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Non-Pronominal Intransitive Verb Variants with Property Interpretation: A Characterization

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Abstract: In this paper, we study a syntactic construction that has received little attention in the study of Spanish grammar (*La masa de pizza congela perfectamente*, ‘Pizza dough freezes perfectly’). It is characterized by the presence of a verb in a non-pronominal intransitive variant, with property interpretation. This construction is related to mediopassive sentences or generic middles (*Las camisas de algodón se lavan fácilmente*, ‘Cotton shirts wash easily’), as well as to the anticausative construction (*La camisa se secó al sol*, ‘The shirt dried in the sun’), a relationship that has not always been highlighted in previous studies, which are usually based on a short list of verbs. Taking as a point of departure both the verbal classification found in ADESSE and data from *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*, the construction under study is described, paying special attention to the types of verbs found in it in order to check if they coincide with the verbs found in mediopassive sentences or the anticausative construction. In addition, our study provides new data on the linguistic factors (presence of a manner adverb or other modifiers, negation), as well as on the extralinguistic factors (type of text, geographical distribution) involved in this phenomenon.

Keywords: pronominal verbs; non-pronominal intransitive variant; property interpretation; mediopassive sentences or generic middles; anticausative construction



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1. Introduction

In this paper, we study a syntactic construction that has received little attention in the study of Spanish grammar (*La masa de pizza congela perfectamente*, ‘Pizza dough freezes perfectly’). It is characterized by the presence of a verb in a non-pronominal intransitive variant, with property interpretation (Felíu Arquiola and Torres Martínez 2004; RAE and ASALE 2009).

This construction, which we will call NPPC (non-pronominal property construction) for the sake of brevity, is related to mediopassive sentences or generic middles¹ (*Las camisas de algodón se lavan fácilmente*, ‘Cotton shirts wash easily’) in several ways: they are usually generic statements, in which a property of the subject is predicated; the preferred word order involves a preverbal subject; the verb usually appears in an imperfective tense; and the presence of a manner adverb is frequent (Martín Zorraquino 1979; Mendikoetxea 1999b; García Negroni 2002; Sánchez López 2002; Fábregas 2021, among others; see Lekakou 2005 for a crosslinguistic semantic study).

In addition, NPPC is related to the anticausative construction (*La camisa se secó al sol*, ‘The shirt dried in the sun’) (Haspelmath 1993; Schäfer 2008 for a general point of view; Mendikoetxea 1999a; Kailuweit 2013; Vivanco 2016, 2017; Fábregas 2021; De Benito Moreno 2022a, 2022b for the Spanish case, among many other works). On one hand, a transitive verb appears in an intransitive variant. On the other hand, some of the verbs involved in the anticausative construction can optionally appear without the clitic *se* (*La puerta abrió*, ‘The door opened’). According to De Benito Moreno (2022a, 2022b), in the anticausative construction, the presence or absence of this marker depends on different factors, both linguistic (animacy of the subject, presence of a non-reflexive dative, negation, among others) and extralinguistic (dialectal variety, type of text) in nature.

However, it is not frequent to find studies in which a connection is established among these three constructions². It is not even frequent to find studies focused only on the NPPC construction. In this sense, we can mention the paper by [Felíu Arquiola and Torres Martínez \(2004\)](#), in which the authors briefly describe NPPC and review the lexicographical treatment that some of the verbs involved in it have received in Spanish dictionaries.

[Felíu Arquiola and Torres Martínez \(2004\)](#) base their description on a few examples coming from dictionaries, as well as CREA ([Real Academia Española n.d.a](#)), related to a list of just 15 verbs³. They also use built examples like the following sentences: *Las camisas de algodón planchan bien*, ‘cotton shirts iron well’; *Esta puerta no cierra*, ‘This door does not close’; and *Los garbanzos congelan bien*, ‘Chickpeas freeze well’. Taking these data as a starting point, they mention some characteristics of the NNPC: the absence of clitic *se*; the preverbal position of the subject; and the stative interpretation of the sentence, favored by elements that induce a generic reading (negation or manner modifiers, imperfective verbal aspect).

As for the type of verbs, they consider that the verbs that appear in NPPC are lexically restricted: they seem to be transitive verbs with an agentive argument (*lavar* ‘to wash’, *planchar* ‘to iron’) or cause (*cerrar* ‘to close’, *congelar* ‘to freeze’) and a physically affected internal argument. However, [Felíu Arquiola and Torres Martínez \(2004\)](#) consider that not all verbs that respond to this characterization give rise to NPPC. In this sense, they mention the case of causative verbs like *romper*, ‘to break’, as well as agentive verbs like *pintar*, ‘to paint’, which they believe do not have the possibility of appearing in NPPC. They consider that NPPC is restricted to a few verbs belonging to different lexical classes. In addition, they highlight the fact that the use of NPPC is not homogeneous among speakers, but seems to be more frequent in certain contexts like the vocabulary related to domestic activities (*cocer*, ‘to cook’; *congelar*, ‘to freeze’; *lavar*, ‘to wash’; *planchar* ‘to iron’, etc.). For this reason, they decide to treat verbs that appear in NPPC as cases of lexical polysemy, given that their main interest is to analyze how these verbs are treated in Spanish dictionaries. Related to this issue, they show that NPPC is codified for some verbs but not for others and that the codification is not consistent, even across the same dictionary.

From our point of view, it is necessary to deepen the characterization of Spanish NPPC, especially in relation to the types of verbs that can appear in it. Since NPPC is related both to mediopassive sentences (generic middles) and the anticausative construction, as has been previously shown, the main question that must be answered is whether verbs found in NPPC coincide with verbs found in mediopassive sentences, verbs found in the anticausative construction, or both. In order to do so, the data set of NPPC examples must be expanded in relation to previous studies (mainly [Felíu Arquiola and Torres Martínez 2004](#)).

In what follows, we briefly review the characterization of Spanish verbs appearing in mediopassive sentences and the anticausative construction (Section 2). Then, we present the methodology followed in this paper in order to collect examples of NPPC (Section 3). In Section 4, the construction is described, and the verbs found in it are characterized. Finally, the main conclusions are presented in Section 5.

2. Verbs Involved in Mediopassive Sentences and the Anticausative Construction: A Brief Review

There is a tendency in the literature to treat mediopassive sentences and the anticausative construction in Spanish independently. For example, [Mendikoetxea \(1999b\)](#) considers mediopassive sentences (*Estas camisas se lavan fácilmente*, ‘These shirts wash easily’) as a subclass of *se*-passives (*pasiva refleja* in Hispanic grammatical tradition, *Se lavaron las camisas en la lavadora*, ‘The shirts were washed in the washing machine’), whereas the anticausative construction (inchoative construction in her terminology⁴) receives independent treatment together with inaccusative verbs ([Mendikoetxea 1999a](#)).

