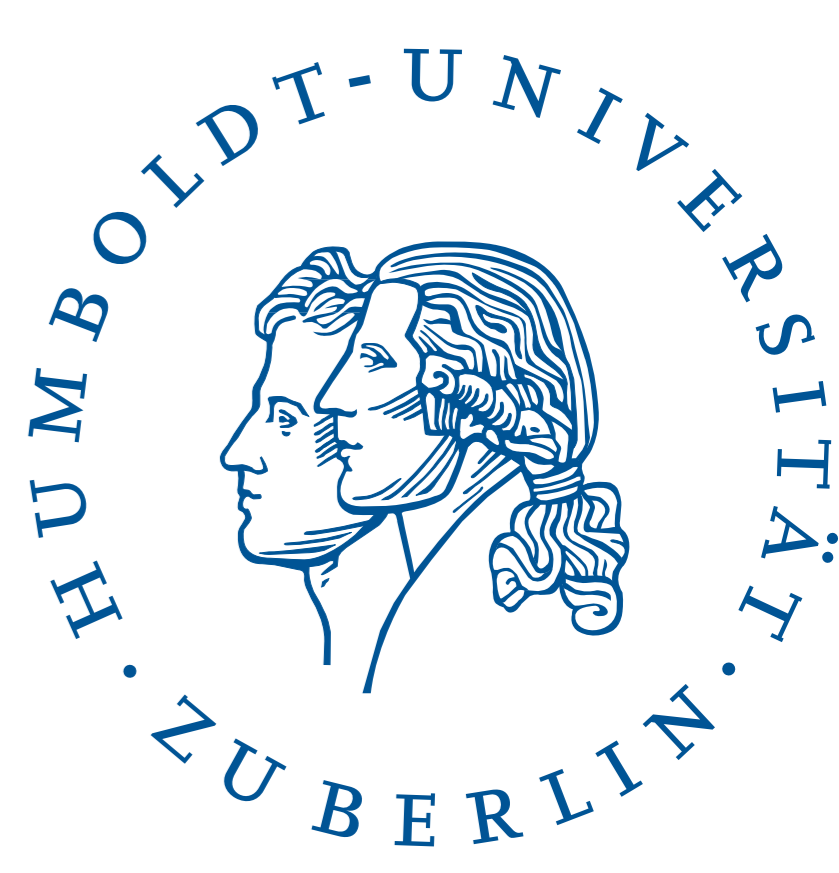


Reflexivizing Spanish psych-verbs: Ambiguities across classes



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1. Se-morpheme and Spanish psych-verbs

- According to the different classes of psych-verbs (cf. e.g. Belletti and Rizzi, 1988, Machicao y Priemer and Fritz-Huechante, 2018), the combination of the *se*-morpheme with the verbs leads to two different readings.
- Class I** (cf. Tab. 1), e.g. *gustar* 'like' (cf. (1)), does not allow the combination with *se*-morpheme in any case.

(1) * [Ana]_{EXP} *se gusta*.
Ana REFL likes
Intended reading: 'Ana likes herself.' / 'Ana gets liked.'
- Class II**, i.e. experiencer object (EO) causative verbs (class II) (cf. (2)), alternates the experiencer argument from object to subject (ES) (cf. (3)) by means of the *se*-morpheme.
 - se*-morpheme: **not** an inchoativizer (cf. Bar-el, 2005; De Miguel and Fernández, 2000), but a **left boundary** reading (cf. Marín and McNally, 2005, 2011)
 - Analysis of ES psych-verbs (Marín and McNally, 2011) by means of a left boundary (Piñón, 1997) captures the difference between them and canonical change of state (CoS) verbs.
 - CoS verbs denote a process that leads to a change of state. An endpoint is a right boundary (cf. Piñón, 1997). In (4), the clothes still do not reach the point of dryness.
 - ES psych-verbs refer to the onset of the state, but not to an interval prior to the onset (cf. Marín and McNally, 2011). In (3), Ana already started the state of being entertained.

