

Optional *Se*-Constructions in Romance: Syntactic Encoding of Conceptual Information

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1. Introduction: Romance *si/se* and Optional *Si/Se* Constructions (OSCs)

- The Romance anaphoric clitic *si/se* is involved in a number of argument structure alternations/operations (AS-voices).
- In all these alternations, the reflexive clitic replaces (or ‘reduces’) one of the verb’s arguments.
 - impersonal constructions
 - middles
 - anticausatives
 - reflexive and reciprocal verbs
- In this paper, we will investigate a further verbal alternation involving *si/se* – so-called **Optional *Si/Se* Constructions (OSCs)** – where *si/se* co-occurs optionally with a transitive verb. **OSCs are found in Italian (1a), Spanish (1b) and French (1c).**
- In this case, the reflexive clitic does not replace any of the verb’s basic arguments. Instead, it enriches, in some sense, the basic verb.

- (1) a. *Gianni (si) beve un caffè.*
John REFL drinks a coffee
‘John drinks a coffee’ (Italian)
- b. *Juan (se) comió una manzana.*
John REFL ate an apple
‘John ate an apple’ (Spanish)
- c. *Jean (se) fume une cigarette.*
John SE smokes a cigarette
‘John smokes a cigarette’ (French)

Question: Are OSCs a further case of alternation or can they be subsumed under one of the above alternations/operations?

Proposal: OSCs involve ordinary reflexivization.

OSCs are optional **Double Object Constructions (DOC)** involving a low ApplP. Spanish OSCs are slightly different, namely prepositional ditransitives (PPD).

The reflexive clitic is merged as an indirect object in Spec,ApplP where it is interpreted as the *internalizer/incorporator* of the direct object theme.

The indirect object is obligatorily bound by the subject for conceptual reasons.

OSCs optionally express information in the syntax that is implicitly represented in the conceptual structure of the verbs entering OSCs.

2. Morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of OSCs

- In OSCs, a transitive verb is optionally enriched with a dative clitic.

2.1 AGREEMENT: The clitic necessarily agrees in ϕ -features with the subject; it cannot be replaced by disjoint clitics (2a-c) or DPs (3). This property of OSCs recalls inherently reflexive verbs.¹

- (2) a. (*Io*) {*mi* / **ti* / **si*} *mangio una pizza.*
 I me / you / REFL_{DAT} eat-1sg a pizza_{ACC}
- b. (*Tu*) {**mi* / *ti* / **si*} *mangi una pizza.*
 You me / you / REFL_{DAT} eat-2sg a pizza_{ACC}
- c. (*Lui*) {**mi* / **ti* / *si*} *mangia una pizza.*
 He me / you / REFL_{DAT} eat-3sg a pizza_{ACC}
 ‘I/you/he eat(s) a pizza’ (Italian)

- (3) (*Io*) *mangio una pizza* (**a Maria*).
 I eat-1sg. a pizza_{ACC} Mary_{DAT} (Italian)

2.2 AUXILIARY SELECTION AND PARTICIPLE AGREEMENT: The clitics in OSCs trigger *be*-selection and subsequent **participle agreement** with the subject in languages which have *be* vs. *have* perfect auxiliary selection (Italian (4b) and French). They behave, thereby, like unequivocal reflexive clitics in direct and, importantly, indirect object position (5b).

- (4) a. *Le ragazze hanno fumato un sigaro.*
 The girls have smoked- \emptyset a cigar
 ‘The girls have smoked a cigar.’
- b. *Le ragazze si sono fumate un sigaro.*
 The girls REFL are smoked-FEM.PL. a cigar
 ‘The girls have smoked a cigar.’ (Italian)

- (5) a. *Lisa gli ha dato un consiglio.*
 Lisa him.DAT has given an advice
 ‘Lisa gave him advice’
- b. *Lisa si è data un consiglio.*
 Lisa REFL is given.FEM.SG. an advice
 ‘Lisa gave herself advice’ (Italian)

2.3 VERB-CLASS RESTRICTION: The group of verbs entering OSCs is restricted (Arce 1989, Nishida 1994, Zagona 1996, Boneh & Nash 2009):

2.3.1 Verbs entering OSCs:

- The main verbs entering OSCs are **verbs of consumption or ingestion**, such as the Romance counterparts of *eat*, *drink* or *smoke* above (cf. §4.1 below for discussion).

¹ In some cases, a disjoint clitic is possible under a benefactive/malefactive reading. This is not the relevant interpretation for OSCs (see below).

- In addition, OSCs are found with verbs like *read* (*a book, a story*) or *watch* (*a movie/a TV show, etc.*), as in (6). These verbs have been labelled “**verbs of psychological consumption**” by Zagona (1996); they denote a ‘taking-in’ (i.e. consumption) event, though psychologically rather than literally.

(6) *Jean s’ est maté un film.*
 John REFL is watched a movie
 ‘John watched a movie’ (French)

- OSCs are also found with **some pure activity verbs** which are usually unergative but may take **cognate objects**, like *run* and *dance* (7). Crucially, only in the presence of the cognate object DP can such verbs surface with an OSC-clitic.

(7) *(Lui) si è ballato *(un tango).*
 He REFL is danced(MAS-S) a tango
 ‘He danced a tango’ (Italian)

- All the above verbs can be classified as **Non-Core Transitive Verbs (NCTV)** (Levin 1999), i.e. their object is, in principle, optional (8a).
- In OSCs, however, the object can never be omitted. OSCs are subject to a **strict direct object restriction** (7, 8b), i.e. in the presence of the OSC-clitic these verbs suddenly behave like **Core Transitive Verbs (CTV)** (9).

(8) a. *I bambini mangiano (le caramelle).* (NCTV)
 The children eat the candies
 b. *I bambini si mangiano *(le caramelle).* (OSC: NCTV → CTV)
 The children REFL eat the candies

(9) *I bambini hanno rotto *(il vaso).*
 The children have broken the vase (CTV) (Italian)

- As we will see below, the addition of the OSC-clitic triggers also an aspectual shift from (potentially unbounded) activities to necessarily bounded accomplishments. Once again, this parallels the contrast between NCTVs and CTVs.

2.3.2 Verbs that cannot enter OSCs: All other verb classes are excluded from OSCs:

- **Intransitive verbs** cannot enter OSCs (*cough, laugh, ...*).
- **Non-Core Transitive verbs that do not fall into one of the three classes above** (all of which can be seen as consumption verbs in a broad sense, as we will argue below) do not enter OSCs (e.g., *cook, write, ...*).
- Note, therefore, that the **verbs entering COS cannot be characterized as incremental theme-verbs** (pace MacDonald 2004). *Eat* and *bake* as well as *read* and *write* are all incremental theme verbs. But only the physical consumption verb *eat* and the psychological consumption verb *read* enter OSCs (cf. 10b, 11b).

(10) a. *Il pasticcere ha finito la torta.* (Italian)
 The baker has finished the cake
 ‘The baker has finished [baking OR eating] the cake’

- b. *Il pasticcere si è finito la torta*
 The baker REFL is finished the cake
 ‘The baker has finished [eating] the cake’

- (11) a. *J'ai fini Harry Potter 5* (French)
 I have finished Harry Potter 5
 ‘I have finished [writing OR reading OR sorting in a bookstore] Harry Potter 5’
 b. *Je me suis fini Harry Potter 5*
 I REFL am finished Harry Potter 5
 ‘I have finished [reading] Harry Potter 5’

- **Core Transitive Verbs** (change-of-state verbs like *break* or *open*) do not enter OSCs. While they may combine with reflexive dative clitics resembling OSCs (12a), disjoint clitics and DPs are perfectly possible (12b). Furthermore, datives in the context of CTVS receive an affectedness interpretation (i.e., benefactive or malefactive; Cuervo 2003, Schäfer 2008, a.o.) which is not relevant for the reflexive clitic in OSCs.

- (12) a. *Gianni si rompe gli occhiali.*
 John SI broke the glasses
 ‘John broke the glasses on himself’ (not just: ‘John broke the glasses’)
 b. *Gianni le rompe gli occhiali.*
 John her.DAT broke the glasses
 ‘John broke the glasses on her, i.e. she is affected by it’
 c. *Gianni rompe gli occhiali a Lisa.*
 John broke the glasses to Lisa
 ‘John broke the glasses on Lisa i.e. Lisa is affected by it’

- **Verbs with unaffected objects** (e.g. *express*) and Vendlerian achievements (e.g. *recognize*) are excluded from OSCs (cf. also Zagana 1996:482).

- (13) *María (*se) reconoció el error*
 Mary REFL recognizd the error

- Finally, **stative verbs** (e.g. psych predicates like *know*, *love*) cannot enter OSCs (13a, b). Spanish *saber* (‘know’) appears to represent an exception (14c, but see §4.1.1 below):

- (14) a. *Io (*mi) so la lezione.* (Italian)
 I me_{DAT} know the lesson
 b. *Je (*me) sais la leçon.* (French)
 I me_{DAT} know the lesson
 c. *Yo (me) sé la lección.* (Spanish)
 I me_{DAT} know the lesson
 ‘I know the lesson’

2.4 SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS: OSCs have been treated by some authors (cf. §3 below) as a subclass of non-core datives, namely *beneficiaries/maleficiaries*, *datives of interest*, or *ethical datives*, often with little classificatory clarity in the literature.

