

Unintentional Agents vs. Unintentional Causers in Polish.

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In this paper, we propose new analyses for Polish (1) and (2), establishing the need to distinguish between respectively **Unintentional Agents** and **Unintentional Causers**.

- (1) Jankowi czytało się tę książkę z przyjemnością.
 John.Dat read.Neut Refl this book.Acc with pleasure
 “John read this book with pleasure.”
- (2) Jankowi złamały się okulary niechcący.
 John.Dat Pf.broke.Fem.Pl Refl glasses.Nom.Fem.Pl involuntarily
 “John broke the glasses involuntarily.”

Type (1) often dubbed “Involuntary State Construction” (ISC) is possible with many Vs, including the change-of-state kind, and seems to lack exact morphosemantic equivalents in other languages (Rivero 2003, Rivero & Sheppard 2003). Type (2) restricted to change-of-state Vs in the anticausative alternation has equivalents in at least Albanian, Greek, Slovenian, and Spanish, attracting recent attention (Cuervo 2003, Kallulli 2006, Rivero 2003, Rivero & Sheppard 2003, 2008, Schäfer 2007, a.o.).

The two types contrast in morphology. Themes are Acc in (1), Nom in (2), and V-inflections differ. However, they share an unintentional reading for the Dative (Dat) as logical subject, which makes semantic contrasts obscure. In this paper, we argue that (1) and (2) differ in syntax and semantics, including aspect.

We distinguish between Agents and Causers (Alexiadou & al. 2006, Davis & Demirdache 2000, Folli & Harley 2005, a.o.), and propose that (1) contains a Voice Phrase (Kratzer 1996) roughly as in (3). By contrast, (2) contains an aspectually restricted Cause Phrase as in (4) (Schäfer 2007, and references). Both (1=3) and (2=4) have a Dat in a High Applicative (Pylkkänen 2002); however, the ApplP in (1=3) above an (ordinary) VoiceP makes such a construction crosslinguistically uncommon.

- (3) [AppP DAT [VoiceP się [VP V ACC]]].
 (4) [AppP DAT [CauseP się [VP V NOM]]].

In our analysis of Polish ISCs in (1=3), we update (Rivero 2003, Rivero & Sheppard 2003): VoiceP contains an agentive się as resumptive pronoun for Dat in ApplP, whose restricted semantics contributes just an [-Intention] feature. On such an analysis, Dat functions as an **Unintentional Agent** in a relatively ordinary transitive structure, which can be (preferably) imperfective, (5a), but also perfective: (5b).

- (5) 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.”

In our analysis of (2=4), we combine a Dat ApplP with się in CauseP (Schäfer 2007, a.o.). On this view, Dat in (2=4) functions as an **Unintentional Causer**, with technical details applicable to Polish made precise in our presentation.

Type (2=4) differs from (1=3) in aspectual restrictions. One limitation is with primary imperfective Vs as in (6a), where Dat can only be interpreted as a Possessor/Affected Participant (reading I), not as an Involuntary Causer (*reading II) (glosses are approximate). Both readings are fine with a perfective V in (6b). Thus, the specific structure in (4) must be licensed by some form of perfectivity / telicity, as reported in the literature on other languages.

- (6) a. Paulinie moczył się zegarek (*niechcący).
 Paula.Dat soaked.Masc Refl watch.Nom.Masc (*involuntarily)
 I. OK: “Paula’s watch was getting soaked.”
 II. NO: “*Paula was getting the watch soaked.”
- b. Paulinie zamoczył się zegarek (niechcący).
 Paula.Dat Pf.soaked.Masc Refl watch.Nom (involuntarily)
 I. “Paula’s watch got soaked.” and II. “Paula got the watch soaked.”

A second limitation is due to Secondary Imperfectivization (2-Imp), not easily tolerated by ordinary anticausatives. Thus, (7a) with a 2-Imp V is deviant, in contrast with (7b).

- (7) 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.”

For Borer (2005), 2-Imp is Viewpoint Aspect (Smith 1991). Here, we pair 2-Imp with English Progressives, in so far as both may render perfective/telic descriptions imperfective/atelic (the Imperfective Paradox (Dowty 1991)). On such a view, the restriction in (7a) can be derived from perfectivity / telicity requirements of CauseP in (4).

In sum, (1) and (2) differ in case, inflectional morphology, and aspect, supporting a novel dichotomy between unfamiliar **Unintentional Agents** related to VoiceP in (1=3), and by now more familiar **Unintentional Causers** related to CauseP in (2=4).

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