DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN UNINTENTIONAL AGENTS AND UNINTENTIONAL CAUSERS.*

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1.   Introduction

In this paper, we examine the Polish constructions in (1a) and (2a) whose dative logical subjects associate with lack of control, and argue that they differ in syntax and semantics.

(1)   a.   Jankowi   czytało   się   tę książkę   z
            przyjemnością.
            John-DAT   read-NEUT REFL   this book-ACC   with
            pleasure
            '(Somehow), John read this book with pleasure.'

      b.   [$_{AppP}$ DAT   [$_{VoiceP}$ <u>się</u> ….   *v*   [$_{VP}$ V   ACC   ]]].

 (2)   a.   Jankowi   niechcący   złamały
            John-DAT involuntarily   Pf.broken-FEM.PL
            się   okulary.
            REFL   glasses-NOM.FEM.PL
            'John broke the glasses involuntarily.'

      b.   [$_{AppP}$ DAT   [$_{CauseP}$ <u>się</u> ….   *v*   [$_{VP}$ V   NOM   ]]].

On the one hand, (1a), dubbed Involuntary State Construction (**ISC**) from now on, has the rough syntactic structure in (1b). Its dative logical subject interpreted as Unintentional Agent is in an Applicative Phrase, and the reflexive clitic is in a Voice Phrase (Kratzer 1996) or vP (Chomsky 1995). On the other hand, the (2a) dubbed Dative Anticausative Construction (**DAC**) corresponds to the syntactic skeleton in (2b), with a dative logical subject interpreted as Unintentional Causer in an Applicative Phrase and a reflexive clitic in a Cause Phrase.
      ISCs of type (1) are possible with many verbs, including those denoting activities or changes of state, and are open to semantic variation in Slavic (Rivero 2003, and Rivero & Sheppard 2003). Polish (1a) asserts / entails a reading activity by John as past eventuality, and if equipped with a continuation such as "but he did not read it at all" results in a contradiction. By contrast

South Slavic and Slovenian ISCs denote dispositions. Given such a semantic contrast, dative subjects in Polish ISCs have agentive properties, justifying the label **Agent**. By contrast, DACs of type (2a) are more common typologically. Restricted to change-of-state verbs in the anticausative alternation, they have equivalents in at least Albanian, Greek, Slovenian and Spanish (Cuervo 2003, Kallulli 2006, Rivero 2003, Rivero & Sheppard 2003, 2008, Schäfer 2007, a.o.).

Both ISCs and DACs contain reflexive clitics, but with assigned a different function: (1b) and (2b). On the one hand, the formal core of ISCs is the indefinite/impersonal construction in (3), with an impersonal *się* that corresponds to "one" / "people", a Neuter V *czytało* that does not agree with its internal argument *książkę*, which is Accusative.

(3) Czytało   się   tę   książkę.
     Read-NEU   REFL   this   book-ACC
     'People/one read this book.'

On the other hand, the formal core of DACs is the anticausative in (4): *złamały* agrees in Gender and Number with the Nominative internal argument *okulary*. *Się* is an anticausative because present Polish *się* is not a passive marker.

(4) Złamały   się   okulary.
     Pf.broken-FEM.PL   REFL   glasses-NOM.FEM.PL
     'The glasses broke.'

Morphological differences between Polish (1a) and (2a) are undeniable, but our argument is that ISCs and DACs   differ also in syntax and semantics, with the first containing datives for Unintentional Agents and the second containing datives for Unintentional Causers**.** Let us begin by examining ISCs.

2.   Unintentional Agents and ISCs.

We propose that ISCs of type (1) have the structure in (5), whose main components we introduce next.

a) Updating (Rivero 2003, Rivero & Sheppard 2003), we locate the logical subject of ISCs in a High Applicative Phrase (ApplP), as in (Pylkkänen 2002). High Applicatives are external to VP, and denote a semantic relation between an individual and an event. In ISCs, the individual is the dative, and the event is the complement of the Applicative VoiceP =*v*P in (7).

b) The Applicative Phrase of ISCs has inherent dative (Cuervo 2003).

c)   We propose that this Applicative bears the restricted semantics associated with oblique subjects, and does not contribute an independent canonical thematic role. A characteristic of oblique subjects is lack of control (Bhaskarao & Subbarao 2004, Kallulli 2006, Rivero 2004, Verma & Mohanan 1991, a.o). We assume that dative subjects in Polish ISCs share this property, which for ease of exposition we notate with [-int]. The feature