- We aim to discriminate OSCs from all such types of dative arguments, based on the observation that **the addition of the reflexive clitic in OSCs does not change the truth-**

conditions of the clause, as shown by the translations of the data so far (cf. also Boneh & Nash 2009 for this point).

- Yet, several authors argued that **OSCs shift the event type of the underlying verb from a (potentially unbounded) activity to a delimited/telic event** (Zagona 1996, De Miguel & Fernández 2000, a.o., cf. §3 below):
 - OSCs are generally incompatible with durative *for*-phrases but compatible with delimiting *in*-phrases (15b, 16b, 17b).
- (15) a. *Jean a mangé la pizza (?pendant 10 minutes)/(en 10 minutes)* (French)
 John has eaten the pizza for 10 minutes / in 10 minutes
 b. *Jean s'est mangé la pizza (?*pendant 10 minutes)/(en 10 minutes)*
 John REFL is eaten the pizza for 10 minutes / in 10 minutes
- (16) a. *Juan bebió la cerveza (?durante una hora)/(en una hora).* (Spanish)
 Juan drank the beer for an hour / in an hour
 b. *Juan se bebió la cerveza (?*durante una hora)/(en una hora)*
 Juan REFL drank the beers for an hour / in an hour
- (17) a. *Huan leyó la Biblia durante dos horas.* (Spanish)²
 John read the bible for two hours
 b. *?*Huan se leyó la Biblia durante dos horas.*
 John REFL read the bible for two hours
- Finally, some authors report a **pragmatic** flavor in OSCs concerning the agent's volitional involvement, or "enjoyment and easy-goingness" (Boneh & Nash 2009:8).

3. Previous analyses of OSCs

3.1 THE ASPECTUAL APPROACH: A major approach to Spanish OSCs is the aspectual one, which interprets **SE as a telicity marker** (Roldán 1971, Nishida 1994, Sanz & Laka 2002 a.o.) **or aspectual operator** (Zagona 1996, De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000 a.o.). Similarly to English resultative particle *up* (*eat up*), SE signals the culminating point of an event and, thereby, brings about a change-of-state predication.

SHORTCOMINGS:

- The analysis does not account for **the verb class restriction**.
- It has nothing to say about why the aspectual/telicity marker has the **form of a reflexive clitic** and shows all **the morpho-syntactic properties related to SE-anaphors** (§2).

3.2 THE VERBAL-HEAD APPROACH: Folli & Harley (2004, 2005) assimilate OSCs to inchoative SI and argue it realizes a verbal head which triggers "**a change in the event structure of the predicate**" (Folli & Harley 2005:2).

SHORTCOMINGS:

- **Inchoative SI and OSCs should be kept apart: the former is mostly obligatory** for a given verb and corresponds to the absorption of an external argument, whereas **OSCs are optional** and do not correlate with argument absorption.

² Many thanks to Isabel Oltra Massuet and Isabel Pérez Jiménez for suggesting these examples.

- The analysis does not account for the **verb class restriction**.
- Like in the former approach, the fact that *si/se* has the **form of a reflexive clitic** and shows **the morpho-syntactic properties related to SE-anaphors** (§2) is left unexplained.

3.3 THE BOUNDED PATH APPROACH: Basilico (2010) analyzes *se* in OSCs as an underspecified eventive *v*-head which merges with a root specifying the manner of the activity. *Se* selects for a bounded path realized as a quantized DP, following the principle of homomorphism between scale structure and event structure. An analogous analysis is proposed for anticausative *se* (where the path, however, is provided by the verbal root).

SHORTCOMINGS:

- The approach encounters similar problems as Folli & Harley (§3.2 above).
- The author highlights **the verb-class restriction** issue, but he does not specifically recur to the notion of consumption. He wrongly predicts creation verbs to form OSCs.
- **Inherent reflexivity** remains unexplained.

3.4 THE DATIVE-OF-INTEREST APPROACH: D’Introno, Gonzáles & Rivas (2007) treat OSCs clitics indeed as datives: SE is a non-argumental dative, precisely a reflexive Dative of Interest (DI), a label which encompasses different properties (beneficiary/maleficiary, possessive dative, intentionality of the agent, specificity of the theme).

SHORTCOMINGS:

This analysis fails to account for:

- **the verb-class restriction** (cf. also Vázquez-Rojas (2008:6)) and wrongly predicts agentivity effects.
- **inherent reflexivity** (there is no reason why datives of interest should be obligatorily subject-bound).
- **the aspectual effect**.
- **the strict object restriction**.
- It does not capture the observation that **OSCs do not change the truth-conditions**.

3.5 THE HIGH(ER) APPLICATIVE APPROACH: Boneh & Nash (2009) propose that SE in (French) OSCs is a defective (and therefore reflexive) high applicative head which introduces the (semantico-pragmatic) feature [+affected] and marks it on the subject.

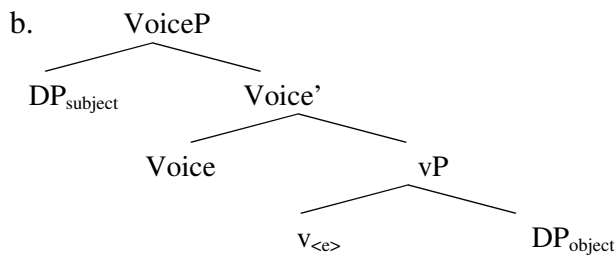
SHORTCOMINGS:

- The authors stipulate **inherent reflexivity** (there is no reason why affected arguments should be obligatorily subject-bound (or defective in their terminology)).
- Their account does not explain the **verb-class restriction**.
- It does not account for the **aspectual effect**.
- It does not account for **the strict object restriction**.
- (They claim the corresponding Spanish structures to have “radically different properties” from French OSCs.)

4. OSCs as low applicatives

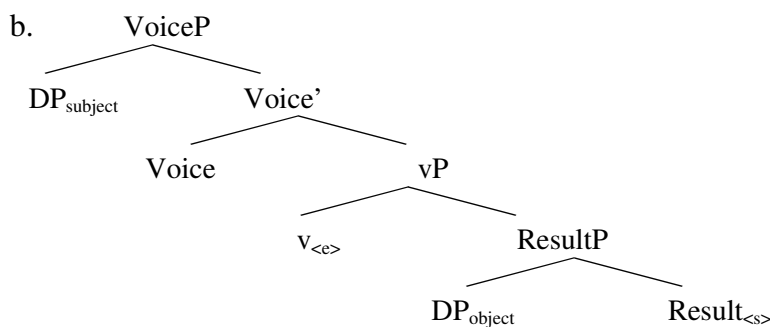
- The properties of OSCs can be captured by an analysis that applies the structure of double object verbs to OSCs. *Si/se* is merged as indirect argument in the specifier of a low applicative, where it is interpreted as the *internalizer* (a kind of inalienable possessor) of the theme-object and is necessarily bound by the subject for conceptual reasons.
- **Non-Core Transitive Verbs** are mono-eventive (e.g. Levin 1999, Marantz 2005, Ramchand 2008, a.o.).³

(18) a. *John reads the book.*



- **Core Transitive Verbs** have a bi-eventive structure (e.g. Levin 1999, Marantz 2005, Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2006, Ramchand 2008, a.o.): the relation between the eventive *v*-head and ResultP is interpreted as causation.

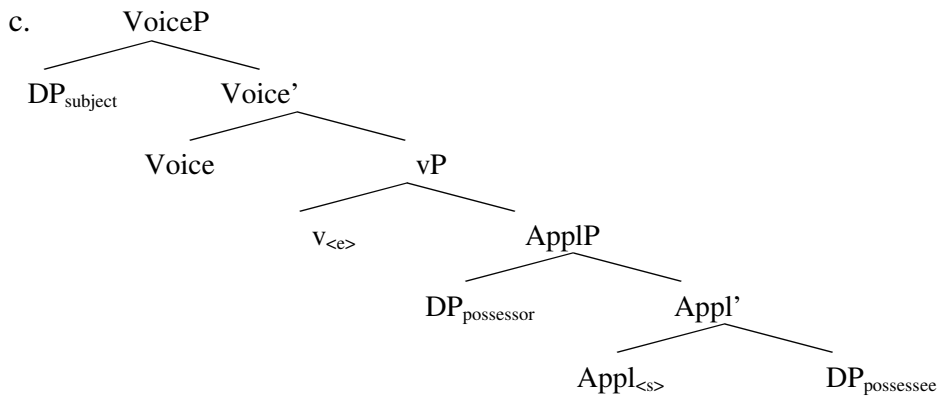
(19) a. *John breaks the vase.*



- **Double Object Verbs (DOCs)** are bi-eventive (e.g. Beck & Johnson 2004).
 - Following Pykkänen (2002/2008), Cuervo (2003) among others, we assume that DOCs involve a **low applicative phrase** (also called ‘*entity-related applicative phrase*’).
 - Low **ApplP** relates two entities via a stative relation expressing possession (‘have’; Harley (1998/2002), McIntyre (2006), among others).
 - The relation between the eventive verbal projection and the stative Appl projection is interpreted as one of **causation** (e.g. Beck & Johnson 2004, among others).

