Spanish and French HOMŌ-derived Impersonal Pronouns: Stalled Grammaticalization

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1. Introduction

- Various impersonal pronouns (*Imp*) in Romance are derived from the Latin noun HOMŌ, "man;" e.g., French (1), Catalan (2).

(1) On ne parle pas anglais ici.
   Imp Neg speaks Neg English here
   'One does not speak English here.'

(2) Hom no parla anglès aquí.
   Imp Neg speaks English here
   'One does not speak English here.'

- In some varieties of Romance, like Spanish, the corresponding pronoun *omne* was in use until the sixteenth century (Brown 1931)[2].

(3) E los veniales pecados, quando omne más come e beve de lo que deve...[3]
   and the venial sins when Imp more eats and drinks of it that should
   'And the venial sins: when one eats and drinks more than they should...'

(4) Cuando omne non puede dormir...[4]
   when Imp not can sleep
   'When one cannot sleep....'

Main claim: Old Spanish impersonal *omne* was undergoing a grammaticalization cycle, in the sense of van Gelderen (2011), that stalled due to competition with impersonal *se* (Imp_{se}). Generic *uno* replaced *omne* on this cycle.

Analysis:
a. Comparison with a complete impersonal cycle ➜ Modern French impersonal *on* (Imp_{on}); Imp_{on} is a functional head that licenses generic *pro* (Mendikoetxea 2008). Historical data show that Old French Imp_{on} was at an earlier stage in the cycle.

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[2] There is orthographic variation the Old and Middle Spanish periods but for simplicity sake I use primarily <omne> throughout this handout.
[3] Pedro de Cuéllar, *Catecismo*; 1325
[4] Juan Manuel, *El Conde Lucanor*; 1328-1335

b. Spanish Imp$_{se}$ fully grammaticalized as a head in the sixteenth century (Maddox 2016b); *omne* was still a full DP. Imp$_{se}$ is a Voice head that licenses a generic *pro* in its Spec (MacDonald to appear).

c. Economy and competition – different syntactic variants yielding the same interpretation can coexist in a language for a time but ultimately one variant may displace the other (Pintzuk 1991, 2002)

Presentation format:

Section 2 – Language change and degrees of deficiency
Section 3 – Coreferentiality diagnostics
Section 4 – Parallel cycles and cyclic competition

2. Language change and degrees of deficiency

2.1 *Background*

- Van Gelderen's (2011) theory of language change -- motivated by principles of economy.

(5)   Head Preference Principle (HPP):
       Be a head rather than a phrase.

- Examples of reanalysis due to the HPP: demonstrative pronoun *that* > complementizer, adverb > aspect marker, pronoun > agreement, etc.

- "Linguistic cycles" -- change is cyclic because once an element is reanalyzed as a head or features on a head, a new overt element can merge and restart the cycle.

2.2 *Diagnostics for determining categorial status*

- Different elements may be at different stages in the cycle depending on their categorial status; i.e., head or XP.

- Tests to distinguish heads from phrases (Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, Mithun 2003):

- o Phrases can be coordinated, modified; can occur in Spec position; optional.
- o Heads cannot be coordinated, modified; obligatorily occur in head positions, cannot undergo XP movement.

- A completed cycle – MF Imp_{on} is a head; it cannot be coordinated (6), modified (7), or separated from the verb (8).

(6) *On et elle parlent beaucoup.   (7) *On intelligent parle français.
    Imp and she speak a-lot   Imp intelligent speaks French

(8) *On souvent arrive tard.
     Imp often   arrives late

- OS *omne* was not a head; it could be separated from the verb (9) and be modified (10). It can also be coordinated (11).

(9) si omne bien non cata...[5]   (10) todo omne que deva deuda a otro...[6]
     if Imp   well not observe   every Imp that owes debt to another
     'If one does not observe well...'   'every one that owes debt to another...'

(11) como Cristo, que es Dios e omne...[7]
      like Christ who is God and man
      'like Christ, who is God and man...'

2.3 *Egerland's (2003) typology of impersonal pronouns*[8]

- Egerland (2003) – crosslinguistic variation is due to distinct featural makeup. Two classes of impersonal pronouns can be distinguished based on the following diagnostics:

  1) variable agreement
  2) generic or arbitrary readings
  3) syntactic function

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[5] Gonzalo de Berceo, *Vida de San Millán de Cogolla*; c. 1230
[6] *Fuero de Burgos*, Philadelphia Ems.245; 1290-1300
[7] Alfonso X, *General Estoria, Primera Parte*; c. 1275
[8] Some data in this section taken from Egerland (2003).

