

Causativity in Southern Peninsular Spanish¹

Ángel L. Jiménez-Fernández (University of Seville) and Mercedes Tubino (Western Michigan University)

1. Introduction

It is widely assumed that Southern varieties of Spanish share phonological and phonetic properties (the aspiration of final /s/ for plural nouns) and the common use of lexical items (*aljofifa* ‘piece of cloth used to wipe the floor’), which make them stand as a variety on its own with Spanish (Alvar 2004). Much less studied are the syntactic properties of Southern Peninsular Spanish. These Southern dialects have their own salient defining features, now uncontroversial and widely covered in the literature. Following are just a few of these properties.

One of the syntactic features exhibited in Western Andalusian is the agreement between the verb and the pronominal plural *ustedes* ‘you’. Whereas in standard Spanish this pronoun agrees with the verb in the 3rd person (*ustedes van* ‘you go’), in some Andalusian dialects/ sociolects agreement takes the form of the 2nd person (*ustedes vais* ‘you go’).

In the field of discourse markers, it has been acknowledged that some are more likely to be found in Andalusian than in other varieties (Borzi and Santana, 2015). For example, the use of the commenting particle *pues* ‘well’ to introduce a comment in reaction to a previous assertion, as in *Pues yo no se la he contado a nadie* ‘I haven’t told anyone’, as a reply to *Somebody must have told someone that story*. This use of *pues* is considered as very common in Andalusian by Borzi and Santana, and should be distinguished from other uses detected in other varieties such as Mexican and Central-American Spanish, where the particle is typically placed at the end of the sentence (*Yo no se la conté a nadie, pues* ‘I didn’t tell anybody about it’) and the meaning is not that of ‘well’.

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Within the syntax-discourse interface, it has been proven that V-adjacency is not obligatory with focus fronting in SPS (Jiménez-Fernández 2015), and hence Contrastive Focus needn't occur adjacent to the verb when the subject is a topic:

(1) A: *Iberia ha echado a 80 trabajadores en Sevilla.*

Iberia has fired to 80 employees in Seville

'Iberia has fired 80 employees in Seville'

B: *¡Anda ya! A 40 TRABAJADORES Iberia ha echado en Sevilla (no a 80).*

walk already to 40 employees Iberia has fired in Seville (not to 80)

'Come on now! Iberia fired 40 employees, not 80'.²

This type of focus fronting requires postverbal subject in Standard Spanish so that the V-adjacency condition is met.

A purely syntactic characteristic of some areas of Extremadura and Andalusia is the transitive use of a class of verbs, which are intransitive in Standard Spanish (Márquez 2006). For example, *caer un vaso* 'let a glass fall'. This is exactly the topic of our chapter. It should be clear that this use is not idiolectal, and it is well documented.

In this paper we focus on cases of lexical causativization that occur in Southern Peninsular Spanish (SPS henceforth) and other non-standard varieties, and are non-idiomatic in Standard Spanish, as mentioned in e.g., Mendikoetxea (1999), De Miguel (1999), De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000). First, we observe that whereas contrasts such as (2) are generally accepted by Spanish speakers, sentences such as (3) are also accepted by speakers SPS.

(2) a. *Pasó tanta gente que casi rompió la puerta.* CREA (2013)

go.in so.many people that almost broke:3S the door

'So many people went through that they almost caused it to break'³

² GLOSS KEY: 1,2,3: 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; ACC: accusative; CAUSE: causative; CL: clitic; LA: 3rd person singular accusative clitic feminine; LE: 3rd person singular dative clitic; LO: 3rd person singular accusative clitic masculine; NEG: negation; P: plural; RCPR: reciprocal; REFL: reflexive; S: singular; SE: 3rd person reflexive clitic.

³ All examples referenced as CREA have been retrieved from REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: Database (CREA) [online]. *Corpus de referencia del español actual*. <<http://www.rae.es>> [August,

b. Por las prisas se rompió la botella. CREA (2013)

because.of the rush SE broke the bottle

‘Because we were rushed, the bottle broke’

(3) a. Ten cuidado que vas a caer el jarrón RAE, DPD (2005)

have care that go to fall the vase

‘Be careful or you’ll drop the vase’⁴

b. Quedé el abrigo en casa y ahora tengo frío RAE, DPD (2005)

stayed:1s the coat in house and now have:1s cold

‘I left my coat at home and I’m cold now’

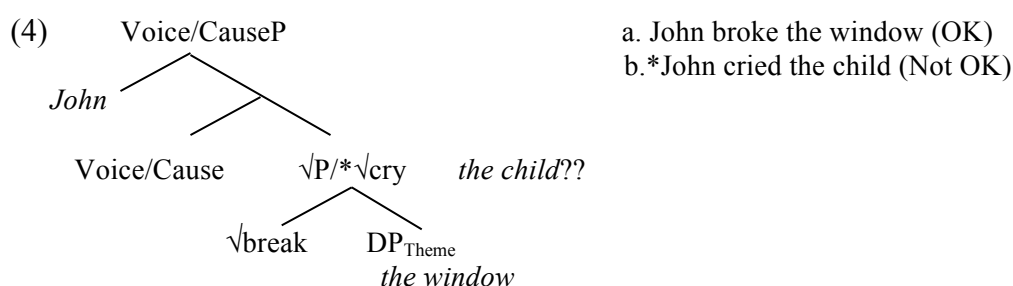
Speakers of Non-Standard dialects other than SPS may also accept some of the examples in (3). These include speakers of Aragon, Avila and other Northern Castile regions, as well as different countries in Latin America. While prescriptive grammarians like Llorente Maldonado (1980) and Gómez Torrego (1998c) warn speakers against transitive uses such as those in (3) for their “vulgar and illicit” nature, descriptive linguists like Varela (2002) maintain that the phenomenon has its origin in the inner structure of the language and consequently may be formally predicted and explicitly restricted. This means that it is possible to find a common trait among the dialectally alternating verbs in (3).

Traditionally, descriptive grammars provide generic classifications of verbs that do not always account for their syntactic contrasts. Campos (1999), following Alcina & Blecua (1975), provides a classification of intransitive verbs in which e.g., motion verbs include *andar* ‘walk’, *bajar* ‘go down’, *caer* ‘fall’, *caminar* ‘walk’, *circular* ‘move ahead’, *desfilarse* ‘march’, *entrar* ‘go in’, *evolucionar* ‘evolve’, *salir* ‘go out’, *saltar* ‘jump’, and *subir* ‘go up’. These verbs are described as occasionally followed by an object (e.g., *subir un archivo* ‘upload a file’) (NGRAE:§ 41.4a, 3053). In this list, however, both unergatives and unaccusatives are grouped together.

2013]. According to this database, the right citation for the examples retrieved from this database is by citing the database (CREA) and the date the retrieval was done.

⁴ All examples referenced as RAE, DPD have been retrieved from the Real Academia Española Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas, (2005 edition). The examples included in this paper will be easily retrieved from this dictionary by doing a direct search of the verb involved.

The distinction between unergatives and unaccusatives may help us understand many syntactic contrasts exhibited by otherwise simply intransitive verbs (Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1986). For example, Burzio notices that whereas unergative Italian verbs select the perfective auxiliary *avere* ‘have’, unaccusative verbs invariably select *essere* ‘be’. While this contrast is no longer true for Spanish, it is also documented for French, Dutch or German. The causative alternation is another well-known diagnostic to tell unergatives from unaccusatives. Pylkkänen (2008) explains it in these terms: only unaccusative Roots enter the alternation in languages like English as, she claims, the external argument that is present in the syntax of unergatives blocks the causativizing head from composing directly on top of the (unergative) Root:



The problem with the causativization of the unergative Root $\sqrt{\text{cry}}$ in (4) has to do with the nature of its only argument, not a Theme but an Agent. Unlike unaccusative Roots such as $\sqrt{\text{break}}$ that may license a theme DP in its complement position, the unergative Root $\sqrt{\text{cry}}$ finds it impossible to license its agent DP, as English does not allow any syntactic positions between the causativizing head and the Root in direct causativization configurations. Tubino (2011) shows that Spanish direct causatives are restricted along the same lines as those in English. But the diagram in (4) cannot explain all cases: Alongside unaccusatives, which cannot be easily causativized (*llegar* ‘arrive’ above), there exist a few Roots generally considered unergative, which can in Andalusian and other non-Standard dialects:

- (5) a. Los Knicks saltan la alarma en la NBA. ABC (6/1/2009)
the Knicks jump:3P the alarm in the NBA
‘The Knicks make the alarms go off in the NBA’⁵

⁵ An anonymous reviewer suggests that this use of *saltar* ‘jump’ is not dialectal but standard or ‘almost standard’, claiming that in the Galician newspaper *La Voz de Galicia* (April 11, 2013) one reads *Se saltaron la alarma, actuaron con rapidez y causaron los daños imprescindibles* ‘They avoided the alarm, acted quickly and caused minimal damage’. It is important to note here that while this paper focuses on SPS non-standard uses of the verbs discussed here, we do not claim that these uses are limited to this area.

b. Los artificieros explotaron la bomba. Varela (2002)
 the explosives.experts exploded:3P the bomb
 ‘The bomb squad detonated the bomb’⁶

c. ¿Cómo sonáis el timbre? www.rodadas.net (2013)
 how sound:2P the bell
 ‘How do you guys ring the (bicycle) bell?’⁷

These contrasts among verbs classified as unergatives or unaccusatives justify the need of a number of authors (e.g., Levin (1993), Levin & Rappaport-Hovav (1995), Mendikoetxea (1999), Ramchand (2008), Irwin (2012)) to carry out finer-grained divisions that may explain yet further contrasts that we would find it difficult to explain if we stopped at the unergative/unaccusative distinction.

