Syntactic and semantic integration in the Spanish causative-reflexive construction

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Introduction

Analytic causatives, which add a causative verb to the basic construction, constitute a classic problem in linguistic theory because the presence of two verbs in a clause complicates its argument structure. Two further issues arise in this type of construction, namely, which participants are coded explicitly and how the participants are syntactically and semantically related to the verbs. Adding diathesis variation to a causative construction makes the issue even more complex, as illustrated by Spanish *se*-constructions, *se* being a reflexive and/or a marker of middle voice.[1]

In the following pages I will analyze the Spanish analytic reflexive causative construction, which includes the reflexive (or, better, middle) form of the verbs *hacer* or *dejar* followed by an infinitive. The construction is illustrated in (1) and (2):

(1)   a.   *Se   dejó vencer por la desesperación*
             REF let   beat   by the despair
             'She could not avoid being beaten by despair'
      b.   *Las consecuencias se dejaron sentir en toda Europa*
             The consequences REF let   feel in all   Europe
             'The consequences were felt all around Europe'
(2)   a.   *Necesita   hacerse   respetar*
             needs   make- REF   respect
             '(S)he must feel respected (by everyone).'
      b.   *La   respuesta no se   hizo   esperar.*
             The answer   not REF made wait
             'The answer arrived soon.'

In Spanish, this syntactic constructional schema is restricted to the causative verbs *dejar* "let" and *hacer* "make". Its syntactic structure can be represented as follows:

(3)   *Causative-reflexive constructional schema*
            SUBJ *se* Vcaus Vinf X (*por* NP)

Purely lexicalist explanations, based on the argument structure assigned to verbs in the lexicon, are not in keeping with the problems which arise in the interpretation of the constructions under investigation, since the latter's syntactic and semantic properties do not derive straightforwardly from those of the lexical elements which are combined. In order to account for these, I will therefore turn to the Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987–1991) and Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995) approach to constructions as conventionalized form-meaning pairings linked in a network of related constructions.

When one considers constructions as complex symbols, the problem of semantic integration has two sides, which motivate the title of this paper: on the one hand, the process which allows the use of a syntactic structure for the conceptualization of novel events; on the other, the process of integration of the parts into a coherent whole.

The first side of the problem of semantic integration can be addressed through the notion of *blending,* that is, the conceptual integration of two mental spaces into a third – the *blend*. The application of blending to grammar (by Fauconnier and Turner 1996; Mandelblit 2000; Mandelblit and Fauconnier 2000) takes as inputs an integrating syntactic construction and a novel conceived event, as shown in Figure 1.
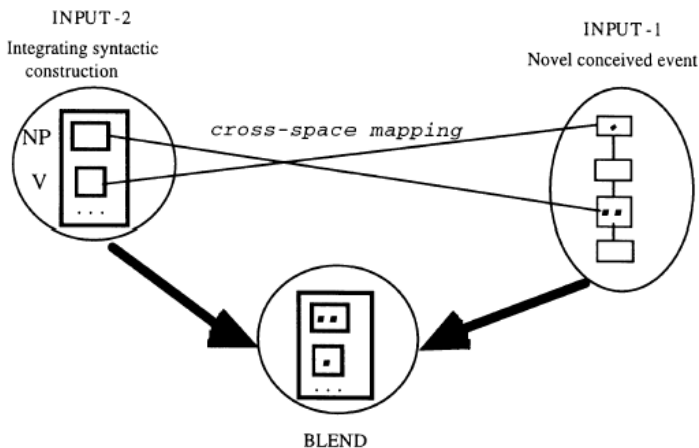

Figure 1. Blending between syntactic constructions and novel events
            (Mandelblit 2000: 199)

So, they focus on the linguistic construal of complex events. The central idea is that simple clause structures can be used linguistically to express complex novel events by blending together elements from the event sequence with the simple clause structure (Mandelblit 2000: 198–199).[2]

The other face of the problem is the semantic integration of the components of a construction into a coherent whole. In the case of the causative reflexive construction schematized in (3), this means that the analysis has to dwell on:

- The causative verbs (*hacer*, *dejar*) and the semantics of causation and force-dynamics
- The syntactic structure both of analytic causatives and of reflexive causatives and the semantics of grammatical relations
- The meaning of *se* and the semantics of the middle voice
- The meaning of the infinitive verb included in the construction and the typology of events.