[-int] in oblique subjects, then, is the source of the **Involuntary** label for logical subjects of ISCs in Polish.

d) In Polish ISCs, the complement of the Applicative is an agentive construction, so a Voice Phrase (Kratzer 1996), or a nondefective vP (Chomsky 1995), which for our purposes are notational variants. In the analysis in (7), the reflexive clitic is merged in the specifier of VoiceP/*v*P, and functions as a resumptive pronoun for the dative (Rivero 2003, Rivero & Sheppard 2003), is part of an agentive construction, bears the external theta role of the verb, and thus counts as Agent. The formal core of ISCs, then, justifies the Agent label for logical subjects in Polish ISCs. In sum, ISCs such as (1a) contain an Applicative with an [-Int] feature indicative of an oblique subject with lack of control. Such a feature combined with the agentive feature in VoiceP/vP with the morphological marking of a transitive with an Accusative object results in an Unintentional Agent reading for the dative.

e) VoiceP /vP in (7) is agentive, as we just stated. Thus, it may take a transitive VP with an internal argument complement as in (1a), and Voice /v values structural Accusative on the internal argument *tę książkę.*

f) A prominent proposal is that *v* can have different flavors (Davis & Demirdache 2000, Folli & Harley 2005, Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou& Schäfer 2006, a.o.). If ISCs consist of a High Applicative Phrase with an agentive construction as complement, such a complement must be headed by the agentive little v identified as vDO in the literature.

(5) ISC structure
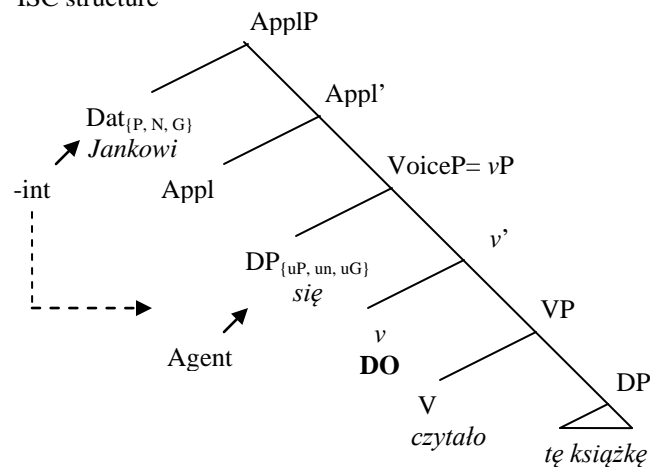
A last relevant dimension of ISCs is that they are not aspectually restricted. They are often imperfective, (6a), but can also be perfective, (6b). ISCs can contain many types of verbs, and those in (6a-b) exhibit the type that can participate in the anticausative alternation. However, ISCs should not be confused with DACs such as (2a) because their objects are accusative not

nominative, indicating their agentive nature. By contrast, in DACs such as (2a), objects are nominative, a sign that they lack the agentive dimension in ISCs.

(6) a. Jankowi   łamało   się   tę gałązkę   nieświadomie.
          John-DAT broke-NEU REFL   this branch-ACC unconsciously
          'John was breaking this branch unconsciously.'

     b. Jankowi   zamknęło   się   pudełka   niestarannie.
          John-DAT Pf.closed-NEU REFL boxes-ACC clumsily
          'John closed the boxes clumsily.'

A last difference between ISCs and DACs discussed in §3 is that DACs are aspectually restricted.

3.   Unintentional Causers and DACs

DACs contain a causative core, so this section concerns causative structures. We begin by specifying the general properties of DACs in §3.1. We continue with a look at aspectual restrictions in causative structures in §3.2, concluding that anticauses fall into two types, one with CauseP and another one without CauseP.

3.1.   The properties of DACs

We propose that DACs have the syntactic structure in (7), and model their properties on those of ISCs, which helps to identify similarities and differences between the two constructions.
a)   DACs contain High Applicatives with the characteristics of those in ISCs.
b)   Thus, High Applicatives in DACs also have inherent dative case.
c)   They also have a restricted semantic content associated with lack of control encoded in [-Int], and do not contribute an independent thematic role to the construction.
d)   The crucial structural difference between ISCs and DACs resides in the nature of the complement of the Applicative, which is a Cause Phrase in DACs, not a Voice Phrase /agentive vP like in ISCs.
e)   Thus, ISCs and DACs differ as to the specific little v they contain: DACs in (9) hold v_{CAUSE} (Rivero and Savchenko 2005, Schäfer 2007), while we proposed in §2 that ISCs in (5) contain vDO with agentive characteristics.
f)   Similar to ISCs, reflexive *się* in DACs functions as a resumptive pronoun for the dative. However, as a constituent of a Cause Phrase, such a reflexive bears the theta role of a Causer, not of an Agent.
g)   The combination of [-Int] on the High Applicative and the Cause role on *się* results in the Unintentional Causer interpretation assigned to the dative.

