar* that use the typical direct object pronouns *lo*, *la*, *los*, and *las*. (2.37) and (2.38) show active sentences with these verbs.

(2.37) *Su marido le pegó*

‘Her husband beat her’

(2.38) *Su marido la abandonó*

‘Her husband abandoned her’ (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 394).

Both of these sentences have pronouns whose antecedent are A_{2S}, but only (2.38) allows for the use of the periphrastic passive. One possible explanation for this is that *le* and *les* are pronouns typically associated with indirect object antecedents, which could be related to why verbs that call for their use as direct object pronouns are generally not able to use the periphrastic passive.

Aside from issues with pronoun usage, the lack of article with the A₁ is not common with the periphrastic passive, as can be seen in (2.39).

(2.39) **Naranjas son vendidas aquí*

'Oranges are sold here' (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 394).

The A₂ does not have an article, which makes the sentence ungrammatical. It is interesting to note though that example (2.40) is grammatical.

(2.40) *Se venden naranjas aquí*

'Oranges for sale' (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 394).

Butt and Benjamin chose to translate (2.40) without attention to the verb. There is subject/verb agreement between *venden* and *naranjas*, which makes the A₂ the subject of the sentence. My translation of that sentence would be *'Oranges are sold here,'* which is what the periphrastic passive translation would be if it were grammatical. The space left by the periphrastic constraint in (b) can be filled using the *se* passive.

Constraint (c) above indicates that single actions cannot be denoted with the present or imperfect tense when using the periphrastic passive. Example (2.41) below shows an example of the periphrastic passive using present and imperfect tenses.

(2.41) *La puerta es/era abierta por el porter*

'The door is/was opened by the doorman' (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 394).

The use of the present tense *es* indicates a habitual event as is the case with English, but the imperfect tense cannot denote a single event as is implied by the English translation. Instead according to "the Academy (Esbozo, 3.12.9c)," since the sentence is in the periphrastic passive, it "can only refer to a habitual or timeless event" (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 394).

Reciprocal constructions are typically the domain of the particle *se*, so constraint (d) above makes sense. Example (2.42) shows an ungrammatical passive reciprocal construction.

(2.42) * *Fueron vistos al uno por el otro*

'They were seen by one another' (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 394).

The passive tends to require an A₁ that is not the same as the A₂. Since the A₁ and A₂ are the same entity in (2.42), a reciprocal construction is required, which can be seen in (2.43).

(2.43) *Se vieron el uno al otro*

‘They were seen by one another’ (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 394).

In this case, the periphrastic passive is not able to be used where the reciprocal *se* construction is used.

Example (2.44) shows a periphrastic passive formed by the promotion to subject of a phrase consisting of a preposition and a noun or pronoun, as referred to in constraint (e) above.

(2.44) **Esta cama ha sido dormido en*

‘This bed has been slept in’ (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 394).

While this sentence is grammatical in English, the Spanish equivalent is not. According to Butt and Benjamin (2011), Spanish sentences never end with prepositions (outside the USA and Puerto Rico, where Spanish is heavily contaminated by English)” (p. 395). The “contamination” of other languages referred to by Butt and Benjamin could have contributed to the development of the *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase.

Constraint (f) disallows the use of an infinitive with perception verbs as in (2.45)

(2.45) **El avión fue visto estrellarse*

‘The plane was seen to crash’ (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 395).

The English translation is acceptable, but the Spanish is incomprehensible. However, the active sentence with an infinitive is grammatical as can be seen in (2.46).

(2.46) *Vi estrellarse el avión*

‘I saw the plane crash’ (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 395).

This is the only way to use an infinitive when using perception verbs like see and hear.

Constraint (g) above also connects to *se* constructions. (2.47) below shows that the periphrastic passive is ungrammatical with unattributed beliefs or opinions.

(2.47) **Es dicho que a dónde el corazón se inclina, el pie camina.*

‘It is said that home is where the heart is’

Instead of using the periphrastic passive, *se* constructions are used as in (2.48).

(2.48) *Se dice que a dónde el corazón se inclina, el pie camina.*

‘It is said that home is where the heart is’

This is another example of *se* constructions filling the gaps left by the constraints on the periphrastic passive.

Finally, constraint (h) just indicates that there are some verbs that don’t use the passive.

This can be seen in example (2.49).

(2.49) **La ventana fue rota por una piedra*

‘The window was broken by a stone’ (Butt and Benjamin, 2011, p. 395).

Even though there are no discernible grammatical constraints on verb *romper*, the sentence in (2.49) is still ungrammatical.

One final piece of information that is important with respect to the *ser* passive is that passives of “atelic activities are avoided in Spanish,” and that the acceptability of the passive improves if the sentence is “given a concrete end by means of a prepositional phrase,” which causes the passive to be “interpreted as an accomplishment” (Sanz, 2000, p.148). This can be seen in example (2.50) and (2.51).

(2.50) **El carrito fue empujado*

‘The cart was pushed’

(2.51) ?*El carrito fue empujado hasta la puerta*

‘The cart was pushed to the door’ (Sanz, 2000, p.148).

Essentially, the addition of the prepositional phrase in (2.50) causes the sentence to have more of a telic interpretation making its more acceptable than (2.51).

These constraints on the *se* passive and the periphrastic passive are very important for this research because they will allow me to more clearly understand what types of mechanisms may have allowed for the *se* passive to become more frequent and for the periphrastic passive to become less so. Furthermore, since my research, unlike previous research, focuses solely on the developing *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases, I am able to identify more clearly the agentivity and transitivity trends related to the allowance of the *por*-phrase. The methods that I used to choose and analyze my data entries are addressed in the next section.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS OF ANALYSIS

In order to ascertain what path *se* is following in regard to its relationship to the passive, I performed an analysis of data retrieved from a corpus with both written and oral data. With the aid of seven colleagues in the field of Spanish studies, (specifically M.A. students of Spanish Language, Literatures, and Cultures), I searched for instances in which the clitic *se* was accompanied by a transitive verb and a *por*-phrase containing a noun phrase that could act as the subject in the corresponding active sentence, as in (3.1) and (3.2).

(3.1) *Se están dictando cursos por profesoras especializadas*

‘Courses are being given by specialized professors’

(3.2) *Profesoras especializadas están dictando cursos*

‘Specialized professors are giving courses’

I then analyzed the utterances based on the degree of transitivity of the verb and the denotation of the object of *por*, referred to as Argument 1 or A₁, the degree of agentivity of the A₁, and the degree of individuation of Arguments 1 and 2. Argument 2 or A₂ is used to refer to the subject of each data entry, which would be the object of the active sentence.

In this chapter, I describe the corpus that I used to gather my data and the method that I used to search for data entries. I go on to describe the selection and elimination of individual data entries. After that, I describe the tools I used to code the data.

3.1 The corpus

The data for this study was collected from Mark Davies’ Corpus del Español (www.corpusdelespanol.org). The corpus was funded by the US National Endowment for the Humanities and received support from Brigham Young University. The corpus is a 100-million

word corpus that includes texts from the 13th century through the 20th century. Those texts were obtained from a number of different sources. The major sources include Encarta, ABC Cultural 1991-1995, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, and (ARG) Corpus lingüístico de referencia de la lengua española en Argentina [Linguistic reference corpus of the Spanish language in Argentina], among many others. I used both written and oral data from the 1900s in my analysis. The main varieties represented in the 1900s for this corpus include varieties from countries like Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, and Spain. The varieties from the other Spanish-speaking countries are not as strongly represented in the 1900s section of the corpus.

The use of the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase is a recent development that some prescriptive grammarians still consider to be ungrammatical. This is because it is not used in all varieties of Spanish. For others grammarians, however, the grammaticality of the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase is evidenced by its increased usage in Spanish, particularly in certain varieties such as the Mexican and Cuban varieties. I chose to focus on the 20th century since the inclusion of the passive *se* construction with the *por*-phrase is still marginal in many varieties and non-existent in others. I also did this because historical studies of the *se* passive construction without a *por*-phrase have already been done, and addressing the *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases could lead to interesting findings with respect to the agentivity, transitivity, and individuation of the A_{1S} and A_{2S} in that data. As mentioned in Chapter 2, A₁ is the term I use to refer to the subject of the active sentence, and A₂ is used to refer to the subject of the passive sentence.

Aside from focusing on the 20th century, I chose to include oral data, which also came from Davies' corpus. It included interviews from a number of sources including, Chiapas (La República) [Chiapas (The Republic)], Partido PAN [National Action Party], Partido PRI

[Institutional Revolutionary Party], Habla culta [Educated Speech], and [ESP-ORAL] Corpus oral de referencia de la lengua española contemporánea [Oral reference corpus of contemporary Spanish language], including CORLEC, Corpus oral de referencia de la lengua española [Oral reference corpus of the Spanish Language]. Because I used oral data, I was able to find more examples of the passive *se* construction. This is because language change most often occurs in spoken language first before the change is incorporated into the written language.

The 1900s make up about 20 percent of Davies' corpus, so the corpus used in my study contained roughly 20,000,000 words, as can be seen in Table (3.1). As evidenced by the variety of sources shown in Table (3.1) below, this corpus contains variety variation, because of the inclusion of newspapers, interviews and literature from multiple locations within the Spanish-speaking world. However, it is not exhaustive and some varieties are more robustly represented than others. It is also important to note that the only variety information addressed in this study is country of origin; however, multiple varieties can exist within a single country. Furthermore, some of the sources for Davies' corpus are not specific to one variety or another. In some cases, it was necessary to look at the additional information for the data entries in order to ascertain which variety of Spanish they represented.

The inclusion of multiple varieties of Spanish is important for this study because the use of the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase is more acceptable in some varieties than in others. Based on my research, the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase is most common in the Spanish and Mexican varieties. However, examples of the developing *se* passive with a *por*-phrase can be found in multiple varieties as well as within a number of different mediums. Further discussion of my research will be addressed later in Chapter 4.

Table (3.1)

Category	Number of Words	Number/Type of Text	Sources
1900s-Academic	5,138,077	2931 articles	Encarta
1900s-News	5,144,631	6810 articles	ABC Cultural 1991-95 Noticias-Argentina-La Prensa Noticias-Argentina-El Cronista Noticias-Bolivia-ERBOL Noticias-Perú-Caretas Noticias-Colombia-Semana Noticias-Cuba/EEUU-CubaNet
1900s-Literature	5,144,073	850 novels/ short stories	Biblioteca Virtual [BYU] Humanities Research Center, Brigham Young University [ARG] Corpus lingüístico de referencia de la lengua española en Argentina [CHILE]Corpus lingüístico de referencia de la lengua española en Chile Proyecto Sherezade Babosa.com Ficticiosa.com
1900s-Oral	5,113,249	2040+ interviews and transcripts	Habla culta [ESP-ORAL] Corpus oral de referencia de la lengua española contemporánea, including CORLEC Corpus Oral de Referencia de la Lengua Española Cortes de Castilla-La Mancha Congreso de España ABC Cultural 1991-95 Chiapas (La República)- Entrevista Ernesto Zedillo- Entrevistas/discursos Fidel Castro-Entrevistas/discursos Partido PAN-Entrevistas Partido PRI-Entrevistas

3.1.1 Method of searching

I collected my data by running a search in the Corpus del Español. I looked for instances of *se* that have *por* as a collocate within six words to its right. My rationale for that choice is related to the prototypical grammar of the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase. *Se* passives generally begin with *se* and are followed by a transitive verb. Although the subject of the *se* passive construction tends to appear to the right of the verb, it is possible for the subject to appear to the left of *se*. The *por*-phrase will appear to the right of the subject, if the subject is after the verb. In the case that the subject precedes *se*, the *por*-phrase will appear to the right of the verb. Verb phrases tend to be one or two words in Spanish, and subjects can include multiple words. Allowing for the collocate *por* within six words of *se* allows for a two word verb phrase and a three word subject phrase or a one word verb phrase and a four word subject phrase. This search should allow for the inclusion of most of the developing *se* passive constructions with *por* ‘by’ without including too many examples where *por* is used as a preposition with a different interpretation than that of oblique with an A_1 .

3.1.2 Selection of data

There were 2,358 instances of *se* that had *por* as a collocate within six words to its right for the 1900s oral portion of the corpus and 14,268 instances for the 1900s written portion of the corpus. Entries from the oral portion as well as the written portion of the corpus were examined. A group of colleagues in the field of Spanish studies aided me in deciding whether or not each entry fit into my *se* passive research. The group consisted of MA students and graduates whose primary focus was Spanish linguistics some of whom were native speakers of Spanish. Each member of the group was instructed to search for instances of *se* used with a transitive verb and followed by a *por*-phrase that included a noun phrase complement that could serve as a subject in a corresponding active sentence, which made it very likely that they would find the developing

se passive constructions with a *por*-phrase. If the native speakers determined that the A₁ could be placed in the subject position with the A₂ in the object position, then the utterance would be recorded for later analysis. All data selection sessions were done in groups and any questions about the acceptability of an entry were addressed during those sessions.

3.1.3 Data eliminated

All *se* constructions that did not meet the selection criteria outlined above were discarded. In order to allow for some simple statistical analysis, fifty of the data entries that matched the search criteria were included in the final analysis though only a small percentage (18%) of those entries were *se* passives with a human agent in the *por*-phrase rather than an instrument or author. This is important to note for two reasons. First, some *se* constructions differ from the *se* passive construction being addressed here only in that the A₁ is not present in an oblique. This can be seen in (3.3).

(3.3) *Se están dictando cursos*

‘Courses are being given.’

Second, *se* constructions can be followed by obliques that are not agentive, some of which are headed by *por*. Examples (3.4) through (3.9) show the range of *por*-phrases.

(3.4) *Se persigió al ladrón por toda la ciudad*

‘The thief was chased throughout the city’

(3.5) *Son instituciones que se crean por la Ley del Seguro Social*

‘They are institutions that are created through/by Social Security Law’

(3.6) *Cálculos biliares se curan por el aceite*

‘Gallstones are cured through [the use of] / by oil’

(3.7) *Se emiten sonidos por cuerpos móviles*

‘Sounds are emitted by moving bodies’

- (3.8) *La logística que específicamente se acuerde o se pueda diseñar por una comisión específica*

‘The logistics that are specifically agreed on or that can be designed by a specific committee’

- (3.9) *Se están dictando cursos por profesoras especializadas*

‘Courses are being given by specialized professors’

Example (3.4) is a clear example of the prepositional use of a *por*-phrase corresponding to ‘through’ in English. (3.5) appears to be somewhat ambiguous, where *por* could be translated as either ‘through’ or ‘by,’ but the A₁ is at least partially responsible for the creation of the institutions referred in the sentence. Example (3.6) has a *por*-phrase with a noun phrase complement that can be used as a subject in the corresponding active but that is clearly not a prototypical agent, rather an instrument, as evidenced by the fact that *aceite*, ‘oil’ is inanimate. (3.7) takes a step closer to prototypical agentivity in that the A₁ is at least animate, but it is not human. At this point, there is less ambiguity with respect to the translation of *por*, but the A₁ is not completely agentive. Example (3.8) has an A₁ that represents a group of people, which is more agentive than (3.7). Finally, (3.9) has a *por*-phrase with an A₁ that is clearly an agent. Since the purpose of this study is to address the development of the *se* passive, I included the *se* constructions that have A₁s that are not prototypical agents in the *por*-phrase in my analysis. For example, A₁s like those in (3.5) through (3.8). This is because instruments can sometimes occur in subject position, which allows for the passive/active contrast. This can be seen in (3.10).

- (3.10) *Cuerpos móviles emiten sonidos*

‘Moving bodies emit sounds’

In this example, the A₁ from (3.7) is placed in subject position and the A₂ is in object position. This is in contrast with the passive formation of (3.7).

3.2 Coding of data

After the selection of appropriate data, each data entry was given a score for degree of transitivity out of seven points and a score for degree of agentivity out of five points. Both transitivity and agentivity included a number of parameters including the degree of individuation for the A₁ and A₂. The two scores were added together to come up with a final voice score, which could be from zero to twelve, with the most prototypical passives scoring closer to twelve, and the sentences with lower scores being more closely related to middles. Data entries were then organized based on their voice score. The following sections describe the theoretical underpinnings of the transitivity and agentivity data analysis tools.

3.2.1 Transitivity

In this section, I discuss the parameters of transitivity as described by Hopper and Thompson (1980). I also give examples in Spanish of each characteristic mentioned in their discussion of transitivity. These parameters are used to create the transitivity analysis, part of the voice analysis. However, it is important to note that I do not use all of the parameters listed in Hopper and Thompson's description of transitivity because some of the parameters that are included as part of transitivity are also related to agentivity. Furthermore, some of the parameters are not relevant to this particular research.

According to Hopper and Thompson, there are ten separate parameters that one can use in order to measure the degree of transitivity in a clause. Each parameter can be categorized as either high or low transitivity, which is another aspect of their description that I modify for the purposes of this research. Their parameters are as follows:

Parameter	High	Low
A. Participants	2 or more participants, A [agent] and O [object].	1 participant
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

(Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 252).

One of the most salient parameters of transitivity is the number of participants. Ditransitive verbs have three participants, standard transitive verbs have two participants and intransitive verbs have only one. Hopper and Thompson argue that “no transfer at all can take place unless at least two participants are involved,” indicating that clauses with two or more participants fall higher within the transitivity classification than do clauses with only one participant (1980, p. 252). They do not differentiate between three- and two-participant verbs. Examples (3.11) and (3.12) show high transitivity, but (3.13) shows low transitivity according to Hopper and Thompson’s transitivity classification.

(3.11) *Él tira la pelota*

‘He throws the ball’

(3.12) *Él me dio un regalo*

‘He gave me a gift’

(3.13) *Él llora*

‘He cries’

In (3.11), the verb *tirar* is a transitive verb that has two participants, *él* and *la pelota*. Since it has two participants, it has high transitivity. (3.12) has a verb *dar* that is ditransitive, with three participants, *él*, *me*, and *un regalo*. It also has high transitivity, but its degree of transitivity is not differentiated from that of (3.11). (3.13), on the other hand, is intransitive and has only one participant, *él*, which gives it low transitivity according to Hopper and Thompson’s transitivity characterization.

The next parameter of transitivity is kinesis, which Hopper and Thompson describe simply as action or non-action, with actions being something done or performed and having higher transitivity (1980, p. 252). (3.11) above could be used as an example of an action. A non-action would be a state, such as (3.14).

(3.14) *El niño ama a su madre*

‘The child loves his mother’

This example has high transitivity because of the number of participants, but for kinesis it has low transitivity.

Aspect is the next parameter discussed. Because aspect includes both telicity and punctuality, I chose to refer to this parameter as telicity rather than aspect. According to Hopper & Thompson, “an action viewed from its endpoint, i.e. telic action, is more effectively transferred to a patient than one not provided with such an endpoint” (1980, p. 252). “Following Krifka (1998: 207, (37)), a predicate is telic iff for any event it describes it does not describe any

non-initial, non-final subevent of that event” (cited in Beavers, 2012, p. 28). Essentially, this means that if an event and a subevent of that same event can be described using the same sentence, then the event is atelic. They argue that telic actions are “more effectively transferred to a patient” than atelic actions because with atelic actions, “the transferral is only partially carried out” (1980, p. 252). In Spanish, (3.15) is telic, whereas (3.16) is atelic.

(3.15) *Él comió toda la cena*

‘He ate all of his dinner’

(3.16) *Él está comiendo*

‘He is eating’

In (3.15), there is a total transfer of the action to the patient, but in (3.16), the transfer is only partial.

The next parameter discussed is punctuality. Punctual actions are “actions carried out with no obvious transitional phase between inception and completion” whereas non-punctual actions are those that are “inherently on-going” (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 252). For example, the action in (3.17) is punctual as there is no transitional phase between inception and completion.

(3.17) *Él llegó a Denver*

‘He arrived in Denver’

An example of a non-punctual action is (3.18), which is durative.

(3.18) *Él llevó la mochila*

‘He carried the backpack’

Hopper and Thompson posit that “the effect on a patient is typically more apparent when the A [agent] is presented as acting purposefully,” so they include

volitionality as a parameter (1980, p. 252). Example (3.19) is a volitional act, whereas (3.20) is not volitional.

(3.19) *Max escribió una carta*

‘Max wrote a letter’

(3.20) *Olvidé mis llaves*

‘I forgot my keys’

In (3.19), the doer purposefully sits down to write a composition, but in (3.20), the doer does not purposefully forget his keys.

Affirmation is simply an indicator of whether the sentence is in the affirmative or the negative. An affirmative clause has high transitivity while a negative one has low transitivity. This is because “negation is a digression into a possible but non-real world,” which changes “the effectiveness with which the action takes place” (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 287). In Spanish, negative clauses are generally made by adding the word *no* to the sentence. (3.19) above is an affirmative sentence and (3.20) is the negative.

(3.19) *Max no escribió una carta*

‘Max didn’t write a letter’

Mode refers to realis versus irrealis. Realis refers to an action “whose occurrence is actually asserted as corresponding directly with a real event,” while irrealis refers to “an action which either did not occur, or which is presented as occurring in a non-real ... world” (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 252). Conditionals provide good examples of irrealis, while preterits provide good examples of realis: (3.20) is in the conditional, while (3.21) is in the preterit.

(3.20) *Si yo tuviera dinero, compraría un castillo*

‘If I had money, I would buy a castle.’

(3.21) *Gasté todo mi dinero*

‘I spent all of my money’

The conditional in (3.20) creates a non-real world in which the interlocutor has money, making it unreal; (3.21), on the other hand, includes an event that occurs in life, making it real.