In the following pages, I shall sketch the relevance which the issues just mentioned have for the causative-reflexive construction. I will deal, first, with the causative constructions with *hacer* and *dejar*, and, second, with the interaction of middle voice with the *hacer* / *dejar* plus infinitive construction.

1. Causative constructions in Spanish

As is commonly accepted, "an analytic causative is a two-verb structure that expresses a predicate of causation and a predicate of effect" (Kemmer and Verhagen 1994: 117), as in *Mary let him leave.* The subject of the predicate of causation is commonly known as the Causer, whereas the Causee is the semantic subject of the predicate of effect. From a typological point of view, the two main problems with causative constructions are the degree of grammatical integration of causation and effect (from analytical complex structures to morphological and lexical causatives), and the syntactic functions adopted by the Causee.

Both *hacer* "make" and *dejar* "let", as predicates of causation, accept three main constructions in Spanish, with different degrees of syntactic and conceptual conflation between causing and effect. These constructions are exemplified in (4–6),

- Subj Vcaus [*que* … Vsubjunctive …]
(4)   a.   *María hace/deja que Pedro salga*
                lit. 'Mary makes/lets that Peter goes-out'

     b.   *María hace/deja que Pedro peine a Susana*
          lit. 'Mary makes/lets that Peter combs Susan'

- Subj Vcaus Vinf X (Causee)
(5)   a.   *María le/lo hace/deja salir.*
          lit. 'Mary makes/lets him go-out'
     b.   *María (le) hace/deja peinar a Susana*
          lit. 'Mary makes (him) comb Susan

- Subj *se* Vcaus Vinf X
(6)   a.   *María se dejó caer sobre el sofá*
          lit. 'Mary let herself fall-down on the sofa'
     b.   *María no se hizo repetir la invitación*
          lit. 'Mary did-not make herself repeat the invitation'
          = 'The invitation was accepted by Mary at once'.

The frequency of each of these constructions in our corpus is shown in Table 1. The infinitive construction is more frequent than the finite one both with *hacer* and *dejar*, but there are some differences in the frequency of the causative-reflexive construction.

Table 1. Frequency of main causative constructions with *hacer* and *dejar* in
       Arthus[3]

	HACER		DEJAR	
S – Vcaus – *que* + Vsubjunctive	65	11.2%	38	8%
S – Vcaus – Infinitive	473	81.3%	271	57.2%
S – *se* +Vcaus – Infinitive	44	7.5%	165	34.8%
TOTAL	582	100 %	474	100 %

Leaving aside for the moment the causative-reflexive, the first two constructions (the finite and the infinitival ones) may sometimes refer to the very same situation, but there is a clear difference in meaning, which correlates with syntactic differences. According to Langacker (1995), the construction with a complement clause profiles a relation between a person or thing and the whole event encoded by the complement clause. By contrast, infinitive constructions make use of a special case of metonymy to profile a direct relation between the participants. Something similar takes place in the Spanish causative plus infinitive construction with the Causer and the Causee.

Following Givón (1980), the form of the verb-plus-complement constructions correlates strongly with the relative independence of the event coded by the subordinate verb with respect to the main event. The syntactic and semantic parameters considered by Givón place the implicative manipulative verbs (*make*, *cause*) at the top of the 'binding' scale and the cognition-utterance verbs (*say*, *tell*, *know*) at the bottom. Among the implicative-manipulative verbs, controlled and direct causation verbs are higher on the binding scale than uncontrolled or mediated causation verbs. Givón's account is intended to explain the relation between the meaning of main verbs and complement constructions, but it can be extended to the cases where the same verb (like *hacer* and *dejar*) can enter more than one constructional schema.

From a syntactic point of view, the Vcaus + *que* construction contains two clauses, and each of these clauses contains arguments bearing grammatical relations to it. By contrast, it has been discussed up to what point causatives with infinitive in Romance languages are biclausal o monoclausal. The classical Relational Grammar approach (for example, Gibson and Raposo 1986) appeals to the concept of "clause union", a collapsing of two clauses into a single clause, so that at a derived level of structure all the dependents of the subordinate verb bear grammatical relations in the main clause.