> Class 1 impersonal pronouns: display variable agreement, can be either generic or arbitrary, cannot be objects[9].
>
> Class 2 impersonal pronouns: do not display variable agreement, can only be generic, can be subjects and objects.

- Some impersonal pronouns from different languages: *man* (Swedish), *si* (Italian), *maður* (Icelandic), impersonal second person (various).

Variable agreement: Swedish (12), Italian (13), Icelandic (14)

(12)   Om man inte är   gift   / gifta   måste man ha   skilda   rum
        if Imp not is married.S / married.Pl must Imp have separate rooms
       på detta hotell.
       in   this hotel
       'If one is not married, one must have separate rooms in this hotel.'

(13)   Quando si   è donna / donne,   si è disposta / disposte a rinunciare a
        when   Imp is woman women   Imp is ready.S ready.Pl   to renounce to
       molte cose   per i propri figli.
       many things for the own children
       'When one is a woman, one is ready to renounce many things for their children.'

(14)   Þrátt fyrir sannanirnar var maður ekki alveg sannfærður /
       despite for the-evidence was Imp not completely convinced.S /
       *sannfærðir um   sekt hans.
       convinced.P about guilt his
       'Despite the evidence, one was not completely convinced about his guilt.'

(15)   a. *Om du är gifta…   Swedish
           if you are married.Pl
       b. *Quando sei giovani…   Italian   2nd Sing.
           when   are.2S young.Pl
       c. *Quand tu   es   belles…   French
           when you are.2S young.Pl

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[9] Giacalone Ramat & Sansò (2007) make similar observations about impersonal pronouns in European languages. They propose an areal explanation for the synchronic distribution if HOMŌ/MAN-derived impersonal pronouns.

Generic or arbitrary reading

- Some terminology:
    - "Generic" = quasi-universal set of individuals; i.e., *one*, *people*.
    - "Arbitrary" = non-specific set of individuals in a specific time reference; i.e., *some people*, *they*.

(16) a. Man måste arbeta till 65.   Swedish
   'One must work until the age of 65.'
  b. Man arbetade i två månader för lösa problemet.
   'They worked for two months to solve the problem.'

(17) a. Si deve lavorare fino all'età di 65 anni.   Italian
   'One must work until the age of 65.'
  b. Si è lavorato per due mesi per risolvere il problema.
   'They worked for two months to solve the problem.'

(18) a. Maður vinnur til 65 ára aldurs.   Icelandic
   'One works until the age of 65.'
  b. *Maður hefur unnið að því í tvo mánuði að leysa vandamálið.
   'They worked for two months to solve the problem.'

(19) a. Du arbetar till 65.   Swedish (2nd Sing.)
   'One works until the age of 65.'
  b. *Du har arbetat i två månader för att lösa problemet.
   'They worked for two months to solve the problem.'

Syntactic function

(20) a. *De har sett man.   Swedish
   they have seen Imp
  b. *Loro si hanno visto.   Italian
   they Imp have seen.

(21) a. Svona tölur segja *manni* að eitthvað sé í ólagi.   Icelandic
   'Such figures tell one that something is wrong.'
  b. Om de litar på *dig*, får du inte göra dem besvikna.   Swedish
   'If they rely on you, you must not make them disappointed.'

- Summary:
  - Class 1 – Swedish *man*, Italian *si*
  - Class 2 – Icelandic *maður*, impersonal 2S

- Egerland's analysis:
  - Following Chomsky (1995) and Marantz (1993, 1997): There are two sets of phi-features: 1) abstract features involved in the derivation, 2) lexically specified features inherent to pronominals. Both feature sets must match postsyntactically.
  - Following van Gelderen (1997) and Rivero (2000): Class 1 impersonals lack the second set of lexically specified features.
  - The different distribution and readings the two classes allow are a result of their featural makeup.

- The diachronic path: Egerland (2003:93) proposes the following grammaticalization cline for HOMŌ-derived impersonals:

  "Class 2"   "Class 1"
(22)   Lexical DP > Impersonal generic pronoun > Impersonal arbitrary pronoun
                maður, second-singular   *man*, *si*

- At the second stage, lexical phi-features are maintained, but they are lost at the third stage. Class 2 pronouns are at the second stage while Class 1 pronouns are at the third stage.

