

*The first phase syntax of the stative-locative alternation in Spanish: the fine line between source paths, the ablative case, and partitives*

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**0. PROBLEM.** The stative-locative alternation with verbs of internal causation (*rebosar* ‘overflow’, *pulular* ‘swarm’, *bullir* ‘boil’, *hormiguar* ‘swarm’, *reverberar* ‘reverberate’, *brillar* ‘shine’) has been analyzed as a subtype of other locative alternations, whether transitive or intransitive (cf. Mulder & Wehrmann 1989, Hoekstra & Mulder 1990, Mulder 1992, Mateu 2017, Dowty 2000, Salkoff 1983, Boons et al. 1976, Di Tullio 2001, Mayoral Hernández 2010, Fried 2005, among others).

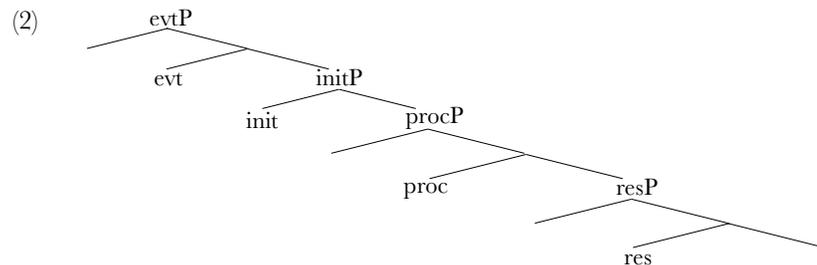
A verb such as *rebosar* ‘overflow’ shows two variants: in *variant A*, the Locatum appears as subject and the Location as adjunct (1a), while in *variant B* the Location assumes the role of subject and the Locatum appears as adjunct (1b).

- (1a) *Variant A*: **El vino** rebosa **del vaso** (Spanish)  
 The wine overflows from.the glass
- (1b) *Variant B*: **El vaso** rebosa **de vino**  
 The glass overflows with wine

I argue that this alternation differs from other locative-alternations in non-trivial ways regarding the assumed stativity of these predicates and the properties of the Locatum PP.

**Organization.** 1. Theoretical framework, 2. Data, 3. Approaches to the stative-locative alternation, 4. Proposal, 5. Concluding remarks, 6. Selected references.

**1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.** I adopt Ramchand’s (2008, 2014, 2018) syntactically represented event structure decomposition framework (2), which assumes that the **VP** involves several verbal projections, each of which contains relevant Type-A meaning (3a) information, namely, the category labels **initP**, **procP**, and **resP**. These correspond to subevent projections identifying the subevents of a macro-event: a causative subevent, a process denoting subevent, and a result state subevent, respectively. Different event roles are associated to the specifier positions of these heads, specifically, initiator, undergoer, and resultee. Each lexical item contains a rigid set of category labels identifying subevent components and participants, along with lexical encyclopedic content (Type-B meaning (3b)).



(3a) *Type-A Meaning (“Skeleton”)*  
 A structured representation of abstract factors that are directly correlated with linguistic generalizations concerning argument structure realization in the syntax.

(3b) *Type-B Meaning (“Flesh and Blood”)*  
 Encyclopedic and conceptually rich information that provides detailed expression to highly specific named events.

(Ramchand 2014:208)

I assume Silvagni’s (2017) redefinition of the notion of **event** in terms of the presence of a **spatio-temporal unit**, or stage, and discard the existence of dynamicity as a necessary property of events. This conception allows the existence of both non-dynamic events and dynamic events (4a). States are then treated as properties of an entity (4b), to which they apply regardless of spatio-temporal notions.

- (4a) Events:  
 i. Non-dynamic events: *sit, lie, be ill, be tired, hang, smell, etc.*  
 ii. Dynamic events: *wait, sleep, run, write, work build, paint, clean, eat, sing, etc.*
- (4b) States: *love, know, be yellow, be intelligent, etc.*

In Ramchand’s framework, a process denotes an eventuality with internal change unlike states, which lack internal change. Following Silvagni (2017), the denotation of the **process head** is modified to denote a subevent containing only a spatio-temporal unit, which in the present terms constitutes an event. Under these assumptions, **dynamicity** will result from the concatenation of at least (i) an initiation and a process head, or (ii) the combination of the process head with a scalar head, namely, a result phrase or a path phrase. Due to this reconception of events, a pertinent distinction between **initP** and **resP** is established according to which only the former denotes a state of being the cause for the initiation of an event, that is, a process, whereas the latter is held as an event, which contains a spatio-temporal unit.

Following Harley (2013), Ramchand (2018) argues for the existence of a functional head **evtP**, hierarchically higher than **initP**, which merges with the resulting first phase syntax and whose specifier lodges the **external argument** of the predicate. The entity occupying the specifier position of this head may take up this position via external merge or internal merge if that entity raises from an inferior specifier position in the structure. **EvtP** closes up the first phase syntax and deploys its content to denote a property of events. Importantly, **evtP** is independent of the **init** head, which introduces the causative semantics in the first phase syntax. The presence of the causative head legitimizes the introduction of an initiator in the external argument position, that is, an entity whose inherent properties allow it to generate the event regardless of intentionality.