³ We abstract away from differences between these authors, e.g. whether they assume non-categorial roots or not, and differences in the labels they use for syntactic projections. The relevant point for us is that event structure is built in the syntax.

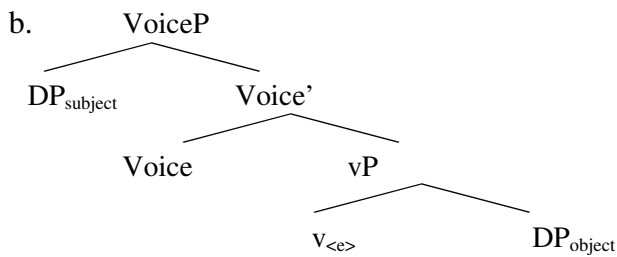
- (20) a. *John gave/sent/donated/threw Mary the book.*
 b. John causes, by giving/donating/throwing, that Mary possesses the book.



Turning to OSCs:

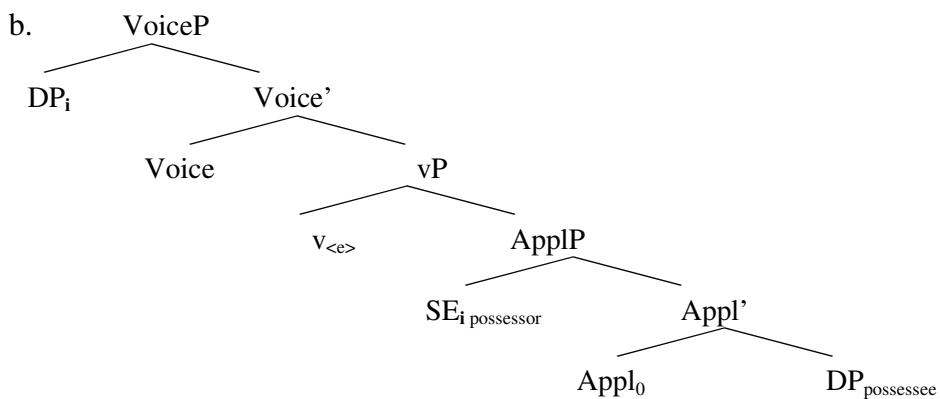
- Verbs entering OSCs are basically mono-eventive non-core transitive verbs:

- (21) a. *Gianni mangiò una mela.*
 John ate an apple



- In the presence of the reflexive clitic, OSCs have the same bi-eventive structure as DOCs:

- (22) a. *Gianni si mangiò una mela.*
 John REFL ate an apple



Interpretation of OSCs:

- We propose that OSCs get an interpretation along the lines of DOCs.
 - The verbal event causes the resultant state.
 - The resultant state consists of a possessive relation between the (binder of) the reflexive clitic and the theme DP.

→ *John causes, by eating, that he possesses the apple*

The possessive relation:

- Pylkkänen (2002, 2008) proposes two types of low applicatives for verbs like *give* vs. *steal* which express “into possession” (Recipient) and “out-of possession” (Source), respectively.
- Language variation results from selection of one or both of these heads from the universal inventory of functional elements:

(23) **Low-APPL-TO** (Recipient applicative):

$\lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda f \langle e \langle s, t \rangle \rangle. \lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{to-the-possession}(x, y)$

(24) a. *Hans reichte Stephanie die Zeitung* (German)

b. *John handed Stephanie the magazine* (English)

(25) **Low-APPL-FROM** (Source applicative):

$\lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda f \langle e \langle s, t \rangle \rangle. \lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{from-the-possession}(x, y)$

(26) a. *Hans stahl Stephanie die Zeitung* (German)

b. **John stole Stephanie the magazine* (English)

(intended meaning: Daniel stole a magazine from Stephanie)

- We propose that the languages forming OSCs have **a further, more specific version of Low-APPL-TO** (explaining (i) the verb class restriction and (ii) why not all languages with “ordinary” low applicatives allow the formation of OSCs).
 - This **Low-APPL-INTO** expresses a specific form of inalienable possession (an undividable part-whole relation): **The dative-marked argument has the theme internalized.**⁴

(27) **Low-APPL-INTO** (Internalizer applicative):

$\lambda x. \lambda y. \lambda f \langle e \langle s, t \rangle \rangle. \lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{INTO}(x, y)$

The binding relation:

- The agent binds the possessor-position and acquires thereby the second θ -role of an inalienable possessor.

→ $\text{Agent}_i + \text{inalienable possessor}_j / \text{container}_i = \text{incorporator}_j / \text{consumer}_i$

⁴ Note in passing that ‘OUT-OF verbs’ like *spit* or *vomit* do not enter OSCs.

- As a first motivation for the close relationship between DOCs and OCSs, consider the following colloquial uses of French *envoyer* (lit. ‘send’) which undergoes the double-object alternation. Note that only the DOC version allows the consumption reading (28a) while the corresponding prepositional version with intensifier lacks it (28b):⁵

- (28) a. *Je me suis envoyé deux bières*
 I REFL am sent two beers
 ‘I sent two beers to myself’ (literal, non-preferred reading)
 ‘I drank two beers’
 b. *J’ai envoyé deux bières (à moi-même)*
 I have sent two beers (to ME-SELF)
 ‘I sent two beers to myself’ (NOT: ‘I drank two beers’)

- (29) *Je me suis envoyé tout Bergman en deux semaines*
 I REFL am sent all Bergman in two weeks
 ‘I saw all Bergman films in two weeks’

4.1 Advantages of the analysis

Si/se is analyzed as an ordinary reflexive clitic in argument position, as in the case of ordinary reflexive verbs. **This avoids stipulating a further use of *si/se*** besides reflexivization⁶ and external argument absorption (anticausatives, middles, reflexive passive).

Furthermore, the approach explains:

4.1.1 The verb-class restriction and inherent reflexivity

The approach presented here appears to account for why **OSCs are inherently reflexive**. Specifically, this property is related to **the verb-class restriction**:

⁵ Many thanks to Fabienne Martin for pointing out these data to us. Other double object verbs which turn into consumption verbs under a reflexive construal are:

- (i) *envoyer* (send) → *s’envoyer un cognac* (drink a cognac)
 (ii) *enfiler* (to put sth. into sth.) → *s’enfiler un bifteck* (eat a beefsteak)
 (iii) *taper qc. à qq.* (take something from) → *se taper une bière* (drink a beer)
 (iv) *jeter* (throw) → *se jeter* (to consume)

⁶ We assume that clitics involved in semantic reflexivization are base-generated in argument positions where they receive a θ -role. Thereby **we do not follow the idea that reflexive verbs are intransitive** (cf. Grimshaw (1981)). Under this alternative view, the reflexive clitic would not be an argument of the verb but just a marker of a lexical reflexivization process. Doron & Rappaport Hovav (2007) discuss several arguments against the idea that reflexive verbs are intransitive in Romance. Below, we provide one of them (originally from Labelle 2008):

If reflexive verbs were intransitive (potentially involving one argument with a complex theta role, cf. Reinhart & Siloni 2005), it should be impossible to focus more than one argument/ θ -role. This prediction is not fulfilled empirically, as shown in (i) below: two arguments/theta roles can be focused independently of each other. This strongly suggests that the clitic carries a θ -role/is an argument.

- (i) *Jean-Pierre s’ est dénoncé lui-même.* (French)
 Jean-Pierre REFL is denounced himself
 (a) ‘Jean-Pierre denounced himself, it was not others who denounced him’
 (b) ‘Jean-Pierre denounced himself, he did not denounce others’

Note that if reflexive verbs are transitive in Romance, the well-known intransitive/uncusative properties of reflexive verbs discussed by Kayne (1975) and Grimshaw (1981) (including *be*-selection and participle agreement, mentioned in §2.2) call for a different explanation; we leave this issue open for future research (though see Doron & Rappaport-Hovav (2007) or Alencar & Kelling (2005) for proposals).

- Recall that consumption verbs are at the heart of OSCs (§2.3). **Ingestive verbs** or **consumption verbs** (prototypically *eat* and *drink*, but also variants like *swallow*, *guzzle*, and others like *smoke*) cross-linguistically behave as a class.
- Masica (1976:46) characterizes them as “*having in common a semantic feature of taking something into the body or mind (literally or figuratively)*”.
- Nishida (1994) characterizes them as “*incorporative verbs which have the general meaning ‘taking something into oneself’*”.
- Figurative consumption/ingestive verbs are of the type *read*, *learn* *watch/look at*.
- In view of these properties, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:111ff, 180) have proposed the following semantics:

- (30) a. ‘eat’ (no overt object): **do**’(x, [eat (x,y)])
b. ‘eat’ + object: **do**’(x, [eat (x,y)]) & BECOME **consumed**’(y)

- In our proposal above, we replaced the predicate “consumed” with “incorporated” introduced by *low-APPL-INTO*.

