SPANISH ANTICAUSATIVE INHERENT RECIPROCALS AND SYNTACTIC RECIPROCALS WITH SE*

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Abstract. Within the debate about the heterogeneity of unaccusative structures, the aim of this paper is to distinguish two types of Spanish marked anticausative inherent reciprocals (AIRs) from other syntactic reciprocals (SRs) with *se*. Several diagnostics show that AIRs such as *mezclarse* 'get mixed' are symmetric, unaccusative, telic, and show causative alternations, while SRs are transitive and vary in their aspectual properties and do not show causative alternations. The *en/durante* 'in/for' adverbials test reveals that there are two types of AIRs: achievements such as *casarse* 'get married', and degree achievements such as *mezclarse* 'get mixed'. Although the clitic is an agreement marker in these reciprocal constructions, it is an expletive voice head with *casarse*, a causative head with *mezclarse*, and an anaphor merged in the internal argument position in SRs. Differences between AIRs and SRs depend on semantic properties associated to their respective event structures.

Keywords. anticausative inherent reciprocal, syntactic reciprocal, unaccussativity, Aspect, clitic

1. Introduction

Properties of Spanish reciprocals have been studied by Arellano (2004), Bosque (1985) and Otero (1999), but no attention has been paid to the fact that, despite appearances, there are at least two types of reciprocal constructions with *se:* syntactic reciprocals such as *Se aman el uno al otro* 'They love each other', and anticausative inherent reciprocals such as *Se casan* 'They get married' (Quintana Hernández 2013). The aim of this paper is to explore the similarities and differences between these constructions, and to demonstrate that two separate syntactic analyses based on event structure can capture those differences.

Reciprocals are predicates which require that at least two entities are mutually involved. Some predicates encode their reciprocal meaning in the lexical entry as *casar/casarse* 'marry', and some of them allow causative alternations. Many other transitive and ditransitive verbs get reciprocated by the addition of a clitic and a reciprocal expression, as *quererse el uno al otro* 'love-SE each other'. *Marry*-type verbs are

symmetric, and they are named inherent reciprocal verbs in this article. *Love-SE-each other*-type verbs are not symmetric and they are named syntactic reciprocals in this article. Although our work supports Siloni's (2001, 2008, 2012) classification of reciprocals, we claim that both types are derived syntactically in Spanish.

For Reinhart and Siloni (2004) reciprocalization is a productive syntactic operation in Romance languages which derives unergative reciprocals from transitive predicates. Other languages derive reciprocals lexically. Siloni (2008) further claims that, in addition, there are also decausative inherent reciprocals which are formed in the lexicon. Siloni recognizes two different types of *se* with reciprocal constructions: the clitic *se* is a decausativizer with decausative inherent reciprocals such as *casarse* 'get married', *unirse* 'get joined', *mezclarse* 'get mixed', etc., whereas *se* with other transitive verbs such as *Se aman uno a otro* 'They love each other' is a true anaphoric element which typically also appears in reflexive constructions. Our work supports her proposal, i.e. there are syntactic reciprocals with *se*, and decausative inherent reciprocals with *se*, but we claim that both types are syntactic in Spanish. In accordance with most recent works on causative alternations (Alexiadou, Anagnastopoulou & Schäfer 2006, 2015, Cuervo 2014, Jiménez Fernández & Tubino 2014, 2019, Ramchand 2008, Schäfer 2008, Tubino 2020), the terms *anticausative* or *inchoative*, and not *decausative*, are used in this article.

There are some pieces of evidence that support the distinction between anticausative inherent reciprocals (AIRs from now on) and syntactic reciprocals (SRs from now on). AIRs like *casarse* 'get married', and SRs like *quererse uno a otro* 'love-SE each other' look alike in that they require a plural nominal in subject position and a clitic, but they become different when the reciprocal expression *el uno P el otro* 'each other' is inserted. AIRs can be complemented by an optional reciprocal PP *el uno con el otro*, whereas SRs require a clitic doubling structure in which the reciprocal PP *el uno al otro* co-occurs with a clitic (Zagona 2002), as in (3), which indicates that SRs are transitive.

(1) Juan y María   Se   quie-ren.
    John and Mary   SE.ACC.3PL love-PRES.3PL
    'John and Mary love.'

(2) Juan y María   Se   casa-ron.
    John and Mary   SE.3PL   marry-PAST.3PL
    'John and Mary married.'

(3) Juan y María   se   quier-en   el uno al otro.
    John and Mary   SE.ACC.3PL love-PRES.3PL the one to the other
    'John and Mary love each other.'

(4) Juan y María   se   casa-ron   (el uno con el
    John and Mary SE.3PL marry-PAST.3PL (the one with the
    otro).
    other)
    'John and Mary married (each other).'

(5) El alcalde   cas-ó   a Juan con María.
    The mayor marry-PAST.3SG to John with Mary
    'The mayor married John and Mary.'

As required, (1)–(4) show a plural nominal in subject position. The SR in
(1) shows ambiguity with the reflexive meaning. Contextual information
is necessary for disambiguation. *Love* requires both the clitic and the
reciprocal PP *el uno al otro* 'each other' (and not *el uno con el otro*) to be
reciprocal in (3). On the contrary, the reciprocal PP *el uno con el otro*
'with each other' is optional with the AIR *casarse* 'get married' in (4).
The causative alternate *casar* 'marry' in (5) shows the reciprocity between
the members of the object set without any morphological mark. The
presence of the cause correlates with the absence of the clitic in (5).

   In addition, the AIR can be paraphrased with the discontinuous
construction *Juan se casó con María* 'John married Mary', while the SR
cannot, as in **Juan se quiere con María* '*John loves with Mary', which
indicates that only inherent reciprocals are symmetric (Siloni 2008).
Because *casar* and *casarse* are inherent reciprocals, they license the
reciprocal interpretation in (5) and (6). On the contrary, constructions
with transitive non-inherent reciprocal verbs require the clitic to get the
reciprocal meaning in (8).

(6) Juan se   cas-ó (reciprocal).
    John SE.3SG marry-PAST.3SG
    'John married.'

(7) Juan ama a María (no reciprocal interpretation).
    'John loves Mary.'

(8) Juan y María   se   am-an (reciprocal interpretation).
    John and Mary SE.ACC.3PL love-PRES.3PL
    'John and Mary love each other.'

Apart from syntactic contrast between the two types of reciprocals, i.e
the clitic doubling construction is required to get reciprocity for SRs but
not for AIRs, and only the clitic with AIRs correlates with the absence of
the cause, we find evidences of semantic contrast. AIRs show a
systematic compatibility with perfective temporal modifiers as *in* adver-
bials, which indicates that they are telic. On the contrary, SRs show
different kinds of aspectual classes. The aim of this paper is to make a
novel contribution to reciprocals by claiming that both AIRs and SRs are

derived syntactically in Spanish. Their syntactic structures are different. AIRs do not have external arguments whereas SRs do. The clitic is an expletive voice head in AIRs and an internal argument in SRs. Thus, we claim that the clitic participates in the causative alternation in AIRs, but not in SRs.

Following recent works on anticausatives (Alexiadou, Anagnastopoulou & Schäfer 2006, 2015, Cuervo 2014, Jiménez Fernández & Tubino 2019, Ramchand 2008, Schäfer 2008, Tubino 2020), which claim that causatives and anticausatives share a substructure (a change of state VP), we claim that the causative inherent reciprocal *casar* 'marry' and the anticausative *casarse* 'get married' also share the change of state layer. Thus the causative *El alcalde casó a Juan con María* 'The mayor married John with Mary' and the anticausative *Juan y María se casaron* 'John and Mary get married' denote a change in marital status for Juan and María.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a review of previous work on reciprocals (Bosque 1985; Haspelmath 2007; Siloni 2008, 2012). Section 3 provides an overview of anticausatives. Section 4 provides syntactic and semantic pieces of evidence to consider two types of reciprocal constructions with *se:* unaccusative constructions with AIRs and transitive constructions with SRs. The presence of the clitic only correlates with the absence of the cause in AIRs. Section 5 further provides diagnostics to claim that AIRs are unaccusative (Siloni 2008) and telic, while SRs are not. Subsection 5.1 tests the two types of reciprocal constructions with absolute participle constructions. Subsection 5.2 shows that only AIRs are compatible with bare plural subjects in postverbal position. Subsection 5.3 tests feminine adjectivization. Subsection 5.4 shows that only AIRs are compatible with infinitival complement of *llevar* + quantified NP 'take some time' and *tardar* + quantified NP 'take some time'. Subsection 5.5 tests the compatibility of all discussed constructions with *en* + temporal interval 'in temporal modifier' interval and *durante* + temporal interval 'for temporal modifier' to distinguish between *marry*-type and *mix*-type inherent reciprocals. Subsection 5.6 tests the progressive, and 5.7 the *poco a poco* 'little by little' adverbial for aspectual contrast between AIRs. Section 6 briefly describes the syntactic framework of argument and event structure proposed by Ramchand (2008). Section 7 presents the syntax of the two types of AIRs: *achievement-type* AIRs, and *degree-achievement* AIRs. Special attention is paid to the clitic used with these constructions. Section 8 presents the syntax of SRs. Finally, conclusions are presented.

2. Review of reciprocals

Typological research on reciprocals has found that languages use different strategies, either syntactic or lexical, to express mutual involvement (Knjazev 2007, Haspelmath 2007, Nedjalkov 2007, Siloni 2008,

2012). The aim of this section is to review their proposals, and Bosque's (1985), to understand reciprocal constructions with *se* in Spanish. Many languages have grammatical resources to account for reciprocity. Haspelmath (2007) names them grammatical reciprocals, whereas Siloni (2012) recognizes two different types: periphrastic reciprocals formed by the addition of *each other* in English, for example, and syntactic reciprocal verbs which show both a clitic and a complex reciprocal expression in Romance and certain Slavic languages. There are also languages (Hebrew, Hungarian and Russian, for example) that count on lexically derived reciprocals like the intransitive *kiss* and *collide* (Siloni 2012). In addition, experts agree on the fact that all languages have symmetric verbs (Siloni 2008, 2012) like *discuss*, also named allelic predicates (Haspelmath 2007). These are named inherent reciprocal verbs in this paper.