This author mentions that there are verbs, like *quemar*, ‘to burn’, that can appear in the three constructions: *se*-passive (*Se quemaron los bosques para acabar con la plaga*, ‘The forests were burned to end the plague’), mediopassive (*En verano los bosques se queman fácilmente*, ‘In summer the forests burn easily’), and anticausative construction (*El bosque se quemó*, ‘The

forest burned') (Mendikoetxea 1999b, pp. 1654–55). However, she also points out the fact that many verbs can appear both in *se*-passive sentences and mediopassive sentences but not in the anticausative construction. This is the case for accomplishment verbs with an agent like *construir*, 'to build'; *comprar*, 'to buy'; *vender*, 'to sell'; *lavar*, 'to wash'; *pintar*, 'to paint'; *leer*, 'to read'; *limpiar*, 'to clean'; and *comer*, 'to eat' (cf. Mendikoetxea 1999b, p. 1655).

As for the anticausative construction (*La camisa se secó al sol*, 'The shirt dried in the sun'), it has been pointed out that verbs involved in this construction are change of state verbs (Vivanco 2016), although "not all verbs that allow the semantic and syntactic alternation between causative and anticausative take SE in Spanish. From this perspective, anticausative SE is lexically conditioned" (Fábregas 2021, p. 44). For Haspelmath (1993), verbs that give rise to the anticausative construction express changes of state that can be conceptualized as spontaneous, whereas Vivanco (2016) proposes that verbs that take part in the anticausative *se*-construction have a scalar dimension.

Following Schäfer (2008), whose work is, in turn, based on Haspelmath's (1993) typology, Vivanco (2016) distinguishes three verb classes in terms of their marking pattern:

- Class A: Verbs that take part in the anticausative *se*-construction, such as *El sol secó la ropa*, 'The sun dried the clothes', and *La ropa se secó al sol*, 'Clothes dried in the sun'. It is by far the largest class in Spanish.
- Class B: Verbs that take part in the labile alternation (non-directional alternation in which the same verb is used both in the inchoative and the causative sense without any formal mark). Examples include *El gobierno aumentó los precios*, 'The government increased the prices', and *Los precios aumentaron*, 'Prices increased'. According to Vivanco (2016), Class B includes only about twenty verbs in Spanish (such as *adelgazar*, 'to lose weight'; *aumentar*, 'to increase'; *blanquear*, 'to whiten'; *cambiar*, 'to change'; *disminuir*, 'to decrease'; *empeorar*, 'to worsen'; *encanecer*, 'to gray'; *engordar*, 'to get fat'; *enfermar*, 'to get sick'; *enloquecer*, 'to go crazy'; *enmudecer*, 'to fall silent'; *envejecer*, 'to get old'; *hervir*, 'to boil'; or *resucitar* 'to resurrect').
- Class C: Verbs that take part both in the anticausative and the labile alternation. Examples include *La medicación mejoró al paciente*, 'The medication improved the patient', and *El paciente (se) mejoró*, 'The patient improved'. According to Vivanco (2016, p. 175), Class C verbs are subject to significant dialectal and even idiolectal variations. Some examples of them include the following: *caramelizar*, 'to caramelize'; *cicatrizarse*, 'to cicatrize'; *cristalizar*, 'to crystallize'; *cuajar*, 'to curdle'; *despertar*, 'to wake up'; *encoger*, 'to shrink'; *enmohecer*, 'to mildew'; *ennegrecer*, 'to blacken'; *enrojecer*, 'to redden'; *mejorar*, 'to improve'; and *reventar*, 'to burst'.

However, the classification of Spanish verbs in these three classes is far from straightforward, as De Benito Moreno (2022b) shows. Taking data from COSER (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005) as a point of departure, De Benito Moreno (2022b) adopts a corpus-based quantitative approach to the study of the anticausative alternation in Spanish, and she applies a generalized linear mixed model. According to De Benito Moreno (2022b), whose study is restricted to European Spanish, verbs that behave like Class C verbs are much more numerous than assumed in the literature. She shows that the presence or absence of *se* depends on different factors, both linguistic and extralinguistic in nature. Among the linguistic factors that favor the presence of *se*, the most important one is the frequency with which a verb is used in transitive structures. That is to say, verbs that appear more frequently in transitive contexts more clearly require the presence of *se* in the intransitive variant, as was already pointed out by Vivanco (2016) for a smaller number of verbs. Another linguistic factor is related to the animacy of the subject: animate subjects favor the presence of *se* (*Las patatas (se) cuecen*, 'Potatoes cook' vs. *La bañista *(se) coció al sol*, 'The bather burned in the sun'). Finally, the presence of a non-reflexive dative is also relevant, which favors the appearance of *se* (*Las patatas (se) cuecen*, 'Potatoes cook'; *Al cocinero no #(se) le cocieron las patatas*, 'Lit. The cook's potatoes did not cook', apud. De Benito Moreno 2022a, p. 195).

As for the extralinguistic factors, De Benito Moreno (2022b) shows that the geographical variety strongly affects the presence of *se*. In fact, it is the second factor in general

terms, just behind the frequency with which a verb is used in transitive structures. The author confirms that northwestern varieties of European Spanish disfavor the presence of *se*, unlike what happens in the rest of the country's territory.

On the other hand, in some studies, a relationship is established between verbs that appear in mediopassive constructions and those that appear in the anticausative construction. An example comes from the NGLÉ (RAE and ASALE 2009, § 41.14g), where it is stated that "some pronominal verbs admit variants that are not pronominal in contexts similar to those that allow the formation of mediopassive constructions". The NGLÉ mentions the case of an intransitive non-pronominal *secar*, *cocer* and *cerrar*, in alternation with *secarse*, 'to dry'; *cocerse*, 'to cook'; and *cerrarse*, 'to close', but only in imperfective tenses and constructions in which the characteristics of an entity are described, like *Esta puerta no (se) cierra bien*, 'This door does not close properly'.

The same observation is made by De Benito Moreno (2022a, pp. 195–96). Among the structures that favor the absence of *se* in the anticausative alternation, she mentions the combination of an imperfective tense with a negation, such as *La puerta no (se) abre*, 'The door does not open'; *El ordenador no (se) enciende*, 'The computer does not turn on'; and *Mi teléfono no (se) carga*, 'My phone does not charge'. She also points out extralinguistic factors, like the type of text or the style. Specifically, she mentions the case of cooking recipes, a kind of text in which anticausative verbs that tend to appear with *se* are found without this marker, typically in imperfective tenses (*Volcamos la mesa sobre una bandeja que no sea muy profunda para que enfríe bien rápido*, 'We overturn the table on a tray that is not very deep so that it cools very quickly'; CORPES XXI, apud. De Benito Moreno 2022a, p. 196). This kind of extralinguistic factor regarding the type of text is not usually taken into account in the description of the anticausative alternation in Spanish.

