

## AGENTIVE REFLEXIVE CLITICS AND TRANSITIVE *SE* CONSTRUCTIONS IN SPANISH\*

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**ABSTRACT.** This paper investigates the structure of transitive sentences that contain a non-doubling reflexive clitic such as *Juan se lavó todos los platos* and *María se leyó un libro*. Though these are traditionally labelled unselected (non-core) agreeing datives or aspectual datives, I argue that this label obscures a relevant difference between two classes of constructions. AGENTIVE REFLEXIVE CLITIC (= ARC) constructions are characterized by a uniform set of effects on the external argument (= it must be an agent) and the aspectual interpretation of the VP (= it must be an accomplishment). On the other hand, TRANSITIVE *SE* CLITIC (= TSC) constructions do not impose any type of uniform restrictions on the kind of external argument they take or on the aspectual interpretation of the VP. I propose that the difference between these two constructions may be captured by treating *SE* in the ARC construction as the realization of a special  $v_{DO}$  head, based on an idea in Folli & Harley (2005), while *SE* in the TSC construction is generated in the complement position of the verb and incorporates into V, forming a complex predicate, following work by De Cuyper (2006), MacDonald (2004, 2008) and MacDonald & Huidobro (2010). It is shown that many of the empirical and theoretical disagreements that plague the literature on the role of non-doubling *SE* in transitive sentences have a simple solution given the new division established here.

**Keywords.** non-core datives; intrinsic reflexivity; event structure; non-truth-conditional meaning

**RESUMEN.** En este trabajo se investiga la estructura de las oraciones transitivas que contienen la marca de un clítico reflexivo sin doblete como *Juan se lavó todos los platos* y *María se leyó un libro*. Aunque estas construcciones se tratan como una clase de dativos no seleccionados en la tradición gramatical (= dativos concordados o dativos aspectuales), se arguye aquí que tal caracterización esconde una diferencia importante entre dos clases de construcciones. La primera se denomina la construcción AGENTIVA del CLÍTICO REFLEXIVO (= ACR). Estas se caracterizan por imponer una clase uniforme de restricciones sobre el tipo de sujeto que puede aparecer en la construcción (= sólo agentes) y el modo de acción del SV (= sólo realizaciones). La segunda se denomina la construcción TRANSITIVA del CLÍTICO REFLEXIVO (= TCR) y ésta no impone ninguna restricción sistemática ni en el tipo de sujeto que puede aparecer en la construcción ni en el modo de acción del SV. Se propone que la diferencia entre las dos construcciones se puede capturar si el clítico se genera como una realización del núcleo  $v_{DO}$  en el caso de las construcciones ACR (siguiendo una propuesta de Folli & Harley 2005) y como un complemento predicativo del verbo que tiene que incorporar en el caso de las construcciones TCR (siguiendo unas ideas presentadas en De Cuyper (2006), MacDonald (2004, 2008) y MacDonald y Huidobro (2010)). Se demuestra que los desacuerdos empíricos y teóricos entre muchos autores que han analizado el papel de *SE* en las oraciones transitivas tienen una solución sencilla dada la nueva división presentada aquí.

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**Palabras clave.** dativos no seleccionados; reflexividad intrínseca; estructura eventiva; significados pragmáticos

## 1. Introduction

In this paper a detailed investigation of a particular set of transitive constructions that contain the reflexive clitic *SE* is presented. The phenomenon we are concerned with is illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. Juan **se** lavó todos los platos  
*Juan SE.3s washed all the dishes*  
 ‘Juan washed all the dishes’  
 (Sanz & Laka 2002: 316)
- b. Rocío **se** olió veinte rosas (en un minuto)  
*Rocío SE.3s smelled twenty roses (in a minute)*  
 ‘Rocío smelled twenty roses (in one minute)’  
 (Sanz & Laka 2002: 326)
- c. Juan **se** cocinó una paella para sus invitados.  
*Juan SE.3s cooked a paella for his guests*  
 ‘Juan whipped up a paella for his guests’  
 (Sanz 2000: 61)
- d. Tongolele **se** bailó una rumba inolvidable  
*Tongolele SE.3s danced a rumba unforgettable*  
 ‘Tongolele danced an unforgettable rumba’  
 (Maldonado 2008)
- e. El submarino **se** hundió dos acorazados enemigos.  
*The submarine SE.3s sank two battleships enemy*  
 ‘The submarine sank two battleships enemy’  
 (Otero 1999: 1478)

The first noteworthy property of these sentences is that *SE* is non-doubling. In none of the sentences in (1) can it be doubled by a strong anaphoric expression involving the pronoun *sí* (*mismo*). This seems to be an indication that these are not dative ‘arguments’ in any useful sense (whereby ‘argument’ I mean a position occupied by DP that is part of predicate-argument structure inside the VP or outside the VP in a specifier that saturates a predicate introduced by an *applicative* head to the event) even though they have been labeled ethical datives or agreeing datives in the literature, among other things. Given this basic observation, the constructions in (1) are given a label that better suits their effects: AGENTIVE REFLEXIVE CLITIC (ARC) constructions. I contend that the reflexive clitic in (1) should be severed from its traditional ‘dative’ label and investigated independently based on the empirical properties of the constructions where it appears. These properties are as follows: (i) it requires an agent, (ii) it adds a conventional implicature of *willful intent* to the agent and (iii) it imposes an aspectual restriction on the VP where it appears (= only accomplishments). The first contribution of this paper is to argue that all of the effects associated with the ARC are derived from treating it as special kind of external argument – introducing head (Voice or little *v*) that is part of the lexical inventory of Spanish, following an idea presented in Folli & Harley (2005), but with a very different implementation. It is argued that the properties of ARC constructions fall out nicely if it is assumed that *SE* is part of the verb’s event structure (= it spells out a head in the predicate decomposition of a verb) rather than an argument of the verb

itself or an argument of a predicate within the verb's decomposition. Thus, the particular relevance for the monographic topic of this volume is in showing that what is typically thought to be a dative argument of the verb (or some other predicate) is not actually an argument.

A second contribution of the paper is to compare and contrast the ARC constructions in (1) with a second set of superficially identical constructions in Spanish, which should be more familiar to the reader. These include the following examples.

- (2) a. El niño **se** bebió toda la leche  
*The child SE.3s drank all the milk*  
 'The child drank up the milk'
- b. **Me** dejé las llaves en la casa (#a propósito)  
*SE.1s I left the keys in the house on purpose*  
 'I left the keys in the house'
- c. El mar **se** come la playa  
*The sea SE.3s eats the beach*  
 'The sea eats the beach away'
- d. Juan **se** encontró a María  
*Juan SE.3s found ACC María*  
 'Juan ran into María (unexpectedly)'

In the sentences in (2), like those in (1), the SE clitic does not exhibit clitic doubling and thus is in no useful sense a dative argument of the verb with which it appears. In spite of this, these have also been labeled ethical datives, agreeing datives, aspectual datives or pronominal uses of transitive verbs in the grammatical tradition. I show that this set of predicates forms a second class of constructions that (i) do not systematically assign one particular role to their subject, (ii) have no set aspectual value associated with them. In order to distinguish them from ARC constructions, I will label them transitive SE clitic (= TSC) constructions. I propose that the heterogeneous range of effects associated with TSC constructions are aptly captured by treating V+SE as a complex predicate, where SE occupies the syntactic complement position of V and incorporates into V in order to form the complex predicate, following work by De Cuyper (2006), MacDonald (2004, 2008) and MacDonald & Huidobro (2010). Thus, even though TSC are given a distinct analysis than ARC constructions, they also reinforce the idea that a traditional category of dative arguments, typically labeled reflexive ethical datives, agreeing datives or aspectual datives, is better understood as an element that spells out a portion of verbal event structure.

A third contribution of the paper is that, in both the descriptive and analytical sections, it compares both ARC and TSC constructions with superficially similar ones in American English (= the Personal Dative), French (= the Co-Referential Dative), Modern Hebrew (= the Reflexive Dative), Syrian Arabic (= the Co-Referential Dative) and Southeast Serbo-Croatian (= the Evaluative Dative Reflexive) in order to highlight certain similarities and differences that exist between these constructions. A somewhat surprising conclusion is that, even though there are a number of broad cross-linguistic similarities between all of them, there does not seem to be a single uniform set of properties that can adequately characterize the whole lot and Spanish exhibits a number of properties that have not been described in the literature on other languages.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2 I provide a detailed description of ARC and TSC constructions, showing how they differ from one another with respect to both their subjects and their aspectual properties. I also discuss certain pragmatic tendencies associated with ARC constructions that are not part of TSC constructions. In section 3 I discuss a wide range of proposals that have been offered to account for the properties of what I have labeled ARC and TSC constructions that are based either on Spanish data or on data from other languages, pointing out both the merits and drawbacks associated with them. At the end of the section I propose a novel analysis that builds on several existing ones, namely De Cuyper (2006), Folli & Harley (2005), MacDonald (2004, 2008) and MacDonald & Huidobro (2010), which is able to account for the differences between ARC and TSC constructions. In section 4 a brief conclusion is offered.

## 2. Separating ARC constructions and TSC constructions

In this section I provide a detailed description of the ARC construction in Spanish, showing that it differs in two ways from TSC constructions. In section 2.1 I demonstrate that there is a systematic requirement that the subject of an ARC construction be an agent that performs the action described by the verb with willful intent. This requirement is not observed in TSC constructions. In section 2.2 I discuss the *aktionsart* of ARC constructions, showing that they must be accomplishments. The same restriction does not hold of TSC constructions. In the same section, I also discuss the productivity of ARC with different verb classes, showing that it is productive with a larger range of verbs than previously thought. In section 2.3, the pragmatic characteristics of the ARC construction are discussed. The main claim is that the ‘impressive’ or ‘noteworthy’ character often attributed to the event described in an ARC construction is a strong tendency related to how its other properties are reinforced with modifiers rather than an invariant property of its usage. In section 2.4 I summarize the properties of the ARC construction and the differences that it exhibits with TSC constructions.

### 2.1 Subjects

In this section I describe the core characteristics of subjects in the ARC construction and contrast these with subjects in TSC constructions. It is shown that ARC subjects have the following characteristics: (i) they must be interpreted as agents (i.e. – not ‘causers’, ‘initiators’ or ‘originators’), (ii) the agent must carry out the action described by the verb “with her own hands” and (iii) there is a non-cancellable (conventional) implicature of willful intent that is added by SE. TSC constructions do not systematically exhibit these three properties.

#### 2.1.1 The subjects of ARC constructions

Let us start by describing the core set of characteristics of the grammatical subjects in Spanish ARC constructions. The idea is that in an ARC construction the presence of the SE clitic signals that the subject bears a special relation to the event in which it is a participant that is subtly different from a more neutral sentence where the clitic is not present. The first characteristic is that the subject must be an agent (*cf.* Sanz & Laka 2002) as in (3a). Other thematic roles such as experiencer and goal/receiver do not appear in ARC constructions as shown in (3b) and (3c).

- (3) a. Juan **se** lavó todos los platos  
*Juan SE.3s washed all the dishes*  
 ‘Juan washed all the dishes [+ARC effects]<sup>1</sup>
- b. (\***Me**) amo a mi esposa  
*(SE.1s) I love ACC my wife*  
 Intended: ‘I love my wife [+ARC effects]’
- c. María (\***se**) recibió dos cartas  
*María SE.3s received two letters*  
 Intended: ‘María received two letters [+ARC effects]’

A second indication that the subject of an ARC construction must be an agent can be observed in cases where verbs may take subjects that include agents and (possibly) causers or experiencers. For example, change of state/location verbs like *hundir* may take inanimate causers and instrument subjects in addition to agents. Let us consider example (4a). While it is grammatical in the presence of SE, no speaker I have talked to accepts it without some kind of qualification to the following effect: the submarine is personified and perceived as an actor with willful intent. That is, *el submarino* is not interpreted as a causer in the general sense but an agent. An additional example can be observed with sensory perception verbs such as *oler*. A subject of this verb may be an agent if she willfully seeks to smell something but could also be thought of as an experiencer, especially if the smell is experienced accidentally or unexpectedly. In the ARC construction like (4b) the presence of SE requires the former interpretation with these verbs as discussed in Sanz & Laka (2002).

- (4) a. El submarino **se** hundió dos acorazados enemigos.  
*The submarine SE.3s sank two battleships enemy*  
 ‘The submarine sank two battleships enemy [+ARC effects]’  
 (Otero 1999: 1478)
- b. Rocío **se** olió veinte rosas (en un minuto)  
*Rocío SE.3s smelled twenty roses (in a minute)*  
 ‘Rocío smelled twenty roses (in one minute) [+ARC effects]’  
 (Sanz & Laka 2002: 326)

An additional meaning component that is added by the presence of SE is the fact that the subject must be the entity that executes the action on her own. Some linguistic descriptions in certain contexts may be vague with respect to what role the external argument plays in the causal chain of events that leads to the initiation of that event. For example, in the sentence *we built a house in the country* the first person plural subject may have paid someone else to build the house or built it themselves (i.e. “with their own hands”). Interestingly, the presence of the ARC requires the latter interpretation. As can be observed in (5), *Juan* could be an indirect actor in the causal chain of events leading to the dishwashing without SE but when SE is present the interpretation requires that he “do it with his own hands.”<sup>2</sup> MacDonald (2004, 2008)

<sup>1</sup>As will become apparent to the reader, it is sometimes very difficult to provide an accurate translation of what an ARC actually adds to the subject. For this reason, I have adopted the technique used in Arsenijević (2012) for indicating the presence of some subject-oriented effect by adding [+ARC effects] in the translation. This is used throughout the paper.

<sup>2</sup>Note that the relevant interpretation here is distinct from so-called causative SE that appears in constructions such as *cortar-se el pelo* (= to have one’s hair cut) and *hacer-se un traje* (= to have a suit made). While ARC is consistently marked with SE and is productive given the right contexts, so-called

and Zagona (1996) have described this effect in localist terms: the subject must be on or with the object through the course of the event.

- (5) a. Juan lavó todos los platos ... bueno, hizo lavarlos.  
*Juan washed all the dishes ... well, he made wash them*  
 ‘Juan washed all the dishes ... well, he had them washed’  
 b. Juan **se** lavó todos los platos ... #bueno, hizo lavarlos  
*Juan SE.3S washed all the dishes ... well, he made wash them*  
 ‘Juan washed all the dishes [+ARC effects]... #well, he had them washed’

The fact that in an ARC construction the subject acts alone in her endeavor can be reinforced by emphatic pronouns that are modified by adjective the *solito* (= alone). Adding this emphatic pronoun at the end of an ARC is not obligatory but it makes the sentence sound more natural.<sup>3</sup>

- (6) Juan **se** lavó todos los platos (él solito).  
*Juan SE.3s washed all the dishes HIMSELF*  
 ‘Juan washed all the dishes HIMSELF [+ARC effects]’

The restriction to agent external arguments and presence of some kind of willful intent has been observed in similar constructions in French and American English. Boneh & Nash (2011) claim that French Co-referential Datives “express how the subject, primarily agentive, experiences the event in question, implicating that the subject experiences enjoyment and easy-goingness. This effect depends on the volitional involvement of the agent in the event.” Horn (2008: 181) claims that the Personal Dative in American English varieties is used in contexts where “the speaker assumes the action expressed has or would have a positive effect on the subject, typically satisfying the subject’s perceived intention or goals.” Native speakers of Spanish also have intuitions similar to these regarding the ARC construction, but it is somewhat difficult to pin down precisely what is added by the *SE* clitic. In order to illustrate this let us consider example (3a) above, the dishwashing example. Washing dishes is not a prototypical event that one may like doing or indulges in. Somewhat unexpectedly, an interpretation in which *Juan* willfully engages in washing the dishes, thereby satisfying his intentions, is what native speakers attribute to the presence of the *SE* clitic in this example. Thus, *Juan* is interpreted as an agent who is engaged in the event in some heightened sense that speakers find difficult to articulate. The heightened sense of engagement has been argued to comprise notions such as ‘intention’, ‘volition’, ‘willfulness’, ‘effort’, ‘involvement’, ‘satisfaction’, ‘wholeheartedness’ and ‘enjoyment.’ The question is if these notions can be separated from the idea of agency. That is, these are all ideas that we typically associate with agents so it could be enough to simply say that agents are required in ARC constructions without discussing this putative extra effect.