2.4 *Egerland's typology applied to Modern French and Old Spanish[10]*

2.4.1 Modern French impersonal *on*:

Variable agreement

(23)   Quand on est   belle   /   belles…[11]
       when Imp is.3S beautiful.F.S beautiful.F.Pl.
       'When one is beautiful.'

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[10] French data in this section adapted from Egerland (2003). Old Spanish data in this section is my own, extracted from the CORDE database.
[11] From Rey & Rey-Debove (1984), cited in Egerland (2003:79)

Generic or arbitrary reading

(24)　a. On　doit　travailler jusq'à　l'age　de 65 ans.
　　　　　Imp must　work　　until　the-age of 65 years
　　　　　'One must work until the age of 65.'
　　　b. On　a　travaillé pendant deux　mois　pour résoudre le problème.
　　　　　Imp has worked　during　two　months　to　resolve the problem
　　　　　'Someone worked for two months to fix the problem.'

Syntactic function

(25)　Cela (*on) conduit (*on) / *pro* à　la　conclusion　suivante.
　　　this　Imp　leads　　Imp　　to the conclusion following
　　　'This leads one to the following conclusion.'

- Summary:
  - o variable agreement - yes
  - o generic or arbitrary reading - yes
  - o syntactic function – cannot be an object

Conclusion: MF *on* is a Class 1 impersonal pronoun.

2.4.2　Old Spanish impersonal *omne*:

- No evidence of variable agreement in the CORDE

(26)　algunas vezes omne es avaro en guardar　sus cosas.[12]
　　　some　times Imp　is greedy in guarding their things
　　　'Sometimes one is greedy about guarding their things.'

(27)　de aquesta cosa tal,　omne es maravillado.[13]
　　　of　this　thing such Imp　is　amazed
　　　'By such a thing one is amazed.'

- I find no evidence of *omne* with an arbitrary reading in the CORDE.
  - o Kärde (1943) also makes this observation of the OS texts he examined, making this is a significant contrast between *omne* and MF and OF Imp$_{on}$.

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[12] *Libro del Tesoro*, Girona, Catedral 20a5; 1400-1425
[13] Pero López de Ayala, *Rimado de Palacio*; c. 1378-1406

- OS *omne* can be an object:

(28) ca non ensuzia   a   omne comer con las manos non lavadas.[14]
       for not soils DOM   Imp   eat   with the hands not washed
       'For it does not soil a person to eat with their hands unwashed.'

(29) Dios guarde   a   omne de   fazer fecho malo.[15]
       God prevent DOM Imp from doing deed evil
       'May God prevent one from doing an evil deed.'

- Summary:
    - variable agreement – no
    - generic or arbitrary reading – only generic
    - syntactic function – can be an object

Conclusion: OS *omne* was a Class 2 impersonal pronoun. OS *omne* was less grammaticalized than MF *on*. It appears to never have reached the third stage of the Egerland's cline.[16]

3. Coreferentiality

3.1 *Licensing of* pro *via topic-identification*

- Frascarelli (2007): Italian referential *pro* is identified by topic.
    - An "Aboutness" topic identifies the feature content of *pro* via Agree. It is base-generated in Spec,Shift in the left periphery.

(30) Topic Criterion
      a) [+Aboutness] is connected with an EPP feature in the high Topic field
            that yields a specific discourse-related property, namely "Aboutness."
      b) The [+aboutness] Topic matches with an argument in the main clause
            through Agree.
      c) When continuous, the [+aboutness] Topic can be null.

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[14] Alfonso X, *Setenario*; c. 1252-1270

[15] Juan Manuel, *El Conde Lucanor*; 1328-1335

[16] Egerland also shows that Old Italian *uomo* was at the second stage of cline; i.e. it was a Class 2 pronoun.

8

Data and Analysis

(31) Il mio capo$_i$ è un exreporter...[*pro$_i$* è stato in giro   per   il mondo]...[17]
     the my boss   is a former-reporter he   is been on tour through the world
       "My boss is a former-reporter... He has been all over the world..."