For his part, Fábregas (2021) points out that mediopassive sentences (middle passive SE constructions, in his terminology) have generally been related to *se*-passives, to the point that in many analyses, they "have been treated as passive SE structures where a particular operator has been added in order to make the predicate stative and merely descriptive of the internal properties of the subject" (Fábregas 2021, p. 157). However, this author shows that mediopassive sentences are superficially more closely related to the anticausative construction than to *se*-passive sentences. He points out some similarities between these two constructions, of which we highlight the following factors:

- In mediopassive sentences and the anticausative construction, the subject is usually preverbal, unlike in *se*-passive sentences. In addition, it cannot be a bare nominal.
- Whereas *se*-passive sentences allow adverbs oriented toward agents (*Se quemaron los bosques deliberadamente*, 'Forests were burned deliberately'), mediopassive sentences and the anticausative construction reject them. A sentence like *Estas camisetas se lavan deliberadamente* receives a passive (eventive) interpretation ('These shirts are deliberately washed') and not a mediopassive (stative) one. The same outcome happens with a sentence like *La puerta se abrió deliberadamente*, which is interpreted as *se*-passive ('The door was opened deliberately') and not as an anticausative construction ('The door opened').

Taking this scenario into account, in this paper, we will explore the relationships between NPPC, the anticausative and the labile alternations and mediopassive sentences. We will take as a point of departure both the verbal classification found in ADESSE and data from *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects* in order to study NPPC via a descriptive (non-quantitative) approach (ADESSE n.d.; Davies 2016). Special attention will be paid to the type of verbs found in it, with the aim of checking if they coincide with the verbs found in mediopassive sentences or the anticausative construction. In addition, our study will provide new data on the linguistic factors (presence of a manner adverb or other modifiers, negation), as well as the extralinguistic factors (type of text, geographical distribution) involved in this phenomenon.

3. Materials and Methods

The first objective of this paper was to expand the data set of NPPC examples, so that the description of this construction could be based on a sufficient number of real examples. In order to do so, we took ADESSE as a point of departure, a database of verbs and verbal constructions in Spanish and their diathesis alternations. In ADESSE, verbs are grouped into different semantic classes. Attention was paid to change verbs and their subclasses (creation verbs, modification verbs and destruction verbs), since they are the type of verb involved in the causative–inchoative alternation.

ADESSE codifies three types of voice: active, passive and pronominal constructions. Among the later (CP by its acronym in Spanish), we focused on two of them:

- The type of voice that is called “CPmedia” in ADESSE (anticausative *se* in our terminology);
- The type of voice that is called “CPmediopasiva” in ADESSE (*se*-passive in our terminology), since mediopassive sentences are not treated independently from *se*-passives in this database.

The two following advanced searches were carried out:

- Semantic class: Change verbs and subclasses; voice: CPmedia; syntactic function: subject; and animation: unanimated. Overall, 233 verbs were obtained, with 1046 examples in total. The ten most frequent were as follows: *abrir*, ‘to open’ (111 examples); *producir*, ‘to produce’ (107); *cerrar*, ‘to close’ (34); *desvanecer*, ‘to fade’; *prolongar*, ‘to prolong’ (25); *romper*, ‘to break’ (23); *apagar*, ‘to turn off’ (21); *encender*, ‘to turn on, to light’ (19); *formar*, ‘to form’ (17); *secar*, ‘to dry’ (16); and *cortar*, ‘to cut’ (15).
- Semantic class: Change verbs and subclasses; voice: CPmediopasiva; syntactic function: subject; and animation: unanimated. Overall, 129 verbs were obtained, with 358 examples in total. The ten most frequent were as follows: *establecer*, ‘to establish’ (25 examples); *crear*, ‘to create’ (18); *escribir*, ‘to write’ (17); *hacer*, ‘to do’ (15); *organizar*, ‘to organize’ (9); *registrar*, ‘to register’ (9); *cerrar*, ‘to close’ (8); *modificar*, ‘to modify’ (8); *construir*, ‘to build’ (7); *traducir*, ‘to translate’; *resolver*, ‘to solve’; *abrir*, ‘to open’; *formar*, ‘to form’; and *llenar*, ‘to fill’ (6).

The verbs of these two lists were taken as the points of departure for searching examples of NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*⁵. We performed direct searches of these verbs in the present indicative and third person singular (*cierra*, for example, for the case of *cerrar*, ‘to close’), together with an adverb (mainly manner-related adverbs, like *fácilmente*, ‘easily’; *bien*, ‘well’; *mal*, ‘badly’; and *rápidamente*, ‘quickly’, but also quantity adverbs, like *mucho*, ‘much’, or *poco* ‘little’), together with negation (*no cierra*, for example). As has already been said, our aim was not to carry out a quantitative study, but a descriptive one. For this reason, these direct searches provided us with a sufficient number of examples in order to characterize NPPC in Spanish.

4. Results: Description and Characterization

4.1. Verbs Found of NPPC

The results of the searches performed in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects* are presented in the appendices⁶. Appendix A collects 72 verbs that are found in the anticausative construction in ADESSE and have been attested in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*. Most of them belong to the modification class, the largest one among change verbs in ADESSE. Some examples of these verbs in NPPC are shown in (1)⁷:

- (1) a. Y el encaje con fibra sintética, (CO)
 and the lace with fiber synthetic
 así no arruga
 so not wrinkles

‘And the lace with synthetic fiber, so it does not wrinkle’.

- b. Una rodilla que dobla fácilmente es (MX)
 a knee that bends easily is
 un signo de humildad y flexibilidad
 a sign of modesty and flexibility
 ‘A knee that bends easily is a sign of modesty and flexibility’.
- c. La varicela incuba en 14 a (AR)
 the chickenpox incubates in 14 to
 21 días
 21 days
 ‘Chickenpox incubates for 14 to 21 days’.

Verbs included in Appendix A are verbs that undergo a physical change in state (this is a common characteristic of verbs codified as change verbs in ADESSE). They allow a causative interpretation (*enmohecer*, ‘to mildew’; *marchitar*, ‘to wither’; and *oxidar*, ‘to oxidize’), and some of them also allow an agentive interpretation (*abrochar*, ‘to fasten’, and *regar*, ‘to water’). Some of the verbs considered by Vivanco (2016) as Class A verbs (that is to say, verbs that always require the presence of *se* in the intransitive variant) appear in Appendix A, which means that they have been attested in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects* and, therefore, are without *se*. This is true in the case of *alargar*, ‘to lengthen’; *derretir*, ‘to melt’; *endurecer*, ‘to harden’; *fundir*, ‘to melt’; *podrir*, ‘to rot’; and *solidificar*, ‘to solidify’. This fact supports the claim made by De Benito Moreno (2022a, 2022b) about the difficulty of ascribing Spanish verbs to the three classes (A, B, C) distinguished in the literature. It also supports the idea that the absence of *se* is favored by linguistic factors like the imperfective aspect, negation and manner adverbs, which characterize NPPC, as the examples in (2) show:

- (2) a. Me gusta el Gouda porque derrite (DO)
 Me like the Gouda because melts
 bien
 well
 ‘I like Gouda because it melts well’.
- b. Ya que el material no endurece (CO)
 Already that the material not hardens
 si no es horneado
 if not is baked
 ‘Since the material does not harden if it is not baked’.
- c. Es muy rico en pectina, por (GT)
 Is very rich in pectin for
 lo que solidifica muy bien
 it that solidifies very well
 ‘It is very rich in pectin, so it solidifies very well’.