**2. DATA.**

*Verbs of physical movement* (Spanish)

- (5a) En enjambres **bullía de centellas** / el rostro del humilde peregrino  
 in swarms boiled of sparks / the face of.the humble traveler  
 ‘In swarms boiled with sparks /the face of the humble traveler’

(1659, Domínguez Camargo, *San Ignacio de Loyola. Poema heroico*)

- (5b) El secreto maíz / en vaina fresca hierve / y **hierve de unos crétalos**  
the secret corn / in pod fresh boils / and boils of some snakes
- (5c) En este Gran Buenos Aires que **hierve de vivísimos hijos de tanos,**  
in this great Buenos Aires that boils of true sons of Italians,  
**gallegos, turquitos y rusos**  
Galicians, Turkish and Russians
- (5d) Por la plaza que **hormiguea / De multitud,** como un cubo de ranas  
on the square that teems / of people, as a bucket of frogs  
'On the square that teems with masses, as a bucket of frogs'
- (5e) Las carreteras **pululan de hambreados** por la codicia  
the roads swarm of starving by the greed  
'The roads swarm with people starving from greed'
- (5f) Los músculos de sus mejillas **títulan de pánico**  
the muscles of his cheeks tremble of panic

*Verbs of sound*

- (6a) cuando mi vista **de la suya reverbera**  
when my sight of the hers reverberates  
'When my sight with hers reverberates' (1550, Figueroa, *Poesía*)
- (6b) En triángulo admirable hoy tres soles **reverberan deste**  
in triangle remarkable today three suns reverberate of.this  
**miraglo inefable**  
miracle ineffable  
'In remarkable triangle today three suns reverberate with this ineffable miracle'  
(1508, Fray Ambrosio Montesino, *Cancionero*)
- (6c) Todo **rimbombaba de trompas, clarines, flautas y sambucas**  
everything echoed of horns, bugles, flutes and sambucas
- (6d) El mismo kiosco de los tebeos **restalla de colorines**  
the same newstand of the comic.books boils of colors
- (6e) Mi sangre **restalla de libertad**  
my blood boils of freedom

*Verbs of light emission*

- (7a) El suelo **brillaba de alfileres regados**  
the floor shone of pins scattered  
'The floor shone with scattered pins'
- (7b) Su garganta **reluce de pulido color negro**  
his throat gleams of polished color black  
'His throat gleams with a polished black color'

*Verbs of abundance*

- (8a) el mar **rebosa de inmundos cadáveres**  
the sea overflows of filthy corpses
- (8b) Mi alma **rebosa de gratitud y de consuelo**  
my soul overflows of gratitude and of relief

For further examples in Spanish and similar ones in Catalan, Italian, and French, see Gómez Vázquez (2019).

### 3. APPROACHES TO THE STATIVE-LOCATIVE ALTERNATION

#### 3.1. Analysis of the stative-locative alternation in Dutch

**Hoekstra & Mulder (1990)** classify the verbs that enter this alternation in Dutch and English as unergatives with a PP adjunct in *variant A* (9a), since these verbs typically select *hebben* (Dutch) and *avere* (Italian) 'have' as the auxiliary for the perfect.

- (9a) De bijen zwermen in de tuin (Dutch)  
the bees swarm in the garden
- (9b) De tuin zwermt van de bijen  
the garden swarms of the bees
- (Mulder & Wehrmann 1989:111-112, (4))

In *variant A*, the location PP can either precede or succeed the verb (10):

- (10) dat er mieren **in de tuin** wemelen/wemelen **in de tuin**  
that there ants in the garden teem/ teem in the garden  
(Hoekstra & Mulder 1990:16, (34))

As for *variant B*, the analysis is based on the transitive-locative alternation (11), for which a small-clause headed by the adjective *vol* 'full' is assumed. Accordingly, they propose an unaccusative argument structure, in which the location is raised to Spec,IP from its original position of subject of the SC to receive nominative case. See Mulder & Wehrmann (1989) for a similar proposal.

- (11) *Hoekstra & Mulder's (1990) small-clause analysis*  
V [<sub>SC</sub> NP<sub>loc</sub> A PP<sub>mat</sub>]

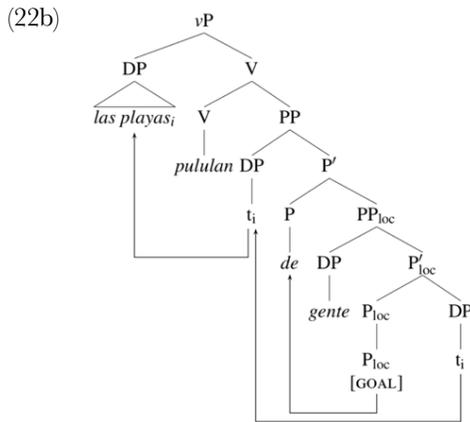
This construction is taken to be essentially identical to the *vol*-alternation with intransitive posture verbs in Dutch, in which a silent adjective would appear as the head of the SC containing the locatum and location and where the adjunct introduced by the preposition *van* 'of' would work as the complement of the empty adjectival head. In Chinese (12), the adjective *man* 'full' can be found in the alternation with verbs such as *pa* 'crawl' (12c). Hoekstra & Mulder (1990) take this as sufficient evidence to support their claim even if Dutch does not allow an adjective in the alternation with *these* verbs.