With respect to Agency, Hopper and Thompson contend that “participants high in Agency can effect a transfer of an action in a way that those low in Agency cannot,” which means that higher agency corresponds with higher transitivity (1980, p. 252). For example, an animate agent, like *profesoras especializadas* ‘specialized professors’ would be higher in potency than an inanimate instrument, like *aceite* ‘oil.’ This can be seen in (3.6) and (3.9), repeated here for convenience.

(3.6) *Cálculos biliares se curan por el aceite*

‘Gallstones are cured through [the use of] / by oil’

(3.9) *Se están dictando cursos por profesoras especializadas*

‘Courses are being given by specialized professors’

In (3.6), *aceite* is the means by which the gallstones are cured, but in (3.9) the *cursos* would not exist without the *profesoras especializadas* giving them.

Another parameter discussed is affectedness of the object, which is described as “the degree to which an action is transferred to a patient” (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 252). This parameter measures how completely affected the object is by the event referred to by the verb phrase. A sentence that has an object that is completely created or destroyed, for example, has higher transitivity than a sentence that has an object that is not affected to that degree. Hopper and Thompson do not differentiate affectedness of the object beyond establishing if the object is totally affected or not affected, and they do not address affected versus effected objects.

Examples of a totally affected O, a partially affected O, and an O that is not affected can be seen in (3.22), (3.23), and (3.24), respectively

(3.22) *Max escribió una composición*

‘Max wrote a composition’

(3.23) *El hombre besó a Sara*

‘The man kissed Sara’

(3.24) *El hombre la miró a Sara*

‘The man looked at Sara’

In (3.22), the patient is created by the agent through the action denoted by the verb, making it totally affected. In (3.23), on the other hand, the action denoted by the verb does not totally affect the object since it neither creates nor destroys it, but it does partially affect it. Finally, (3.24) has an action that does not affect the object.

The final parameter is individuation of the object, and the criteria for individuation are as follows:

Individuated	Non-individuated
proper	common
human, animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
singular	plural
count	mass
referential, definite	non-referential

(Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 253).

Essentially, individuation of the object “refers to both the distinctness of the patient from the A and to its distinctness from its own background” (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 252).

According to Hopper and Thompson’s table, highly individuated objects contribute to a higher degree of transitivity in sentences than non-individuated objects (1980, p. 252). A description of the criteria for individuation that Hopper & Thompson set out here can be found in Section 3.2.3 below.

Hopper and Thompson’s detailed criteria for classifying the degree of transitivity of clauses is invaluable to this study, particularly in conjunction with the analysis tool for degree of agentivity, which will be described later in this chapter. These criteria are part of the development of the transitivity analysis tool.

3.2.2 Description of the transitivity analysis tool

In this section, I describe the transitivity analysis tool that I use to categorize my data. I have chosen to use Hopper and Thompson’s transitivity classification, described in Section 3.3.1, with some modifications (1980, p. 252). I have included their characterization here for convenience.

Parameter	High	Low
A. Participants	2 or more participants, A [agent] and O [object].	1 participant
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative

G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

(Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 252).

Since the data being addressed consists of clauses that have an A₂ in subject position and an A₁ in an oblique, there are at least two participants in each entry. The type of participants in each entry varies, but those variations are addressed elsewhere in the analysis. For that reason, it is not necessary to address the number of participants (Parameter A) for each data entry in this study. Kinesis, aspect (referred to as telicity), punctuality, affirmation, and mode (Parameters B, C, D, F, and G) are all relevant to the transitivity of the sentence and were included as part of the transitivity analysis for this research. Agency (Parameter H) is important to this research because of the varying degrees of agentivity of the A₁s present in an oblique. However, it is addressed only superficially in this transitivity classification, so in order to address the degree of agentivity in more depth, I removed agency (Parameter H) in favor of using the agentivity analysis tool, to be addressed in Section 3.3.4.1 I chose to use the word agentivity in this research because it is the word used by many of the authors whose works I used for this research. Also, volitionality (Parameter E) is addressed in the agentivity analysis so it was removed as well. Addressing agentivity separately allows for a more detailed look at the A₁s, which are an integral part of this research. The last two parameters, Parameter I (affectedness of A₂) and Parameter J (individuation of A₂), address the A₂ and were included as part of the transitivity analysis because the effect of the action on the A₂ is linked to the transitivity of the sentence.

Each data entry was scored based on my modified classification schema, which includes the following parameters: Kinesis, Telicity (referred to as Aspect in Hopper and Thompson), Punctuality, Polarity (referred to as Affirmation in Hopper and Thompson), Mode, Affectedness of A₂ (A₂ was referred to as O for Object in Hopper and Thompson), and Individuation of A₂ (also O). The following table is the tool I used to score each data entry on its degree of transitivity.

Analysis Tool 1- Transitivity

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action		Non-action
Telicity	Telic		Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual		Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative		Negative
Mode	Realis		Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected		A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ (degree of individuation)	Highly Individuated		non-individuated
Transitivity Score =			

The total score of a data entry was based on whether the entry fell in the HIGH or LOW column with respect to each parameter. If the clause fell into the HIGH column for a parameter, one point was added to the transitivity score for that clause. If the clause fell into the LOW column for a parameter, no points were added. For any parameters that had something other than a binary choice, a fraction was added to the score. For example, if for Affectedness of A₂, the clause fell into the “A₂ partially affected” category, then .5 points was added to the score for that clause. Within this classification, the higher scores correlate with clauses that are closer to a

prototypical passive (a score around 7 being prototypical), while lower scores correlate more closely with middles.

In this study, “kinesis” was treated as a binary construct with action verbs falling in the HIGH column and receiving one point and non-action verbs (or states) falling in the LOW column and receiving no points. Because there were only two categories for the parameter “kinesis,” anything that was done or performed fell into the category of action, receiving one point. Anything that did not fit the definition of an action fell into the category of non-action, and, therefore, received no points. An example of an action verb is shown in (3.25). The verb *caminar* ‘to walk’ denotes an action. An example of a non-action verb is shown in (3.26). The verb *amar* ‘to love’ denotes a state, and is, therefore, a non-action verb.

(3.25) *Mi mamá caminó a casa*
‘My mom walked home’

(3.26) *Juan ama a su esposa*
‘Juan loves his wife’

The next parameter in the transitivity analysis is “telicity.” This parameter refers to whether or not the action is “viewed from its endpoint” (Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 252). Since there is not a clear test in Spanish to determine if an action is viewed from its endpoint, I chose to use Krifka’s (1998) definition of telicity, which allowed me to more easily determine if an action was telic or not. Their definition says that a predicate is telic “iff for any event it describes it does not describe any non-initial, non-final subevent of that event” (cited in Beavers, 2012, p. 28). Essentially, this means that if an event and a subevent of that same event can be described using the same sentence, then the event is atelic. This particular definition allowed for the creation of a clear test for telicity that could be used in this research. For example, (3.27) is telic. Describing any subevent of the event in (3.27) would require a change in the original verb

phrase or its A₂, as can be seen in (3.28). Because the original verb phrase cannot be used to describe the original event and a subevent, (3.27) is clearly telic, as is the subevent (3.28).

(3.27) *Él comió toda la cena*
'He ate all of his dinner'

(3.28) *Él comió parte de la cena*
'He ate part of his dinner'

Example (3.29), on the other hand, is atelic. It contains an event whose description can also describe subevents of the original event.

(3.29) *Él estaba comiendo la cena*
'He was eating dinner'

For example, if we assume he was eating dinner for an hour, we would use the same verb phrase and A₂ to describe each interval of time in the hour as in (3.30) and (3.31).

(3.30) *Él estaba comiendo la cena entre las seis y media y las seis menos veinte*
'He was eating dinner between 6:30 and 6:40'

(3.31) *Él estaba comiendo la cena entre las seis menos veinte y las seis menos diez*
'He was eating dinner between 6:40 and 6:50'

In both of these examples, there is no change in the verb phrase or A₂ describing the event from (3.29). The only change that occurs is in the time adverbials. Because (3.29) allows for this kind of division, it is clear that it is atelic, and therefore, receives no points. Example (3.27), on the other hand, does not allow for this kind of division because the only way to allow for subevents of (3.27) is by using a partitive construction, as in (3.28), which alters the A₂. Because the verb phrase in (3.27) cannot describe an event and its subevent without a change in the verb phrase or A₂, it is interpreted as telic and receives one point.

However, as a parameter telicity cannot be divided into a binary decision between telic and atelic because the effect of both the lexicon and the grammar need to be addressed. "Lexical

aspect is a property of verb phrases, whereas grammatical aspect is carried by tense and aspect morphology. Lexical and grammatical aspect are thus two separate categories of aspect” (Hout, 2008, p. 255). In this case, the research focuses on the effect that both of these have on telicity. These two categories of aspect work together to affect the degree of telicity of a verb phrase so that a verb phrase can be lexically telic, but its morphology can result in reduced telicity, as in (3.32).

(3.32) *La comparecencia se trasmite por radio*

‘The presentation is transmitted by radio’

(3.33) *Parte de la comparecencia se trasmite por radio.*

‘Part of the presentation is transmitted by radio’

The verb phrase and A₂ in (3.32) cannot be used to describe subevents of the original event. This can be seen in (3.33), where a partitive construction is necessary to create a subevent of (3.32). Since the event and subevent cannot be described by the same verb phrase and A₂, it is clear that (3.32) is lexically telic. However, the present tense often marks habitual events, as is the case in (3.32), so grammatical aspect mutes its telicity. Furthermore, according to Frawley (1992), “the perfect induces telic aspect because of its dual temporal structure” (p. 304). This means that verb phrases can be lexically telic and grammatically atelic or vice versa. In this research, when grammatical aspect contradicted lexical aspect, the telicity score was recorded at .5 points.

The next parameter addressed is “punctuality.” “Punctual events are *confined to moments*” and “do not take place in an interval” (Givón, 1975, p.194). The “punctuality” of the data entries was tested using phrases indicating lengths of time. In (3.34), the verb *conocer* ‘to meet’ corresponds to an action that occurs in a moment, so it is punctual and receives one point.

(3.34) *Él conoció a Sara*

‘He met Sara’

(3.35) **Él conoció a Sara por dos horas*

‘He met Sara for two hours’

(3.36) *Él ha conocido a Sara por dos horas*

‘He has known Sara for two hours’

(3.37) *Él llevó la mochila (por dos horas)*

‘He carried the backpack (for two hours)’

The punctuality of (3.34) can be seen through the addition of the phrase *por dos horas* as in (3.35). The addition of the time adverbial results in a sentence that is not grammatical, which indicates that (3.34) is punctual. In order for *por dos horas* to be acceptable in that sentence, the tense and aspect of the verb have to change, as can be seen in (3.36). However, the changes from (3.34) to (3.36) alter the meaning of the sentence as can be seen in the translation into English. In (3.34), *conocer* is translated as ‘to meet’ meaning “to know for the first time,” but in (3.36) it is translated as ‘to know’ rather than ‘to meet’ because the change in the verb phrase causes a change in the meaning. In contrast (3.37), easily allows for the addition of that same phrase without making the sentence ungrammatical because the event represented by the verb phrase takes place in an interval since one can ‘carry’ something for more than just a moment. Example (3.37) is, therefore, non-punctual and receives no points.

“Polarity,” referred to as affirmation by Hopper and Thompson, was the next parameter addressed. Affirmative sentences received one point and negative sentences received no points. There are a number of negative morphemes in Spanish; if those indicators are not present, the sentence is affirmative. Some of those negative morphemes include *no* ‘no/not,’ *nada* ‘nothing,’ *nadie* ‘no one,’ *ni* ‘nor,’ and *ningún/ninguno(s)/ninguna(s)* ‘not a single.’ The occurrence of any of these indicators in the data entries indicated that they were negative, receiving no points. For

example, both sentences below, (3.38) and (3.39), have indicators of negation, so they receive no points, but (3.40) is in the affirmative, which gives it one point.

(3.38) *Nadie sabe todo*
'No one knows everything'

(3.39) *No hablo alemán*
'I don't speak German'

(3.40) *Hablo inglés*
'I speak English'

The next parameter in the transitivity analysis is "Mode," which is divided into realis and irrealis. Realis entries received one point and irrealis ones received none. Data entries that fall under the category realis include most utterances in the indicative mood as in example (3.41) below.

(3.41) *Sara terminó su tarea*
'Sara finished her homework'

Irrealis is used to refer to multiple moods including the "subjunctive, optative, hypothetical, imaginary [and] conditional" moods (Siewierska, 1984, p. 16). Spanish does not have formal morphological categories that correspond to all of the moods mentioned above, but there are lexico-grammatical ways of expressing the mood. Examples (3.42) through (3.46) show instances of those types of constructions in Spanish and are all irrealis.

(3.42) *Quiero que me digas la verdad*
'I want you to tell me the truth'

(3.43) *Espero que estés bien*
'I hope that you're ok'

(3.44) *Si fuera rica, compraría un castillo*
'If I were rich, I'd buy a castle'

(3.45) *Si hubiera terminado mi tarea, habría ido al lago*

‘If I had finished my homework, I would have gone to the lake’

(3.46) *Si tengo tiempo, voy a limpiar mi casa*

‘If I have time, I’m going to clean my house’

(3.42) shows one use of the subjunctive in Spanish, which is most commonly used to indicate the uncertainty of the interlocutor with respect to the outcome of an event. The first verb *quiero* is in the indicative mood. However, many verbs including *querer* ‘to want’ require the use of the subjunctive in the following subordinate clause, as in example (3.42), where *digas* is in the subjunctive mood. (3.43) is an example of the optative, which is a mood that expresses a wish or hope. The first verb is in the indicative mood, and the verb *estés* is in the subjunctive mood, but the lexico-grammatical mood is optative because the entire sentence expresses a hope. (3.44) – (3.46) are all types of conditionals, which are events that require the realization of another event. (3.44) refers to a contrary-to-fact, hypothetical situation; (3.45) is imaginary; and (3.46) is a conditional. (3.44) uses the past subjunctive in the first clause and the conditional in the second. (3.45) uses the past perfect subjunctive in the first clause and the past perfect conditional in the second clause. (3.46) uses indicative inflections, but it uses the conditional *si* ‘if’- clause. In the *si*-clause, *tengo* is in the indicative mood, as is *voy a limpiar* in the second clause. Both of these clauses indicate the indicative mood; however, the inclusion of a *si*-clause makes this example conditional, which makes it irrealis.

The next parameter is affectedness of the A₂. “Affectedness is a semantic property having to do with verb meaning and the manner in which a verb’s arguments participate in the event the verb describes” (Tenny, 1994, p. 157). There are degrees of affectedness. As mentioned earlier in the discussion of Hopper and Thompson’s transitivity classification, objects that are *created* or *destroyed* by the event the verb describes are much more affected than are objects that are

minimally changed or even objects that perceive the action denoted by the verb. It is important to note that objects that are *created* are differentiated from objects that are simply affected by the event, but they were included in the classification for lack of a better place to include them. This parameter was divided into three parts to account for the degree of affectedness of the A₂. Data entries in which the A₂ was either *created* or *destroyed* received one point. Those entries whose A₂ was not affected received no points, and an intermediate stage “A₂ partially affected” was included and was worth .5 points.

(3.47) *María escribió una novela*

‘Maria wrote a novel’

(3.48) *Vi un pájaro*

‘I saw a bird’

(3.49) *Max tiró la pelota*

‘Max threw the ball’

In (3.47) the A₂ is “created,” which means that it is totally affected, and therefore, would receive one point. In (3.48), the event that the verb describes does not affect the A₂. Seeing something does not affect what one sees, and in fact it is possible that the A₂ was not even aware of having been seen. Because of the fact that the A₂ was not affected by the event described by the verb, no points would be assigned to (3.48). In (3.49), the A₂ is clearly affected as is obvious from the movement caused by the event describe by the verb *tiró*, but it is less affected than the A₂ in (3.47). For this reason, (3.49) would receive .5 points for “affectedness of A₂.”

The last parameter, “individuation of A₂,” is determined using Analysis Tool 2. Both the individuation of A₂ and the analysis tool that is used to determine the degree of individuation, are described in Section 3.3.3.

All of the parameters described in this section were put together into the final transitivity analysis tool, which includes the parameters ‘kinesis,’ ‘telicity,’ ‘punctuality,’ ‘polarity,’ ‘mode,’ ‘affectedness of A₂,’ and ‘individuation of A₂.’ The transitivity analysis tool is repeated here for convenience.

Analysis Tool 1- Transitivity

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action		Non-action
Telicity	Telic		Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual		Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative		Negative
Mode	Realis		Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected		A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ (degree of individuation)	Highly Individuated		non-individuated
Transitivity Score =			

As you can see, each parameter is worth one point, resulting in a total of seven points possible for transitivity. The final parameter, individuation of A₂ is addressed in the next section since it requires a more in depth explanation than do the other parameters.

3.2.3 Description of the individuation analysis tool

The individuation characterization is used for Argument 1 (A₁), as part of the measurement of the degree of agentivity, which is addressed later in this chapter. It is also used for Argument 2 (A₂), the subject of the passive, as part of the measurement of the degree of transitivity, discussed in the section above. Since individuation is part of transitivity and agentivity, each parameter of the individuation characterization is weighted so that the total number of points possible for individuation is one point, like the other parameters in the

agentivity and transitivity analysis tools. The characterization of the degree of individuation that I chose to use is from Hopper and Thompson (1980, p. 253). The individuation characterization (Analysis Tool 1-Individuation) has six parameters. One sixth of a point is added to the Individuation score for parameters that fall into the highly individuated category with zero points given for parameters that fall into the non-individuated category.

The first parameter in the individuation analysis tool is proper/common. Proper nouns are considered to be “SINGULAR TERMS – NPs, [noun phrases,] which can be used to identify particular entities” (Abbott, 2010, p. 4). In Spanish, proper nouns are capitalized in written discourse. They are also not used with quantifiers. That is not to say that there are not common nouns that do not admit quantifiers. The combination of these two tests was used to decide if the A₁ or A₂ was proper. If the noun failed either of these tests, it was considered a common noun. One sixth of a point was given for proper nouns, and no points were given for common nouns. An example of a proper noun would be a name, like *Vicente Fox* since it is capitalized and cannot be used with quantifiers. A common noun would be *aceite* ‘oil’ because it is not capitalized, and it can be used with the quantifier *mucho* ‘a lot,’ as in *mucho aceite* ‘a lot of oil.’

The next parameter is animacy. “Linguistic animacy is typically defined based on an entity’s ability to act or instigate events volitionally” (Kittilä, 2011, p. 5). It is important to note that volitionality is already addressed in Hopper and Thompson’s transitivity characterization. The way that I dealt with these issues is addressed later in 3.3.3 and 3.3.4.1. In this study, for an A₁ or A₂ to receive a sixth of a point for animacy, it had to be living and human. No points were received if the noun in the data entry was not both living and human. An example of an animate entity is *trabajadores* ‘workers,’ which is both living and human. *Aceite* ‘oil’ is inanimate because it is neither living nor human. It is important to note that for the purposes of this study

non-human living things do not receive points for animacy, so *perros* ‘dogs’ receives no points. This allowed for human A₁s to be more clearly delineated from other living, non-human A₁s.

The next parameter focuses on the concrete/abstract distinction. “Abstract nouns are nouns that express action, quality, or state” (Helander, 1977, p. 21). For this study, abstract nouns received no points. If a noun was not abstract, it was categorized as a concrete noun and received one sixth of a point. The word *sensibilidad* ‘sensitivity’ is an abstract noun because it expresses an intangible quality, and the word *piedra* ‘stone’ is concrete because it does not express an action, state, or quality. Instead, it has a tangible referent. Furthermore, according to Wisniewski (2010), “collective nouns appear to refer to abstract individuals – multiple entities that people conceptualize as a single unit or whole” (p. 181). For that reason, collectives will be considered abstract in this research.

The options within the parameter of number are singular and plural. The indicators of plurals in Spanish include the addition of the inflectional suffix *-s* or *-es* and in some cases plural articles or quantifiers. If a noun was plural, it received no points, but singular nouns received one sixth of a point. Examples of singular and plural nouns are *una manzana* ‘an apple’ and *unas manzanas* ‘some apples,’ respectively.

The next parameter deals with physical discreteness, which is the term I will use as a cover term to refer to count, mass, and collective nouns; these are the three main terms relevant to this research in this category. Count refers to “entities that are distinct from each other and thus one can distinguish and count them” (Pelletier, 2010, p. 124) A₁s or A₂s that were count received one sixth of a point. An example of a count noun is *una computadora* ‘a computer’ since you can count computers. Next, collective nouns are considered count nouns, but they “are associated with multiple entities” (Wisniewski, 2010, p. 180). Wisniewski et al. (2005) say that

“the referent of a collective noun...is not a prototypical individual..., but rather a group of multiple entities conceptualized as a unit or a whole” (cited in Wisniewski, 2010, p.180).

Because of this, collective nouns only received half of the points that other count nouns received.

An example of a collective noun is *un comité* ‘a committee’ since it refers to a group of multiple entities. The term mass refers to entities that cannot be counted. *Dinero* ‘money’ is an example of a mass noun since it does not refer to an individuateable entity.

