

Causativization of unaccusative verbs of motion: evidence from Catalan

I. GOAL The purpose of this talk is to shed light on a particular behavior featured by unaccusative verbs of motion, and the interaction of this phenomenon with the clitic *se*. Importantly, the data from Catalan, which have not received much attention until now (the only exception, to our knowledge, being Gràcia 1989), will prove to be crucial for our proposal.

II. INTRODUCTION In Romance languages, two main types of unaccusative verbs are distinguished. The first type has been extensively studied and corresponds mainly to change of state verbs entering the so-called *causative alternation*, where the inchoative variant in (1a) exhibits the clitic *se*, and the causative variant does not (1b).

- (1) **Cat.** a. *El Joan trencà el got.* b. *El got es trencà.*
John broke the glass The glass SE broke

The second type of unaccusative verbs, which we will focus on, does not normally bear *se*:

- (2) **Cat.** *El Joan {vindrà/arrivarà/naixerà/entrarà/pujarà/baixarà}*
John will.come/arrive/be.born/enter/go.up/go.down

As shown in (2), motion verbs are an important set of this second type of unaccusative verbs, and our goal is to explain some “unexpected” behaviors they show in several Romance languages, crucially interacting with the presence of the clitic *se*.

III. DATA The first set of data we will deal with shows that unaccusative verbs of motion allow for transitive uses, a phenomenon that has not received much attention in Romance linguistics, probably because it is especially productive in non-Standard varieties, in the case of Sp. (4), or in less studied languages, in the case of Cat. (4).¹ Thus, although in Standard Sp. the causative use of motion verbs is not unknown (3), in Southern dialects of European Sp. and some varieties in South America the phenomenon is more pervasive (4). In Cat., on the other side, the acceptability of causativized motion verbs is general, not subject to dialectal variation.

- (3) **Standard Sp.** *Juan {subió el vino de la bodega / bajó la caja al sótano}*
John {went.up the wine from the cellar/went.down the box to.the basement}

- (4) **Non-standard Sp.** a. *María entró el coche en el garaje* b. *Alberto cayó el vaso*
Mary entered the car into the garage Albert fell the glass

- (5) **Catalan** *El Martí pujà el vi de la bodega / baixà la caixa al soterrani = (3)*
La Maria entrà el cotxe al garatge = (4a)

IV. DISCUSSION The first important question at play is the following: If with the first type of unaccusative verbs (1) the presence of *se* is somehow related to the possibility of causativization (as noted by several authors), then does the clitic have any role in the second set of causativization examples (3)-(5)? We will argue that the answer is positive and, more specifically, that the existence of a *se*-variant is a necessary (though not sufficient) condition for causativization. Crucially, all the verbs in (3)-(5) have a *se*-variant: in Spanish, *subir(se)*, *bajar(se)* and *caer(se)* allow the clitic and can be causativized (3), although for the last one causativization is only possible in dialectal Sp. (4b). Also in dialectal Sp., *entrar(se)* can bear the clitic and admits the causative use (4a).

In Cat., our prediction about the role of *se* is also borne out: note that there is no Cat. equivalent for Sp. (3b), so *caure* cannot be causativized, and crucially no pronominal variant for this verb exists in Cat. In contrast, for the other motion verbs that do allow causativization (*pujar*, *baixar* and *entrar*) (5), a pronominal counterpart exists. Interestingly, in the pronominal counterparts of motion verbs in Catalan, together with *se*, a locative source clitic *en* is mandatory: *pujar-se'n*, *baixar-se'n*, *entrar-se'n*. These double pronominal forms of motion verbs were typical in Old Cat., although nowadays their use varies across dialects. Only Southern and North-Western Cat. dialects have preserved all of them (Todolí 2002, Giralt 1995). In the rest of the domain, these pronominal forms are perceived as archaisms, although they remain in folk storytelling, proverbs and religious prayers:²

- (6) **Cat.** a. *L'endemà, a l'albada, se'n baixà cap al poble* [folk legend]
The following day, at dawn, he SE-CL descended to the village
b. *Ressuscità el tercer dia d'entre els morts; i se'n pujà al Cel* [Credo]
On the third day he rose again among the dead, and SE-CL ascended to Heaven

¹ We focus on Catalan and Spanish, but it is worth noting the existence of the phenomenon in French (Ruwet 1972:140) and several Italian varieties: Sicilian, Tuscan (Rohlf's 1954: 10) and Barese (Andriani 2011: 56,67).