I believe that this extra effect can be observed in a few types of contexts. Let us make the plausible assumption that agency carries with it a set of implicatures. One

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causative *SE* is neither required to mark the fact that the subject is not the actual person who carries out the action for many verbs, nor is it predictable when it can appear (see Masullo 1992; RAE 2009: §34.6j, 34.6k; Sánchez López 2002: 79).

<sup>3</sup>These emphatic pronouns appear in many of the examples cited in the literature and for some speakers make the sentences with an ARC much more natural. I thank an anonymous *Borealis* reviewer for pointing out the importance of these.

could be an implicature that the agent intends to do what he/she is doing. This implicature of willful intent may be cancelled or suspended by explicitly adding a phrase to the contrary after an adversative conjunction like *pero* (= but). This is illustrated in (7).

- (7) Juan lavó todos los platos pero lo hizo de mala gana  
*Juan washed all the dishes but it did unwillingly*  
 ‘Juan washed all the dishes, but he did so unwillingly’

If we hypothesize that this implicature is a cancellable aspect of agency and the effect that an ARC has is to make it non-cancellable then we predict that continuations such as those above should be unacceptable in the presence of ARC. This is precisely what happens (see Maldonado 1999, 2008 for similar observations regarding the unacceptability of the modifier *sin mayor interés*) as shown in (8).

- (8) Juan *se* lavó todos los platos ...#pero lo hizo de mala gana  
*Juan SE.3s washed all the dishes but it did unwillingly*  
 ‘Juan washed all the dishes [+ARC effects]... #but he did so unwillingly’

The idea that the SE clitic makes certain implicatures associated with agency non-cancellable finds additional support in another domain. In their work on Modern Hebrew Reflexive Datives (= RD), Al Zahre & Boneh (2010) have described an “isolating effect for the referent of the subject DP... the subject can be seen as engaging in the activity for her/his own pleasure or sake.” Let us assume that the unaided decision to initiate an action is also an implicature associated with agency that can be cancelled explicitly by adding information after an adversative conjunction as in (9a). If the presence of the SE clitic in an ARC construction makes that implicature non-cancellable, then we have a plausible explanation for the unacceptability of the continuation *pero lo obligaron* in (9b).

- (9) a. Juan lavó todos los platos, pero lo obligaron  
*Juan washed all the dishes but him they forced*  
 ‘Juan washed all the dishes, but he was forced to’  
 b. Juan *se* lavó todos los platos, #pero lo obligaron  
*Juan SE.3S washed all the dishes but him they forced*  
 ‘Juan washed all the dishes [+ARC effects]... #but he was forced to’

In the literature on unselected reflexive datives in other languages, the notion of willful intent and the isolation effect that accompanies the presence of the SE clitic have been called conventional implicatures (Bosse, Bruening & Yamada 2012; Boneh & Nash 2011; Horn 2008). While the precise definition of what a conventional implicature is has been subject to debate (Grice 1975; Potts 2005; Horn 2007, 2010), two of their characteristics seem particularly relevant in the case of Spanish ARC constructions. The first is that they are non-cancellable aspects of the meaning of individual words or constructions. It has already been shown that this is a promising way of characterizing the notions of willful intent and isolation that are added to the subject of a Spanish ARC construction. A related characteristic is that they cannot be targeted by negation (Potts 2005; Horn 2007, 2010). Consider the conventional implicature that is added by the English verb *manage* in the following sentence.

Though the sentence in (10a) can be negated, the negation cannot be interpreted as denying the implicature that is added by *manage* (10b).

- (10) a. John managed to read the whole book.  
 Assertion: John read the whole book  
 CI: It was a struggle for him to read the whole book  
 b. John didn't manage to read the whole book.  
 (i) ✓ John did not complete the book  
 (ii) ✗ John completed the book but did not struggle while doing so

Along the same lines, when an ARC appears in a negative context, the negation cannot target the notions of willful intent and the isolation effect described above. This is shown in (11).

- (11) Juan no **se** lavó todos los platos  
*Juan NEG SE.3s washed all the dishes*  
 (i) ✓ Juan did not wash all the plates  
 (ii) ✗ Juan washed all the plates but his intentions were not satisfied through doing so (or, he was not unaided in his initiation or performing of the washing)

Both Arsenijević (2012) and Horn (2008) propose that the strong tendency toward positive evaluation gives constructions like SE Serbo-Croatian Evaluative Dative Reflexive (= EDR) and American English PD an almost inherent positive polarity that causes some speakers to reject them in negative contexts, though these are not completely ungrammatical. A similar trend can be observed for ARC constructions.

Finally, a brief note is in order regarding a putative positive effect on the subject as a result of carrying out the action. Horn (2008) has described the American English PD in terms of a positive effect on the subject that results from the fulfillment of her intentions or goals and Arsenijević (2012) has noted that the subject positively evaluates the eventuality in which she is a participant in Southeast Serbo-Croatian EDR. Neither author claims that this is an entailment of the construction under investigation but rather a tendency related to the fact that if there is a non-cancellable meaning component of willful intent and isolation, it makes sense that the consequence of the action would typically be good for the subject “else she would have stopped it, or controlledly pushed it in another direction” Arsenijević (2012: 16). The same general tendency can be observed in Spanish. Most examples typically involve some kind of positive outcome for the subject such as gaining an object or accomplishing some task that needs to get done. However, there are exceptions to this tendency. Not all instances of ARC necessarily have a positive outcome for the subject. For example, the following sentence would be fine in a context where the subject *Pedro* is willfully engaged in the spending event at the time of carrying it out even though he may not be particularly proud of what he did and the aftermath will probably not be good for him.

- (12) Pedro **se** gastó todos los ahorros de la familia en alcohol  
*Pedro SE.3s spent all the savings of the family on alcohol*  
 ‘Pedro spent all the savings on alcohol [+ARC effects]’



## 2.1.2 The subjects of transitive SE constructions

As discussed in the introduction, a major contribution of the present study is to illustrate differences between the superficially identical ARC construction and the TSC construction. Verbs that describe events of ingestion where the object becomes part of the subject either mentally or physically readily appear with the SE clitic in transitive clauses, as is well known. While such verbs do appear in the ARC construction with all of the subject-oriented effects that follow, the most common ingestive verbs like *comer* also appear in contexts that explicitly deny what I have labeled the non-cancellable (conventional) implicature of willful intent that is a property of ARC. In the following naturally occurring example, the verb marked with SE, appears in a context in which the subject is an unwilling *causee* rather than a willing agent.

- (13) **Context:** Resultó que ya sus hermanos habían pensado lo mismo y cuando él fue a tomar un dulce de la canasta, estaban faltando siete. Fabián en ese momento sintió que era fijamente observado. Al mirar tras de sí vió a la abuela, quien lo agarró por una oreja, lo sentó en una silla y mientras le repetía: -¿A ti te gustan? ¡Come! ¿Te gustan? ¡Hártate!”-  
**[le hizo comerse los dulces que quedaban en la cesta casi llena].**  
*him made eat.SE.3s the sweets that were left in the basket almost full*  
 ‘She made him eat the sweets that remained in the almost full basket (as a punishment)  
 Source: [http://www.rubenmartinezsantana.com/textos/carruselimbo\\_picis.htm](http://www.rubenmartinezsantana.com/textos/carruselimbo_picis.htm)

Other ingestive verbs such as *beber* and *fumar* as well as verbs of learning (= “mental” ingestion) such as *leer* and *aprender* may also appear in such contexts for some speakers. If all instances of a transitive ingestive verb marked with SE were ARC constructions, we would not expect this. There are two ways to think about an example like (13). One way is to say that (13) is an ARC and the above generalization regarding the willful intent of agents in the ARC construction is wrong or that it is just a tendency. Another way to think about (13) is to posit that there is an alternative construction available for some ingestive verbs that is marked by SE but does not add any of the agent-oriented conventional implicatures described above. That is, it could be that there is a SE construction that is unique to certain verbs with this conceptual characteristic that is different from ARC (Campanini & Schäfer 2011; Folli & Harley 2005; Maldonado 2008). Preliminary support for the latter option can be found in examples like (14). When considered in more detail, the frequent appearance of SE with these ingestive verbs resembles what has traditionally been labeled ‘pronominal’ uses of transitive verbs. Note that SE may appear with *comer* when it takes an accidental agent (14a) or an inanimate causer (14b). Additionally, stative verbs that have an external role that is roughly equivalent to ‘holder’ or ‘possessor’ and involve the internal storage of knowledge may also appear with SE (14c). These data would also be unexpected if all SE-marked transitive verbs were instances of ARC.

- (14) a. El niño **se** comió veneno sin querer<sup>4</sup>  
*The child SE.3s ate poison on accident*  
 ‘The child ate poison on accident’
- b. El mar **se** come la playa  
*The sea SE.3s eats the beach*  
 ‘The sea eats the beach away’
- c. María **se** conoce la ciudad de México  
*María SE.3s knows the city of Mexico*  
 ‘María knows Mexico City’

This collection of observations appears to indicate that not all transitive verbs that appear with SE should necessarily be treated as ARCs, if indeed their defining characteristic is the presence of an agent and the addition of an agent-oriented conventional implicature of willful intent. In fact, outside of ingestive verbs, there are many cases of ‘pronominal’ uses of transitive verbs in which SE marks the absence of willful intent, or accidentalness, precisely the opposite of what was observed above. The verbs in (15a) and (15b) each permit an agentive interpretation of the subject in the absence of SE, but cannot have one in the presence of SE. Additionally, the consensus about (15c) is not that it requires *llevar* to take an agent with willful intent but rather that there be a salient source of motion away from which the subject, which can be animate or inanimate (15c), initiates the change of location of the object. ‘Pronominal’ uses of transitive verbs are generally thought to be complex predicates consisting of a verb and the SE clitic, which may have a different meaning and (many times) a different argument structure than the verb alone. Thus, when considered with respect to the subject-oriented effect described in section 2.1.1, ingestive verbs appear to fit more neatly into this category than with ARC constructions.

- (15) a. **Me** dejé las llaves en la casa (#a propósito)  
*SE.1s I left the keys in the house on purpose*  
 ‘I left the keys in the house’
- b. Juan **se** encontró a María  
*Juan SE.3s found ACC María*  
 ‘Juan ran into María (unexpectedly)’
- c. El río **se** llevó nuestro barco  
*The river SE.3s took our boat*  
 ‘The river took our boat away’

To sum up, in this section I have briefly illustrated that the subject-oriented effects associated with the ARC construction are not present in TSC constructions. This constitutes one reason to treat them as separate phenomena.

## 2.2 *Akstionsart and verb class restrictions*

In this section I discuss *aktionsart* constraints on the ARC construction and contrast those with TSC constructions. The conclusion here is similar to the one reached in section 2.1: the ARC construction is systematically associated with the

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<sup>4</sup>This example was suggested by an anonymous reviewer and confirmed by two additional native speakers. We will see in the next section that in addition to suggesting that many SE constructions with *comer* and other commonly used ingestive verbs are not necessarily ARCs, it also suggests that these constructions are not necessarily subject to aspectual restrictions that would require the presence of a particular type of non-bare object.

accomplishment aspectual class while TSC constructions are not systematically associated with any aspectual class. Finally, I discuss different classes of verbal predicates that are interpreted as accomplishments, concluding that ARC is compatible with any of them.

### 2.2.1 Aktionsart restrictions on ARC

While early descriptions of Spanish ARC repeatedly point to the subject-oriented effects described above (Bello 1981 [1847]; Ramsey 1956 [1894]), more recent treatments focus almost exclusively on *aktionsart*. If the SE clitic were only sensitive to agency, then we would expect it to appear with any agentive verb. However, only transitive verb phrases appear in the ARC construction. While *bailar* is an agentive unergative verb, it cannot appear in the ARC construction without a direct object. Only the construction with a hyponymous object (Hale & Keyser 2002) is possible in the ARC (16a) while the unergative version of the verb is not (16b).

- (16) a. María **se** bailó un tango maravilloso  
*María SE.3s danced a tango marvelous*  
 ‘María danced a marvelous tango [+ARC effects]’  
 b. María (**\*se**) bailó  
*María SE.3s danced*  
 Intended: ‘María danced [+ARC effects]’

A further restriction is that not just any object can make the ARC construction acceptable. For example, bare singular and bare plural objects are not acceptable in the ARC construction as shown in (17).

- (17) María **se** bailó {*\*tango / \*cumbias / dos tangos*}  
*María SE.3s danced tango / cumbias / two tangos*  
 ‘María danced {*\*tango / \*cumbias / two tangos*} [+ARC effects]’

The set of restrictions above has been linked to *aktionsart* in many works that explicitly claim SE is an operator that imposes an aspectual restriction on the verb phrase with which it combines (De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000; Nishida 1994; Sanz 2000; Sanz & Laka 2002). For these authors, SE marks the accomplishment aspectual class (Dowty 1979; Vendler 1967). Evidence in favor of this claim comes from the observation that ARC is only compatible with time span PPs headed by *en* (= in) but not *durante/por* (= for) as shown in (18a). This shows that ARC predicates are telic and, more importantly, the fact that the time span describes the duration of time between the initiation and the endpoint of the dishwashing event shows that the predicate has a durative component and is an accomplishment rather than an instantaneous telic event, or achievement.

- (18) **Me** lavé todos los platos {*en una hora / #durante una hora*}  
*SE.1s I washed all the plates in one hour / for an hour*  
 ‘I washed all the dishes in/*\*for* an hour [+ARC effects]’

This can be further illustrated in cases that involve verb phrases that may be interpreted as activities or accomplishments in the presence of a direct object that describes a specific quantity as in (19a). In this example, the direct object may be interpreted as the bounded surface area that is covered during the event of sweeping

(= telic) or as a location in which some sweeping took place (= atelic). When SE is present, only the telic reading in which *la casa* describes the specific amount of surface area covered in the sweeping event is available.

- (19) a. *Barri* la casa en / durante una hora  
*I swept the house in / for an hour*  
 ‘I swept the house in/for an hour’  
 b. **Me** *barri* la casa en /#durante una hora.  
*SE. Is I swept the house in / for an hour*  
 ‘I swept the (entire) house in an hour [+ARC effects]’

The idea in these works is that the relation between (18) and (19) and the restrictions observed in (16) and (17) follows from the well-established claim that many accomplishments involve a transfer of reference properties from direct object to event (Dowty 1991; Krifka 1989; Tenny 1994). Direct objects that are quantized, or describe a specific, non-homogeneous quantity (Borer 2005) transfer their reference properties to the event described by the entire verb phrase. If the direct object is crucial in determining the *aktionsart* of the VP and SE requires that there be a particular lexical aspectual value, then the direct object restrictions follow. Since the null complement of unergative verbs like *bailar* is not quantized (16b), it follows that the event will be atelic. The same goes for bare singular and plural objects in (17).

As discussed at length in De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000), Sanz (2000) and Sanz & Laka (2002), the hypothesis that the SE clitic in Spanish ARC marks accomplishments accounts for the distribution of ARC in transitive sentences. While all of the direct objects in (20) are quantized independently of their relation to the event described by the VP, it is only in (20d) that the transfer of reference properties from object to event happens. Because *toda la película* can act as a measurer of the event’s progress and culmination, it is the only type of event with which SE may appear.