- Structure of second clause in (31):

(32)   [$_{ShiftP}$ ~~Il mio capo~~$_{[φ,α,Pn]}$ Shift' [... [$_{TP}$ [$_{vP}$ pro$_{[φ,α,Pn]}$ [$_{VP}$]]]]^{18}

- Preverbal subjects are A-topics

(33)a. Questa mattina, la mostra è   visitata di <u>Gianni</u>$_i$. Più tardi egli$_i$/lui$_i$/**pro$_i$*
       this   morning the exhibit was visited by Gianni more late he   he   he
       ha visitato l'università.
       has visited the-university
       "This morning, the exhibit was visited by Gianni. Later, he visited the
       university."

    b. Questa mattina, <u>Gianni</u>$_i$ ha visitato la mostra. Più tardi *pro$_i$* ha visitato
        this   morning Gianni has visited the exhibit more late he has visited
       l'università.
       the-university
       "This morning, Gianni visited the exhibit. Later, he visited the university."

- In (33a), *pro* is unacceptable in the second sentence because *Gianni* is
  postverbal and, thus, not an A-topic.

- Maddox (2016a): In Spanish, the same patterns hold:

(34)a. Esta mañana, la exhibición fue visitada por <u>Juan</u>$_i$. Luego, él$_i$/**pro$_i$* fue a la
       this morning the exhibit   was visited by John   later   he went to the
       universidad.
       university
       "This morning, the library was visited by John. Later, he went to the
       university."

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[17] These data adapted from Frascarelli (2007:703).
[18] The strike-through represents phonetically unrealized material.

b. Esta mañana, <u>Juan</u>ᵢ visitó   la exhibición. Luego, *pro*ᵢ fue a   la universidad.
    this morning John visited the exhibit   later   he went to the university
    "This morning, John visited the library. Later, he went to the university."

(35)   [ShiftP   ~~*Juan*~~[φ,α,Pn] Shift' [... [TP [*v*P pro[φ,α,Pn] [VP *fue a la universidad*]]]]]

Conclusion: In Italian and Spanish, preverbal subjects are A-topics that can identify referential *pro* in subsequent clauses via a null copy in the left-periphery.

3.2 *Impersonal pronouns in Spanish*

3.2.1 Spanish generic *uno*

- Maddox (2016a): Licensing of generic subject *pro* in Spanish takes place the same way seen for referential subject *pro* above.

(36)   Unoᵢ duerme bien, cuando *pro*ᵢ duerme en ese   cuarto.
        one   sleeps well   when   one   sleeps in that bedroom
        "Oneᵢ sleeps well when oneᵢ sleeps in that bedroom."

(37)a. Matrix: [ShiftP *uno* [TP *<uno>* [*v*P *<uno>* [VP *duerme bien*]]]]

   b. Adjunct: [CP *Cuando* ShiftP ~~*uno*~~ᵢ [TP [*v*P proᵢ [VP *duerme en ese cuarto*]]]]

- Generic *uno* is introduced as the A-topic in the first clause. A null copy is merged in Spec,Shift in the second clause, agreeing with *pro*.

3.2.2 Spanish impersonal *se*

- Impersonal *se* (Imp_se) is a functional *v* or Voice head that licenses a generic *pro* in its Spec (Otero 1986, Mendikoetxea 2008, MacDonald to appear); unlike *uno* it cannot license *pro* across clauses (Maddox 2016a).

(38)   En ese cuarto, se   *pro* duerme bien.
        in that room Imp_se one sleeps well
        "In that room, one sleeps well."

- Compare (39) with (36) above:

(39)   a. Se *pro* duerme bien cuando se *pro* duerme en ese cuarto.
        'One sleeps well when one sleeps in that room.'
    b. *Se *pro*$_i$ duerme bien cuando *pro*$_i$ duerme en ese cuarto.

- Imp$_{se}$ patterns differently than impersonal *uno* vis-à-vis the licensing of generic *pro* across clauses.

<u>Proposal</u>:   Imp$_{se}$ cannot license *pro* across clauses because it cannot serve as a topic. As a functional head it lacks sufficient features. *Uno*, on the other hand, is not deficient like Imp$_{se}$; it still has enough features to serve as a topic.

3.2.3 Old Spanish *omne*

- Like generic *uno*, OS *omne* licenses a generic *pro* in subsequent clauses:

(40)   …porque   asi commo por fazer limosna o ayuno o guardar   castidad e   en
            because thus as   by doing alms   or fast or guarding chastity and in
        otros actos virtuosos omne$_i$ ha merito, asy *pro*$_i$ lo ha en la oraçion.[19]
         other acts   virtuous Imp has merit   thus Imp it has in the prayer
        '…because just as by giving alms or fasting or guarding chastity and in other
        virtuous acts one has merit, thus also one has it in prayer.'