Claim: Consumption verbs carry in their lexical/conceptual meaning the information that the agent not only acts on the theme but also ingests or incorporates the theme.

- Such “incorporative” semantics are typically not structurally encoded (cf. 31).

(31) *Juan comió una manzana.*
John ate an apple

- In (32), however, this meaning component is indeed syntactically represented, namely via a low applicative, which structurally encodes the fact that the theme ends up inside of another entity.

(32) *Juan se comió una manzana.*
John REFL ate an apple

→ But if we choose to encode the incorporative meaning aspect in the syntax, then **it is a conceptual necessity that the agent and the possessor/incorporator are identical, i.e. bound to each other.**

- Note that such a necessity never arises with non-consumption verbs involving transfer of possession (e.g. *give*, *donate*, ...).
- Under a high applicative analysis of OSCs, such necessity would not even arise with consumption verbs, as the individual affected by a consumption event is not necessarily identical to the agent of the event.

Verbs excluded from OSCs

- The analysis captures the incompatibility of OSCs with Core Transitive Verbs because their internal arguments, being subjects of result clauses, do not combine with low applicatives (see Pylkkänen 2002/2008 and especially Cuervo 2003).
- A similar explanation holds for the lack of achievements in OSCs.
- The incompatibility of OSCs with statives also appears to follow from the fact that consumption is necessarily dynamic, whereas state predicates are, by definition, static. Moreover, according to Pylkkänen (2002/2008), low applicatives never apply to stative verbs (but see Cuervo 2003).
 - A POTENTIAL EXCEPTION? The Spanish verb for ‘know’, *saber*, does enter OSCs, as observed in (14) above.
 - However, Zagana (1996:483) and De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000:28-9), Sanz (2000), Basílico (2010), propose that Spanish transitive statives like *saber* may license OSCs when a “causing event” is presupposed, namely a ‘getting/coming to know’ (i.e. learning) event in the case of *saber*, so that this verb is “only a quasi-state” (it can take a resultative PP and an *in-X* time adverbial). These facts suggest that *saber* may have a *learn*-like interpretation, i.e. it has an eventive structure, analogous to that of consumption verbs.
 - Note that, as predicted by this analysis, *learn* enters OSCs:

(33) *Juan se aprendió un poema.*
John REFL learned a poem (Spanish)

Verbs entering OSCs: Extending inalienable possession

- We argued that with literal (i.e. physical) consumption verbs the dative clitic enters a relation of inalienable possession with the theme. This is a **physical part-whole relation**.
- Verbs like *read*, *watch* or *learn* have been labelled “psychological consumption verbs” by Zagana (1996).
- We propose that these verbs are (re-)analysed analogously to physical consumption verbs: The agent incorporates or ‘internalizes’ a mental representation of the object: **abstract inalienable possession/part-whole relation**.

(34) *Jean (s') est maté un film.*
John REFL is watched a movie
'John watched a movie' (French)

→ ‘By watching, John caused himself to have a mental representation of the movie’

Motivation: If the theme of *watch* does not express the ‘consumed’ theme but the ‘provider of the theme’ as in ‘watching TV / a TV channel’, OSCs are much less acceptable:

- (35) a. *Noi abbiamo guardato un film / Il Padrino.*
 We have watched a movie / The Godfather
 b. *Noi abbiamo guardato la TV / Rai Uno.*
 We have watched the TV / Rai Uno

- (36) a. *Noi ci siamo guardati un film / Il Padrino .*
 We REFL are watched-MASC.PL. a movie / The Godfather
 b. *??Noi ci siamo guardati la TV / Rai Uno.*
 We REFL are watched-MASC.PL. the TV / Rai Uno

- ‘EXPERIENTIAL CONSUMPTION’ PREDICATES: For data like (7) above, namely activities with cognate objects (*run the New York marathon, dance a tango ...*), the concept of possession must be further extended.
 - We propose that the relevant interpretation here is that the agent ‘adds a tango to his/her personal record of dances’, or that the New York marathon is added to their list of athletic achievements.
- When such ‘record-list’ interpretation is not available, the OSC clitic is out, even in the presence of a measuring object DP (37b):

- (37) a. *Gianni ha corso {la Maratona / cinque metri}.*
 John has run the marathon / five meters
 b. *Gianni si è corso {la Maratona / ?? cinque metri}.*
 John REFL is run the marathon / five meters (Italian)

4.1.2 Parallels between OSCs and reflexive verbs

- This approach explains why **the morpho-syntactic properties of OSCs** (i.e. *be*-selection and participle agreement) are identical to those of reflexively construed verbs.
- **OSCs show a number of semantic restrictions** that are well known from (inherently) reflexive verbs.
 - **Like other verbs whose internal argument (direct or indirect object) is reflexively bound to the subject, OSCs do not passivize** (see Schäfer (to appear) for a discussion of passives of reflexive verbs).⁷

- (38) a. *(Lui) si è comprato una mela.* (active) (reflexivized verb)
 He SE is bought an apple
 ‘He bought an apple’
 b. *Una mela (*si) è stata comprata (da lui)* (passive)
 An apple SE is been bought by him
 ‘An apple has been bought by him’

⁷ Impossibility of passivization in the presence of SE is hard to account for if SE is viewed as a telicity marker similar to the English particle *up*. An analysis of the clitic in OSCs as a reflexive pronoun anaphorically dependent on the external argument, instead, naturally captures this property.

- (39) a. *(Lui) si è mangiato una pizza.* (active) (OSC)
 (He) REFL is eaten a pizza
 b. *Una pizza (*si) è stata mangiata (da lui)* (passive)
 A pizza REFL is been eaten by him
- As with inherent reflexive verbs, **the reflexive clitic in OSCs cannot be taken up by an intensifier or an intensified reflexive pronoun.** This follows if an intensifier focuses that the argument slot filled by the reflexive element is bound to the subject and is not filled by any other person/entity. Since focus needs an **alternative set**, but inherently reflexive contexts do not allow to create an alternative set, intensifiers are out with inherent reflexives (40b) and OSCs (41b) but perfect with reflexivized (di)transitive verbs (42b, 43b), cf. Eckhard (2001), Geurts (2004).
- (40) a. *Gianni si vergogna* (inherently reflexive verb)
 Gianni REFL shames
 b. **Gianni vergogna se stesso*
 Gianni shames REFL SELF
- (41) a. *Gianni si è mangiato la torta (*a se stesso).* (OSC, Italian)
 Gianni REFL is eaten the cake (DAT REFL SELF)
 b. *Jaime se comió el pastel (*a sí mismo).* (OSC, Spanish)
 Jaime REFL ate the cake (DAT REFL SELF)
- (42) a. *Maria si critica.* (transitive verb - reflexivized)
 Mary REFL criticizes
 b. *Maria critica SE STESSA*
 Mary criticizes REFL SELF
- (43) a. *(Lui) ha dato un consiglio a SE STESSO.* (ditransitive verb - reflexivized)
 He has given an advice DAT REFL SELF
 'He gave himself advice'

4.1.3 Aspectual shift

The **aspectual shift characterizing OSCs** can be structurally explained along the following lines:

- The event structure is enriched by a resultant state, the low applicative relating the indirect object with the direct object.
- The indirect object is interpreted as a goal.
- In change-of-location context, goals are conceptually understood as boundaries.
- The reflexive goal SE (like the particle *up* in English 'eat up') provides then the boundary that makes the event telic.

4.1.4 Object restriction

- Why do OSCs show the **strict object restriction** described above (8)? Low applicatives, by definition, relate an indirect with a direct object.

4.1.5 Semantics and compatibility with higher datives and benefactives

- This analysis explains why **OSCs and the corresponding transitive clauses without reflexive clitic do not differ in their truth-conditions**: OSCs with reflexive clitic overtly express information that is already part of the lexical concept of the underlying consumption verbs.
 - Note that, in contrast to high-applicative analyses, we predict the lack of affectedness semantics in OSCs. As a further argument against a high/affected applicative analysis of OSCs, note that OSC-clitics are compatible with a further, non-anaphoric dative clitic (or DP or benefactive PP) in the clause, which is interpreted as being affected by the verbal event (44a-c).