- (20) a. (\***Me**) odio este equipo (STATE)  
*(SE. Is) I hate this team*  
 Intended: ‘I hate this team [+ARC effects]’  
 b. Pedro (\***se**) jaló el bulto (ACTIVITY)  
*Pedro (SE. 3s) pulled the bundle*  
 Intended: Pedro pulled the bundle [+ARC effects]’  
 c. (\***Me**) vi un pájaro (ACHIEVEMENT)  
*(SE. Is) I saw a bird*  
 Intended: ‘I saw a bird [+ARC effects]’  
 d. **Me** vi toda la película (ACCOMPLISHMENT)  
*SE. Is I saw all the film*  
 ‘I saw the whole film [+ARC effects]’

As further support for this idea, some authors have observed that there are certain types of coercive effects on the aspectual interpretation that are consequences of the presence of the ARC. The first is that if an achievement that takes an agent can be distributed over a number of objects, which collectively give the sum of individual events a duration, then the ARC construction improves to acceptability for some speakers. This is what I believe Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1999: 1914) is getting at with the example in (21b).

- (21) a. El artificiero (\*se) estalló la bomba  
*The explosives-expert SE.3s exploded the bomb*  
 Intended: ‘The explosives expert exploded the bomb [+ARC effects]’  
 b. El artificiero se estalló él solito veinte bombas  
*The explosives-expert SE.3s exploded HIMSELF twenty bombs*  
 ‘The explosives expert exploded 20 bombs HIMSELF [+ARC effects]’

A second example along these lines is described by Sanz (2000: 52-53). She notes that an activity verb such *conducir* does not appear in the ARC since it is atelic even in the presence of a quantized direct object as in (22a). However, in a context in which there is a task to be performed that involves driving three cars, where the plurality of vehicles may function as a plausible measurer of the entire event, the ARC is possible (22b).

- (22) a. Juan (\*se) condujo el coche durante una hora.  
*Juan (SE.3s) drove the car for an hour*  
 Intended: ‘Juan drove the car for an hour [+ARC effects]’  
 b. Juan se condujo tres coches en cinco minutos.  
*Juan SE.3s drove three cars in five minutes*  
 ‘Juan drove three cars in five minutes [+ARC effects]’

While the aspectual operator approach is able to account for the data above, one might ask why a more natural way of accommodating the ARC in (22b) is not by adding prepositional goal phrase such as *hasta la casa de su amigo*. The question of whether SE is sensitive to a particular type of accomplishment that involves a transfer of reference properties from nominal object to event is rarely addressed explicitly, though it is important if the aspectual operator hypothesis is to have a wider range of empirical coverage. As outlined in detail by MacDonald (2008), not all accomplishments involve object to event mapping in the “transfer of reference properties” sense described above. For instance, some transitive verbs are telic only in the presence of a goal PP regardless of what the referential properties of its direct object are. This class is often exemplified with verbs such as *empujar*. As shown in (23), it is not the referential properties of the object that determine the aspectual interpretation of the VP but the presence or absence of an endpoint along a path.

- (23) a. Empujé el carrito #en/durante cinco minutos  
*I pushed the cart in/for five minutes*  
 ‘I pushed the cart #in/for five minutes’  
 b. Empujé el carrito hasta la esquina en /#durante cinco minutos  
*I pushed the cart until the corner in / for five minutes*  
 ‘I pushed the cart to the corner in/#for five minutes’

There is a notable dearth of ARC examples with verbs belonging to the *empujar* class such as *manejar/conducir*, *jalar* and *arrastrar* in the literature. Thus, there is a question as to whether an ARC that combines with an example like (22b) is possible. If indeed there are speakers whose judgments are sensitive to the distinction between an incremental theme conceptualized in terms of amount of stuff and an object that moves incrementally along a bounded path, this could be a problem for the aspectual operator hypothesis. This is because there is no reason to expect that a morpheme that is used as an aspectual class marker should be sensitive to conceptual differences

within certain members of that class. Sanz (2000) and Sanz & Laka (2002) have argued that this potential concern is only apparent, claiming that (22a) may not combine with ARC but (22b) may, which is precisely what the aspectual operator approach predicts. This is shown in (24).

- (24) **Me** empujé el carrito hasta la esquina  
*SE.1s I pushed the cart until the corner*  
 ‘I pushed the cart to the corner [+ARC effects]’

To the extent that (24) can be accommodated by speakers, it shows that ARC is immune to certain conceptual differences among types of accomplishments and that its tendency to combine with incremental themes should not be part of the grammar of ARC. In sum, all of the available evidence strongly suggests that ARC is restricted to accomplishments.

### 2.2.2 Aktionsart restrictions on transitive SE constructions

Let us now turn to TSC constructions and ask whether they are systematically accomplishments, like the ARC construction. The first indication that this is not the case can be seen in (25).

- (25) El niño **se** comió veneno  
*The child SE.3s ate poison*  
 ‘The child ate poison’

As an anonymous reviewer suggests, a sentence like (25) describes a happening that has a salient, harmful effect on the subject. Though it is not entirely clear if this should be treated as an activity or an achievement, it certainly is not an accomplishment as evidenced by the presence of the bare mass noun in object position. The second indication that transitive SE constructions pattern differently than ARC constructions is that they appear with states as in (26).

- (26) Pepe **se** sabe la lección  
*Pepe SE.3s knows the lesson*  
 ‘Pepe knows the lesson’

While these have often been linked to an accomplishment reading that essentially means *to learn*, which would seem to link them with the ARC construction, there are other verbs that describe the holding of mental information but that are in no obvious way the results of some learning event and can appear with non-quantized direct objects such as *creer-se*. This predicate involves believing something on faith rather than coming to believe it through some kind of active learning.

A third indication that TSC constructions lack a systematic aspectual interpretation can be observed with a class of constructions that involve gaining (or potentially gaining) an object such as *merecer-se un premio*, *ganar-se la lotería*, *robar-se un collar* or *apropiar-se la botella*. These can be states (= *merecer*) or achievements (either agentive ones as in *robar-se un collar* or non-agentive ones as in *ganar-se la lotería*), but not accomplishments.

A fourth indication that TSC constructions lack a systematic aspectual interpretation is made clear by the different interpretations associated with what we

labeled ‘pronominal’ uses of transitive verbs in section 2.1.2. For example, those in (27) are non-agentive achievements.

- (27) a. **Me** dejé las llaves en la casa (#a propósito)  
*SE.1s I left the keys in the house on purpose*  
 ‘I left the keys in the house’  
 b. Juan **se** encontró a María  
*Juan SE.3s found ACC María*  
 ‘Juan ran into María (unexpectedly)’

Other transitive ‘pronominal’ verbs such as *patinar-se el dinero* (= spend the money, recklessly) are accomplishments. Verbs that involve creating mental objects such as *imaginar-se mundos inexistentes* or *pensar-se bien una respuesta* and others such as *esperar-se una sorpresa* or *temer-se represalias* have not been investigated at all with respect to aspectual classification, but they are in no obvious way accomplishments that are measured out by the quantity of their direct objects.

We have seen in this section that TSC constructions, unlike ARC constructions, are not restricted to any one type of aspectual class. Thus, in addition to the differences regarding the subject-oriented effects discussed in section 2.1.2, this constitutes further evidence that ARC and TSC constructions should be kept separate.

### 2.2.3 Verb classes

As mentioned above, not all accomplishments have the same syntactic characteristics. For example, some may have two internal arguments, a theme and a goal PP, while others may have only one. An interesting question pertaining to ARC constructions is whether they are sensitive to certain structural configurations within the VP. The most widely cited examples of the ARC construction are monomorphemic and monotransitive such as *comer*, *beber* and *leer* (precisely the verbs that also may appear in TSC constructions). These correspond to Hale & Keyser’s (2002) monadic verbs that have a lexical representation of a V head that takes an N complement: [<sub>VP</sub> V N]. We might ask if there is something about this particular configuration that the SE clitic in ARC constructions is sensitive to. This can be appreciated by examining three unresolved issues in the distribution of SE with certain types of transitive verbs. The first concerns morphologically complex ingestive verbs. Some authors and many native speakers report that certain ingestive verbs do not readily combine with the SE clitic as shown in (28).

- (28) Reported judgments: Atuxta (2000); Moreira & Butt (1996)  
 a. Juan (\***se**) consumió un bistec.  
*Juan (SE.3s) consumed a steak*  
 Intended: Juan consumed a steak (completely)  
 b. Others: *ingerir*, *devorar*, *inhalar*, *engullir*

It could be argued that such verbs have a more complex lexical syntactic structure or event structure than the monadic ones of *comer* and *beber* and a sensitivity to simple versus complex event structures should be reflected in some way in an analysis of ARC. However, the unacceptability of examples like (28a) vanishes in a context that makes the ARC reading more salient as in (29). This demonstrates that ARC is not as restricted as previously thought.

- (29) Juan **se** consumió tres filetes gigantes (él solito)  
 Juan SE.3s consumed three filets giant HIMSELF  
 ‘Juan consumed three massive filets HIMSELF [+ARC effects]’

The second issue concerns whether change of state verbs are acceptable in the ARC construction. Zagona (1996: 476) notes that a change of state verb such as *abrir* is unacceptable in the ARC construction (see De Cuyper 2006 for similar data).

- (30) Reported judgments: De Cuyper (2006); Zagona (1996)  
 a. Felipe (**\*se**) abrió una lata<sup>5</sup>  
*Felipe (SE.3s) opened a can*  
 Intended: ‘Felipe opened a can [+ARC effects]’  
 b. Others: *quebrar, cerrar, quemar*

A popular analysis of change of state verbs is that they have a complex internal structure that consists of a theme that undergoes a change and a result state, which corresponds to some property that is inherent in the verb’s meaning, such as *open* (Hale & Keyser 2002; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995). Given these analyses, an explanation for the reported judgment in (30a) could be that SE requires the monadic structure [<sub>VP</sub> V N] of verbs such as *comer* and *beber*. An alternative explanation for the judgment in (30a) is that *abrir* is an achievement and ARC is incompatible with achievements. The unacceptability of an example like (30a), however, is not due to ungrammaticality since the right context makes it perfectly fine. This constitutes a second argument that ARC is not as restricted as previously thought.

- (31) Felipe **se** abrió cinco latas él solito  
*Felipe SE.3s opened five cans HIMSELF*  
 ‘Felipe opened five cans HIMSELF [+ARC effects]’

The last issue concerns whether the ARC construction is possible with verbs that have two internal arguments. De Cuyper (2006: 155) suggests that SE occupies the same position as argumental datives, thus explaining why examples such as (32) are unacceptable.

- (32) Paco (**\*se**) le envió dos botellas de whiskey a Germán  
*Paco SE.3s DAT.3s sent two bottles of whiskey DAT Germán*  
 Intended: ‘Paco sent Germán two bottles of whiskey [+ARC effects]’

This example, like those in (29) and (31) also improves under the right conditions. If it is made clear that Paco willfully engaged in sending a large amount of postcards and did this himself, the sentence is acceptable. An additional caveat here is that these sound better in the presence of a locative, rather than a possessive goal that must be doubled by a dative clitic.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Note the judgment reported in Zagona (1996) is not that Felipe opened a can for his own benefit, but one that targets the aspectual nature of the event: it must telic. On this reading, the sentence is judged as ungrammatical with SE.

<sup>6</sup>Further research is needed in order to determine if this is due to restrictions on *se le* clusters that some speakers report rather than on structural incompatibility. Some speakers accept *se le* clitic clusters where *se* = ARC and *le* is a benefactive. One speaker told me that, given the right context, he would accept the following sentence, where *le* is clearly benefactive.



- (33) Paco *se* envió él solito 300 postales a su casa  
*Paco SE.3s sent HIMSELF 300 postcards to his house*  
 ‘Paco sent 300 postcards to his house [+ARC effects]’

Another example of a ditransitive configuration that appears with ARC is the example from Sanz & Laka (2002) above: (24). If we follow Fábregas (2007) in assuming that phrases headed by *hasta* that describe a path of directed motion are complements of the verbs they appear with and contribute to the aspectual interpretation of the entire predicate, then (24) would also constitute an example of an ARC in a ditransitive configuration. Further examples of ditransitive verbs in the ARC constructions are cited by Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1999: 1913), which the author describes in the following way: “aunque poco usuales, no parecen agramaticales ejemplos como los siguientes.” Speakers consulted have corroborated that the effects associated with ARC are made more salient by treating the multiple *washings* and multiple *bringings* as if it were a sum of events and the implicatures associated with willful intent are applied to this sum rather than to each of the individual events in question.

- (34) a. En un acto de suma humildad, Cristo *se* lavó los pies a todos los apóstoles  
*In an act of great humility, Christ SE.3s washed the feet DAT all the apostles*  
 ‘In an act of great humility, Christ washed all of the apostles’ feet [+ARC effects]’  
 b. Por Reyes *se* traía un regalo a cada uno de los nietos  
*For Reyes, SE.3s brought.IMP a present to each one of the grandchildren*  
 ‘For Reyes, he would bring a present to each grandchild [+ARC effects]’

The observations in this section demonstrate that, given the right context, ARC constructions are much more productive than previously thought. They can appear with any type of VP configuration so long as the entire VP is interpreted as an accomplishment.

- 
- (i) Juan *se le* cantó una balada extraordinaria (al público)  
*Juan SE.3s DAT.3s sang a ballad extraordinary (DAT.the audience)*  
 ‘Juan sang the audience an extraordinary ballad [+ARC effects]’

Other speakers prefer the variant with *para*. The speakers that do not accept the *se le* cluster could have a morphological constraint in their grammars that prohibits *se le*. Héctor Campos (p.c.) and María Cristina Cuervo (p.c.) have told me that even three clitic clusters involving an ARC, an ethical dative and benefactive do not sound bad at all.

- (ii) a. Te *me les* cocinaste todo.  
*SE.2s DAT.1s DAT.3p cooked all*  
 ‘You whipped it all up for them (and I was interested in this happening) [+ARC effects]’  
 b. Juana *se me les* bailó un tango de miedo.  
*Juana SE.3s DAT.1s DAT.3p danced a tango of fear*  
 ‘Juan danced a beautiful tango for them (and I was interested in this happening) [+ARC effects]’

For speakers that do not accept sentences like (ii), a morphological constraint on clusters could be invoked to explain the ungrammaticality. I thank Carlos Rubio (p.c.), who told me that he lacks any type of *se le* cluster and that invoking a PCC-like constraint might be able to explain his intuitions.

### 2.3 The pragmatics of ARC constructions

In this section I will discuss some of the issues surrounding the most natural discourse contexts in which ARC constructions appear. Let us begin with the dishwashing example that has appeared previously and is repeated in (35).

- (35) Juan *se* lavó los platos  
*Juan SE.3s washed the dishes*  
 ‘Juan washed the dishes [+ARC effects]’

An ARC construction like (35) is limited to colloquial, spoken language and would likely appear in a conversational context where both speaker and hearer are familiar with *Juan* in both the linguistic topical sense and most likely in the non-linguistic ‘acquaintance’ sense. The sentence is about *Juan* and what he did and would naturally provide an answer to a question such as *¿qué hizo Juan?* rather than *¿qué pasó?*. There is also a sense in which the speaker, in virtue of using the ARC, is conveying something that she believes is notable to the hearer, which requires some kind of contextual calculation. For instance, it could be that both speaker and hearer know *Juan* and consider him lazy. Thus, the fact that he took it upon himself to wash the dishes and complete the task unaided is noteworthy and perhaps pleasantly surprising.