The final parameter in the individuation analysis tool is referentiality, which is described as the “use of linguistic expressions to identify entities” that people are talking or writing about (Abbot, 2010, p.2). Since a real world referent from discourse is required in order for the noun phrase being analyzed to be referential, discerning whether or not such a referent exists is important. According to Abbot (2010), “definite NPs,” which include those that contain “proper names,” “pronouns,” “demonstratives,” and “definite” indicators, “can be used by a speaker to direct an addressee’s attention to some particular entity...that the speaker wishes to talk about” (p. 207). For this reason, I regard proper nouns, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives, definite articles, and genitive pronouns as indicators of referentiality. Some pronouns that could be referential for the A₂ in Spanish include *yo* ‘I,’ *tú* ‘you,’ *él* ‘he,’ *ella* ‘she,’ *usted* ‘you (formal),’ *nosotros* ‘we,’ *ustedes* ‘you (plural),’ *ellos* ‘they (masculine or mixed),’ and *ellas* ‘they (feminine).’ Since the A₁ is part of a *por*-phrase, the first and second person singular pronouns change case, so *por mí* ‘for me’ and *por ti* ‘for you’ would be the phrases used. Demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives in Spanish include *éste/ésta* ‘this (pronoun),’ *este/esta* ‘this (adjective),’ and *ese/esa/aquel/aquella* ‘that (adjective),’ among others. The definite articles are *el* ‘the (masculine, singular),’ *la* ‘the (feminine, singular),’ *los* ‘the (masculine, plural),’ and *las* ‘the (feminine, plural).’ The genitive pronouns in Spanish are

mi ‘my,’ *tu* ‘your,’ *su* ‘his, her, its, and their,’ *nuestro/nuestra/nuestros/nuestras* ‘our,’ and *vuestra/vuestro/vuestras/vuestros* ‘your (plural).’ I am aware that indefinite noun phrases may be referential, but because the data entries used in this study did not have enough context to allow me to determine their referentiality, I chose to give points for referentiality only if the noun phrase was referential and definite. Therefore, indefinite noun phrases received no points.

All of the parameters addressed in this section were used to create the individuation analysis tool, Analysis Tool 1-Individuation.

Analysis Tool 2 – Individuation

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper		Common
Human, animate		Inanimate
Concrete		Abstract
Singular		Plural
Count		Mass
Referential, definite		Non-referential
A ₁ or A ₂ Individuation Score =		

As mentioned earlier in this section, this tool is used as part of both the transitivity and agentivity analysis tools described below. As a result, the scores for each parameter can vary from zero to .167 points so that the final score for individuation will be one point at most. In that way, the degree of individuation is weighted the same as the other parameters in the agentivity and transitivity tools.

This table is divided into sixths because the individuation of A₂ contains six separate parameters that are each worth one sixth of a point, as described in Section 3.3.2 above. The individuation of A₂ and the transitivity analysis make up just two parts of the analysis of the data in this research. The next piece of the analysis addresses actors and agentivity.

3.2.4 Actors and Agentivity

In this section, I will discuss properties used to address agentivity. One convenient way to approach the characterization of actors is through the use of Proto-Roles. Dowty (1991) developed two lists of properties for the characterization of actors, one for the properties of the Agent Proto-Role and the other for the properties of the Patient Proto-Role (pg. 572). In active sentences, the subject is presumed to have more of the properties of the Agent Proto-Role and the object is presumed to have more of the properties of the Patient Proto-Role (Dowty, 1991, 572). These roles are as follows:

Properties of the Agent Proto-Role:

- a. volitional involvement in the event or state
- b. sentience (and/or perception)
- c. causing an event or change of state in another participant
- d. movement (relative to the position of another participant)
- (e. exists independently of the event named by the verb)

Properties of the Patient Proto-Role:

- a. undergoes change of state
- b. incremental theme (a theme that is incrementally affected)
- c. causally affected by another participant
- d. stationary relative to movement of another participant
- (e. does not exist independently of the event, or not at all) (Dowty, 1991, p. 572)

Instead of focusing on a multitude of thematic roles, Dowty contends that the best theory for describing the domain of argument selection is one in which there are only two “cluster concepts,” which are the Agent Proto-Role and the Patient Proto-Role (1991, p. 547).

“Agentivity and patienthood are a matter of degree: an argument may be more agentive or patient-like than another as it may accumulate a varying number of properties that define a Proto-Role” (Primus, 2004, p. 90). These properties can be used as a way to measure the degree of agentivity of an actor, which will be useful in the analysis of the data.

Aside from the description of Proto-Roles, Dowty also described how the thematic roles of arguments affect their grammatical relations. Dowty’s argument selection principle and its corollaries are as follows:

- a. Argument Selection Principle:* In predicates with grammatical subject and object, the argument for which the predicate entails the greatest number of Proto-Agent properties will be lexicalized as the subject of the predicate; the argument having the greatest number of Proto-Patient entailments will be lexicalized as the direct object.
- b. Corollary 1:* If two arguments of a relation have (approximately) equal numbers of entailed Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient properties, then either or both may be lexicalized as the subject (and similarly for direct objects).
- c. Corollary 2:* With a three-place predicate, the non-subject argument having the greater number of entailed Proto-Patient properties will be lexicalized as the direct object and the non subject argument having fewer entailed Proto-Patient properties will be lexicalized as an oblique or prepositional object (and if two non-subject arguments have approximately the same number of entailed P-Patient properties, either or both may be lexicalized as direct object).
- d. Non-discreetness:* Proto-roles, obviously, do not classify arguments exhaustively (some arguments have neither role) or uniquely (some arguments may share the same role) or discreetly (some arguments could qualify partially but equally for both proto-roles). (1991, p. 576)

Because the entity with the most Proto-Agent properties is typically selected as the subject of an active sentence, we can assume that with passives, the entity with the most Proto-Agent

properties, Argument 1, will be in the *por*-phrase and the entity with the most Proto-Patient properties, Argument 2, will be the subject of the passive. Since Argument 1 has the most Proto-Agent properties, we can assume that the best exemplar of a passive would have an Argument 1 with the highest number possible of Proto-Agent Properties. Because of that, it is important to take the properties above and develop them into a clear analysis tool.

3.2.5 Description of the agentivity analysis tool

In this section, I will describe the agentivity analysis tool used to categorize my data and any modifications I have made. My data analysis with respect to agentivity involves the use of two separate tools. The first tool addresses Argument 1, which is the denotation of the object of the *por*-phrase, and it is used to establish the degree of agentivity of Argument 1. I chose to use Dowty's Proto-Properties with the exception of "movement (relative to the position of another participant" and "exists independently of the event named by the verb" (1991, p. 572). This is because, according to Dowty "causation is almost always accompanied by movement (1991, p.573)," so including movement would be redundant, and for "exists independently of the verb," it "is logically entailed by all other Proto-Agent statements," so if the data entry were highly agentive for any of the other parameters, it would also be highly agentive for that parameter (Primus, 2004, p. 91). Dowty's Proto-Patient role had two separate parameters related to cause; they were "undergoes a change of state" and "causally affected by another participant" (1991, p. 572). Because these two parameters existed within the Proto-Patient characterization, I chose to include cause of an event and cause of a change in state as two separate parameters in the agentivity analysis tool. I also chose to include the individuation of Argument 1 as part of the analysis tool. The individuation analysis tool was discussed in Section 3.2.3 above, and it is the second tool used as part of the agentivity analysis. There were a total of five separate parameters used in Analysis Tool 3-Agentivity to measure the degree of agentivity of Argument 1 based on

the parameters that Dowty included within the Proto-Agent Properties with the addition of the degree of individuation Argument 1 (A₁). I included that final parameter because the degree of individuation of the arguments in the developing *se* passive constructions with a *por*-phrase will be an important aspect of the analysis. The individuation of Argument 1 is found with Analysis Tool 2. The second argument is analyzed with the transitivity analysis tool discussed in Section 3.2.1.

After deciding which parameters to include in the agentivity analysis tool, I chose to develop the parameters into an analysis tool that would allow me to further understand the degree to which the A₁ for each data entry fit into Proto-Agent or Proto-Patient roles. This can be seen in Analysis Tool 3 below.

Analysis Tool 3 – Agentivity

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional		Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)		Target of sentience
Causes an event		Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state		Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)		A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score =		

I organized the characterization so that Proto-Agent properties, which corresponded to a high degree of agentivity, were on the left side of the table and received one point. Proto-Patient properties, or the parameter that is the opposite of the Proto-Agent property (non-agentive), were

on the right side of the table and received no points. That side of the table was also used to indicate when a property did not apply.

For the parameter of volitionality, which can also be referred to as “control” according to Donohue, “volitional” is on the left side since prototypical agents are volitional (2008, p. 51). Proto-typical patients are volitionally affected, but I chose to include non-volitional on the right side of Analysis Tool 3 because I am focusing more on the degree of agentivity than on the degree of patienthood, and indicating that something is non-volitional gives me more information about its degree of agentivity. According to Frawley, “volitional arguments...may directly execute an act” (1992, p. 207). That is the description I used for volitionality in my analysis. Tests that indicate volitionality include co-occurrence with “the adverb *deliberately* and other adverbs such as *carefully* and *conscientiously*” in English (Kearns, 2000, p. 237). In order to test for the volitionality of the arguments in my data, I used a similar test that would work in Spanish, the addition of the adverb *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately.’ An example of this test can be seen in (3.50) and (3.51).

(3.50) *Max mató deliberadamente a Sara*

‘Max deliberately killed Sara’

(3.51) *La medicina cura (*deliberadamente) el cancer*

‘The medicine (*deliberately) cures cancer’

The A₁, *Max*, in (3.50) is volitional as evidenced by the fact that the word *deliberadamente* can be used in the sentence above. However, in (3.51), the A₁ *la medicina* is non-volitional, since *deliberadamente* cannot be used with the A₁. I also chose to give only partial points (.667) to collectives since the volitionality of each individual in the collective is reduced because of the diffusion of the choice among the members of the collective. This can be seen in (3.52).

(3.52) *El comité aplazó deliberadamente la decisión*

‘The committee deliberately delayed the decision’

As is apparent, the A₁ allows the use of the word *deliberadamente*, which makes it volitional, but there is a reduction in the degree of volitionality.

It is important to note that some authors do not believe that volitionality is a requirement of agency. Västi (2011) differentiates between “non-volitional agents” and “volitional agents,” explaining that “NON-VOLITIONAL AGENTS...completely lack semantic properties attached to [traditional] AGENTS, namely volitional and intentional instigation of an event and control over it” (p. 82). Essentially, what Västi tries to argue is that the person or thing that brings about an event does not have to be volitional to do so. An example of what Västi might call a non-volitional agent can be seen in (3.51) above. Kearns (2000) says that “prototypical agents combine volition and conscious control of the action..., often action with force directed at or affecting another entity,” as in (3.50) above and that “action or force in the absence of consciousness or volition characterizes lower ranking agents which are commonly inanimate,” as in (3.51) above (p.239). Kearns seems to make the same point that Västi makes, which is that volition is not required for someone or something to bring about an event. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, many grammarians only consider a passive authentic if it has an agent that acts voluntarily and intentionally (Melis, 2007, p. 51). However, Melis points out that there are authors that include both agents and causes when defining the passive (Barber 1975:21; Harris 1978:186; Siewierska 1984:258; Mendikoetxea 199a 25.1.3) (cited in Melis, 2007, p. 51). With that said, in this study, I do not address whether or not non-volitional A₁ arguments are agents. This is because I am not interested in ascribing to a binary view of the arguments in my data. I will address my data in a way that focuses on the degree of agentivity of the A₁s so as to better

tease out the differences between my data entries. I do contend that non-volitional A₁ arguments can appear in the *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase and that volitional agents can appear in those same constructions in some varieties of Spanish, so it is important to show that some authors see an overlap in the constructions associated with volitional and non-volitional agents.

Volitionality and sentience do not always coincide. “Volition entails sentience, but not vice versa,” so whenever I determined that an argument was volitional, I could assume it was sentient (Levin & Hovav, 2005, p.127). For example, some “active perception and cognition verbs (e.g., *listen*, *think*, *watch*) take a volitional sentient argument” (Levin & Hovav, 2005, p.127). However, “verbs such as *fear*, *love*, *see*, and *want*... [have a] sentient argument [that] cannot be interpreted as volitional” (Levin & Hovav, 2005, p.127). One example of such a verb can be seen in (3.53) below.

(3.53) *Temo la altura*

‘I fear heights’

One cannot choose to *fear*, which means that the word *deliberadamente* cannot be added to this utterance, which makes the A₁ non-volitional, but it is sentient. The difference between sentience and volitionality is further described below.

For sentience, I use the same type of division that I use for volitionality. Sentience is on the left side of the Analysis Tool 3 with one point, muted sentience is at .667 points, and non-sentience is on the right side with zero points. The word “sentience [was] used in a broader sense and includes emotion, perception, and awareness” (Primus, 2004, p. 91). I indicated that an argument was sentient if it had any of those characteristics. As with volitionality, I indicated muted sentience when the sentience was diffused among the members of a collective and gave the data entry .667 points for sentience.

The next parameter is organized in much the same way so that, for example, “causes an event” is on the highly agentive side and “does not cause an event” is on the non-agentive side. This parameter addresses whether or not the A₁ causes the event. Causation occurs in varying degrees, however, so partial points were awarded for A₁s with lower degrees of causation. Dowty uses sentences like “John threw the ball” and “Teen-age unemployment causes delinquency” as examples of causation (1991, p. 573-574). If you look at the A₁s, it is clear that they are very different from one another. In order to determine the degree of causation, it is important to look at the type of A₁ in the data entry. In order to simplify this parameter, only two types of A₁ are addressed in relation to causation: A₁s that directly cause the event and A₁s that are “the means by which a predicate is carried out,” an instrument, or the inanimate cause of the event (Frawley, 1992, p. 208). Examples of these types of causation can be seen in (3.54) and (3.51), repeated here for convenience.

(3.54) *Alex se cortó con un cuchillo*

‘Alex cut himself with a knife’

(3.51) *La medicina cura el cancer*

‘The medicine cures cancer’

In example (3.54), *Alex* directly causes the event denoted by the verb phrase and the instrument he uses is in an oblique at the end of the sentence. However, in example (3.51), the only cause in the entry is the instrument used to cause the event denoted by the verb phrase. A₁s that bring about the events in the data, as in (3.54) receive one point, and instruments, as in (3.51), receive only .5 points. Giving the instruments or inanimate causes of events .5 points shows that they were at least partially responsible for bringing about the event without giving them more credit than they deserve.

“Causes a change of state” is treated the same way that “causes an event” is. “Causes a change of state” is on the highly agentive side and “does not cause a change of state” is on the non-agentive side. The parameter “causes a change of state” in this study is used to indicate an event in which the A₂ was changed in some way by the action of the verb. According to Dowty, “causes a change of state” includes “coming into existence, going out of existence, and both definite and indefinite change of state” (1991, p. 574). Therefore, if the A₂ was created or destroyed by the action of the verb, the data entry received one point. If the A₂ experienced a change of state, but was not fully affected by the change, the data entry received .5 points, and if the A₂ was affected by an event that did not change the state of the A₂, then the data entry received no points for “causes a change of state.” In this research, if the data entry received one point for “causes an event,” it received no points for “causes a change of state.” Examples (3.55), (3.56), and (3.57) show each of the situations mentioned.

(3.55) *Javier escribió una composición*

‘Javier wrote a composition’

(3.56) *El surco se hizo más hondo por repetición*

‘The furrow was made deeper through/by repetition’

(3.57) *Sara tiró la pelota*

‘Sara threw the ball’

In (3.55), the A₂, *una composición*, was created by the event denoted by the verb phrase. For this reason, the A₁ causes a change in state, namely it creates the A₂, and, therefore, receives one full point for “causes a change of state.” Example (3.56) shows a slight change in state that is neither creation nor destruction. Since the A₂ was affected, but not totally affected, by the A₂, (3.56)

receives .5 points for “causes a change of state.” Finally, (3.57) is an event rather than a change of state, so it receives no points.

The final parameter analyzed for agentivity is the individuation of A₁ (or Argument 1) and is described in section 3.3.3. It is divided into sixths, just like it is in Analysis Tool 2 – Transitivity because both of these tools have individuation as part of their analysis. Analysis Tool 2- Transitivity addresses the individuation of A₂, and Analysis Tool 3 - Agentivity addresses the individuation of A₁. After each parameter in the agentivity analysis tool below has been addressed, the resulting score indicates the degree of agentivity of A₁. Analysis Tool 3 – Agentivity, repeat below for convenience, includes all five of the parameters described in this section. It is important to note that even though the total number of parameters is five, the highest score for the Analysis Tool 3 – Agentivity is four because a data entry can only either “cause an event” or “cause a change in state” but cannot do both.

Analysis Tool 3- Agentivity

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional		Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)		Target of sentience
Causes an event		Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state		Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)		A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score =		

Together all of the Analysis Tools discussed in this chapter make up the voice analysis for this research. In total, there are four charts for each entry. Analysis Tool 1 – Transitivity is

used to determine the transitivity of the clause and Analysis Tool 3 – Agentivity is used to determine its agentivity. Analysis Tool 2 – Individuation is used twice, once to determine the degree of individuation for the A₁ and once to determine the degree of individuation for the A₂. This process can be seen in the next section.

3.2.6 Example of the scoring of data

In this section I give an example of the scoring of data in this research. Chapter Four has a number of examples that have been described in a more detailed manner, but here I will show a general example of the scoring. This particular example is one of the fifty data entries that I used for this research. Example (3.58) is scored as follows.

(3.58) cálculos biliares, que se curan por el aceite
 gallstones which 3:Refl cure:3PL by the:M:SG oil
 ‘gallstones, which are cured by oil’

I start by analyzing the degree of agentivity. The chart below shows the agentivity analysis.

Analysis Tool 3 – Agentivity for (3.58)

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional	0	Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)	0	Target of sentience
Causes an event	.5	Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state	0	Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)	.333	A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score = .833		

This chart shows that the data entry in (3.58) is not highly agentive for any parameters, but it partially agentive for another two. For “causes an event” the A₁ is an inanimate cause of the

event, so it is only given partial points (.5 points). For the parameters “volitionality,” “sentience,” and “causes a change in state,” the data entry has low agentivity and receives no points. The last parameter “Individuation of A₁” is worth .333 points and is determined using the following table and analysis.

Analysis Tool 1 – Individuation for (3.58)

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	0	Mass
Referential, definite	0	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .333		

For the individuation of A₁, *aceite*, ‘oil’ is an inanimate, mass, non-referential, common noun. All of those aspects are non-individuated, which means no points are received. However, it is singular and concrete. Those are individuated parameters, so it receives two sixths of a point or .333 points in the individuation analysis tool. This score is added to Analysis Tool 3 – Agentivity, making the total score for degree of agentivity 0.83 points.

The next piece of the analysis addresses transitivity. With respect to the degree of transitivity, the verb in the clause is an action verb, so it would receive one point for kinesis. The verb is telic, but the present tense mutes the telicity, which results in .5 points for telicity. The verb is also non-punctual, so it would receive no points for punctuality. The clause is in the affirmative and the mode is realis, so two more points would be added for polarity and mode. The A₂ in the clause is *cálculos biliares*, *gallstones*, and they are totally affected by the action of

the verb, so another 1 point would be added for affectedness of A₂. Finally, the individuation of A₂ is determined using Analysis Tool 1 – Individuation again for the A₂. The tables for transitivity and the individuation of the A₂ are shown below.

Analysis Tool 2 – Transitivity for (3.58)

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action	1	Non-action
Telicity	Telic	.5	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	0	Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative	1	Negative
Mode	Realis	1	Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected	1	A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ (degree of individuation)	Highly Individuated	.333	non-individuated
Transitivity Score = 4.833			
Voice Score = 5.666			

Analysis Tool 2 – Individuation for (3.58)

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	0	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	0	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .333		

As can be seen in the table above, *cálculos biliares*, *gallstones* is an inanimate, plural, non-referential, common noun. All of those aspects point to non-individuation, which means no points are assigned. However, it is a count noun, and it is concrete. Those parameters point to

individuation, so it is assigned two sixths of a point or .333 points in the individuation analysis tool. That score is added to the transitivity score, making the final transitivity score 5.333 points. The total voice score for each data entry is found by adding the scores. The agentivity score is a .833 out of 5 total points and the transitivity score is a 4.833 out of 7, which results in a final voice score of 5.666 out of 12.

3.3 Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis in this study is based on simple percentages. This is because of the large number of parameters that were addressed in this study and the interconnectedness of the parameters to one another. I am aware that percentages do not allow me to fully understand the statistical significance of my findings, but a more in depth statistical analysis is beyond the scope of my current research and statistical abilities.

After the voice scores were calculated, I grouped the data based on similarities in voice score. Since the highest voice score was twelve points, six groups were made based on a two point span so that Group One represented 0-1.999 points on the voice scale; Group Two represented 2-3.999, Group Three 4-5.999 and so on. I then counted the total number of data entries in each group and divided that number by fifty (the number of data entries) to figure out the percentages that corresponded to each group. After that I used those percentages to extrapolate on the relative frequency of *se* constructions within each range of voice scores. I used this same method to address agentivity and transitivity scores. I also compared the degree of individuation for the A₁ and the A₂ and looked at the number of data entries that were highly agentive and non-agentive for each parameter and developed percentages for those. Those percentages allowed me to draw conclusions about the kind of *se* constructions that allow *por-*

phrases with A_{1S} in my data, and they indicate possible areas of future statistical research regarding *se* constructions with *por*-phrases.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

As delineated in the methods section, transitivity includes a number of parameters including agentivity and individuation of the A₂. Analysis tools were adapted to give a clearer picture of the degree of agentivity and individuation for those parameters as well as for the individuation of the A₁. Agentivity was divided out from transitivity because the degree of agentivity is a major focal point for this study, so I felt that it needed to be more heavily weighted. This resulted in the formation of four tables representing agentivity, transitivity, and the individuation of both A₁ and A₂. The final voice score was calculated by adding the scores for transitivity and agentivity. Each analysis consists of multiple parameters, which were described in Chapter 3. The parameters included in the characterization of agentivity are “volitionality, sentience, causing an event, causing a change of state, and the degree of individuation of A₁.” The individuation parameters include, “the proper/common distinction, animacy, the concrete/abstract distinction, number, the count/mass distinction, and referentiality.” The transitivity parameters include “kinesis, telicity, punctuality, polarity, mode, affectedness of A₂, and the degree of individuation of A₂.”