- (44) a. *Il cane_i (mi) s_i è mangiato la bistecca.* (Italian)
 The dog me.DAT REFL_{DAT} is eaten the steak
 ‘The dog ate the steak (on me)’
- b. *Il s'est lu tout le travail pour moi.* (French)⁸
 He REFL is read all the term papers for me
 ‘He read all term papers for me’
- c. *El niño se le comió toda la leche a su hermano.* (Spanish)⁹
 The boy REFL him.DAT drank all the milk on his brother

4.1.6 Pragmatics

- The account opens at least a way for an understanding of **the pragmatic effects reported for OSCs**:
 - OSCs are in some sense uneconomical in that they express overtly information that is already given implicitly by the verb’s lexical semantics. It makes sense to associate this syntactic-semantic redundancy with pragmatic effects (like “enjoyment and easy-goingness”, as discussed in §2.4).
- As a further example for conceptually driven inherent reflexivity, consider the German verb *geben* (‘give’): it is normally a standard ditransitive verb assigning the Θ -roles *agent*, *theme* and *goal*. In addition, by virtue of its lexical-conceptual structure, the agent is interpreted as being the *source* of the theme.

Now, consider the (semi-idiomatic) data in (45): here, the use of *geben* differs from the canonical one in that the goal is left unexpressed and a source-PP is added instead:

- (45) *Hans_i hat die tollsten Weisheiten [von sich_i /*ihr / *Maria] gegeben.*
 John has the greatest wisdom from himself / her / Mary given
 ‘John babbled pointlessly / uttered lots of nonsense’

This example shares a number of properties with Romance OSCs:

- The resulting predicate is **inherently reflexive**. This binding relation is a conceptual necessity, as the conceptualization of the event of ‘giving’ forces the agent and the source of the event to be identical.

⁸ p.c. Fabienne Martin.

⁹ Kempchinsky (2004).

- ii. However, overt expression of implicit information together with the deletion of normally expressed information leads to a **pragmatically/idiomatically enriched interpretation**.

5. Syntactic arguments for a low applicative analysis

5.1 Low Applicatives in Romance

- Since our **Low-APPL-INTO** is a more specific version of **Low-APPL-TO** found in standard DOCs, we predict that **the languages under consideration should have ordinary low applicatives**, i.e. the Double Object Construction (DOC).
- **For each of the three languages under consideration, such a proposal has been put forth in the literature:**

5.1.1 Spanish

- (46) *Pablo (le) mandó un diccionario a Gabi*
 Pablo CL_{DAT} sent a dictionary (to/DAT) Gabi
 ‘Pablo sent Gabi a dictionary’

- The optionality of clitic doubling is, in fact, an illusion. The doubled version is a double object construction (DOC). The non-doubled version is a prepositional ditransitive (PPD) (Demonte 1995, Cuervo 2003, a.o.). Cuervo (2003) argues that the DOC involves a low applicative.

Evidence: The goal c-commands the theme in the DOC. The theme c-commands the goal in the PPD. This should result in differences in binding, weak cross-over and scopal properties.

Binding of Anaphors:

- (47) a. *Valeria mostró el maestro a sí mismo* (PPD)
 Valeria showed the teacher_{ACC} to himself
 ‘Valeria showed the teacher to himself’
 b. **Valeria mostró a sí mismo al maestro*
 Valeria showed himself_{ACC} to-the teacher
 ‘*Valeria showed himself to the teacher’
- (48) a. **Valeria le mostró el maestro a sí mismo* (DOC)
 Valeria CL_{DAT} showed the teacher_{ACC} himself_{DAT}
 ‘Valeria showed himself the teacher’
 b. *??Valeria le mostró a sí mismo al maestro*
 Valeria CL_{DAT} showed himself_{ACC} the teacher_{DAT}
 ‘*Valeria showed the teacher himself’
 c. *El tratamiento psicoanalítico le devolvió la estima de sí misma a María*
 the therapy psychoanalytic CL_{DAT} gave-back the esteem of herself María_{DAT}
 ‘The psychoanalytic therapy gave back Mary her self-esteem’

Binding of possessive pronouns:

- (49) a. **Presentamos su_i paciente a la doctora_i* (PPD)
 we-introduced her patient_{ACC} to the doctor
 ‘*We introduced her patient to the doctor’
 b. *Presentamos (a) la doctora_i a su_i paciente*
 we-introduced the doctor_{ACC} to her patient
 ‘We introduced the doctor to her patient’
- (50) a. *Le presentamos su_i paciente a la doctora_i* (DOC)
 CL_{DAT} we-introduced her patient_{ACC} the doctor_{DAT}
 ‘We introduced the doctor her patient’
 b. **Le presentamos (a) la doctora_i a su_i paciente*
 CL_{DAT} we-introduced the doctor_{ACC} her patient_{DAT}
 ‘*We introduced her patient the doctor’

WCO:

- (51) a. *¿*A quién_i entregamos su_i cheque t_i ?* (PPD)
 to whom we-gave his check_{ACC}
 ‘*To whom did we give his check?’
 b. ¿*Qué (libro) entregamos t_i a su_i dueño_i?*
 what (book)_{ACC} we-gave to its owner
 ‘What (book) did we give to its owner?’
- (52) a. *¿*Qué (libro) le entregamos a su_i dueño?* (DOC)
 what (book)_{ACC} CL_{DAT} we-gave its owner_{DAT}
 ‘What (book) did we give to its owner?’
 b. ¿*A quién_i le entregamos su_i cheque?*
 who_{DAT} CL_{DAT} we-gave his check_{ACC}
 ‘Who did we give his check?’

Scope:

- (53) a. *Andrés mandó cada cuadro a un museo (distinto)* cada > un (PPD)
 Andrés sent each painting_{ACC} to a museum different
 ‘Andrés sent each painting to a (different) museum’
 b. *Carolina llevó un artículo (distinto) a cada revista* cada > un
 Carolina took an article_{ACC} different to each magazine
 ‘Carolina took a (different) article to each magazine’
- (54) a. *Andrés le mandó cada cuadro a un museo (#distinto)* *cada > un (DOC)
 Andrés CL_{DAT} sent each painting_{ACC} a museum_{DAT} different
 ‘Andrés sent a (different) museum each painting’
 b. *Carolina le llevó un artículo (distinto) a cada revista* cada > un
 Carolina CL_{DAT} took an article_{ACC} (different) each magazine_{DAT}
 ‘Carolina took each magazine a (different) article’

5.1.2 French (Kayne 1975, Anagnostopoulou 2003)

- Anagnostopoulou (2003) argues that the French DOC - which always realizes the goal as a dative clitic - involves a low applicative:

Quantifier stranding

- (55) a. *Elle leur offrira des bonbons à tous*
 She CL_{DAT} will-give some candies to all
 ‘She will give some candies to all of them’
 b. *?Elle leur offrira tous des bonbons* (DOC)
 c. *Elle offrira des bonbons à tous*
 ‘She will-give some candies to all’
 d. *Elle offrira tous des bonbons*

Word order is fixed if the dative is cliticized:

- (56) a. *?Je leur ai tous tout montré*
 I them have all_{DAT} all_{ACC} showed
 b. *?Je leur ai tout tous montré*
 I them have all_{ACC} all_{DAT} showed

Verb restrictions: Dative clitics are possible only with prototypical DOC-verbs

- (57) a. *On a construit une maison à Jean*
 ‘They built a house for Juan’
 b. *On lui a construit une maison*
 ‘They built a house for him’

- (58) a. *Elle pense à toi*
 ‘She thinks of you’
 b. **Elle te pense*
 ‘She thinks of you’

5.1.3 Italian (Folli & Harley 2006)

- Folli & Harley 2006 compare locative datives and goal datives with respect to A-movement (not discussed here) and binding (see below) and argue that locative datives are high applicatives, while goal datives have two sources, one as PPD and one as low applicatives in the DOC. This “double source” of ditransitives must be assumed to account for binding symmetry (60).

Binding:

- (59) Benefactives (high applicatives):
 a. *L’infermiera ha cucinato il proprio_i pranzo ad ogni_i paziente*
 The nurse has cooked his own lunch to every patient
 b. **L’infermiera ha cucinato ogni_i pranzo al proprio_i paziente*
 The nurse has cooked every lunch to its own patient
- (60) Goals (low applicatives or low PPs)
 a. *L’infermiera ha dato il proprio_i bambino ad ogni_i mamma*
 The nurse has given her own infant to every mother
 b. *L’infermiera ha dato ogni_i bambino ad alla propria_i mamma*
 The nurse has given every infant to its own mother

5.2 Bi-eventive event structure and scopal ambiguities

- Under our analysis, OSCs involve an alternation between a mono-eventive and a bi-eventive event structure. The bi-eventive structure should then show an ambiguity with scopal adverbs like *again* or *almost* (von Stechow 1996; Rapp & von Stechow 1999).
- It is hard to test for a ‘restitutive reading’ of *again* with consumption verbs.
- Our Italian speakers have problems with the ambiguity of *almost* in the first place.
- However, MacDonald (2004) provides the following Spanish data:¹⁰

- (61) a. *Casi comí la paella.*
 almost ate-I the paella
 ‘I almost ate the paella.’ → COUNTERFACTUAL
- b. *Casi me comí la paella.*
 almost REFL ate-I the paella
 ‘I almost ate the paella.’ → COUNTERFACTUAL & INCOMPLETIVE
- c. *Me comí casi la paella.*
 REFL ate-I almost the paella
 ‘I almost ate the paella.’ → INCOMPLETIVE ONLY

5.3 Embedding below causatives

- The analogy between OSCs and low applicatives is confirmed by their identical behaviour in **French *faire-à* causative constructions**, where the embedded agent (the causee) is assigned dative Case (*à*-DP).
- While **event-related high applicatives (benefactives) be are excluded** from the proclitic position in the embedded clause (62a), **protoypical low applicatives (62b) and OSCs (62c) are licensed** (pace Boneh & Nash 2010).
- We assume that the complement of *faire* is a reduced clause (maybe only a *vP*), too small to host high applicatives (cf. Burzio (1986), Kayne (2004), Folli & Harley (2007) among many others for specific analyses).