- (12a) Ta zai zhuozi-shang pa(-zhe) (Chinese)  
he at table-top crawl-DUR  
'He is crawling on the table'
- (12b) Ta pa(\*-zhe) zai zhuozi-shang  
he crawl- DUR at the table-top  
'He crawls onto the table'
- (12c) Qiang-shang pa man changchunteng  
wall-top crawls full ivy
- (12d) \*Qiang-shang man changchunteng pa
- (12e) \*Qiang-shang zai huayuan-li pa-zhe  
wall-top in garden-inside crawl- DUR  
'The wall is crawling in the garden'

(Hoekstra & Mulder 1990:18, (37))

However, there are important **differences between the stative-locative alternation and the (in)transitive-locative alternation**, which hamper the





(Mayoral Hernández 2010:233, (41-42))

*Variant B* would instantiate an unaccusative argument structure, which is presumed to derive from the properties of the preposition *de* ‘of’ as it would provide the underlying skeleton. Mayoral Hernández refers to statistical analyses to argue that these verbs behave as unaccusative since their subjects usually occur post-verbally in the locative alternation. His argumentation is based on Perlmutter’s (1978) classification of these verbs as unaccusative since unergative verbs usually count with agentive subjects and unaccusative verbs have themes, patients, or undergoers. Allegedly, this characterization of unaccusative verbs’ subjects matches that of the subjects of the verbs that enter the alternation such as *brillar* ‘shine’. Therefore, the unaccusativity of the stative-locative alternation would derive from the verbs’ unaccusative properties. However, the analysis fails to explain why the preposition *de* ‘of’ is the element facilitating the derivation. If the preposition *en* ‘in’ in *variant A* is an adjunct, one may wonder how it turns out to have such a relevant role in the derivation. Similarly, no evidence leading to the conclusion that the preposition *en* ‘in’ introduces an argument of these verbs is provided.

#### 4. PROPOSAL

This construction does not denote a state, but rather a dynamic event, that is, a predicate with an event variable for which a succession of stages or phases can be distinguished.

##### 4.1. The non-stative semantics of the stative-locative alternation

Verbs of internal causation conform to the pattern of events as they contain a spatio-temporal unit, which amounts to the presence of a **process phrase** in the first-phase syntax.

(23a) *está corriendo* / *\*sabiendo* (Spanish)

is running / knowing

(23b) *está pululando* / *hirviendo* / *rebosando* / *brillando* / *resonando*

is swarming / boiling / overflowing / shining / resonating

Further proof of the presence of a spatio-temporal unit:

##### Locative and comitative adjuncts

(24a) *Ana corre en la pista con su entrenadora*

Ana runs in the track with her trainer

(24b) *\*Ana sabe la respuesta en clase con sus compañeros*

Ana knows the answer in class with her classmates

(24c) *La abeja pulula entre las flores con las mariposas*

the bee swarms among the flower along.with the butterflies

(24d) *El agua hierve en el cazo con las verduras*

the water boils in the pot along.with the vegetables

(24e) *La leche rebosa en el cazo con el arroz*

the milk overflows in the pot along.with the rice

(24f) *El fluorescente titila en la sala junto con los leds*

the fluorescent trembles in the room along with the leds

(24g) *La luna brilla en el cielo junto con las estrellas*

the moon shines in the sky along with the stars

(24h) *El altavoz principal resuena en la sala junto con los otros altavoces*

the speaker main resonates in the room along with the other speakers

##### Depictives

(25a) *Ana corre angustiada en la pista*

Ana runs worried in the track

(25b) *\*Ana sabe la respuesta cansada*

Ana knows the answer tired

(25c) *La abeja pulula nerviosa entre las flores*

the bee swarms nervous among the flowers

(25d) *El sol hierve, pesado y candente, en mi enflaquecido cerebro*

the sun boils, heavy and red-hot, in mi thin brain

(25e) *El café rebosa espumoso por el borde*

the coffee overflows frothy over the bream

(25f) *Una luz titila incandescente en la noche*

a light trembles incandescent at the night

(25g) *La estrella brilla temblorosa entre las nubes*

the star shines flickering among the clouds

(25h) *El altavoz resuena distorsionado en mitad de la multitud*

the speaker resonates distorted in middle of the crowd

##### Verbs of perception

(26a) *Vi a Ana correr en la pista*

saw to Ana run in the track

(26b) *\*Vi a Ana saber la respuesta*

saw to Ana know the answer

(26c) *Vi la abeja pulular entre las flores*

saw the bee swarm among the flowers

(26d) *Vi el agua hervir*

saw the water boil

(26e) *Vi la leche rebosar*

saw the milk overflow

(26f) *Vi el fluorescente titilar*

saw the fluorescent tremble

- (26g) Vi el sol brillar  
saw the sun shine  
(26h) #Vi el altavoz resonar  
saw the speaker resonate

*Quantification over the spatio-temporal variable*

Cada vez/ siempre que ...

Every time / whenever ...

- (27a) Ana corre en la pista, sus amigos la animan  
Ana runs in the track, her friends her.ACC cheer.up  
(27b) \*Ana sabe la respuesta, el profesor está contento  
Ana knows the answer the teacher is satisfied  
(27c) las abejas pululan entre las flores, el perro sale corriendo  
the bees swarm among the flowers the dog leaves running  
(27d) el agua hierve, baja el fuego  
the water boils, turns.down the heat  
(27e) la leche rebosa en el cazo, tengo que limpiar todo  
the milk overflows in the pot, have to clean everything  
(27f) el fluorescente titila, voy a comprar uno nuevo  
the fluorescent trembles go to buy a new.one  
(27g) el sol brilla, salimos a pasear  
the sun shines, go.out to stroll  
(27h) el altavoz resuena, cierro las ventanas  
the speaker resonates close the windows

4.2. *Presence of an initiation head in the first-phase syntax of verbs on internal causation*

The verbs that enter the stative-locative alternation contain an action component, here identified with the presence of an initiation head in their first-phase syntax. Merging of an initiation and process phrase gives as a result a dynamic predicate.

