

What lies behind causativization of verbs of motion in Romance languages?

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I. INTRODUCTION 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, Aragonese and Italian varieties, which have not received much attention until now, will prove to be crucial for our proposal. 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 (1b) exhibits the clitic *se*, and the causative variant does not (1a). The second type of unaccusative verbs, which we will focus on, does not normally bear *se* (2):

- (1) **Catalan** a. *El Joan trencà el got.* b. *El got es trencà.*
Joan broke the glass The glass SE broke
- (2) **Catalan** *El Joan {vindrà / arribarà / naixerà / entrarà / pujarà / baixarà}*
Joan 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*.

II. DATA Many 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 Italian (e.g. Southern varieties) (3)-(5) and Spanish (e.g. Southern and Western European Spanish and some American varieties) (7), or in less studied languages such as Catalan (8) and Aragonese (9):

- (3) **Sicilian** a. *Trásiri una vaca* b. *Nèsciri i vacchi*
to go.in a cow to go.out the cows (Rohlf's 1954: 10)
- (4) **Neapolitan** a. *Isso trassio lo papa a lo castiello*
That (man) went.in the Pope to the castle (Ledgeway 2009: 852)
- (5) **Barese** a. *Laurà trasà la maghəna (jinde o garagə)* b. *Luiggə salə la bəfəclettə*
Laurə goes.in the car (into the garage) Luiggə goes.up the bicycle (Andriani 2011: 56, 67)
- (6) **Stand. Spanish** a. *María bajó la caja al sótano* b. *Alberto subió el vino de la bodega*
Mary went.down the box to.the the basement Albert went.up the wine from the cellar
- (7) **Non-Stand. Spanish** a. *María entró el coche en el garaje* b. *Alberto cayó el vaso*
Mary went.in the car into the garage Alberto fell the glass
- (8) **Catalan** a. *La Maria entrà el cotxe al garatge* b. *El Pau pujà/baixà el vi del/al celler*
Mary went.in the car into the garage Pau went.up/down the wine from/to.the the cellar
- (9) **Aragonese** a. *Chuan entró o coche a la cochera.* b. *Ch. puyó/baixó una botella t'a bodega*
John went.in the car into the garage John Albert went.up the wine from the cellar

IV. DISCUSSION

The role of *se*. 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)-(9)? 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)-(8) have a *se*-variant: in Spanish, *bajar(se)*, *subir(se)* and *caer(se)* allow the clitic and can be causativized (6), although for the last one causativization is only possible in dialectal Sp. (7b). Also in dialectal Sp., *entrar(se)* can bear the clitic and admits the causative use (7a). This connection between pronominal variants of verbs of motion and their availability of causativization is noted by Jiménez-Fernández &

Tubino (2014, in press) for a variety of Spanish. We will show that it also holds for Catalan, Aragonese and Italian varieties. For example, note that there is no Catalan equivalent for Spanish (7b), so *caure* ‘fall’ cannot be causativized, and crucially no pronominal variant for this verb exists in Catalan. In contrast, for the other motion verbs which do allow causativization (*entrar*, *pujar*, a.o.) (8), a pronominal counterpart exists, at least in some dialects (see below).

In order to find out the role of *se* in the causativization of motion verbs, we need to understand the nature of the clitic. For Spanish, *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): *salirse de la habitación* ‘go.out SE of the room’, *irse de casa* ‘go SE of home’, *bajarse del bus* (‘go.down SE of the bus’). But none of these accounts fits Sp. *subirse al bus* (go.up-SE to.the bus) or *entrarse en casa* (‘go.in-SE in the house’), and the equivalents in other Romance languages. We alternatively propose that the notion of final endpoint, or permanence in the final position (following Gallardo 2008, 2010), is also relevant, as already noted by Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino (2014, in press) for Spanish. Thus, we assume that *se* is related to the bounding of the event, generally in the initial endpoint but also in the final endpoint in some cases. Given the existing cross- and intra-linguistic (and diachronic) 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 Romance varieties where motion verbs can be pronominal may conceive those roots not only as denoting achievement of a particular position (without *se*), but also as entailing (with *se*) a resultant state (which could be defined as permanence).

Also, we refine this connection in order to accommodate Catalan data, where causative uses of motion unaccusatives are common to all dialects (8), but the pronominal use of the relevant verbs is no longer productive in most areas: only Southern and North-Western Cat dialects have preserved all pronominal verbs of motion (Todolí 2002, Giralt 1995), like in Old Catalan, whereas in the rest of the domain they are perceived as archaisms, although they remain in folk storytelling, proverbs and religious prayers. We will also show (with adverbial modification and other tests yielding to differences in interpretation) that the configuration with the resultant state is always available for all Catalan dialects, but it varies as to whether the clitic is spelled-out or not (different rules regulate post-syntactic lexical insertion of the clitic *se*, adopting the Distributed Morphology approach).

We thus agree with Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino’s hypothesis that there is a link between causativization of verbs of movement and an extended use of pronominal variants of such verbs in their intransitive form; and we also agree with Schäfer (2012) in that there is a connection between events with a resulting state and causativity: what triggers causation is the presence of a resulting state in the inner composition of verbs or the syntactic compatibility of the resulting state with it. But, still, we think that an account for the role of *se* based only on Spanish data is not enough. The novelty of our approach is the trans-Romance perspective we adopt, which will allow us to refine the settings of this connection.

The role of *en*: evidence from Romance. Data from Catalan, Italian and Aragonese varieties are crucial to refine the existing proposals on the role of *se* and its interaction with causative uses. Crucially, in the pronominal counterparts of motion verbs in Catalan (*entrar-se’n*, *pujar-se’n*, *baixar-se’n*...), Italian (see Ledgeway 2000, 2009, Rohlf 1954) and Aragonese (*entrásene*, *subísene*, *bajásene*... see Alvar 1953, Arnal Purroy 1998, a.o.) varieties, a locative ablative/source clitic systematically appears together with *se*. This leads us to propose that the configuration with a resultant state also includes a syntactic head INDE (phonologically realized as *en*, *ne* in Cat/It/Arag varieties, but phonologically covert in Spanish), whose contribution has to do with the notion of permanence in an initial location, which (as seen) is the most salient interpretation in pronominal verbs of motion.

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