Kemmer and Verhagen (1994: 116) take the view that causative structures are "built up from simpler structural conceptual units, in the sense that they relate (non-derivationally) to more basic clause types". Following the essential aspects of their proposal, the causatives of intransitive verbs (IC clauses) are based on simple transitive clauses, whereas the causatives of transitive verbs (TC clauses) are based on simple three-participant clauses:

Table 2. Correspondence between simple and causative clauses
        (Kemmer and Verhagen 1994: 126)

Simple Transitive Clause	Agent	Patient		V_t
IC Clause	Causer	Causee		$[V_{caus}\ V_i]$

Simple 3-Participant Clause	Agent	Dative/Instrumental	Patient	V_3
TC Clause	Causer	Causee	Affectee	$[V_{caus}\ V_t]$

A similar approach is adopted by Fauconnier and Turner (1996) for French. They propose a blend which takes as its input, on the one hand, a conceptual causal sequence of events and, on the other, some basic clausal

constructions, as exemplified in (7) (Fauconnier and Turner 1996: 123–127)

(7)   a.   *Pierre fait manger Paul*   [transitive blend]
      b.   *Pierre fait envoyer le paquet (à Marie) (par Paul)*
                                                        [optional transfer blend]
      c.   *Pierre fait manger la soupe à Paul*   [transfer blend]

As one can observe in (7), the Causee (*Paul*) enters a different syntactic relation depending on the number of participants in the resulting construction. E.g., it is only in (7a) that the Causee fulfills the function of direct object.

However, there is a considerable variation in the coding of causative constructions in Spanish, and this points to the existence of several construction variants or even a continuum of integration. Soares da Silva (1998, 1999) and Achard (1998) distinguish between a VOV causative construction and a VV construction. In the VOV construction, the Causee participant is the object of the causative verb, whereas the infinitive has its own arguments, as in (8). In this case, the causative verb and the infinitive are not contiguous and cannot form a periphrastic predicate. This construction combines in French with *laisser* and perception verbs, but not with *faire. In* Spanish, it is admitted both by *hacer* and *dejar*.

VOV construction: **Causer Vcaus Causee [Vinf (Obj)]**

(8)   a.   *Hizo a Miguel sentarse frente a sí* (Arthus/Ternura: 126)
           'He made Miguel sit in front of him'.
      b.   *No dejaré a mi yerno chuparlo todo en Roccasera.*
           (Arthus/Son: 162)
           'I will not let my son-in-law milk everything in Roccasera'.

However, on most occasions, the arguments of the infinitive are complements of the complex structure causative verb + infinitive verb. This is the VV construction. In that case, their form and linear position cannot be explained unless they are considered arguments of a simple clause.

VV construction: **Causer [Vcaus Vinf] (Obj) Causee**

(9)   a.   *Intentó en vano hacer venir al abuelo* (Arthus/Ternura: 85)
            'He tried vain to make his grandfather come'

    b.   *Es la propia Hortensia quien, triunfante, se lo hace notar al viejo* (Arthus/Son: 178)
       'It is Hortensia herself that, triumphantly, makes the old man note it'

The formal differences between the constructions above are related to semantic differences, in such a way that the VOV construction triggers a lower degree of 'event conflation' and thus corresponds more easily to indirect causation (for a detailed analysis, see Achard 1998: 73–121 for French, and Soares da Silva 1998, 1999 for Portuguese).[4]

   A key consequence of the syntactic integration of causative verb and base verb resides in how many (core) participants we must identify in the main clause. The VOV construction can be assimilated to a complex transitive construction with Causer as Subject, Causee as Object, and the infinitive plus its complements as the secondary predication. On the other hand, in the VV construction the object of the infinitive, if any at all, also counts as a central participant of the main clause. As a consequence, we expect that the dative should be selected for the Causee if the infinitive is transitive in order to be distinguished from the object of the infinitive. In (10b), for example, the pronominal clitics are joined to the causative verb, each of them with a different case: accusative *lo* for the object of the infinitive and dative *se* cross-referring the Causee *al viejo*. With intransitive infinitives, the Causee is the sole object of the complex construction and, consequently, we should expect accusative case. Such a case distinction is only reflected in third-person pronominal clitics (*le* vs. *lo*) in Spanish, also subject to dialectal variation. Tables 3 and 4 show the actual realizations of the Causee with transitive and intransitive verbs:

Table 3. Distribution of dative and accusative 3rd person clitics for the Causee: Vinf = transitive

	HACER	%	DEJAR	%	TOTAL	%
Dative (*le/les*)	54	91.5	6	66.7	60	88.2
Accusative (*lo/la/…*)	5	8.5	3	33.3	8	11.8

Table 4. Distribution of dative and accusative 3rd person clitics for the Causee: Vinf = intransitive

	HACER	%	DEJAR	%	TOTAL	%
Dative (*le/les*)	46	48.9	18	29.5	64	41.3
Accusative (*lo/la/…*)	48	51.1	43	70.5	91	58.7

With respect to case choice in third-person clitics, as reflected in the tables, the Causee is generally expressed in the dative with transitive verbs (88,2 %). By contrast, accusative Causees would be expected in sentences with intransitive verbs since they constitute the first and the only objects. However, dative forms are as frequent as the accusative ones, at least with the verb *hacer*.[5]

All in all, the distinction between VOV and VV constructions becomes fuzzy because (a) in most cases we get clitics and not full noun phrases for the Causee, making constituent order irrelevant, (b) with first and second person clitics, case is irrelevant, (c) with intransitive verbs, accusative case is coherent both with VOV and with VV constructions, and (d) the choice between accusative and dative clitics is variable in any Spanish construction and is subject to dialectal variation. Nevertheless, the most frequent constructional possibilities lead to integrated constructions as reflected in Table 5. The analytic causative tends to blend with the ditransitive clause when the infinitive is transitive and with a two-participant clause with variable object-marking when the infinitive is intransitive.

Table 5. Correspondence between simple and causative clauses in Spanish

TC	Vcaus Vtrans	< Causer	Causee	Afectee >
Simple ditransitive clause	V_3	Subject	IO	DO
			(Dative)	(Accusative)

IC	Vcaus Vintrans	< Causer	Causee >	
Simple two-participant clause	V_2	Subject	Object	
			(Accusative/Dative)	

Note that the Dative/Accusative alternation found in "intransitive causatives" is also frequent in Spanish two-participant constructions (for example: *la encontró* 'he met her' vs. *le gusta* 'he likes her'). Its main effect is to reduce the semantic contrast between subject and object.[6] In causative constructions, the Dative form may express a higher degree of activeness by the Causee, and/or a higher degree of coertion by the Causer. The Dative is thus more likely to occur with *hacer* than with *dejar*.[7]

A third variant of the causative construction with an infinitive does not include an explicit Causee, which allows a straight connection between the Causer and the Affectee.

Causer   [Vcaus   V2]   Obj

(10)   *Su sonrisa apenas dejaba ver el rojo de los labios* (Arthus/Jov: 94)
          'Her smile hardly let see the red of the lips'

As pointed out by Rodríguez Espiñeira (1999: 328), (10) is not equivalent to a construction with a schematic Causee (**Su sonrisa dejaba a la gente ver el rojo de los labios*): the absence of the Causee makes the construction profile the relation between the Subject of *dejar* or *hacer* and the object of the infinitive, thus facilitating the syntactic and semantic integration of predications. However, this construction also allows the expression of the Causee as oblique with the preposition *por*[8], an in (11a), adapted from Alsina (1996: 194), which contrasts with (11b), with the Causee as IO.

(11)   a.   *Haré ordenar la clase (por mis alumnos)*
               'I will have the classroom put in order (by my students)'
         b.   *Les haré ordenar la clase a mis alumnos*
               'I will made my students put in order the classroom'

Independently of whether the agent is overt or is left unexpressed, the relevant point in (11a) is what I want to achieve in my class, the role of the students being less relevant than in (11b), which can be interpreted as a penalty suffered by the students. The occurrence of *por* in causative constructions is less frequent in Spanish than in other Romance languages, such as French (see, for instance, Roegiest 1985). Actually, our corpus contains only one example (*Me hizo dar hora por la enfermera* [Arthus/BAires: 50]), in which the Causee is not necessarily perceived as a central participant. This issue will be corroborated by the analysis of the causative-reflexive construction below.