*Paraphrasis with hacer 'do'*

- (28a) Lo que hace Ana es correr  
what does Ana is run  
(28b) \*Lo que hace Ana es estar cansada  
what does Ana is be tired.F  
(28c) Lo que hace la abeja es pulular  
what does the bee is swarm  
(28d) ?Lo que hace el agua es hervir  
what does the water is boil  
(28e) Lo que hace la leche es rebosar en el vaso  
what does the milk is overflow in the glass  
(28f) Lo que hace el fluorescente es titilar  
what does the fluorescent is tremble  
(28g) Lo que hace el sol es brillar  
what does the sun is shine

- (28h) Lo que hace el altavoz es resonar a 423MHz  
what does the speaker is resonate at 423MHz

*Imperative!*

- (29a) ¡Corre!  
run  
(29b) \*¡Está cansada!  
be tired.F  
(29c) # ¡Pulula!  
swarm  
(29d) # ¡Hierve!  
boil  
(29e) # ¡Rebosa!  
overflow  
(29f) # ¡Titila!  
tremble  
(29g) # ¡Brilla!  
shine  
(29h) # ¡Resuena!  
resonate

*Habitual interpretation in the present tense*

- (30a) Ana (normalmente) corre durante una hora  
Ana usually runs for an hour  
(30b) #Ana (normalmente) está cansada  
Ana usually is tired.F  
(30c) La abeja (normalmente) pulula entre las flores  
the bee usually swarms among the flowers  
(30d) El agua (normalmente) hierve cuando alcanza los 100°C  
the water usually boils when reaches the 100°C  
(30e) La leche (normalmente) rebosa en el cazo  
the milk usually overflows in the pot  
(30f) El fluorescente (normalmente) titila sin parar  
the fluorescent usually trembles without stop  
(30g) El sol (normalmente) brilla en todo su esplendor  
the sun usually shines in all its brightness  
(30h) El altavoz (normalmente) resuena a 423MHz  
the speaker usually resonates at 423MHz

*Prospective reading of the future*

- (31a) Ana correrá durante una hora  
Ana will.run for an hour  
(31b) #Ana estará cansada  
Ana will.be tired.F  
(31c) La abeja pululará entre las flores  
the bee will.swarm among the flowers

<sup>1</sup> Note that the abnormality of using the imperative mood (31) with internally caused verbs can be explained away assuming that the initiating entity needs to be able to produce an intentional action. That is why only

the predicate with the verb *correr* 'run' is grammatical in this diagnostic, as internally-caused verbs do not presuppose an intentional involvement of their subject entity.

- (31d) El agua hervirá cuando alcance los 100°C  
the water will.boil when reaches the 100°C
- (31e) La leche rebosará en el cazo  
the milk will.overflow in the pot
- (31f) El fluorescente titilará sin parar  
the fluorescent will.tremble without stop
- (31g) El sol brillará mañana  
the sun will.shine tomorrow
- (31h) El altavoz resonará a 423MHz  
the speaker will.resonate at 423MHz

**Interim conclusion:** the first-phase syntax of verbs of internal causation in *variant A* consists minimally of an initiation and a process phrase.

#### 4.3. The first-phase syntax of the stative-locative alternation (*Variant B*)

**In a nutshell:** The properties of the PP introduced by *de* in *variant B* are those of an initiator, using Ramchand's terminology. The semantic meaning contributed by this phrase stems from the notion of source or origin associated to the preposition, stemming from its use in Latin with the ablative case.

As in most Romance languages, the Spanish **preposition de 'from'** joined together the Latin prepositions *de*, *ab*, and *ex*, whose common ground was a meaning of **separation from a point of origin**, that is, an asymmetrical relation between two independent entities, where one is more prominent than the other (Company & Sobrevilla 2014).

The partitive marker *de* developed intertwined with the homophonous complement introducing preposition *de* 'of' from Latin to Romance. It is not at all uncommon that partitives develop diachronically from ablatives, expressing source or origin, to denote part-whole relations.<sup>2</sup>

While the evolution of *de* from preposition to partitive determiner may have reached different grammaticalization stages, Spanish, French, and Italian all share to some degree certain **derived meanings for the preposition de** as well as functions associated with it, among which we might include: expression of **cause and agent** (Ramchand's initiator) (32-34), verbal complement, **origin and source** (35-37), and complement of preposition, among others.