4.1 Description of analyses

In this section, I discuss the analyses of ten out of the fifty data entries. I have chosen data entries with different total voice scores to demonstrate the variety of different passive-like *se* constructions. The examples I analyze below are ordered from lowest to highest voice score. I have included the tables for each data entry for convenience. Before describing the agentivity and transitivity analyses, it is important to address some issues about alternate interpretations of the data entry. While *por* can be interpreted as ‘by’ in English, it also has other possible

interpretations, such as ‘according to,’ ‘for,’ and ‘through,’ among others. The examples analyzed in this section may include three different parts, (a) a translation with a by-phrase, (b) other possible translations, and (c) the active version of the *se* construction. However, it is important to note that in some, and sometimes many, varieties of Spanish, for some data entries the A₁ may not be acceptable in the subject position of an active sentence. This is particularly true for situations in which the A₁ is an instrument. In Spanish, instruments can appear in a variety of different prepositional phrases including *por*-phrases.

The first sentence I analyze is (4.1).

(4.1a) no es que el surco se haga más hondo por
 Neg is:3SG:pres that the:M:SG furrow 3 make:3SG:SUBJ more deep by
 la repetición
 the:F:SG repetition

‘it is not that the furrow is made deeper by repetition’ (1007/ 19-Or/ Habla Culta – Santiago)

(4.1b) no es que el surco se haga más hondo
 Neg is:3SG:pres that the:M:SG furrow 3 make:3SG:SUBJ more deep
 por la repetición
 through the:F:SG repetition

‘it’s not that the furrow gets deeper through repetition’

(4.1c) no es que la repetición haga más hondo el
 Neg is:3SG:pres that the:F:SG repetition make:3SG:SUBJ more deep the:M:SG
 surco
 furrow

‘it is not that repetition makes the furrow deeper’

It has an agentivity score of 1 out of 5 and a transitivity score of 2.167 out of 7, resulting in a voice score of 3.167 out of 12, which is the lowest voice score in the data.

Agentivity: the A₁, the object of the *por*-phrase, is *la repetición* ‘repetition.’ *La repetición* is not volitional because words like *deliberadamente* “deliberately” cannot be used to describe events brought about by *la repetición*. Because it is non-volitional, it receives no points for “volitionality.” The lack of “emotion, perception and awareness” in its referent also makes *la repetición* non-sentient, resulting in no points for “sentience.” *La repetición* does not cause an event because in this research, the argument can only either cause an event or a change of state, but not both. Therefore, no points are awarded for “causes an event.” However, *la repetición* does have the capability of creating a change of state, the deepening of the *surco* ‘furrow,’ but the A₁ is simply the manner by which the predicate can be carried out. In situations where the A₁ is an instrument, it is considered only partially responsible for causation, so only .5 points are awarded for “causes a change in state.” Finally, the “degree of individuation of A₁” is .5 points, because: first, *la repetición* allows for the use of the quantifier *una* ‘a,’ so it is a “common” noun phrase, which causes it to receive no points for that parameter; the referent of *la repetición* is not a living being; it is, therefore, “inanimate” and receives no points; it is also “abstract” because it expresses an “action;” abstract nouns receive no points for individuation; *la repetición* is a “singular” noun as evidenced by the definite feminine singular article *la* ‘the;’ “Singular” nouns receive one sixth of a point, .167 points; *la repetición* is also a “count” noun adding another .167 points; it is clear that *la repetición* is count because the plural, *las repeticiones*, ‘the repetitions’ exists; finally, *la repetition* is “referential” as a result of having a definite article *la* ‘the,’ so another .167 points are added to the individuation score for A₁; this results in a final

individuation score of .5 for A₁. The final agentivity score is 1. The following tables show the agentivity and individuation analysis for the A₁.

Table 4.1: Agentivity and A₁ Individuation for Example 4.1

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional	0	Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)	0	Target of sentience
Causes an event	0	Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state	.5	Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)	.5	A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score = 1		

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	0	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .5		

Transitivity: to begin, the verb *hacer* ‘to make’ is a causative action verb, which gives it one point for “kinesis.” The action described does not entail any completed subevents, which makes it telic. However, the use of the present subjunctive mutes the telicity because the present tense here marks habitual events. Therefore, the clause is awarded zero points for “telicity.” Given that the verb *hacer* represents a process and therefore implies temporal duration, it is non-punctual resulting in no points for “punctuality.” The subordinate clause itself has no negative marker. However, the clause it is embedded in does. Since that clause has a negative marker, the clause is negative and results in no points for “polarity.” Due to the fact that the verb phrase is in the subjunctive, the mode is irrealis, so no points are awarded for “mode.” Because the A₂, *surco* ‘furrow’ is neither *created* nor *destroyed* by the action referred to in the clause, it is only partially affected. This gives the transitivity score one half point for the “affectedness of the A₂.” Finally,

“the degree of individuation of A₂” is .667 points, because: the A₂, *el surco*, can be modified by the quantifier *un* ‘a,’ so it is a “common” noun phrase, which is assigned zero points; also it does not refer to a living thing, so it is an “inanimate” noun phrase which receives no points; *el surco* does not express an “action, quality or state,” so it is “concrete,” resulting in the addition of one sixth of a point; as evidenced by the singular article *el*, ‘the,’ *el surco* is “singular,” and since *los surcos*, ‘the furrows’ exists, it is also “count,” which results in the addition of two sixths of a point, one sixth for being “singular” and one sixth for being “count;” it is also “referential” as evidenced by the definite article *el* ‘the,’ so another sixth of a point is added; this results in a final individuation score of .667 for A₂. The final transitivity score is 2.167, and the voice score is 3.167 points. The following tables show the transitivity and individuation analysis for the A₂.

Table 4.2: Transitivity and A₂ Individuation for Example 4.1

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.	Individuated 1/6 pt.	Score	Non-individuated 0 pt.
Kinesis	Action	1	Non-action	Proper	0	Common
Telicity	Telic	0	Atelic	Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Punctuality	Punctual	0	Non-punctual	Concrete	.167	Abstract
Polarity	Affirmative	0	Negative	Singular	.167	Plural
Mode	Realis	0	Irrealis	Count	.167	Mass
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected	.5	A ₂ not affected	Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
Individuation of A ₂ -degree of individuation	Highly Individuated	.667	non-individuated	A ₂ Individuation Score = .667		
Transitivity Score = 2.167						
Voice Score = 3.167						

The next data entry I analyze is (4.2). It has an agentivity score of 1.167 out of 5 and a transitivity score of 3 out of 7, resulting in a total voice score of 4.167 out of 12.

(4.2a) [el alumbrado público] no se rige
 the:M:SG streetlighting:M:SG public Neg 3 regulateSG:Pres

por el reloj mecánico
 by the:M:SG clock mechanical

‘[the public streetlighting] is not regulated by the mechanical clock’

(2012 19-Or Entrevista (Chiapas): ENTRE2)

(4.2b) [el alumbrado público] no se rige
 the:M:SG streetlighting:M:SG public Neg 3 regulate:3SG:Pres

por el reloj mecánico
 according to the:M:SG clock mechanical

‘[the public streetlighting] is not regulated based on the mechanical clock’

(4.2c) el reloj mecánico no rige el
 the:M:SG clock mechanical Neg regulate:3SG:Pres the:M:SG

alumbrado público
 streetlighting:M:SG public

‘the mechanical clock doesn’t regulate the public streetlighting’

Because this research is based on a corpus and does not have human subjects approval, it is not clear which translation native speakers of Spanish would prefer based on their variety. However, one of the criteria for choosing these data entries was the ability to change them into active sentences, and we sought the opinion of native speakers to establish that the sentences could be turned into actives. With that said, it is also not clear if native speakers of Spanish would prefer the active version of the data entry or if all native speakers of Spanish would accept the grammaticality of the active sentence. The following tables show the agentivity and individuation analysis for the A₁.

Table 4.3: Agentivity and A₁ Individuation for Example 4.2

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional	0	Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)	0	Target of sentience
Causes an event	.5	Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state	0	Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)	.667	A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score = 1.167		

Individuated 1/6 pt.	Score	Non-individuated 0 pt.
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .667		

Agentivity: the noun phrase complement of *por* is *el reloj mecánico* ‘the mechanical clock.’ *El reloj mecánico* cannot be used with the word *deliberadamente* “deliberately” and its referent has no “emotion, perception, or awareness.” It is, therefore, neither volitional nor sentient, so no points are assigned for “volitionality” or “sentience.” Even though the clause specifies that the referent of *el reloj mecánico* does not cause the event in the clause, it could potentially cause the event, although not autonomously. *El alumbrado público* ‘the public streetlighting’ is the instrument that is used to effect the event in the clause. For this reason, the clause receives .5 points for “causes an event.” Since each data entry can only receive points for either causes an event or a change in state, *el reloj mecánico* does not cause a change of state, so no points are awarded for “causes a change of state.” .667 points were received for “degree of individuation of A₁” because: *el reloj mecánico* is a “common” noun phrase because it is able to appear with the quantifier *un* ‘a,’ and its referent is not living, which makes it “inanimate;” therefore, it receives no points for either of those parameters; *el reloj mecánico* does not express

a “quality, state, or action,” so it is concrete and receives one sixth of a point; the definite masculine singular article *el* ‘the,’ indicates that it is singular and referential, and *los relojes* ‘the clocks’ exists so it is also count; each of those three parameters adds another one sixth of a point; the final score for the “degree of individuation of A₁” is .667. The final agentivity score for this data entry is 1.167.

One major difference between (4.1) and (4.2) is the agentivity score. This is because of the degree of individuation of the A₁. (4.1) receives points for individuation of the A₁ because it is singular, count, and referential. (4.2) receives points for all of those parameters as well as for being concrete. The agentivity score is not the only way in which these two data entries differ. The transitivity scores differ as well. The following tables show the transitivity and individuation analysis for the A₂.

Table 4.4: Transitivity and A₂ Individuation for Example 4.2

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action	1	Non-action
Telicity	Telic	0	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	0	Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative	0	Negative
Mode	Realis	1	Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected	.5	A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ - degree of individuation	Highly Individuated	.5	non-individuated
Transitivity Score = 3			
Voice Score = 4.167			

Individuated 1/6 pt.	Score	Non-individuated 0 pt.
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	0	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₂ Individuation Score = .5		

Transitivity: the verb *regir*, ‘regulate’ is an action verb, so it receives one point for “kinesis.” The verb can be divided into identical subevents, which makes it atelic. Atelic clauses receive no points for “telicity.” *Regir* also has a temporal duration, which makes it non-punctual,

and results in no points awarded for “punctuality.” The negative *no* ‘no’ or ‘not,’ makes the clause negative and the simple present tense of the verb makes the clause realis, so no points are received for “affirmation,” but one point is received for “mode.” The A_2 is neither “created” nor “destroyed,” so it is only partially affected by the action of the verb. Therefore, .5 points are received for “affectedness of A_2 .” Finally the “degree of individuation of A_2 ” is .5 points because of the following analysis: the A_2 , *el alumbrado público* ‘the public streetlighting,’ is not capitalized, indicating that it is a “common” noun phrase, and it does not refer to a living thing, so it is inanimate, giving it no points for either of those parameters; however, *el alumbrado público* does not express an *action*, *state*, or *quality*, making it concrete; since it is concrete, it receives one sixth of a point; it is also both singular and referential as evidenced by the definite masculine singular article *el* ‘the,’ which adds another one sixth of a point for “number” and one for “referentiality;” *el alumbrado público* is not a distinct entity and a plural form does not exist, which means that one is not able to count it, therefore, it is a mass noun; mass nouns receive no points. Finally, the total transitivity score is 3. This data entry scored low on the voice scale. Its arguments are inanimate, the A_1 is minimally agentive, and its voice score is only 4.167. Based on the fact that prototypical agents are only marginally acceptable in some varieties of Spanish and unacceptable in others, it is my assumption that clauses like this one are where *se* constructions started to allow for passive-like interpretations. The minimally agentive nature of the *por*-phrase in this clause makes it acceptable in most every Spanish variety, whereas its active counterpart may or may not be acceptable depending on the variety. This is important because later data entries have actives that may be more acceptable depending on the variety.

With respect to transitivity, there are a couple differences that are worth noting. First, (4.1) is irrealis, while (4.2) is realis. This gives (4.2) an extra point. However, the degree of

individuation for the A₂ in (4.2) is one sixth of a point lower than it is in (4.1) because the A₂ in (4.2) is not count. Both examples are concrete, singular, and referential.

Overall, examples (4.1) and (4.2) are minimally passive with arguments that are inanimate and A₁s that are minimally agentive. Moreover, for (4.2) the A₂ is less individuated than the A₁, while the opposite is true for (4.1). This is important because one general assumption is that the more individuated argument would end up as the subject in the active sentence. In the active voice for (4.1), the less individuated argument is the subject, but in (4.2) the more individuated argument is the subject of the active, so (4.1) shows that there is not always a correlation between the degree of individuation and the choice of subject or object.

Data entry (4.3) has an agentivity score of .833 out of 5 and a transitivity score of 4.167 out of 7, resulting in a total voice score of 5 out of 12.

(4.3a) la universidad X se financia por donaciones de
the:F:SG university X 3 finance:3SG:Pres by donations from
empresas privadas
companies:F:GS private:F:SG

‘university X is financed by donations from private companies’

(19-Or Habla Culta: La Paz)

(4.3b) la universidad X se financia por donaciones de
the:F:SG university X 3 finance:f3SG:Pres with donations from
empresas privadas
companies:F:GS private:F:SG

‘university X is financed with donations from private companies’

(4.3c) donaciones de empresas privadas financian la
 donations from companies:F:GS private:F:SG finance:3SG:Pres the:F:SG
 universidad X
 university X

‘donations from private companies finance university X’

The passive clauses in (a) and (b) seem to be the preferred method to communicate the idea, particularly when the A₁ is not human. The following tables show the agentivity and individuation analysis for the A₁.

Table 4.5: Agentivity and A₁ Individuation for Example 4.3

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional	0	Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)	0	Target of sentience
Causes an event	.5	Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state	0	Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)	.333	A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score = .833		

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	0	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	0	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .333		

Agentivity: the noun phrase complement of *por*, A₁, is *donaciones de empresas* ‘donations from companies.’ *Donaciones de empresas* cannot be used with *deliberadamente* “deliberately” and its referent has no “emotion, perception or awareness.” It, therefore, cannot be volitional or sentient, resulting in no points for either parameter. *Donaciones de empresas* is the “means by which the predicate is carried out,” so it partially causes the event. This gives the clause .5 points for “causes an event.” The A₁ does not cause a change in state, which gives it no

points for “causes a change of state.” Finally, the “degree of individuation for A₁” is .333, which results from the following analysis: the A₁, *donaciones de empresas* ‘donations from companies,’ is a common noun phrase since it can be modified by the quantifier *una* ‘a;’ it, therefore, receives no points for that parameter; *donaciones de empresas* is not a living thing, making it “inanimate” and resulting in no points received for that parameter; *donaciones de empresas* does not express an “action, quality, or state,” so the noun phrase is concrete, which gives it one sixth of a point; *donaciones de empresas* is in the plural and it has the singular *donación*, ‘donation;’ it is awarded no points for “number” since it is plural, but one sixth of a point for being “count;” also, it receives no points for “referentiality” since the parameter requires that it be both definite and referential in order to receive a point and *donaciones de empresas* does not have a definite article; overall, *donaciones de empresas* receives one sixth of a point for being “count” and one sixth of a point for being “concrete,” resulting in a total individuation score of .333 for A₁. The total agentivity score for this example is .833. The following tables show the transitivity and individuation analysis for the A₂.

Table 4.6: Transitivity and A₂ Individuation for Example 4.3

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action	1	Non-action
Telicity	Telic	0	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	0	Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative	1	Negative
Mode	Realis	1	Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected	.5	A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ - degree of individuation	Highly Individuated	.667	non-individuated
Transitivity Score = 4.167			
Voice Score = 5			

Individuated 1/6 pt.	Score	Non-individuated 0 pt.
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₂ Individuation Score = .667		

(4.3) has a lower agentivity score than the previous two examples. Again, this is because of the degree of individuation of the A₁. This example receives points only for being concrete and count. However, the transitivity analysis is what gives this particular example a higher voice score.

Transitivity: *financiar* ‘finance’ is an action verb, so it is assigned one point for “kinesis.” The event can be divided into subevents that are the same, so the event is atelic and receives no points. It also has temporal duration, which makes it non-punctual, for which it receives no points. The clause is in the affirmative as evidenced by the lack of negative indicators, so one point is awarded for “polarity.” The verb is in the simple present tense, making the mode realis and resulting in the addition of a point for “mode.” Since the A₂ is neither *created* nor *destroyed* by the event in the clause, it is partially affected by the action in the clause, which adds another half point to the transitivity score. Finally, the degree of individuation of A₂ is .667, as a result of the following analysis: *la universidad* ‘the university,’ the A₂, can be modified by the quantifier *una* ‘a,’ so it is a “common” noun and is assigned no points for that parameter; it is also not living, so it is “inanimate,” and receives no points for that parameter either; *la universidad* does not express an “action, quality, or state,” making it concrete, so it receives one sixth of a point for that parameter; the definite feminine singular article *la* ‘the’ indicates that it is “singular” and “referential;” the plural *las universidades* ‘the universities’ exists, making it clear that it is a count noun; overall, *la universidad* was awarded one sixth of a point for being “concrete,” another for being “singular,” one more for being “count,” and another for being “referential,” which makes the total “degree of individuation for A₂” .667. Overall, the transitivity score for this example is 4.167.

(4.3) has higher transitivity and voice scores than both (4.1) and (4.2), but, as mentioned earlier, it has a lower agentivity score than both of the previous examples. With respect to agentivity, the only parameter that differentiated these three examples from each other was individuation. However, the transitivity score of (4.3) was over a point higher than the previous examples because it was both affirmative and realis whereas (4.1) did not receive points for either of these parameters and (4.2) received points only for being realis. This is significant because, as I will discuss later in this chapter, the majority of data entries in this study are affirmative and realis.

The fourth data entry, (4.4), has an agentivity score of 1.667 and a transitivity score of 4.167, which results in a total voice score of 5.334.

(4.4a) esta comparecencia se transmite, además de por Cubavisión,
 this:F:SG presentation 3 transmit:3SG:Pres aside from by Cubavision,
 por Radio Rebelde
 by Radio Rebel

‘this presentation is transmitted, aside from by Cubavisión, by Rebel Radio’ (1957 19-Or Fidel Castro (01/11/99))

(4.4b) esta comparecencia se transmite, además de por
 this:F:SG presentation 3 transmit:3SG:Pres aside from through
 Cubavisión, por Radio Rebelde
 Cubavision, through Radio Rebel

‘this presentation is transmitted, aside from through Cubavisión, through Rebel Radio’

(4.4c) además de Cubavisión, Radio Rebelde transmite esta
 aside from Cubavision, Radio Rebel transmit:3SG:Pres this:F:SG

comparecencia

presentation

‘aside from Cubavision, Rebel Radio transmits this presentation’

The following tables show the agentivity and individuation analysis for the A₁.

Table 4.7: Agentivity and A₁ Individuation for Example 4.4

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional	0	Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)	0	Target of sentience
Causes an event	.5	Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state	0	Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)	.667	A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score = 1.167		

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper	.167	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	0	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .667		

Agentivity: the A₁ is *Radio Rebelde* ‘Rebel Radio’ which cannot be used with the word *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’ and does not have “emotion, perception, or awareness.”

Therefore, it can be neither volitional nor sentient. *Radio Rebelde* is the “means by which the predicate is carried out,” making it receive .5 points for causes an event, but it does not cause a change in state, resulting in no points for “causes a change of state.” Finally, the “degree of individuation for A₁” is .833, which comes from the following individuation parameters: first, *Radio Rebelde* in this case is referring to a particular radio station, which is why it has a capital letter; it is also unable to appear with quantifiers like *muchas* “a lot of,” so it is a “proper” noun and is assigned one sixth of a point for that parameter; *Radio Rebelde* is not a living being, so it is “inanimate;” since *Radio Rebelde* does not express an “action, state or quality,” it is

“concrete;” it, therefore, receives no points for being inanimate and one sixth of a point for being concrete; as a proper noun *Radio Rebelde* cannot have a plural, so it is singular, which gives it one sixth of a point for “number;” it is also a distinct entity, so it is “count” and receives one point for that parameter. Because *Radio Rebelde* is a proper noun and refers to a specific organization, it is referential, resulting in one more sixth of a point. The total agentivity score for (4.4) is 1.167 points. The following tables show the transitivity and individuation analysis for the A₂.