Namely, as often reported in the literature, the dative denotes an indivual who caused a change of state by acting involuntarily.

(7)
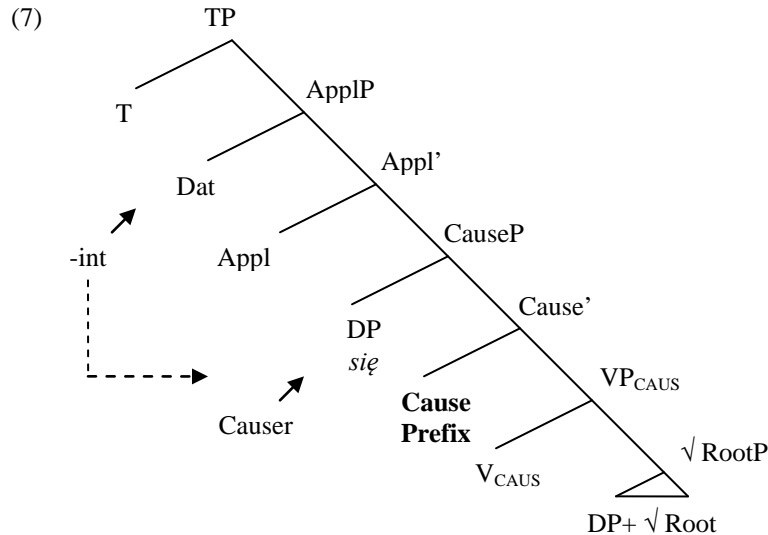
An additional constituent we have not yet discussed is the Prefix located under Cause in (7), without counterpart in the ISC in (5). Recall that ISCs can be imperfective or perfective, so are aspectually unrestricted, as we illustrated in (6a-b). Since aspect does not play a fundamental role in ISCs, it is not represented as a necessary ingredient of (5). By contrast, DACs are aspectually restricted, because they must be perfective and cannot be imperfective, as illustrated in (8a-b) (also Kallulli 2006 on Albanian), so they require an aspect marker, which corresponds to the item Prefix depicted in (7).

(8) a. Paulinie (niechcący) zamoczył się zegarek.
Paula-DAT (involuntarily) Pf.soaked-MASC REFL watch-NOM
I. 'Paula's watch got soaked.'
II. 'Paula got the watch soaked.'

b. Paulinie (*niechcący) moczył się zegarek.
Paula-DAT (*involuntarily) soaked-MASC REFL watch-NOM
I. OK: 'Paula's watch was getting soaked.'
II. NO: '*Paula was getting the watch soaked.'

Sentence (8a) with a perfective verb has two readings. The reading notated I is with Paula as owner of the watch, and does not correspond to a DAC with an overt Causer. The reading notated II is with Paula responsible for the watch getting soaked. This is a DAC with the syntactic structure in (7), and a dative subject in the High Applicative combined with the reflexive for the Causer reading. By contrast with (8a), (8b) has an imperfective verb and is limited to the first reading with Paula as owner of the watch, not a Causer. Since sentence

(8b) does not represent a DAC, we conclude that DACs require some form of perfectivity. In other words, DACs involve an aspectual component not required in ISCs, which is a first empirical reason to justify the aspectual marker under Cause in (7). We return to the contrast between (8a) and (8b) in §3.2, once we discuss the role of Polish prefixes in constructions with a causer component.

3.2. Polish Prefixes and CauseP

Let us introduce the role of the aspectual marker in (7), drawing inspiration from (Folli and Harley 2005). We propose that in general, the complement of CauseP must be a state. To meet such a requirement, VPs must be equipped with certain lexical prefixes merged as verbal heads or vs. Our proposal thus amounts to the idea that Polish prefixes that function as telicity markers are light verbs / vs and stativizers. The function we assign to Polish prefixes makes them parallel to Italian inchoative *si* and English particles in the analysis of Folli & Harley (2005) for languages without aspectual prefixes. They argue that Italian *si* in (9a) signals the Cause flavor of v. The clitic selects a state complement encoding the final state, hence the predicate becomes telic. Similar to other telic predicates in Italian, constructions with inchoative *si* appear with auxiliary *essere* (9a), while (9b) without a clitic and with *avere* is ungrammatical. Regarding English, Folli and Harley argue that the inanimate subject in (9c-d) requires a verb with a particle because the particle functions as light verb and telicity marker.