Haspelmath's (2007) taxonomy of mutual situations reserves the term *reciprocal construction* for the specialized explicit expression of mutual situations. For him, there are two types of reciprocal constructions, multiclausal and monoclausal, and within monoclausal reciprocals, which is the focus of this paper, we find both grammatical reciprocals and allelic or symmetric predicates. He claims that "all languages seem to have a substantial number of simple words that denote mutual configurations by themselves, without occurring in a special grammatical construction" (Haspelmath 2007:2104). Within this type there are verbs of competition (*pelear* 'fight', *discutir* 'quarrel', *negociar* 'negotiate'), verbs of joint action (*comunicarse* 'communicate', *jugar* 'play'), verbs of connecting (*combinar* 'combinate', *unir* 'unite', *comparar* 'compare', *mezclar* 'mix'), verbs of dividing (*separar* 'separate', *distinguir* 'distinguish'), among other predicates. Regarding grammatical reciprocals he distinguishes between languages that show verb-marked reciprocals and languages which show anaphoric reciprocals. Similarly, Bosque (1985) claims that there are two types of Spanish reciprocals: symmetric predicates and syntactic reciprocals. His symmetric predicates and syntactic reciprocals are equivalent to Haspelmath's (2007) allelic predicates and anaphoric reciprocals, respectively. He claims that only symmetric predicates such as *unir* 'unite' allow the discontinuous construction in Spanish.

Siloni's work on typology (2012) claims that there are three types of reciprocals: periphrastic reciprocal constructions such as *They kissed each other* (type I) (equivalent to Haspelmath's anaphoric reciprocals), lexical reciprocal verbs such as *They kissed* (type II) and syntactical reciprocal verbs such as *Se aman el uno al otro* 'they love each other' (type III) in Romance and certain Slavic languages. For her, lexical reciprocal verbs are symmetric whereas syntactic reciprocal verbs are not. Siloni (2008) claimed that there is an extra group of inherent reciprocal verbs which show properties typical of lexical reciprocals, i.e. they are symmetric and they allow the discontinuous construction like *marry*.

Furthermore, she proposes a Lexicon-Syntax Parameter which predicts that there are languages with lexically derived reciprocals and languages with syntactically derived reciprocals. Hebrew, Russian and English are Lexicon languages, i.e. they have lexical reciprocals, while Romance languages are Syntax languages, i. e. they have syntactic reciprocals. However, there are instances of lexical reciprocal verbs in languages with a syntactic setting of the Lex-Syn Parameter (Siloni 2012:303). We find some examples in Spanish. The verb *escribirse con* 'correspond' allows the discontinuous construction as observed in (9).

(9) Juan se   escrib-e   con Pedro cada día.
     John SE.ACC.3SG write-PRES.3SG with Peter every day
     'John corresponds with Pedro every day.'

Siloni (2012) proposes that Romance clitics are reciprocal morphological markers which indicate reciprocalization in syntax. She further argues that *se* is also found with other types of predicates such as reflexives, unaccusatives, middles, passives etc. This paper supports her view focusing on the distinction between syntactic reciprocals with *se*, and inherent reciprocals with *se*. In Spanish we find both types: reciprocal clitics with SRs, and also, in her view, the decausativizer clitic in AIRs.

Recapitulating, in Spanish we find at least three types of reciprocal constructions with *se*: first, SRs which require that the the clitic co-occurs with the reciprocal anaphor with transitive predicates as in *criticarse el uno al otro* 'criticize each other'; second, AIRs as *casarse* 'get married', *separarse* 'get separated', *mezclarse* 'get mixed', *unirse* 'get united', *fusionarse* 'get joined', etc., which are syntactically formed; and third, some lexically derived reciprocals as in *escribirse con alguien* 'correspond', *besarse con alguien* 'reciprocal kiss', *acostarse con alguien* 'lay down with'. There are also causative inherent reciprocals as in *Juan casó a la pareja* 'John married the couple'. This paper focuses on AIRs and SRs with *se*.

3. Overview of anticausatives

Since the study of anticausative reciprocals is an important addition to the description of anticausatives in general, an overview of anticausatives is provided here before distinguishing AIRs from SRs. The causative-anticausative alternation is a universal phenomenon which is expressed through different morphosyntactic mechanisms (Vivanco 2016). Spanish shows a preference for morphological marked anticausatives, but it also shows unmarked anticausatives as in *El agua hirvió* 'Water boiled' (Mendikoetxea 1999) or *El precio aumentó* 'The price increased'. For Spanish, it has been traditionally assumed that morphological marked anticausatives derive from causative constructions, and that the clitic is an intransitivizer, which implies that the structure is unaccusative, and also aspectually perfective (De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000).

As pointed out by Tubino (2020), different approaches have explored the causative-anticausative alternation. Lexical approaches claim that the anticausative variant is derived lexically either by decausativization (Siloni 2019), causativization (Hale & Keyser 1986) or reflexivization (Koontz-Garboden 2009). Syntactic approaches derive both structures compositionally. For Ramchand (2008) the anticausative is basic, for Mendikoetxea (1999) it is derived from the causative. A third view proposes that both the causative and the anticausative forms are derived from a common source (Cuervo 2003, 2014, Alexiadou, Anagnastopoulou & Schäfer 2006, Schäfer 2008). From their point of view, causative alternation is voice alternation. Although Ramchand's theoretical framework will be assumed in this article, we claim that both variants are derived from the same basic root (Cuervo 2003, 2014, Schäfer 2008).

Verbs which participate in the anticausative-inchoative alternation involve a change of state, which implies that change of state predicates can appear in transitive or pronominal constructions (Sánchez López 2002), causative and anticausative respectively, as in *La piedra rompió la ventana* 'The stone broke the window' and *La ventana se rompió* 'The window broke', but also in intransitive constructions such as *El precio aumentó* 'The price increased'. The subject of the anticausative construction is the affected object of the causative variant. The window in *The window broke* is affected by an external or internal cause, for example. This alternation usually rejects agentivity adjuncts (Tubino 2020). However, it allows adjuncts naming the cause (Schäfer 2008) as in *The window broke with the force of the blast*, *The window broke for no apparent reason*, *The window broke on its own* or *The window broke by itself*. This is the alternation we propose for Spanish *mix-type* inherent reciprocals as in *El chico mezcló los colores* 'The boy mixed the colors' and *Los colores se mezclaron* 'The colors mixed'. The anticausative variant allows the adjunction of a phrase which names the cause as in *Los colores se mezclaron por el mal uso de la lavadora* 'The colors mixed because of the bad use of the washing-machine'. Given the possibility to name the cause by adding causative adjuncts, we claim that the anticausative variant shows causative semantics.

Agentivity further distinguishes *mix-type* AIRs from *marry-type* AIRs in (10).

(10) a. Se casaron deliberadamente.
          'They got married deliberately.'
      b. *Los colores se mezclaron deliberadamente.
          '*The colors got mixed deliberately.'

An agentive adverbial as *deliberately* can be used with the *marry-type* AIR, as in (10a) in a context where two persons get married to get the nationality in a given country, for example, but not with the *mix-type*

AIR, as in (10b). *Marry-type* predicates require an argument with a dynamic feature, whereas *mix-type* do not, which indicates that *marry*-type AIRs show preference for an agentive structure, i.e. a preference por Voice Phrase. For the adjunction of the agentive adverbial in the anticausative variant, the semantic features of the nominal must allow the entity involved in the event to play some sort of dynamic role in the event, which further explains why the addition of the animate nominal in *Los alumnos se mezclaron deliberadamente* 'Students mixed deliberately' generates grammaticality. Only when the nominal is animate, agentivity is introduced by Voice Phrase. Only *marry*-type AIRs require animate nominals obligatorily.

4. Reciprocal constructions with se

4.1. *Causative and Anticausative Inherent Reciprocals*

Inherent reciprocal verbs are those verbs which always denote mutual involvement between two entities at least. The reciprocal meaning is encoded in the lexical entry. These verbs do not necessarily require the presence of the clitic. The need of a pronoun depends on individual lexical matters: for example, the symmetric predicate *conversar* 'talk' is a non-pronominal verb whereas *llevarse bien* 'get along with' and *parecerse a* 'look like' incorporate a clitic (Vázquez & Fernández-Montraveta 2016:21). There is a limited set of inherent reciprocal verbs which license the causative alternation, and all of them require the presence of the clitic in the anticausative construction. They all involve a change of state, a resultant state from the dynamic action of some internal or external cause, which implies that they all are events, as Vázquez & Fernández-Montraveta's classification shows. No matter what syntactic construction they appear in, the meaning of this type of verbs (*casar/casarse* 'marry', *divorciar/divorciarse* 'divorce', *separar/separarse* 'separate', *juntar/juntarse* 'join', *mezclar/mezclarse* 'mix', *fusionar/fusionarse* 'fuse', etc.) always requires that there are at least two entities involved with each other.

(11) El chico mezcló los colores.
      'The boy mixed the colours.'

(12) El   obispo   casó   a   William y   Kate.
      The ishop   married to William and Kate
      'The bishop married William and Kate.'

For (11) to be true, at least two colors undergo some degree of mixing, while William and Kate necessarily are married for (12) to be true. Causative predicates as *casar* 'marry' and *mezclar* 'mix' reciprocate the internal argument. Because the plural internal argument is indispensable, we say that the causative alternation of inherent reciprocals is an object-

oriented reciprocal. Thus, for the causative alternation of *mezclar* 'mix' and *casar* 'marry' to be true, the external argument, the boy in (11) and the bishop in (12), need to relate a plurality of individuals to each other.

Since the causative predicates *mezclar* 'mix' and *casar* 'marry' require the existence of two entities or individuals who are related to each other, Dimitriadis (2008) argues that these predicates are irreducibly symmetric. Even if one of the individuals is omitted from the internal argument, as in *El obispo casó a William* 'The bishop married William', we know that someone else is involved in the marrying scene, i.e. we know that William was married to someone else, otherwise the event of marrying did not take place.

Spanish causative inherent reciprocals can be interpreted as single symmetric or multi-symmetric. The sentence in (12) has two possible meanings: 1. The bishop married William and Kate with each other, 2. The bishop married William, and The bishop married Kate. We will call the meaning 1 the single symmetric event interpretation and the meaning 2 the multiple symmetric event interpretation (Siloni 2012). The meaning of (12) where William and Kate got married but not with one another involves two subevents but each of these single subevents involves a symmetric relation. Double interpretation is available for these constructions because the two individuals of the internal argument are connected by the conjunction *y* 'and'. On the contrary, if the preposition *con* 'with' is introduced, the only possible meaning is the single symmetric, i.e. William married Kate, and no one else in (13). To get the double interpretation, extra adjunction is obligatory as in *El obispo casó a William con Kate y a Harry con Meghan* 'The bishop married William with Harry and Kate with Meghan'. Recall that only symmetric reciprocals can appear in the discontinuous construction in (14) (Siloni 2008, 2012), and take a reciprocal expression introduced by *con*, as in (15). Anyhow, the reciprocal meaning is implicit with inherent reciprocals, and the single symmetric meaning is available when the preposition *con* is inserted.

(13) El   obispo cas-ó   a William con Kate.
     The bishop marry-PAST.3SG to William with Kate
     'The bishop married William with Kate.'

(14) William se   cas-ó   con Kate.
     William SE.3SG marry-PAST.3SG with Kate
     'William married Kate.'

(15) Los   cas-ó   uno con otro.
     Them marry-PAST.1SG one with other
     'He married them together.'