In Appendix B, we present 28 verbs that are found in the *se*-passive construction in ADESSE and have been attested in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*. As said before, this database does not treat mediopassive sentences independently. For this reason, we have underlined those verbs for which examples of mediopassive construction are found in ADESSE. As can be seen in Appendix B, there are very few such verbs, which means that mediopassive sentences are less frequently attested in this database than *se*-passive sentences, something that probably reflects the general situation in Spanish⁸. Some examples in which verbs from Appendix B appear in NPPC are shown in (3)⁹:

- (3) a. Cuando su producción es insuficiente el (ES)
 When its production is insufficient the
 embrión no implanta
 embryo not implant
 ‘When its production is insufficient the embryo does not implant’.

- b. Y el gordito no retrata bien (PR)
 And the chubby not portray well
 ‘And the chubby one does not portray well’.
- c. Recomendamos paciencia y esperar un par (PE)
 Recommend patience and wait a pair
 de días a ver si regulariza
 of days to see if regularizes
 ‘We recommend patience and to wait a couple of days to see if it regularizes’.

One of the verbs in Appendix B is included in class A by Vivanco (2016), namely *encarecer*, ‘to raise the price of, to become more expensive’. However, it is attested in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*, as the example (4a) shows. In Appendix B, there are also some verbs included in class B by Vivanco (2016), that is to say, verbs which take part in the labile alternation but not in the *se*-anticausative construction. They are *aumentar*, ‘to increase’; *blanquear*, ‘to whiten’; *cambiar*, ‘to change’; and *engrosar*, ‘to thicken’. Two of them (*cambiar* and *engrosar*) are attested in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects* in NPPC and in ADESSE in mediopassive construction. Examples of NPPC are shown in (4b) and (4c):

- (4) a. [...] me encuentro que tengo que comprar (ES)
 me find that have that by
 papel que encarece poco a poco
 paper that becomes more expensive little to little
 ‘I find that I have to buy paper that becomes more expensive little by little’.
- b. La pantalla cambia fácilmente de posición (CO)
 The screen changes easily of position
 ‘The screen easily changes position’.
- c. [...] para ver que ese endometrio no (PE)
 to see that that endometrium not
 engrosa demasiado
 thickens too much
 ‘[...] to see that that endometrium does not thicken too much’.

Some of the verbs included in Appendix B are clearly agentive (*inventar*, ‘to invent, to make up’; *lavar* ‘to wash’; and *retratar* ‘to portray’). Other verbs allow a causative reading (*aumentar*, ‘to increase’; *blanquear* ‘to whiten’; and *destruir*, ‘to destroy’). As for the kind of object, most of the verbs in Appendix B have a physically affected object (*blanquear*, ‘to whiten’; *lavar*, ‘to wash’; and *modificar*, ‘to modify’), whereas some of them have an effected or result object, that is to say, they are creation verbs (*inventar*, ‘to invent’; ‘to make up’; and *producir*, ‘to produce’). As for the case of *retratar*, ‘to portray’, the meaning of this verb implies the creation of a representation of a pre-existing object.

In Appendix C, we present 21 verbs that are found both in the anticausative construction and the *se*-passive construction in ADESSE and have been attested in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*. As in Appendix B, those verbs for which examples of mediopassive construction are found in ADESSE are underlined. Some examples in which verbs from Appendix C appear in NPPC are shown in (5):

- (5) a. [...] fija bien en El párpado superior (CL)
 sets well on The eyelid upper
 y es barato
 and is cheap
 ‘[...] it sets well on the upper eyelid and it is cheap’.
- b. Disuelve fácilmente en carbono (CO)
 dissolves easily in Carbon
 ‘It easily dissolves in carbon’.
- c. El tanque llena Bien (ES)
 the tank fills Well
 ‘The tank fills well’.

Some of the verbs included in Appendix C are frequently mentioned in studies of the anticausative alternation and studies of mediopassives (*abrir*, ‘to open’; *cerrar*, ‘to close’; and *secar*, ‘to dry’). Examples of these verbs in NPPC are presented in (6):

- (6) a. Estrechamiento de una válvula cardiaca al (ES)
 narrowing of a valve cardiac to the
 abrirse (no abre bien)
 open not opens well
 ‘Narrowing of a cardiac valve when opening (it does not open well)’.
- b. [...] y la tapa cierra bien (CL)
 and the lid closes well
 ‘And the lid closes well’.
- c. El problema es que en algunas (MX)
 The problem is that on some
 superficies no seca
 surfaces not dries
 ‘The problem is that on some surfaces it does not dry’.

Other verbs, like *romper*, ‘to break’, frequently mentioned in studies of the anticausative alternation, have been claimed not to give rise to NPPC (Felú Arquiola and Torres Martínez 2004). However, this ability has been attested in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*, as shown in (7):

- (7) La piel Del Quetzal es muy (VE)
 The skin of the quetzal is very
 delgada y rompe fácilmente
 thin and breaks easily
 ‘The quetzal’s skin is very thin and breaks easily’.

As in the case of Appendix A, some of the verbs considered by Vivanco (2016) as Class A verbs (that is to say, verbs that always require the presence of *se* in the intransitive variant) appear in Appendix C, which means that they have been attested in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*, and, therefore, are without *se*. This is the case of *abrir*, ‘to open’; *apagar*, ‘to turn off’; *calentar*, ‘to heat, to get hot’; *cerrar*, ‘to close’; and *encender*, ‘to turn on, to light’. We offer some examples in (8):

- (8) a. El calentador no apaga y continúa (CR)
 the heater not turns off and continues
 gastando electricidad
 wasting electricity
 ‘The heater does not turn off and it continues wasting electricity’.
- b. Yo uso un Acer Aspire con (ES)
 I use an Acer Aspire with
 las precauciones que dice el manual
 the precautions that says the manual
 y no calienta en absoluto
 and not get hot in absolute
 ‘I use an Acer Aspire with the precautions that the manual says and it does not get hot at all’.
- c. El celular no enciende (CO)
 The cell phone not turns on
 ‘The cell phone does not turn on’.

Most verbs in Appendix C are causative verbs with a physically affected object (*abrir*, ‘to open’; *cerrar*, ‘to close’; *romper*, ‘to break’; *vaciar*, ‘to empty’), whereas some of them have an effected or result object (creation verbs like *reproducir*, ‘to reproduce’, or *registrar*, ‘to register’).

Summing up, as can be seen in the appendices, in absolute terms, more verbs that take part in the anticausative alternation are found in NPPC than verbs that appear in

se-passive construction. This can be related to the fact that we have taken data from ADESSE as a point of departure, and the total number of verbs attested in the anticausative construction (1304) in ADESSE is greater than the total number of verbs attested in the *se*-passive construction (711). But, there is also a difference in relative terms: 72 of the 233 verbs (30.90%) that take part in the anticausative alternation have been found in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*, whereas the proportion is lower in the case of verbs that appear in the *se*-passive construction (28 of 129 verbs, 21.70%).