- (62) a. **Elle a fait [me/se_i peindre la porte à Paul_i]* (high applicative)
 She has made me/REFL paint the door to Paul
 ‘She made Paul paint the door for me/himself’
- b. *Elle a fait [me donner un cadeau à Paul]* (low applicative)
 She has made me give a present to Paul
 ‘She made Paul give a present to me’
- c. *Elle a fait [se_i fumer un cigare à Paul_i]* (OSC → low applicative)
 She has made REFL smoke a cigar to Paul
 ‘She made Paul smoke a cigar’

- The same applies to **Spanish *hizar-a* causatives** (63a-c, Antonio Fábregas, p.c.) while the test is not applicable to Italian *fare-a* causatives, because of obligatory clitic climbing.

¹⁰ As discussed below, our analysis of Spanish OSCs presented below shares some aspects with the one by MacDonald (2004).

- (63) a. **Ella hizo [pintar-se_i la puerta a Pablo_i].* (high applicative)¹¹
 She made paint-REFL the door to Paul
 ‘She made Paul paint the gate for himself’
 b. *Ella hizo [dar-me/se_i un regalo a Pablo_i].* (low applicative)
 She made give-ME/REFL a present to Paul
 ‘She made Paul give a present to me/himself’
 c. *Ella hizo [fumar-se_i un cigarro a Pablo_i].* (OSC → low applicative)
 She made smoke-REFL a cigar to Paul
 ‘She made Paul smoke a cigar’

5.4 PCC-effects (Bonet 1991, Anagnostopoulou 2003 among many others)

- French and Italian OSCs show the same PPC-effects as DOCs.

- (64) a. *Jean se l' offre* (SE-3) (French DOC)
 Jean REFL_{DAT} it_{ACC} offer
 b. **Jean se t' offre* (*SE-2)
 Jean REFL_{DAT} you_{ACC} offer
 c. **Jean se m' offre* (*SE-1)
 Jean REFL_{DAT} me_{ACC} offer
- (65) a. *Jean se le mange* (SE-3) (French OSCs)
 Jean REFL_{DAT} it_{ACC} ate
 b. **Jean se te mange* (*SE-2)
 Jean REFL_{DAT} you_{ACC} ate
 c. **Jean se me mange* (*SE-1)
 Jean REFL_{DAT} me_{ACC} ate
- (66) a. *Gianni se lo affidò* (SI-3) (Italian DOC)
 Gianni REFL_{DAT} it_{ACC} entrusted
 b. **Gianni si ti affidò* (*SI-2)
 Gianni REFL_{DAT} you_{ACC} entrusted
 c. **Gianni si mi affidò* (*SI-1)
 Gianni REFL_{DAT} me_{ACC} entrusted
- (67) a. *Gianni se lo divorò* (SI-3) (Italian OSCs)
 Gianni REFL_{DAT} it_{ACC} devoured
 b. **Gianni si ti divorò* (*SI-2)
 Gianni REFL_{DAT} you_{ACC} devoured
 c. **Gianni si mi divorò* (*SI-1)
 Gianni REFL_{DAT} me_{ACC} devoured

- **Problem:** Spanish OSCs do not show PCC-effects, at least not of the right type. This suggests that they are not DOCs.

¹¹ For some reason that we do not understand the example improves if the clitic is first person:

(i) *Ella hizo pintar-me la puerta a Pablo.*
 She made paint-me the door to Paul
 ‘She made Paul paint the gate for me’

- (68) a. *Juan se lo entregó.* (SE-3) (Spanish DOC)
 Juan REFL_{DAT} it_{ACC} entrusted
 b. **Juan se me entregó.* (*SE-2)
 Juan REFL_{DAT} me_{ACC} entrusted
 c. **Juan se te entregó.* (*SE1)
 Juan REFL_{DAT} you_{ACC} entrusted
- (69) a. *Juan se lo comió* (SE-3) (Spanish OSCs)
 Juan REFL_{DAT} it_{ACC} ate
 b. *Juan se te comió* (SE-2)
 Juan REFL_{DAT} you_{ACC} ate
 c. *Juan se me comió* (SE-1)
 Juan REFL_{DAT} me_{ACC} ate
- (70) ??*Voy a comer te me* (*2-1)
 I-go to eat you_{ACC} me_{DAT}
 I'm going to eat you'

• **Discussion of the PCC-mismatch:**

- So far, French, Italian and Spanish OSCs behave quite the same. With respect to the PCC-effects we find a clear difference.
- We hypothesize that Spanish OSCs are still similar to their French and Italian counterparts. Specifically, we still want to assume that they involve a thematic reflexive clitic interpreted as possessor/container.
- The lack of PCC-effects in Spanish should then find an answer within the theory of PCC-effects.

• **An account of the PCC-effect (Anagnostopoulou 2003)**

- Voice
- v-TR {person, number}
- v-APPL { }
- **Dative IOs have a person feature** which can be checked against v-TR.
- **Dative IOs** are defective in that they **do not have a number feature** accessible for checking against v-TR.
- **Accusatives are ϕ -complete.**
- Accusatives can check number against v-TR even if the dative has already checked person.
- But Accusatives must check their complete set of ϕ -features for their structural case to be checked.
- **3rd person {Person}**
- **1st/2nd person {Person, Number}**
- Dative clitics move via Spec, v-TR to T.
- In an applicative syntax, Dative moves before Accusative due to minimality and checks Person on v-TR.
- Accusative moves next and checks Number.

- If Accusative lacks a person feature (3rd person), it gets ACC. If it also involves a person feature (1st, 2nd or reflexive), no ACC can be checked/assigned.
- **Turning back to Spanish**, how can we keep the basic analysis of OSCs as involving a possessor/container argument and, on the other hand, avoid a PCC-violation?

Proposal: Manipulate the order of movement. The accusative clitic has to move to v-TR before the dative clitic moves there.

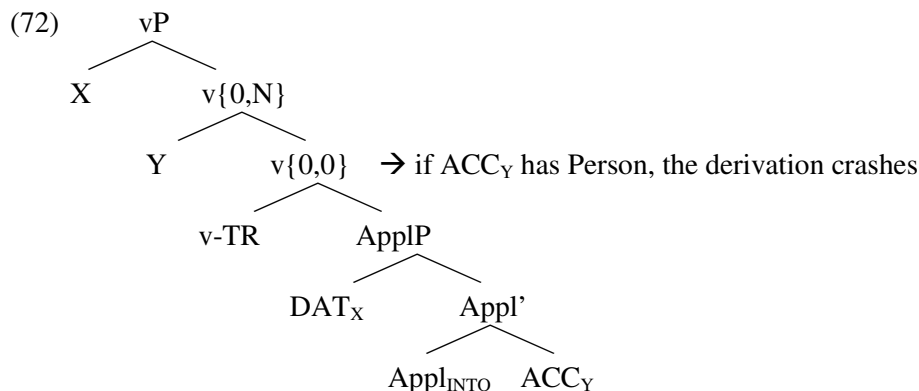
- Consider Swiss German discussed in Bonet (1991) and Anagnostopoulou (2003).
 - When ACC is 3rd person, the order between DAT and ACC is free.
 - When ACC is specified for person, it has to precede the dative.

- (71)
- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| a. <i>D' Maria zeigt en mir</i> | Acc3 > Dat | (Swiss German) |
| The Maria shows him to-me | | |
| b. <i>D' Maria zeigt mir en</i> | Dat > Acc3 | |
| The Maria shows to-me him | | |
| c. <i>D' Maria zeigt mi em</i> | Acc1 > Dat | |
| The Maria shows him to-me | | |
| d. <i>*D' Maria zeigt em mi</i> | *Dat > Acc1 | |
| The Maria shows to-me him | | |

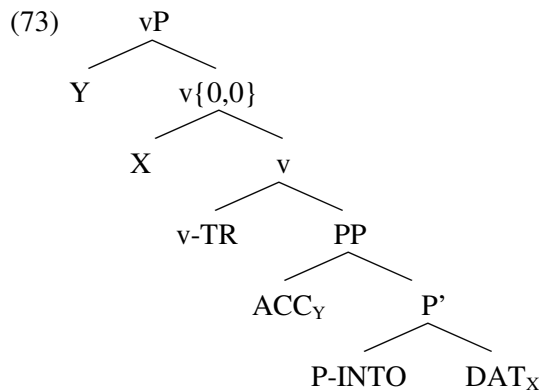
- Anagnostopoulou proposes that Swiss German has two Base Orders which the weak pronouns can enter:
 - If DAT is higher than ACC, DAT moves first and checks Person with v-TR. ACC moves next and tucks in below DAT. → Only a 3rd person ACC can survive the derivation because Person is already taken by the DAT.
 - If ACC is higher than DAT, ACC moves first to Spec,v-TR and checks Person (and Number). DAT moves next and tucks in below ACC, but does not enter a ϕ -feature relation with v-TR. → All feature combinations are possible.