According to Zhang (2007), there are two types of comitative constructions in English: symmetric and asymmetric. Those which are symmetric always contain a plural feature, and the two nominals involved play a

role of equal importance in the interpretation. She claims that *with* (*con* in Spanish) is not a preposition but a plural marker which ensures symmetric interpretations. Spanish inherent reciprocals are equivalent to English symmetric constructions such as *John mixed the rice with the powder* or *John is friends with Bill*.

Since AIRs are irreducibly symmetric, whenever the plural set includes two entities, they are involved with each other in the same single event. However, when there are more than two entities, there are multiple reciprocal events, and therefore vague interpretations.

(16) Los cuatro amigos se   casa-ron.
      The four   friends SE.3PL marry-PAST.3PL
      'The four friends married.'

Because the plural nominal in (16) includes four entities, this sentence could be uttered in different situations, only the context can confirm how many weddings took place. We claim that vague interpretations are possible because predicates are born plural, i.e. they are born cumulative, and subsequently they denote both sets of individuals, and sums of individuals. Lexical pluralization of predicates is the result of a sum operation which provides us with all possible sets (see Kratzer 2005 for an analysis of plural predicates along these lines), which means that all possible readings for (16) are available from the start.

Summarizing, Spanish causative inherent reciprocals show several different alternations: the causative construction as in (17a), the discontinuous construction as in (17b), and the anticausative construction as in (17c).

(17) a. El alcalde casó a Pedro con María.
         'The mayor married Pedro with María.'
      b. Pedro se casó con María.
         'Pedro married María.'
      c. Pedro y María se casaron.
         'Pedro and María married.'

There is a very limited set of inherent reciprocal verbs which allow the alternation seen in (17a) and (17c) in Spanish, and all of them require the presence of the clitic in the anticausative construction. They all involve a change of state, a resultant state from the dynamic action of some internal or external cause. They are events. The set has been determined by analyzing inherent reciprocals (Vázquez & Fernández-Montraveta 2016) which are both morphologically marked by *se* and count on a causative variant. The enlightening assertion is that all causative inherent reciprocals (*casar* 'marry', *fusionar* 'fuse', *separar* 'separate', *divorciar* 'divorce', *mezclar* 'mix', *juntar* 'join', *unir* 'unite', etc.) accept this alternation, which is not idiosyncratic to reciprocals. It shares properties with the causative-inchoative alternation.

Reciprocal causative verbs require an external argument that acts upon the reciprocated internal argument, and somehow AIRs are possible because there is an implicit causing event, introduced by the Initiation Phrase according to Ramchand (2008). Anticausatives show causative semantics. For this reason, agentive adverbials are possible with AIRs whenever dynamic entities are involved in the event, as in *Las alumnas se mezclaron deliberadamente* 'Students mixed deliberately'. Ramchand does not distinguish Agent and Causer, but we do. We argue that the clitic merges as an expletive head in Initiation Phrase, which is the projection for introducing the Initiator-Causer (Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino 2014), for *mix-type* AIRs; and in Voice Phrase, which is the projection for introducing the Agent (Schäfer 2008), for *marry-type*. Its role is not to reciprocate the verb, which is already reciprocal, but to ensure that there is an Initiator (a Causer or an Agent) of the change of state which undergoes the internal argument of the unaccusative structure. The internal structure of the DP argument further ensures that AIRs are telic events.

4.2. *Syntactic Reciprocals*

Syntactic reciprocalization by means of *se* with transitive (and ditransitive) verbs is very productive in Spanish, as seen in *Se critican el uno al otro* 'They criticize each other', *Se dibujan el uno al otro* 'They draw each other', *Se ayudan el uno al otro* 'They help each other', etc. The contrast in (18)–(19) shows that the transitive verb *amar* 'love' cannot be reciprocal unless the anaphoric clitic is adjoined, which distinguishes SRs from AIRs. However, adjoining the clitic to SRs does not ensure the reciprocal meaning but an anaphoric reading that can be reflexive or reciprocal. Although the context can disambiguate the meaning of these structures, reciprocal expressions such as *el uno al otro* 'each other' are also used for disambiguation. Thus the co-occurrence of the clitic and the reciprocal PP headed by the accusative mark ensures reciprocity, and unveils transitivity.

(18) Juan ama a María (no reciprocal interpretation).
      'Juan loves María.'

(19) Se   am-an   (a sí mismos, el uno al otro).
      SE.ACC.3PL love-PRES.3PL (themselves, each other)
      'They love themselves/one another.'

The lack of reciprocity of (18) contrasts with the reciprocal meaning of the causative alternation in *Juan casó a María* 'John married Mary (with someone else)'. Recall that inherent reciprocal verbs encode their meaning in the lexical entry, and for this reason they are compatible with the discontinuous construction. SRs do not accept the discontinuous construction because they are not irreducibly symmetric (Siloni 2008, 2012).

Table 1. Differences between AIRs with *se* and SRs with *se*

AIRs with *se*	SRs with *se*
Reciprocal meaning inherently encoded in the lexical entry	Reciprocal meaning syntactically encoded
The presence of the clitic correlates with the absence of the external argument	The presence of the clitic does not correlate with the absence of the external argument
The clitic does not encode reciprocity	The clitic encodes reflexivity and reciprocity
Causative/anticausative alternation is possible	Causative/anticausative alternation is not possible
The co-occurrence of the clitic and the reciprocal expression *el uno al otro* 'each other' is not possible	The co-occurrence of the clitic and the reciprocal expression *el uno al otro* 'each other' is possible
The comitative expression *el uno con el otro* 'each other' is possible	The comitative expression *el uno con el otro* is not possible
The discontinuous construction is possible	The discontinuous construction is not possible

(20) *Juan se   am-a   con María.
     Juan SE.ACC.3SG love-PRES.3SG with María
     '*Juan loves with María.'

There is no transitivity alternation. The external argument is present in the structure and for this reason agentive or causal adverbials are licensed as in *Se critican deliberadamente/intencionadamente* 'They criticize each other intentionally'.

Recapitulating, we will draw a table with some formal differences between the two types of reciprocals with *se*.

5. Diagnostics for unaccusativity and telicity to distinguish AIRs from SRs

There is a significant contrast between AIRs and SRs in Spanish regarding transitivity. AIRs pattern with unaccusatives and show telicity effects (Quintana Hernández 2014), SRs do not. Since there are not too many phenomena sensitive to unaccusativity and telicity in Spanish, we rely on all the diagnostics traditionally used (Torrego 1989, Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009, García Fernández & Carrasco 2006, García Fernández 2015, Marín & McNally 2011, Cuervo 2014): possibility to appear in absolute participle constructions for telicity and unaccusativity; possibility to appear with bare plural subjects in postverbal position and possibility of feminine adjectivization for unaccusativity; compatibility with infinitival complement of *llevar* + quantified NP 'take some time',

and *tardar* + quantified NP 'take some time', and with *en/durante* 'in/for' temporal adverbials will be tested for telicity, and to distinguish two types of AIRs: *achievement-type* and *degree-achievement-type*. The use of the progressive and the compatibility with *poco a poco* 'little by little' are tested for aspectual effects.

5.1. *Compatibility with Absolute Participle Constructions*

AIRs in (23)–(28) robustly license adjectival participle constructions, which traditionally distinguish derived subjects of unaccusative predicates in (21), from subjects of unergative predicates in (22). In addition, adjectival participles must be predicated of internal arguments which undergo a change as in *Rotos los vasos de cristal, tendremos que usar los de plástico* 'Broken the glass glasses, we will have to use the plastic ones' (Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino 2014:13). Absolute participle constructions are also compatible with perfective predicates as in *Llegados los invitados, comenzamos la fiesta* 'Arrived the invitee, the party began' (Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino 2014:13). For this reason, the compatibility with absolute participle also tests aspectual effects (De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000, Mendikotxea 1999). This diagnostic is commonly used for testing both unaccusativity and telicity in Spanish.

(21) Muerto   el perro,   acab-ó
     dead.PAST.PARTICIPLE.SG the dog.SG, finish-PAST.3SG
     la rabia.
     rabies.NOM
     'Once the dog is dead, there is no more rabies.'

(22) *Trabajado   el estudiante
      worked.PAST.PARTICIPLE.SG the student.SG,
     aprob-ó   el curso.
     NSpass-PAST.3SG the course
     *'The student is studied, he has passed the course.'

(23) Una vez casados   Pedro y Juan,   se
     once   married.PAST.PARTICIPLE.PL Peter and John, SE.3PL
     fueron   de luna de miel.
     NSgo-PAST.3PL   on honeymoon
     'Once married, they went on honeymoon.'

(24) Una vez separados,   rehicieron
     once   separated.PAST.PARTICIPLE.PL, NSremade.PAST.3SG
     sus vidas.
     their lives
     'Once divorced, they remade their lives.'

(25) Una vez mezclados,
     once   mixed.PAST.PARTICIPLE.PL,
     ús-a-los   cada   dos   días.
     use-IMPERATIVE-THEM   every   other   day
     'Once (they are) mixed, use them every other day.'

(26) Una vez unidos,   nada   los
     once united.PAST.PARTICIPLE.PL, nothing them
     separar-á.
     will-separate
     'Once (they are) united, nothing will separate them.'

(27) Una vez separados,   ser-á
     Once separated.PAST.PARTICIPLE.PL, NSbe-FUT.3SG
     imposible   volver a unirlos.
     impossible to reunite them
     'Once (they are) separated, it will be impossible to reunite them.'

(28) Una vez juntados,   ser-á   imposible
     once joined.PAST.PARTICIPLE.PL,   NSbe-FUT.3SG imposible
     separarlos.
     to separate them
     'Once (they are) joined, it will be impossible to separate them.'

Deriving SRs in Spanish is a very powerful strategy with transitive verbs, and predictably, it works with all aspectual classes. The absolute participle construction is not possible with the atelic predicates *amar* 'love and *criticar* 'criticize', but it is compatible with *besar* 'kiss' and *asesinar* 'kill' because these verbs are inherent telic predicates. Thus, telic SRs with internal arguments are compatible with the absolute participial constructions. We claim that this fact further proves that Spanish SRs are transitive, not unergative.

(29) Se amaron uno a otro. *Una vez amados, hicieron las paces.
     'They loved each other. *Once loved, they reconciled.'

(30) Se criticaron uno a otro. *Una vez criticados, se fueron.
     'They criticized each other. *Once criticized, they left.'

(31) Se besaron el uno al otro. Una vez besados, se despidieron.
     'They kissed each other. Once kissed, they said goodbye to each other.'

(32) Se asesinaron el uno al otro. Una vez asesinados. . .
     'They killed each other. Once killed. . .'

5.2. *Bare Plural Subjects in Postverbal Position*

Only unaccusatives and passive constructions as in (33)–(36) allow postverbal bare plural subjects. Unergatives such as *trabajar* 'work' do

not accept them. Transitive verbs do not license bare plural subjects either.