In general, and with Tubino (2011), we claim that unergatives that can be causativized in SPS are actually exhibiting an unaccusative behavior. For example, the compatibility of the verb *saltar* ‘jump, blow up’ with absolutive participle constructions (6) makes it pattern with other Spanish unaccusatives in its use meaning ‘blow up’ (6a). Notice that the same Root resists the construction in its prototypical unergative use as ‘jump’ (6b).⁸

We do claim that they are non-standard uses, as a search in the DRAE dictionary will confirm. It should be noted, however, that the example suggested by the reviewer is not an illustration of the phenomenon treated here, since it shows a pronominal non-causative use of *saltar* ‘jump’. That is, in the example offered by the reviewer the subject is not a causer, as the sentence does not mean that the thieves made the alarm go off, as the Knicks do in (5a). It rather means that the thieves avoided the alarm, a non-causative use of *saltar* ‘jump’. Clearly, while (5a) involves causative syntax, the example offered by the reviewer does not.

⁶ An anonymous reviewer suggests that this causative use of *explotar* ‘explode’ is standard rather than dialectal, claiming that the DRAE (The Spanish Royal Academy Dictionary) lists transitive *explotar* ‘explode’ with no specific geographical indication. It should be noted, however, that transitive *explotar* is only listed in this dictionary with its ‘exploit’ rather than ‘explode’ meaning. In its ‘explode’ meaning, it is only accepted as intransitive. In other words, while a use such as *Explotar a los trabajadores* ‘exploit workers’ is considered standard, *Juan explotó el globo* ‘Juan popped the balloon’ is not accepted in the dictionary either as standard or non-standard. This is consistent with Varela (2002) and with the variation in the grammaticality judgments we obtained from speakers of different dialects.

⁷ <http://www.rodadas.net/foro/topic/como-sonar-el-timbre>

⁸ An anonymous reviewer argues that this test does not work in the case of transitive *sonar* ‘ring’ (5c), as absolutive participle constructions are a valid test if and only if intransitive readings are obtained and *Una vez sonado el timbre* does not mean ‘Once the doorbell rang’. Due to pragmatic reasons, it is somewhat difficult to interpret a sentence involving a doorbell ringing in an intransitive reading (e.g., without associating the event with an agent ringing the bell). In the right circumstances, however, this verb is

- (6) a. [Saltada la alarma], llegó la policía.
 jumped the alarm arrived the police
 'Right after the alarm went off, the police arrived'
- b. *[Saltado el primer caballo], suspendieron la carrera.
 jumped the first horse cancelled:3P the race
 'Right after the first horse jumped, the race was cancelled'

This supports Pykkänen's analysis that only unaccusatives allow Root causativization and Schäfer's (2008) intuition that the compatibility of Roots with the causative construction depends on their encyclopedic content and the context in which they are used.

A third verb class discussed in this paper concerns some uses, non-idiomatic in Standard Spanish, of certain unaccusative motion as well as internally-caused verbs along with 'aspectual' *se* in SPS :

- (7) a. Juan se entró a/en la casa
 Juan SE went.in in the house
 'Juan went in his house'
- b. ¿Tú por dónde te vas a Madrid?
 you by where CL:2S.REFL go:2S to Madrid
 'Which route do you take to Madrid?'

According to De Miguel (1999), aspectual *se* is accepted by motion unaccusatives such as *ir* 'go' when they denote the event's initial endpoint, so in Standard Spanish, the sentence in (7b) would be considered infelicitous, since the initial endpoint (e.g., the origin) is unspecified. Similarly, a verb such as *entrar* 'go in' would not allow *se* because it denotes the event's terminal endpoint while leaving the initial endpoint unspecified. We believe there is a connection between Non-Standard causative uses and the extended use of aspectual *se* in (7). In general, we will claim that the verbal

perfectly compatible with both unaccusative syntax and semantics, whereby its corresponding absolute participle construction has an intransitive reading:

- (i) una vez sonado el despertador, poder apagarlo y quedarse un rato más en la cama
 once rang the alarm be.able turn.off:cl and stay:se a while more in the bed
 'Once the alarm had gone off, it's great to be able to turn it off and stay in bed a bit longer'
<http://empezandolacuentaatras.blogspot.com/2013/12/pequenos-placeres-del-finde.html>

roots under study exhibit extended syntactic frames in SPS that make them compatible with either theme arguments (see e.g., Harley 2011), interpreted as results of change-of-state roots, or goals in the case of motion (change-of-position) roots. The final composition of verbal root plus complement triggers the interpretation of the resulting structure as a complex achievement rather than a simple achievement, licensing an external Causer, which in Spanish may be syntactically realized as *se* if the argument is morphologically underspecified. The most salient semantic contrast between a complex and a simple achievements has to do with the interpretation of the event as no longer denoting a mere culmination but rather a full change of state or position, depending on the semantic denotation of the verb. The main contrast between events involving a full-fledged Causer and *se* has to do with the entity that initiates and undergoes the change of state or position, different in the case of full-fledged Causers and identical in the case of *se*. This is in line with both De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla's (2000) account for structures involving *se* in Spanish and Schäfer's (2008, 2012) description of the anatomy of internally-caused verbs that may involve a causing event.⁹ In Sections 3 & 4 we will examine this hypothetical association.

Summarizing, we will discuss the properties of three groups of verbs which undergo some sort of causativization process in SPS: 1) some verbs of change of position, some inherently caused verbs of change of state and some stative verbs; 2) fake unergatives; and 3) inherently motion verbs with 'aspectual' *se*. The crucial

⁹ An anonymous reviewer claims that the externally vs. internally-caused distinction for Spanish verbs does not seem to be fine-grained enough, because otherwise we could explain why *engordar* 'gain weight' allows for a causative counterpart, whereas *adelgazar* 'lose weight' does not. While we agree with the reviewer that the externally vs. internally-caused division is not fine-grained enough to satisfactorily account for every causativity contrast in Spanish, it is not entirely correct that *adelgazar* does not allow causative uses, at least dialectally, as the following example, retrieved from <http://www.jetset.com.co/edicion-impresia/temas-revista-jetset/articulo/jorge-hane-su-esposa-adoptaron-nina-colombiana/86219>:

(i) Él engorda a la gente y yo la adelgazo
 He fattens A the people and I cl:3acc slim:1sg
 'He makes people become bigger and I make them become slimmer'

Since the causativization of *adelgazar* 'lose weight' is at least dialectally possible, we do not believe the contrast suggested by the reviewer is theoretically significant, but it may well be explained encyclopedically or pragmatically (e.g., it might be easier to accept direct causatives to describe a situation in which somebody causes somebody else or some animal to gain weight by doing something like feeding them more food than a situation involving losing weight, whereby the result is the consequence of refraining from doing something (feeding them food)). For further discussion of these classical contrasts and restrictions, the reader may consult Shibatani (1973), Levin (1993), Levin & Rappaport-Hovav (1995) and Mendikoetxea (1999).

question in our analysis is whether there is some correlation between their ability to be causativized and their dialectal compatibility with *se*. We will not provide answers as to what causes these verbs to be dialectally compatible with extended syntactic frames. A diachronic study might have a more accurate answer to this problem, which is beyond the scope of this paper. Note that we obtain full paradigms of verbs in that the phenomena discussed in this paper affects the aforementioned three classes of verbs.

The paper is organised as follows. In the next section, we review some relevant points concerning the causative alternation in Spanish. Section 3 presents the relevant data and our proposed analysis. In section 4, we extend the analysis to further causativization cases. Section 5 summarizes our main findings.

2. The alternation in Spanish

To understand the causative alternation in general, many linguists have explored the inner composition of the verbs that allow it and they have distinguished from those that do not. In this section, we review some relevant accounts of the inner structure of Spanish verbs and its influence on their syntactic behavior. We will conclude with Schäfer (2012) and Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino (2013) that the presence of a resultant state either in the inner composition of verbs or its syntactic compatibility with it is what ultimately triggers causation in any Spanish dialect. The dialectal contrasts will lie in the perceived compatibility of particular Roots with the expression of a resultant state.

2.1. Mendikoetxea's (1999) classification of Spanish verbs

Mendikoetxea's (1999) classification of Spanish verbs into different semantic classes is largely based on Levin & Rappaport Hovav's (1995, L&RH henceforth) typology for English verbs, except for some differences to explain contrasts in the behavior of Spanish verbs as compared to English.

First, the author identifies two types of unaccusative verbs: 1) verbs of change of state/ location such as *romper(se)* 'break', *abrir(se)* 'open', *hundir(se)* 'sink', *floreecer* 'blossom', *caer* 'fall', *levantar(se)* 'get up'; and 2) verbs of existence and appearance such as *aparecer* 'appear', *llegar* 'arrive', *existir* 'exist', *venir* 'come', *emerger* 'emerge', *ocurrir* 'happen', *suced* 'happen'. Only verbs in the first group may exhibit a transitive counterpart (8). For Mendikoetxea, the causative alternation is a lexical

option between a transitive causative verb and its corresponding unaccusative use (much like Chierchia (1989) and L&RH (1995)).