##### *Cause and emitter meaning*

- (32) Muy poco tardaron; regresaron **acompañados de** una mujer gruesa [...]   
very short took came.back accompanied by a woman corpulent  
(Company & Sobrevilla 2014:1446, (85b))
- (33) **Se moría de sed**, pero temía beber agua   
SE died of thirst but feared drink water  
(Company & Sobrevilla 2014:1446, (87))

- (34) al **reverberar de los relámpagos**, al retumbar el trueno   
to.the trembling of the lightnings to.the beating the thunder  
(Company & Sobrevilla 2014:1446, (86))

##### *Source meaning*

- (35a) Y también dixo que sabía que frayles dexavan los abitos y   
and also said that knew that friars left the habits and   
**se salían de** los monasterios   
SE.ACC left of the monasteries   
'And also said that he knew that friars gave up the habits and left the convent'  
(1576, *Documentos Lingüísticos de la Nueva España*, 53.194)
- (35b) Don Pedro **sacó del bolsillo** unos papeles, y leyó lo que sigue   
Don Pedro take out.of.the pocket some papers and read what follows  
(Company & Sobrevilla 2014:1441, (78))
- (36) e después **tomen del buen vino anejo** e lávenles con ellos   
and after take of.the good wine mature and wash.them.dat with them   
los paladares con los cabos de los dedos e fréguenlos bien   
the palates with the ends of the finger and wash.them well  
(1250, Abraham de Toledo, *Libro de los animales que cazan*)  
(Company & Sobrevilla 2014:1443, (82a))

##### *Location sources and abstract sources*

- (37a) El radio KDCE [...] que **reverbera de la sierra Jémez**   
the radio KDCE that reverberates from the sierra Jémez   
**hasta el valle del Río Chama**   
to the valley of.the river Chama
- (37b) Pero en esta soledad, donde sólo me veo yo sin estos soberanos   
but in this solitude where alone myself see I without these sovereign   
rayos que **de tu presencia reverberan** en mi baja   
rays that of your presence reverberate in my lowness

Those interpretations stem from the same **basic meaning of an asymmetric relation between two independent entities in the context of a verbal head**, with which they may appear (37). We may also hypothesize that the interpretation is dependent on the **merging point of the preposition in the structure**, which might affect the make-up of the preposition as well.

Italian can be used to show how the difference in meaning correlates with differences in merging positions for the PPs. Interestingly, the prepositions select for different auxiliaries in the perfect.

#### 4.4. The stative-locative alternation in Italian: auxiliary selection facts

In Italian the paradigm is slightly more complex as two different prepositions are used in the stative-locative alternation: *di* and *da*. *Di* stems from the Latin preposition *de* as a marker of genitive case, whereas *da* is the result of the Latin preposition *de* and the ablative case (Carlier & Lamiro 2014).

<sup>2</sup> Thereafter, the next possible stage of the grammaticalization cline would be the evolution of the partitive marker into a marker of indefiniteness, which effectually happened in the evolution from Latin to Romance in French and, in some measure, in Italian (Luraghi & Kittilä 2014).

The different roles of the *de*-PP as a cause in *variant B* and source in *variant A* are emphasized using data from auxiliary selection in the perfect in Italian (38). *Essere* ‘be’ selection is accompanied by a source path interpretation of the PP (38a), while *avere* ‘have’ selection correlates with the cause interpretation of the PP (38b), suggesting the existence of different first phase syntax, and hence merging points for the PPs in the variants (cf. Sorace 2000, Mateu 2002, among others).<sup>3</sup>

(38a) *Variant A*: Il vino **è** traboccato **dal** vaso (Italian)  
the wine is overflowed.M from.the glass

(38b) *Variant B*: Il vaso **ha** traboccato **di** vino  
the glass has overflowed.M with wine

What is more, those interpretations are correlated with the role of the subject entity in the event in question. In *variant A*, we find *essere* ‘be’ selection and a source Path instantiated by *da* ‘from’ (the container), which is complemented with an initiator interpretation of the subject (39), whereas in *variant B* along with *avere* ‘have’ we find a subject interpreted as the undergoer (the container) and a cause PP introduced by the preposition *di* ‘of’ (40).

(39a) L’acqua è traboccata / ?ha traboccato dalla caraffa (Italian)  
the.water is overflowed.F / has overflowed.M from.the bottle

(39b) La gioia è traboccata / \*ha traboccato dai suoi occhi  
the joy is overflowed.F / has overflowed.M from his eyes

(40a) La pentola \*è traboccata / ha traboccato di brodo  
the pot. is overflowed.F / has overflowed.M with broth

(40b) Il teatro \*è / ha traboccato di spettatori  
the theatre is / has overflowed.M with audience

In the absence of a cause PP, an entity such as *il torrente* ‘the stream’ in (41) can be again interpreted as an initiator, which requires the appearance of *essere* ‘be’, or as a container as long as *avere* ‘have’ is selected. In this case, the initiator subject interpretation is facilitated by the absence of a cause PP (see Table 1).<sup>4</sup>

(41) Il torrente ?è / ha traboccato  
the stream is / has overflowed.M

Auxiliary	Preposition	Subject
<i>essere</i>	<i>Da</i> - source	Initiator - Undergoer
<i>avere</i>	<i>Di</i> - cause	Undergoer (container)

Table 1

The auxiliary selection facts following from the Italian examples point to the conclusion that the selection of *essere* with internally caused verbs is triggered whenever there is an entity that undergoes a change of location, that is, a **displacement**. As a consequence, the subject is not only the initiator but also the undergoer of the event, whose path, for which the initial limit is given, is provided by the source phrase appearing as complement of the process head. I surmise that the notion of *boundary crossing* (of the

initial limit) is the relevant factor contributing to the displacement interpretation obtained with these predicates.