However, we need to be careful in how we integrate this last observation into the descriptive characteristics of ARC.<sup>7</sup> It might be tempting to say that ARC has a particular kind of function in the discourse: the speaker uses ARC to convey a noteworthy happening where ‘noteworthy’ means something along the lines “given what you (the hearer) and I (the speaker) know, what I am about to tell you is something we would not be led to expect” (see Strauss 2003 for a treatment of SE as, more or less, an evaluative morpheme). The core issue is if this intuition is something that is part of the pragmatics of ARC or if it is a tendency that might be sensed by some native speakers, which is somehow related to its other meaning contributions. This can be tested by looking at (35) in a different context. Consider the following: both speaker and hearer know *Juan* and both consider him a hard-working, industrious perfectionist who always seems to have everything finished and in order. In fact, they envy his work ethic and perfectionism. In such a context (35) is still fine, but it would convey something different than in the context described above. Instead of a noteworthy, pleasant surprise, it would convey that for *Juan* even the most dreaded activities are completed willingly and with a sense of engagement, as if they were fun for him. Thus, I believe that a pragmatic characteristic that is often attributed to the ARC construction involving the notions ‘impressive’, ‘noteworthy’, ‘formidable’, ‘out of the ordinary’, ‘unexpected’ or ‘surprising’ is not a core property of its pragmatics but rather tends to arise in certain contexts.<sup>8</sup>

The fact that many speakers and grammarians have described the above intuition could be related to the types of modifiers that are typically used to reinforce the

<sup>7</sup>I thank the anonymous reviewers for some critical comments on a previous idea in the first draft regarding the pragmatics of ARC constructions that turned out to not be entirely accurate. Those comments allowed me to come to a more satisfying conclusion regarding what the pragmatic effects associated with ARC constructions are.

<sup>8</sup>This would distinguish ARC constructions from Syrian Arabic Co-referential Datives (Al-Zahre & Boneh 2010) as well as SE Serbo-Croatian Evaluative Dative Reflexives in that these have a regular pragmatic value of *low relevance* that can be targeted by the equivalent of *a little* in each language. As the authors cited above have shown, the presence of *a little* with the reflexive does not literally quantify over the event (or any implicit object) but rather over the amount of attention that hearer should pay to the importance of the utterance in the eyes of speaker (= it is of *little* concern or significance).

notions of willful intent and unaided execution that are added to the subject as well as the accomplishment reading, both of which are core characteristics of the ARC construction. As discussed in section 2.1.1, the willful intent and unaided execution implicatures are often reinforced by the emphatic pronominal expression: SUBJECT PRONOUN + SOLITO as shown in (36). It could be that the frequent use of these emphatic pronominal expressions has led speakers to associate some kind of emphatic flavor with the entire expression.

- (36) Juan **se** lavó los platos él solito  
*Juan SE.3s washed the dishes HIMSELF*  
 ‘Juan washed the dishes HIMSELF [+ARC effects]’

With respect to the aspectual restrictions that characterize ARC constructions, it has been noted in many previous works that there is a strong tendency to use emphatic colloquial expressions that make the accomplishment reading more salient such as *en un santiamén* (= in a jiff/in the blink of an eye).

- (37) Juan **se** lavó los platos en un santiamén  
*Juan SE.3s washed the dishes in a jiff*  
 ‘Juan washed all the dishes in a jiff [+ARC effects]’

The fact that an expression like *en un santiamén* carries with it the idea that the task was completed in an unexpectedly rapid amount of time would naturally lead to associating the notion of noteworthiness with the ARC. Similar expressions in the both the temporal and spatial domains shown in (38) all point toward the same conclusion: the tendency to emphasize the time span (usually short by typical standards) of the event or the spatial extent of the object in the ARC would understandably lead some speakers to associate some kind of emphatic flavor with the construction itself.

- (38) a. Temporal: *de una sentada* (= in one sitting), *de un jalón* (= in one shot)  
**Me** corregí todos los exámenes de una sentada  
*SE.1s I corrected all the exams in one sitting*  
 ‘I corrected all the exams in one sitting [+ARC effects]’  
 b. Spatial: *de arriba abajo* (= from top to bottom), *de norte a sur* (= from north to south)  
 Pepe **se** regó el jardín de arriba abajo  
*Pepe SE.3s watered the garden from top to bottom*  
 ‘Pepe watered every inch of the garden [+ARC effects]’  
 (Sanz & Laka 2002: 316)

A final type of modification with ARC can be observed with verbs of creation and performance (Armstrong 2011; Maldonado 2008). These are generally accompanied by a positively-oriented modifier, adjectival or relative clause, on the effected object that signals that the event is well done and may receive emphatic (= focal) stress.

- (39) a. María **se** cantó una canción MARAVILLOSA anoche  
*María SE.3s sang a song marvelous last night*  
 ‘María sang a marvelous song last night [+ARC effects]’

- b. **Me** preparé una cena DELICIOSA para los invitados  
*SE. I*s prepared a dinner delicious for the guests  
 ‘I prepared a delicious dinner for the guests [+ARC effects]’

While the adjectives in (39) are not obligatory, they do seem to make the reading associated with the ARC more salient. This could be due to the fact that something good is usually created with the effort and care that go with willful intent. As is the case with the other modifiers, this tendency would understandably lead speakers to think of ARC constructions as emphatic and conveyers of ‘noteworthy’ or ‘impressive’ events. If we step back and take stock of what the data above tell us, the conclusion that there is no one pragmatic value associated with ARC becomes quite clear. First, none of the modifiers are ever obligatory. Second, as discussed above, the ARC construction can be used in contexts that do not necessarily involve any kind of noteworthy happening and what remains constant are its subject-oriented characteristics (discussed in section 2.1.1) and its aktionsart properties (discussed in section 2.2.1).

#### 2.4 Summary

In this section I have highlighted the characteristics of a construction marked with SE that I have dubbed the ARC construction. It has been shown that ARC constructions must take agents with willful intent as their subjects and are restricted to the aspectual class of accomplishments. It has been argued that these characteristics of ARC constructions differentiate them from the superficially identical TSC construction. Finally, it has been observed that there are a series of pragmatic tendencies that conspire to create a strong sense that an ARC construction describes a noteworthy or impressive event (where the terms noteworthy or impressive mean something surprising or unexpected given the shared knowledge between speaker and hearer), though these are not absolutely necessary. The description in this section is summarized in the table below.

Table 1. Core properties of ARC and TSC constructions

	Require agents (w/ willful intent)	Only occur with accomplishments	Tend to be ‘noteworthy’ or ‘impressive’ events
ARC	✓	✓	✓
TSC	✗	✗	✗

Before moving on to discuss some analytical directions and proposing the actual analysis, I would like to discuss certain constructions that, without a context, are ambiguous between ARC and TSC. These are limited mainly to monomorphemic ingestive verbs that include *comer*, *beber/tomar*, *fumar* and *leer*. The example in (40) can either be an ARC construction or a TSC construction.

- (40) Erwin **se** comió las espinacas  
*Erwin SE.3s ate the spinach*  
 (i) Erwin ate the spinach [+ARC effects]  
 (ii) Erwin ate up the spinach

The ARC construction could be uttered in a context in which *Erwin* is perceived to eat the spinach with willful intent, as an indulgence, and would not be felicitous in the context of a punishment. On the other hand, the same sentence could also be used as a transitive SE construction that marks the event as telic but lacks any of the subject-oriented effects of the ARC. It is this particular construction that could be used in the context of a punishment. If it is known that Erwin hates spinach and his father has forced him to eat spinach as a punishment for secretly eating cookies, then only the transitive SE construction is acceptable as shown in (41).

- (41) Su papá obligó a Erwin a comer-**se** las espinacas como castigo  
 His father forced ACC Erwin to eat-SE.3s the spinach as a punishment  
 'His father forced Erwin to eat the spinach as a punishment

That *comer* is special in this sense can be illustrated by creating a similar context for a predicate like *cantar(se) las rancheras de José Alfredo Jiménez*. Imagine that Erwin hates *ranchera* music and his father listens to it all day. As a punishment for insulting the king of rancheras, Erwin's father makes him sing a couple of José Alfredo songs. In this context, SE is unacceptable since only an ARC reading is possible for this verb. This is shown in (42).

- (42) Su papá obligó a Erwin a cantar-(#se) unas rancheras de José Alfredo Jiménez  
 His father forced ACC Erwin to sing-SE.3s some rancheras of José Alfredo Jiménez  
 Intended: His father forced Erwin to sing some José Alfredo Jiménez rancheras [+ARC effects] (as a punishment)

### 3. Descriptive and theoretical consequences of the ARC-TSC distinction

In this section I discuss some of the descriptive and theoretical consequences that fall out from making a distinction between the ARC construction and TSC constructions. In section 3.1 I discuss the place of both ARC constructions and TSC constructions within the descriptive typology of unselected datives in Spanish, arguing that none of the existing categories of datives adequately capture them. In section 3.2 I address a range of analytical avenues that could be explored to possibly capture the different characteristics of ARC and TSC constructions, reviewing all of the major existing proposals to account for the properties of this phenomenon. In section 3.3, I propose a new analysis.

#### 3.1 ARC, TSC and the typology of unselected datives in Spanish

The newest edition of the RAE grammar (Real Academia Española 2009) identifies four types of unselected datives.<sup>9</sup> DATIVOS ÉTICOS (DE) designate speech

<sup>9</sup>I use the term unselected in the sense of “not lexically required by the verb.” This is meant to highlight an opposition between datives like those in (43) – (46) and the goal argument of verbs of physical or verbal transfer like *dar* (give), *enviar* (send) and *decir* (say/tell). Similar terms that have appeared in the literature on datives include: involved goals (Cuervo 2010; Strozer 1976), non-core datives (Boneh & Nash 2012) and non-argumental datives (MacDonald 2004). There are a number of recent papers

participants (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person) that are indirectly affected by the event described in the speech situation. These are shown in (43).

- (43) a. Mi bebé no **me** duerme (RAE 2009: 2701)  
*My baby NEG DAT.1s sleep*  
 ‘My baby doesn’t sleep on me’  
 b. **Te** le regaló un vestido precioso (RAE 2009: 2703)  
*DAT.2s DAT.3s gave a dress pretty*  
 ‘He gave her a pretty dress for you’

DATIVOS SIMPATÉTICOS (DS) designate individuals that are affected by the verbal event through a possessive relation with the direct internal argument of the verb. This possessive relation may be one of inalienable (44a) or alienable (44b) possession.

- (44) a. **Te** brillan los ojos (RAE 2009: 2697)  
*DAT.2s shine the eyes*  
 ‘Your eyes are shining’  
 b. **Le** destrozaron el auto (RAE 2009: 2697)  
*DAT.3s they destroyed the car*  
 ‘They destroyed his car’

DATIVOS DE INTERÉS (DI) come in two main types. They may designate an individual who benefits from (45a) or is negatively affected by (45b) the action described by the verb but is not selected as a core participant by that verb. In these DIs there is not necessarily a possessive relation between the direct object of the verb and the dative-marked DP. They may also be used to signal a relation of ‘future possession’ of a created entity that is viewed to be beneficial for the dative-marked DP (45c).

- (45) a. Su mamá **le** apagó la luz (RAE 2009: 2697)  
*Her mother DAT.3s turned off the light*  
 ‘Her mother turned the lights off for her’  
 b. Entonces **le** fabricaron ese caso tan famoso (RAE 2009: 2696)  
*Then DAT.3s they made up that case so famous*  
 ‘Then they made up that famous case on him’  
 c. **Le** cociné una paella a mi amigo  
*DAT.3s I cooked a paella DAT my friend*  
 ‘I cooked my friend a paella (= it is for him)’

From the characteristics described above, we can rule out treating the ARC and TSC constructions as any of these types of unselected datives. First, they do not appear to be instances of DE (= “ethical datives”) since they are not limited to 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person and, unlike DE, both ARC and TSC constructions are possible when the subject is also the speaker or hearer. DEs are also indiscriminate with respect to the types of predicates they appear with. For example, they may appear with unergative verbs (43a), which is not possible in ARC or TSC constructions.

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that go into detail regarding the nuances of all the different constructions that are traditionally classified as unselected datives (Bosse, Bruening & Yamada 2012; Boneh & Nash 2011, 2012; Cuervo 2003, 2010; Roberge & Troberg 2009). This paper adds to this line of research.

Second, in spite of their similarities, ARC and TSC constructions should not be subsumed with DS. While there are reflexive DS in Spanish, these have a strict requirement that the object be inalienably possessed by the subject. The only types of objects that can appear in a reflexive DS are body parts and pieces of clothing that are on the subject (MacDonald 2004; Maldonado 2008) as shown in (46).

- (46) a. **Me** lavé la cara / \*el baño  
*SE.1s I washed the face / the bathroom*  
 ‘I washed my face/\*my bathroom’  
 b. Juan **se** abrochó el abrigo / \*el abrigo que estaba en el maniquí  
*Juan SE.3s buttoned the coat / the coat that was on the mannequin*  
 ‘Juan buttoned up his coat/\*the coat that was on the mannequin’

As was discussed in section 2.1.1, ARC constructions do require that the subject carry out the action described by the verb “with their own hands” but this is different from a relation of inalienable possession between subject and object. For example, if *Juan* works in a department store and has to button all the coats on every mannequin before the doors open, sentence (47) is fine.

- (47) Juan **se** abrochó 50 abrigos de maniquí en veinte minutos.  
*Juan se.3s buttoned 50 coats of mannequin in 20 minutes*  
 ‘Juan buttoned up 50 mannequin coats in 20 minutes [+ARC effects]’

Third, ARC and TSC constructions differ from all the kinds of DI discussed in (45). The example in (48) shows that if *Juan* benefits in any way from the cooking event it is not because he is the ‘future possessor’ of the paella. The benefactive future possessor in this case is introduced by the preposition *para* (= for). This is unlike non-reflexive benefactive DI with creation verbs (see Boneh & Nash 2011 for similar arguments from French).

- (48) Juan **se** cocinó una paella para sus invitados.  
*Juan SE.3s cooked a paella for his guests*  
 ‘Juan whipped up a paella for his guests [+ARC effects]’  
 (Sanz 2000: 61)

ARC and TSC constructions also differ from other types of non-reflexive DI differ in a number of ways. As shown in (49), DI is possible with an unergative verb such as intransitive *estudiar* (= study), which would be impossible in an ARC or TSC construction.

- (49) El niño no **le** estudió mucho, a María  
*The child NEG DAT.3s studied a lot , DAT María*  
 ‘The child didn’t studied much for María’  
 (Adapted from Cuervo 2003: 166)

The final type of unselected datives are DATIVOS CONCORDADOS (DC), or DATIVOS ASPECTUALES (DA), the category into which both ARC and TSC constructions are subsumed. Some examples in this category include *beber-se la leche*, *saber-se la lección*, *leer-se toda la prensa*, *encontrar-se a una persona*, *saltar-se una barrera*, *llevar-se la plata* among others (RAE 2009: §35.7; §41.13). By its own admission, the

grammar is far from clear about what it is that unifies this category apart from the inherent (morphological) reflexivity of the constructions and it mentions the possibility of treating these as datives with affected subjects, aspectual morphemes or VERBOS PRONOMINALES but does not give a definitive answer. The answer I have provided here is that it is not a uniform category to begin with and that the label DATIVO ASPECTUAL is probably not the best way to characterize the entire set of both ARC and TSC constructions. Thus, given what we have seen, it is questionable whether ARC and TSC really constitute a unique category of unselected datives. In the next section, I discuss some analytical options for capturing the differences between ARC and TSC constructions and then outline an analysis in section 3.3.