(2) [Ana]_{STM} *divierte* / *asusta* [a Carlos]_{EXP}.
Ana entertains / frightens to Carlos
'Ana entertains / frightens Carlos.'

(3) Ana *se está divirtiendo* / *asustando*.
Ana REFL is entertaining / frightening
'Ana is getting entertained / frightened.'

(4) La *ropa se está secando*.
The clothes REFL is drying
'The clothes are getting dried.'

- Class III**, e.g. *amar* 'love', and **Class II** allow the combination of *se* with a **true reflexive** reading (cf. Arad, 1998) (cf. (6) and (5)).

(5) [Carlos]_{EXP} *se divierte* / *se asusta* [a sí mismo]_{AG}.
Carlos REFL entertains / REFL frightens to him self
'Carlos entertains / frightens himself.'

(6) [Ana]_{EXP} *se ama* (a sí misma).
Ana REFL loves to her self
'Ana loves herself.'

- Class II** can be further divided into 2 subclasses (cf. Marín and McNally, 2011)
 - Punctuals** (e.g. *asustarse* 'get frightened') denote a left boundary (i.e. a point in time) of a state.
 - Non-punctuals** (e.g. *divertirse* 'get entertained') denote a state with a left boundary.
- Punctuals** and **non-punctuals** allow the combination with *se*-morpheme leading to 2 readings: a *left-bounded state* reading (cf. (3)) and a *true reflexive* reading (cf. (5)).
- Summarising the classes:

EXAMPLE	TYPE	<i>se</i> READING	THETA ROLE	CLASS
* <i>gustar(se)</i>	state	—	EXP	1
<i>divertir(se)</i>	non-punctual	true reflexive	EXP (prt-ag)	2
		left-bounded state	EXP	2
<i>asustar(se)</i>	punctual	true reflexive	EXP (prt-ag)	2
		left-bounded state	EXP	2
<i>amar(se)</i>	state	true reflexive	EXP (prt-ag)	3

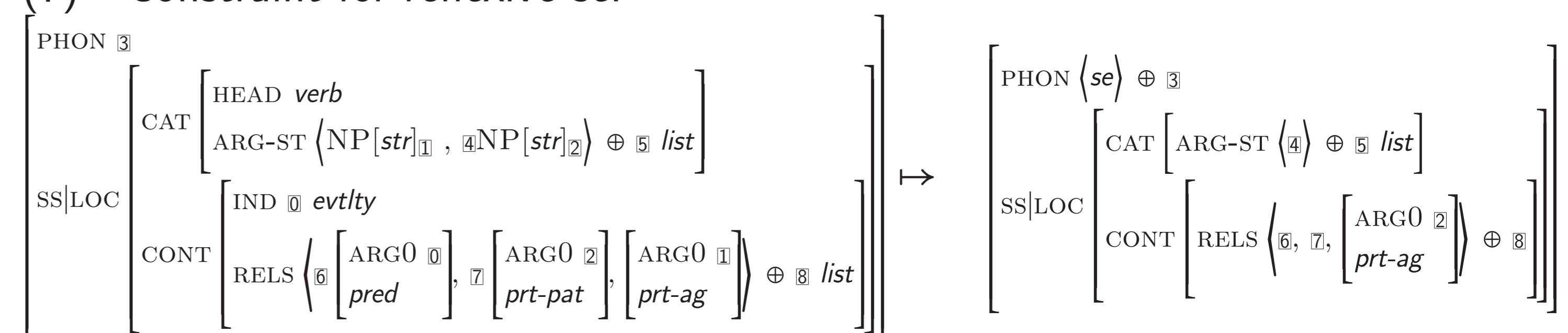
Table 1: Spanish psych-verbs and *se*-morpheme

2. Analysis in HPSG

- We propose an analysis of the *se*-morpheme by means of **lexical rules** (LR) (cf. Abeillé and Godard, 2000; Crismann, 2003).
- There is a **general LR** (*se-LR*) with the constraints that are common to all different readings which the *se*-morpheme leads to (cf. Fig. 1).
- A subtype of *se-LR* derives the **true reflexive readings** of the *se*-morpheme in combination with a predicate (cf. *refl-se*).
- Another LR-subtype (*left-b-se*) derives the **left-bounded state readings** of the Class II psych-verbs. This LR is subdivided into two LR: *punct-lb-se* for **punctual** and *n-punct-lb-se* for **non-punctual** psych-verbs.