Proposal: The difference between French and Italian vs. Spanish is similar to the alternation between DOCs and PPDs.

- In **French** and **Italian** OSCs, the head introducing the incorporation-semantics has the syntax of an applicative head. This predicts PCC-effects a la Anagnostopoulou (2003):



- **Spanish** uses a locative preposition to express the incorporation semantics. Thereby, the theme (ACC) c-commands the goal (DAT) in the base-structure.¹² This predicts PCC-effects to be absent (73):



- The alternation that we propose between Italian/French vs. Spanish OSCs is then similar to the following German pair. The a-example involves a double object particle-verb and the b-example a goal-PP:

- (74) a. *Er hat sich den Kuchen einverleibt* (German)
 He has REFL_{DAT} the cake_{ACC} incorporated
 ‘He ate/consumed the cake’
 b. *Er hat den Kuchen zu sich genommen*
 He has the cake to himself taken
 ‘He ate/consumed the cake’

- Problems for this analysis:

- Silent preposition (but see MacDonald (2004) and MacDonald & Huidobro (2010) for a proposal along these lines).
- The reflexive clitic would have to originate in an, albeit silent, PP. Normally, Romance PPs don’t combine with clitics (Abels 2003).

- Potential advantages of the analysis: bare nouns in Spanish

- **The theme in Spanish OSCs cannot be a bare singular or bare plural** (without the reflexive clitic, the bare nouns are o.k.) (Nishida 1994, Zagana 1996, MacDonald 2004, a.o.).^{13/14}

¹² See MacDonald (2004) and MacDonald & Huidobro (2010) for an analysis of Spanish OSCs as involving a locative/goal-preposition.

¹³ Most of the literature on Spanish OSCs takes this to be a semantic restriction on OSCs in that the theme must be *quantized* (Nishida 1996, Zagana 1996, MacDonald 2004). The first two authors relate this restriction to the telic nature of OSCs. It seems to us that these authors nevertheless have to stipulate this restriction on themes in OSCs. Inherently telic predicates (e.g. change-of-state verbs) do not generally show this restriction on their themes.

¹⁴ Antonio Fábregas (p.c.) informed us that bare NPs become acceptable in OSCs if the subject is affected (i). While we have no explanation for this effect, we think that our account is better suited to capture it than earlier accounts, simply because the subject, in the analysis presented here, is also the indirect argument that is in a local syntactic relationship with the theme.

(i) *(Io) me bebí veneno*
 I REFL drank poison
 ‘I drank poison’

- (75) a. *Juan se comió *(las) manzanas.*
 Juan REFL ate the apple
 ‘Juan ate the apple.’
 b. *Me bebí *(el) agua*
 ME drank the water
 ‘I drank the water’
 c. **Juan se bebió mucha cerveza.*
 Juan REFL drank much beer
 ‘Juan drank much beer.’

- **In French**, bare nouns are much more restricted than in Spanish (and are impossible even in the absence of the reflexive clitic), but **OSCs are compatible with weak indefinites which are semantically (very) similar to bare nouns.**

- (76) a. *Je me suis bu de l’eau.*
 I REFL am drunk of-the water
 ‘I drank water’
 b. *Je me suis mangé des pommes.*
 I REFL am eaten of-the apples.
 ‘I ate apples’
 c. *Je me suis bu beaucoup d’eau.*
 I REFL am drunk much of-the water
 ‘I drank a lot of water’

- Bare nouns are out in the (preverbal) subject position in Spanish (Suñer 1982, Cuervo 2003, a.o.):

- (77) a. **Chicos festejaron*
 kids_{NOM} celebrated
 ‘Kids celebrated’
 b. **Vino es bueno para la salud*
 wine_{NOM} is good for the health
 ‘Wine is good for the health’

- (78) a. **Amigos cayeron*
 friends_{NOM} fell
 ‘(Some) friends dropped by’
 b. *Cayeron amigos*
 fell friends_{NOM}
 ‘(Some) friends dropped by’

- Furthermore, **the same restriction has been found for subjects of predication in small clauses and objects of change-of-state predicates.** The latter are also subjects of resultative small clauses (e.g. Cuervo 2003, Espinal & Mateu 2011).

- (79) a. *Tu amiga consideraba interesantes *(las) películas*
 your friend considered [interesting the movies_{ACC}]
 ‘Your friend used to consider the movies to be interesting’
 b. *El sol derritió *(la) manteca*
 the sun melted the butter
 ‘The sun melted the butter’

- Updating Suñer's (1982) *Naked Noun Phrase Constraint*,¹⁵ Cuervo (2003) (cf. also Espinal & Mateu 2011) argues then that “an unmodified common noun cannot be an A-specifier”.

→ The Prepositional structure in (73) might then be a way to understand why bare nouns are out in Spanish OSCs. This, however, awaits further research.¹⁶

6. Resultative formation in Romance? Yes, but only with particular verbs

- In the literature, it is argued that Romance languages do not allow complex predicational structures where a secondary predicate introduces the end-point of the process event given by the primary predicate (“resultative formation”; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995).

Case I: Goal of motion (cf. Talmy 1985)

- While Germanic languages allow the realization of the path or goal of motion as a prepositional phrase, Romance languages must have the goal of motion encoded by the verb.

(80) The boat floated under the bridge. (ambiguous)

- (81) a. *La barca galleggiò sotto il ponte.*
The boat floated under the bridge. (only ‘located motion’)
- b. *La barca passò sotto il ponte galleggiando.*
The boat passed under the bridge floating (‘goal of motion’ reading)

¹⁵ The Naked Noun Phrase Constraint: “An unmodified common noun in preverbal position cannot be the surface subject of a sentence under conditions of normal stress and intonation” (Suñer 1982:209).

¹⁶ The behaviour of Italian seems to be half way between Spanish and French. While bare nouns are out in Italian OSCs (i-a, b), quantified phrases like ‘*much water*’ are acceptable (i-c). Note furthermore, that bare nouns are also impossible as themes in Italian ditransitives (ii a-c). We, therefore, think that a low applicative structure is correct for Italian OSCs.

- (i) a. *(Io) mi sono bevuto *(del) vino.*
I REFL am drunk of-the wine
‘I drank wine’
- b. *Lisa si è mangiata *(delle) mele.*
Lisa REFL is eaten of-the apples
‘Lisa ate apples’
- c. *Lisa si è bevuta molta acqua*
Lisa REFL is drunk much water
‘Lisa has drunk a lot of water’
- (ii) a. *Mia mamma mi ha dato *(delle) mele.*
My mom me_{DAT} has given of-the apples
‘My mother gave me apples’
- b. *Gianni mi ha regalato *(del) vino.*
John me_{DAT} has given of-the wine
‘John gave me wine’
- c. *Gianni ha regalato *(del) vino a me*
John has given of-the wine to me
‘John gave me wine’

CASE II: Particle verbs

- Following from this difference, particle verbs can be productively formed in Germanic languages (X) but such examples are impossible in Romance.

- (82) a. *John worked his debts off.*
 b. *John danced into the room.*
 c. *John danced (the night) away.*
 d. *John danced the puppet across the stage.*
 e. *John danced his feet sore.*

Case III: AP-resultatives

- The result can be lexicalized by an adjectival ResultP in Germanic languages but not in Romance.

- (83) John hammered the metal flat

- (84) a. *María martilleó el metal (*plano).* (Spanish)
 María hammered the metal flat
 b. *María aplanó el metal (con un martillo/martilleándolo)*
 María flattened the metal (with a hammer/hammering.it)

→ However, Romance languages do form resultative structures under very specific conditions. We argue that OSCs fit exactly those.

6.1 Goal of Motion Readings in Romance (Folli & Ramchand 2005, Mateu 2010)

- There are cases where the ambiguity identified for English (80) becomes available in Romance. The availability of a goal-of motion reading is dependent on the particular choice of verb.

- (85) a. *La palla rotolò sotto il tavolo* (ambiguous)
 The ball rolled under the table
 b. *La barca galleggiò sotto il ponte* (only 'located motion').
 The boat floated under the bridge.

- (86) a. *Il bambino è corso in cucina.* (Italian)
 the boy is run PREP kitchen
 'The boy ran to the kitchen.'
 b. **Il bambino è danzato in cucina.*
 the boy is danced PREP kitchen
 'The boy danced to the kitchen.'

- (87) a. *Juan voló a Barcelona.* (Spanish)
 Juan flew to Barcelona
 'Juan flew to Barcelona.'
 b. **Juan bailó a la cocina.*
 Juan danced to the kitchen
 'Juan danced to the kitchen.'