(41)   …si omne$_i$ caye de   casa o de   algun edificio o de arbol o de muro
            if Imp fall from house or from some building or from tree or from wall
        o de   otra cosa qual quier … & *pro*$_i$ moriere daquella cayda... [20]
        or from other thing what ever   and Imp   die   from-that fall
        'If one falls from a house or some building or a tree or a wall or anything
        else … and one dies from that fall…'

(42)   Ca si omne$_i$ ayuna commo en guisa que *pro*$_i$ non aya fanbre, yo non digo
        for if Imp fasts   as   in way that Imp not have hunger I   not say
        que tal ayuno sea malo.[21]
        that such fasting be bad
        'For if one fasts in such a way that one is not hungry, I do not say that such
        fasting is bad.'

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[19] Alfonso de Cartagena, *El Oracional*; 1456
[20] *Fueros de Aragón*, para. 2; 1247
[21] Juan Manuel, *Libro de estados*; 1327-1332

- OS *omne* patterns with MS *uno*, not Imp$_{se}$, with respect to licensing of generic *pro*. Thus, *omne* like *uno*, was a non-deficient (full DP) impersonal pronoun.

3.3 *Impersonal pronouns in French*

3.3.1 Modern French impersonal *on*

- MF *on* does not license a bare generic *pro* in subsequent clauses:

(43)   a. Si on$_i$ ne fait   pas attention, on$_i$ peut s'enrhumer.[22]
            if Imp not makes not attention Imp can   catch-cold
           'If one is not careful one can catch a cold.'
      b. *Si on$_i$ ne fait pas attention, *pro*$_i$ peut s'enrhumer.

- The diagnostics in Section 2.2 above show that MF *on* is a head.

- MF *on* patterns like MS Imp$_{se}$; both are functional heads that only license a generic *pro* locally; i.e., clause internally.

3.3.2 Old French impersonal *on*[23]

- If MF *on* has completed a cycle that turns a full DP pronoun into a functional head, we should expect evidence of full DP status from earlier stages.

Categorial status:

(44)   Sainz Boneface que   l'um   martir apelet.[24]
       Saint Boniface whom the-Imp martyr call
        'Saint Boniface, whom people call martyr.'

(45)   Quant l'en   en la meson Dieu entre.[25]
       when the-Imp in the house God enters
        'When one enters the house of God.'

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[22] Adapted from Cabredo-Hofherr (2010)
[23] Some data in this section adapted from Welton-Lair (1999)
[24] Anonymous, *La Vie de Saint Alexis*; 1040-50
[25] Rutebeuf, *La Miracle de Théophile*; c. 1261

Licensing of generic *pro*:

(46)   ne se   peüst **on$_i$** porpenser de richece ...en cel leu trover
       not Pron$_{se}$ could Imp   imagine of richness   in that place find
       ne ***pro$_i$*** peüst.[26]
       not Imp could
       'One could not imagine any richness...in that place that one could not find.'

(47)   Mais laquele jagunce que **hom$_i$** portet u en deit   u   al   col pendue,
        but   that   jacinth that Imp carries or on finger or on-the neck hung
       seurement puet ***pro$_i$*** aler en altre terre   senz pour de engrutement...[27]
         surely   can Imp go in other land without fear of   illness
       'But that jacinth that one carries either on his finger or hanging on his neck,
       surely he can go into another land without fear of illness...'

Proposal: OF *on* was less grammaticalized than its MF counterpart. It was a full
DP and had sufficient features to license a *pro* via topic identification.

4. Parallel cycles and cyclic competition

- Claim: OS *omne* failed to become a head due to competition with Imp$_{se}$. Both
  were undergoing grammaticalization, but *se* was reanalyzed as a head first, thus
  preventing reanalysis of *omne*; i.e., grammaticalization of *omne* was stalled[28].

4.1 *Background*

- Van Gelderen (2011): economy principles drive grammaticalization; elements
  tend to be reanalyzed from XPs to heads or from heads to higher heads

- Competition and language change:
    - Pintzuk (1991, 2002): synchronic competition between VO and OV order
      in Old English where the former wins out
    - Kroch (1994): synchronic competition in syntax is similar to historical
      competition between morphological doublets

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[26] Anonymous, *Roman d'Énéas*; c. 1160
[27] Anonymous, *Lapidaire en prose*; c. 1250-1300
[28] The stalling of the grammaticalization *omne* has also been characterized as "incomplete" or
"truncated" (Company Company & Pozas Loyo 2009:1178).