(9)   a.   Il mare   si   é mangiato la spiaggia. (Folli & Harley 2005)
               The sea REFL is eaten   the beach
               "The sea ate away the beach."

       b. * Il mare   ha mangiato   la spiaggia.
                The sea   has eaten   the beach.

       c.   The sea ate away the beach.

       d. * The sea ate the beach.

Folli and Harley correlate external arguments and complements. On the one hand, if a Causer is allowed in the subject position of v, then the complement of v must be a small clause. On the other hand, if v exclusively requires Agent as its external argument, then the complement of v may be either nominal or a small clause. In their terms, the first type of v has a DO flavor, and the second has a CAUSE flavor. The correlation is shown in the table in (10).

(10)

Flavor of v	Specifier	Complement
v_{DO}	Agent	Nominal or small clause
v_{CAUSE}	Causer or agent	Small clause

Recall that our hypothesis is that in Polish, some prefixes have a stativizing function, and are merged under v, reminiscent of *si* and English particles. Our hypothesis receives support from transitive sentences with a Causer external argument (in the nominative) that are felicitous only if they contain perfective prefixes. To this effect, compare (11a) and (12a) with (11b) and (12b). In the first pair, the verbs appear without prefixes and only animate subjects are possible, as in (11c) and (11c) (a generic operator such as *zawsze* "always" in (11a') makes the sentence grammatical, so has the same effect as the aspectual marker in (11b)). In the b examples, prefixes are present, and the Causer external argument is felicitous in both.

(11) a. * Silny   wiatr   budził   Tomka.
                 Strong wind-NOM.MASC Imp.woke-MASC   Tom-ACC
                  '*The strong wind was waking up Tom.'

       a.'   Silny wiatr zawsze budził   Tomka.
                 'The strong wind always woke up Tom.'

       b.   Silny   wiatr   **o**-budził   Tomka.
                  Strong wind-NOM.MASC   Pf.woke-MASC Tom-ACC
                  'The strong wind woke up Tom.'

       c.   Marek   budził   Tomka.
                 Mark-NOM Imp.woke   Tom-ACC
                 'Mark was waking up Tom.'

(12) a. * Sztorm   topił   statek.
                  Storm-NOM.MASC Imp.sank-MASC ship-ACC
                  '*The storm was making the ship sink.'

       b.   Sztorm   **za**-topił   statek
                  Storm-NOM.MASC Pf.sank-MASC   ship-ACC
                  'The storm made the ship sink.'

       c.   Piraci   topili   statek.
                  Pirates-NOM.MASC sank-MASC   ship-ACC
                  'The pirates were making the ship sink.'

To account for the above situation, we assume that the prefixes in (11-12) represent Inner/Lexical Aspect. If analyzed as in (Svenonius 2004) for concreteness, such prefixes alter argument structure in *v*P by providing a secondary predicate requiring a resultative phrase as complement (Ramchand 2001). They mark telicity independently of the internal argument (MacDonald's (2006) on prefixes in Russian). Since the prefixes in (11b) and (12b) license inanimate subjects and require small clauses as complements, we take inspiration in Folli and Harley and propose that they signal a CAUSE flavor in

v, much like Italian *si* or English particles. In our view, then, v_{CAUSE} characterizes both the causative variants in (11b) and (12b), and the anticausative in (4) partially repeated as (13).

(13)   Złamały się okulary.
        'The glasses broke.'

Other than anticausatives with prefixes such as (13), Polish displays anticausatives with unprefixed verbs, as in (14). To account for this doubly faceted situation, we distinguish between two syntactic types of anticausatives in Polish: the type with a Prefix contains CauseP, and the type that is prefixless does not contain CauseP.

  So let us introduce our analysis of anticausatives without CauseP, those that carry no prefixes and fall under the primary imperfective label. Polish primary imperfective inchoatives can be associated with two readings: 1) an iterative/telic reading as in (14-15), and 2) an imperfective/ongoing reading as in (16). They can also be uninterpretable as in (17b) and (18b). These should be contrasted with (17a) and (18a), which are unproblematic.