Table 4.8: Transitivity and A₂ Individuation for Example 4.4

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action	1	Non-action
Telicity	Telic	0	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	0	Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative	1	Negative
Mode	Realis	1	Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected	.5	A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ - degree of individuation	Highly Individuated	.667	non-individuated
Transitivity Score = 4.167			
Voice Score = 5.333			

Individuated 1/6 pt.	Score	Non-individuated 0 pt.
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₂ Individuation Score = .667		

Transitivity: *transmitir* ‘transmit’ is an action verb, giving it one point for ‘kinesis.’ The verb phrase is telic the use of the present tense allows it to be divided into non-initial, non-final subevents, so no points are added for ‘telicity.’ In regard to ‘punctuality,’ *transmitir* has duration, making it non-punctual, so no points are added for “punctuality.” The sentence is affirmative so another point is added for “polarity.” The verb phrase is in the present indicative, so the “mode” is realis, resulting in one point. The A₂ is not totally affected by the action of the verb because A₂ is neither “created nor destroyed” by the event in the clause. That gives the sentence .5 points for

‘affectedness of A₂.’ The “individuation of A₂” is worth .667 points based on the following analysis: *esta comparecencia* ‘this presentation’ is an “inanimate common” noun phrase because it is can be modified by the quantifier *muchas* ‘many’ and because it is not living; therefore, no points are added for those two parameters; the A₂ expresses an “action,” so it is “abstract” and receives no points for that parameter; the feminine singular demonstrative adjective *esta* indicates that the A₂ is “singular” and “referential,” resulting in one sixth of a point for each of those parameters; *esta comparecencia* is also count, as evidenced by the existence of the plural *comparecencias*; that adds one more sixth of a point. Overall, the transitivity score for data entry (4.4) is 4.167 points.

(4.4) has a higher voice score than the three previous examples, but it has the same individuation score for the A₂ as (4.3) with the same scores for each of the major parameters. The transitivity score of (4.4) is the same as (4.3) with the same scores for all parameters, but the difference between them lies in the individuation of the A₁ since (4.3) only receives points for being concrete and count. The difference between the agentivity analyses of (4.2) and (4.4) relates to the degree of individuation also. Both examples have A₁s that are singular, count and referential, but (4.2) is concrete, and (4.4) is proper. The transitivity score of (4.4) is what causes it to have a higher voice score than (4.1) and (4.2) because, like (4.3), it is both affirmative and realis. Again, polarity and mode are skewed in my data in that it is uncommon to have a developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase that is negative and/or irrealis.

The fifth data entry, (4.5), has an agentivity score of 1.333, a transitivity score of 5.167, and a total voice score of 6.5.

(4.5a) se pueden originar fusiones por aumento de presión

3 can:3PL initiate:Inf fusions by increase of pressure

‘fusions can be initiated by an increase in pressure’

(1875 19-Or España Oral: PEDU010B)

(4.5b) se pueden originar fusiones por aumento de presión
 3 can:3PL initiate:Inf fusiones because of increase of pressure
 ‘fusions can be initiated because of an increase in pressure’

(4.5c) un aumento de presión puede originar fusiones
 an:M increase of pressure can:3SG initiate:Inf fusiones
 ‘an increase in pressure can initiate fusions’

The following tables show the agentivity and individuation analysis for the A₁.

Table 4.9: Agentivity and A₁ Individuation for Example 4.5

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional	0	Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)	0	Target of sentience
Causes an event	0	Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state	1	Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)	.333	A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score = 1.333		

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	0	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	0	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .333		

Agentivity: A₁, *aumento de presión* ‘increase of pressure’ does not have consciousness, making the A₁ non-volitional and non-sentient for which it receives no points. The *aumento de presión* doesn’t cause an event, but rather a change of state, and because the *fusiones* ‘fusions’ are created by the *aumento de presión*, a full point is awarded for ‘causes a change of state’ with no points awarded for ‘causes an event.’ The individuation of A₁ is .333 based on the following

analysis: *aumento de presión* can be modified by *un ‘a’* and it is not a living being, so it is “common” and “inanimate,” which results in no points for either parameter; *aumento de presión* expresses an “action,” so it is abstract for which it receives no points; the A₁ is also singular as evidenced by the lack of the plural marker ‘s’; it receives one point for that parameter; *aumento de presión* has a plural counterpart *aumentos de presión*, so it is a “count” noun phrase, giving it another sixth of a point; since the A₁ is not definite, as evidenced by the lack of definite article, there are no points for “referentiality.” All of this results in a total agentivity score of 1.333 points. The following tables show the transitivity and individuation analysis for the A₂.

Table 4.10: Transitivity and A₂ Individuation for Example 4.5

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action	1	Non-action
Telicity	Telic	0	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	1	Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative	1	Negative
Mode	Realis	1	Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected	1	A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ - degree of individuation	Highly Individuated	.167	non-individuated
Transitivity Score = 5.167			
Voice Score = 6.5			

Individuated 1/6 pt.	Score	Non-individuated 0 pt.
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	0	Abstract
Singular	0	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	0	Non-referential
A ₂ Individuation Score = .167		

Transitivity: the verb *originar* ‘initiate,’ is an action verb that cannot be divided into non-initial, non-final subevents, making it telic, but the A₂, *fusiones*, is plural which allows for the division into non-initial, non-final subevents. Also, the present tense in the verb phrase makes the phrase atelic. This results in one point for “kinesis” and only no points for “telicity.” It is also “punctual” since it has no temporal duration, for which it receives one more point. The sentence is in the affirmative and has a verb in the present indicative, making the sentence realis. This

results in one point each for “polarity” and “mode.” The A₂ is totally affected since the *fusiones* ‘fusions’ would not occur without the action potentially done by A₁, which adds another point for ‘affectedness of A₂.’ Finally, the degree of individuation of A₂ is .333 points, resulting from the following analysis: *fusiones* can be modified by the quantifier *muchas* ‘many,’ and it is not a living being, so it is “common” and “inanimate;” no points are assigned for either of these parameters; it is abstract because *fusiones* expresses an “action,” so the A₂ receives no points for that parameter; *fusiones* has the plural marker ‘es’ and the singular *fusión* exists, so it is a plural count noun; the A₂ receives no points for “number,” but one point for being “count;” finally, the lack of a definite article indicates that the A₂ is not referential or definite, which results in no points for “referentiality.” Overall, example (4.5) has a transitivity score of 5.167.

(4.5) has higher agentivity, transitivity, and voice scores than all of the previous examples. This is because the event in the sentence indicates a potential to cause a change in state that “creates” the A₂. This adds extra half points to “causes a change of state” and “affectedness of A₂.” It is interesting to note that the degree of individuation for the A₁ is as small as the degree of individuation for (4.3). The degree of individuation for the A₂ in example (4.5) is even smaller than that at .167 points. Example (4.5) has the smallest degree of individuation for the A₂ of any of the ten examples addressed in this section. Despite the fact that the degree of individuation of the A₂ in example (4.5) is a half point lower than that of example (4.4), example (4.5) still has a transitivity score .5 points higher than (4.4). This is because the event in (4.5) receives a full point for being punctual and an additional .5 points because the A₂ is totally affected by the event denoted by the verb phrase.

So far, all of the data entries have had A₁S (what is used here to refer to the noun phrase in the *por*-phrase) that are instruments and are very weak actors. Their grammatical acceptability

as subjects in corresponding active sentences varies from variety to variety. Furthermore, the grammatical acceptability of the data entries themselves also varies depending on the variety being spoken, which is one way in which this research could be extended in the future. The remaining data entries in this chapter show the movement toward A₁s that are much stronger actors.

The sixth data entry, (4.6), has an agentivity score of 2.083, a transitivity score of 5.167, and a total voice score of 7.667. This particular data entry has no alternative interpretations of the *por*-phrase. Therefore, the translation and the active sentence are the only sentences included below.

(4.6a) ese discurso ... que se anuncia formalmente
 this:M:SG announcement:M:SG ... that 3 announce:3SG:Pres formally
 por las autoridades de la Federación
 by the:F:PL authorities of the:F:SG Federation
 ‘this announcement ...that is formally announced by the authorities of the
 Federation’(2152 19-Or Entrevista (PAN))

(4.6b) las autoridades de la Federación anuncian formalmente
 the:F:PL authorities of the:F:SG Federation announce:3PL:Pres formally
 ese discurso
 this:M:SG announcement:M:SG

‘the authorities of the Federation formally announce this announcement’

The following tables show the agentivity and individuation analysis for the A₁.

Table 4.11: Agentivity and A₁ Individuation for Example 4.6

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional	.667	Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)	.667	Target of sentience
Causes an event	.5	Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state	0	Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)	.25	A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score = 2.083		

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	0	Abstract
Singular	0	Plural
Count	.083	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .25		

Agentivity: The A₁, *las autoridades de la Federación* ‘the authorities of the Federation,’ can be used with the word *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’ which makes it volitional. However, the volitionality is decreased by the fact that *las autoridades* refers to the government as an organization and not the individuals in it, so .667 points are received for “volitionality.” Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, volitionality entails sentience, but like the volitionality, it is also muted due to the fact that *las autoridades de la Federación* are an organization. For that reason, it receives .667 point for sentience. The A₁ partially causes the event because the *discurso* ‘discourse’ is neither “created nor destroyed” by the event denoted by the clause. It was announced by *las autoridades de la Federación*, but the creation of the announcement happened prior to the formal release of the announcement. Therefore, it receives .5 points for that parameter. It does not cause a change in state, so no points are received for that parameter. The tables below show the transitivity and individuation analysis for the A₂.

Finally, the degree of individuation for *las autoridades de la Federación* is .25: because *las autoridades de la Federación* isn’t a proper noun, it receives no points for that parameter; as

in the case above, *las autoridades de la Federación* is an organization and therefore not human. The organization while able to act deliberately, is still differentiated from purely human arguments, so it receives no points for animacy; because the A₁ refers to multiple entities conceptualized as one unit, it is abstract and receives no points; the definite feminine plural article indicates that the A₁ is plural and referential, resulting in no points for number and one sixth of a point for referentiality; the singular *la autoridad* exists, so it is count, but since it is a collective only one twelfth of a point is added. The final agentivity score is 2.083.

Table 4.12: Transitivity and A₂ Individuation for Example 4.6

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action	1	Non-action
Telicity	Telic	0	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	1	Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative	1	Negative
Mode	Realis	1	Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected	.5	A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ - degree of individuation	Highly Individuated	.667	non-individuated
Transitivity Score = 5.167			
Voice Score = 7.250			

Individuated 1/6 pt.	Score	Non-individuated 0 pt.
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₂ Individuation Score = .667		

Transitivity: *anunciar* ‘announce’ is an action verb, which results in one point for kinesis. The action referred to in the verb phrase cannot be divided into identical subevents, so it is telic, but the present tense verb changes the telicity, resulting in no points for “telicity.” *Anunciar* also has a temporal duration giving it a point for punctuality. The clause is in the affirmative and the present tense makes the mode realis, resulting in one point each for polarity and mode. The A₂, *el discurso* ‘discourse,’ is partially affected by the action in the clause, which adds another .5 points. Finally, the degree of individuation for A₂ is .667: because *el discurso* is not a proper

noun and is inanimate, no points are received for those two parameters; however, because it can be heard, it is concrete, resulting in one sixth of a point; *el discurso* is both singular and referential as evidenced by the definite masculine singular article *el*, which results in one sixth of a point each for number and referentiality; the plural *los discursos* exists making it count, which adds one final sixth of a point. The final transitivity score is 5.167.

(4.6) has higher agentivity and voice scores than all previous examples. What differentiates the previous examples from this one is that this is the first example with a somewhat volitional A₁. Because *las autoridades de la Federación* is an organization of people, it is partially volitional and partially sentient. It is also for that reason that the degree of individuation of the A₁ has partial points for being a collective noun. Interestingly, (4.6) has the lowest score for the degree of individuation of the A₁. The most noteworthy difference between (4.5) and (4.6) with respect to transitivity is that (4.6) has an A₂ that is only partially affected by the action denoted by the verb phrase, but the A₂ is more individuated than in (4.5). (4.5), on the other hand, has an A₂ that is totally affected by the action denoted by the verb phrase, but has a much less individuated A₂. The A₂ for (4.5) receives points only for being count whereas the A₂ for (4.6) receives points for being concrete, singular, and referential. So far, based on the examples, it appears that the main differences between voice scores can be found in aspect and the degree of individuation.

The seventh data entry, (4.7), has an agentivity score of 3.5, a transitivity score of 4.333, and a total voice score of 7.833 points. This particular data entry has no alternative interpretations of *por*, so once again only the translation and the active sentence are included below.

(4.7a) se están dictando cursos por profesoras especializadas

3:Refl be:3PL:Pres giving:PresPart courses by professor:F:PL specialized:F:PL
 ‘Courses are being given by specialized professors’

(4.7b) profesoras especializadas están dictando cursos
 professor:F:PL specialized:F:PL be:3PL:Pres giving:PresPart courses
 ‘Specialized professors are giving courses’

The following tables show the agentivity and individuation analysis for the A₁.

Table 4.13: Agentivity and A₁ Individuation for Example 4.7

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional	1	Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)	1	Target of sentience
Causes an event	0	Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state	1	Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)	.5	A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score = 3.5		

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	.167	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	0	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	0	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .5		

Agentivity: *Profesoras especializadas* ‘specialized professors’ is the A₁, and it can be used with the word *deliberadamente*, ‘deliberately.’ Therefore, the A₁ receives one point for volitionality. The A₁ has “emotion, perception, and awareness,” giving it one point for sentience. *Profesoras especializadas* causes a change in state because the professors create the lectures for the course, so it receives one point for that parameter, but no points for “causes an event.” Finally, *profesoras especializadas*’ degree of individuation is .5 based on the following analysis: because the noun phrase *profesoras especializadas* ‘specialized professors’ can appear with the quantifier *unas* ‘some,’ it is a “common noun” receives no points for individuation on that

parameter; because it is human and, therefore, animate, it receives one sixth of a point for “animacy”; because *profesoras especializadas* does not express a “quality, state, or action,” the A₁ is concrete, adding another sixth of a point; because *profesoras especializadas* has the singular *profesoras especializadas* ‘specialized professor,’ it is “count,” so it receives one sixth of a point, but it receives no points for “number” since it is plural; because it does not have a definite article, it does not receive any points for referentiality since it has to be both definite and referential to receive a point. The final agentivity score is 3.5. The tables below show the transitivity and individuation analysis for the A₂.

Table 4.14: Transitivity and A₂ Individuation for Example 4.7

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action	1	Non-action
Telicity	Telic	0	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	0	Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative	1	Negative
Mode	Realis	1	Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected	1	A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ - degree of individuation	Highly Individuated	.333	non-individuated
Transitivity Score = 4.333			
Voice Score = 7.833			

Individuated 1/6 pt.	Score	Non-individuated 0 pt.
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	0	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	0	Non-referential
A ₂ Individuation Score = .333		

Transitivity: *dictar* ‘give (in this context)’ is an action verb, so it receives one point for “kinesis.” The action denoted by the verb can be divided into complete identical subevents as can be seen in (4.8c) and (4.8d) below.

(4.8c) *profesoras especializadas están dictando cursos entre las dos y las dos y media*

‘Specialized professors are giving courses from 2:00 to 2:30’

(4.8d) *profesoras especializadas están dictando cursos entre las dos y media y las tres*

‘Specialized professors are giving courses from 2:30 to 3:00’

This means that it is atelic and receives no points for “telicity.” It also has temporal duration, so it receives no points for “punctuality.” Since the clause has no negative indicators, it is in the affirmative, and the verb is in the present progressive, which is indicative, so the mode is realis, resulting in one point each for “polarity” and “mode.” Since *cursos* ‘courses’ would not exist without the action brought about in the clause by the *profesoras especializadas*, the A₂ is totally affected, which gives the clause one more point for “affectedness of A₂.” Lastly, the degree of individuation of the A₂ *cursos* ‘courses’ is .334, based on the following analysis: because the quantifier *unos* ‘some’ can appear with *cursos*, it is a “common” noun, resulting in no points for that individuation parameter; because *cursos* is not a living thing, it is inanimate for which it receives no points; because it does not express a “quality, state, action,” it is concrete, which adds one sixth of a point to the degree of individuation; because the plural *cursos* has the singular *curso* ‘course,’ it is count, so it receives no points for being plural, but one sixth of a point for being count; because *cursos* does not have a definite article, it cannot receive any points for referentiality. The final transitivity score is 4.334.

(4.7) has higher agentivity and voice scores than all previous examples, but (4.5) and (4.6) both have higher transitivity scores than (4.7). The reason (4.7) has a higher agentivity score than any previous example is that this is the first example with a fully volitional and sentient A₁. The degree of individuation for the A₁ also differs from previous examples because it is the first human, animate A₁. The transitivity score of (4.7) is lower than (4.5) and (4.6). The low transitivity score of (4.7) is the result of aspect, which is interesting because of the relationship between aspect and the prototypical passive addressed later in this section.

The eighth data entry is (4.8). It has an agentivity score of 2.417, a transitivity score of 5.5, and a total voice score of 7.917. It is important to note that *por* can be interpreted as both ‘by’ and ‘for’ in contexts like this. However, the extended context in this case makes it clear that ‘by’ is the correct translation in this case, so the alternate interpretation of *por* is not included below.

(4.8a) el dinero que se ha gastado por el Pri
 the:M:SG money that 3 have:3SG spend:PastPart by the:M:SG Pri
 ‘the money that has been spent by Pri’ (2067 19-Or Entrevista (PAN))

(4.8b) el Pri ha gastado el dinero
 the:M:SG Pri have:3SG spend:PastPart the:M:SG money
 ‘Pri has spent the money’

Agentivity: *El Pri* can be used with the word *deliberadamente* ‘deliberately’ so it is volitional, but the fact that it is actually the individuals in the organization acting *deliberadamente* mutes the volitionality so it receives .667 points for volitionality. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, volitionality entails sentience, but like the volitionality, it is also muted due to the fact that *el Pri* is an organization. For that reason, it receives .667 point for sentience. *El Pri* causes the event in the clause, but the A₂ is neither “created nor destroyed” by the action in the verb phrase, which gives it .5 points for “causes an event.” It does not cause a change of state, so no points are added for that parameter. The Individuation of the A₁ as previously mentioned is made up of six parameters, and the score for it and the agentivity analysis can be seen in the tables below.

Table 4.15: Agentivity and A₁ Individuation for Example 4.8

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional	.667	Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)	.667	Target of sentience
Causes an event	.5	Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state	0	Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)	.583	A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score = 2.417		

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper	.167	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	0	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	.083	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .583		

The degree of individuation of *El Pri* is .583, based on the following analysis: first, because it is not able to appear with quantifiers, such as *un* ‘a,’ it is a proper noun phrase, resulting in one sixth of a point for that parameter; because it is an organization, it is not human, resulting in no points added to the degree of individuation for animacy; in this case, using *el Pri* in a sentence with *respirar*, ‘breath’ shows that while the organization can be volitional due to the fact that the adverb *deliberadamente* can be used in sentences where *el Pri* is the A₁, the same is not true for the test **El Pri respira*. The organization while able to act deliberately, is still differentiated from purely human arguments. *El Pri* does not express a “quality, state, or action,” so it is concrete, giving it one sixth of a point for that parameter; *El Pri* refers to a single organization, so it is singular and receives one sixth of a point; because its referent is a political party and is made up of multiple individuals, it is a “collective” noun, which makes it count, but the lack of a plural, and the fact that it is a collective differentiates it from other count nouns, so it receives one twelfth of a point; lastly, because it is a proper noun phrase and can only refer to a specific entity, it is referential, resulting in one more sixth of a point. The final agentivity score is 2.417.

The tables below show the transitivity and individuation analysis for the A₂.

Table 4.16: Transitivity and A₂ Individuation for Example 4.8

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action	1	Non-action
Telicity	Telic	1	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	.5	Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative	1	Negative
Mode	Realis	1	Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected	.5	A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ - degree of individuation	Highly Individuated	.5	non-individuated
Transitivity Score = 5.5			
Voice Score = 7.917			

Individuated 1/6 pt.	Score	Non-individuated 0 pt.
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	0	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₂ Individuation Score = .5		

Transitivity: *gastar* ‘spend’ is an action verb, which gives it one point for kinesis. The verb phrase *gastar el dinero* ‘spend the money’ cannot be divided into complete identical subevents, which makes it telic. Furthermore, the verb phrase is in the present perfect, making the telicity of the phrase stronger and resulting in 1 point for “telicity.” With respect to punctuality, the verb *gastar* has temporal duration, which makes it non-punctual, but the presence of the present perfect tense causes temporal duration of the phrase to be muted, resulting in .5 points for “punctuality.” The clause has no negative indicators and it is in the present perfect indicative, which gives it one point for “polarity” and another for “mode” since it is both affirmative and realis. Since the event in the clause neither “creates nor destroys” the A₂, *el dinero* ‘the money’ is only partially affected by the event, resulting in .5 points for “affectedness of A₂.” The degree of individuation of *el dinero* is .5, based on the following analysis: because it can appear with the quantifier *mucho* ‘a lot of,’ *el dinero* is a “common” noun, for which it receives no points; it is not a living thing, which makes it inanimate and

results in no points for that parameter; it does not express a “quality, state, or action,” so it is concrete, resulting in the addition of one sixth of a point to the degree of individuation; the definite masculine singular article *el* makes the noun phrase singular and referential for which it receives two sixths of a point; however, the plural **los dineros* does not exist, so *el dinero* is a mass noun, and receives no points for that parameter. The final transitivity score is 5.5 points.

(4.8) has higher transitivity and voice scores than all previous examples, but it has a lower agentivity score than (4.7). (4.8) has a higher transitivity score than all previous examples because it is telic and partially punctual. (4.8) is the first example to receive at least partial points for all transitivity parameters. The agentivity score for (4.8) is lower than that of (4.7) because (4.8) only receives partially points for volitionality and sentience, while (4.7) receives full points for those parameters.

(4.9) has an agentivity score of 2.417, a transitivity score of 5.5, and a total voice score of 7.917.