### 3.2 Analytical options: assessing different theoretical approaches

Now that their independence from other datives has been established, we are in a position to explore the analytical options for ARC constructions and TSC constructions. There are a number of different possible approaches to ARC and TSC constructions that are based either on data from Spanish or data from other languages with constructions that have some similar properties. These approaches may be categorized along two parameters: (i) the position of the reflexive clitic and (ii) the morphosyntactic nature of the clitic. The first parameter can be summed up as follows: some approaches generate the clitic in a position outside of the  $\nu$ P, while others generate it inside the  $\nu$ P. The second parameter can be summed up as follows: some approaches treat the clitic as an argument of a predicate that is part of the verb's lexical semantic decomposition while others treat the clitic as an overt realization of some predicate in the verb's lexical semantic decomposition or a head in a higher functional projection outside of the  $\nu$ P. The main goal here is to assess the merits of these different approaches and determine which aspects of them can be applied to a novel analysis of ARC and TSC constructions.

#### 3.2.1 High Approaches

Approaches that place the clitic in a high functional projection include Sanz (2000) (Sanz & Laka (2002) is an approach that is based on Sanz (2000)), Borer (2005) for Modern Hebrew, Arsenijević (2012) for Southeast Serbo-Croatian and Boneh & Nash (2011) for French. Let us start with the approach outlined in Sanz (2000). She assumes that the clitic checks an interpretable telic feature in an event phrase above TP. In this system, event phrases have an inventory of interpretable features that determine what type of aspectual class the main predicate is: [+/-telic], [+/-punctual] and [+/-eventive]. If the Evt head is [+telic], [-punctual], [+eventive], it is assumed that the [+telic] feature is a strong feature and must be checked in one of two ways during the course of the derivation. It may be checked indirectly by an object that has checked a [+measure] feature in the position from which it gets accusative case (the measure feature is associated with the accusative case marker *a*). An object that has checked the [+measure] feature allows the verbal head to acquire a [+telic] feature that may check the [+telic] feature on the Evt head by moving to it. If the [+measure] feature is not checked by an object in the  $\nu$ P the verb has no [+telic] feature and it must be checked by inserting SE in Evt. The option in (50a) is meant to represent an event where there is no measure feature associated with accusative case so the verb cannot check the [+telic] feature inherently. This is what forces the insertion of SE in (50b). The phi-features of the clitic are valued by moving the subject into spec EvtP.

- (50) a. [<sub>EvtP</sub> SE<sub>[+telic]</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> T [ <sub>$\nu$ P</sub> [measure] [ <sub>$\nu$ P</sub> [Subj]  $\nu$  [<sub>VP</sub> V [Obj]]]]]]]



- b. Juan **se** comió el pollo entero  
*Juan SE.3s ate the chicken whole*  
 ‘Juan ate the whole chicken’

This system does not distinguish between ARC and TSC constructions. Since transitive SE constructions are not limited to accomplishments, we can give the author the benefit of the doubt and look at how it could account for ARC. First, while it is intuitively a bit odd to associate a measure feature with the accusative marker *a* since it would essentially mean that this interpretable feature is part of the nouns that are *not* the best measurers of events (= humans) rather than types of incremental themes that are typically analyzed as measurers, it also makes an incorrect prediction. The prediction is that if the object is marked with *a*, then [+telic] is checked indirectly and SE is impossible, but this is not true as shown in (51) (adapted from Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1999).

- (51) El candidato **se** saludó a todos los inversionistas en cinco minutos  
*The candidate SE.3s greeted ACC all the investors in five minutes*  
 ‘The candidate greeted all the investors in five minutes [+ARC effects]’

A second problem for this approach is that it forces us to decide how the [+telic] feature is checked based on the presence or absence of SE. The result is that verbs that we would think to define a natural class such as ingestive verbs (= *comer*), creation verbs (= *construir*) and performance object verbs (= *cantar*) do not form a natural class in the system. As Sanz (2000) notes, SE is obligatory for many speakers with certain verbs like *comer* but not for others such as *lavar* (or even with other ingestive verbs such as *consumir*). In order to remedy this, Sanz (2000) assumes that the measure feature is essentially idiosyncratically attached to the objects of some verbs and not others. If a verb takes an object that is able to check [+measure] then SE is not obligatory. The conclusion is that *comer* does not have an object capable of checking [+measure], which is odd since it is the prototype of an incremental theme, while other verbs such as *consumir*, *leer*, *construir* and *cantar* do take objects capable of checking [+measure]. Overall, this indicates that using the idea that all accomplishments involve a transfer of reference properties from the nominal to the verbal domain is probably not the best way to model aktionsart in a more general way (see MacDonald 2008 for a discussion). Finally, the restriction to agents in these constructions is noted in Sanz & Laka (2002: 323-324) and is claimed to be derived from the fact that all accomplishments have agents and since SE is a grammatical reflex of accomplishments, it follows that only agent external arguments will appear with SE. First, this claim is not accurate since passives and anti-causatives can be interpreted as accomplishments and these have no syntactically expressed agent (the latter have no agent at all). Second, it does not account for why inanimate causers are enriched with the notion of willful intent in the presence of SE. Third, assuming that the account is meant to apply to both TSC and ARC, it would not be able to explain why SE is obligatory when certain verbs take non-agentive subjects in phrases such as *el mar se come la playa* (Folli & Harley 2005).

Borer (2005) has proposed that Modern Hebrew Reflexive Datives occupy the head of her EP (= event phrase), which is located structurally in the same position as EvtP in Sanz (2000). Borer’s (2005) system is quite different from the feature-based one in Sanz (2000) so some discussion will be necessary in order understand precisely what RD in Modern Hebrew does. Borer’s (2005) theory is one of argument

realization and aspectual interpretation that derives these properties of predicates structurally rather than project them from lexical information stored in particular verbs. The relevant notions for understanding the role of RD are outlined as follows. A listeme is inserted under V and has no grammatically relevant information in it. An aspectual projection  $Asp_Q$  may merge with VP, creating what Borer (2005) labels a quantity (= telic) predicate. The head of  $Asp_Q$  contains an open value that must be assigned range,  $\langle e \rangle_{\#}$ , or the derivation will crash. Range may be assigned by head features, morphemes or via a spec-head relation with a DP in spec  $Asp_Q$ . A DP that assigns range to  $\langle e \rangle_{\#}$  is interpreted as “subject of quantity” and may get accusative case from  $Asp_Q$ . Languages like English and Spanish for which telicity depends on the presence of a particular type of object are ones where range can only be assigned to  $\langle e \rangle_{\#}$  by the latter option. On top of  $Asp_Q$  the TP is merged, which is the locus of nominative case but assigns no argument role. Finally, the information in  $Asp_Q$  describes a quantity predicate that must take an event argument. Borer (2005) claims that the event argument is introduced in a higher projection, EP (= her event phrase). The event argument itself is atelic unless it is predicated of  $Asp_Q$ . The head of EP,  $\langle e \rangle_E$ , is assigned range by existential binding, which may be done by an argument with existential force, such as a referential DP. An argument in spec of EP is interpreted as the ‘originator’ of the entire event. These structures are inputs to LF and generate logical forms of the Neo-Davidsonian type. These basic elements are shown in (52a) and an example of a transitive telic predicate is shown in (52b).

- (52) a.  $[_{EP} \langle e \rangle_E [_{TP} T [_{AspQP} \langle e \rangle_{\#} [_{VP} V ]]]]$   
 b. Anna read the book (in two hours)  
 $[_{EP} [Anna] \langle e \rangle_E [_{TP} [Anna]_{NOM} T [_{AspQP} [the\ book]^2 \langle e \rangle_{\#} [_{VP} read ]]]]$   
 $\exists(e)[quantity(e) \ \& \ originator(Anna, e) \ \& \ subject-of-quantity (the\ book, e) \ \& \ read(e)]$

Given this background, consider the set of properties of RD noted by Borer (2005). She claims that they are limited to external arguments of dynamic intransitive or transitive verbs and may also appear with stage-level states such as ‘be sick.’ In addition, they require an atelic reading of the predicate with which they combine. Such a reading is the only possibility for an unergative like *bark* (53a), but even in cases where the object could conceivably assign range to  $\langle e \rangle_{\#}$ , the telic interpretation is blocked as shown in (53b).

- (53) a. ha.klabim nabxu **la.hem**  
*the.dogs barked to.them*  
 (Borer 2005: 235)  
 b. rani harag **lo’et** ha.yatušim (le-ito / bemešex xaci ša<sup>c</sup>a / \*tok xcai ša<sup>c</sup>a)  
*Rani killed to-him the.mosquitos (slowly/ for half an hour / \*in half an hour)*  
 (Borer 2005: 236)

She uses facts such as (53) in order to argue that RD is an “(inner aspect) operator on events” (Borer 2005: 237). More precisely, RD merges as the head of EP. It is co-indexed with whatever DP is in the specifier of EP and it comes equipped with a feature that prevents the projection of  $Asp_Q$ . Its anti-telicity effects are thus accounted for by the presence of this feature. Focusing on example (53b), the claim is that only the structure in (54b), where the object is introduced by a non-aspectual projection, FP, and receives a ‘default participant’ role rather than a ‘subject-of-quantity’ role, is

possible. The alternative is that Asp<sub>Q</sub> is present and the object receives of ‘subject-of-quantity’ role, which is ruled out by the fact that the event argument cannot be an argument of a quantity predicate.

- (54) a. [<sub>EP</sub> [DP<sub>i</sub>] E+RD<sub>i</sub> <-*quantity*><sub>i</sub> ... ]
- b. [<sub>EP</sub> [rani]<sub>i</sub> lo’et<sub>i</sub> <-*quantity*><sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> [~~rani~~]<sub>NOM</sub> T [<sub>FP</sub> [ha.yatušim] F [<sub>VP</sub> harag ]]]]  
 $\exists$ (e)[activity(e) & originator(Rani, e) & default-participant (the mosquitos, e) & kill(e)]
- c. \* [<sub>EP</sub> [rani]<sub>i</sub> lo’et<sub>i</sub> <-*quantity*><sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> [~~rani~~]<sub>NOM</sub> T [<sub>AspQP</sub> [ha.yatušim]<sup>2</sup> <e<sup>2</sup>><sub>#</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> harag]]]]]  
 $\exists$ (e)[quantity(e) & originator(Rani, e) & subject-of-quantity(the mosquitos, e) & kill(e)]

Al-Zahre & Boneh (2010) have argued that an analysis based exclusively on aspect is not warranted for Modern Hebrew since there are data indicating that not all predicates with which RD combines are necessarily atelic. They also add that RD adds a meaning component to the subject to the effect that the action is carried out for her own sake or pleasure. Thus, while Borer’s (2005) proposal may not be the most adequate to account for RD based on the new set of facts presented in Al-Zahre & Boneh (2010), a version of it could be applied to Spanish ARC constructions. The most obvious difference between RD (on Borer’s judgments) and Spanish ARC is that the aspectual restriction imposed by the reflexive clitic in each case is the opposite: while it is [-quantity] (= atelic) in Modern Hebrew, it is [+quantity] (= telic) in Spanish. The question is if a Borer-style analysis for Spanish ARC would make sense. The phi-features of the clitic and its aspectual effects could be easily accounted for based on the assumptions outlined above. Assuming that the clitic also adds a subject-oriented implicature that is part of role assigned to the argument in spec, EP, this would also be something desirable as it could be used to capture the restriction that only agents may appear in ARC. What would be more difficult to account for if this analysis is transferred wholesale to Spanish is that it would not capture why achievements are ruled out, since they are telic. That is, Spanish ARC seems to be sensitive to different types of quantity predicates, which are not grammatically relevant in Borer’s system.

Arsenijević (2012) claims that in Southeast Serbo-Croatian, the evaluative dative reflexive (= EDR) is generated as the head of a modal projection above the core vP called MoodP<sub>EVAL</sub>, evaluative mood. The evaluative mood, according Cinque (1999: 84-85) is the projection in the left periphery of the VP responsible for evaluative morphemes and adverbs that describe notions such as “it is a good/perfectly wonderful/bad thing that *p*.” In some languages, there are morphemes dedicated to marking such notions while in English and Romance languages, they are expressed by adverbs in the spec of MoodP<sub>EVAL</sub> such as *regrettably*, *surprisingly* and *(un)expectedly* or, in Spanish, as diminutive morphology on nouns and adjectives. In most cases the evaluator is the speaker. The main claim in Arsenijević (2012: 6) is that the presence of the dative reflexive clitic in the head of Mood<sub>EVAL</sub> indicates that the subject of the clause, rather than the speaker, evaluates the meaning of the “entire PolP (the eventuality located with respect to the reference time and assigned a polarity).” The structure in (55) shows the position of the EDR (in bold) as well the position of other unselected datives that may co-occur with it as in the example in

(56). Note that IHD means ‘interested hearer dative’ and the Appl below vP is where benefactive dative clitics are merged.

(55) [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Subj]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>ForceP</sub> [IHD] ... [<sub>MoodPeval</sub> [EDR]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>PolP</sub> ... [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>] v [<sub>AppIP</sub> ApplBEN [<sub>VP</sub> ... ]]]]]]]]]

(56) a. Ja ti si mu otvorim vrata  
 I you.Dat.Cl Refl.Dat he.Dat.Cl open door  
 ‘[FYI] I open the door for him [+EDR effects]’

b. [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Ja]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>ForceP</sub> [ti] ... [<sub>MoodPeval</sub> [Si]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>PolP</sub> ... [<sub>vP</sub> [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>] v [<sub>AppIP</sub> mu [<sub>VP</sub> otvorim vrata ]]]]]]]]]

The subject originates in spec vP but is obligatorily topical, so it moves to TopP where it c-commands the EDR and is co-indexed with it. From the analysis the following constellation of facts are claimed to follow. First, the EDR construction may not appear when there is a focalized evaluative intensifier like SUCH (= He bought SUCH a nice watch) since the evaluation of the eventuality in this case is oriented to the speaker and not the subject. Second, it is meant to capture the fact that subject is ‘intentional’ since intentionality is a necessary part of being an evaluator, according to Arsenijević (2012). This accounts for why inanimate subjects are better if they are personified (see a similar observation in section 2.1.1 for Spanish ARC). Third, it may account for why EDRs do not distribute over multiple subject or times. For example, if a sentence like *John answered-EDR correctly each time* is uttered, the evaluative effect associated with EDR is not distributed over each answering, but may only refer to the sum of all the answering events. According to the analysis, this is due to the fact that the evaluative effect functions as a discourse update that must be singular in nature (= one evaluation per utterance) (= see a similar observation for Spanish ARC in section 2.2.1). Fourth, the evaluative effect is also meant to capture why the subject must be the topic of an EDR sentence since the discourse update contributed by the evaluation is held within the subject’s domain of belief (= see similar observation for Spanish ARC in section 2.3). Fifth, the observation is meant to capture a pragmatic effect associated with EDR, called the *low relevance effect*: EDR is “always somehow digressive – beside the main line of exchange of information. Although the speaker assumes the information is not relevant to the hearer, the hearer may well show interest in the information conveyed, and this is exactly what usually happens, and what probably is one prominent purpose of EDR – to smuggle into the discourse information that might pragmatically (socially) inadequate, by attributing it a lower degree of relevance” Arsenijević (2012: 8). Why might this be? The idea is that this effect falls out naturally on this analysis since an utterance is evaluated by the speaker and/or hearer by default. That is, what is deemed as relevant information is based on the speaker’s and hearer’s views of the facts rather than subject’s views of the facts. This is what is responsible for the *low relevance effect*.<sup>10</sup>

While there are many properties that are shared between SE Serbo-Croatian EDR and Spanish ARC, the constellation of effects described by Arsenijević (2012) as

<sup>10</sup>What is not entirely clear about this reasoning is why the low relevance effect is also a part of first and second person subjects. As far as I can tell from the paper, there is really no difference in how this is perceived according the person of the subject. Thus, the question is if one of the default evaluators is also the evaluator of the EDR, why does it still carry *low relevance*? Perhaps the answer could be found in the author’s suggestion at the end of the paper that EDR (and other constructions like it in other languages) have all developed a set of properties that singles them out as constructions where the evaluator and controller of the event are one and the same. Thus, these properties apply generally to the construction regardless of the person of the subject.

being derived from generating the reflexive clitic in Mood<sub>EVAL</sub> would not be the best analysis for Spanish ARC for a few reasons. First, there are cases in which a focalized evaluative intensifier may appear with SE in Spanish ARC. In fact, many times, the construction is most natural with such modifiers and often takes on an emphatic or exclamative flavor, something that is not possible for EDR in SE Serbo-Croatian. This serves as one indication that the evaluative effect created by generating the clitic in Mood<sub>EVAL</sub> would not yield the desired properties in Spanish. A second reason to not adopt this analysis for Spanish is that the *low relevance effect* that is a by-product of making the subject the sole evaluator of the event simply does not exist in Spanish. As discussed in section 2.3, if there is a regular pragmatic effect related to place of the information in the discourse, it is a tendency for that information to be ‘noteworthy’ or ‘impressive’, which does not appear to be related to low relevance in any obvious way. Thus, if this is something we should expect from relativizing the evaluation of the eventuality to the subject, then it would not paint an accurate picture of the pragmatic tendencies associated with Spanish ARC. Finally, as discussed in Arsenijević (2012), there are no absolute restrictions on the types of verbs or aspectual classes with which EDR may appear. This is what we might expect if the clitic is so high in the left periphery of the clause.