(14)   Ołówek   się   łamał.   telic
        Pencil-NOM.MASC   REFL   broken-SG.MASC
        'The pencil broke more than once.'

(15)   Peruki   się   gubiły.
        Wig-NOM.PL.FEM   REFL   lost-PL.FEM
        'The wigs got lost (over and over).'

(16)   Kiedy rozbudzony Jan   ponownie spojrzał na
        When awaken   John   again   looked at
        scenę, pod aktorem   łamał   się   stołek.
        stage, under actor-INST Imp.broken-SG.MASC REFL   stool-NOM.MASC
        'After being awaken, when John looked at the stage again, a stool was getting broken under an actor.'   imperfective/atelic

(17)   a.   Baron von Lerchenau   gubił   perukę.
              B. von Lerchenau-NOM Imp.lost-SG   wig-ACC.FEM
              'Baron von Lerchenau lost his wig more than once.'

       b. # Peruka   się   gubiła.
              Wig-NOM.FEM   REFL   lost-SG.FEM
              'The wig was getting lost.'

(18)   a.   Octavian   tłukł   kieliszek.
              Octavian-NOM   Imp.broken-SG   glass-ACC
              'Octavian broke the glass more than once.'

b. # Kieliszek   się   tłukł.
   Glass-NOM.MASC   REFL   broken-SG.MASC
   'The glass was getting broken.'

When Vs lack prefixes, (18), we propose that the construction contains v_{DO} in a transitive frame, not v_{CAUSE}. Consequently, this type disallows a Causer external argument. Verbs without prefixes lack CauseP / v_{CAUSE}, then, and participate in syntactic structures of type (19).

(19)   Grammatical
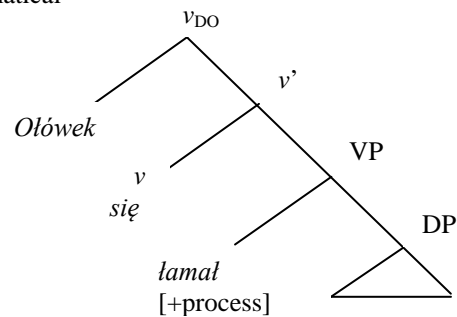
 Note two characteristics in (19). One is that the reflexive merges as head of v in the same position as the Prefix in the structure of DACs in (7). We propose that in (19) the reflexive is not a pronoun resuming the dative, but an expletive (Schäfer 2007) that does not bear a theta role, and differs from *się* in ISCs and DACs, which stand for Agents and Causers respectively. The other characteristic in (19) is a restriction to verbs with a [+process] feature due to absence of CauseP. If V is [-process], *się* becomes a reflexivizer, making the Specifier of v identical to the complement, which results in the illicit structure, (17b) with the skeleton in (20).

(20)   Ungrammatical
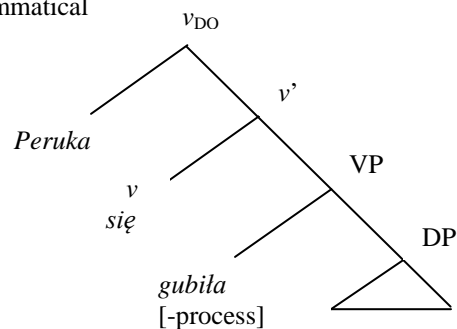
Now we are ready to account for the aspectual restriction in DACs noted in (8a-b) now repeated as (21a-b).

(21) a. Paulinie (niechcący) zamoczył się zegarek.
Paula-DAT (involuntarily) Pf.soaked-MASC REFL watch-NOM
I. 'Paula's watch got soaked.'
II. 'Paula got the watch soaked.'

b. Paulinie (*niechcący) moczył się zegarek.
Paula-DAT (*involuntarily) soaked-MASC REFL watch-NOM
I. OK: 'Paula's watch was getting soaked.'
II. NO: '*Paula was getting the watch soaked.'