- (8) a. Juan rompió el vaso (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1579)
 Juan broke the glass
 ‘Juan broke the glass’ (cf. *El vaso se rompió* ‘The glass broke’)
- b. El calor marchitó las flores (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1600[45a])
 the heat wilted the flowers
 ‘The heat made the flowers wilt’
 (cf. *Las flores se marchitaron* ‘The flowers wilted’)
- c. Juan sentó al niño (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1606)
 Juan sat to.the child
 ‘Juan seated the child’ (cf. *El niño se sentó* ‘The child sat down’)
- (9) a. *La dirección de la empresa existía muchos problemas sin resolver
 the management of the company existed many problems without solving
 ‘That company’s management existed many unsolved problems’
- b. *Juan apareció un duendecillo vestido de rojo
 Juan appeared a little.goblin dressed of red
 ‘Juan appeared a little goblin dressed in red’
- c. *Alguien ocurrió un hecho espeluznante
 somebody occurred a fact horrifying
 ‘Somebody occurred a horrifying event’
 (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1609[60i/ii/iiib])

As for the ‘change of state/position’ class, Mendikoetxea (1999) largely adopts L&RH’s externally vs. internally caused distinction for Spanish verbs. That is, externally caused verbs are transitive (causative) and typically compatible with intransitive uses. These include *open*, *close*, *break*, *melt* as well as verbs that are causative but non-alternating in English such as *cut*. Internally caused verbs are considered unergative, partly because of their non-alternating behavior (*bloom*, *blush*).

These differ semantically from externally caused verbs in that what causes their change of state is part of the ‘internal’ properties of the entity which undergoes the change.

To distinguish between these classes, Mendikoetxea uses two main criteria: 1) whether the verbs enter the causative alternation (only externally caused verbs do) and 2) whether they take the reflexive marker *se* if used intransitively (again, only externally caused verbs do). Other than this, the distinction is not morphologically motivated:

Externally caused verbs include deadjectival verbs without prefixes (e.g., *secar* ‘dry’), with prefixes (e.g., *abaratar* ‘cheapen’, *engordar* ‘gain weight’), denominal verbs (e.g., *acostumbrar* ‘get used to’), verbs in *-izar/ -ificar* (e.g., *purificar* ‘purify’, *cristalizar* ‘crystalize’). Like in L&RH, verbs within this class are basically dyadic and may alternate thanks to a detransitivization process (p. 1588). Change of state verbs with an external cause have a complex event structure involving a causative subevent and a central subevent denoting the resultant state (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1590[L6]). The detransitivized form will just lack the causative event.

Internally caused verbs identified in Spanish by Mendikoetxea include deadjectival verbs without affixes (e.g., *palidecer* ‘turn pale’), with prefixes (e.g., *adelgazar* ‘lose weight’, *envejecer* ‘age’), and other verbs (e.g., *encoger* ‘shrink’, *crecer* ‘grow’, *hervir* ‘boil’). Their monadic nature prevents them from alternating (10).

- (10) a. *Juan/*el susto palideció a María
Juan/ the scare paled to Maria
‘Juan/the scare made Maria turn pale’
- b. *Su madre/*el disgusto/*un nuevo medicamento adelgazó a Pedro
his mother/the annoyance/ a new medicine slim to Pedro
‘His mother/the annoyance/a new drug made Pedro lose weight’
- c. *El jardinero/*la primavera/*el abono floreció el rosal
the gardener/the spring / the fertilizer blossom the rosebush
‘The gardener/the spring/the fertilizer made the rosebush blossom’
- (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1598[37/38/39b])

So basically, according to L&RH and Mendikoetxea, a verb genuinely allows the causative alternation if it is lexically dyadic and one of its arguments is interpreted

as the immediate causer. The alternation happens if these verbs allow interpretations in which the external argument may be dissociated from the event. They tend to be change of state verbs and their ability to produce anticausatives depends on whether their denotation allows interpretations not necessarily involving agents or instruments (e.g., **The bread cut*) and also sometimes on the arguments they take as themes:

(11) a. He broke his promise / the contract / the world record

b. *His promise / the contract / the world record broke

L&RH 1995: 105[59]

Like L&RH's for English, Mendikoetxea's classification of Spanish verbs is intuitively sound at first: verbs like *romper(se)* 'break' alternate because their eventualities are brought about by an external causer which may actively participate in their event structure or not. Verbs like *floreecer* 'blossom' are non-alternating because they can never be conceived of as having an external causer. And we independently know from Kratzer (1996) that external arguments are the kind of arguments that are *severed* from the verb's inner structure.

Interestingly, not all Spanish verbs pattern with English verbs regarding the type of causation they denote. For example, some English verbs classified as internally caused by L&RH are considered externally caused in Spanish by Mendikoetxea, on the basis that they allow the alternation and/or are compatible with *se*. She argues, however, that these verbs behave differently than prototypical externally caused verbs. For example, they impose selectional restrictions on their Causer while prototypical externally caused verbs do not:

(12) La humedad /??Juan oxidó los hierros de la verja

the humidity / Juan rusted the iron.bars of the fence

'The humidity/Juan made the fence's iron bars turn rusty',¹⁰

(Mendikoetxea 1999: 1600[44])

Mendikoetxea contrasts these sentences with *hervir* 'boil', an internally caused verb both in English and Spanish that also allows the alternation. She notices an interesting contrast regarding the selectional restrictions associated with *hervir* 'boil', as

¹⁰ The grammaticality judgments in (12) are Mendikoetxea's, as we find both possibilities equally grammatical.

compared to those attributed to the verb *marchitarse* ‘wilt’ (8b), also externally caused in Spanish only: only the former restricts its Causer to agents.

- (13) *El calor/*el fuego/Juan/??el microondas ha hervido la leche
 the heat/the fire/ Juan/ the microwave has boiled the milk
 ‘The heat/the fire/Juan/the microwave has boiled the milk’

Perhaps this restriction is related to the fact that internally caused verbs may only be indirectly caused (e.g., Schäfer 2008) and agents but not causers are compatible with this kind of causation (see also, e.g., Tubino 2011 for similar restrictions in Hiaki indirect causation). In any case, the contrasts between verbs like *marchitarse* ‘wilt’ and *hervir* ‘boil’ are not always clear-cut. For example, it is true that *cocer* ‘cook’, another externally caused verb in Mendikoetxea’s classification and a near synonym to *hervir* ‘boil’ does appear to be more felicitous with non-agents as Causers:

- (14) ?El calor /?el fuego/ Juan/??el microondas ha cocido las patatas
 the heat / the fire/ Juan/ the microwave has cooked the potatoes
 ‘The heat/the fire/ Juan/the microwave has cooked the potatoes’

But *floreecer* ‘bloom, blossom’, an internally caused verb semantically related to *marchitarse* ‘wilt’ is dialectally compatible with Causers in the dialects allowing its alternation. The example in (15) is from Rio de la Plata Spanish:

- (15) La lluvia floreció el rosal
 the rain blossomed the rose bush
 ‘The rain made the rose bush blossom’¹¹

Following Mendikoetxea’s criteria that only externally caused verbs allow non-agents as their Causers, this verb should be treated like *marchitarse* ‘wilt’ and unlike *hervir* ‘boil’, since it allows a Cause (e.g., *la lluvia* ‘the rain’) as its Causer. However, it is not clear why a verb like *floreecer* ‘blossom’ should be treated as externally caused only in the Spanish dialects that allow their causative use, especially since, regardless of the dialect, this verb patterns with internally caused verbs in that it is incompatible with *se* (e.g., *El rosal (*se) floreció* ‘the rose bush blossomed’).

¹¹ We thank Violeta Demonte (p.c.) for this example.

In fact, Mendikoetxea makes a strict parallel between the verbs that appear with *se* in their anticausative use and their classification as externally caused (and also presumably alternating behavior). This is so since, like other authors adopting detransitivization approaches (e.g., L&RH), she considers the presence of the clitic as a morphological mark of detransitivization and only externally caused verbs may undergo this operation. However, as Folli (2002) and Ramchand (2008) point out, most world languages actually exhibit transitivity morphology, and L&RH's model totally fails to account for the mechanism behind that process.

In addition, the correlation between verbs analyzed as basically dyadic by Mendikoetxea and the reflexive marker is not always crystal clear in Spanish. First, many intransitive verbs that are clearly non externally caused are formed with the reflexive (e.g., *morirse* 'die', *caerse* 'fall', *salirse* 'go.out', *dormirse* 'sleep', *irse* 'leave'). Most of these are non-alternating (e.g., **Juan murió a su perro* 'i.e., Juan made his dog die', **Juan fue a Pedro* 'i.e., Juan made Pedro leave', **Juan salió a María de la reunión* 'Juan made Maria leave the meeting'). Second, not all verbs listed by Mendikoetxea as externally caused take the reflexive in their intransitive form (e.g., *engordar* 'gain weight').