2. The causative-reflexive construction

2.1. Causative-reflexives, passives, and coreference

Let us now deal with the 'reflexive causative' construction, characterized by the reflexive middle-voice item *se* and the pattern given in (3) [see examples (1), (2), (6)].

   In English, a reflexive pronoun can occupy the syntactic position of object if it is coreferent with the subject-causer. This fact motivates the selection of the passive voice in (12b):

(12)   a.   *Mary let/made herself comb Susan*
          b.   *Mary let/made herself be combed by Susan*

Both the analogy with the English passive in (12b), supported by the coreference of the matrix and embedded subjects, and the expression of the agent by means of a *por* prepositional phrase have led some scholars (for example, Postal 1995 for the French language) to interpret the reflexive causative construction as a special type of passive construction in Romance languages and to suggest derivational mechanisms by means of which it can be derived from a complex structure involving the passivization of the subordinate clause.

   Such an account poses semantic and formal problems. As in other Romance languages, the infinitive of Spanish causatives does not occur in the passive voice form – it can occur in the middle voice (*le hizo caerse*), which is a different construction. What is more, the reflexive morpheme cannot be simply explained in terms of coreference between the subject of the main clause and the subject of an embedded clause. Yet, coreference might motivate the presence of the reflexive with verbs such as *obligar* and *permitir*, which are construed with a subordinate clause and admit the reflexive when the subject of the main clause is coreferential with the participant which controls subordination.

(13)   a.   *María obliga a Juan a peinar a Susana / a que peine a Susana*
                'Mary obliges John to comb Susan'.
          b.   *María se obliga (a sí misma) a peinar a Susana.*
                'Mary obliges herself to comb Susan'.
(14)   a.   *María permite a Juan peinar a Susana / que peine a Susana*
                'Mary allows John to comb Susan'
          b.   *María se permite (a sí misma) peinar a Susana.*
                'Mary allows herself to comb Susan'

Unlike obligation and permission verbs, however, *hacer* and *dejar* do not allow anaphoric coreference between the subject of the causative verb and the subject of the subordinate verb either in the construction with complement clause or in the one with infinitive.

(15)   a.   **María$_i$ hace/deja que María$_i$/ella$_i$ peine a Susana.*
                'Mary$_i$ makes/let that Mary$_i$/she$_i$ combs Susan'.
          b.   **María$_i$ se hace/deja a sí misma$_i$ peinar a Susana.*
                'Mary$_i$ makes/let hershelf$_i$ comb Susan'.

When there is coreference, it involves the subject of the causative verb (Causer) and the patient of the caused event (Affectee), independently of the form – finite or nonfinite – adopted by the subordinate verb. The three causative constructions defined in (4) to (6) allow for expressing such coreference:

(16)　　a.　*María$_i$ hace/deja que Pedro la$_{i/j}$ peine*
　　　　　　　Mary makes/lets that Peter combs her
　　　　b.　*María$_i$ hace/deja a Pedro peinarla$_{i/j}$.*
　　　　　　　'Mary makes/lets Peter comb her'.
　　　　c.　*María se hace/deja peinar por Pedro.*
　　　　　　　Mary *se* makes/lets comb by Peter
　　　　　　　'Mary makes/let herself be combed by Peter'.

This shows that the causative-reflexive construction does not simply arise from coreference between the arguments but is revealing of the way in which the situation is conceptualized.

　　On the other hand, the causative-reflexive construction is also common with intransitive and ditransitive verbs, which do not allow passivization:

(17)　　a.　*María se dejó peinar por Susana*　　[María es peinada por Susana]
　　　　b.　*María se dejó caer en el sofá*　　[*María es caída en el sofá]
　　　　c.　*María se dejó poner un sombrero*　　[*María es puesta un sombrero]

Finally, the explanation which relies on the parallel with complex clauses does not take into account the degree of conceptual integration between the events. The three constructions exemplified in (16) may refer to the same situation, even though they materialize construal differences. Examples (4) to (6) show an increasing conceptual conflation of the causing and the effected events.

　　In the light of these observations, the explanations based on the derivation of complex clauses do not seem to account for the facts conveniently. The *hacer*/*dejar*-plus-infinitive constructions cannot always be analyzed as complex clauses (even less likely in combination with *se*), and the use of *se* cannot always be accounted for by means of coreference between an argument and the subject. Therefore, it seems that a non derivational account should be preferred if it can explain the syntactic and semantic coherence of *se* and the causative construction.