4.2. Presence of a Modifier

As said before, NPPC coincides with mediopassive sentences in the frequent presence of a modifier expressing manner, instrument or meaning, although this kind of modifier may be absent. As for mediopassive sentences, Fábregas (2021, pp. 163–64) distinguishes three interpretations, associated with the presence or absence of a modifier:

- The necessity reading, which emerges typically without modifiers and involves an agent. Example: *Estas camisas se planchan*, ‘One must iron this type of shirt’.
- The facilitation reading, which also involves an agent. The subject is interpreted as “having internal properties that facilitate or make the event more difficult in combination with the means or instruments expressed by the modifier” (Fábregas 2021, p. 164). This reading is favored by the presence of a manner adverb. Example: *Estas camisas se lavan bien con agua fría*, ‘These shirts wash well with cold water’.
- The tendency or propensity reading, which does not involve an agent. The modifier may be absent. The subject has a propensity to participate in the event because of its internal properties. Example: *Este material se rompe (fácilmente) cuando hace calor*, ‘This material breaks (easily) when it is hot’.

Fábregas (2021) relates the propensity reading to verbs that allow the anticausative construction (*abrir*, ‘to open’; *romper*, ‘to break’) and the necessity and the facilitation readings to agentive verbs that do not give rise to the anticausative construction (*lavar*, ‘to wash’; *planchar*, ‘to iron’). He considers that mediopassive sentences are anticausative structures with an operator that triggers the non-episodic reading of the event and the kind interpretation of the internal argument. He explains the association between readings and type of verbs in the following way: “There is no agent projected in the structure: verbs that lexically involve an agent and do not allow the anticausative reading require, because of that, a modifier that licenses the agent interpretation that is required by the predicate but is missing from the syntactic structure: the necessity or the facilitation reading emerges. Predicates that allow the anticausative reading without qualification give rise to the propensity reading in combination with the operator” (Fábregas 2021, p. 164).

As for NPPC, the presence of a manner modifier is frequent, as the examples in (9) show:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| (9) | a. | Disuelve
dissolves | fácilmente
easily | en
in | carbono
carbon | | (CO) |
| | | ‘It easily dissolves in carbon’. | | | | | |
| | b. | Hay
There is | que
that | recordar
remember | que
that | el blanco
the white | (ES) |
| | | de
of | los
the | ojos
eyes | fosiliza
mal | | |
| | | ‘We must remember that the whites of the eyes fossilizes poorly’. | | | | | |
| | c. | Se
SE | trata
is about | de
of | un
a | grano
grain | pequeño
small |
| | | y
and | por
for | lo
it | tanto
such | cuece
cooks | rápido
quickly |
| | | ‘It is a small grain and therefore cooks quickly’. | | | | | |

However, the modifier is absent in some cases, as shown in (10):

- (10) a. No dejemos que el almíbar se (PE)
 Not let that the syrup SE
 pase de punto o de color
 go of point or of color
 demasiado oscuro porque si no amarga
 too dark because if not bitter
 ‘Do not let the syrup overcook or go too dark in color because otherwise it
 bitters’.
- b. Recomendamos paciencia y esperar un par (PE)
 Recommend patience and wait a pair
 de días a ver si regulariza
 of days to see if regularizes
 ‘We recommend patience and to wait a couple of days to see if it regularizes’.

If mediopassives sentences and NPPC were similar constructions, in the case of agentive verbs like *lavar*, ‘to wash’, or *retratar*, ‘to portray’, we would expect the necessity reading or the facilitative reading when they appear in NPPC, following [Fábregas \(2021\)](#). However, these verbs receive a propensity reading, as the examples in (11) show:

- (11) a. La funda se la puedes quitar (ES)
 The cover SE it can remove
 y lavarla en la lavadora. Lava
 and wash it in the washing machine washes
 bien
 well
 ‘The cover can be removed and washed in the washing machine. It washes
 well’.
- b. Y el gordito no retrata bien (PR)
 And the chubby not portray well
 ‘And the chubby one does not portray well’.

Another agentive verb like *planchar*, ‘to iron’, which is not included in the appendices because it has not been found in ADESSE either in the anticausative construction nor in the *se*-passive construction, also receives a propensity reading when it appears in NPCC, as can be seen in the example in (12):

- (12) Esta camisa plancha muy bien (ES)
 This shirt irons very well
 ‘This shirt irons very well’.

From our point of view, the examples in (11) and (12) show that NPPC and mediopassive sentences differ in their interpretation. As suggested by [Feliú Arquiola and Torres Martínez \(2004\)](#), while there is an implicit agent in the interpretation of mediopassive sentences, it is absent in NPPC. This explains why the only reading we identify with NPPC is the propensity reading, while the interpretations that involve an agent (the necessity reading and the facilitative reading) are discarded. In this sense, NPPC is closer to the anticausative construction than to mediopassive sentences.

As pointed out by [De Benito Moreno \(2022a, pp. 195–96\)](#) in relation to the anticausative construction, negation also favors the absence of marker *se*. Since negation is an element that induces a generic reading ([Mendikoetxea 1999b](#)), its presence is expected to be frequent in NPPC, as shown in (13):

- (13) a. El Paneer es un tipo de (EC)
 The Paneer is a kind of
 queso sin madurar, que no derrite
 cheese without ripen that not melts
 ‘The Paneer is a kind of unripened cheese, that does not melt’.

- b. La sangre obtenida no coagula (MX)
 The blood obtained not coagulates
 ‘The obtained blood does not coagulate’.
- c. Cocción de agua y azúcar que (CO)
 Cooking of water and sugar that
 al enfriarse a la temperatura ambiente
 to cool to the temperature environment
 no solidifica
 not solidifies
 ‘Cooking of water and sugar that does not solidify when cooled to room temperature’.

4.3. Extralinguistic Factors

4.3.1. Type of Text

It is not usual in grammatical studies focused on the anticausative construction or mediopassive sentences to pay attention to the type of text in which these constructions appear. De Benito Moreno’s (2022a) divulgative paper on the presence and absence of *se* in Spanish can be considered an exception. Indeed, she mentions the case of cooking recipes, a kind of text in which verbs that tend to appear in the *se*-anticausative alternation are often found without this marker, typically in imperfective tenses (*Volcamos la mesa sobre una bandeja que no sea muy profunda para que enfríe bien rápido*, ‘We overturn the table on a tray that is not very deep so that it cools very quickly’, CORPES XXI, apud. De Benito Moreno 2022a, p. 196).

Our data support De Benito Moreno’s (2022a) observation. Many of the examples of NPPC found in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects* come from cooking recipes, which are instructive texts that may include descriptive content. We offer some examples in (14):

- (14) a. Este queso se unta fácilmente y (HN)
 This cheese SE spreads easily and
 también funde bien
 also melts well
 ‘This cheese spreads easily and also melts well’.
- b. La masa no levanta en el (AR)
 The dough not rise in the
 horno oven
 ‘The dough does not rise in the oven’.
- c. Si veis que no oscurece mucho, (ES)
 If see that not get dark a lot
 echad un poco más de tinta
 add a little more of ink
 ‘If you see that it does not get very dark, add a little more ink’.

