

Optional SE under light causative verbs  
María Cristina Cuervo, University of Toronto

This paper investigates the nature of SE in a subset of paradigmatic SE constructions in Spanish, cases which have been analyzed as anti-causative se (1), aspectual se (2) and source or path se (3) (see Basilico 2010, MacDonald 2004, Masullo 1992, Mendikoetxea 2012, Zagona 1996, Zubizarreta 1987, among many others).

- (1) Se rompió un vidrio. 'A window broke'
- (2) a. Juan se comió la pizza. 'Juan ate up the pizza'  
b. Juan se subió al tejado. 'Juan climbed onto the roof'
- (3) a. Juan se fue. 'Juan left'  
b. Juan se cayó al suelo. 'Juan fell to the floor'

This work explores some of the central questions on the nature of SE by focusing on a somewhat neglected domain: embedding under causative verbs. I start with the observation that the presence of SE in Spanish is optional when the predicate is embedded under a causative verb. Many authors have noted the variability in this environment, in which reflexive, anti-causative and some inherent (lexical) SE predicates can optionally (or even preferably) appear without SE under infinitival *hacer* (Hernanz 1999, Kempchinsky 2004, among others). True reflexive SE can optionally disappear when embedded under CLV *hacer* while preserving the reflexive meaning.

- (4) a. El padre lo hizo bañar.                      b. El padre lo hizo bañarse.  
the father him made wash                      the father him made wash.SE  
'His father made him bathe'

Armstrong (2011) claims that an inchoative embedded under *hacer* has the same interpretation as an unaccusative verb—such as *florecer* 'to flower'—irrespective of whether it appears with or without SE. He proposes that inchoative (= anticausative) SE is omitted (preserving interpretation) for the same reason reflexive SE is: a general rule or preference of SE omission under *hacer*.

- (5) a. La puerta, la hice cerrar                      b. La puerta, la hice cerrar-se  
The door it I.made close                      The door it I.made close-SE.3s  
'As for the door, I caused it to close'

The contributions of this paper are twofold. On the descriptive side, it offers a systematic presentation of distributional facts of SE constructions under Spanish causative light verbs (CLVs) *hacer* 'make' and *dejar* 'let', with particular focus on embedded unaccusative verbs which can have pronominal (SE) and non-pronominal variants, as in *romper(se)* 'break', *caer(se)* 'fall', *subir(se)* 'go up'. The data analyzed comes from the *Corpus del español* (Davis, 2002).

On the basis of Cuervo (2014), a proposal is developed that claims that the "optional" omission of inchoative SE under CLVs is only apparent. Semantic and syntactic differences between causative sentences which embed variants with and without SE are uncovered (interpretation of modifiers such as 'on purpose', 'quickly'; idioms, restrictions on causee, etc.), and they are shown to arise as the natural consequence of alternative argument structures merged as the complements of the CLVs.

Another consequence of this work is that it points to the need of systematically investigating what underlies the possibility of omission of SE in true reflexives under CLVs, as well as the crosslinguistic differences in these environments.

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