(33) Mue-ren   animales todos los días.
     die-PRES.3PL animals   every day
     'Animals die every day.'

(34) Se   busc-an   secretarias.
     SE   look-PRES.3PL for secretaries
     'Secretaries wanted.'

(35) *Trabaj-an   secretarias en la oficina[1].
      work-PRES.3PL secretaries in the office
     'Secretaries work in the office.'

(36) *Dibuj-an   parejas   el paisaje.
      draw-PRES.3PL couples-NOM.PL   the landscape
     'Couples draw the landscape.'

However, unaccusativity is not homogeneous. Based on the contrast between *Cayeron hojas* 'Leaves fell' and **Se cayeron hojas* 'Leaves fell down', Cuervo (2014) claims that there are alternating unaccusative verbs with two structural types which she names the reflexive *se-variant* (unergative for García Fernández 2015), and the *se-less variant*, *caerse* 'fall down' and *caer* 'fall', respectively.

AIRs do not pattern with the *se-variant* regarding the postverbal plural subject test, as observed in (37)–(38). AIRs allow postverbal bare plural subjects.

(37) Se   cas-an   parejas.
     SE.3PL marry-PRES.3PL   couples.NOM.PL
     'Couples marry every day.'

(38) ?Se   mezcl-an   colores.
     SE.3PL mix-PAST.3PL   colours.NOM.PL
     'Colors mix.'

Some speakers say that the construction with *mezclar* 'mix' is preferable with further complementation as in *A menudo se mezclan colores en la lavadora* 'Colors mix very often in the washing-machine', which indicates that there is an aspectual contrast between the *marry-type* and the *mix-type*. This distinction will be addressed later.

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[1] Unergative predicates accept bare plurals in postverbal position if a locative is inserted in preverbal position (Torrego 1989).

(i) Aquí trabajan secretarias
     Secretaries work here

On the contrary, SRs do not license postverbal bare subject as in (39)–(40), which indicates that subjects of SRs pattern with subjects of unergative and transitive predicates.

(39) *Se   bes-an   niños (unos a otros).
     SE.ACC.3PL kiss-PRES.3PL children (ones to others)
     'Children kiss (each other).'

(40) *Se   dibuj-an   parejas (unas a otras).
     SE.ACC.3PL draw-PRES.3PL couples (ones to others)
     'Couples draw (each other).'

The transitive versions of (39) and (40) are also ungrammatical as in *Besan niños a sus amigos* 'Children kiss their friends', and *Dibujan parejas el paisaje* 'Couples draw the landscape', which indicates that SRs pattern with transitives.

5.3. *Anticausative Inherent Reciprocals and Feminine Adjectives*

Our third unaccusativity diagnostic supports that there exists a contrast between AIRs and SRs. Only unaccusative verbs allow feminine adjectivization, while unergative verbs do not (Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009).

(41) muerta/   llegada/   nacida
     'dead (feminine)/ arrived (feminine)/ born (feminine)'

(42) *sonreída/   *bostezada
     'smiled (feminine)/ yawned (feminine)'

(43) casada/   divorciada/   separada/
     'married (feminine)/ divorced (feminine)/ separated (feminine)/
     mezclada
     mixed (feminine)'

As illustrated in (41)–(43), AIRs pattern with unaccusatives such as *morir* 'die', *llegar* 'arrive', *nacer* 'be born', but not with unergatives such as *sonreír* 'smile' or *bostezar* 'yawn'.

The syntactic strategy to build SRs is very productive with transitive verbs, and their heterogeneity predicts dissimilarities in their behavior in (44).

(44) amada/   criticada/   *abrazada[2]/
     'loved (feminine)/ criticized(feminine)/, embraced (feminine)/
     *besada
     kissed (feminine)'

---

[2] *Abrazadas* and *besadas* can be used as secondary predication in *Caminaban abrazadas la una a la otra* 'They walked hugged to each other', and *Daos por besadas* 'Take yourselves as already kissed', respectively.

The fact that the predicates *amar* 'love' and *criticar* 'criticize' license the feminine adjective, while *abrazar* 'hug' and *besar* 'kiss' do not, shows that it is not appropriate to use this test with all transitive predicates which can be reciprocated. The results of this test with transitive predicates give different results from the test with absolute participle constructions, which also indicates that both diagnostics are testing different things, which we will not go into in this work. In fact, the only possible generalization deduced from the contrast in (41)–(44) is that AIRs robustly pattern with unaccusatives, whereas SRs do not necessarily pattern with unaccusatives.

5.4. *Compatibility with Infinitival Complement of* Llevar + Quantified NP *'Take some Time' and* Tardar + Quantified NP *'Take some Time'*

Bounded predicates are compatible with verbal periphrases which denote a temporal interval such as *llevar* + quantified NP, and *tardar* + quantified NP 'take some time'. This test measures the temporal extension of an event and its endpoint, which predicts that only telic predicates are compatible with these periphrases. Hence, we expect to find that all AIRs are compatible with both verbal periphrases. First, some examples with atelic and telic predicates such as the activity *correr* 'run' and the achievement *llegar* 'arrive', respectively, are shown.

(45) *Les   llev-ó   una hora correr.
     DAT.them Take-PAST.1SG   one hour to run
     '*It took them one hour to run.'

(46) *Tarda-ron   una hora en correr.
     Take-PAST.3PL one hour in run
     '*It took them one hour to run.'

(47) Les   llev-ó   una hora llegar.
     DAT.them take-PAST.1SG   one hour to arrive
     'It took them one hour to arrive.'

(48) Tarda-ron   una hora en llegar
     Take-PAST.3PL one hour in arrive
     'It took them one hour to arrive.'

Only the achievement *llegar* 'arrive' admits both periphrases, while the activity *correr* 'run' does not accept any of them. The reading with achievements measures a time period after which the achievement happens, whereas the reading with accomplishments measures the event from the start to the endpoint. In (47)–(48) there is a preparatory time period after which the arrival happens instantaneously. With accomplishments in (49)–(50) the time period contains the start of the letter writing to the end of the letter writing. Degree achievements as *enfriar*

'cool' have the reading associated with accomplishments, whereas arrive-type achievements should only have the "after some preparatory period" reading.

(49) Les   llevó   un año   escribir el artículo.
     DAT.them take-PAST.1SG one year to write the paper
     'It took them one year to write the paper.'

(50) Tardaron   un año   en escribir el artículo.
     Take-PAST.3PL one year in write the paper
     'It took them one year to write the paper.'

Anticausative and causative inherent reciprocals are compatible with these periphrases when the argument is pronominal, as in (51)–(52), or a quantized nominal, as in (54).

(51) Les   llevó   una hora mezcl-ar-se/
     DAT.them take-PAST.1GG one hour mix-INF-SE.3PL/-
     los.
     THEM.ACC.3PL
     'It took them one hour to get mixed/to mix them.'

(52) Tarda-ron   una hora en mezcl-ar-se/
     Take-PAST.3PL one hour in mix-INF-SE.3PL/
     los.
     -THEM.ACC.3PL/
     'It took them one hour to get mixed/ to mix.'

(53) *Les   llevó   una hora mezclar/mezclarse
      DAT.them take-PAST.1SG one hour mix.INF/mix.INF.SE
      colores.
      colors.ACC
      '*It took them one hour to mix colors/colors get mixed.'

(54) Les   llevó   una hora cas-ar/cas-arse
     DAT.them take-PAST.1SG one hour marry-INF/marry-INF.SE
     a dos parejas.
     two couples.ACC
     'It took them one hour to join two couples.'

The contrast in (51)–(54) demonstrates that the internal structure of VP is relevant for telicity (Verkuyl 1972, 1993, Tenny 1994): pronouns in (51)–(52) and the quantized nominal *dos parejas* 'two couples' in (54) allow compatibility with both verbal periphrases with causative and AIRs. The bare plural in (53) disallows telicity and makes the construction incompatible with the temporal periphrasis *llevar* + quantified NP.

   As expected, SRs are compatible with these periphrases only when the predicate is telic.

(55) *Les   llevó   una hora critic-ar-se
     DAT.them take-PAST.1SG one hour criticize-INF-SE.ACC.3PL
     el uno al otro.
     the one to the other
     '*It took them one hour to criticize each other.'

(56) *Tarda-ron   una hora en critic-ar-se
     Take-PAST.3PL one hour in criticize-INF-SE.ACC.3PL
     el uno al otro.
     the one to the other
     '*It took them one hour to criticize each other.'

(57) *Les   llevó   una hora am-ar-se
     DAT.them take-PAST.1SG one hour love-INF-SE.ACC.3PL
     el uno al otro.
     the one to the other
     '*It took them one hour to love each other.'

(58) *Tarda-ron   una hora en am-ar-se
     Take-PAST.3PL one hour in love-INF-SE.ACC.3PL
     el uno al otro.
     the one to the other
     '*It took them one hour to love each other.'

(59) Han estado tonteando una hora.   Les   ha llevado
     Have been flirting   for one hour. Them.DAT have taken
     una hora   besar-se   el uno al otro.
     one hour   kiss-INF-SE.ACC.3PL   the one to the other
     'They have been flirting for one hour. It took them one hour to kiss
     each other.'

(60) Han estado tonteando una hora.   Tarda-ron   una hora
     Have been flirting   for one hour. Take-PAST.3PL one hour
     en besar-se   el uno al otro.
     in kiss-INF-SE.ACC.3PL the one to the other
     'They have been flirting for one hour. It took them one hour to kiss
     each other.'

(61) Tarda-ron   una hora en escrib-ir-se   una carta
     Take-PAST.3PL one hour in write-INF-SE.ACC.3PL one letter
     el uno al otro.
     the one to the other
     'It took them one hour to write each other a letter.'

(62) Les   llevó   una hora escrib-ir-se
     DAT.them take-PAST.1SG one hour write-INF-SE.ACC.3PL
     una carta   el uno al otro
     one letter   the one to the other
     'It took them one hour to write each other a letter'

5.5. *Compatibility with* en/durante *'in/for' Adverbials*

The compatibility with *en/durante* 'in/for' adverbials distinguishes two
types of AIRs: punctual *marry-type* and degree achievement *mix*-type.
Telic predicates (accomplishments and achievements) are those predi-
cates which may focus on the beginning or the endpoint of the event, and
for this reason they are assumed to be compatible with *en* 'in' adverbials.
On the other hand, atelic predicates (activities) focus on the ongoing
process of the event, and subsequently they are assumed to be compatible
with *durante* 'for' adverbials instead (Vendler 1967). States are also
compatible with *durante* 'for' adverbials. Furthermore, *durante* 'for'
adverbials might measure out repetitive telic events as in *Se casan parejas
durante una hora* 'Couples get married for an hour', and result states;
therefore, they are compatible with accomplishments and degree
achievements (Kennedy & Levin 2008).