Another case that does not pattern with Mendikoetxea's classification is *sanar* 'heal'. This verb's near synonym *curarse* is morphologically marked. Both verbs are alternating and neither verb seems to impose any selectional restrictions on its Causer:

- (16) a. El médico/la medicina/el reposo ha sanado al enfermo
 the doctor/the medicine/the rest has healed to.the sick.person
 'The doctor/the drug/rest has made the sick person recover'
- b. El arte solo vale cuando sana a los otros (CREA 2013)
 the art only be.worth when heals to the others
 'Art is only worth it when it is therapeutic for other people'
- c. Este masaje (...) no sanaba la herida inicial (CREA 2013)
 this massage (...) NEG healed the wound initial
 'This massage didn't heal the original wound'

The discussion above suggests that the role *se* plays in the argument structure of inchoative sentences in Spanish is not clear from Mendikoetxea's classification. As a matter of fact, authors such as Schäfer (2008) suggest that there is no fundamental semantic difference between morphologically marked and unmarked change of state verbs. Other authors, however, have found correlations between the presence of the reflexive and specific eventive information in both transitive and intransitive sentences in Spanish. We next discuss De Miguel (1999) that explores the aspectual contribution of the reflexive to the event structure of the constructions in which it appears.

2.2. *The aspectual contribution of 'se': De Miguel (1999)*

The use of clitic *se* in both intransitives and transitives is crucially related to lexical aspect according to a long list of authors such as Nishida (1994), Zagana (1996), De Miguel (1999), De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000), Sanz (2000), Kempchinsky (2004), MacDonald (2004), Basilico (2010), Armstrong (2012) *inter alia*. Both with intransitive and transitive verbs, this aspectual marking is only compatible with bounded events according to these authors. The following examples are from De Miguel (1999):

- (17) a. Juan #(se) comió una tortilla él solo
 Juan SE ate:3S a omelette him alone
 'Juan ate an entire omelette by himself'

- b. Juan (*se) come tortilla siempre que puede
 Juan SE eat:3S omelette ever that can:3S
 'Juan eats omelette whenever he can'

De Miguel 1999: 2995[3c-b]

- (18) a. El libro #(se) ha caído del estante
 the book SE has fallen of.the shelf
 'The book has fallen off the shelf'

- b. La lluvia (*se) cae / Ayer (*se) cayó un meteorito
 the rain SE falls/ yesterday SE fell a meteorite
 'The rain falls down / A meteorite fell yesterday'

De Miguel 1999: 2996[4a-b]

According to De Miguel (1999: 2996), *se* is a morphological mark for bounded events, but it names different endpoints depending on the verb's transitivity. Whereas it spells out the terminus with transitive verbs such as *comer* 'eat' (17), it spells out the initial endpoint in the case of unaccusative verbs such as *caer* 'fall' (18). In addition, De Miguel observes that reflexive pronominals are incompatible with unergative verbs: **Me viajé* 'I(refl) travelled', **Me hablé* 'I(refl) spoke', **Me trabajé* 'I(refl) worked' (p. 2996, fn. 26).

But not all unaccusative verbs exhibit the same behavior regarding *se*. This is directly related to the kind of eventive information the different verbs inherently encode. For example, *caer* (18) optionally takes *se* when it denotes a bounded event, as in (18a), but it resists the pronominal if it is associated with an unbounded event (18b). Conversely, *ir* obligatorily takes *se* in (19b) when it denotes bounded events (e.g., with a DP naming the event's initial endpoint) and resists it (19a) if it just names a path 'direction to', since in this case the event it participates in is unbounded:

- (19) a. (#Me) voy siempre a París por San Sebastián
 CL:1S.REFL go:1S always to Paris by San Sebastian
 'I always go through San Sebastian when I go to Paris'
- b. *(Me) voy de aquí.
 CL:1S.REFL go:1S of here
 'I'm off (here)'

Whereas the bounded vs. unbounded contrast seems more or less clear in the case of verbs like *ir* 'go' and perhaps also *caer* 'fall', it becomes more blurry with other motion verbs such as *salir* 'go out', *venir* 'return' and *entrar* 'go in'. According to De Miguel, the former two verbs behave similarly, since both optionally take *se* when naming either the initial endpoint or the goal, whereas *entrar* 'go in' resists the pronominal even though this verb is clearly associated with bounded events:

- (20) a. (Me) salí de la reunión / al balcón.
 CL:1S.REFL go.out of the meeting / to.the balcony
 'I left the meeting / I went out to the balcony' (reading with *se*)
 'I stepped out of the meeting / to the balcony' (reading without *se*)

b. (Me) vine del pueblo / a Madrid.

CL:1S.REFL came of.the village / to Madrid

‘I left the village to come live here / I moved to Madrid’ (reading with *se*)

‘I came from the village / to Madrid’ (reading without *se*)

c. Me salí / *entré

CL:1S.REFL went.out / went.in

‘I walked/stepped out/ I went in (to stay)’

(De Miguel 1999: 2996)

The contrast between the verbs in (20) and *ir* ‘go’ is clearly the lack of boundedness of the latter, explaining the non-optionality of *se* if *ir* participates in a bounded event. De Miguel argues that the contrast with a verb like *entrar* ‘go.in’ lies in the fact that unlike *salir* ‘go out’, *entrar* is not bounded in its initial endpoint but only in its terminus. This makes this verb incompatible with *se* (recall that *se* only names the initial endpoint with unaccusatives according to her analysis). But this cannot be the whole explanation: if *entrar* is incompatible with *se* as a result of being unbounded in its initial endpoint, then *ir* ‘go’ should also resist the pronominal, contrary to fact (recall that *ir* ‘go’ actually needs the pronominal to be interpreted as bounded in its initial endpoint). In fact, the grammaticality contrast in (20c) does not exist in SPS, which suggests that *se* enriches and modifies the original aspectual content of Spanish motion verbs. Other verbs both bounded and unbounded allowing this use in SPS include *pasar(se)* ‘go by/stop by’, *llegar(se)* ‘arrive/stop by’, *venir(se)* ‘come/come along’, *bajar(se)* ‘go/come down (out)/get off’, *subir(se)* ‘go/come up /back in’. The reason why the use of these verbs along with *se* is restricted in some dialects remains unclear.

Linguists like Schäfer (2008) argue that the association between telicity (boundedness) and *se* is not one-to-one, since there are clearly bounded Roots without *se* like Italian *affondare* ‘sink’ and Roots involving *se* may allow unbounded readings like Italian *estendere* ‘extend’. This is also attested in Spanish, e.g., *Su influencia se extendió durante muchos años* ‘His influence continued for many years’. But Schäfer (2012) finds a correlation between causality and a resultative event structure. This is exactly what De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) propose to distinguish Spanish achievement verbs taking *se* and those that do not.

2.3. Change of state verbs and *se*

De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) make an interesting distinction that involves change of state verbs as well as other verbs treated by e.g., Mendikoetxea (1999). Based on the event classification by Pustejovsky (1991), they make the divide into eight different event types, depending on the nature of their inner subevents. For them, verbs like e.g., *arder* ‘be burning’ and *quemarse* ‘burn’ are distinguished in these terms: an internally caused verb such as *arder* is considered an ‘inceptive achievement’ (type L3) which is bounded since it involves an achievement (the initial subevent) followed by a process. Other internally caused verbs like *hervir* ‘boil’ and *floreecer* ‘blossom’ would fall into the same class.

These are contrasted with verbs like *quemarse* ‘burn’ that denote a different type of ‘inceptive achievement’ (type L2). The contrast with verbs of type L3 is that a state rather than a process follows the achievement. Verbs like *marearse* ‘get dizzy’, *ocultarse* ‘hide’, *sentarse* ‘sit down’ are also of this kind.

These are to be distinguished from simple achievements that are bounded and occurring in a single culminating point (e.g., *explotar* ‘explode’, *llegar* ‘arrive’, *nacer* ‘be born’). Transitions (type T2) are also different since they are bounded and imply a transition between two culminating points: both the initial and terminal subevents may be decomposed into two further subevents involving an achievement + process and an achievement + state (e.g., *aparecer(se)* ‘appear’, *bajar(se)* ‘go down’, *caer(se)* ‘fall’, *ir(se)* ‘go/leave’, *morir(se)* ‘die’).

For these authors, the clitic always involves a culminating point followed by a state, never a process. This generalization, though simple, makes a clear distinction between e.g., externally caused and internally caused verbs, but it may also be extended to motion verbs. Interestingly and once again, they claim that simple achievements like *explotar* ‘explode’, *llegar* ‘arrive’, *regresar* ‘come back’ and *entrar* ‘go in’ disallow *se* because the achievement is not followed by a resultant state, which is contrary to fact in the Spanish dialects treated here as well as Latin American dialects.

Our claim is that while De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla’s (2000) classification seems to be on the right track, verbs are not completely restricted in the events they may denote and this depends on the speaker’s world knowledge about these

verbs. We will embrace, however, De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla's generalization that for *se* to be associated with a verb, the verb + *se* complex must necessarily involve a resultant state. In fact, Folli & Harley (2005) independently find a connection between *se* and resultant states, which Schäfer (2012) also connects with causation. As we will see next, many of the verbs that are dialectally compatible with causative uses also allow *se* in their intransitive uses. We contrast this apparent correlation with some minor cases in which *se* is not needed in their intransitive use of the verb.

3. Causativization in SPS: the analysis

In this section we present our analysis of the SPS causativization cases, largely inspired by structural accounts such as Schäfer (2008) as well as eventive accounts like De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) and Ramchand (2008). With Schäfer (2008) and Varela (2002), we assume that the encyclopedic knowledge that different speakers have of particular verb Roots is what ultimately conditions their ability to appear in particular syntactic (e.g., causative) configurations. Also with Schäfer (2008, 2012) we believe that causative configurations necessarily involve a Root plus a complement interpreted as a resultant state. We remain agnostic regarding whether a resultative projection (Schäfer 2012) is necessary to obtain this interpretation, although we assume here that it can be directly derived from the syntactic configuration as a whole (e.g., if a change of state involves a Root plus a complement, then this complex is necessarily interpreted as a resulting state). We provide the details next.