- Folli & Ramchand (2005) argue that **goal-of-motion constructions are possible in Romance if the verb itself does not express pure manner but (optionally) encodes a (locative) result Phrase.**

- (88) a. [+V, (+R<esult>)] verbs b. [+v, +V] verbs
- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>correre</i> ‘run’ | <i>galleggiare</i> ‘float’ |
| <i>rotolare</i> ‘roll’ | <i>camminare</i> ‘walk’ |
| <i>rimbalzare</i> ‘bounce’ | <i>galoppare</i> ‘gallop’ |
| <i>scivolare</i> ‘slide’ | <i>danzare</i> ‘dance’ |
| <i>gatonare</i> ‘crawl’ | <i>nuotare</i> ‘swim’ |
| <i>saltae</i> ‘jump’ | <i>sciare</i> ‘ski’ |
| <i>volare</i> ‘fly’ | <i>passaggiare</i> ‘walk around’ |
| <i>saltellare</i> ‘hop’ | <i>vagabondare</i> ‘wander’ |

→ Verbs of motion that conceptually involve a locational goal can enter resultative goal-of-motion constructions in Romance (cf. also Mateu & Rigau 2010). However, the same verbs can leave this meaning aspect syntactically unexpressed (*John ran (to the store)*).

→ *run*: manner of motion (towards a goal) vs. *swim*: manner of motion

6.2 Verb-particle constructions

- In some cases, Romance Languages (Italian, Catalan, Spanish, French) appear to allow particle verbs:

- (89) a. *Gianni è corso via.*
Gianni is run away
‘Gianni ran away.’
- b. **Gianni è danzato via.*
Gianni is danced away
‘Gianni danced away.’
- (90) a. *Gianni ha lavato via la macchia.*
Gianni has washed away the stain
‘Gianni washed the stain away.’
- b. *Gianni ha raschiato via la vernice.*
Gianni has scraped away the paint
‘Gianni has scraped away paint away.’

- Masini (2005: 167) observes that the existence of Italian particle verbs like *lavare via* (‘wash away’) or *raschiare via* (‘scrape away’) depends on the ‘removal’ semantics of the verbs involved.

- Mateu & Rigau 2010 argue that that **verb-particle constructions are possible in Italian if the verb itself already encodes or involves directionality** (i.e. a **path** or **goal**), which is further specified by the particle:

- (91) *entrare dentro*, lit. ‘enter in’ *buttare via* ‘throw away’
 uscire fuori, lit. ‘exit out’; *lavare via* ‘wash away’, etc.
 mettere giù ‘put down’

- They propose that Folli & Ramchand's (2005) [+R<esult>] feature can in fact be related to a more general Talmian P(ath) component. The data below point to the fact that a verb like *correre* encodes Path while a verb like *nuotare* 'to swim' does not. In the absence of a directional phrase, the auxiliary *essere* ('be') is only possible, although slightly marked, in the former (92).

- (92) a. *Gli atleti svedesi hanno corso / ?sono corsi alle Olimpiadi.*
 The athletes Swedish have run / are run at.the Olympic-Games
 'The Swedish athletes ran at the Olympic Games.'
 b. *Maria ha corso / è corsa velocemente.*
 Maria has run / is run fast
 'Maria ran fast.'
 (Sorace 2000: 875–876)

- (93) a. *Gli atleti {hanno nuotato / *sono nuotati} alle Olimpiadi.*
 The athletes have swum / are swum at.the Olympic-Games
 'The athletes swam at the Olympic Games.'
 b. *Gianni {ha / *è} nuotato velocemente.*
 Gianni has / is swum quickly
 'Gianni swam quickly.'

→ Verbs that conceptually involve a directional path component can form particle verbs in Romance. However, the same verbs can leave this directional meaning aspect syntactically unexpressed (*John washed the table* vs. *John washed the stain away*).

→ "wash" is not a pure manner verb. It can also conceptualize a change of state, namely that something 'goes away'.

6.3 Resultatives

- As pointed out by Demonte & Masullo (1999) and Mateu (2002), among others, Romance lacks complex resultatives of the English type but does have simple resultatives which lack the conflated manner component.
- According to Mateu (2002), examples like these can be claimed to involve incorporation of P(ath) into a null verb:

- (94) a. *Juan puso a María nerviosa.* (Spanish)
 Juan put María nervous
 'Juan got María nervous.'
 b. *Juan cayó enfermo.*
 Juan fell sick
 c. *Juan volvió loca a María.*
 Juan turned crazy María
 'Juan drove María crazy.'

→ AP-Resultatives are possible if the verb involved does not only express a manner but lexicalizes also a path/result component.

6.4. Conclusion

- Resultative structures are possible in Romance if the verb involved does not (only) lexicalize manner but also contains information about the result state. Typically, this information is about a location or a path.
 - Consumption verbs are typically transitive verbs (agent, theme).
 - Recall that consumption verbs are characterized as “*having in common a semantic feature of taking something into the body or mind (literally or figuratively)*” Masica (1976:46) or as “*incorporative verbs which have the general meaning ‘taking something into oneself’*” Nishida (1994).
- Consumption verbs involve conceptual information about a result location. In this sense, they behave like the verbs entering resultative constructions in Romance.
- Possible implementation:
- Mateu (to appear), following Haugen (2009), argues that Romance languages lack conflation of a root with a null verbalizer (see also Embick 2004, McIntyre 2004) but allow incorporation into the verb.
 - English resultatives (often) involve conflation, while those resultatives possible in Romance are derived by incorporation.
 - We hypothesize that the verbs entering OSCs allow a ResultP or a resultative applicative head to incorporate because these verbs are conceptually compatible with this type of information (consumption verb). We leave the details open here.

7. Summary

- In this paper, we investigated a special occurrence of the Romance clitic *si/se* in Italian, French and Spanish, namely **Optional Si Constructions**, where *si/se* is an anaphoric dative clitic and is optionally inserted in a transitive clause.
 - OSCs appear with verbs denoting physical ingestion (*eat, drink, ...*) or psychological/experiential consumption (*watch a movie, dance a tango, ...*), all of which are basically activity verbs taking a direct object.
 - Unlike previous approaches, the present analysis views the clitic as being merged in the specifier of a low applicative, i.e. an argument-introducing head that relates the applied argument to the direct object and encodes a locational part-whole relation between them (Pylkkänen 2002/2008, Cuervo 2003): the dative is interpreted as the inalienable possessor/incorporator/container of the theme and is necessarily semantically bound by the subject for conceptual reasons.
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APPENDIX: OSCs with unaccusatives?

- In the three languages considered here, an optional - but obligatorily anaphoric - clitic is also found with a few unaccusative verbs:

(95) a. *Je m'*(en) reste où je m'*(en) vais.*
 I me EN remain where I me EN go
 'I remain where(ever) I go' (French)

b. *(Yo) me voy a / quedo en Valencia.*
 I me go to / remain in Valencia
 'I go to/remain in Valencia' (Spanish)

- The relevant verbs are either verbs of motion (the Romance counterparts of *go*, *arrive*, *come*, etc.) or stative verbs with a locative meaning (*stay*, *remain*, etc.).
- In the literature on Spanish, clauses like (27b) are often treated as OSCs (Zagona 1996, Vázquez-Rojas 2008, among others). However, the semantics and the intransitivity of these verbs do not seem compatible with the account of OSCs elaborated here.
- Crucially, in Italian and French, these constructions display a further property: they obligatorily contain the clitic *ne/en*, which immediately follows *si/se* at Spell-Out. In Spanish sentences like (27b) *ne/en* is missing, simply because Spanish lacks this clitic altogether (Vermandere 2002, a.o.).
- It has been observed that *ne/en* pronominalizes:
 - a PP (Kayne 1975, Cardinaletti & Giusti 1992, among others), or
 - a partitive DP, or
 - the sole argument of unaccusatives.¹⁷
- The locative semantics of the relevant verbs are consistent with the prepositional nature of *ne/en*: the clitic appears to express a (locative) PP which is inherently encoded by the lexical/root meaning of the verb.
- Analyzing these constructions as OSCs, however, raises a number of questions. We leave the analysis of unaccusative *se ne / s'en* constructions in Italian and French (and the corresponding ones without *ne/en* in Spanish) open for future research.

¹⁷ In this case, NE/EN appears to pronominalize a DP only. However, in topic contexts, the argument surfaces as a PP[*di* [DP]] (Italian) and PP[*de* [DP]] (French), doubled by *ne/en*:

- (i) a. *Arriveranno tre studenti.*
 Arrive-FUT-3P three students
 'Three students will arrive'
- b. **(Di) studenti, ne arriveranno tre.*
 Of students, NE arrive-FUT-3P three (Italian)
- c. *Il est arrivé trois filles*
 EXPL is arrived three girls
 'Three girls have arrived'
- d. **(De/des) filles, il en est arrivé trois*
 Of/of-the.PL girls, EXPL EN is arrived three (French)

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