Recall the aspectual restriction. On the one hand, perfective (21a) has two readings, with the one with Paula responsible for the watch getting soaked corresponding to a DAC. By contrast, imperfective (21b) is limited to a reading with Paula as owner of the watch, so not a DAC. (21b) is not a DAC because it lacks CauseP since it has no Prefix, and contains a non-thematic reflexive, so the Applicative dative does not have a Causer role to modify. In such a situation, the dative can only function as a Low Applicative (Pylkkänen 2002), which sits within VP, and establishes a relation between two entities, not between an individual and an event. The affectedness /possessor reading depicted in (21b) is very characteristic of Low Applicatives, as discussed by Pylkkänen. Thus, we can now understand why DACs are aspectually restricted in the way depicted in (21a-b). Namely, they must contain an aspectual marker in order to have a licit CauseP providing a Causer for the dative Applicative to link to.
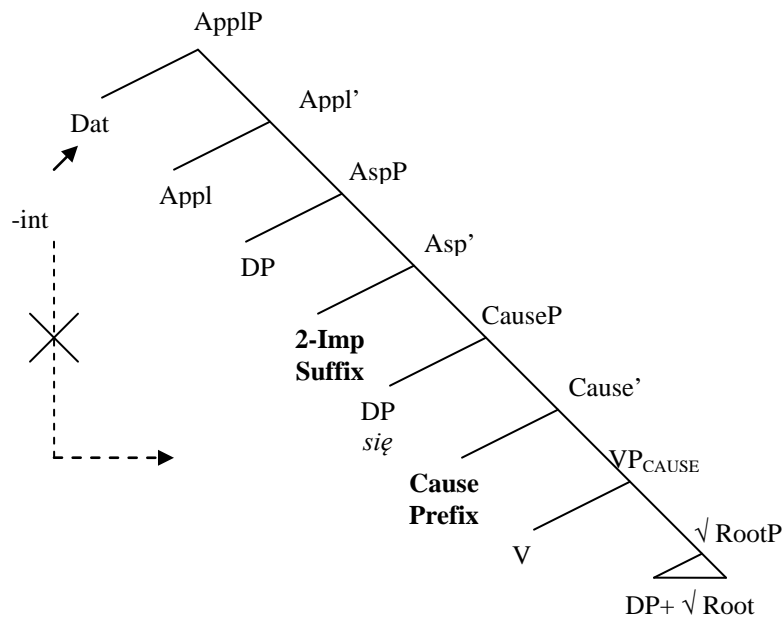
We note a second aspectual restriction for anticausatives without dative subjects and DACs. In a tentative tone, we sketch a possible account relating it to Prefix in (7). Secondary Imperfectivization (2-Imp) is not easily tolerated by anticausatives without datives or by DACs. Thus, (22a) with a 2-Imp V is deviant on the relevant Unintentional Causer reading, in contrast with (22b).

(22) a. * Paulinie niechcący zapalał się papier.
Paula-DAT involuntarily Pf.burned.2-Imp REFL paper-NOM
'*Paula was setting (the) paper on fire involuntarily.'

b. Paulinie niechcący zapalił się papier.
Paula-DAT involuntarily Pf.burned REFL paper-NOM
'Paula set (the) paper on fire involuntarily.'

If 2-Imp represents Outer/ Viewpoint Aspect (Smith 1991) (see Borer 2005), and such an aspectual item shares properties with the English Progressive operator (Dowty 1991), we can account for the above restriction. The English Progressive neutralizes telicity, making perfective/telic descriptions imperfective/atelic. This is the Imperfective Paradox responsible for the contrast between John crossed the street and John was crossing the street. Thus, if we

place 2-Imp in the inflectional layer above *v*P, just like the English Progressive, then the Slavic marker would scope over the Prefix inside *v*P in the syntactic structure of the DAC in (7) with effects on a par with the English Progressive. On this view, 2-Imp could prevent the Prefix from licensing VP as a state, much like the English Progressive voids telicity. Under such a perspective, (22a) cannot be a DAC, as depicted in (23).

(23)   Anticausative with Secondary Imperfectivization:

ApplP — Appl' — AspP — Asp' — CauseP — Cause' — VP_CAUSE — √ RootP

Dat
-int

Appl
DP
2-Imp Suffix
DP *się*
Cause Prefix
V
DP+ √ Root

4.   Conclusions

In this paper, we argued that Polish ISCs as in (1a), and DACs as in (2b) differ not only in case and inflectional morphology, but in syntax and semantics, supporting a novel dichotomy between **Unintentional Agents** related to VoiceP /*v*P with *v* DO , and **Unintentional Causers** related to CauseP/*v*P with *v* CAUSE. Our proposals are summarized in the chart in (24).

(24)

	v	Reflexive	High Applicative
Involuntary State	DO	Resumptive pronoun	**Unintentional Agent**
DAC: Anticausative, Perfective	CAUSE	Resumptive pronoun	**Unintentional Causer**
Anticausative, Primary Imperfective	DO	Expletive	N/A

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