A final “high approach” is that of Boneh & Nash (2011) for French co-referential datives. For these authors the relevant projection above vP is called Appl<sub>SE</sub>, a defective applicative head that introduces no new arguments and is bound by the subject when it moves from spec vP to spec TP. They claim that this particular position is special within the applicative typology (Cuervo 2003; Pykkänen 2008) because it may only “reintroduce” (in a sense) or enrich the role that the subject already gets from v. It is from this position that notions associated with conventional implicatures such as ‘pleasure’ and ‘easygoingness’ are added.

(57) [TP T [AppIP **ApplSE** [<sub>vP</sub> [DP Subj] v [<sub>vP</sub> V [DP Obj]]]]]

This analysis could capture some of the basic properties of both Spanish ARC and TSC constructions: (i) they are intrinsically reflexive and defective in the sense of non-doubling, (ii) in the case of ARC, a conventional implicature of willful intent is added to the subject and (iii) the fact that subject must move from vP to TP means that co-referential datives are restricted to external arguments, which is something that has been stressed throughout. However, there are some unresolved issues associated with this approach. First, it is not clear how this approach prevents intransitive verbs from appearing with co-referential datives if binding the clitic from spec TP is the only requirement. All of the examples provided in their paper are transitive verbs, so this apparent restriction would need an explanation. Applying this analysis to either Spanish ARC or TSC constructions would basically lead to the same set of questions: why is Appl<sub>SE</sub> restricted to transitive VPs (or, in the case of ARC, transitive VPs with a particular aspectual interpretation)?

To summarize this section, we have seen that there are number of possible approaches to both ARC and TSC constructions whereby the clitic is generated outside of vP but none of them are entirely adequate. The major advantage of this family of proposals is that it seems to allow for a natural explanation for why the clitic agrees with the subject and may have an influence on the role that the subject has. One of the major issues that arises in this family of approaches is how to explain the effects that SE has on aspectual interpretations and argument structure from a

position that is outside of the domain of predicate-argument structure and aspectual interpretation. We will now look at a second family of approaches that all claim that SE is generated inside the  $vP$ .

### 3.2.2 Low approaches

Most approaches to ARC and TSC constructions argue that the clitic is generated inside the VP. The earliest works on the topic, such as Nishida (1994) and Zagana (1996), claim that SE combines directly with the verbal head and changes certain aspects of the predicate – argument structure of the verb. For example, Nishida's (1994) analysis claims that SE combines with a transitive verb in the lexicon and returns a transitive that must take a quantized object. In the syntax, the SE clitic is part of the verb's subject agreement morphology and agrees with the subject in person and number. An analysis along these lines is able to capture the VP-internal effects that SE produces but fails to explain the differences between TSC constructions, which do not have to be telic, and ARC constructions, which have to be both accomplishments and have agents. Both of these papers are also based on the assumption that transitive verbs that describe changes of state do not combine with SE. While this appears to be true of TSC constructions, it has been shown here that ARC constructions do not exhibit any kind of preference with respect to the verb classes they may appear with so long as they are accomplishments.

A somewhat different type of low approach can be found in Folli & Harley (2005), who take as their point of departure constructions in which SE appears with consumption verbs in the presence of an inanimate causer such as *el mar se come la playa*, which were discussed in section 2.1.2. The argument presented in the paper is based on the observation that agentive verbs are typically unergative or transitive verbs that take nominal complements, but do not necessarily describe changes of state. The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that these verbs, the [ $v_P$  V N] I-structure of Hale & Keyser (2002), combine with agentive external argument introducing head, or  $v_{DO}$ . On the other hand, verbs that describe changes of state, lexical causatives, contain a small clause in the complement position of the verb where the main predicate is an adjective (or participle) that is root-identical to the verb and describes the resultant state. The external argument of causative verbs need not be an agent but may also be an inanimate causer, which motivates the existence of a second type of external argument-introducing head,  $v_{CAUSE}$ . Given these assumptions, the authors claim that SE spells out  $v$  but does so when the meaning of an agentive verb like *comer* is represented structurally like a change of state verb: it spells out  $v_{CAUSE}$  when this particular head appears with normally agentive verb roots. The analysis is meant to explain two sets of facts. First, it accounts for why SE is obligatory when ingestive verbs like *comer* take inanimate causer subjects. Second, since lexical causatives have resultant states (= the small clause), there is a telicizing effect on the meaning of the verb as well. This analysis is able to account for the behavior of *comer* (and perhaps *beber*), yet if it is correct, we would expect to see far more agentive verbs that are obligatorily marked with SE when they take inanimate causers, but this is simply not true. Furthermore, it has nothing to say about why the effect is precisely the opposite in Spanish ARC constructions: causative verbs that take an inanimate causer are coerced into an agentive interpretation. That said, there is something intuitively appealing about applying the idea that SE is a realization of  $v$  to Spanish ARC since at least some of its effects are on the type of role the external argument receives. It is less clear how the telicizing effect is to be explained on this analysis since positing the presence of a small clause does not seem to be sufficient

just as resultatives in English do not necessarily make the predicate telic in the absence of a DP that describes a specific quantity as in *John pounded metal flat for hours* (see MacDonald 2008: 194-198 for discussion).

Basilico's (2010) work could be seen as an extension of the basic insights in Nishida (1994), Zagona (1996) and Folli & Harley (2005) to a framework that contains a more elaborate representation of event structure in the syntax. Basilico's (2010) analysis is based Ramchand's (2008) discussion of the three different ways that the notion of PATH, or scale, may be articulated in event structure. Simplifying somewhat, the basic idea is that dynamic verbs containing a process portion (= *proc*) in their event structure all take an argument in their specifier that corresponds to an affected entity, a "figure" or an "undergoer" that, sometimes metaphorically and sometimes literally, "moves" incrementally along some kind of scale throughout the event. A *proc* head may take three kinds of complements that correspond to different types of scales. A nominal complement corresponds to an 'extent scale' whose coming into or going out of existence measures out the event described by the verb. These include verbs like *eat*. An adjectival complement corresponds to a 'property scale' whose degrees measure the event described by the verb. These include verbs like *dry*. Finally, a prepositional complement corresponds to a spatial path whose boundedness measures out the event. These include verbs like *push*. Basilico (2010) claims that SE is the morphological realization of the process portion of a verb's event structure. As the realization of the process portion of the event structure it imposes two main restrictions. First, it blocks the presence of the UNDERGOER role that is assigned in the specifier and second, it requires the presence of a bounded PATH in the complement. The consequences of this analysis are that for verbs like *comer*, the complement must be a DP of specific quantity (= a bounded extent scale) and the subject may be interpreted as a pure causer since in Ramchand's (2008) system, agents receive a composite INITIATOR-UNDERGOER role while pure causers are just INITIATORS. Second, it aims to explain why with change of state verbs the clitic SE has both a telicizing and detransitivizing effect. The proposed explanation for this is that for verbs like *secar*, the bounded path is provided by the verb root itself (i.e. - a property scale of 'dryness') and the UNDERGOER must be merged in the specifier of a separate verbal head. The basic workings of the system are shown below.

- (58) a. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>Arg</sub>]<sub>init</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>Arg</sub>]<sub>undergoer</sub> v [<sub>XP</sub> PATH/SCALE]]]  
 b. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>Arg</sub>]<sub>init</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> v-SE+v-√com [<sub>DP</sub> la manzana]]]  
 c. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>Arg</sub>]<sub>undergoer</sub> v [<sub>VP</sub> v-SE [√sec]]]

While this system provides a novel way of accounting for certain similarities between TSC constructions and anti-causative SE, it seems to require a number of ad hoc mechanisms to explain the behavior of the different types of SE constructions under investigation. For example, it is claimed that SE blocks the UNDERGOER role that is typically associated with the specifier of the process portion of the event, yet that role can be re-introduced by a second verbal layer for some verbs but not others. It is not clear under what circumstances the UNDERGOER role may be re-introduced and what this means for the structure of the entire event (i.e. – it seems that if the UNDERGOER is introduced after SE than an INITIATOR may only be able to added if the UNDERGOER and INITIATOR are the same, but it is not clear why). Furthermore, this analysis would not be adequate for many more types of TSC constructions outside of *comer* and certainly not for ARC. This is because there are TSC constructions such as *saltar-se el semáforo* that do not require a bounded path DP complement and ARC

constructions may appear with transitive changes of state where an obligatory agentive interpretation of the subject is required, which is something that is not possible in this system.

A second family of low approaches proposes that SE is an argument of a predicate within the complement of the VP: it is the complement of a null P. This family of proposals is exemplified by an original proposal in MacDonald (2004), which is extended in work by MacDonald (2008) and MacDonald & Huidobro (2010). A similar version of it may also be found in De Cuyper (2006) and Campanini & Schäfer (2011) though the latter two proposals are motivated by a different range of data. I will focus on the proposal outlined in MacDonald (2004, 2008) and MacDonald & Huidobro (2010). The main idea is based on the observation that verbs such as *comer* and *lavar* are aspectually variable in Spanish, even in the presence of an object of specific quantity.

- (59) a. Juan comió la paella en/durante una hora<sup>11</sup>  
*Juan ate the paella in/for an hour*  
 ‘Juan ate the paella in/for an hour’  
 b. Juan lavó el coche en/durante una hora  
*Juan washed the car in/for an hour*  
 ‘Juan washed the car in/for an hour’

If SE is added to a sentence like (59b), two effects are induced. First, the sentence is interpreted as obligatorily telic and second the sentence contains on ‘on/with’ entailment (see section 2.1.1) whereby the vagueness associated with washing a car (washing it oneself or having it washed at a carwash) vanishes: the only interpretation available in (60) is that Juan washed the car “with his own hands.”

- (60) Juan **se** lavó el coche en/#durante una hora  
*Juan SE.3S washed the car in/for an hour*  
 ‘Juan washed the car in/#for an hour’

In order to link the two effects, MacDonald (2004, 2008) proposes that the SE clitic is the complement of a null goal-like preposition. The details of the proposal as outlined in MacDonald’s (2008) syntactic framework of inner aspect are illustrated below.

- (61) [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Subj] v [<sub>AspP</sub> Asp<ie> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Obj] V [<sub>PP</sub> Ø<sub>GOAL</sub><fe> [<sub>DP</sub> SE ]]]]]  
 “P adds an ‘on/with’ entailment: the complement of P must be ‘on/with’ the DP in spec of VP”  
 “P adds an interpretable event feature <fe> (final subevent) to the event structure of entire VP predicate”

This approach accounts for a number of phenomena surrounding SE constructions. First, the accomplishment interpretation is captured by positing that the syntactic configuration of the event features <ie> (= initiation) on Asp and <fe> (= final) are in a c-command relation. An added bonus is that in this system, event features are

<sup>11</sup>A note here: there are some speakers that do not accept the time span headed by *en* in the absence of SE for a handful of verbs, *comer* being one of them. That is, SE is required when the telic interpretation is the only possibility (De Cuyper 2006; Sanz 2000). However, there are also speakers that accept sentence (59a) with both types of time spans as well.



independent of any effects associated with ‘measuring out’, thus it avoids the problems encountered in the proposal by Sanz (2000), discussed above in section 3.2.1. Second, it links the presence of an event endpoint with the fact that the object is ‘on/with’ the subject. This is because the complement of the P is a reflexive clitic, it must be interpreted as the subject. A third attractive aspect of this proposal is that it can account in a straightforward way for why SE interrupts VO idioms. Consider the expression *comer la sopa boba*. According the RAE dictionary ([www.rae.es](http://www.rae.es)), *la sopa boba* is the food that is prepared in convents to give to the poor. So, the literal interpretation of the phrase would involve eating this food. The idiomatic interpretation is ‘to live off of other people’ or ‘be a sponger.’

- (62) Juan se come la sopa boba  
*Juan SE.3s eats la sopa boba*  
 (i) ✓ ‘Juan eats (up) the food provided by the convent’  
 (ii) ✗ ‘Juan lives off of other people/Juan is a sponger’

If SE is treated as the complement of a null, goal P, then *comer* and *la sopa boba* do not form a constituent that does not include SE, thus explaining why it interrupts the idiomatic interpretation. If SE were generated outside of the VP, such facts would not have a straightforward explanation.

There are certain issues that arise when this proposal is considered in more detail. One issue is that it subsumes ARC and TSC constructions with DATIVOS SIMPATÉTICOS (= DS), claiming that the ‘on/with’ entailment is essentially inalienable possession.<sup>12</sup> We saw in section 3.1 that the type of ‘on/with’ entailment in a DS is sometimes different from the one that characterizes the ARC construction. Inalienable (and alienable) possession is not an entailment in ARC constructions nor in all TSC constructions (i.e. – *encontrar-se*) for that matter. Thus, while a relation of inalienable possession between subject and object appears to be a requirement for reflexive DS, it is not for ARC or TSC constructions.

A second issue concerns the syntactic nature of the internal argument. In MacDonald’s (2008) system, in order for the <fe> feature to be visible to the CI interface, the domain of aspectual interpretation must be extended through an agreement relation between an NP that is [+q], which corresponds to a *specific quantity* (MacDonald 2008: 4). It is pointed out that in similar constructions in English that involve a goal preposition such as ‘*a kid dragged wood into a barn #in/for 10 minutes*’ (MacDonald 2008: 43), the presence of the goal PP is not enough to induce a telic interpretation of the predicate in the absence of a direct object that is [+q]. Importantly, the choice of object [+q] or [-q] does not depend on the presence of the goal PP. Why is it that in Spanish the presence of SE appears to force the object to be [+q] and thus force the telic interpretation? MacDonald & Huidobro (2010) tackle this issue and claim that no bare nouns are possible with SE in transitive sentences for the same reason that no bare nouns are possible in pre-verbal subject position or in small clauses embedded under verbs like *considerar*: they occupy specifiers (see Cuervo 2003 for a detailed discussion of facts revolving around this constraint). The revised proposal is that the [q] feature relevant for extending the domain of aspectual

<sup>12</sup>As discussed in MacDonald (2004) and MacDonald & Huidobro (2010), there are certain objects such as *el coche*, which are not included in the typically inalienably possessed nouns such as body parts and pieces of clothing that are on the body. These can be thought of as forming part of the possessor’s personal sphere.

interpretation is also part of P and the complex predicate formed by V-PP forces a [+q] NP to be in its specifier by predication as in (63).