#### 4.5. A note on auxiliary selection in Italian

Sorace’s (2000) Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (ASH) of intransitive verbs (42) is based on their aspectual and thematic properties. The verbs in the higher and lower ends of the hierarchy select for the same auxiliaries across languages. These correspond to telicity and agentivity, respectively. The rest of verbs show varying behavior depending on which property, that is, telicity or agentivity, the language is responsive to.

- (42) CHANGE OF LOCATION *selects BE (least variation)*  
CHANGE OF STATE  
CONTINUATION OF A PRE-EXISTING STATE  
EXISTENCE OF STATE  
UNCONTROLLED PROCESS  
CONTROLLED PROCESS (MOTIONAL) *selects HAVE (least variation)*  
CONTROLLED PROCESS (NONMOTIONAL) (Sorace 2000:863, Table 1)

McFadden (2007), Lewandowski (2018), and Randall (2007) note that telicity may not be the relevant factor to all languages for *be* selection, but instead some notion of displacement as in German (43) or Italian (44-45). Therefore, rather than telicity, some notion of displacement, tied to a boundary crossing, might be sufficient to trigger the selection of *be* in Italian.

(43) John ist stundenlang durch den Saal herumgetanzt (German)  
John is hours.long through the hall around-danced (McFadden 2007:7, (20))

(44) Mario è rotolato / ha rotolato per evitare l’auto (Italian)  
Mario is rolled.M / has rolled.M to avoid the.car  
‘Mario rolled to avoid the car’ (Sorace 2000:875, footnote 24)

(45a) Maria ha corso / è corsa velocemente  
Maria has run.m / is run.f fast  
‘Maria ran fast’

(45b) Maria è corsa / \*ha corso in farmacia  
Maria is run.f / has run.m in pharmacy  
‘Maria ran to the pharmacy’

(45c) Paola ha nuotato / \*è nuotato con perfetto stile  
Paola has swum / is swum with perfect style  
‘Paola swam with perfect style’

(45d) Paola ha nuotato / \*è nuotata a riva  
Paola has swum / is swum to shore  
‘Paola swam to the shore’

(Sorace 2000:876, (41))

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Federico Silvagni (p.c.) for the data, judgements of grammaticality, and interpretations of these examples.

By contrast, Dutch (46) requires telicity for *be* selection.

- (46) John heeft urenlang door de zaal rondgedanst (Dutch)  
 John has hours.long through the room around-danced  
 'John has been dancing around the room for hours'  
 (McFadden 2007:7, (20))

The fact that unergative motion verbs show varying behavior could then be connected to the presence of an undergoer in the first phase syntax as Ramchand has observed:

- (47) “Thus, the verbs in this class [intransitive verbs of motion] that are termed ‘unergative’ in the literature do not have DP subjects that are identical semantically to the subjects of transitives, but rather have semantic entailments in common with both ‘external’ arguments and ‘internal’ arguments in the traditional sense. This, I believe, is the reason why motion verbs exhibit ambiguous behaviour across languages, with different linguistic diagnostics being sensitive either to initiator or undergoer structural positions, giving rise to different options and a certain amount of Janus-like behaviour.”  
 (Ramchand 2008:116, footnote 5)

Assuming that the displacement of an entity presupposes the presence of an undergoer in the first phase syntax, I tentatively surmise that the selection of *essere* in Italian with internally-caused verbs (38-41) is possible whenever there is such an entity, which can be conceptualized to undergo a displacement via the crossing of a boundary such as an initial limit as provided by a source path phrase, although other factors may be at play as well depending on a language’s auxiliary selection determinants for *be* or *have* with intransitive verbs.

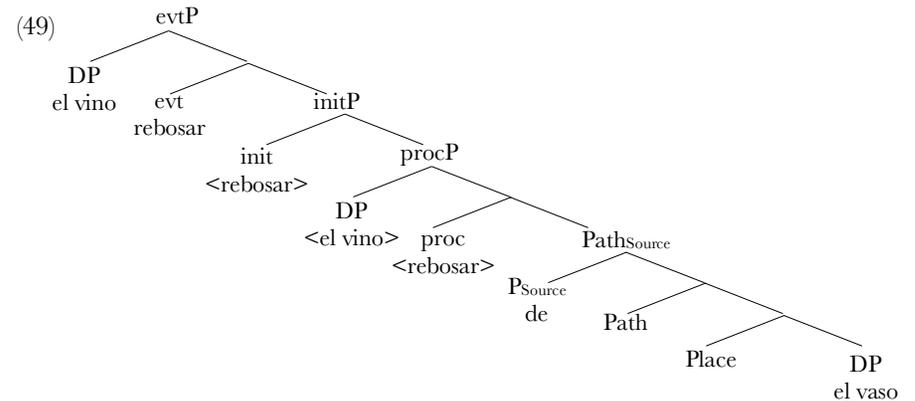
#### 4.6. The ambiguity of the preposition *de* in Spanish

The stative-locative alternation in Spanish has the preposition *de* ‘of’ (48) in both variants, unlike Italian’s distinction between cause (*di* ‘of’) and source (*da* ‘from’). To account for the meaning difference attested in Italian triggered by the use of these two prepositions, it is necessary to assume that in Spanish **the preposition *de* ‘of’ is merged at two different positions in the first phase syntax of these verbs. In addition to the different merging positions of the prepositional phrase, the phrase structure of these elements should differ in complexity** as well. This assumption is necessary to account for the path semantics inherent to the source phrase if the initiator is also the undergoer of the event, which is predicated to undergo a change of location from a source or point of origin.