(4.9a) Vicente Fox se pide por la Comisión sentarse con
 Vicente Fox 3Refl ask:3SG:Pres by the:F:SG Commission:F:SG sit:Inf:3Refl with
 el grupo de ciudadanos
 the:M:SG group:M:SG of citizen:M:PL

‘Vicente Fox was asked by the Commission to sit with the group of citizens’ (2088 19-
 Or Entrevista (PAN))

(4.9b) la Comisión pide a Vicente Fox que se siente
 the:F:SG Commission:F:SG ask:3SG:Pres to Vicente Fox that 3 sit:3SG:Subj:Pres
 con el grupo de ciudadanos
 with the:M:SG group:M:SG of citizen:M:PL

‘The Commission asks Vicente Fox to sit with the group of citizens’

Agentivity: The A₁, *la Comisión* ‘the Commission,’ can make conscious decisions, but since it is a group the volitionality and sentience are muted, giving it .667 points each for “volitionality” and “sentience.” The A₁ causes the event in the clause, but neither “creates nor destroys,” so .5 points are added for that parameter. It does not cause a change of state, which gives it no points for “causes a change in state.” Lastly, the degree of individuation for the A₁ is .75: because *la Comisión* is a proper noun, it receives one sixth of a point for that parameter; it is inanimate, so no points are received for that parameter; because the A₁ refers to multiple entities conceptualized as one unit, it is abstract and receives no points; as evidenced by the definite singular feminine article, *la Comisión* is singular and referential, which adds another two sixths of a point; because proper nouns do not have plurals, it is a collective count noun, which adds one twelfth of a point to the degree of individuation for A₁. The final agentivity score is 5.5. The following tables show the agentivity and individuation analysis for the A₁.

Table 4.17: Agentivity and A₁ Individuation for Example 4.9

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional	.667	Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)	.667	Target of sentience
Causes an event	.5	Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state	0	Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)	.583	A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score = 2.417		

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper	.167	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	0	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	.083	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .583		

The tables below show the transitivity and individuation analysis for the A₂.

Table 4.18: Transitivity and A₂ Individuation for Example 4.9

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action	1	Non-action
Telicity	Telic	0	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	1	Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative	1	Negative
Mode	Realis	1	Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected	.5	A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ - degree of individuation	Highly Individuated	1	non-individuated
Transitivity Score = 5.5			
Voice Score = 8.085			

Individuated 1/6 pt.	Score	Non-individuated 0 pt.
Proper	.167	Common
Human, animate	.167	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₂ Individuation Score = 1		

Transitivity: *pedir* ‘ask’ is an action verb that has a temporal duration, so it receives one point each for kinesis and punctuality. The verb phrase cannot be divided into identical subevents, so it is atelic. Furthermore, the present tense mutes any telicity that might exist results in no points for telicity. There are no negative markers in the clause, so it is affirmative and receives one point for polarity. The verb is in the present tense, which makes the mode realis and results in another point. Because *Vicente Fox* is not represented as having been “created or destroyed” by the *la Comisión* in this clause, it is only partially affected by the action in the clause, and therefore, receives only .5 points for “affectedness of A₂.” Finally, the degree of individuation for A₂ is one point: because *Vicente Fox* is a proper name, the A₂ is both proper and animate, resulting in one sixth of a point for each of those parameters; given that people are tangible, it is also concrete and receives another sixth of a point; because *Vicente Fox* is singular, another one sixth of a point is given for it being singular, but because it cannot be plural and cannot be divided into individuals, it is a mass noun and receives no points for physical

discreteness; lastly, because *Vicente Fox* is a proper noun, it is also referential resulting in one final sixth of a point being added to the degree of individuation for A₂. The final transitivity score is 5.5.

(4.9) has the exact same agentivity, transitivity, and voice scores as (4.8). However, they are vastly different. With respect to transitivity, (4.9) is the only data entry analyzed in this section that has a full point for the degree of individuation of the A₂. (4.8) is telic and partially punctual, while (4.9) is not telic and fully punctual. What makes (4.9) most noteworthy, however, is not the comparison of voice parameters. It is the data entry itself, which has an A₂ that is the indirect object in the active sentence. What makes this peculiar is that “in Spanish, only Direct Objects can passivize (i.e., become the Subject of a Passive Predicate) (Schulz, 1982, p.80). Since *Vicente Fox* is the indirect object of the active sentence, it should not appear as the subject of the passive in Spanish.

The final data entry, (4.10), has an agentivity score of 3, a transitivity score of 5.167, and a total voice score of 8.167. Again, there are no alternative interpretations of *por* here.

(4.10a) [la resolución] se aprobó de forma unánime por
 The:F:SG resolution:F:SG 3Refl pass:3SG:Pret of form unanimous by
 demócratas y republicanos
 democrats and republicans

‘The resolution was passed unanimously by democrats and republicans’ (1958 19-Or
 Fidel Castro (01/11/99))

(4.10b) demócratas y republicanos aprobó de forma unánime [la
 democrats and republicans pass:3SG:Pret of form unanimous the:F:SG
 resolución]

resolution:F:SG

‘Democrats and Republicans passed the resolution unanimously’

The following tables show the agentivity and individuation analysis for the A₁.

Table 4.19: Agentivity and A₁ Individuation for Example 4.10

Agentivity Parameter HIGH - 1 pt.	Score	(or does not apply) LOW - 0 pt.
Volitional	1	Non-volitional
Sentience (and/or perception)	1	Target of sentience
Causes an event	.5	Causally affected by A ₁
Causes a change in state	0	Undergoes a change in state
Individuation of A ₁ (degree of individuation)	.5	A ₁ non-individuated
Agentivity Score = 3		

Individuated	Score	Non-individuated
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	.167	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	0	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	0	Non-referential
A ₁ Individuation Score = .5		

Agentivity: *demócratas y republicanos* ‘democrats and republicans’ can act *deliberadamente* making it volitional and resulting in one point for “volitionality.” It also has “emotion, perception, awareness,” which makes it sentient and results in another point. It causes the event in the clause, but the A₂ is neither “created nor destroyed” by the action, so .5 points are added for that parameter, while no points are added for “causes a change of state.” Finally, the degree of individuation for the A₁ is .5: because *demócratas y republicanos* can be used with the quantifier *unos* ‘some,’ it is a common noun phrase and no points are received for that parameter; however, *demócratas y republicanos* refers to living beings and does not express a “quality, state, action,” making it both animate and concrete and resulting in the addition of one sixth of a point for each of those parameters; as evidenced by the plural inflection -s on both words, *demócratas y republicanos* is plural, for which it receives no points; because the singular

demócrata/republicano exists, it is count which adds another sixth of a point; because of the lack of a definite article, no points are awarded for “referentiality.” The total agentivity score is 5.167 points. The tables below show the transitivity and individuation analysis for the A₂.

Table 4.20: Transitivity and A₂ Individuation for Example 4.10

Transitivity Parameter	High- 1 pt.	Score	Low-0 pt.
Kinesis	Action	1	Non-action
Telicity	Telic	1	Atelic
Punctuality	Punctual	0	Non-punctual
Polarity	Affirmative	1	Negative
Mode	Realis	1	Irrealis
Affectedness of A ₂	A ₂ totally affected	.5	A ₂ not affected
Individuation of A ₂ - degree of individuation	Highly Individuated	.667	non-individuated
Transitivity Score = 5.167			
Voice Score = 8.167			

Individuated 1/6 pt.	Score	Non-individuated 0 pt.
Proper	0	Common
Human, animate	0	Inanimate
Concrete	.167	Abstract
Singular	.167	Plural
Count	.167	Mass
Referential, definite	.167	Non-referential
A ₂ Individuation Score = .667		

Transitivity: *aprobar* ‘pass’ is an action verb that cannot be divided into complete identical subevents and has no temporal duration in this context. It, therefore, receives one point each for “kinesis” and “telicity” but no points for “punctuality.” The clause has no negative indicator and the verb is in the preterit indicative, which makes it both affirmative and realis and results in one point for each. Because *la resolución* ‘the resolution’ is not represented as having been “created or destroyed” by the *demócratas y republicanos* in the sentence, it is only partially affected by the action in the clause, and therefore, receives only .5 points. Finally, the degree of individuation of *la resolución* is .667: because the quantifier *una* ‘a’ can be used with *resolución*, it is a common noun and because it is not a living thing, it is inanimate, which results in no points for those two individuation parameters; however, because *la resolución* does not express a

“quality, state, or action,” it is concrete and results in the addition of one sixth of a point; the definite feminine singular article *la* indicates that the A₂ is both singular and referential for which it receives two sixths of a point; also, because the plural *las resoluciones* exists, making it count, another sixth of a point is added. The final transitivity is 5.167.

(4.10) has a higher voice score than all previous examples, but (4.7) has a higher agentivity score because the event denoted by the verb phrase fully causes a change in state. However, both examples are fully volitional and sentient. The difference between the examples that are volitional and sentient and those that are not is very important for this research and the implications of this will be discussed later in this chapter. The transitivity scores of the past four data entries vary based mostly on individuation and aspect, which will also be addressed later in this chapter.

4.2 Trends in the Data

The analyses described above were done for each of the fifty data entries, and the tables below show where data entries fall within score ranges and how certain criteria relate to each other.

The data entries analyzed have voice scores varying from 3.167-9.333. My initial assumption with respect to voice score was that the higher numbers of data entries would be in the lower voice score ranges and that the numbers would decrease the higher the score ranges got. My logic was that the least agentive niche was where the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase would start and would therefore have the most *se* passive constructions. Given that assumption, the highest numbers of data entries should have been in the 3-3.999 range, and the lowest number of data entries should have been in the 9-9.999 range. However, my expectations were not supported by the data.

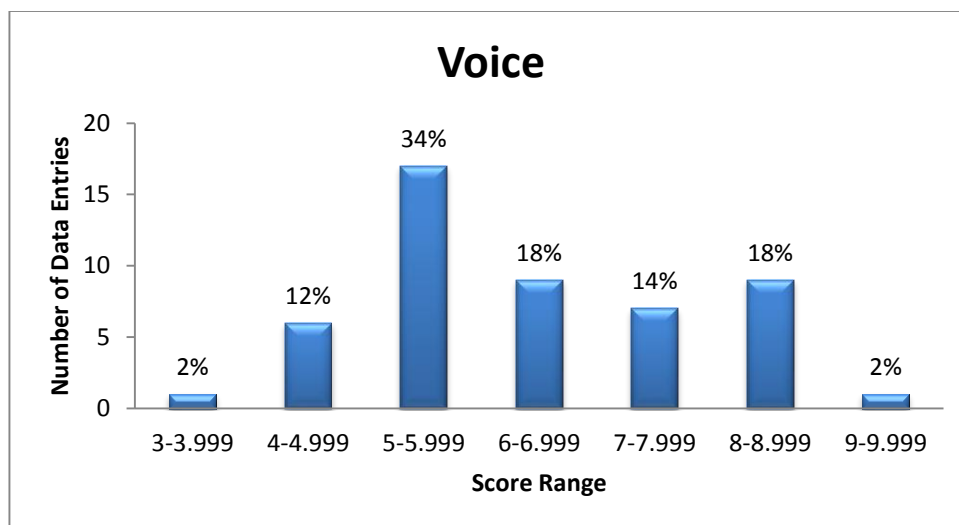


Figure 4.1: Number of data entries within each range of voice scores

As shown in Figure 4.1, the voice score range with the largest number of data entries is 5-5.999 with seventeen data entries falling within that range, thirty-four percent of the total number of entries. There are varying numbers of entries that fall within each of the other ranges. There is not a trend that indicates a decreasing number of data entries as the voice score goes up. Instead, the proportion of data entries that fell in the 5-5.999 voice score range indicates that that score range is a possible range from which the *se* passive construction developed since thirty-four percent of the total number of data entries fell within that range. It is also noteworthy that there is only one entry each in the lowest and highest ranges, 3-3.999 and 9-9.999 respectively, indicating that the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase are likely to be uncommon when the voice score is either very low or very high. This gives the impression that *se* passive constructions with a *por*-phrase most likely did not originate in the lower voice score ranges, and that they are quite uncommon in the higher voice score ranges. It is important to note that these impressions are simply trends based on proportional analysis of the data. In order to verify these trends, a more in depth statistical analysis with a larger number of data entries would be needed.

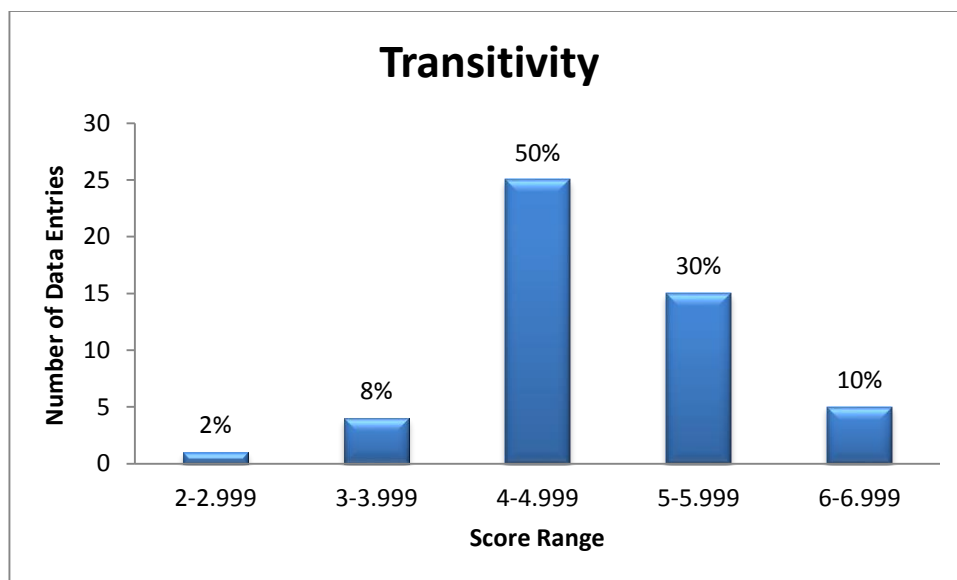


Figure 4.2: Number of data entries within each range of transitivity scores.

Figure 4.2 above shows transitivity scores. As with passivity, I hypothesized that the higher number of data entries would fall on the lower end of the transitivity scale. However, half of all data entries fell within the 4-4.999 range. Another fourteen entries, or twenty-eight percent, fell within the 5-5.999 transitivity score range. That means that almost three quarters of all data entries fell within the two-point range between 4 and 5.999. The two lowest transitivity ranges had very low numbers of data entries, and together they account for only ten percent of the total. This gives the impression that the transitivity score range from 2-3.999 is not a preferred range for the developing *se* passive constructions with a *por*-phrase. The preferred range seems to be between 4 and 4.999 since half of all data entries fell into that range, which could indicate that *se*-passive constructions developed out of that niche since clauses with transitivity scores in that range are more likely to allow for the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase. This implication is further supported by the fact that there are diminishing numbers of data entries in each of the subsequent transitivity score ranges with thirty percent of the data entries in the 5-5.999 transitivity score range and ten percent of the data entries in the 6-6.999 transitivity score

range. The parameters within the transitivity analysis shed light on some possible trends in the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase.

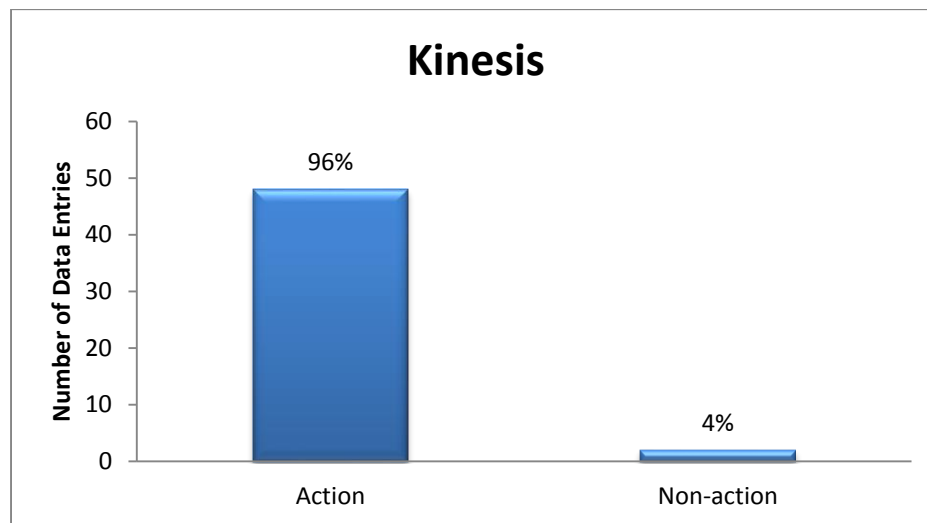


Figure 4.3: Kinesis – The number of data entries that are action versus non-action verbs

With respect to kinesis, a larger percentage of the data entries contain action verbs than non-action. As can be seen in Figure 4.3, only four percent of the data entries contained non-action verbs. With such a large percentage of the data entries having action verbs, it appears that non-action verbs are much less likely to be part of the developing *se* passive constructions with a *por*-phrase. This is interesting from a linguistic perspective because it suggests that the developing *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases are almost entirely dynamic verbal passives. Spanish has both dynamic verbal passives and stative, generally adjectival, passives. “Adjectival or stative passives are expressed with *estar*, verbal or eventive passives with *ser*” (Garavito & Valenzuela, 2008, p. 323). The prototypical passive in Spanish is the *ser* passive, and it appears that the developing *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases are most closely related to the *ser* passive (periphrastic passive) constructions. This is significant because much of the data implies that the developing *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases are filling in the

gaps in usage where the periphrastic passive is generally used, but in this particular case, they coincide.

An example of *se* passive constructions being used in niches where the periphrastic passive not can be seen is telicity. Figure 4.4 shows the degree of telicity of the data in this study.

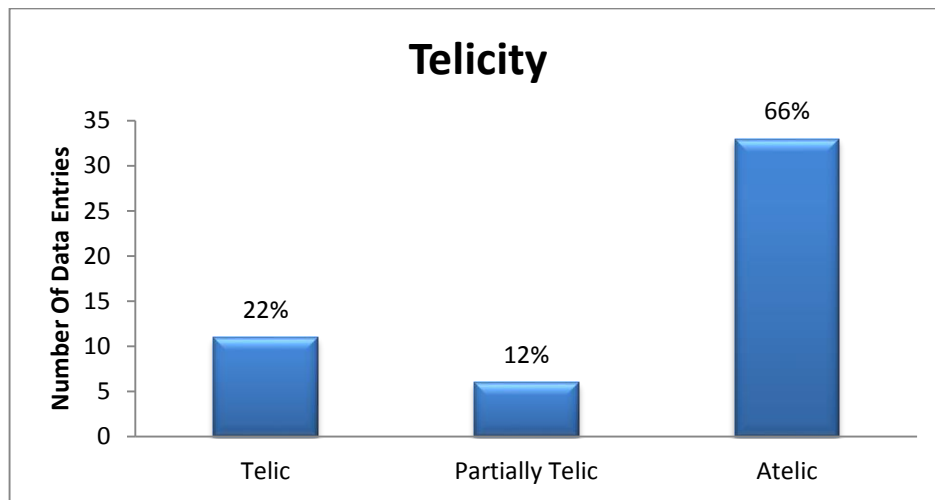


Figure 4.4: Telicity in the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase

As can be seen above, the majority of the data entries were atelic, only twelve percent of the entries were partially telic, and twenty-two percent of the entries were telic. This seems to suggest that the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase prefers atelic activities. This is incredibly interesting because with *ser* passives “atelic activities are avoided in Spanish” (Sanz, 2000, p. 148). This is consistent with my hypothesis that the developing *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases are filling in the gaps left by the specialization of the periphrastic passive. Since the periphrastic passive is most commonly used with telic activities, it makes sense that the newer passive would start in areas that are not currently within the purview of the periphrastic passive and later move into other areas. The data suggests that this could be the case since there are some telic *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases. Punctuality also seems to be somewhat of a determiner for *se* passive constructions.

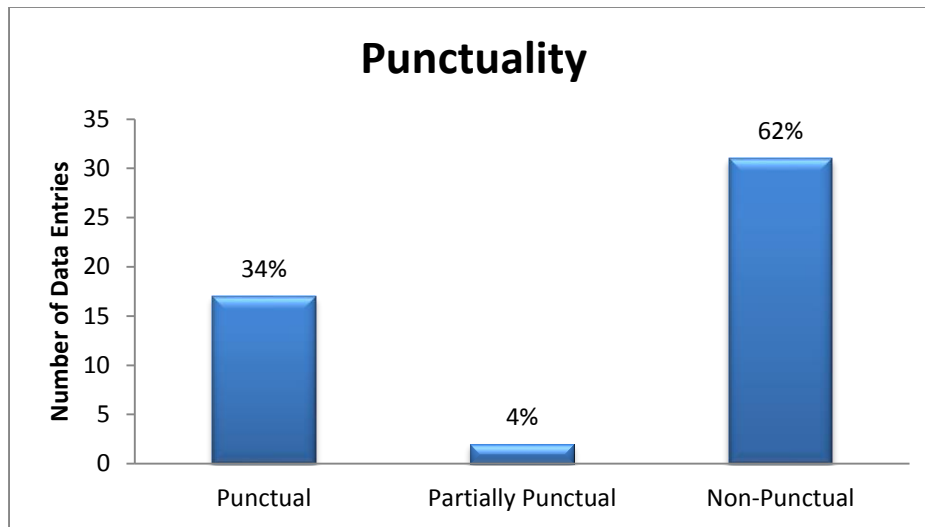


Figure 4.5: Punctuality in the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase

As seen in Figure 4.5, sixty-two percent of the data entries had non-punctual events, with only thirty-four percent of the data entries having punctual events and four percent having partially punctual events. It is possible that the developing *se* passive constructions with a *por*-phrase were initially used primarily with punctual events and later began to be used with non-punctual events. However, it is also possible that this particular sample simply had higher numbers of punctual events, and a larger sample would yield different results.