- (63) [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Subj] v [<sub>AspP</sub> Asp<sub><ie></sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Obj] V [<sub>PP</sub> Ø<sub>GOAL[q]</sub> <fe> [<sub>DP</sub> SE ]]]]
- 

The prediction that only possible pre-verbal subject DPs should appear in the specifier position of the VP in (63) is not without its counterexamples. First, we already saw that some speakers admit bare mass nouns such as *veneno* and *detergente* in SE constructions with *comer* and *beber* (see example (14) above). Further examples from Barra Jover (1996: 127) indicate that bare nouns are also possible when an iterative interpretation similar to MacDonald's (2008) sequence of similar events interpretation is induced as shown in (64).

- (64) a. Guillermo **se** comió bocadillos (uno tras otro)  
*Guillermo SE.3s ate sandwiches (one after another)*  
 'Guillermo ate sandwiches one after the other'  
 b. Guillermo **se** comió pollo tras pollo  
*Guillermo SE.3s ate chicken after chicken*  
 'Guillermo ate chicken after chicken'

The NPs in (64) could potentially interact with Asp in MacDonald's (2008) system in order to derive the correct sequence of similar events interpretation yet these do not appear in subject position in Spanish. A further example of an ARC with a bare plural has also been rated as acceptable by some informants provided it has the sequence of similar events interpretation that is present in (64) (= there are many, individually bounded, writing events).

- (65) McCarthy **se** escribió novelas impresionantes para sus ávidos lectores  
*McCarthy SE.3s wrote novels impressive for his hungry readers*  
*durante toda su vida*  
*durante all his life*  
 'McCarthy churned out impressive novels for his hungry readers (throughout his life)'

The generalization also would not hold up for other types of TSC constructions, which admit bare nouns in the object position such as *temer-se represalias* or *imaginar-se mundos inexistentes* (discussed in section 2.2.2). Finally, the idea does not mention at all that the lack of bare nouns in subject position can be overridden by intonation and also by the presence of certain modifiers (Leonetti 2012: 290). Perhaps the same explanation that is applied to stressed bare nouns in subject position could also be applied to the counterexamples above, but it is not clear how this would fall out from their analysis.

A final issue concerns lack of doubling. Unlike the high approaches, SE is a DP in this approach, thus what the high approaches get for free by proposing that SE is not in an argument position at all (i.e. – it is not of the category D), this analysis must provide an explanation for. The explanation offered in MacDonald & Huidobro (2010) is that the null P is a phase head. If it is assumed that (i) *mismo* is obligatory with doubled reflexives and (ii) *mismo* acquires its gender and number features from the subject, then if it is generated in the DP complement of the null P, which is a

phase head, its phi features cannot be valued by the time the subject merges because  $\nu$ P is a new cycle and all previous cycles of the derivation are invisible due the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). This certainly would capture why doubling is not available, but the explanation is unsatisfying if it is placed in the context of the behavior of reflexive doubling and P complements more generally. The question we are left with is the following: why does this null P behave in precisely the opposite way as any overt P in Spanish? Note that a preposition like *de* exhibits the following pattern (*cf.* Otero 1999).

- (66) a. María habló de sí (misma) *misma* is optional  
 María talked about herself  
 ‘María talked about herself’  
 b. María (\*se) habló de sí misma SE is ungrammatical  
 María (SE.3s) talked about herself  
 ‘María talked about herself’

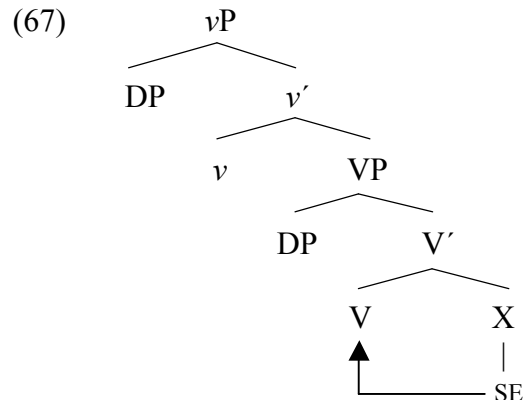
The reasoning behind the pattern in (66) is that P blocks the clitic from raising to its clitic position (on the big DP hypothesis), or the agreement relation that must hold between clitic and double (on the clitics as Agr approach). Basically, clitics don’t appear in PPs and *misma* does optionally. This is precisely the opposite of what we see with the null goal P: clitics are the only thing that appears in their complement while a strong DP cannot. Related to this pattern is the question of how the clitic is able to escape the PP phase (it has to raise) yet the DP is unable to move to an edge position from which its phi-features could be valued (if edges are assumed to be accessible once the subsequent cycle is sent to the interfaces). Considering these questions, a real conundrum arises for this approach: it is able to account for many of the properties of transitive SE constructions by equating them to goal of motion constructions in English, yet it does so at a cost – these constructions would essentially be exceptions to the rule regarding the distribution of clitics and strong pronouns in Spanish. I believe that by not claiming SE is D element such issues can be avoided while maintaining the positive aspects of this proposal. This is basically what is proposed in De Cuyper (2006) and will adopt a version of this in the next section.

To summarize this section, we have seen that low approaches fair far better in accounting for the aspectual properties of ARC and TSC constructions, but that none of them is able to give a completely satisfying explanation of the properties of each construction. This is primarily due to the fact that none of these approaches recognizes a difference between the two constructions, which often leads to generalizations based on data that are not entirely accurate.

### 3.3 Analysis

I will outline my main claim about ARC and TSC constructions based on the discussion above. Let me start by making a general claim about transitive SE constructions, whose details will be subject to future investigation. Following the spirit of the low approach proposed in De Cuyper (2006), MacDonald (2004, 2008) and MacDonald & Huidobro (2010), I claim that TSC constructions have the following basic structure. The hypothesis is that the clitic occupies the syntactic

complement position of the verb and incorporates into the verb. Pending further research, I have given SE an X label.<sup>13</sup>



The intuition behind this preliminary proposal is that the main predicate consists essentially of a verb and SE. It is this complex predicate that takes an internal argument in its specifier and an external argument that is added by *v*. Note this shares the core structural aspect of the low approach adopted in MacDonald (2004, 2008) and MacDonald & Huidobro (2010) yet it does not posit the existence of a null goal P and does not treat SE as a full-fledged argument DP, thus avoiding the problems with that approach mentioned in section 3.2.2. At this point I will offer some remarks about the range of data the structure in (67) could be used to capture. These are outlined in table 2.

Table 2. *Capturing the properties of transitive SE constructions*

Property of transitive SE constructions	Potential explanation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• V+SE does not always preserve the meaning of V</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SE has access to the verb root and V+SE could point to an independent concept in the encyclopedia</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• V+SE may impose different selectional restrictions on its internal and external arguments than V alone (without drastically changing the meaning of the verb)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• V+SE is a complex predicate that can impose different selectional restrictions on its arguments than V alone.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SE deforms V+O idioms</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• V+O cannot form a constituent without SE</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• V+SE does not belong to a fixed aspectual class</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The effect of SE is not necessarily aspectual</li> </ul>

<sup>13</sup>It could be treated as a  $\varphi$ P or CIP (Espinal 2009; Kempchinsky 2004) or even a head that spells out part of the verb's event structure, assuming a more complex V-internal structure along the line of Hale & Keyser (2002) or Ramchand (2008). I will remain as neutral as possible for the moment in order to see if this approach can be reasonably extended to certain less-studied intransitive verbs that take SE.

- SE is not possible for ditransitive verbs and (apparently) certain sets of morphologically complex verbs such as *con-sumir*, *en-gullir*, etc.
- SE occupies the position of the ‘second object’, which could also be the position of verbal prefixes (Marantz 1997)

Let us briefly illustrate each of these properties with some of the examples that have been presented earlier in this work to give some closure to the main proposal regarding transitive SE constructions. The first property is shown in (68a). In this case, *comer* does not mean anything resembling ingestion of food, which we could explain by assigning *comer*+SE a different meaning in the encyclopedia. The second property is shown in (68b). In this case, the basic meaning and aspectual properties of entire predicate are preserved, but a nuance of ‘unexpectedness’ is added. I assume that this is a conventional implicature added directly to the verb by SE. The third property is shown in (68c). The idiomatic expression *beber los vientos* (= lit. *drink the winds*, id. *to be mad/crazy for someone*) loses the idiomatic reading in the presence of SE. Note additionally that both (68a) and (68b) are achievements while (68d) is a state, showing that transitive SE constructions do not belong to a single aspectual class.

- (68) a. **Me** comí el gol  
*SE.1s I ate the goal*  
 ‘I missed the goal (with a poor shot)’
- b. María **se** encontró a Juan  
*María SE.3s found ACC Juan*  
 ‘María ran into Juan’
- c. Pedro (**#se**) bebe los vientos por Andrea  
*Pedro (#SE.3s) drinks the winds for Andrea*  
 Intended: ‘Pedro is mad/crazy for Andrea’
- d. **Te** crees mentiras  
*SE.2s you believe lies*  
 ‘You believe lies’

The final property ascribed to TSC constructions is still somewhat tentative and needs further investigation, but by claiming that SE occupies a syntactic position in the complement of V, a single solution to three puzzles presents itself. First, there are no TSC constructions with ditransitive verbs such as *enviar* nor does SE appear with telic verb phrases such as *empujar el carrito hasta la esquina* (Sanz 2000; Sanz & Laka 2002) in the absence of an ARC context. If we assume that the goal phrase for each of these verbs occupies the complement of V (see Fábregas 2007 for details and controversies surrounding *hasta* goal phrases), then the presence of SE would be predicted to be in complementary distribution with them. It also provides a possible avenue for accounting for why speakers reject SE with certain morphologically complex consumption verbs such as *con-sumir*, *en-gullir* and *in-gerir* could be an indication that the morphological complexity of these verbs, though semantically opaque, has a syntactic reality similar to what Marantz (1997) has proposed for *destroy* in English. Adapting this idea to the present analysis for comparative purposes, the result would be that the prefix of a verb like *con-sumir* occupies the complement

position of the verb root and fuses with the root to yield verb a licit verb.<sup>14</sup> This same idea could be used to explain why change of state verbs do not enter into transitive SE constructions: they are derived by conflating a result-denoting root with a V that describes the notion ‘change’ (Hale & Keyser 2002; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995). These possibilities are illustrated in (69), which shows that either the prefix, the verb root or a goal PP would occupy the position in which SE would need to merge.

- (69) a. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Subj] v [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Obj] V [<sub>PP</sub> GOAL]]]  
 b. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Subj] v [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Obj] V-√root [prefix]]]  
 c. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Subj] v [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Obj] V [√root]]]

If the latter explanation turns out to be valid, it would constitute (at least) an argument in favor of structured lexical representations in which SE, together with other morphological parts of words, occupies a dedicated position in those structures. A more radical conclusion that these data could be used to support is that there is no difference between syntax and word formation, but I will leave this for future research. Other components of this analysis that would have to be worked out include questions regarding Case and agreement. The main question contains two parts: (i) does SE check a particular Case and (ii) if so, is this at all related to its agreement with the subject? It is not entirely obvious whether SE is dative or accusative given the syncretism that exists in the SE clitic paradigm. It is also not entirely obvious whether the SE in TSC constructions should be linked with subject-verb agreement as suggested in Nishida (1994) and tacitly followed in other works. Note that SE may appear (i) when the subject is a PRO and has no Case (70a), (ii) when it has nominative Case (70b), (iii) when it has accusative Case (70c) or when it has dative Case (70d). If it were part of subject-verb agreement, why should it be present when the subject appears with an infinitive and receives Case inherently or from a source external to the clause where SE is?

- (70) a. Es posible tomar-**se** una botella de whiskey diario, pero no es recomendable  
*Is possible drink-SE a bottle of whiskey daily, but NEG is recommended*  
 ‘It is possible to drink a bottle of whiskey daily, but it is not recommended’  
 b. Pedro **se** tomó una botella de vino  
 Pedro SE.3s drank a bottle of wine  
 ‘Pedro drank a bottle of wine’  
 c. A Pedro lo vi tomar-**se** una botella de vino  
 ACC Pedro ACC I saw drink-SE a bottle of wine  
 ‘Pedro? I saw him drink a bottle of wine’  
 d. A Pedro le hice tomar-**se** una botella de vino  
 DAT Pedro DAT I made drink-SE a bottle of wine  
 ‘I made him drink a bottle of wine’

<sup>14</sup>This idea is essentially what Atutxa (2000) is getting at by proposing that SE is place holder in a complex event structure that is created for verb that normally has a simplex event structure in framework of Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995). The main claim in the paper is the SE marks the process of template augmentation from a simplex event [*x* ACT<*MANNER*> *y*] to a complex event [[*x* ACT<*MANNER*> CAUSE [*y* BECOME <*RESULT*>]]. *Comer* is marked as a simplex event in the lexicon while *consumir* is complex. Because *consumir* is complex, SE cannot mark the process of template augmentation since this is defined as an additive process that may create a new, more complex event structure out of an existing, simpler one.

Though this is also subject to further investigation, I will make the preliminary claim that SE in transitive SE constructions is licensed by incorporation (it doesn't check any Case) and that its agreement with the subject is executed in a spec – head relation in  $vP$  at the  $vP$  phase. Once the  $V+SE$  complex moves to  $v$ , SE must agree with the argument in spec  $vP$ .<sup>15</sup> This could account for why SE agrees with the subject independent of any relation between T and the subject. This concludes the preliminary proposal for TSC constructions. Let us now turn to a more definitive proposal regarding ARC constructions.

ARC constructions share their basic morphological properties with TSC constructions. I assume that the agreement relation that holds between subject and SE must be executed in a spec – head relation in  $vP$ . However, instead of merging inside the VP, I follow Folli & Harley (2005) in claiming that the SE in an ARC construction merges as a  $v$  head. The similarity between my proposal and Folli & Harley's (2005) ends there. Rather than a realization of  $v_{CAUSE}$  with consumption verbs, I claim that ARC constructions are the result of merging a special  $v_{DO}$  head. The main claim is that Spanish has two instantiations of  $v_{DO}$  in its inventory of external argument-introducing heads:  $v_{DO}$  and  $v_{DO-ARC}$ . Though these both introduce AGENT predicates and value accusative Case, I claim that they differ in several other respects as outlined in table 3.

Table 3.  $v_{DO}$  in Spanish

Label	Predicate	Conventional implicatures	Spell out	Features
$v_{DO}$	AGENT	None	None	Case: ACC (or none) $u$ : $\phi$ (or none)
$v_{DO-ARC}$	AGENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• With the object</li> <li>• Willful intent</li> <li>• Unaided performance</li> </ul>	SE clitic (person and number valued by DP in spec $vP$ )	Case: ACC $u$ : $\phi$ Event features: <ie>, <fe>

The proposal is that ARC constructions result from a bundle of semantic and syntactic properties found on a single head:  $v_{DO-ARC}$ . This might seem like overkill and lot of tinkering with a single head to get all the right effects, but I believe it is the best way to capture the range of properties observed in the ARC construction that have been outlined above. First, the restriction to agents is captured because SE spells out what is effectively an 'enriched' agent (enriched with series of conventional implicatures that are not present when it is not there). This captures the 'high' effects that SE produces in ARC constructions without having to say that SE is generated so high as to not be able to interact with inner aspect. The question is – how does SE interact with inner aspect from a position outside VP? More specifically, what are the

<sup>15</sup>Like De Cuyper (2006), I believe that any proposal for the role SE plays in TSC constructions should be able to be linked with intransitive verbs of directed motion that take SE such as *ir-se*, *salir-se*, *subir-se* and *bajar-se* and other unaccusatives like *caer-se* and *morir-se*. Thus, the proposal would have to be modified to account for unaccusative SE constructions like these. It is worth noting here that since SE may appear with unaccusatives (and mark anti-causatives) seems to suggest that the explanation for why SE is not permitted in passives is most likely related to certain aspects of the passive itself rather than with the absence of accusative case. These issues are for a more comprehensive project on non-argumental uses of SE.

event features on  $v_{\text{DO-ARC}}$  (shown above in table 3)? We already saw that there are approaches such as Borer (2005) and Sanz (2000) (section 3.2.1) where an event phrase, higher than T, may interact with inner aspect through predication (Borer 2005) or feature checking (Sanz 2000). However, I will make the assumption, following MacDonald (2008), that (i) there is a domain of aspectual interpretation that is defined by an Asp head between  $v\text{P}$  and VP and nothing outside of this domain can contribute to aspectual interpretation and (ii) the interpretation of inner aspect is not executed until the  $v\text{P}$  phase. Given these assumptions, let us outline how the restrictions on inner aspect are derived in ARC constructions.