(63) Llegó en un minuto/*durante un minuto (achievement).
     'She arrived in a minute/*for a minute.'

(64) Escribió un artículo en un minuto/durante un minuto
     (accomplishment).
     'She wrote an article in a minute/for a minute.'

(65) La leche se   enfri-ó   en un minuto/
     The milk SE.3SG cool-PAST.3SG in a minute/
     durante un minuto (degree achievement).
     for a minute
     'The milk cooled in a minute/for a minute.'

(66) La amó durante un año/*en un año (state).
     'She loved her for a year/*in a year.'

(67) Corrió durante una hora/*en una hora (activity).
     'She run for an hour/*in an hour.'

Both accomplishments and degree achievements show aspectual vari-
ability, i. e. they accept both temporal modifiers with different semantic
effects. The use of *durante* 'for' in (64) and (65) does not entail that the
event was completed. The *durante* adverbial is compatible with these VPs
because they have activity readings whereby the article is not finished,
and the milk does not reach the desired degree of coolness. It measures

the period after which the accomplishment or the degree achievement happens.

Let´s observe whether AIRs accept these temporal modifiers:

(68) Se   mezcla-ron   en un minuto/durante un minuto.
     SE.3PL mix-PAST.3PL in a minute/for a minute
     'They mixed in a minute/for a minute.'

(69) Se   unie-ron   en un minuto/durante un minuto.
     SE.3PL unite-PAST.3PL in a minute/for a minute
     'They united in a minute/for a minute.'

(70) Se   casa-ron   en un minuto/*durante un minuto.
     SE.3PL marry-PAST.3PL in a minute/*for a minute
     'They married in a minute/*for a minute.'

(71) Se   divorcia-ron   en un minuto/*durante un minuto.
     SE.3PL divorce-PAST.3PL in a minute/*for a minute
     'They divorced in a minute/*for a minute.'

All AIRs are compatible with *en* 'in' adverbials, which indicates telicity effects. However, some of them such as *mezclarse* 'mix' and *unirse* 'unite' show aspectual variability, i.e. they accept both *en* adverbials and *durante* 'for' adverbials, as observed in (68) and (69). A closer look at the semantic differences between using *en* 'in' adverbials and *durante* 'for' adverbials with AIRs shows that the *durante* adverbial is compatible with m*ezclarse* 'mix' and *unirse* 'unite' because they have activity readings whereby a certain degree of mixing or union is achieved, which indicates that they are degree achievements.

AIRs participate in the causative inherent reciprocal alternation, which subsequently denotes change of state. Some of these predicates show punctual change of state such as *casar* 'marry' and *divorciar* 'divorce', i.e. as a result of the spontaneous event of marrying two individuals become married, for instance. They are achievements and are only compatible with *en* adverbials.

Some other AIRs show change of state to some degree such as *mezclar* 'mix' and *unir* 'unite'. We claim that *mezclar* 'mix' and *unir* 'unite' type are compatible with *en* 'in' and *durante* 'for' adverbials because they are degree achievements and can get two different readings depending on the fixed value of the scale related to the meaning of the predicate. Using *en* 'in' indicates that a fixed value of mixing is expected, while using *durante* 'for' indicates that there are no expectations regarding the degree of mixing. Therefore, far from falsifying our hypothesis about telicity, we find that there are two types of AIRs: achievements and degree achievements, *marry-type* and *mix-type* respectively.

Data with *achievement-type* in (72)–(75) shows that there is no contrast between anticausative and causative reciprocals regarding the use of the

durante adverbial. The *durante* adverbial is compatible with these constructions whenever the plural subject is either quantized or not quantized because it measures repetitive telic events. *(Se) casan (las) parejas durante una hora* 'They marry couples/Couples marry for an hour' can be uttered in a scene where ten couples are waiting to get married one after another, but the officiant does not make it through all ten couples because he only has one hour to do it. Thus, the readings with the *durante* adverbial are also telic in (72)–(75).

(72) Casan   a las parejas   en una hora/durante una hora.
      Marry.PRES.3PL   the couples.ACC   in an hour/for an hour
      'They marry the couples in one hour/for an hour.'

(73) Se   casan   las parejas
      SE.3PL   marry.PRES.3PL   the couples.NOM
      en una hora/durante una hora.
      in an hour/for an hour
      'The couples marry in one hour/for one hour.'

(74) Se   casan   parejas
      SE.3PL   marry.PRES.3PL   couples.NOM
      *en una hora/durante una   hora.
      in an hour/for an hour
      'Couples marry in one hour/for one hour.'

(75) Casan   parejas   *en una hora/durante una hora.
      marry.PRES.3PL   couples.ACC   in an hour/for an hour
      'They marry couples in one hour/for one hour.'

However, the *en* adverbial is only compatible with AIRs and the causative alternation when the internal argument is quantized, as in (72)–(73), which points out, as predicted, that the internal structure of VP is relevant for telicity, and for this reason **Se casan parejas en una hora* 'Couples get married in one hour' and **Se mezclan colores en una hora* 'Colors get mixed in one hour' are not acceptable.

Recapitulating, as predicted, there are strong telicity effects with *casar* 'marry' with null pronominals in (68)–(71), but not with *mezclar* 'mix' because it is a degree-achievement. Both the anticausative and the causative inherent reciprocal structures with both *marry-type* and *mix-type* with quantized DPs license the *en* adverbial because they are telic. The *durante* adverbial is also licensed because it measures repetitive telic events reading. Therefore, data support the claim that the internal structure of VP is relevant for telicity

The contrast in (72)–(75) is also observed with the degree-achievement-type.

(76) Mezclan   los colores   en una hora/durante una hora.
      Mix.PRES.3PL   the colors.ACC   in an hour/for an hour
      'They mix the colours in one hour/for an hour.'

(77) Se mezclan   los colores
     SE.3PL mix.PRES.3PL   the colors.NOM
     en una hora/durante una hora.
     in an hour/for an hour
     'The colors mix in one hour/for one hour.'

(78) Se mezclan   colores
     SE.3PL mix.PRES.3PL   colors.NOM
     *en una hora/durante una hora.
     in an hour/for an hour
     'Colors mix in one hour/for one hour.'

(79) Mezclan   colores   *en una hora/durante una hora.
     mix.PRES.3PL colors.ACC in an hour/for an hour
     'They mix colors in one hour/for one hour.'

SRs with the state *amar* 'love' and the activity *escribir* 'write' are compatible with *durante* 'for' adverbials, but not with the *en* 'in' adverbial, as in *Se amaron durante un año/*en un año* 'They loved each other for a year/in a year' and *Se escribieron durante un año/*en un año* 'They wrote each other for a year/*in a year'. However, there are SRs which clearly show telicity effects when the internal argument is bounded.

(80) Se   escribie-ron   una carta
     SE.ACC.3PL write-PAST.3PL a letter
     en un minuto/durante un minuto.
     in a minute/for a minute
     'They wrote a letter for each other in a minute/for a minute.'

(81) Se   escribie-ron   cartas
     SE.ACC.3PL write-PAST.3PL letters
     *en un minuto/durante un minuto.
     in a minute/for a minute
     'They wrote letters for each other *in a minute/for a minute.'

The syntactic reciprocal construction with *escribir una carta* 'write a letter' is compatible with *en* 'in' adverbials, which undoubtedly indicates telicity effects. A closer look at the sentence reveals that *write a letter* is an accomplishment, whose bounded internal argument ensures telicity. As expected, and given that accomplishments show aspectual variability, the same bounded event allows *durante* 'for' adverbials.

5.6. *The progressive*

To further support our view on the distinction between the *achievement-type* and the *degree-achievement-type* within AIRS, let's focus on the progressive. The progressive form is naturally compatible with atelic

predicates which denote extended events such as *correr* 'run' in *Juan está corriendo* 'John is running'. The fact that John is running entails that John ran. In contrast, when the progressive is used with telic predicates it triggers the imperfective paradox, and thereby, saying that *Juan estaba escribiendo un artículo* 'John was writing a paper' does not entail that *Juan escribió un artículo* 'John wrote a paper'. The question is whether AIRs show the imperfective paradox.

(82) Los colores están mezclándo-se.
      The colors   are mixing-SE.3PL
      'Colors are mixing.'

(83) Se   están uniendo.
      SE.3PL are uniting
      'They are uniting.'

(84) Se   están casando.
      SE.3PL are marrying
      'They are marrying.'

(85) Se   están divorciando.
      SE.3PL are divorcing
      'They are divorcing.'

All samples entail that the reciprocal situation did really begin, but only (82) and (83) entail that some degree of mixing or union took place. We might utter (84) and (85), for example, when the couple is about to listen to the final word from the officiant, i.e. those statements do not entail that they married or divorced. In conclusion, we argue that there are two types of AIRs: *achievement-type* such as *casarse* 'marry' and *divorciarse* 'divorce', *separarse* 'separate' and *degree-achievement-type* such as *mezclarse* 'mix' and *unirse* 'unite'. The first type is telic and therefore shows the imperfective paradox, while the second shows aspectual variability and no imperfective paradox.

5.7. *Poco a poco* 'little by little'

There is another contrast between achievement-type AIRs and *degree-achievement-type* AIRs, *marry*-type and *mix*-type respectively: only *mix*-type reciprocals accept complements such as *poco a poco* 'little by little'.

(86) El concejal casó dos parejas en un minuto/durante un
      minuto/*poco a poco.
      'The mayor married two couples in a minute/for a
      minute/*gradually.'

(87) El concejal casó parejas durante un minuto/*en un minuto/*poco
      a poco.
      'The mayor married couples for a minute/*in a minute/*gradually.'

(88) El chico mezcló dos colores en un minuto/durante un minuto/poco
      a poco.
      'The boy mixed two colors in a minute/ for a minute/gradually.'

(89) El chico mezcló colores *en un minuto/ durante un minuto/poco
      a poco.
      'The boy mixed colors *in a minute/ for a minute/gradually.'

Causative inherent *achievement-type* reciprocals denote telic events when
they are complemented by a quantized nominal, hence they are
incompatible with *poco a poco* 'gradually'. On the contrary, causative
degree-achievement-type reciprocals show aspectual variability and accept
the *poco a poco* 'gradually' adverbial.

6. The Syntax of Argument and Event Structure

Based on Ramchand's (2008) syntactic proposal for argument and event
structure, this proposal claims that "syntactic constructions have
meaning because they are systematically constructed as part of a
generative system that has predictable meaning correlates" (Ramchand
2008:18). She claims that there is only one combinatorial system, and two
minimalist modes of combination: Merge and Agree (Chomsky 1995,
2001, 2004). Based on previous findings on argument and event structure,
she proposes the syntactic decomposition of the verbal phrase in three
different event functional projections whose different arguments sit in
their respective specifiers. The event functional projections are Initiation
Phrase, Process Phrase and Result Phrase. The argument of the Initiation
Phrase, which is the causing projection, is the Initiator; the argument of
the Process Phrase is the Undergoer; and the argument of the Result
projection is the Resultee. "The notion of verb is always a composite
which involves some or all of these elements" (Ramchand 2008:47).