2.2. Middle voice and the causative-reflexive construction

In different studies on the middle voice in Spanish from a functional and cognitive perspective (Kemmer 1993, Maldonado 1992, 1999, García-Miguel 1995, 2001) the "low elaboration of events" is understood as a fundamental feature of the construction, which brings about a lesser degree of distinguishability of participants and a decrease in transitivity.[9] These facts locate middle constructions in between transitive ones, which prototypically profile an energetic interaction between two different participants, and absolute intransitive constructions, which profile a state or process, with no energy input involved. Even though the middle voice is a highly polysemous category, the image schemas which best represent the opposition with transitive and absolute intransitive constructions are those in Figure 2 (based on Maldonado 1999 and Langacker 1991): The middle voice prototypically profiles a change on the subject (as may be the case with intransitive subjects and transitive objects) and, at the same time, places it in energetic interaction.

| a. Transitive | b. Middle | c. Absolute intransitive |
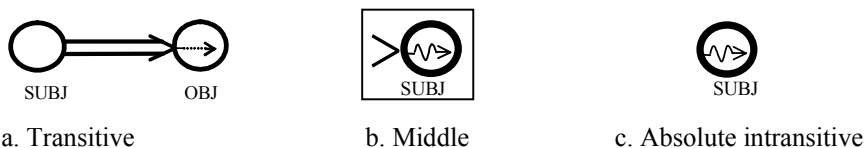
Figure 2. Prototypes of transitive, middle and absolute construal

The main consequence is that the middle voice normally implies a decrease in the number of central participants both with transitive (18) and with ditransitive (19) verbs. Yet, this fact does not block the occurrence of some intransitive verbs in middle-voice constructions, e.g. (20).

(18) a. *Susana enfada a María*   [SUB – Vtr – DO]
         'Susana annoys Maria'
      b. *María se enfada (con Susana)* [SUB – *se* + Vtr – (Oblique)]
         'Maria gets annoyed (with Susana)

(19) a. *Le pusieron un sombrero a María* [SUB – Vditr – DO – IO]
         'They put a hat on Maria'
      b. *María se puso un sombrero*   [SUBJ – *se* + Vbitr – DO]
         'Maria put a hat on'

(20)　　a.　*María cayó sobre el sofá*　　　　[SUBJ – Vintr – Oblique]
　　　　　　'Maria fell over the sofa'
　　　　b.　*María se cayó sobre el sofá*　　　[SUBJ – *se* + Vintr – Obl]
　　　　　　'Maria fell over the sofa'

Since the middle voice does not profile an asymmetric interaction between Agent and Patient, and an affected participant is being selected as the subject, i.e. the primary figure or trajector, there is no room for any other active entity among the core participants. At most, an oblique complement as in (18b), may represent a backgrounded non-topical causing entity.

If we take canonical middle-voice constructions as the base for the causative periphrastic construction, the resulting patterns are also subject + predicate, both with transitive (21) and intransitive (23) verbs, and subject + predicate + object with ditransitive verbs (22):

(21)　　*María se dejó peinar por Pedro*
　　　　SUBJ – *se* + Vcaus + Vtr – (Oblique)　　'based on'
　　　　　　SUBJ – *se* + Vtr – (Oblique)

(22)　　*María se dejó poner un sombrero*
　　　　SUBJ – se + Vcaus + Vbitr – DO – (Oblique) 'based on'
　　　　　　SUBJ – *se* + Vbitr – DO – (Oblique)

(23)　　 *María se dejó caer sobre el sofá*
　　　　SUBJ – se – Vcaus + Vintr – (Oblique)　　　'based on'
　　　　　　SUBJ – *se* + Vintr – (Oblique)

In these constructions the affected participant, which is somehow the initial Causer, is also selected as the subject. According to such a selection, the Causee is left unexpressed or can be expressed as an oblique complement.