3.1. SPS causativization cases: data and basic analysis

Spanish verbs that exhibit dialectal variation regarding their compatibility with the causative alternation include, in L&RH's terminology, inherently directed motion verbs (*caer(se)* 'fall', *entrar* 'go in', *trepase* 'fall'), internally caused change-of-state verbs (e.g., *explotar*, *saltar*), verbs of change of position (*agacharse* 'crouch'), verbs of appearance (e.g., *aparecer* 'appear'), verbs of emission (e.g., *sonar* 'sound'), and stative verbs (*quedarse* 'stay').

(21) a. Niño, que me trepas.

Boy that CL:1S.A fall:2S

'Watch out boy, you're going to make me fall'

b. No te apoyes en mamá, que la vas a agachar.
 NEG CL:2S.REFL lean:2S on mom that LA go:2S to crouch
 ‘Don’t lean on Mom or you’ll make her crouch, *lit.* ... you’ll crouch her’

c. Cuidado, que vas a caer el colacao.
 care that go:2S to fall the colacao
 ‘Watch out or you’ll knock the *colacao* (a chocolate drink) over’

d. La entraron en el camarote y la dejaron en la litera.
 LA go.in:3P in the cabin and LA left:3P in the berth
 ‘She was brought in the cabin and left on the berth’

Regás *Azul* (1994) in RAE, DPD (2005)

e. Aparéceme en tu espejo de pronto.
 appear:2S=CL:1S.A in your mirror suddenly
 ‘Make me appear in your mirror at once’¹²

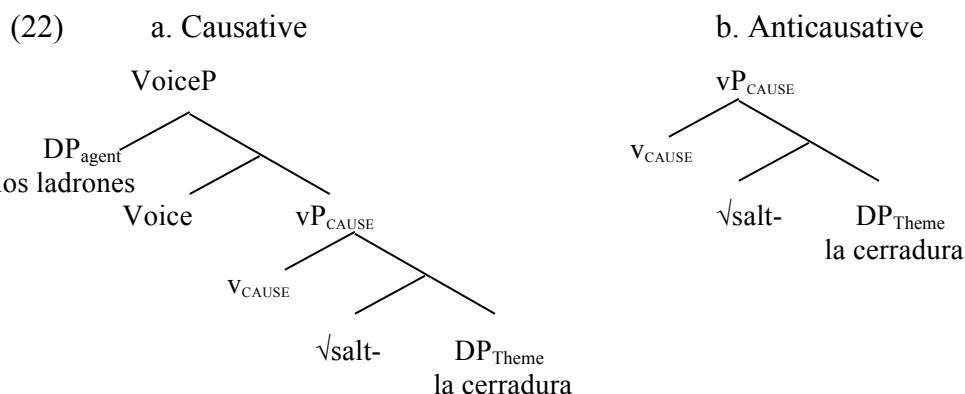
Neruda *Madrigal escrito en invierno* (1925)

f. Estos niños, todo el día explotándose globos de agua.
 these kids all the day exploding=3.RCP balloons of water
 ‘These kids spend all day throwing water balloons at each other.’

g. Los ladrones saltaron la cerradura
 the thieves jumped the lock
 ‘The burglars popped the lock (e.g., by kicking the door open)’

In recent compositional approaches to argument structure (e.g., Folli & Harley 2005, Pylkkänen 2008, Alexiadou *et al.* 2006, Schäfer 2008) the compatibility of the Roots in (21) with a causative configuration would be explained structurally. Alexiadou *et al.* (2006) and Schäfer (2008), for instance, propose that both anticausative and causative structures contain the predicate Cause, but only the latter contains Voice, the predicate that brings about the Causer (22).

¹² An anonymous reviewer notes that *me* could be an ethical dative in *aparéceme* ‘appear me’, in which case the verb would not be causative. While this ambiguity is indeed possible, the context of the poem quickly and effectively helps disambiguate the example, as the author later makes reference to where exactly he wants his beloved to make him appear *detrás de ti* ‘behind you’. It would be quite pragmatically absurd if the author asks his beloved to appear for him behind herself, which rules out the ethical dative interpretation altogether <http://elbauldelossentidos.mforos.com/1345343/6968732-madrigal-escrito-en-invierno-pablo-neruda/>



Schäfer (2008) explains that whether a Root may be used causatively or not has to do with the encyclopedic information associated with it, not with information linguistically associated with the Root. That is, whereas the causative interpretation of a particular Root (e.g., *saltar* ‘jump, pop’) is strictly derived compositionally in the syntax, the (in)compatibility of particular Roots with causative structures comes from the conceptual information we speakers have about them. Varela (2002) shares this same intuition and points out that the unusual case for what she terms ‘change verbs’ is to resort to suppletive forms to express their causative meaning (e.g., *tirar* ‘throw’ as the causative form for *caerse* ‘fall’ in the sense *Juan ha tirado a Pedro al suelo* ‘Juan made Pete fall to the ground’ as opposed to *Pedro se ha caído al suelo* ‘Pete fell to the ground’).¹³ For this author the causative uses of the unaccusative verbs discussed in this paper are a natural consequence of language use.¹⁴ We essentially embrace this view, although we do not assume that all cases of the alternation shown in (21) have the same underlying structure, as we also proposed in Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino (2013).

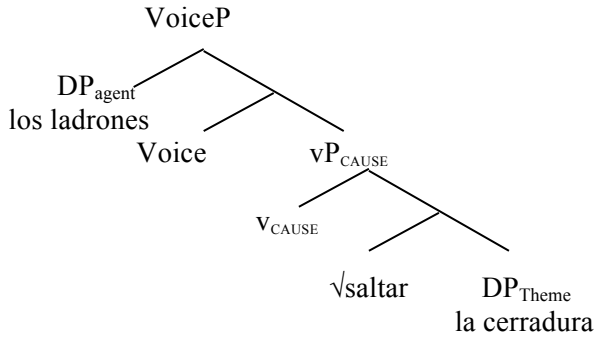
A main difference between the examples in (21a-c) and those in (21d-f) has to do with the agency and volition of the Causer, only apparent in the latter cases (e.g., *#Juan cayó el colacao para no tener que tomárselo* ‘Juan knocked out the *colacao* so he didn’t need to drink it’). For this reason, we propose two main configurations for the structures under analysis, one involving an external argument and one lacking it.¹⁵

¹³ See following paragraphs for a non-standard use of causative *caer* ‘fall’.

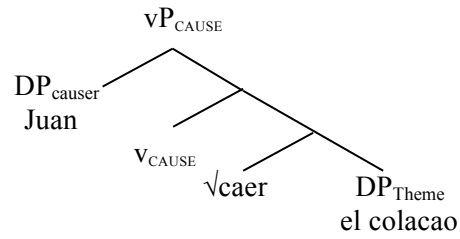
¹⁴ In this paper, the interpretation of a structure as causative or non-causative is strictly derived from the syntactic configurations underlying those structures. Whether particular Roots are compatible with causative or non-causative syntax has to do with the encyclopedic knowledge that the speakers associate with the Roots, which Varela (2002) associates with ‘language use’. For further information regarding the Encyclopedia, see the Distributed Morphology literature in Halle & Marantz (1993) and subsequent work.

¹⁵ An anonymous reviewer wonders how the structures proposed in (23) would explain restrictions such as (10). The answer is that the structures in (23) account for structures not restricting external causers.

(23) a. Volitional causer



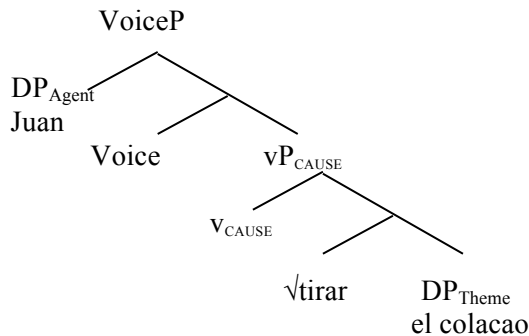
b. Non-volitional causer



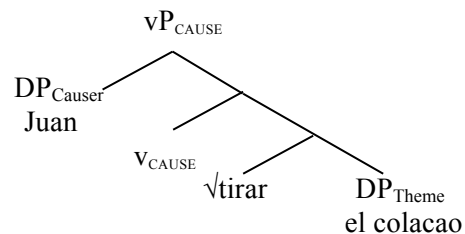
The structures in (23) straightforwardly account for the kind of contrast exhibited by the examples in (21). Whereas the Causer in sentences like (23a) is interpreted as an Agent, the Causer in (23b) is interpreted as a non-volitional Causer. The contrast is captured by the lack, in the latter case, of the external-argument-introducing head VoiceP. If we assume, with e.g., Pylkkänen (2008), that Voice is reserved to introduce external arguments (e.g., agents and instruments) whereas other predicate heads (e.g., Cause) may introduce other types of arguments (e.g., non-volitional Causers), the semantic contrast between structures involving these two kinds of Causers becomes clear.