- Brown (1931) attributes the loss of OS *omne* to the rise of Imp$_{se}$:

> "In the history of language, it is fairly axiomatic that when there exist two constructions capable of expressing the same idea, the natural economy of language, which often abhors superfluity, will cause one to be discarded. No construction will lead a healthy life when other constructions are at hand, equally, if not more, serviceable to compete with it." (Brown 1931:276)

4.2 Imp$_{se}$ *stalled grammaticalization of* omne*;* uno *replaced* omne *on the cycle*

- The structure of the relevant constructions:

(48) OS *omne*: [$_{CP}$ omne [$_{TP}$ <omne> [$_{VoiceP}$ <omne> Voice [$_{VP}$ V DP]]]]

(49) Spanish Imp$_{se}$: [$_{VoiceP}$ *pro* Voice$_{se}$ [$_{VP}$ DP]]

(50) French Imp$_{on}$: [$_{VoiceP}$ *pro* Voice$_{on}$ [$_{VP}$ DP]]

- Several factors contributed to the demise of *omne*: 1) the chronology of grammaticalization of Imp$_{se}$, 2) the comparatively heavy feature makeup of *omne*, 3) the rise of generic *uno*.

4.2.1 Chronology

- OS *omne* was on the same cycle that Imp$_{on}$ underwent in French; i.e., it would be reanalyzed as a Voice head;
  - OS *se* was already reanalyzed as Voice head at a time when *omne* was still a full DP.
  - Thus, there was no pressure to reanalyze *omne* and its grammaticalization therefore stalled.

Old Spanish *se,* (1200-1400*)*[29]

- Diachronic patterns of movement, coordination, and modification are evidence of the reanalysis of *se* from a full DP to a functional head/inflection.[30]

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[29] Additional evidence is given in Maddox (2016b) and MacDonald & Maddox (2017), where it is also shown that in Latin the reflexive pronoun was a full DP based on the same diagnostics.
[30] On the way from Latin to Proto-Romance *se* also suffered phonological attrition, as with *sik* in Old Norse.

- OS *se* – like a full DP can be separated from the verb (interpolation).

(51) Desí mando que   se   non rasiessen.[31]
        thus order that Refl$_{se}$ not   shave
        "Thus I order that they not shave (themselves)."

(52)   este algodon es atal   que   se   non quema por fuego.[32]
         this cotton   is such that AntiC$_{se}$ not   burns by fire
      "This cotton is such that it does not burn from fire."

(53) No hay guisa por que   se   esto diga.[33]
        not is fashion by which Pass$_{se}$ this say
        "There is no way by which this is said."

- *Se* can occupy the same position as a stressed pronoun or a quantified DP.

(54) Los sabios dizen que quien **a   sí non guarda**   a   otri non fará pro.[34]
        the wise   say that who DOM self not defend DOM other not do good
        "The wise men say that he who does not defend himself will not do good to another."

(55) si el enperador **todas estas cosas non guarda** et yerra en todas...[35]
        if the emperor   all these things not defends and errs in everything
        "If the emperor does not defend all these things and erres in everything..."

(56) si **se non guarda**   delo bever tanto...[36]
        if Refl$_{se}$ not   guards from-it drink so-much
        "If he does not protect himself from drinking so much of it..."

- Patterns of auxiliary selection support the analysis of *se* as an internal argument. In Italian, passives (57) and unaccusatives select BE (58).

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[31] Alfonso X, *General Estoria, Primera Parte*, fol. 277V; c. 1275
[32] Anonymous, *Lapidario*, fol. 17R; c. 1250
[33] Anonymous, *Calila e Dimna*, Chap. 3; 1251
[34] Anonymous, *Calila e Dimna*, para. 9; 1251
[35] Juan Manuel, *Libro de estados*, para. 12; 1327-1332
[36] Juan Manuel, *Libro de estados*, para. 13; 1327-1332

(57) La lettera è scritta.   (58) Giovanni è venuto.
      the letter is written   Giovanni is come
      "The letter is written."   "Giovanni came."

- Transitive verbs select HAVE.

(59) Giovanni ha accusato Luigi.   (60) Giovanni ha accusato se stesso
      Giovanni has accused Luigi   Giovanni has accused self very
      "Giovanni accused Luigi."   "Giovanni accused himself."