² There are pronominal motion verbs used pronominally in all dialects, although causativization is not possible: *anar-se'n* 'go-SE-CL, leave', *tornar-se'n* 'return-SE-CL' and, with a metaphorical sense, *sortir-se'n* 'go.out-SE-CL > overcome a situation'.

In order to find out the role of *se*(*n*) in the causativization of motion verbs, we need to understand the nature of the clitic. For Sp., *se* has been said to stand for an incorporated source argument (Masullo 1992) and to name the initial endpoint of an event (De Miguel 1999):

(7) **Standard Sp.** *Juan se {salíó de la habitación, fue de casa, bajó del bus}*

Juan SE {went.out of the room, went of house, went.down of the bus}

But none of these accounts fits with Standard Sp. *subirse al bus* (go.up-SE to the bus) and non-Standard Sp. *entrarse en casa* ('enter-SE in the house'), and the Cat. equivalents. Instead, we adopt Cuervo's (2014, 2015) approach to Standard Sp. alternating unaccusatives, and extend it to our verbs of motion, arguing that the absence/presence of *se* signals two different unaccusative structures, where the verbal projection is built differently and the root is interpreted also differently either as Manner or as Result (Harley 2005, Ramchand 2008, Mateu-Acedo-Matellán 2012). Thus, in the spirit of the *Distributed Morphology* (DM) approach, we assume that verbs are formed in the syntax by combination of a root and a verbalizing head *v* (Marantz 1997), which can have different flavors (Harley 1995): V_{DO} , V_{GO} and V_{BE} .

V. ANALYSIS We propose that **motion unacc. verbs with *se*** denote a change of state and consist of two sub-events [$V_{GO}[V_{BE}$ root]]. In this configuration, akin to the one proposed by Cuervo (2014,2015) for inchoative verbs in (1b), the root combines with the stative head V_{BE} and names a resulting state. Crucially, here *se* is associated with configurations denoting a resulting state, following De Miguel & Fdez Lagunilla (2000). We thus assume, in Cuervo's spirit, that *se* is the morphosyntactic expression of the dual role of the DP subject (undergoer of the change and holder of the new state). In turn, **motion unacc. verbs without *se*** are monoeventive: [V_{GO} +root]. Now the root merges as an adjunct with the verbalizing head and names the manner of motion/change of position, without entailing a final state. Given the existing cross- and intra-linguistic variation, according to which motion verbs can combine with *se*, we assume with Schäfer (2008) and Varela (2002) that the encyclopedic knowledge a speaker has of roots determines their ability to appear in a particular syntactic structure. Therefore, speakers of Sp/Cat dialects where motion verbs can take *se*(*n*) may conceive those roots not only as denoting achievement of a particular position (without *se*), but also as entailing a resultant state (which could be defined as permanence in a position, in the spirit of Gallardo 2008). At this point, the fact that Cat. pronominal uses of motion unaccusatives (6) include a grammaticalized ablative locative clitic *en* leads us to propose (in consensus with the results of preliminary surveys) that the notion of permanence is indeed split: not only permanence in the new state or position is conveyed, but also permanence in the original position. Regarding the interaction between *se*(*n*) and the possibility of causativization, we follow Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino (in press), who base their claims on Southern Peninsular Sp. to say that there is a connection between causative uses of unaccusative verbs and the *extended* use of *se*. However, in our proposal this connection will be refined in order to accommodate Cat. data, where causative uses of motion unaccusatives are common to all dialects (5), but the pronominal use of the relevant verbs is no longer productive in most areas, as shown. With adverbial modification and other tests yielding to differences in interpretation, we will show that in all Cat. dialects both the above-mentioned monoeventive and the bieventive configuration are available for unaccusative verbs of motion, although the latter configuration varies as to whether the clitic is spelled-out or not. Within the realizational theory of morphology developed under the DM approach, where syntactic features are phonologically realized by lexical items following vocabulary insertion rules, we will assume that the post-syntactic lexical insertion of the clitic is regulated by different rules in one group of dialects and the other.

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