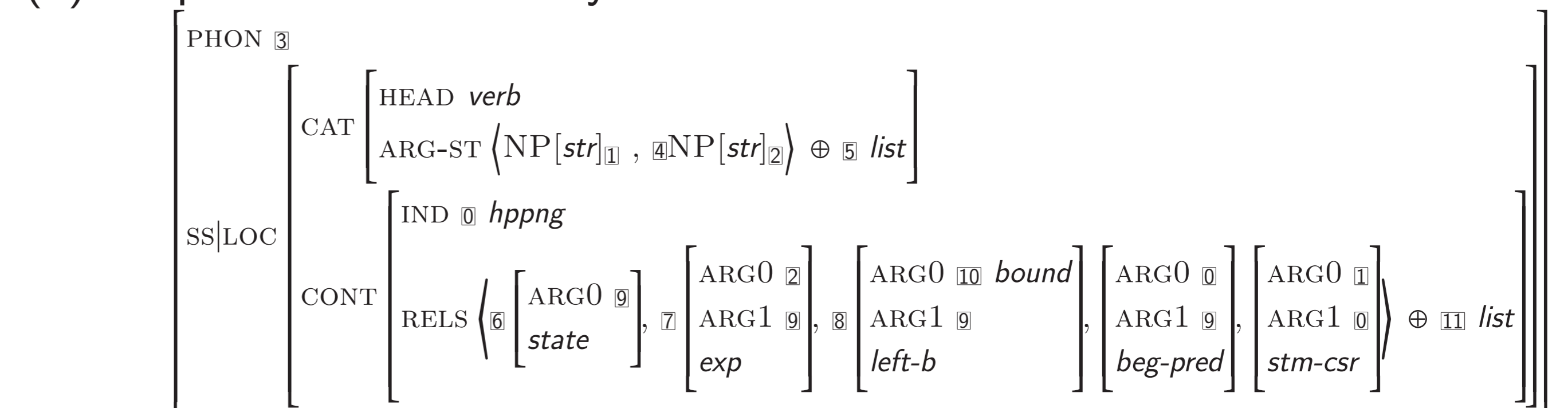
3. Reflexive *se*-morpheme

(7) Constraint for reflexive *se*:

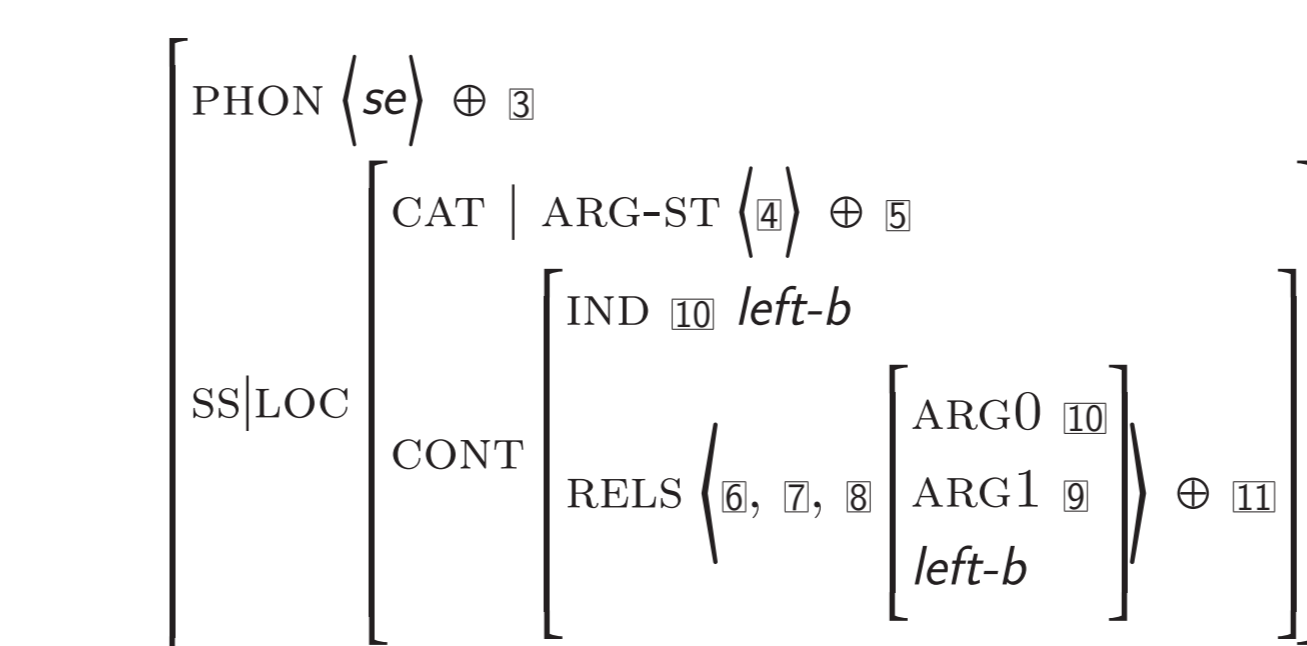


4. Inchoative *se*-morpheme

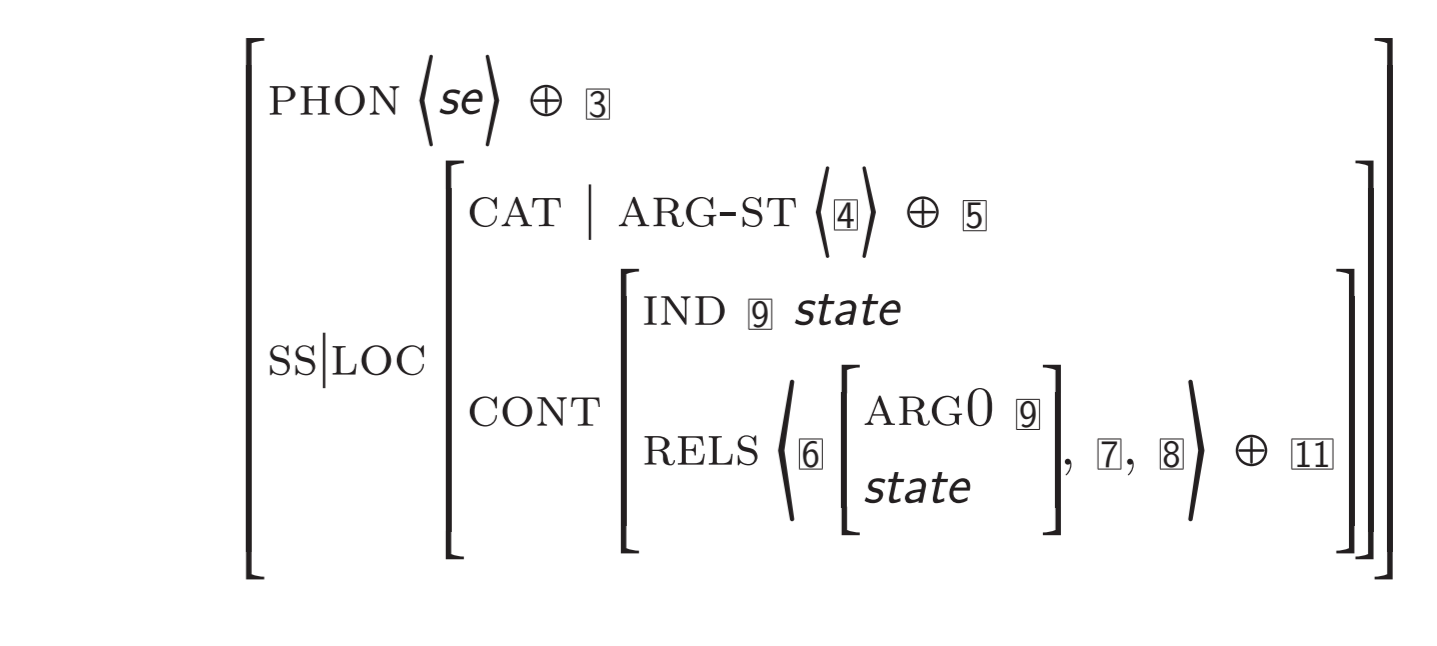
(8) Input for left-boundary *se*:



(9) Output for left-bounded punctual *se*:



(10) Output for left-bounded non-punctual *se*:



5. Generalisations

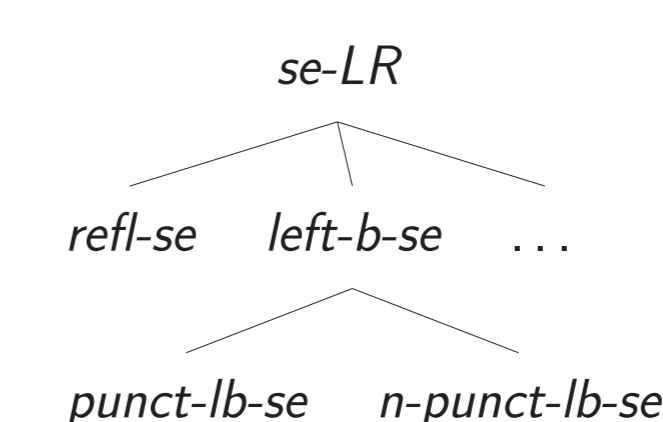
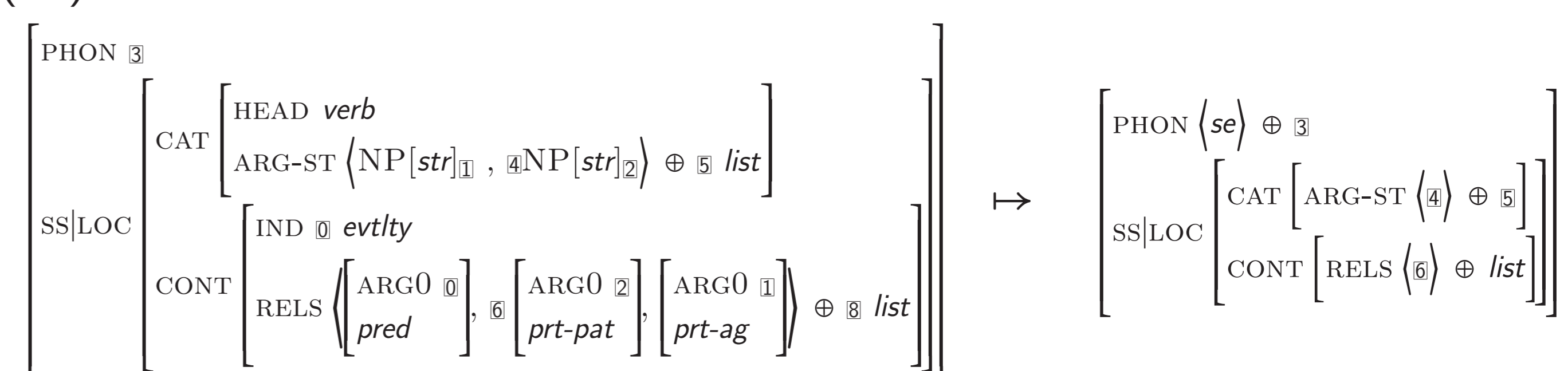


Figure 1: Lexical Rules for *se*-morpheme

(11) Constraint for *se-LR*:



6. Conclusions

- The proposed analysis takes a morphologically simple but semantically more complex item (e.g. *asustar*), and derives a morphologically more complex but semantically more simple item (e.g. *asustarse*).
- An analysis in terms of boundaries enriches the type hierarchy for eventualities in HPSG and provides a more fine-grained classification of psych-verbs, for instance a distinction between punctuals and non-punctuals.

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