- Reflexive compound verbs select BE, suggesting they have intransitive
  structure like passives and unaccusatives (McGinnis 2004).

(61) Giovanni   si   è accusato.
      Giovanni Refl$_{se}$ is accused
      "Giovanni accused himself."

- OS was also an auxiliary selection language, but patterns differently than
  Italian. Unaccusatives still select BE but compound reflexives select HAVE.

(62) Minaya Alvar Fáñez essora es llegado.[37]
      Minaya Alvar Fáñez   then   is   arrived
      "Minaya Alvar Fáñez then arrived."

(63) mas es necesario que quando el   se   ha echado en tierra...[38]
      but is necessary that when he Refl$_{se}$ has thrown on ground
      "But it is necessary that when he has cast himself to the ground..."

Middle Spanish *se*, (1400-1600)

- Interpolation begins to disappear:

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[37] Anonymous, *Cid*, line 2449; 1207
[38] Ferrer Sayol, *Libro de Pallado BNM 10211*, para. 115; 1380-1385

Century		Pattern 1: SE + Neg + V	Pattern 2: Neg + SE + V
Old Spanish	1200-1300	25.2	74.8
	1300-1400	11.8	81.2
Middle Spanish	1400-1500	6.2	93.8
	1500-1600	.5	99.5
Modern Spanish	1600-1700	.1	99.9
	1700-1800	0	0

Table 1. Loss on interpolation with negation by century.[39]

- The same patterns of OS auxiliary selection continue in Middle Spanish.

(64) a   tal   puncto el miserable ombre es llegado.[40]
      to such point the miserable man   is arrived
      "The miserable man has arrived to such a point."

(65)   ca   el mesmo   se   ha cortado la lengua.[41]
       because he himself Refl_se has   cut   the tongue
       "Because he himself has cut out his own tongue."

(66) hasta agora no   se   ha guardado la merced que vuestra Alteza   hizo.[42]
      until now not Pass_se has guarded the mercy that your highness made
      "Up until now the mercy that your Highness commanded has not been
      protected."

Modern Spanish *se*, (1600-present day)

- MS *se* exhibits the properties of an inflectional affix. Inflectional morphology does not change the category of the base or form new words (Fábregas & Scalise 2012).

(67) Juan com-e mucho.   (68) Se-come mucho aquí.
      John eat-3S a-lot   Imp_se-eat   a-lot here
      "John eats a lot."   "People eat a lot here."

- Inflectional morphology adheres to strict ordering with other morphemes.

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[39] Collected from a search in the CORDE (Oct. 12, 2015 @ 4:00 p.m.)
[40] Enrique de Villena, *Traducción y glosas de la Eneida Libros I-III*, para. 24; 1427-1428
[41] Antón de Zorita, *Árbol de Batallas* (de Honoré Bouvet), para. 166; c. 1440-1460
[42] Anonymous, *Cortes de Madrid*, para. 19; 1551

(69)a. Tú   habl -a -ba -s   (70)a. Se   -pre -dice el futuro.
        you speak-TV-Asp-2S   Pass$_{se}$-pre-says the future
        "You were speaking."   "The future is predicted."

   b.*Tú habl-ba-s-a   b. *Pre-se-dice el futuro.

Conclusion: OS se was a full DP; in Middle Spanish it merged as a DP but moved
as D-head; in the late 15th or early 16th century it was reanalyzed as a Voice head.

4.2.2 Feature economy[43]

- Class 2 impersonal DP pronouns have phi-features and lexical content
  (Egerland 2003).
   - OS *omne* can have the meaning of a specific, male-individual. It can be
     modified, pluralized, co-occur with articles, etc., though it generally loses
     the generic reading under these contexts.

(71)   E   el omne bueno tornó a su muger...[44]
       and the man good turned to his wife
       'And the good man turned to his wife.'

(72)   estos quinze onbres abrieron la puerta...[45]
       these fifteen men opened the door
       'These fifteen men opened the door.'

- Class 1 impersonals like Imp$_{se}$ are radically deficient heads. What features they
  do have depends on the analysis. Egerland (2003) assumes they have only one
  feature, [+human].

- Thus, it may be more economical to merge a head with very few features rather
  than a DP with many features. This is consistent with the Head Preference
  Principle.

A possible confound: The analyses of Imp$_{se}$ I have adopted also assume that a *pro*
merges. Thus, whether merging a single DP like *omne* or merging Imp$_{se}$ as a head
along with *pro* is more economical remains to be determined.