Together with cooking recipes, NPPC examples are also frequently found in scientific texts with a descriptive character, as shown in (15):

- (15) a. La varicela incuba en 14 a (AR)
 the chickenpox incubates in 14 to
 21 días
 21 days
 ‘Chickenpox incubates in 14 to 21 days’.
- b. El agua no condensa por sobresaturación (ES)
 The water not condenses due to oversaturation
 ‘Water does not condense due to oversaturation’.
- c. Es importante señalar que la PMC (BO)
 Is important note that the CPM
 no cura totalmente
 not cure completely
 ‘It is important to note that CPM does not completely cure’.

Finally, NPPC examples also appear in other descriptive texts like those in which a certain product is recommended, as the examples in (16) show:

- (16) a. El envase me gusta, lindo color (CL)
 The container me like nice color
 y la tapa cierra bien color
 and the lid closes well
 'I like the container, nice color and the lid closes well'.
- b. Seca bien rápido y la fórmula (CL)
 Dries very fast and the formula
 corre rápido, el pincel es algo
 runs fast the brush is a bit
 grande [...] big
 'It dries very fast and the formula runs fast, the brush is a bit big [...]'.

Summing up, as the examples above show, verbs in NPPC are used in texts that are mainly descriptive (scientific descriptions, recommendations), as well as in other types of texts that include descriptions (such as cooking recipes, which are mainly instructive) in order to express properties that characterize an entity or a kind of entities.

4.3.2. Geographical Origin of the Examples

In our searches, we have found examples of NPPC coming from all Spanish-speaking countries. However, as explained in Section 3, we have performed direct searches of a selection of verbs taken from ADESSSE in order to obtain a sufficient sample of examples of NPPC. This methodology has not provided us with all existing examples of NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*. For this reason, we cannot draw general conclusions on the geographical distribution of NPPC. Added to this is the fact that there may be lexical differences between verbs. For example, we have searched for all the examples in which two very similar verbs, *derretir* and *fundir*, both meaning 'to melt', appear in present indicative, third person singular (*derrite* and *funde*), and the results have been very different. While we have found just 6 examples of *derrite* in NPPC, in the case of *funde*, we have found 99 examples. Unlike *fundir*, *derretir* is not frequently used in scientific texts. This can explain in part the difference in the number of examples found for each of these two verbs.

Due to this kind of lexical differences, it would be necessary to carry out a study of the geographical variation in each verb, something that exceeds the limits of our work. For our part, we will focus on one particular case, namely *fundir*, 'to melt', included in Appendix A. As said above, we have found 99 examples of NPPC with *funde* (present indicative, third person singular). In 80 of these examples, *fundir* is used in the first meaning coded in DLE ('Melt and liquefy metals, minerals or other solid bodies') (see example in 17a), the only one for which this dictionary mentions the possibility of a non-pronominal intransitive use¹⁰. However, we have also found four examples of the fourth meaning ('Reduce two or more different things to one') (17b) and 15 examples of the sixth meaning related to cinema and television ('Mix the last moments of an image or sound with the first moments of another sequence') (17c). Therefore, although DLE only mentions the possibility of a non-pronominal intransitive use in the case of the first meaning, this use of *fundir* is also documented in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects* for other meanings of the verb:

- (17) a. El plomo funde A 328 C (ES)
 The lead melts To 328 C
 'Lead melts at 328 C'.
- b. [...] rápido con La piel (ES)
 funde quickly with The skin
 melts quickly with The skin
 'It melts quickly with the skin'.

c. Tras esos créditos, La pantalla funde (AR)
 After those credits The screen melts
 A negro
 to black
 ‘After those credits, the screen fades to black’.

In Table 1, we show the geographical origin of the examples of *funde* in NPPC found in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*. As can be seen, we have found examples coming from 15 countries that belong to different Spanish linguistic areas. The use of *fundir* in a non-pronominal intransitive variant with property interpretation seems to be quite general in the Spanish-speaking world. The largest number of cases come from Spain (48%), followed by Mexico (13.13%) and Argentina (12.12%).

Table 1 illustrates the situation in relation to the use of *funde* in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*. However, it would be necessary to investigate the geographical distribution of NPPC for each of the verbs documented in the construction in order to check if there are significant differences between them, a task that exceeds the aim of this work and that we leave for future research.

Table 1. Geographical origin of the examples of *funde* in NPPC.

Country	Cases	Percentage
Spain	48	48.48%
Mexico	13	13.13%
Argentina	12	12.12%
Colombia	7	7.07%
Panama	5	5.05%
US	3	3.03%
Bolivia	2	2.02%
Chile	2	2.02%
Ecuador	1	1.01%
Guatemala	1	1.01%
Honduras	1	1.01%
Nicaragua	1	1.01%
El Salvador	1	1.01%
Uruguay	1	1.01%
Venezuela	1	1.01%
Total	99	100%

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we have characterized a type of construction that we have named NPPC, in which a verb appears in a non-pronominal intransitive variant with property interpretation (*La masa de pizza congela perfectamente*, ‘Pizza dough freezes perfectly’). We have taken as a point of departure the verbal classification found in ADESE and data from *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects* in order to increase the sample of verbs included in the few previous studies.

Although NPPC seems to be related both to the anticausative construction and mediopassive sentences, which some authors consider a type of *se*-passive, we have shown that more verbs that take part in the anticausative alternation are found in NPPC than verbs that appear in the *se*-passive construction, both in absolute and relative terms. As expected, causative verbs with an affected object predominate, although some verbs that allow an agentive reading also appear in NPPC (*lavar*, ‘to wash’, and *retratar*, ‘to portray’). We have shown that some verbs that have been included among Class A verbs in previous studies of the anticausative construction (Vivanco 2016), that is to say, among verbs that always require clitic *se* when used intransitively, appear in NPPC, and, therefore, are without clitic *se*. This is true in the cases of *alargar*, ‘to lengthen’; *derretir*, ‘to melt’; *endurecer*, ‘to harden’; *fundir*, ‘to melt’; *pudrir* ‘to rot’; and *solidificar*, ‘to solidify’ (Appendix A), as well as those of *abrir*, ‘to open’; *apagar*, ‘to turn off’; *calentar* ‘to heat, to get hot’; *cerrar*, ‘to close’; and *encender*,

‘to turn on, to light’ (Appendix C). Therefore, more verbs than those usually mentioned in the literature take part both in the anticausative alternation and the labile alternation (class C). This fact supports De Benito Moreno’s (2022b) claim that the classification of Spanish verbs in three classes in terms of their marking pattern is far from straightforward. It seems that verbs considered to belong to Class A can easily appear without clitic *se* in some contexts, like generic statements or stative predications like those involved in NPPC.

From our point of view, NPPC can be considered a construction in which a usually eventive predicate turns into a predicate that expresses a property of the subject. Unlike mediopassive sentences, no implicit agent is interpreted. This is the reason why, in NPPC, we only identify the propensity reading (in terms of Fábregas 2021), whereas the necessity reading and the facilitative reading are discarded. Since NPPC expresses a property of the subject, it is frequently used in descriptive texts (scientific descriptions, recommendations), as well as in other types of texts that include descriptions (such as cooking recipes, which are mainly instructive).