In MacDonald's (2008) system, aspectual classes are derived from the interpretable features  $\langle ie \rangle$  (= initial subevent) and  $\langle fe \rangle$  (= final subevent). The feature  $\langle ie \rangle$  is located on an Asp head between  $v\text{P}$  and VP while the feature  $\langle fe \rangle$  may be located on a number of possible heads within VP such as V or P (in a PP complement of V) or on Asp itself. If the  $\langle fe \rangle$  feature is on Asp itself, the predicate is interpreted as an achievement whereas if it appears inside the VP, the entire predicate is interpreted as an accomplishment. The logic behind the system is that the c-command relation between  $\langle ie \rangle$  and  $\langle fe \rangle$  corresponds to the durative component between initiation and terminus that characterizes accomplishments and the lack of it (they are bundled onto the same head) corresponds to the punctual nature of an achievement. Now, the domain of aspectual interpretation is *minimal* and only contains AspP if there is no agreement between Asp and an NP that describes a specific quantity within the c-command domain of Asp. However, the domain of aspectual interpretation may be extended if an NP that describes a specific quantity agrees with Asp. In the following pair of examples, the  $\langle ie \rangle$  feature is on Asp and  $\langle fe \rangle$  feature is on the P (= *into*) but only in the case where the object describes a specific quantity is the feature  $\langle fe \rangle$  able to be interpreted as the endpoint of the event.

- (71) a. Ron carried sand<sub>[-q]</sub> into the bedroom #in/for one hour  
 b. Ron carried the bag<sub>[+q]</sub> into the bedroom in/#for one hour

The reasoning in MacDonald (2008) is that since *sand* is [-q] (= it does not describe a specific quantity) and *the bag* is [+q] (= it describes a specific quantity), the domain of aspectual interpretation is only extended in the latter case and thus only then is the feature  $\langle fe \rangle$  visible to the CI interface. One further note is in order before going into more detail regarding the present proposal. Even though AspP defines the domain of aspectual interpretation, it is not until the  $v\text{P}$  phase (= when the external argument is merged) that an aspectual interpretation is actually assigned to a predicate. This is due to examples like the following (MacDonald 2008: 84).

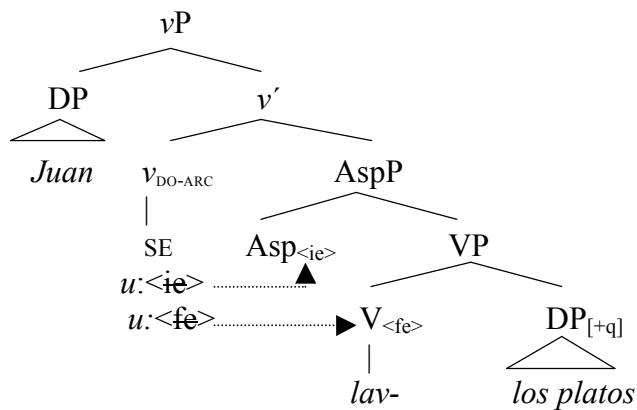
- (72) a. A bear walked itself into the barn in/#for an hour  
 b. Wildlife walked itself into the barn #in/for an hour

The sentence in (72a) is telic since *itself* is bound by an NP that is [+q] (= *a bear*) whereas (72b) is atelic since *itself* is bound by an NP that is [-q] (= *wildlife*) since these subjects merge in spec  $v\text{P}$ , this constitutes evidence that the aspectual interpretation of a predicate cannot happen until the entire  $v\text{P}$  is built. Given these claims, let us now assume that  $v_{\text{DO-ARC}}$  contains an  $\langle ie \rangle$  feature and an  $\langle fe \rangle$  feature that it need to be checked upon merging; otherwise, the derivation crashes. Since Asp



is the only head that can introduce <ie> (in Spanish)<sup>16</sup>, the only way this feature could be checked is through the presence of Asp. Second, given that the <fe> feature is only syntactically active in accomplishments (it does not project in achievements since it is bundled onto the Asp head), only an <fe> feature in the VP would be able to check this feature on  $v_{\text{DO-ARC}}$ . Finally, since the domain of aspectual interpretation is only extended in the presence of an NP that is [+q], this ensures the presence of an object capable of agreeing with Asp else the <fe> feature on  $v_{\text{DO-ARC}}$  could not be valued. There are two primary ways in which the <ie> and <fe> features of  $v_{\text{DO-ARC}}$  may be checked. The most common is by checking an <fe> feature on V, which is made possible through agreement of Asp and a [+q] NP. This is shown in (73).

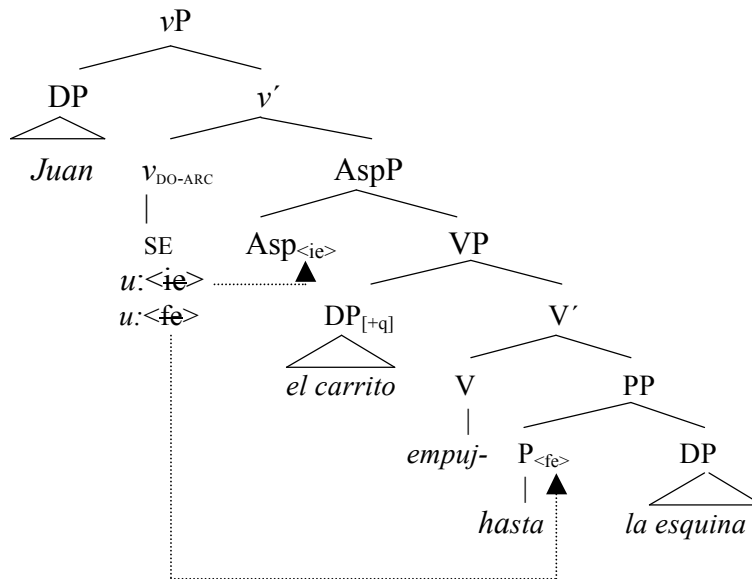
- (73) Juan se lavó los platos  
 Juan SE.3s washed the plates  
 ‘Juan washed the plates [+ARC effects]’



Another possible way of checking the <fe> feature is against P, which is something that differentiates ARCs from transitive SE constructions. This is shown in (74).

- (74) Juan se empujó el carrito hasta la esquina (él solito)  
 Juan SE.3s pushed the cart until the corner (HIMSELF)  
 ‘Juan pushed the cart to corner [+ARC effects]’

<sup>16</sup>See MacDonald (2008, chapter 5) for a proposal regarding the Russian aspectual system that does not involve the presence of AspP.



The proposal outlined above gives us a technical way of adequately accounting for all of the properties of ARC constructions in Spanish, but there are still some residual questions. As it stands, the proposal does not distinguish between manner of motion verbs that take NP measure phrases as internal arguments and PP goal phrases, since both can make a manner of motion verb telic (see Fábregas 2007 for discussion). In spite of the fact that both are interpreted as accomplishments, an ARC is only acceptable in (75a).

- (75) a. Pedro **se** nadó todo el río en un mes  
*Pedro SE.3s swam all the river in a month*  
 ‘Pedro swam the (entire length) of the river [+ARC effects]’  
 b. Pedro (**\*se**) nadó hasta la presa en una hora  
*Pedro (SE.3s) swam until the dam in an hour*  
 Intended: ‘Pedro swam to the dam [+ARC effects]’

I propose that (75b) is ruled out because there is a case feature, ACC on  $v_{DO-ARC}$  that must be checked while  $v_{DO}$  may or may not merge with this feature (giving rise to a transitive or an unergative verb). In (75a), the ACC case feature is checked by valuing accusative case on *todo el río* while it cannot be checked in (75b). This accounts for both the transitivity restriction and the aktionsart restriction.

A second issue is that ARC constructions do share certain properties with TSC constructions that do not have a straightforward analysis on the ‘high approaches’: (i) they deform VO idioms and (ii) the clitic cannot survive *hacerlo* pronominalizations. First consider the example in (76).

(76) IDIOM DEFORMATION

- a. Pedro **se** come la sopa boba  
*Pedro SE.3s eats **la sopa boba***  
 (i) ✓ Juan eats (up) the food provided by the convent  
 (ii) ✗ Juan lives off of other people/Juan is a sponger  
 b. Pedro **se** rompió el hielo  
*Pedro SE.3s broke the ice*

- (i) ✓ Pedro broke the ice [+ARC effects]  
 (ii) ✗ Pedro broke the ice (with the other people at the party) [+ARC effects]

Like the transitive SE construction in (75), a VO idiomatic reading in an ARC construction is also not available. Since the VO does form constituent in (75b), this could be evidence against generating SE outside of the VP. However, I will offer an explanation of this fact based on a slightly different interpretation of what syntactic chunk the encyclopedia needs to see when the idiomatic interpretation of *romper el hielo* (and similar VO idioms) is activated. The development of the idea that the external argument is not an argument of the verb is intimately related to the discussion in Marantz (1984) and Kratzer (1996) regarding VO idioms: the V+O defines a specific interpretation that, as a whole, is what assigns a role the subject. Note that there still is an intermediary of sorts between the VO unit and the external argument: Kratzer's Voice (or little *v*). Thus, the VO actually determines what the predicate added to the event by Voice/little *v* is and the argument of this predicate is saturated by the external argument. If this is right, then it is possible that a deformed idiomatic interpretation may be caused not only by something that breaks up the constituency of the VO pair but also something that introduces an external argument predicate that is incompatible with the idiomatic requirements defined by the VP. At an intuitive level, the SE clitic in ARC constructions is 'low' enough to deform idiomatic interpretations because it imposes its own set of restrictions on the predicate that is saturated by the external argument.

A third potential problem for this approach to ARC constructions is that the SE clitic does not survive the *hacerlo* pronominalization test. This test is typically used to show that a V and its complements are the only elements that cannot survive pronominalization while adjuncts may. Thus, while it is completely expected that the clitic in transitive SE constructions should not survive the test, it is not entirely clear why the SE clitic in ARC constructions may not. This is shown in (77).

- (77) a. Pedro **se** tomó una copa de vino y María (**\*se**) lo hizo también  
*Pedro SE.3s drank a glass of wine and María (SE.3s) it did too*  
 Intended: 'Pedro drank-SE a glass of wine and María did-SE so too'  
 b. Pedro **se** barrió toda su casa él solito y María (**\*se**) lo hizo también  
*Pedro SE.3s swept all his house HIMSELF and María (SE.3s) it did too*  
 Intended: 'Pedro swept-SE his whole house HIMSELF and María did-SE so too'

The explanation for (77) is not too complicated. If we assume that *hacer* is basically a light verb that is bleached representation of  $v_{DO}$  (= the test only works with agentive verbs) and *lo* is everything that comes after it, we predict that any element in *v* (= a light verb) in the antecedent of an *hacerlo* construction should not appear in the second conjunct. Given that SE is the spell out of light verb, this is precisely what we see in (77b).

To sum up, I have proposed two different structures, one for TSC constructions (which I hope may be extended to intransitive SE constructions as well) and one for ARC constructions. The SE clitic in TSC constructions is generated 'low', in the complement position of V while the SE clitic in ARC constructions is generated higher, as a special type of  $v_{DO}$  head. The two constructions share certain morphosyntactic properties: they both require the SE clitic to agree in a spec – head configuration with a DP in spec  $vP$ , but differ in several semantic respects. First, while transitive SE constructions are not limited to agents, ARC constructions are.

Second, while the SE clitic in transitive SE constructions imposes no uniform set of conventional implicatures on the particular role the subject plays in the event, the SE clitic in ARC constructions does. Third, while there are no uniform aspectual effects imposed by the SE clitic in transitive SE constructions, there are in ARC constructions. The latter effect is a product of the event features on  $v_{\text{DO-ARC}}$  that must be checked against the syntactic structure.

#### 4. Conclusions

In this paper I have proposed a new division among transitive sentences that appear with a (non-doubling) SE clitic, which is sometimes called a *DATIVO CONCORDADO* or *DATIVO ASPECTUAL*. What I have labeled transitive SE clitic (TSC) constructions subsumes the categories of ‘transitive pronominal verbs’ and ‘aspectual SE constructions.’ I have argued that these all reduce to a single syntactic structure whose semantic effects may be idiosyncratic because the SE clitic combines directly with the verb. This means that there is no ‘aspectual SE’; the telicizing effect that can be observed with some verbs in transitive SE constructions is just one of many types of effects that are induced by merging the clitic directly with a verb. The main descriptive contribution of the paper has been to isolate a class of constructions labeled ARC (= agentive reflexive clitic) constructions, which obligatorily involve an agent and an accomplishment interpretation in the presence of SE. These are far more colloquial than TSC constructions and sometimes require specific contexts in order to sound completely natural. I have argued that ARCs are best accounted for by positing that the SE clitic in these constructions spells out a special external argument – introducing head,  $v_{\text{DO-ARC}}$ , which in addition to introducing an agent argument also adds a set of agent-oriented conventional implicatures and must check a set of event features against the material in its c-command domain.

There are two somewhat surprising conclusions in this paper. The first is that, although both ARC and TSC constructions share certain formal and interpretative properties with other constructions cross-linguistically such as the Reflexive Dative in Modern Hebrew, the Personal Dative in American English, the Evaluative Dative Reflexive in Southeast Serbo-Croatian, and Co-Referential Datives in Syrian Arabic and French, they do exhibit a set of unique properties that militates against analyzing them as identical to any of these. While all of the reflexive elements in these constructions across languages are ‘datives’ (in a loose sense of the term) that have some effect on the subject, they differ markedly in other ways such as in the types of VPs they may combine with and the pragmatic effects associated with them. Perhaps the most surprising conclusion of the paper is that the SE clitic in both constructions examined is no obvious way *DATIVE*. These clitics do not introduce a new argument nor do they link the subject to an internal argument position (hence, no doubling). Note that in section 3.1 I discussed how SE in transitive SE constructions and ARC constructions could not be considered a ‘reflexive’ version of any non-reflexive unselected dative. In fact, these clitics do not seem to be systematically related to any Case at all. The analysis I have developed, following some of the previous research on the topic, does not link the licensing of SE to any Case. Though surprising, I claim that to the extent that it is able to account for the properties of constructions investigated and other ones (i.e. – intransitive pronominal verbs and unaccusative verbs that take SE), it should be taken seriously.

A more philosophical question for future consideration concerns why ARC constructions link the notions of willful intent (= subject-oriented) and event endpoints (= not subject-oriented). Note that there is no obvious reason why these two

notions should appear together. Given the characteristics of similar constructions cross-linguistically, ARC constructions appear to be a quirk of Spanish, which I have argued is due to a special type of  $v_{DO}$  available in the lexical inventory of Spanish but not in other languages. At present, I do not have a valid explanation for why these notions are bundled onto the same head.

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