Both structures in (23) are available in Standard Spanish, but Roots like *√caer* ‘fall’ are compatible with the structure in (23b) only in some dialects (e.g., SPS). We assume, with Schäfer (2008) that this is just because the kind of encyclopedic information Standard Spanish speakers associate with the Root corresponding to *√caer* makes it incompatible with structures having an explicit Causer. For these speakers, the construction having both a volitional and non-volitional Causer involves the suppletive Root *√tirar* ‘throw, drop, knock out’ (24).

(24) a. Volitional causer



b. Non-volitional causer

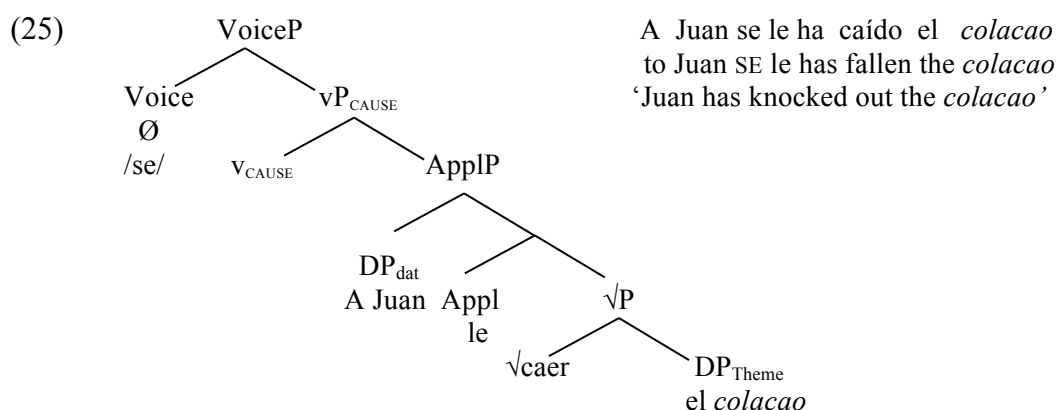


The structures proposed in (29) that contrast simple versus complex achievements would explain the restrictions associated with the examples in (10).

In Standard Spanish, the two structures in (24) correspond to the ambiguous sentence *Juan ha tirado el colacao* that could be expanded as *Juan ha tirado el colacao de rabia* ‘Juan knocked out the *colacao* in anger (willingly), (24a)’ or *Juan ha tirado el colacao de un codazo* ‘Juan (accidentally) knocked out the *colacao* with his elbow (24b)’. Only the non-volitional use in (24b) would standardly correspond with the non-standard transitive use of *caer* ‘drop’.¹⁶

3.2. The dative causer

A step further in the suppression of agentivity/volition from that obtained in structures such as (24b) may be obtained in Standard dialects by means of an Oblique Causer introduced by an applicative head composed on top of the causing event plus the intransitive Root $\sqrt{\text{caer}}$ ‘fall’. Notice how in this case the Voice head is null, resulting in the anticausative interpretation of the structure:

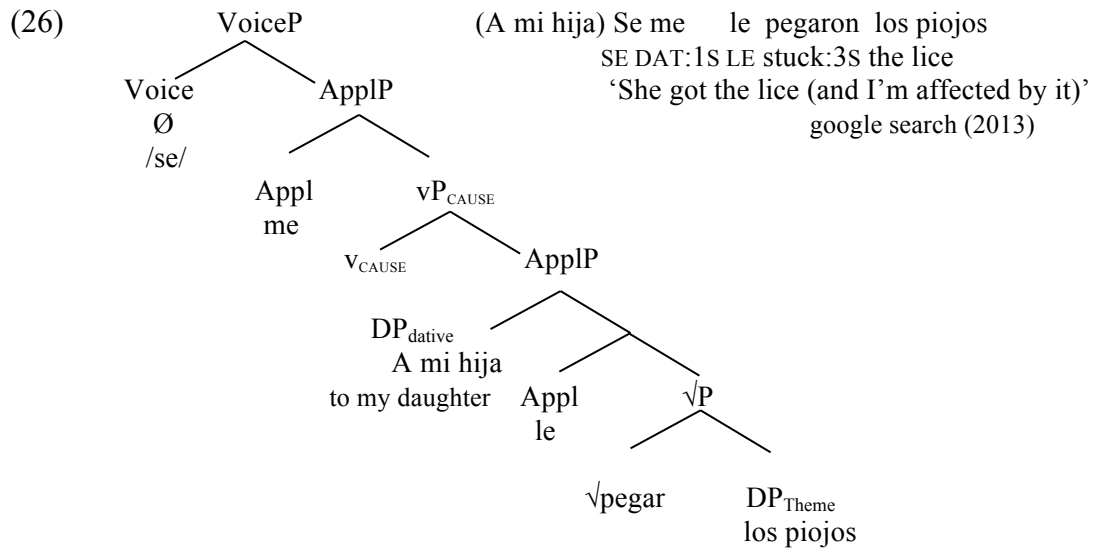


¹⁶ As the two meanings associated with the root *tirar* ‘throw, drop’ nicely illustrate, it has been long accepted that causation may be semantically connected with both voluntary causation, associated in English with the causative predicate *make*, and involuntary causation, associated in English with the causative predicate *let*. This double interpretation associated with causation is behind the double interpretation of the verb *tirar* ‘throw, drop’ in Spanish. See Harley (2008) and references therein for further examples of *let* causatives in other languages. An anonymous reviewer questions that the difference in meaning between *make* and *let* causatives is syntactically motivated, suggesting that it might be a case of vagueness or unspecificity rather than true ambiguity in the sense of, e.g., Zwicky & Sadock (1975). We believe the compatibility of a causative verb like *tirar* ‘throw, drop’ with both a *make* and a *let* causative reading is truly syntactic. As Zwicky & Sadock state, truly unspecified (as opposed to ambiguous) constructions would continue being equally unspecified (e.g., ambiguous) after transformations. This is clearly not the case with a verb like *tirar* ‘throw, drop’. While a sentence like *Juan tiró el vaso* ‘Juan knocked down/dropped the glass’ is ambiguous between a volitional and a non-volitional interpretation, a sentence like (i) *Juan se tiró al suelo* ‘Juan self threw to.the ground, Juan threw himself to the ground’, (ii) *#Juan se tiró al suelo sin querer* ‘Juan self threw to.the ground without meaning it’ involving a reflexive, is only compatible with a syntactic structure containing a volitional causer. If the volitional vs non-volitional meaning associated with a root like *tirar* were merely pragmatic rather than structural, then a restriction such as (ii) would be surprising.

The analysis in (25) is unlike Schäfer's (2008, 2012) and Fernández-Soriano & Mendikoetxea's (2012), and like Cuervo (2003) in that the ApplP is directly affected by v_{CAUSE} (e.g., the spontaneous causation) and as a result, the referent of the dative DP (*A Juan* 'Juan-DAT') gets a resultant state (e.g., the fallen chocolate drink, represented by the $\sqrt{\text{Root}} + \text{DP}_{\text{Theme}}$).

A high applicative analysis like the one proposed by Schäfer (2008, 2012) and Fernández-Soriano & Mendikoetxea (2012) perhaps would, if contrasted with the affected applicative analysis we adopt here, straightforwardly capture the ambiguity of the dative DP as an involuntary Causer and a merely affected participant (e.g., *A Juan se le ha caído el colacao* 'Juan accidentally knocked out the *colacao*' vs. 'The *colacao* fell on Juan'), also possible in Spanish as discussed by Fernández-Soriano & Mendikoetxea (2012).

We do not completely rule out that such structural contrast exists, since it would certainly account for the ambiguity in the interpretation of the applicative as a truly affected argument and as an involuntary Causer. However, we have our reservations given that it is possible to combine sentences like (25) with other high applicatives in some dialects:



This suggests that the dative appearing with anticausatives could be an affected applicative composing just below the causing event, even if it is to be interpreted as the involuntary Causer (e.g., *A mi hija se me le pegaron los piojos de acercarse a niños infectados* 'My daughter got lice from hanging out with infected children and I am negatively affected by it').

3.3. *The reflexive clitic in anticausatives*

The diagrams in (25-26) introduce the reflexive marker *se*, whose contribution to the structure of Spanish non-agentive constructions has been the focus of much discussion. In this paper, we locate the clitic above both the applicative and the causing event. Like Schäfer (2008), we assume that it spells out the absence of an Agent, although we further propose that it actually spells out the absence of an Agent in the presence of a vP_{CAUSE} with no overt Causer as in (23b-24b).

We do not completely rule out the clitic as the phonological realization of just an empty [Spec, vP_{CAUSE}], or a causing head with no overt Causer even if such configurations would fail to capture the surface word order of the two clitics in sentences like (26). In any case, the morphological realization of *se* has been independently associated with underspecified morphological features (Bonet 1991, 1995). It is true that ethical datives, analyzed as high applicatives by Cuervo (2003), tend to be postponed to the reflexive (25-26) whereas they usually precede other clitics such as low applicatives (27) and object clitics. However, the surface linearization does not seem to reflect the structural order of Spanish clitics if one of them is reflexive. This is the case of (27b), whereby the reflexive (a low applicative) precedes the ethical dative (a high applicative).