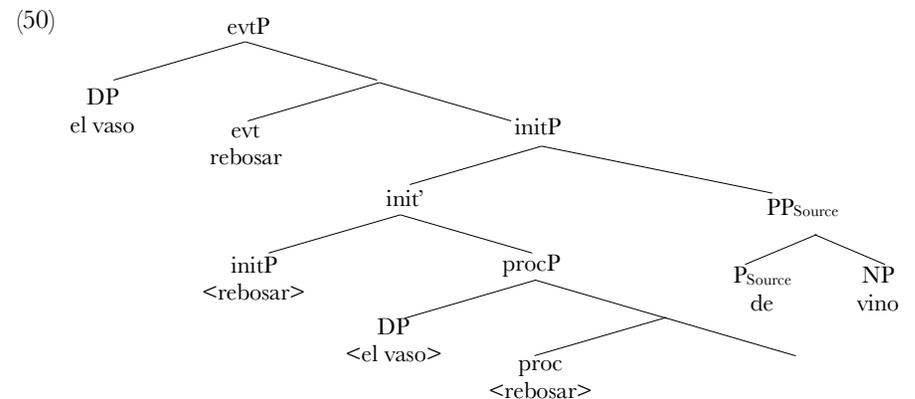
- (48a) El vaso rebosa de vino (Spanish)  
 the glass overflows with wine  
 (48b) El vino rebosa del vaso  
 the wine overflows from.the glass

Following Pantcheva (2010), I surmise that source paths are the highest layer of a goal path phrase. Pantcheva’s argumentation is built around the assumption that the morphological markers of source paths contain the markers for goal paths cross-linguistically, as inferred from the study of the possible permutations of location, goal, and source markers across several typologically different languages. On the one hand, as widely held in the literature, Pantcheva assumes that goal path markers contain a

place, or location, projection in its syntactic structure (see Jackendoff (1983), Svenonius (2010), Den Dikken (2010)). On the other hand, following Zwarts (2005, 2008), Pantcheva takes the source preposition to indicate that the starting point of the path is the location denoted by the place phrase, whereas in the case of goal paths the location would indicate the ending point of the path instead. The fact that in several languages source paths are built by adding a source marker to a path is accounted for by building a source phrase on top of a path phrase, which in turn includes a place phrase (49).



Regarding *variant B*, the first phase syntax consists of initiation and process heads (50) but diverges from *variant A*’s structure in two related aspects. First, the subject only receives the role of undergoer of the event, which is indicated by its presence in Spec,procP, since its properties cannot initiate the event denoted by the verb root. Afterwards, the evtP is merged, which in Ramchand (2018) instantiates a property of events that is applied to a subject, in this case, the location, which is internally merged in Spec,evtP, rising from Spec,procP. EvtP is independent of the init head, which serves to introduce the causative semantics in the first phase syntax. Its function is to close up the first phase syntax and deploy its content to denote a property of events.



As subject, the locative DP is the element, over which the property denoted by the VP is predicated. In this regard, Dowty (2000) remarks that the location in *variant B* acquires the role of discourse topic thanks to this newly acquired property (51).

(51) “CLAIM 4. More specifically, the LS-form ascribes an abstract property (expressed by the predicate) to a Location (denoted by the subject NP): the property a place or space has when it is ‘characterized’ by an activity taking place within it – that is, when the extent, intensity, frequency and/or perceptual salience of this activity takes place there is sufficient to categorize the Location in a way that is relevant for some purpose in the current discourse.”

(Dowty 2000:122)

Second, the role of initiator of the event is undertaken by the locatum, which appears as a PP in Comp<sub>initP</sub>. The semantics for the interpretation of this element is provided in (52) and it indicates that the initiation phrase takes as participant the PP introduced by *de* ‘of’ containing the locatum, that is, the entity whose specific properties make it a viable initiator of the event. Note that the PP does not contain path information but rather it simply works as a relator between the locatum entity and the event, between which a causal relation is established, as the preposition denotes an asymmetrical relation between two independent elements, the DP in Spec<sub>PP<sub>source</sub></sub> and the denotation of initP, that is, the embedded macro-event. Therefore, the PP found in *variant B* is structurally simpler than the source path phrase found in *variant A*.

(52) [[initP]] =  $\lambda e \exists e_1, e_2 [e = (e_1 \rightarrow e_2) \& \text{rebosar}(e_1) \& \text{participant}(\text{de vino}, e_1) \& \text{rebosar}(e_2) \& \text{participant}(\text{el vaso}, e_2)]$

Finally, I discard that the PP introduced by *de* ‘of’ in *variant B* can be taken as a genitive object as argued for in Carlier, Goyens & Lamiroy (2013) or in Haspelmath & Michaelis (2008). Treviño (2004, 2010) shows that Spanish has a partitive phrase, *de todo* ‘of everything’, which is only possible as an internal argument of the verb. According to Treviño (2004, 2010), these nominal elements appear exclusively in the internal argument position of transitive verbs (53-54), unaccusatives, reflexives, impersonal *se*, etc. Unsurprisingly, they may also appear in the transitive-locative alternation as the internal argument of the verb (55). As a consequence of their internal position in the VP, they are rejected in the external argument position as subjects of unergative and transitive verbs (56).