Activities can be composed by initP and procP, or just procP.
Accomplishments are composed by initP, procP with incremental themes
or Path complements. Achievements are composed by all three functional
projections, or just by procP and resP. For her, degree achievements are
basically procP with a property scale path. There is not a single
projection in this system which carries a [+telic] feature. The existence of
resP correlates with telicity independently of the entailments based on the
structure of the internal argument.

Given that many languages show a causative suffix in constructions
with verbs of transitive alternations, Ramchand claims that these verbs
do not contain an [init] feature in their lexical entry, as in (90). Causation
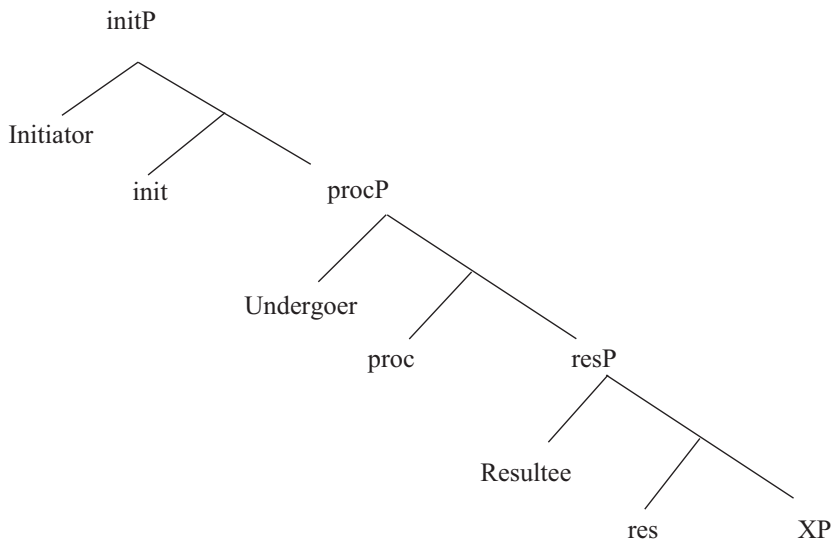
```
                    initP
                   /    \
                  /      \
           Initiator      \
                  \        \
                   \        \
                   init      procP
                            /    \
                           /      \
                    Undergoer      \
                           \        \
                            \        \
                            proc      resP
                                     /    \
                                    /      \
                              Resultee      \
                                     \       \
                                      \       \
                                      res      XP
```

Figure 1. Syntactic verbal decomposition

is a result of structure building on top of the intransitive lexical entry. In languages which do not show causative morphology, like Spanish, the transitive version is available because of the presence of a null lexical [init] item on top of [proc, res]. For her, the causative variant derives from the unaccusative variant.

(90) Break [proc, res] UNDERGOER$_i$, RESULTEE$_i$

Following Ramchand's view on causativization, Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino (2014, 2019) propose that Spanish *se* is the head of initP with inchoative verbs as *romperse* in *La botella se rompió en la playa* 'The bottle broke on the beach'. For them, the structural difference between the causative and the marked anticausative construction is that the anticausative does not count with an argument sitting on [Spec, initP]. On the contrary, Alexiadou, Anagnastopoulou and Schäfer (2006) and Schäfer (2008) proposes that both variants share the same basic root, which implies that both constructions show causative semantics. Both structures exhibit some sort of internal or external cause. An argument for assuming that both the causative and the anticausative variant exhibit causative semantics is the compatibility of the anticausative alternate with causative adjuncts, as in 'Sails got broken because of the wind'. They distinguish between Causer and Agent. The causative construction explicitly exhibits an Agent. Following Kratzer (1996), they claim that an external voice projection introduces the Agent. For them causative alternation is voice alternation. The causative variant further projects the

Voice Phrase to introduce the canonical external argument, i.e. an Agent (Kratzer 1996, Schäfer 2009, 2012). S*e* is an expletive voice head for anticausatives in Romance languages (Schäfer 2008).

7. The Syntax of Anticausative Inherent Reciprocals

Our aim is to analyze the syntactic structure of Spanish AIRs following Ramchand's (2008) approach to event composition, although her assumptions on the causative alternation are reformulated. She claims that causative variants derive from anticausatives based on languages which show causative morphology, but Spanish does not show exclusive causative morphology; on the contrary, the anticausative variant is marked by the clitic *se* (Sánchez López 2002). We assume that the variants of the causative alternation share the same causative basic root (Alexiadou, Anagnastopoulou & Schäfer 2006, Cuervo 2014, Schäfer 2008). Thus, both variants project initP. The Initiator in this article is conceptualized as the Causer, either external or internal. The Agent is differentiated from the Causer and it is introduced by the VoiceP (Kratzer 1996) on top of initP in the causative construction. An argument for assuming that both the causative and the AIRs variant exhibit causative semantics is the compatibility of the anticausative alternate with causative adjuncts, as in 'They got married for convenience', and 'The colors mixed because of misuse of the washing-machine'.

Spanish anticausative-inchoative constructions show a clitic which Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino (2014, 2019) argue to be the head of initP. Their proposal is supported by the fact that AIRs allow causative adjuncts. However, agentive adverbials are allowed with *marry-type* on a regular basis, as in 'They married deliberately'. We claim that *se* is an expletive voice head with *marry-type*, which means that there is place for agentivity although there is not an external argument sitting in [Spec, VoiceP]. The syntax of anticausative *achievement-type* reciprocals as *casarse* 'marry' have three eventive projections, initP, procP and resP, and the internal argument is both the Undergoer and the Resultee. Because initP is projected, causative adjuncts are allowed, as in 'They married for convenience'. Expletive Voice P is further projected to merge *se*.

On the contrary, the syntax of anticausative *degree-achievement-type* reciprocals as *mezclarse* 'mix' have two functional projections, initP and procP. They are classic procP verbs with the single argument being an Undergoer. In addition, "if the property scale is contextually bounded then the predicate will be telic" (Ramchand 2008:98). AIRs with *se* are telic when procP selects a bounded complement, either an argument or a property scale.

Mix-type reciprocals show some more semantic properties which are also reflected on the syntactic structure. Recall that these verbs allow

causative adjuncts, which explains the presence of initP in their eventive structure. However, they do not allow agentive adverbials on a regular basis, as in *Los colores se mezclaron deliberadamente* '*The colors mixed deliberately*'. We argue that *se* is the head of initP with *degree-achievement* AIRs. Only when the entity involved in the event is [+human], i.e. an Agent, *se* is introduced by an expletive VoiceP, as in *Los neardentales y los humanos modernos se mezclaron deliberadamente* 'Neardenthals and modern humans mixed deliberately'.

Figures 2 and 3 show the first syntactic phase for AIRs.
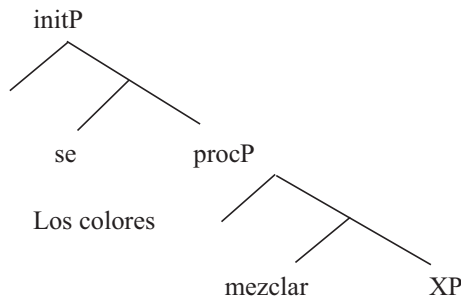
Figure 2. First Syntactic Phase for *degree-achievement-type* AIRs
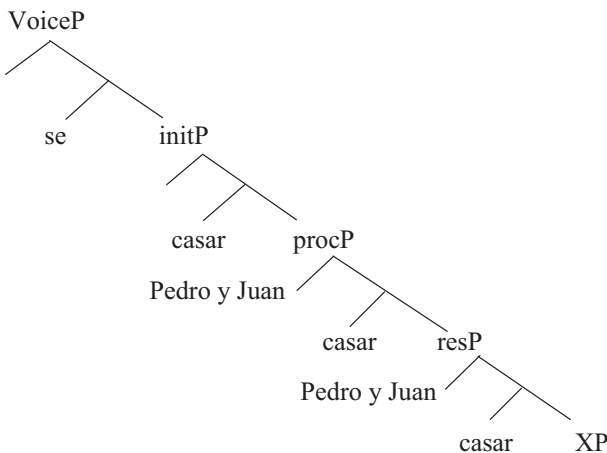
Figure 3. First Syntactic Phase for *achievement-type* AIRs

Since the complexity of the interpretation of inherent reciprocals is about irreducible symmetry, i.e. at least two participants are identically involved in the event, we argue that these verbs enter the derivation with the interpretable feature [symmetry]. We assume that this lexical property is specified in the lexical entry. This feature is not deleted so that when the

sentence is finally spelled out, it gets the intended interpretation and participants are identically involved in the event.

7.1. *The clitic in Anticausative Inherent Reciprocals*

There is an ongoing debate about the formation of unaccusative verbs, which indicates that there are different types of unaccusativity (Cuervo 2014, Mendikoetxea 1999), and this is also the case with AIRs. Several views have been proposed for marked unaccusatives. It has been argued that the clitic absorbs both the external θ-role and the accusative case from the transitive alternate (Bouchard 1984, Grimshaw 1990, Pesetsky 1995, Sportiche 1998, among others). Horvath and Siloni (2013) claim that decausativization applies at the lexical level where only thematic information is deleted. Koontz-Garboden (2009) argues that unaccusatives marked by reflexive morphology are related to the corresponding transitive by reflexivization, whereas Ramchand (2008) argues for causativization.

The aspectual behavior of the Spanish clitic (Nishida 1994) with AIRs is similar to the behavior of the aspectual marker with other inchoatives as *romperse* 'break', *hundirse* 'sink' (de Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000), and psychological predicates as *aburrirse* 'get bored' and *enfadarse* 'get angry' (Marín & McNally 2011). Jiménez-Fernández and Tubino (2014, 2019) claim for causativization of intransitives based on the absence of the external argument and the presence of aspectual *se* in the inchoative alternate.

However, some linguists propose that the presence of the clitic is a strategy for marking transitivity (Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2015, Heidinger 2015, Schäfer 2008, Zagona 1999). They claim that causative alternation is voice alternation, and that the Romance clitic is an expletive voice head. This seems to apply to Spanish impersonal, passive constructions and anticausatives where *se* is not paradigmatic.

Based on previous findings and the observation of the paradigm in (95), we see that the clitic in AIRs shows two agreement features with the subject: person and number. However, it does not show accusative case.

(91) a. Nosotros nos   casa-mos   (*a nosotros).
        We   NOS.1PL marry-PAST.1PL (to us.ACC)
        'We married.'
     b. Vosotros os   casa-steis   (*a vosotros).
        You   OS.2PL marry-PAST.2PL (to you.ACC)
        'You married.'
     c. Ellos se   casa-ron   (*a ellos).
        They SE.3PL marry-PAST.3PL (to them.ACC)
        'They married.'

