

Spanish aspectual se as an indirect object reflexive: evidence from bare nouns  
and leísta PCC repairs

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In this talk, I discuss so-called aspectual se constructions in Spanish, an example of which is provided in (1).

(1) Juan se bebió una cerveza.

Juan Aspse drank a beer

“John had himself a beer.”

Specifically, I focus on two properties of aspectual se constructions, previously noted in the literature: the first is that in the presence of aspectual se the direct object cannot be bare, illustrated in (2).

(2) Juan (\*se) bebió cerveza.

Juan Aspse drank beer

“John had (himself) beer.”

The majority (if not all) of the accounts link this restriction to the telicity inducing effects of aspectual se (Basilico 2010 and references therein). I argue for a different account, one which ties aspectual se bare noun constraint to the same bare noun constraint that holds for preverbal subjects in Spanish. The implication is that the direct object in aspectual se constructions is an inner subject (of a predicate), following assumptions from Cuervo (2003,2014).

The second property I discuss is the P(erson) C(ase) C(onstraint) violations that are observed to hold in these constructions in certain leísta dialects (MacDonald & Eager 2013). In these dialects, under normal circumstances, animate masculine singular accusative direct objects surface as *le*, not *lo*. Observe in (3) in the aspectual *se* configuration that *lo* surfaces, not *le*, where *le/lo* refers to *el niño* “the boy.”

(3) El lobo se \*le/lo comió.

The wolf Aspse him/him ate

“The wolf ate him up.”

This *le* to *lo* alternation in leísta dialects is a PCC violation repair strategy (Ormazabal & Romero 2007, Bonet 2008). The implication is that these aspectual *se* constructions are underlying double object configurations.

Finally, I illustrate how aspectual *se* patterns with other indirect object reflexives in several ways, as well as how this analysis offers support for Ormazabal & Romero’s (2007), overall approach to the PCC in terms of animacy.