(27) a. Me le dieron un helado al niño

DAT:1S LE gave:3P a ice.cream to.the kid

‘They gave the kid an ice cream on me’

Strozer (1976) in Cuervo (2003:194[74b])

b. Se me lo llevaron, dejándome en el mayor desconsuelo

SE DAT:1S LO took.away:3P, leaving(me) in the biggest grief

‘They took him away from me, leaving me in the biggest grief’

CREA (2013)

Drawing on De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla’s (2000) contrast between the kind of events that allow the reflexive clitic (e.g., achievements + resultant states) and those that do not (e.g., simple achievements, achievements + processes), we posit that the presence of the clitic *se* in anticausative structures and its position in Voice is actually derived from the causing event + resultant state configuration of the structure in which it appears. That is, this configuration automatically requires a Causer in Spanish.

If there is no explicit Causer, then an empty default VoiceP is generated and phonologically realized as /se/, as seen in the structures above.

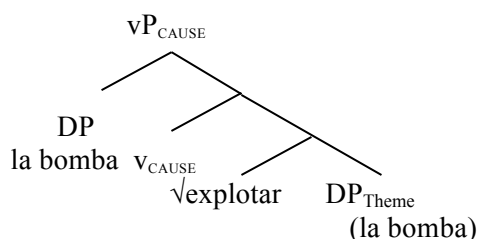
While the clitic may optionally appear with certain achievement motion verbs (e.g., *llegar* ‘arrive’) and other punctual verbs (e.g., *explotar* ‘explode’) as well as activity and other unbounded motion verbs (e.g., *dormir* ‘sleep’, *ir* ‘go’, *pasar* ‘go by’), these verbs name only the culmination point or denote just the achievement of a particular position if *se* is not present. When *se* is present, in contrast, it also brings about the entailment of permanence in the initial or terminal position in the case of motion verbs or a resultant state in the case of punctual verbs, depending on the denotation of the Root.

- (28) a. La bomba ha explotado
 the bomb has exploded
 ‘The bomb exploded’ (it emphasizes the explosion itself)
- b. El globo se ha explotado
 the balloon SE has exploded
 ‘The balloon popped’ (now you have a popped balloon)

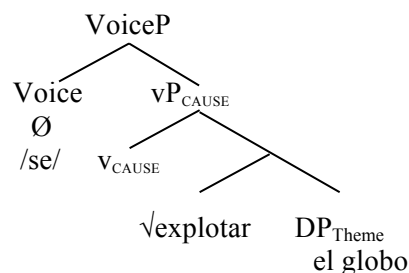
While we assume, with Schäfer (2008), that both structures in (28) involve v_{CAUSE} (e.g., *el globo (se) explotó de la presión* ‘The balloon exploded from the pressure’), we still believe their difference is in their event structure, namely in the absence of a resultant state in (28b). To formally make the difference, we follow Ramchand (2008), whereby events are interpreted as punctual when one single participant is involved in all the different subevents (*res*, *proc* and *init* in Ramchand’s model). Thus, the difference between the events in (28) would be in terms of which participant realizes the different subevents. The Root $\sqrt{\text{explotar}}$ is interpreted as an achievement as its complement *la bomba* ‘the bomb’ is also involved in the causing subevent. This is not the case of *el globo* ‘the balloon’ in (28b) whose object position gives it a resulting state interpretation, e.g. *Hay un globo explotado en el suelo* ‘lit. There’s a popped balloon on the floor’, cf. *??Hay una bomba explotada en la calle* ‘lit. there’s an exploded bomb out in the street’.¹⁷

¹⁷ As a little clarification point, the structures in (29) do not propose that *se* is optional with verbs like *explotar* ‘explode’. What this contrast illustrates is the fact that in some dialects the verb may appear in structures with *se* as well as with structures without *se*. Crucially, our claim is that their interpretation is

(29) a. Simple achievement



b. Achievement + Resultant state



The next example with *dormir* ‘sleep’ is perhaps more revealing, since the modality with *se* has a causativized version in Standard Spanish, which supports our analysis of that version as involving a causative head:

(30) a. Juan ha dormido

Juan has slept

‘Juan has been sleeping’ (it focuses on the activity)

b. Juan se ha dormido

Juan SE has slept

‘Juan has fallen asleep’ (it emphasizes the resultant state: he is sleeping now)

c. La mamá ha dormido al bebé

the mom has slept to.the baby

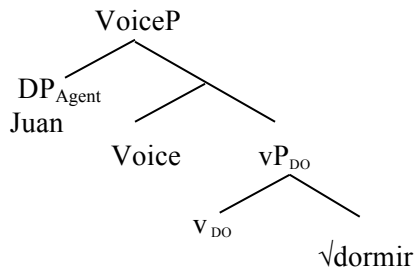
‘The mom caused the baby to fall asleep’ (e.g., by rocking him)

The structural contrast in (30) would be slightly different from the one in (29), as the sentence in (30a) is interpreted as an activity rather than an achievement. Thus, instead of participating in all subevents, the only argument in (30a) would be an agent of a non-causative structure, unlike (30b-c), both causative events.¹⁸

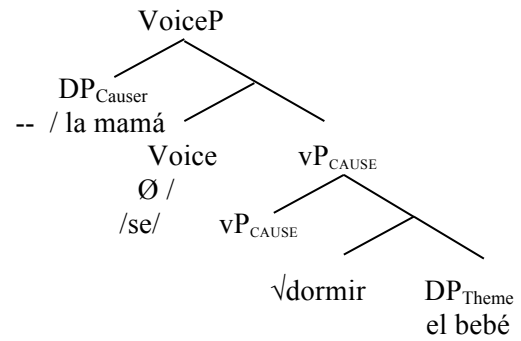
contrasted between a single achievement (without *se*) and a complex achievement involving the resultant state if it involves *se*.

¹⁸ See Basilico (2010) for an alternative account of these structures along these lines.

(31) a. Activity



b. Achievement + Resultant state



The examples just seen show that a single verb Root (e.g., *explotar* ‘explode’, *dormir* ‘sleep’) may be compatible with different event structures, depending on the speaker’s encyclopedic knowledge. If the single participant is just related to the Voice projection, then the event will be interpreted as an activity. If the single participant is an internal argument only, then this element will be interpreted as a resultant state of a causative event. If no other participant is involved in the event (e.g., as an overt Causer), then the reflexive clitic appears in a default Voice head that marks the separation of the only participant with the causing event. In the next section, we discuss a structure that hypothetically challenges our account in that it optionally allows the clitic along with an overt Causer.

4. Extending the analysis: the case of *entrar(se)*

4.1. Causativized structures with optional *se*: the data

The verb *entrar* ‘go in’ exhibits an interesting configuration, only available in SPS and other Non-standard dialects, that involves its causativized use plus the optional presence of *se*:

(32) a. Juan ha entrado las sillas en casa.

Juan has gone.in the chairs in house
 ‘Juan has brought the chairs in the house’

b. Juan se ha entrado las sillas en casa.

Juan SE has gone.in the chairs in house
 ‘Juan has brought the chairs back in the house’

This is a potential challenge to our claim that the reflexive clitic that appears with change of state and motion verbs is the result of a causing event with no overt

Causer, since both sentences in (32) exhibit an overt Causer (e.g., *Juan*) and (32b) also exhibits the clitic. Despite appearances, the sentences in (32) are still compatible with our proposal.

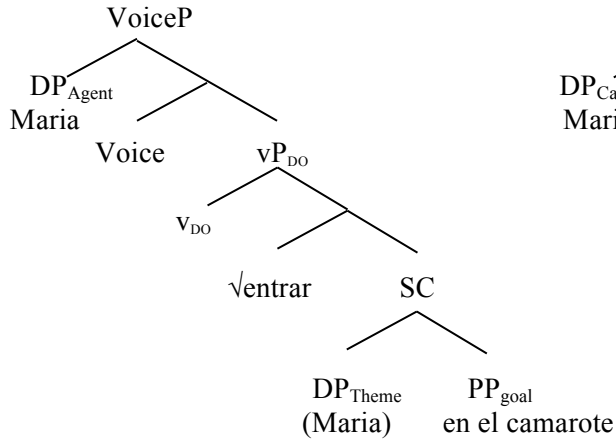
4.2. *Causativized structures with optional se: the interpretation*

In both cases in (32), it is implied that both Juan and the chairs go in the house. The extra information *se* appears to contribute to the meaning of (32b) is that the chairs are brought in the house because they have been outside for a while (e.g., because they had been taken out to the patio for a party). It also means that the chairs will stay in the house. In terms of Gallardo (2008), the reflexive contributes the interpretation of ‘permanence’ to motion verbs. This is also apparent if *entrar* is used intransitively. For example, there is a clear difference between *María entró en el camarote* ‘Maria went in the cabin’ and *María se entró en el camarote* ‘Maria went in the cabin to stay’. Whereas both sentences mean that Maria goes in the cabin, only the option involving *se* denotes that María stops being outside to go and stay inside the cabin, that is, permanence first in the original and then in the final location. The permanence interpretation obtained with both transitive and intransitive examples with *entrar* ‘go in’ does not seem to correspond to De Miguel’s (1999) description of the aspectual contribution of *se* to Spanish events: *se* names the terminal endpoint of transitive verbs and the initial endpoint of intransitive verbs. This could be due to the fact that, unlike other intransitive verbs allowing aspectual *se* in Spanish (e.g., *salir* ‘go out’), *entrar* ‘go in’ names the event’s terminal endpoint.