All examples in (91) show number and person agreement between the subject pronoun and the clitic: *nosotros/nos* 'we/us', *vosotros/os* 'you/you' and *ellos/se* 'they/them'. We claim that the incompatibility with *a* (object marker) indicates that there is not accusative case. For this reason, the clitic cannot be replaced by *los* in the anticausative alternation. Furthermore, AIRs are ungrammatical without the clitic, i.e. **Juan y María casaron*[3] 'John and Mary married' is not acceptable in present-day Spanish. The presence of the clitic in AIRs correlates with both the absence of the external argument, and with a subevent of change of state. These facts suggest that the clitic with AIRs is not thematic, which is compatible with Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino's proposal (2014, 2019). *Se* is merged as a verbal head in initP, or as an expletive voice head (Schäfer 2008).

In contrast, the clitic with SRs shows person and number agreement with the subject of the predicate, and also accusative case, as the compatibility with the *a* object in *uno **a** otro* 'one another' marker shows in (92), which suggests that this clitic is a thematic clitic. Further research for the internal structure of the reciprocal expression is still required.

(92) a. Se   critic-an   uno a otro.
          SE.3.PL.ACC criticize-PRES.3.PL   each to other.ACC
          'They criticize each other.'
    b. Nos   critic-amos   uno a otro.
          NOS.1.PL.ACC criticize-PRES.1.PL   each to other.ACC
          'We criticize each other.'
    c. Os   critic-áis   uno a otro.
          NOS.2.PL.ACC criticize-PRES.2.PL   each to other.ACC
          'You criticize each other.'

We claim that the transitive alternate for AIRs is available because there is a full VoiceP on top of initP which hosts the canonical external argument, i.e. the Agent. The anticausative alternation implies a dynamic event that brings about a new state (Cuervo 2015). AIRs as *casarse* 'get married' and *divorciarse* 'get divorced' are change of state predicates, and hence they are also compatible with temporal expressions which indicate telicity, as the *en* 'in' adverbial in *Se divorciaron en un mes* 'they divorced in a month'. The clitic in expletive VoiceP in AIRs is related to the existence of a dynamic entity which brings about the telic event. The clitic correlates with telicity even in AIRs with bare plurals which are not quantized, as in *Se casan parejas* 'Couples marry', but as shown in 5.5, its meaning is still telic when the *durante* 'for' adverbial is added. Future research will reveal why these constructions do not allow the *in* adverbial, as in **Se casan parejas en una hora* 'Couples marry in one hour', but the

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[3] This sentence is possible in some Spanish dialects. We argue that this construction is licensed by the null lexical [init] proposed by Ramchand (2008).

intuition is that the [plural] feature is relevant for telicity, and for this reason *Se casa pareja* 'Couple gets married' is not acceptable.

Recapitulating, even though Spanish AIRs are unaccusative in the sense that there is not an external argument (Perlmutter 1978), they display important morphological differences with other unaccusatives: they are morphologically marked by a clitic which preserves the possibility to adjoin both agentive adverbials and causative adjuncts. The clitic also shows agreement in person and number with the syntactic subject, which suggests that it is a verbal head, a causative expletive in initP, or an agentive expletive in VoiceP. On the contrary, the clitic with SRs is a thematic element which shows agreement and accusative features. The clitic in SRs occupies the internal argument position.

7.2. *The syntax of achievements-type inherent reciprocals*

Following Ramchand's (2008) syntactic proposal, the analysis of *achievement-type* AIRs is presented in Figure 4. Since the *achievement-type* is also a change of state predicate, its first syntactic phase, i.e. the syntactic projection based on lexical (and aspectual) information, projects both [proc] and [res]. This predicate participates in the causative alternation, therefore,¡ init is also available (Jiménez-Fernández & Tubino 2019), on top of that eventive structure the expletive VoiceP is merged and it hosts the clitic.
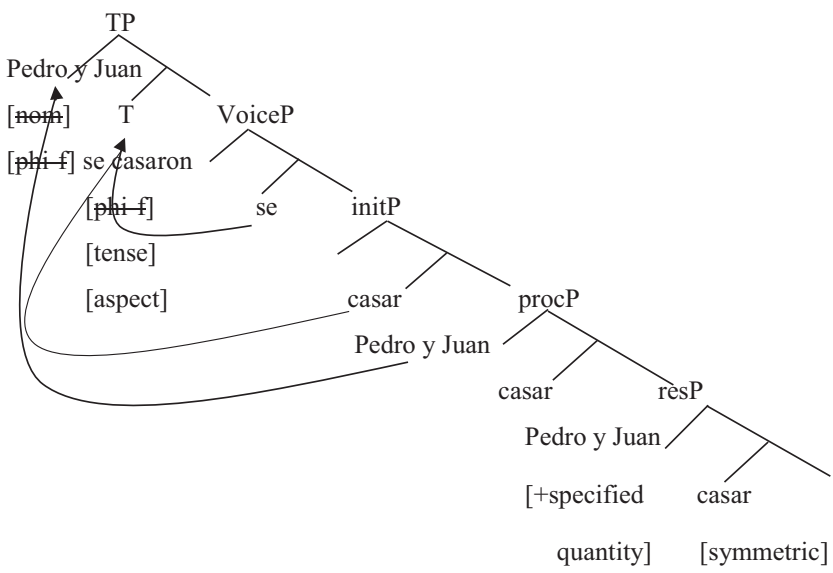

Figure 4. The syntax of *achievement-type* AIRs

(93) Juan y Pedro   se   casar-on.
     John and Peter SE.3PL marry-PAST.3PL
     'John and Peter married.'

The symmetric predicate *casar* 'marry' merges as the head of the result projection resP with the Resultee plural DP *Pedro y Juan* in [Spec, resP]. The symmetric predicate also sits in the head of the projection procP, and the DP *Pedro y Juan* satisfies the Undergoer in [Spec, procP]. The symmetric predicate also sits in the initP, although there is not an explicit Causer. The causative projection allows causative adjuncts. The expletive clitic is merged in the head position of the expletive VoiceP on top of initP. The case of the internal argument is nominative, and its landing site is [Spec, TP], the [EPP] feature of T triggers movement of the plural nominal to [Spec, TP] to value nominative and the other phi features. Since the verbal layer is unaccusative the extraction of the nominal is not prohibited (Chomsky 2001). Cliticization of *se* into the verb which further moves to T to value its features is required for linearization. The interpretable feature [+specified quantity] of the DP is the remaining indicator of boundness for the syntax-semantics interface.

In sum, we claim that the clitic is an expletive voice head which values its features by cliticization into the verbal head for linearization, while the internal argument rises to [Spec, TP] to delete its [nominative] case and phi-features. The syntactic structure and the interpretable features, [symm] for the prototypical mutual involvement of lexical reciprocal constructions, and the [+specified quantity] feature of the internal argument entails both telicity and reciprocity.

7.3. *The syntax of degree-achievements-type inherent reciprocals*

The *degree-achievement-type* reciprocals differ from the *achievement-type* in that the verbal decomposition does not contain a result projection. The property scale path in the complement position of the procP, as *completamente* 'completely' in (94), licenses telic readings with these predicates. Like *achievement-type* AIRs, *degree-achievement-type* AIRs do not show a paradigmatic clitic as in (95):

(94) Los colores se   mezclar-on   completamente.
     The colors SE.3.PL mix-PAST.3.PL completely
     'The colours mixed completely.'

(95) Los colores se   mezclan   *a ellos.
     Colors   SE.3PL mix-PRES.3PL *to them.ACC
     '*Colors get mixed them.'

Actually, *degree-achievement* AIRs only allow the third person plural whenever the DP implied in the event is [-human]. Utterances as **Los*

colores NOS mezclamos 'We colors mixed' and **Los colores OS mezclasteis* 'You colors mixed' are ungrammatical.

The symmetric predicate *mezclar* 'mix' merges as the head of the procP, and the DP *Los colores* satisfies the Undergoer in [Spec, procP]. When proc selects a bounded complement the event is telic. The expletive clitic is merged in the head position of initP. The case of the internal argument is nominative, and its landing site is [Spec, TP], the [EPP] feature of T triggers movement of the plural nominal to [Spec, TP] to value nominative and the other phi features. Since the verbal layer is unaccusative the extraction of the nominal is not prohibited (Chomsky 2001). The clitic values its phi-features through cliticization into the verb which moves to T, as in (101). Only when the internal argument is [+human] the expletive VoiceP is projected.

8. The syntax of syntactic reciprocals with *se*

The syntactic structure of SRs is different from the syntactic structure of AIRs. SRs do not pattern with unaccusatives, do not participate in transitive alternation, and do not show aspectual effects related to *se*. In addition, the presence of the clitic does not correlate with the absence of the external argument. In fact, the clitic with SRs is an anaphoric clitic which identifies two arguments of the verb to which it is attached (Labelle
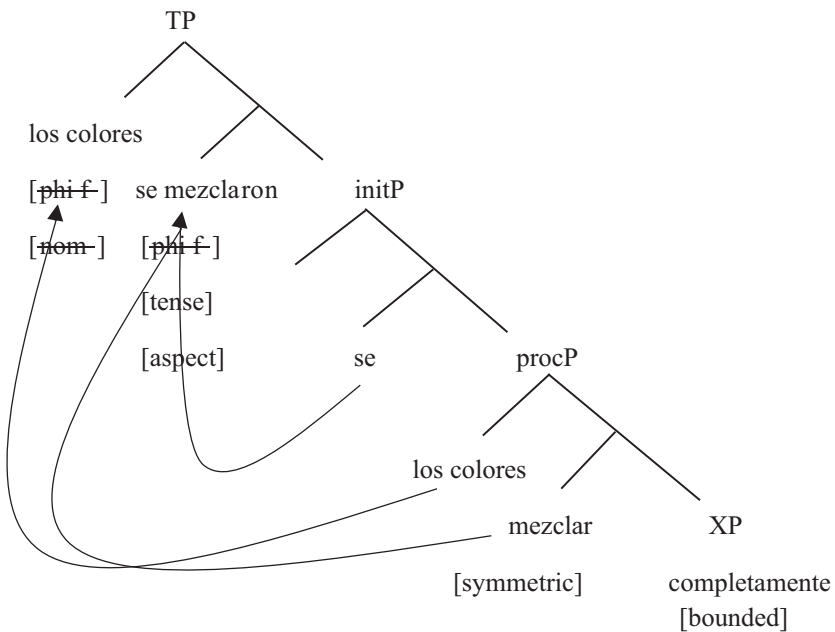

Figure 5. The syntax of *degree-achievement-type* AIRs

2008), and it can be interpreted as reflexive or reciprocal. The reciprocal reading is unambiguous when the clitic co-occurs with the reciprocal expression *el uno al otro* 'one another'. Since *uno a otro* 'each other' shows the direct object marker *a*, the prototypical marker in clitic doubling constructions as in *Juan la quiere a ella* 'John loves her', we claim that the clitic with SRs is paradigmatic, i.e. it shows person, number and accusative feature, and it appears in the internal argument position with transitive verbs. Thus, SRs show properties of transitive structures.