As for the geographical distribution of this construction, we have found examples coming from all Spanish-speaking countries. However, due to the limits of this study, we have focused on a single verb, namely *fundir*, ‘to melt’. We have shown that NPPC with *funde* is not associated with a particular Spanish linguistic area. The presence of this verb in NPPC is quite usual, which explains the fact that dictionaries like DLE mention its non-pronominal intransitive use as a possibility under the form of a grammatical mark at the end of the first meaning. In the case of other verbs, like *cerrar*, ‘to close’, this possibility is treated as a different meaning (although not for *abrir*, ‘to open’), whereas in the case of *derretir*, ‘to melt’, the non-pronominal intransitive use is not mentioned. Contrary to what we proposed in previous works (Felú Arquiola and Torres Martínez 2004), the fact that many verbs can appear in NPPC lead us to consider that this possibility should not be coded in dictionaries as a different meaning of particular verbs, but as a grammatical mark if anything. However, before deciding the lexicographical treatment of NPPC, it is necessary to better understand its geographical distribution, since there might be lexical differences among verbs. We leave this question for future research.

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Appendix A

This list contains verbs that are found in the anticausative construction in ADESSE and have been attested in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*.

	Verb	Semantic Class in ADESSE
1.	<i>abrochar</i> , ‘to fasten’	322 Modification
2.	<i>abultar</i> , ‘to bulge’	322 Modification
3.	<i>acentuar</i> , ‘to accentuate’	322 Modification
4.	<i>adelgazar</i> , ‘to lose weight’	322 Modification
5.	<i>afinar</i> , ‘to tune’	322 Modification
6.	<i>aflojar</i> , ‘to loosen’	322 Modification
7.	<i>agigantar</i> , ‘to grow, to get bigger’	322 Modification

	Verb	Semantic Class in ADESSE
8.	<i>alargar</i> II, 'to lengthen'	322 Modification 313 Posture-Position
9.	<i>aliviar</i> I, 'to lighten'	322 Modification
10.	<i>amargar</i> , 'to embitter'	322 Modification
11.	<i>aminorar</i> , 'to reduce'	322 Modification
12.	<i>arrugar</i> , 'to wrinkle'	322 Modification
13.	<i>articular</i> , 'to joint'	322 Modification
14.	<i>atorar</i> , 'to choke up'	322 Modification
15.	<i>azular</i> , 'to become blue'	322 Modification
16.	<i>coagular</i> , 'to coagulate'	322 Modification
17.	<i>cocer</i> , 'to cook'	322 Modification
18.	<i>colapsar</i> , 'to collapse'	322 Modification
19.	<i>complicar</i> , 'to complicate'	322 Modification
20.	<i>congestionar</i> , 'to congest'	322 Modification
21.	<i>degradar</i> , 'to degrade'	322 Modification
22.	<i>derretir</i> , 'to melt'	322 Modification
23.	<i>descomponer</i> , 'to decompose'	322 Modification
24.	<i>desfallecer</i> , 'to falter'	322 Modification 342 Physiology
25.	<i>desplegar</i> , 'to unfold'	322 Modification 313 Posture-Position
26.	<i>desvanecer</i> , 'to fade'	322 Modification
27.	<i>deteriorar</i> , 'to deteriorate'	322 Modification
28.	<i>dilatar</i> , 'to delate, to delay'	322 Modification
29.	<i>doblar</i> I, 'to fold'	322 Modification 313 Posture-Position
30.	<i>dorar</i> , 'to brown, to golden'	322 Modification
31.	<i>empapar</i> , 'to drench'	322 Modification
32.	<i>encoger</i> , 'to shrink'	322 Modification
33.	<i>endurecer</i> , 'to harden'	322 Modification
34.	<i>enmohecer</i> , 'to mildew'	322 Modification
35.	<i>ennegrecer</i> , 'to blacken'	322 Modification
36.	<i>enrarecer</i> , 'to rarefy'	322 Modification
37.	<i>enrojecer</i> , 'to redden'	322 Modification
38.	<i>enroscar</i> , 'to screw'	322 Modification
39.	<i>estabilizar</i> , 'to stabilize'	322 Modification
40.	<i>evaporar</i> , 'to evaporate'	323 Destruction
41.	<i>expandir</i> , 'to expand'	322 Modification
42.	<i>fosilizar</i> , 'to fossilize'	322 Modification
43.	<i>fundir</i> I, 'to melt'	322 Modification

	Verb	Semantic Class in ADESSE
44.	<i>generalizar</i> , ‘to generalize’	322 Modification 312 Localization
45.	<i>helar</i> , ‘to freeze’	322 Modification
46.	<i>hinchar</i> , ‘to swell’	322 Modification
47.	<i>iluminar</i> , ‘to light’	322 Modification
48.	<i>incrementar</i> , ‘to increase’	322 Modification
49.	<i>incubar</i> , ‘to incubate’	322 Modification
50.	<i>levantar</i> III, ‘to raise’	321 Creation
51.	<i>marchitar</i> , ‘to wither’	322 Modification
52.	<i>metamorfosear</i> , ‘to metamorphose’	322 Modification
53.	<i>modernizar</i> , ‘to modernize’	322 Modification
54.	<i>ondular</i> , ‘to wave’	322 Modification
55.	<i>oscurecer</i> I, ‘to darken, to get dark’	322 Modification
56.	<i>oxidar</i> , ‘to oxidize’	322 Modification
57.	<i>plegar</i> , ‘to fold’	322 Modification
58.	<i>prender</i> II, ‘to turn on, to catch fire’	32 Change
59.	<i>podrir</i> , ‘to rot’	322 Modification
60.	<i>quebrar</i> , ‘to break’	322 Modification
61.	<i>quemar</i> , ‘to burn’	32 Change
62.	<i>rajar</i> , ‘to slit, to tear’	322 Modification
63.	<i>reconstituir</i> , ‘to reconstitute’	322 Creation 212 Property
64.	<i>reconvertir</i> , ‘to reconvert’	322 Modification
65.	<i>regar</i> , ‘to water, to irrigate’	322 Modification
66.	<i>retraer</i> , ‘to retract’	322 Modification
67.	<i>reventar</i> , ‘to burst’	322 Modification
68.	<i>solidificar</i> , ‘to solidify’	322 Modification
69.	<i>suavizar</i> , ‘to soften’	322 Modification
70.	<i>sublimar</i> , ‘to sublimate’	322 Modification
71.	<i>trocar</i> I, ‘to change’	322 Modification
72.	<i>troquelar</i> , ‘to cast’	322 Modification

Appendix B

This list contains verbs that are found in the *se*-passive construction in ADESSE and have been attested in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*. We have underlined those verbs for which examples of mediopassive construction are found in ADESSE.