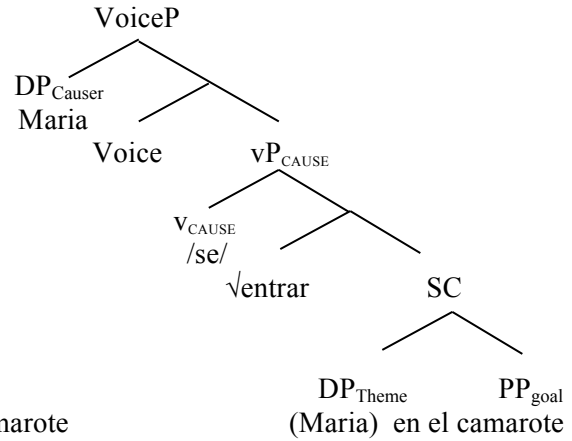
4.3. *Causativized structures with optional se: the analysis*

Given the facts, we suggest that the interpretation in terms of ‘permanence’ is derived from the structure proposed in this paper involving intransitive verbs that compose with a causing event, whereby *se* is the morphological realization of the absence of an overt Causer. In the case of verbs of motion, the internal argument undergoes a change of location following the path indicated by the verbal Root, rather than a change of state. This is explicit in the inner structure of these verbs that include directional information as part of their syntax. In (33) we show the structure of the intransitive structures, whereby the goal PP that forms part of the syntax of *entrar* ‘go in’ appears in the complement of the verb.

(33) a. Achievement



b. Achievement + New location



The structure of the sentences in (33) straightforwardly accounts for their semantic contrast: only (33b) involves a change of location *per se* since (33a) just entails direction toward a goal location following the path indicated by the verb Root. This contrast is due to the presence of the causing vP composing on top of the verbal Root. The presence of this vP is responsible for the theme DP's interpretation as changing location to the location named by the goal PP. This also entails the meaning of 'permanence' in both new and previous locations.¹⁹

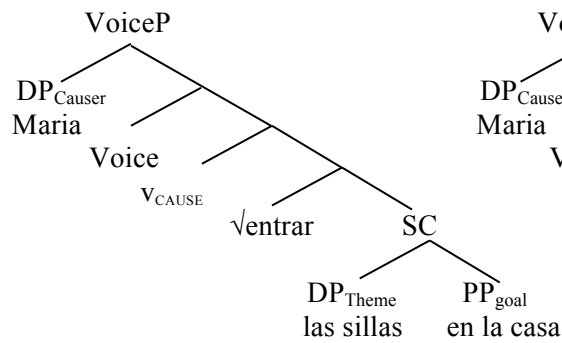
Since the causing event has an explicit Causer, we propose that the reflexive is the realization of v_{CAUSE} as an indication that, even though the same referent is associated with both resulting and causing subevents, this must be interpreted as two separate entities. This is the only way the structure may entail a change of state/location rather than a pure achievement.

As for the causativized version of *entrar* 'go in', only available in Non-Standard dialects including SPS, we propose the following causative structures:

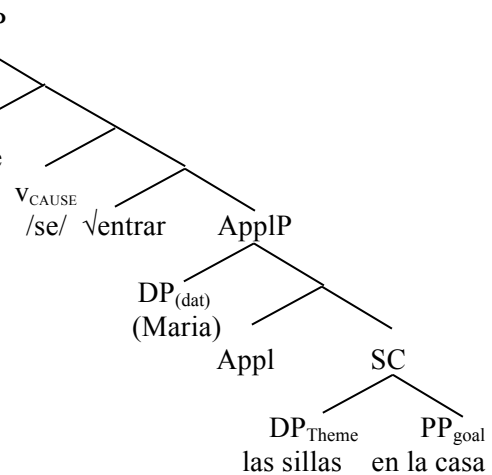
¹⁹ The sentence in (33a) may alternatively be analyzed as involving a vP_{GO} with an undergoer rather than an agent. These are cases just focusing on the process part of the event, in terms of Ramchand (2008). Crucially, no agentive interpretation is associated with the undergoer:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (i) Esa mesa no entra aquí
that table NEG go.in here
'That table doesn't fit here' | (ii) Juan entró en el equipo
Juan go.in in the team
'Juan was admitted into the team' |
|--|---|

(34) a. Causative



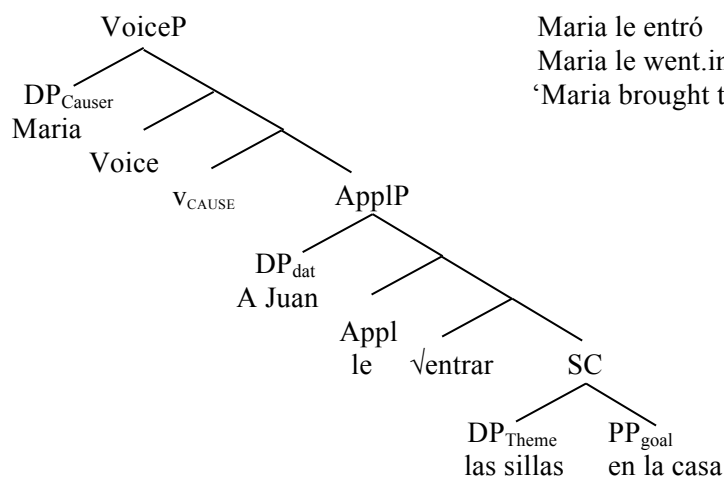
b. Causative + Applicative



The structure in (34a) is the causative counterpart of (33b), whereby a Causer DP, *Maria*, is responsible for the theme DP's change of location. The same happens in (34b) with a crucial difference: whereas the Causer DP does not need to go in the new location (e.g., the house) in (34a), its referent does in (34b). This is done by the intervention of the applicative. The whole structure entails that Maria has the chairs in the house after the change of location and this was caused by self (the reflexive) going in the house with the chairs.

This is to be distinguished from sentences like (35) that involve an affected applicative whose involvement in the event is a mere beneficiary, whereas the Causer performs the change denoted by the Root.²⁰

(35) Causative + Applicative



Maria le entró a Juan las sillas en la casa
 Maria le went.in to Juan the chairs in the house
 'Maria brought the chairs in the house for Juan'

²⁰ If the applicative is low (below the verbal Root), then the sentences will be interpreted as 'Maria brought Juan's chairs in the house'.

Summarizing, we proposed that the structures involving the verb *entrar* ‘go in’ are different from the ones involving *caer* ‘fall’ or *explotar* ‘explode’ seen in the previous sections in that only the former involves an Agent as part of their syntax regardless of whether they are interpreted as pure achievements, complex achievements involving a change of location or caused events. This is shown by the fact that they all allow purpose phrases:

- (36) a. Entró para consultar el texto [...]
 went.in for check the text
 ‘He went in to check the text’ CREA (2013)
- b. Se entró para resguardarse del frío
 SE went.in to take.shelter=SE from.the cold
 ‘He went in to take shelter from the cold’
- c. (Se) entró las sillas para que no se mojaran
 SE went.in the chairs to that NEG SE got.wet
 ‘He took the chairs inside so they didn’t get wet’

We have also proposed that the themes in constructions involving *entrar* ‘go in’ plus the reflexive clitic are interpreted as remaining in the new location for the same reason as themes in change of state constructions (Section 3) are interpreted as resultant states: they all involve a causing event. Although all the sentences analyzed in this section are agentive, we analyze the reflexive as the overt realization of the causing vP head if the event involves a change of location, that appears to mark the interpretation of the theme and agent DPs as two separate entities. Otherwise, the event is interpreted as a punctual achievement along the lines of Ramchand (2008). In the next section, we offer our conclusions.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined a case of dialectal variation in the argument realization of Spanish verbs. First, have studied cases of causativization in SPS that seriously question lexicalist claims that the causative-inchoative alternation obeys a detransitivization operation whereby the reflexive *se* is a phonological mark of the process. On the one hand, there is no semantic or syntactic reason to assume that motion verbs like *caer* ‘fall’ and *entrar* ‘go in’ are basically transitive. On the other hand and

despite the fact that *se* frequently appears in the intransitive version of alternating verbs, it cannot be considered a mere detransitivization marker as certain intransitive verbs that dialectally allow the alternation do not typically allow *se* in their non-causative version (e.g., *floreecer* ‘blossom’, *saltar* ‘pop’).

We instead embrace a view in which causativity alternations are possible in the realization of the argument structure of verbs when their Roots are syntactically compatible with different syntactic frames, in line with recent minimalist approaches to syntax. We have argued that verbs allowing causative frames always involve a change of state/location, in line with Varela (2002), that compose with theme DPs interpreted as either resultant states or in a new location. Because this syntactic frame is also compatible with certain unaccusative classes, the alternation usually involves unaccusative rather than unergative roots. This does not mean that any verb interpreted as unaccusative may be compatible with a causative frame. Verbs denoting pure achievements are not compatible with the alternation if its resultant state cannot be interpreted independently of the other subevents (e.g., *llegar* ‘arrive’). Likewise, verbs prototypically associated with unergative frames are also potentially compatible with causative frames only if the encyclopedic information speakers associate with them allow for their denotation to express a complex achievement (e.g., *dormir* ‘sleep’). We coincide then with some of these recent minimalist/DM approaches (e.g., Schäfer 2008) in viewing causativity restrictions or licenses as originated in the encyclopedic/contextual information that speakers associate with the different verbal Roots. Adopting this view easily helps us understand why unrelated languages tend to allow and restrict the alternation in verbal Roots with equivalent meaning as well as why variation exists within languages and even among speakers in the same community.

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