(53) Comió / llegó / se hizo / se vendió de todo  
ate / arrived / CL. made / CL. sold of everything

(54a) No hemos conseguido *de esos cactus miniatura* en ninguna parte  
Not have.1PL gotten of those cactus miniature in any place  
‘We have not gotten [any] of those miniature cactus anywhere’

(54b) Te traje del chocolate que te gusta  
to.you brought.1SG of.the chocolate that to.you like3SG  
‘I brought you [some] of the chocolate that you like’

(Treviño 2010:50, (2a, b))

(55a) \*Ya cargamos de todo con libros  
already loaded of everything with books

(55b) Ya cargamos de todo en el camión  
already loaded of everything in the truck

(56a) \*Trabajó de todo  
worked of everything

(56b) \*De todo vendió en la tienda  
of everything sold in the store

Treviño (2010) characterizes *de* in the *de*-DP phrase as a determiner rather than as a preposition on the basis of data such as (57-58), where the bare partitive triggers agreement with the verb. It seems then that the bare plural NP agrees with inflection and receives nominative case in its in-situ position in the verbal phrase.

(57a) Aquí anida de todo  
here shelters of everything

(57b) Aquí anidan de esos pequeños gorriones de plumas café  
here shelter of those small sparrows of feathers coffee

(58) Aquí \*ha/han dormido animales  
here has/have slept animals

As shown in (59b-c), internally-caused verbs in *variant B* reject this element.

(59a) Comió / llegó / \*trabajó **de todo**  
ate / arrived / worked of everything

(59b) El jardín pulula **de abejas**  
the garden swarms with bees

(59c) \*El jardín pulula **de todo**  
the garden swarm of everything

The ungrammaticality of (59c) does not follow from a general incompatibility of this phrase with internally-caused verbs, as it is possible to find it in cases where a PP appears as external argument, to satisfy the EPP, and a bare plural NP as logical subject of the predicate, showing agreement in number and person with the verb (60-61) (cf. Torrego 1989).

(60a) Aquí {anidan **cigüeñas** / anida **de todo**} (Spanish)  
here nestle.PL storks / nestle.SG of everything

(60b) En sus ojos {brillan **luces de orgullo** / brilla **de todo**}  
in his eyes shine.PL lights of pride / shine.SG of everything

(61a) *En su conformación* participaron una serie de grupos y organizaciones  
in its configuration participated a series of groups and organizations  
“sociales”, así como poderes fácticos y hasta atencos.  
social as well powers real and even atencos  
Pululó de todo, excepto ciudadanos realmente comprometidos  
swarmed of everything except citizens truly committed  
‘In its configuration a series of groups and “social” organizations participated, just as real powers and even *atencos*. It swarmed with everything, except for truly committed citizens’

(61b) y en ese momento, en sus ojos brilla de todo menos cloro de piscina  
and in that moment in his eyes shines of everything except chlorine of pool  
‘And in that moment, his eyes swarm with everything except chlorine’

(61c) una suerte de olla podrida en la que hierve de todo  
a sort of pot rotten in which boils of everything  
‘A sort of rotten pot in which it boils with everything’

Consequently, we can safely discard that the PP in *variant B* is an internal argument of the verb.

#### 4.7. A note on the variability of the preposition found with the stative-locative alternation

While in German, Italian, and Latin, the PP is introduced by the prepositions equivalent to *de* ‘of’ (*von, di, ab*, respectively), in English the preposition *with* assumes this role, as evidenced by the glosses of the examples. Relatedly, Haspelmath & Michaelis (2008) note that in some of these languages the function of introducing this element is being overtaken by other prepositions such as *mit* ‘with’ in German. Interestingly, in Spanish it is possible to find the equivalent preposition, *con* ‘with’, with internally-caused verbs (62).

- (62) [Parla Este] ... bullía con centenares de niños dedicados a sus actividades  
 Parla East swarmed with hundreds of children dedicated to their activities  
 extraescolares  
 extracurricular

Nevertheless, I think it would be mistaken to consider these cases as an exact instance of the stative-locative alternation as these sentences do not always allow both orders as shown in (63). On the other hand, rather than a cause, these PPs seem to instantiate a manner complement, which further specifies the nature of the event as the DP complement of *con* cannot work as the initiating entity of the event.

- (63a) El amor pulula con el viento  
 the love swarms with the wind  
 (63b) #El viento pulula en el amor  
 the wind swarms in the love

Relatedly, Lewandowski (2014:281) observes that in Spanish the preposition *con* ‘with’ that appears in the locative-alternation implies an agentive entity (64), in contrast to the preposition *de* ‘of’. We may as well include a purpose clause introduced by *para que* ‘in order that’ to avoid any ambiguities in the agentive nature of the subject (65).

- (64) Manolo cubrió la mesa {con un mantel / \*de un mantel}  
 Manolo covered the table with a tablecloth / of a tablecloth  
 (Lewandowski 2014:281, (155a))

- (65) Manolo cubrió la mesa con un mantel para que no se manchara  
 Manolo covered the table with a tablecloth in order that NEG REF stained

**5. CONCLUDING REMARKS.** The first phase syntax assumed for both *variant A* and *B* consist of init and proc phrases, however, in accordance with the initiator properties ascertained for the PP in *variant B*, this element appears as an adjunct to initP, whereas in *variant A* the PP appears as a source path. Note also the different roles of the subjects: in *variant A* the Locatum subject is both an initiator and undergoer, while in *variant B* the Location subject is solely the undergoer of the event.

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