	Verb	Semantic Class in ADESSE
1.	<i>actualizar</i> , ‘to update’	322 Modification
2.	<i>aumentar</i> , ‘to increase’	322 Modification
3.	<i>blanquear</i> , ‘to whiten’	322 Modification

	Verb	Semantic Class in ADESSE
4.	<u>cambiar</u> I, 'to change'	322 Modification
5.	<u>cancelar</u> , 'to cancel'	323 Destruction
6.	<u>clarificar</u> , 'to clarify'	322 Modification
7.	<u>consolidar</u> , 'to consolidate'	322 Modification
8.	<u>corregir</u> , 'to correct'	322 Modification
9.	<u>destruir</u> , 'to destroy'	323 Destruction
10.	<u>encarecer</u> , 'to raise the price of, to become more expensive'	322 Modification
11.	<u>engrosar</u> , 'to thicken'	322 Modification
12.	<u>forzar</u> , 'to force'	322 Modification
13.	<u>implantar</u> , 'to implant'	321 Creation
14.	<u>institucionalizar</u> , 'to institutionalize'	322 Modification
15.	<u>inventar</u> , 'to invent, to make up'	321 Creation 131 Knowledge
16.	<u>lavar</u> , 'to wash'	3221 Body care
17.	<u>lubricar</u> , 'to lubricate'	322 Modification
18.	<u>mejorar</u> , 'to improve'	322 Modification
19.	<u>modificar</u> , 'to modify'	322 Modification
20.	<u>partir</u> II, 'to break off'	322 Modification
21.	<u>producir</u> , 'to produce'	321 Creation
22.	<u>reabrir</u> , 'to reopen'	322 Modification
23.	<u>rebajar</u> , 'to lower'	322 Modification
24.	<u>regularizar</u> , 'to regularize'	322 Modification
25.	<u>renovar</u> , 'to renew'	322 Modification
26.	<u>retratar</u> , 'to portray'	32 Change
27.	<u>secularizar</u> , 'to secularize'	322 Modification 212 Property
28.	<u>solucionar</u> , 'to solve'	322 Modification

Appendix C

This list includes verbs that are found both in the anticausative construction and the *se*-passive construction in ADESSE and have been attested in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*. We have underlined those verbs for which examples of mediopassive construction are found in ADESSE.

	Verb	Semantic Class in ADESSE
1.	<u>abrir</u> , 'to open'	322 Modification
2.	<u>aclarar</u> I, 'to lighten'	322 Modification
3.	<u>apagar</u> , 'to turn off'	322 Modification
4.	<u>arreglar</u> , 'to fix'	322 Modification
5.	<u>calentar</u> , 'to heat, to get hot'	322 Modification

	Verb	Semantic Class in ADESSE
6.	<i>cerrar</i> , 'to close'	322 Modification
7.	<i>condensar</i> , 'to condense'	322 Modification
8.	<i>configurar</i> , 'to configure'	32 Change
9.	<i>cortar</i> , 'to cut'	322 Modification
10.	<i>curar</i> , 'to heal'	322 Modification
11.	<i>disolver</i> , 'to dissolve'	323 Destruction
12.	<i>encender</i> , 'to turn on, to light'	322 Modification
13.	<i>fijar</i> I, 'to attach, to set'	322 Modification
14.	<i>llenar</i> , 'to fill'	322 Modification 312 Localization
15.	<i>recrudecer</i> , 'to get worse'	322 Modification
16.	<i>reducir</i> , 'to reduce'	322 Modification
17.	<i>registrar</i> I, 'to record'	32 Change
18.	<i>reproducir</i> I, 'to reproduce'	321 Creation
19.	<i>romper</i> , 'to break'	322 Modification
20.	<i>secar</i> , 'to dry'	322 Modification
21.	<i>vaciar</i> , 'to empty'	322 Modification 312 Localization

Notes

- ¹ According to Fábregas (2021, p. 6), mediopassive sentences or generic middles convey “a generic statement that expresses the disposition of a type of entity to participate in an eventuality by virtue of its internal properties (Lekakou 2005)”.
- ² For example, the relationship between the anticausative construction (spontaneous events) and mediopassive sentences or generic middles (facilitative events) in English and Spanish has been highlighted by Marín Arrese (2011) from a cognitive linguistics point of view, following Kemmer (1993), although no mention is found to NPPC in that paper.
- ³ These 15 verbs listed in Felú Arquiola and Torres Martínez (2004) are as follows: *abrir*, 'to open'; *ajustar*, 'to fit'; *arrugar*, 'to wrinkle'; *asar*, 'to roast'; *cerrar*, 'to close'; *cocinar*, 'to cook'; *congelar*, 'to freeze'; *cocer*, 'to cook'; *descongelar*, 'to defrost'; *doblar*, 'to fold'; *fruncir*, 'to gather'; *lavar*, 'to wash'; *planchar*, 'to iron'; *secar*, 'to dry'; and *teñir*, 'to dye'.
- ⁴ An overview of the labels used for the main types of *se* structures in the literature can be found in Fábregas (2021).
- ⁵ As indicated on its website, *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects* “contains about two billion words of Spanish, taken from about two million web pages from 21 different Spanish-speaking countries from the past three to four years”. The percentages of words included by Spanish linguistic areas are balanced and correspond to the demographic weight of each of them, as explained in Felú Arquiola and Pato (2020).
- ⁶ Only seven verbs of the fifteen listed in Felú Arquiola and Torres Martínez (2004) (see note 3) appear in our appendices. Specifically, three of them appear in Appendix A (*arrugar*, 'to wrinkle'; *cocer*, 'to cook'; and *doblar*, 'to fold'), one of them appears in Appendix B (*lavar*, 'to wash'), and the remaining three appear in Appendix C (*abrir*, 'to open'; *cerrar*, 'to close'; and *secar*, 'to dry'). The other eight verbs do not appear in either of the three appendices (*ajustar*, 'to fit'; *asar*, 'to roast'; *cocinar*, 'to cook'; *congelar*, 'to freeze'; *descongelar*, 'to defrost'; *fruncir*, 'to gather'; *planchar*, 'to iron'; and *teñir*, 'to dye'). Two reasons can explain these absences. On the one hand, none of these verbs, except *teñir*, 'to dye', are found in ADESSE in either the anticausative construction or the *se*-passive construction. On the other hand, *teñir*, 'to dye' is found in ADESSE in the anticausative construction but has not been attested in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*.
- ⁷ All examples hereafter come from *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects*.
- ⁸ The infrequency with which the construction is documented in Spanish contrasts with the interest that it has aroused in grammatical studies, although we are not aware of descriptions of mediopassive sentences based on examples from corpora. This type of study would help us to understand in more detail the characteristics of the construction, among them the verbs that tend to appear in it, beyond the verbs that are usually repeated in the literature (*lavar*, 'to wash'; *secar*, 'to dry'; *vender*, 'to sell'; *leer*, 'to read', etc.).
- ⁹ The example in (3b) includes an animated subject, which is an exception among the examples collected.

- ¹⁰ Although DLE ([Real Academia Española n.d.b](#)) mentions the possibility of a non-pronominal intransitive use of *fundir* ('to melt') in its first meaning, this verb has surprisingly been included among Class A verbs in the literature ([Vivanco 2016](#)), that is to say, among verbs that always require clitic *se* when used intransitively. The fact that we have found 99 examples of *funde* in NPPC in *Corpus del Español: Web/Dialects* supports [De Benito Moreno's \(2022b\)](#) claim that the classification of Spanish verbs into the three classes distinguished in the literature is far from straightforward.

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