With that said, the acceptability of prototypical passives improves when the passive is “interpreted as an accomplishment” (Sanz, 2000, p. 148). “Vendler (1957) claimed that achievements and accomplishments are respectively punctual and durative” (Caudal, 1999, p. 12). Since accomplishments would correspond with non-punctual verb phrases in this data, the larger number of non-punctual verb phrases is the opposite of what I expected based on the trends in telicity. I expected the larger number of data entries to correspond with the area outside of the purview of the periphrastic passive. However, the data suggests that both the periphrastic passive and the *se* passive constructions prefer the use of non-punctual verb phrases to punctual verb phrases. With respect to polarity, on the other hand, a clear trend seemed to be apparent.

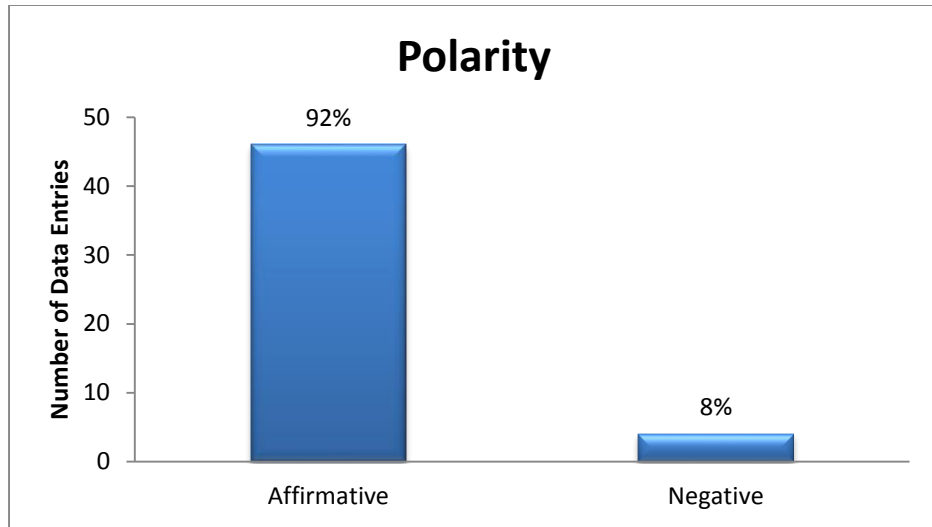


Figure 4.6: Polarity in the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase

As can be seen in Figure 4.6, the majority of the *se* passive constructions are in the affirmative. Only eight percent of the *se* passive constructions were in the negative. This implies that there may be a preference for the affirmative in the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase.

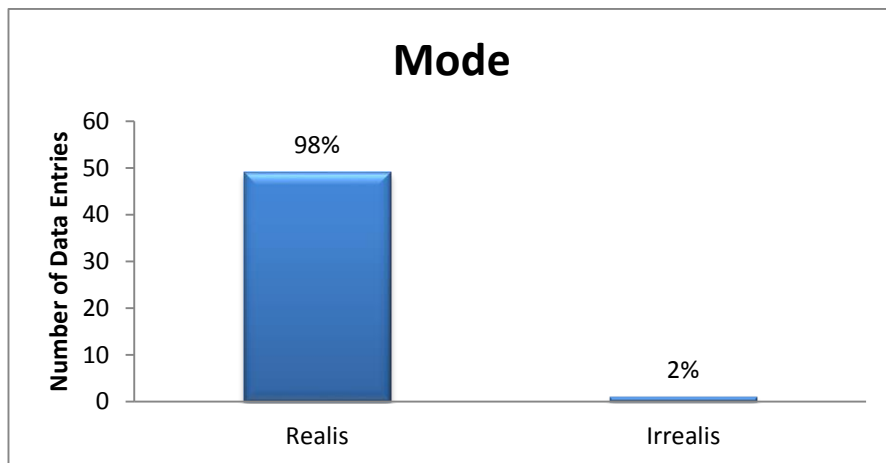


Figure 4.7: Realis versus irrealis in the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase

Aside from a trend for the usage of the affirmative in *se* passive constructions, there also seems to be a clear trend with respect to mode. As evidenced in Figure 4.7 above, it appears that

there is a preference for realis. Ninety-eight percent of the data entries were realis, with only two percent being irrealis. This suggests that *se* passive constructions are unlikely to be irrealis. This could be related to the fact that most of the data is oral data, and oral language tends to be realis.

Finally, there seems to be a trend with respect to the affectedness of the A₂. There were no data entries that had an A₂ that was unaffected by the action of the verb phrase. The rest of the data entries had A₂s that were at least partially if not totally affected by the action of the verb phrase. This implies that the developing *se* passive constructions with a *por*-phrase are unlikely to have A₂s that are unaffected by the action of the verb phrase. The larger proportion of the data entries, seventy-eight percent, had A₂s that were partially affected by the action of the verb phrase. Only twenty-two percent of the data entries were totally affected by the action of the verb phrase. This indicates that there is a possible trend toward partial affectedness of the A₂.

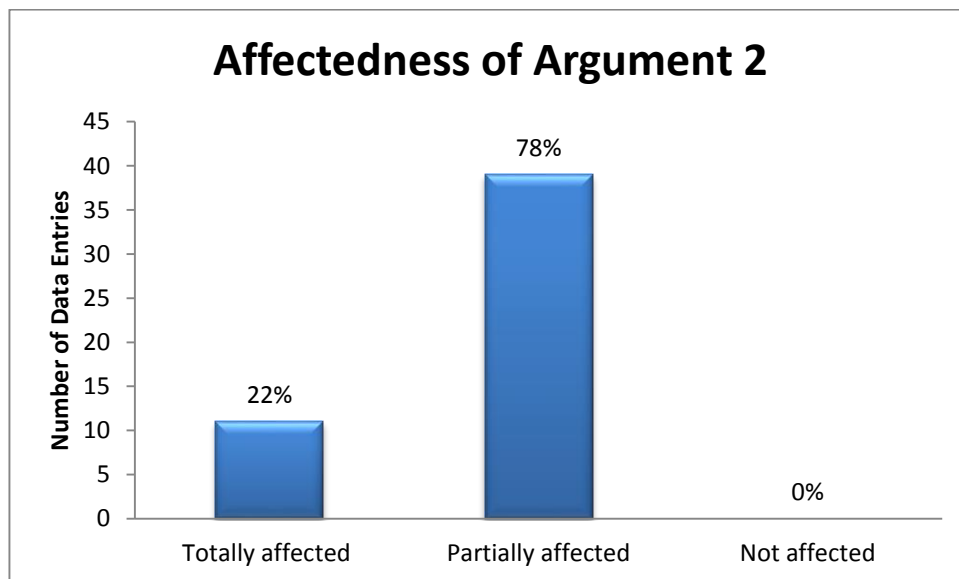


Figure 4.8: Number of data entries in varying degrees of affectedness of Argument 2

Trends in agentivity score were also apparent, as can be seen in Figure 4.9 below. Fifty-four percent of the data had an agentivity score between 1 and 1.999. This indicates that many of the agents present in the developing *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases are weak and that

the more prototypical agents are not used as commonly. However, the top agentivity range from 3-3.999 was not completely empty. Sixteen percent of the sample fell within that range, implying that there has been some movement toward the inclusion of a more prototypical agent. My assumption was that the number of data entries in each agentivity score range would decrease as the agentivity score range increased, but it does not appear that the development of the *se*-passive construction has simply moved from less agentive to more agentive ranges because the agentivity score range with the lowest number of data entries was 0-0.999 with seven data entries, only fourteen percent of the total number of data entries, while the range from 2-2.999 represents eighteen percent and the range from 3-3.999 represent sixteen percent of the data entries.

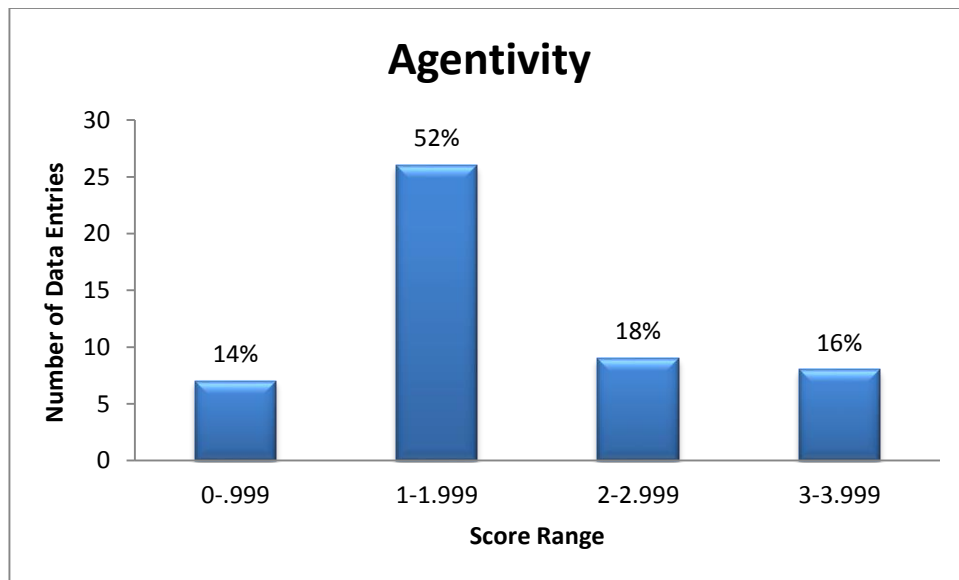


Figure 4.9: Number of data entries within each range of agentivity scores

As apparent from Figure 4.10 below, when the A_1 was compared to the A_2 , the A_1 and the A_2 had degrees of individuation that were the same for sixteen percent of the data entries. For the remainder of the entries, thirty-six percent had an A_1 degree of individuation that was greater than the A_2 degree of individuation and another forty-eight percent had an A_2 degree of

individuation that was greater than the A_1 degree of individuation. My assumption was that the majority of the data entries would have an A_1 degree of individuation that was smaller than the A_2 degree of individuation. I found that more data entries fit into that category than into the others. However, just over one third of the entries had an A_1 with greater degree of individuation than the A_2 . This could indicate a trend toward the use of more individuated A_2 s in the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase, but a much more in-depth analysis of individuation would be required to get a clear view of exactly how the degree of individuation of each argument affects the use of the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase.

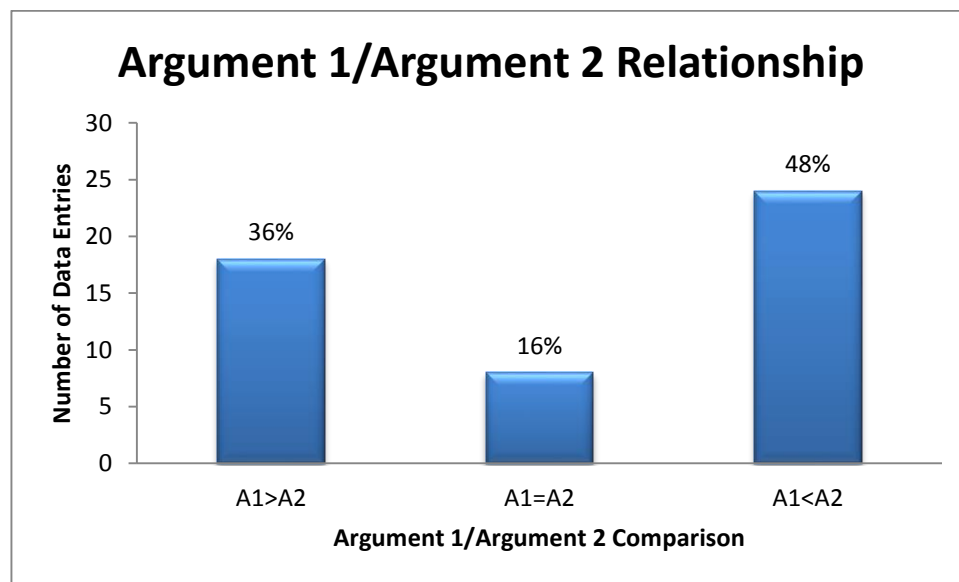


Figure 4.10: A comparison of the degree of individuation of the A_1 versus the A_2

Volitionality and sentience are two parameters that mark the degree of animacy of the A_1 , and the graphs for these two parameters can be seen below.

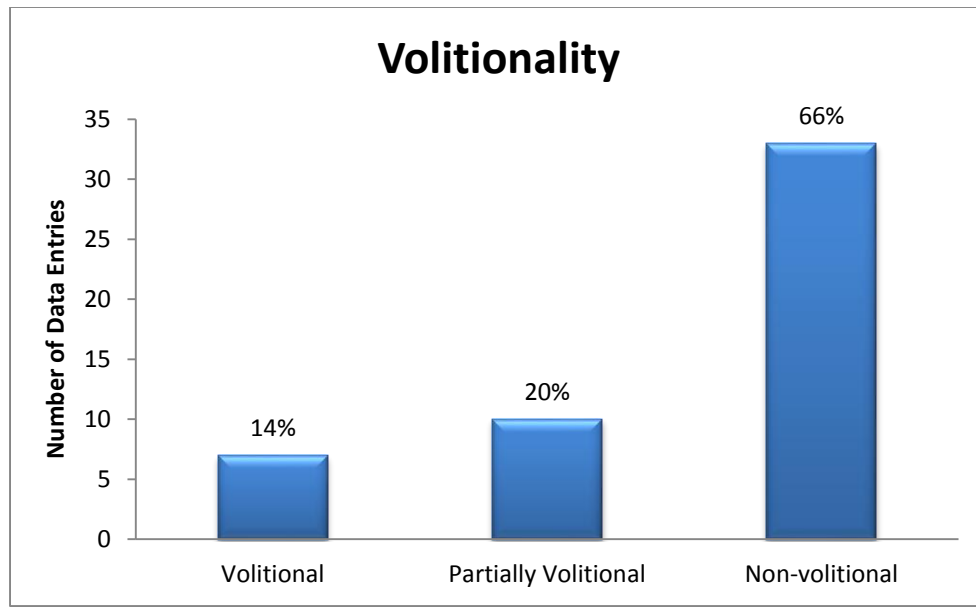


Figure 4.11: Volitionality in the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase

Figure 4.11 above shows that in the majority of the data entries A_1 was non-volitional. In fact, in sixty-six percent of the data entries, the A_1 received no points for volitionality. However, in the remaining thirty-four percent of the data entries, the A_1 received at least partial points for volitionality. Only fourteen percent of the data entries were fully volitional. Looking more closely at the differences among those data entries, .667 points were given for volitionality if the A_1 had volitionality as a group or community. For example, in example (4.9) above, *la Comisión* ‘the Commission’ received .667 points each for volitionality because the representatives of the ‘Commission’ have are capable of deliberately making decisions despite the fact that the ‘Commission’ itself is not actually animate. In twenty percent of the data entries, the A_1 received .667 points for volitionality for that reason. This supports my initial assumption that *se* passive constructions started with less agentive entities and have slowly begun to take over other niches, moving from non-volitional to partially volitional and finally to fully volitional. These same trends can be seen in sentence since the A_1 in the data entry cannot be volitional unless it is first sentient.

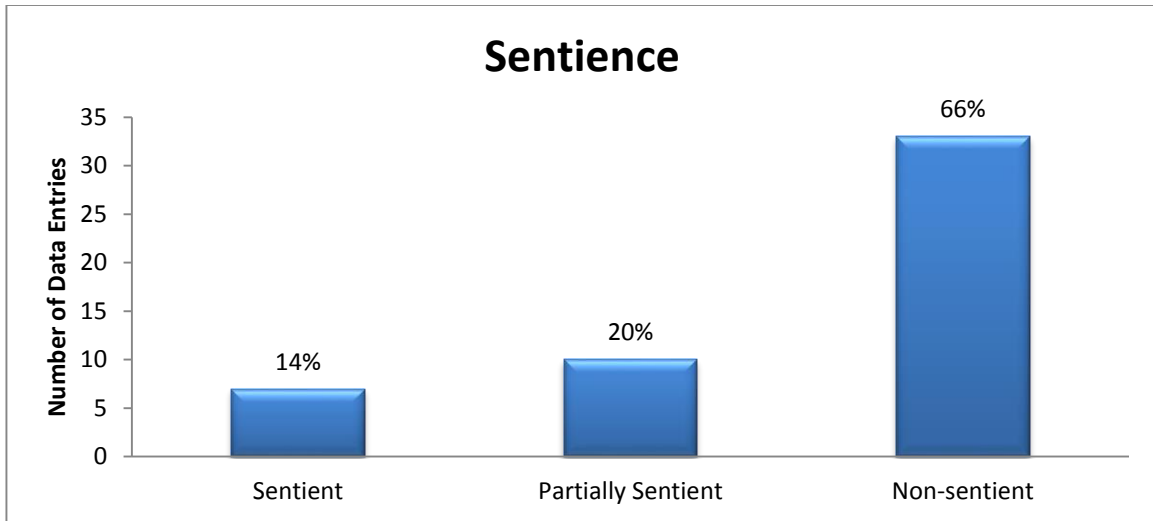


Figure 4.12: Sentience in the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase

Another noteworthy trend in this research is that seventy-four percent of the data entries caused or partially caused an event rather than causing or partially causing a change in state. This can be seen in Figure 4.13 below.

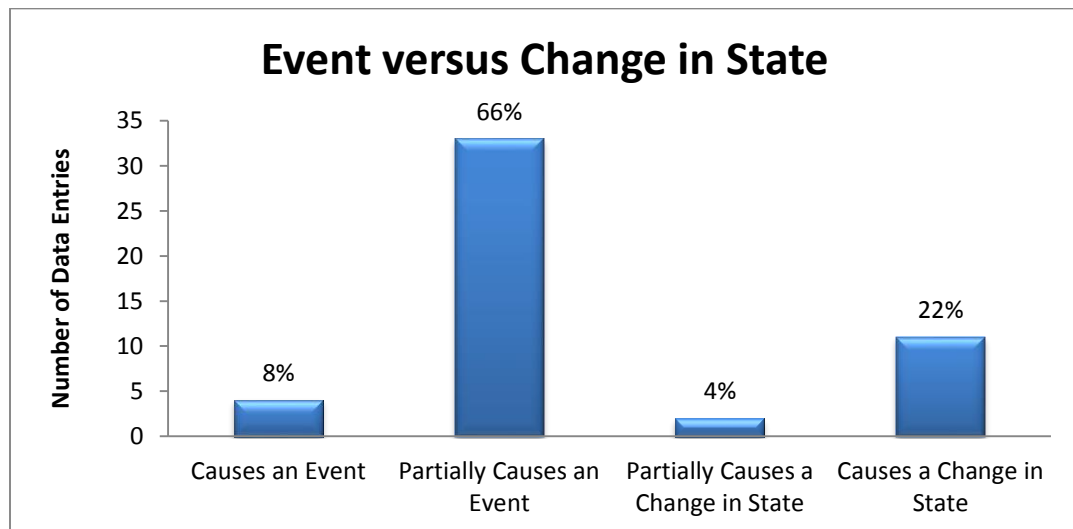


Figure 4.13: Causation in the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase

The trends that can be seen in the table with respect to causation suggest that in the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase the verb phrase is more likely to refer to the causation of an event than to refer to the causation of a change in state. This is important to note because my

initial assumption was that *se* passive constructions began with changes in state and then slowly expanded to include the causation of an event. However, based on the fact that twenty-two percent of the data entries had a verb phrase that referred to the causation of a change in state, it appears that the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase may have started with the causation of an event and expanded into the causation of a change in state.

Looking more closely at the A_1 shows some interesting trends as well. Melis says, based on her research, that today the *se* passive is the preferred passive form even though the periphrastic passive is used when the A_1 in the passive construction is an agent that is concrete, intentional, and prominent in the discourse (2007, p. 71). The intentionality aspect of this was addressed with volitionality, and this research does not address the A_1 s prominence in the discourse, but we can look at how many of the A_1 s were concrete. The trends with respect to the concrete/abstract distinction can be seen in Figure 4.14 below.

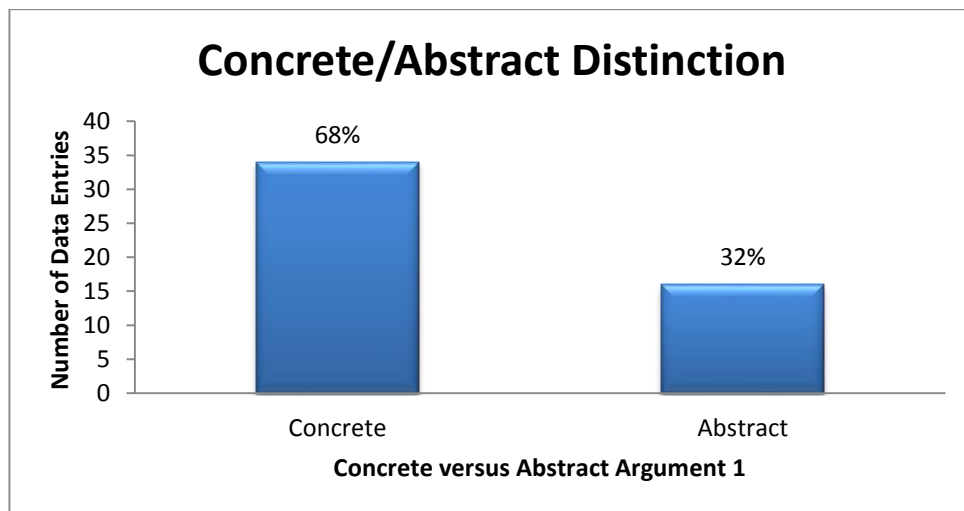


Figure 4.14: The distinction between concrete and abstract A_1 s

As can be seen in Figure 4.14, sixty-eight percent of the data entries were concrete, leaving only thirty-two percent of the data entries abstract. This seems to indicate that the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase prefers the inclusion of a concrete A_1 .