Even though the clitic with SRs and the clitic of AIRs share some morphological features, only the clitic with syntactic reciprocals shows accusative case, which licenses the direct object marker *a* in the reciprocal expression, as in (96).

(96) a. Juan y María   se   am-an   el uno al otro.
         Juan and María SE.ACC.3PL love-PRES.3PL each other
         'John and Mary love each other.'
     b. Juan y María   se   asesin-an   el uno al otro.
         Juan and María SE.ACC.3PL kill-PRES.3PL each other
         'John and Mary kill each other.'

Labelle (2008) argues that the reciprocal clitic is a voice marker which heads its own Voice P. However, and based on the paradigmatic nature of the clitic in SRs, and the transitive nature of SRs, we claim that this *se* is an anaphoric element which merges in the internal argument position and further moves to KP for accusative valuation (Ormazábal & Romero 2013). Other linguists claim that accusative case is checked in [Spec, vP] (Kempchinsky 2003, among others). Since we assume Ramchand's (2008) proposal for eventive structure, which is reserved for lexical information in the first syntactic phase, we argue for accusative valuation in KP on top of the eventive structure. KP is equivalent to AgrO in previous analysis. Checking accusative case is one of many other pre-conditions for an event to get the telic reading. In Schmitt's (1993) words, "we need the right verb ant the right complement to be at AgrO by the time aspect is calculated in order to obtain a terminative reading" (p. 67). Thus, there is not an Aspectual Phrase (Borer 2005, McDonald, 2008) where you get telic readings. Telicity is compositionally calculated (Verkuyl 1972, 1993, Ramchand 2008).

Since reciprocalization is a very productive operation with all types of transitive predicates, SRs show a heterogeneous behavior. Our aim is to show a few examples of this type of reciprocal constructions with *se*. A presentation of all possible syntactic derivations to encode reciprocity is beyond the scope of this work. Two reciprocated predicates will be analyzed: a state in Figure 6 and an achievement in Figure 7.

According to Ramchand (2008), psych *Resultees* (the semantic role in [Spec, res]) are experientally affected. Thus, the syntax of the state
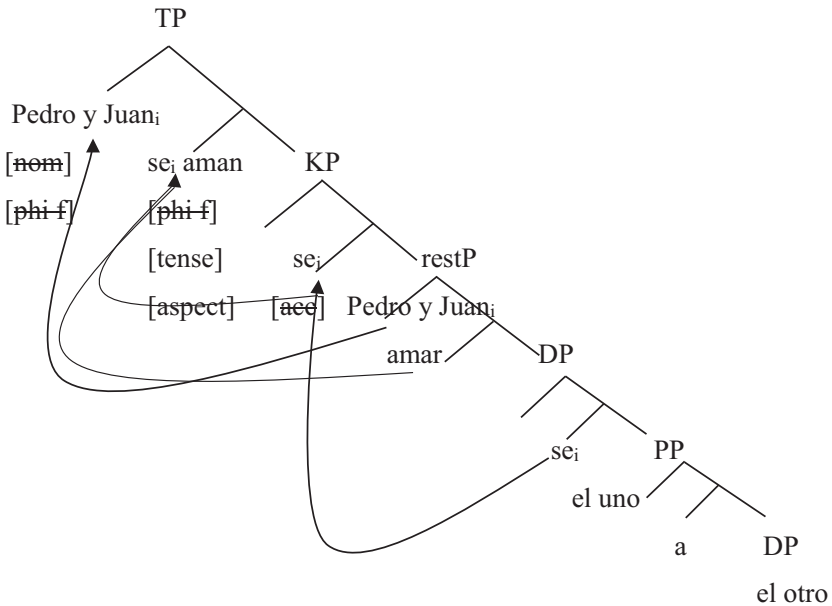
Figure 6. The syntax of SRs with states

predicate *amar* 'love' projects resP, as in Figure 6. Since it is a transitive predicate which merges with a complex internal argument headed by the thematic clitic and complemented by the PP *el uno al otro*, which is headed by the preposition *a*, a KP is projected on top of resP to value the accusative of the clitic. The verb moves to T and the plural nominal values nominative and phi-features in [Spect, TP]. After cliticization into the verb to value phi features, both the clitic and the external argument end up in a [Specifier head] relation in TP, which ensures that their features are identical. The reciprocal PP headed by the direct object marking preposition *a* values inherent case in situ. The predication is unambiguously reciprocated by the PP *el uno al otro*.

The predicate *asesinar* 'kill' is merged as the head of resP, and *Pedro y Juan* is the Resultee in [Spec, resP]. Since *asesinar* is an achievement, procP and some sort of initP are also projected, and both some sort of Initiator and the Undergoer are also satisfied. The fact that the agentive adverbial *deliberately* is strongly denoted by the meaning of *asesinar* suggests that VoiceP is projected. Thus the external argument is an Agent in VoiceP. The clitic is merged as the head of the complex complement DP in the traditional position of the internal argument. After movement of the clitic to KP for accusative case valuation, the clitic further cliticizises into the verb in T to value its phi features, whether the [EPP] feature of T triggers movement of the external argument *Pedro y Juan* to
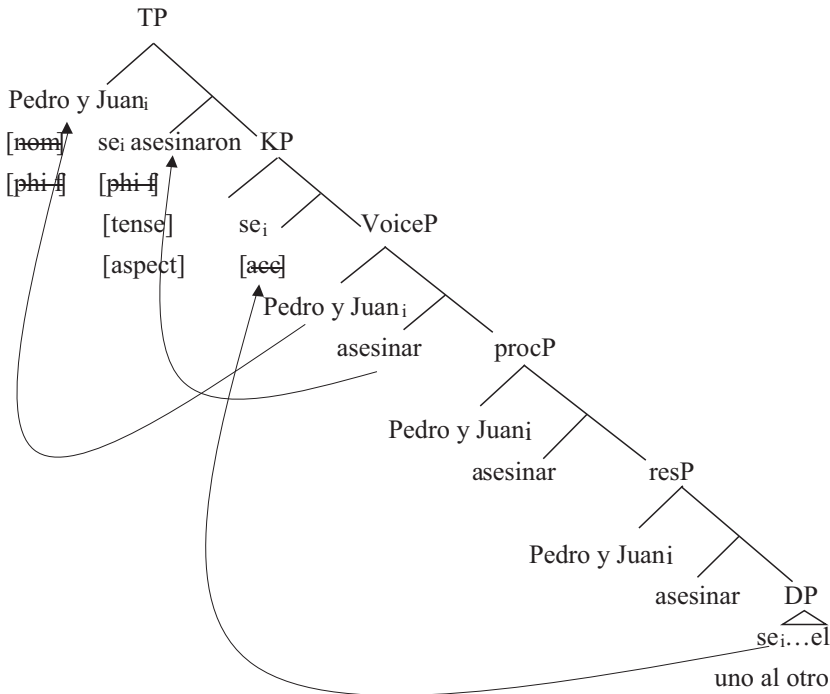
Figure 7. The syntax of syntactic reciprocals with achievements

[Spec, TP] to value phi-features and [nom] case. Thus, the nominal and the clitic end up having an [Specifier head] relation in TP which ensures that they have identical features. The reciprocal expression values inherent case within the PP, and it does not require further movement. The complete event structure of *asesinar* ensures telicity, and the reciprocal expression ensures reciprocity.

9. Concluding remarks

The study of Spanish reciprocal constructions with *se* differentiates between SRs and AIRs (Siloni 2008). Although Siloni claims that SRs are formed syntactically and AIRs are derived in the lexicon, this work shows that they both are syntactically derived. Several diagnostics show that AIRs are symmetric, unaccusative (Siloni 2008) and telic, while SRs are transitive and vary in their aspectual properties. Furthermore, only AIRs participate in the causative alternation. SRs do not show causative alternations or systematic telicity effects. Differences between SRs and AIRs depend on semantic properties associated to their respective event structures. Aspectual and causative effects in AIRs and SRs are better explained compositionally (Ramchand 2008). *Se* is not a

reciprocal marker in all Spanish reciprocal constructions. Although the clitic is an agreement marker in both constructions, it is an expletive voice head in AIRS, and an anaphor merged in the internal argument position in SRs.

This study further distinguishes two types of AIRs: achievements such as *casar/casarse* 'marry/get married' and degree achievements such as *mezclar/mezclarse* 'mix/get mixed', *marry-type* and *mix-type* respectively (Quintana Hernández 2014). Both AIRs types are decomposed differently: achievements project three verbal layers (initP, procP, and resP), whereas degree achievements project two layers (initP, procP), which predicts different aspectual effects: achievements show change of state, degree achievements show some degree of change. Another relevant difference between both types of AIRs is agentivity. Only when the plural entity involved in the reciprocal event is dynamic, agentivity appears to allow adverbials like *deliberately* as in *Los chicos se juntaron deliberadamente* 'The boys joined deliberately', which indicates that the anticausative construction shows some sort of causative semantics. From that we claim that the clitic with AIRs is the morphological mark for expletive voice whenever there is a dynamic plural entity involved in the event, whereas it is the head of initP with AIRs which do not count on a dynamic entity as in *The colors mixed *deliberately*. Following Alexiadou, Anagnastopoulou and Schäfer (2006), we claim that causative alternation is voice alternation.

The clitic in AIRs and SRs share some morphological features. It shows some agreement features (person and number) with the plural DP in both types of reciprocal constructions. However, only the clitic with SRs further shows accusative case, which indicates that only the clitic with SRs is entirely paradigmatic. In addition, the clitic with SRs does not correlate with the absence of the external argument. The place where *se* merges leads to differences between AIRS and SRs with respect to unaccusativity. Only AIRs are unaccusative. *Se* with SRs merges in the internal argument position. In addition, merging *se* in VoiceP or initP leads to differences in agentivity and causativity effects in AIRs. The clitic merges as the expletive head of VoiceP whenever there is a [+human] plural nominal involved in the event, and it merges as the head of initP whenever the plural nominal is [-human]. This clitic correlates with change of state (telicity), and it also licenses causativization. On the contrary, the clitic with SRs is an anaphor which licenses the reciprocal interpretation whenever the reciprocal expression is explicitly uttered. With SRs the clitic is paradigmatic, and it merges in the position of the internal argument; it identifies two arguments of the predicate to which it is attached (Labelle 2008).

We believe that further research should shed some more light on the relevance of event structure for causative and anticausative inherent reciprocals, and for anticausatives in general, and also for syntactic

reciprocals. Future crosslinguistic investigation might also reveal whether the two syntactic strategies with *se* in Spanish investigated in this paper are available in other Romance languages, which will reinforce the idea that inherent reciprocal verbs are not formed in the lexicon.

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