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[43] Some data in this section adapted from Company Company & Pozas Loyo (2009).

[44] Anonymous, *Sendebar*; 1253

[45] Fernando del Pulgar, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*; 1545

4.3 *Replacement of OS* omne *with generic MS* uno[46]

- Generic *uno* first appears in the 16th century, the same period in which *omne* disappears and Imp$_{se}$ has fully grammaticalized.
    - *Uno* could occur as a numeral, a pronoun, and an indefinite article, but the possibility of a generic reading only starts in the 16th century[47].
    - Generic *uno* displays properties similar to OS *omne*; i.e., the licensing of generic *pro* crossclausally as shown above in Section 3, suggesting that *uno* has replaced *omne* on the impersonal pronoun cycle.

(73) uno$_i$ se   govierna en su manera de bevir conforme   al   estado y
      Imp Refl$_{se}$ governs in his way   of living according to-the state and
      condición que *pro*$_i$ tiene...[48]
      condition that Imp has
      'One governs himself in his way of living according to the state and condition that he has...'

(74) porque   más facilmente menosprecia uno$_i$ lo que *pro*$_i$ vee   con los ojos...[49]
      because more easily   despises   Imp it that Imp sees with the eyes
      'because one more easily despises that which he sees with his eyes...'

- Generic *uno* is continuing to undergo grammaticalization. It can now be used as a polite, first-person singular referent, an apparently modern development (v. Company Company & Pozas Loyo 2009:1206 and references therein).[50]

(75) "Voy a arreglar la   casa.   Hay   cosas que debe uno hacer."[51]
       I-go to   fix   the house there-are things that should one   do
       'I'm going to fix up the house. There are things one must do.'

---

[46] Some data in this section adapted from Company Company & Pozas Loyo (2009).

[47] Company Company & Pozas Loyo's (2009) earliest attested token of generic *uno* is from the year 1535.

[48] Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de le Lengua*; 1535

[49] Antonio de Guevara, *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de Aldea*; 1539

[50] OS *omne* could also have the polite, first person interpretation, but only towards the end of its lifespan (the 16th century), and primarily in a specific register; i.e., rustic drama. For discussion and data see Company Company & Pozas Loyo (2009:1192). Flores-Ferrán's (2009) study is a quantitative analysis of the variable interpretation of *uno* in different varieties of Modern Spanish.

[51] Diario, *Reforma*; 15-11-2006

- OS *omne* also could have 1st-person reference, but at the very latest period of its existence and only in rustic drama (Company Company & Pozas-Loyo 2009).

(76) ¡Ah cuerpo de San   Antón, Cómo stá el hombre acosado![52]
         oh body   of Saint Anthony how   is the man   harassed
       'Oh Saint Anthony's body! How one is harassed!'

<u>Summary</u>: The grammaticalization cycle of OS *omne* stalled because Imp$_{se}$ was reanalyzed a head first, OS *omne* had a heavier feature load than Imp$_{se}$, and generic *uno* developed as an additional form of competition.

5. Conclusion

- HOMŌ-derived impersonal pronouns undergo a cycle in which they are reanalyzed from full DP pronouns into Voice heads.
    - Modern French Imp$_{on}$ is a completed example of this cycle.
    - Old Spanish *omne* was on this cycle but its grammaticalization was stalled due to several factors, including the earlier reanalysis of Imp$_{se}$.
    - Modern Spanish generic *uno* has replaced OS *omne* on the cycle.

- Next steps:
    - Egerland (2003) shows that the two classes of impersonals pattern differently with respect to semantic reading when they occur with ergatives and passives. This could be an additional diagnostic to show that OS *omne* patterns as Class 2.
    - The influence of prescriptivism: Vedovato (2009) argues that prescriptive forces helped prevent to loss of antiquated pronominal forms in Italian; i.e., they were on a grammaticalization cycle and should have disappeared.
        - Could prescriptivism have encouraged the loss of OS *omne*?

- **Prediction**: If Old Spanish (OS) Imp$_{se}$ stalled grammaticalization of *omne* because it was reanalyzed first, it may be that Old French (OF) Imp$_{on}$ stalled grammaticaltion OF *se* for the same reason.
    - We should expect OF *se* to show DP-like properties at a time when OF Imp$_{on}$ was already a head.
    - Change in *pro*-drop status may also be implicated.

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[52] Juan del Encina, *Auto del repelón*; c. 1529

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