Another important parameter to look at with respect to the A_1 is animacy. As mentioned earlier in chapter 2, many authors affirm that the periphrastic passive always presupposes a human agent (for example, Maldonado 1999:292) and that the situation in which the periphrastic passive is most often preferred over the *se* passive construction is when the entity in the *por*-phrase has the properties of a prototypical agent (Mendikoetxea 1999b, §26.3.1.2-3; Cabañas Maya 2005) (Melis, 2007, p.69). For the purposes of this research, the noun phrase was only animate if it was also human. As can be seen in Figure 4.15, only fourteen percent of the data entries were animate, leaving eighty-six percent of the data entries inanimate. This trend is consistent with my hypothesis that more of the A_1 s would be inanimate rather than animate since the animate A_1 s are used in the periphrastic passive and the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase is often used in niches where the periphrastic passive is generally not used.

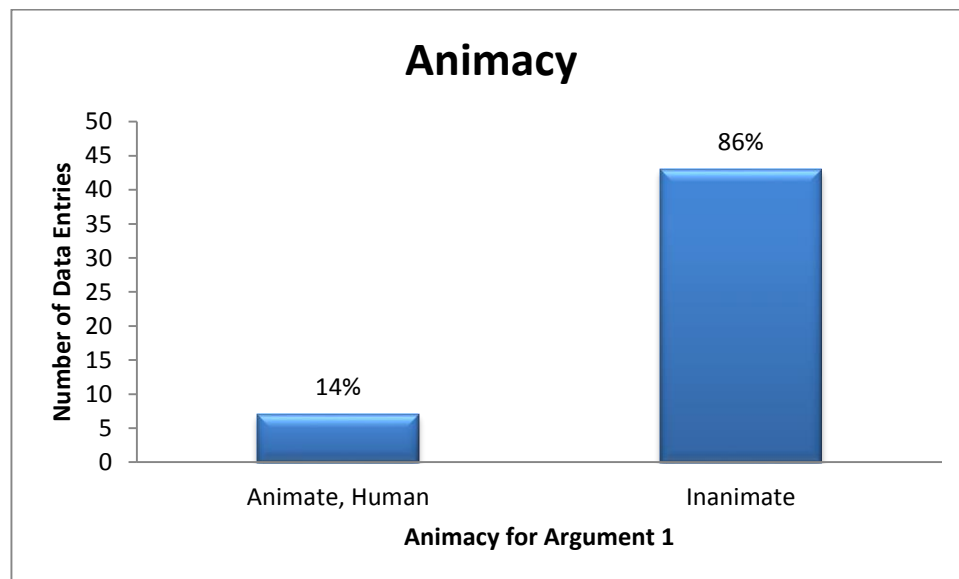


Figure 4.15: Animate versus inanimate A_1 s

There are also interesting trends regarding the medium and origin of the data entries in this study. As can be seen in Figure 4.16 below, ninety-two percent of the total number of data entries was found in oral language. Only eight percent of the total number was found in written

language. This implies that the *se* passive construction has not yet established a foothold in the written language. This could be because it is a newly developing phenomenon, and oral language is where it is appearing first.

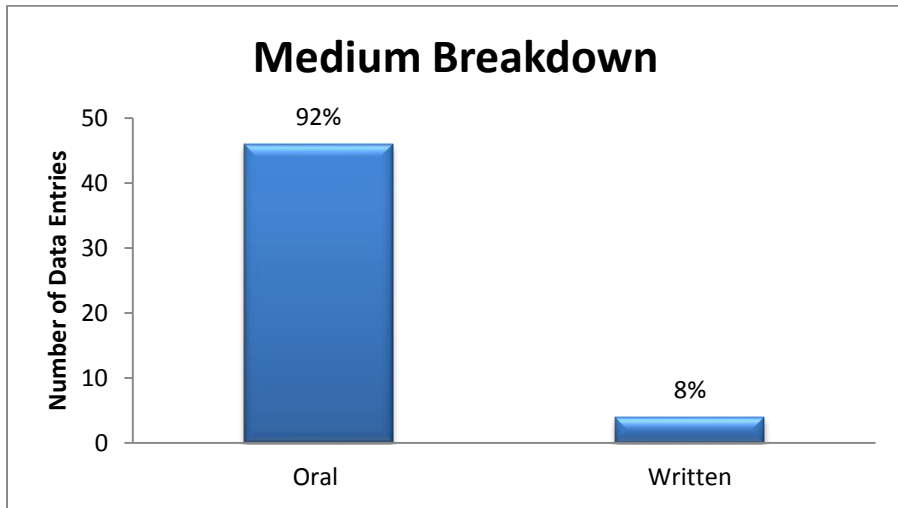


Figure 4.16: Breakdown of data based on medium

The origin of these data entries is also interesting. As you can see in Figure 4.17 below, it appears that this phenomenon is used most often in Mexico and Spain.

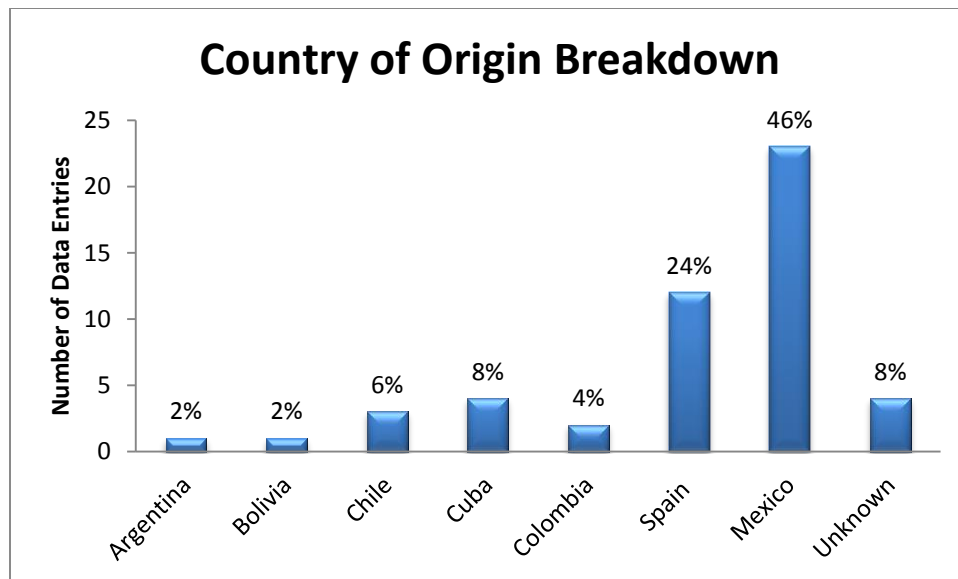


Figure 4.17: Data entries divided by their country of origin

Those two countries account for seventy percent of the total number of data entries using the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase. Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, and the data entries whose origins are unknown each account for less than ten percent of the total number of *se* passive constructions analyzed in this study. However, it is interesting to note that examples of the phenomenon have been found in at least seven different Spanish-speaking countries. It appears that the use of the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase may spread from its main locals in Mexico and Spain to other Spanish-speaking countries, particularly those in which examples of the it have already appeared.

4.3 Conclusions from the Data

Overall, the data suggest that in some cases the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase started in niches where the periphrastic passive was not used, while in other cases both the periphrastic passive and the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase followed similar patterns. According to the data, the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase appears where periphrastic passives do not appear, such as in atelic verb phrases and with non-volitional, non-sentient, and/or inanimate A₁s. However, the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase and the periphrastic passive follow similar trends with respect to kinesis and punctuality. Aside from that, this research also sheds light on some possible trends related to the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase. The data suggests that they most often appear in affirmative statements, have verb phrases that are realis, and relate the causation of an event rather than the causation of a change in state. The data further suggests that the developing *se* construction with a *por*-phrase occurs most often with verb phrases with mid-range transitivity scores and that the most common A₁s in the *por*-phrases are not those that are least agentive but those that fall just above that category. Furthermore, the data suggest that the

primary medium for the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase is the oral medium and the primary varieties in which it is used are the Spanish and Mexican varieties.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

In this research, I set out to explore the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase that exists in certain varieties of Spanish. This construction has been discussed in previous research, but the difference between the middle *se* constructions and the *se* passive construction is very hard to distinguish in some cases. For that reason, I wanted to address the developing *se* passive construction that had *por*-phrases containing an Argument 1, which could be a cause or an agent. This type of construction is not very common in most varieties. In fact, the Spanish and Mexican varieties were the only ones that had high numbers of the developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase.

5.1 Research

The search for *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases started with Mark Davies' Corpus del Español (www.corpusdelespanol.org), from which fifty data entries containing *se* constructions with *por*-phrases were found. I used three main tools to analyze the data entries. The first tool was Hopper and Thompson's transitivity categorization, which was based on the following parameters:

	HIGH	LOW
A. Participants	2 or more participants, A [agent] and O [object].	1 participant
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional

F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. Individuation of O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

(Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 252).

In creating Analysis Tool 1, I removed Parameter A because this research focuses on the possible inclusion of *por*-phrases containing A_{1S} and compares individuation of those A_{1S} with the individuation of the A_{2S}. Two arguments are required for that analysis. Furthermore, since *se* is also used to create impersonals with intransitives, it would be difficult to differentiate between possible passives and impersonals. I also removed Parameter E because it is part of Analysis Tool 3. Parameter J, Individuation, had its own analysis tool, Analysis Tool 2, because it did not allow for a simple binary choice. Also of the analysis tools can be found in Chapter 3 along with my rational for choosing to include or exclude parameters in my research. For Analysis Tool 2, the criteria for individuation are as follows:

INDIVIDUATED	NON-INDIVIDUATED
proper	common
human, animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
singular	plural
count	mass
referential, definite	non-referential

(Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 253).

Each set of parameters received one sixth of point, which was then added to Analysis Tool 1.

Analysis Tool 3 was developed from Dowty's Agent Proto-Role properties, which are as follows:

Properties of the Agent Proto-Role:

- a. volitional involvement in the event or state
- b. sentience (and/or perception)
- c. causing an event or change of state in another participant
- d. movement (relative to the position of another participant)
- (e. exists independently of the event named by the verb) (Dowty, 1991, p. 572).

I then modified those properties to come up with Analysis Tool 3. It included volitionality, sentience, causes an event, causes a change of state, and individuation, which I included individuation as part of the agentivity analysis since individuation of the object was part of the transitivity analysis. I left out movement and existence independent of the verb for reasons mentioned in Chapter 3.

5.2 Expectations and Trends in the Data

The data gleaned from the analyses done in this research yielded some interesting results. My initial expectation was that the *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases would exploit the niches not filled by the periphrastic passive. However, the results of this study imply that it is not as simple as that. With respect to volitionality, sentience, animacy, and telicity, the *se* passive constructions appear to fill in the niches not filled by the periphrastic passive. However, the periphrastic passive and the *se* passive constructions both most commonly fit into the same niche regarding kinesis and punctuality. The data also suggest that *se* passive constructions are most

often affirmative statements with realis verb phrases that represent the cause an event rather than a change in state.

5.3 Implications of the Research

The developing *se* passive construction with a *por*-phrase is a relatively recent addition to Spanish, and many varieties do not allow it. However, this research suggests that *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases fill some gaps left by the periphrastic passive. For that reason, it does not seem unlikely that the developing *se* passive constructions with a *por*-phrase will become more common over time. Whether or not they will become a part of every variety is yet to be seen, but from a linguistic perspective the conditions are right for the further development of *se* passive constructions. This is because the use of the periphrastic passive is in decline. According to Melis (2007), the use of the periphrastic passive decreased to from seventy-three percent to twenty percent from the middle of the fifteenth century to the second half of the sixteenth century (Melis, 2007, p. 55). That is a drastic drop in one century. Furthermore, the use of the agentive periphrastic passive dropped from eighty-eight percent to twenty-seven percent between the 13th century and the second half of the sixteenth century (Melis, 2007, p. 65). It is clear that the periphrastic passive is slowly being relegated to fewer niches. It seems reasonable to assume that if the periphrastic passive continues to decline, as has been the trend, the developing *se* passive construction with *por*-phrases will take over the niches left behind by the declining periphrastic passive.

5.4 Limitations

This study found multiple areas in which there are possible trends with respect to the developing *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases. However, it is important to note that there are certain limitations to the study. First, the sample size was too small to indicate if the trends

discovered were statistically significant. Second, the data entries that were analyzed included A_{1S} that were inanimate. As previously mentioned, according to Melis, the situation in which the periphrastic passive is most often preferred over the *se* passive construction is when the entity in the *por*-phrase has the properties of a prototypical agent (Mendikoetxea 1999b, §26.3.1.2-3; Cabañas Maya 2005) and (cited in Melis, 2007, p. 69). Essentially, periphrastic passives have animate A_{1S}, so to be able to identify clearer trends with respect to *se* passive constructions, it might be useful to look solely at the *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases containing prototypical agents. However, focusing on only animate A_{1S} could make it harder to see the development of the *se* passive over time as well as the gaps left by the periphrastic passive that the *se* passive exploits.

Furthermore, some of the parameters used in this study had binary or trinary choices that did not capture the minute differences between each entry. The parameter “causes an event,” which is related to agentivity, is an example of the need for more than just three choices. This research did not clearly indicate differences in the degree of causation. For example, the action in *el hielo se puede fundir por aumento de temperatura* ‘ice can be melted by an increase in temperature’ is caused by *aumento de temperatura* ‘an increase in temperature.’ However, that increase could have been caused by a number of other events, so the score for causation should be lower than the score would be for a sentence like *[la resolución] se aprobó de forma unánime por demócratas y republicanos* ‘the resolution was unanimously passed by democrats and republicans.’ This is because there is not a second entity that causes the action in the second example, whereas in the first example some prior event(s) caused the increase in temperature that caused the melting of the ice.

Another parameter that might have needed finer differentiation was referentiality. Because of the extended context needed to clarify referentiality with indefinite noun phrases, there were only two choices for the referentiality parameter included in the study. They were “definite and referential” or “non-referential.” However, this binary choice does not allow for the differentiation of indefinite referential noun phrases from non-referential noun phrases.

Kinesis was another parameter that was binary and could have been developed further. It might have been a good idea to address the kind of action verbs that were used instead of simply indicating action versus non-action. This could be done by looking at action type. According to Sanz (2000), “states, activities, semelfactives, achievements, and accomplishments are the usual categories of classification” for action type (p. 1).

Other parameters that had three degrees of differentiation, but were still insufficient for capturing the differences between entries include volitionality and sentience, which could have been broken into more degrees to better indicate the differences in the volitionality and sentience of each A₁. Specifically, highly individuated nouns like *Vicente Fox* are clearly volitional and sentient, while *el Pan* is less volitional and sentient because of the diffusion of the volitionality and sentience over the people within the group. With that said, having volitional and sentient, partially volitional and sentient, and non-volitional and non-sentient does not make differences clear enough. For example, *Vicente Fox*, *los mexicanos* ‘the Mexicans,’ *los comités municipales* ‘municipal committees,’ and *donaciones de empresas privadas* ‘donations from private companies’ should have different scores based on the degree of diffusion of volitionality and sentience for each noun phrase.

One other parameter that might have needed more than three degrees of differentiation was “the affectedness of the A₂.” The degree of differentiation used in the research was simply

“totally affected,” meaning created or destroyed, “partially affected,” meaning affected in some way without being created or destroyed, and “not affected.” Since affectedness is much more complex than simply being affected, partially affect, or not, it would be useful to create more degrees of individuation for that parameter.

Finally, the weight of each of the parameters could be changed to better represent the parameters that are most important. On the topic of his Proto-Role properties, Dowty said, “I believe that the boundaries of these kinds of entailments may never be entirely clear-cut, and I also would not rule out the desirability of 'weighting' some entailments more than others” (Dowty, 1980, p. 252). This comment sums up the main limitations of this study.

5.5 Future Research

This research attempts to address multiple parameters related to *se* passive constructions with *por*-phrases, and it opens doors to multiple aspects of *se* passive constructions that could be addressed further. Looking at these parameters within fifty to one hundred year blocks of time going back a few hundred years to more clearly delineate new trends in *se* passive constructions could yield more information on the development patterns of the *se* passive construction. Looking solely at one or two of the parameters addressed in this research could result in a more in-depth understanding of those parameters. For example, it would be interesting to see if any of the trends that appear to be prevalent in the *se* passive constructions analyzed here are actually statistically significant. As mentioned in the limitations section, this research could be done again, but with parameters that have been further differentiated to indicate the minute differences between data entries. Another idea for future research would be to analyze large numbers of both periphrastic and *se* passive constructions with the three Analysis Tools used in this research to

very clearly show the trends with respect to each passive's niche and to show if those trends are statistically significant.

REFERENCES

- Abbott, B. (2010). *Reference*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Beavers, J. (2012). Lexical aspect and multiple incremental themes. In Demonte, V. & McNally, L. (Eds.), *Telicity, Change, and State* (p. 23-59). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Butt, J. & C. Benjamin (2011). *A new reference grammar of modern Spanish 95th ed.*. London, England: Hodder Education, A Hachete UK Company.
- Calude, A. (2004). Reflexive – Middle and Reciprocal – Middle Contia in Romanian. *Proceedings of the 2004 Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society*.
- Caudal, P. (1999). Achievements vs. accomplishments: A computational treatment of atomicity, incrementality, and perhaps event structure. *Conférence TALN 1999, Cargèse*. <http://www.atala.org/doc/actes_taln/AC_0127.pdf>.
- Cid, M. (2004). El significado *se*. [The meaning of *se*]. *CAUCE, Revista de Filología y su Didáctica*, 27, 247-263.
- Croft, W. (2001). *Radical construction grammar: Syntactic theory in typological perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Donohue M. (2008). Semantic alignment system: what's what and what's not. In Donohue M. & S. Wichmann (Eds.), *The typology of semantic alignment*. (p. 24-75). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frawley, W. (1992). *Linguistic semantics*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Garavito, J. & Valenzuela, E. (2008). Eventive and stative passives in Spanish L2 acquisition: A matter of aspect*. *Bilingualism: Language and cognition* 11 (3), 323-336.
- García, E. (1975). *The role of theory in linguistic analysis: The Spanish pronoun system*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.
- Givón, T. (1981). Typology and functional domains. *Studies in language*, 5, 163-193.
- Helander, H. (1977). *On the function of abstract nouns in Latin*. Stockholm, Sweden: LiberTryck AB.
- Hooper, P. & Thompson, S. (1980). Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language*, 56 (2), 251-299.
- Hout, A. (2008). Acquiring telicity crosslinguistically: On the acquisition of telicity entailments associated with transitivity. In Bowerman, M. & Brown, P. (Eds.), *Crosslinguistic*

- perspectives on argument structure* (pp. 255-278). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group, LLC.
- Kearns, K. (2000). *Semantics* (p. 238-253). New York, New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Kittilä, S., Västi, K., & Ylikoski, J. (2011). Introduction to case, animacy, and semantic roles (pp. 1-26). In Kittilä, S., Västi, K., & Ylikoski, J. (Ed.), *Case, Animacy, and Semantic Roles*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Klaiman, M. H. (1988). A typology of voice systems. In Shibatani, M. (Ed.), *Passive and Voice*. (pp. 25-83). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Levin, B. & M. Rappaport Hovav (2005). *Argument Realization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maldonado, R. (1999). *A media voz: Problemas conceptuales del clítico se*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Melis, C. (2007). El desarrollo histórico de la pasiva con *se* en español. [The historical development of the passive with *se* in Spanish]. *Romance Philology*, 61 (Spring), 49-77.
- Primus, B. (2004). Division of labour: the Role-semantic function of basic order and case. In Willems, D., et. al. (Ed.), *Contrastive analysis in language: Identifying linguistic units of comparison* (pp. 89-133). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sanz, M. (2000). Events and predication: A new approach to syntactic processing in English and Spanish (pp.121-152). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Shibatani, M. (1988). *Passive and voice*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Schulz, A. (1982). On the Spanish passive. *Cornell working papers in linguistics*, 3 (Spring), 76-93.
- Siewierska, A. (1984). *The passive: A comparative linguistic analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Tallerman, M. (1998). *Understanding syntax*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Tenny, C. (1994). *Aspectual roles and the syntax-semantics interface*. Norwell, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Torres, S. (2004). Reflexiones en torno al clítico *se* en español. [Reflections around the clitic *se* in Spanish]. *Estudios de Lingüística* 18, 7-20.
- Västi, K. (2011). A case in search of independent life: The semantics of the initial allative in a Finnish verbless construction (pp. 65-109). In Kittilä, S., Västi, K., & Ylikoski, J. (Ed.), *Case, Animacy, and Semantic Roles*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Wisniewski, E. (2010). On using count nouns, mass nouns, and *pluralia tantum*: What counts? (pp.166-190). In Pelletier, F. (Ed.), *Kinds, things, and stuff*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.