　　In terms of correspondence between mental spaces, the middle voice communicates specific cross-space mapping configurations (cf. Mandelblit 2000: 211–212), that is, the middle voice acts as a 'blending schema' guiding the process of conceptual integration. By way of illustration, Figure 3 shows the mapping between a basic middle syntactic structure and the semantic relations implied in the complex event exemplified in (21):
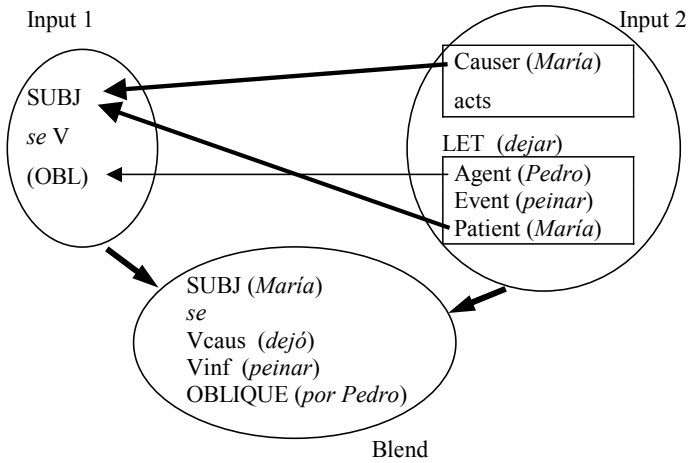
Figure 3. The blend of a causative-reflexive construction with a transitive verb
(*María se dejó peinar por Pedro*)

Figure 4 and Figure 5 show in a more lineal way the typical correspondences for the causative-reflexive construction with ditransitive and intransitive verbs.
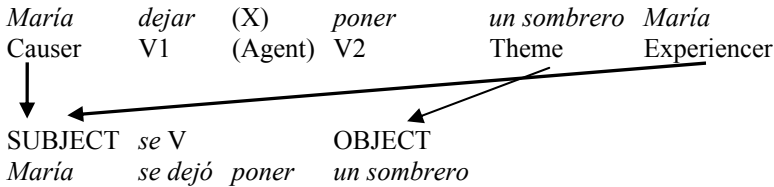

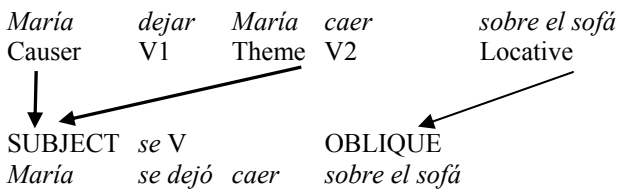*Figure 4.* The causative reflexive construction with a ditransitive verb

Figure 5. The causative-reflexive construction with an intransitive verb

Mandelblit and Fauconnier (2000: 182) insist on the fact that "the blending operates only on selective projection from inputs, and that the causal

conceptualization is pragmatically underspecified in systematic ways". In our example, at least what kind of activity or non-activity Maria does as Causer is left underspecified. However, note that our proposal, unlike Mandelblit and Fauconnier's (2000: 183–185) analysis, does not assign any syntactic function to *se*, since it is taken as a middle-voice marker which allows correspondence between the patient or theme of V2 and the subject. This also implies that the two roles of Causer and Affectee are conceptualised as somehow integrated. I will show below that this is a relevant factor in the explanation of the meaning of the construction.

A prominent consequence of the middle voice in the examples with transitive verbs is the decrease in the number of central participants. Apart from this reduction in the number of participants, other conceptual issues concerning causative-reflexive constructions are also worth commenting. The, in principle, problematic instance of the middle voice construction is the one with intransitive verbs in which the number of core participants is not reduced. An illustration of the contrast between middle and non-middle is that holding between *caer* and *caerse* (Maldonado 1992: 348–349; 1999: 376ff):

(24)   a.   *Juan (*se) cayó al agua con toda elegancia*
            'Juan fell into water with elegance'
       b.   *Juan se (*ø) cayó al agua vestido*
            'Juan fell into water dressed'
(25)   *Después de que le dispararan, el ratero (*se) cayó muerto*
            'After they shot him the thief fell dead'

According to Maldonado, *caer*, either as an intentional (24a) or as a non-intentional event (25), profiles only the movement of the participant by the strength of gravity, so that "the energy flows in one direction"; while "in *caerse* there is a conflict of forces: the upward angle shows the resisting energy imposed against gravity. This force is canceled by an unspecified force and gravity becomes a stronger force (the sign +)" (Maldonado 1992: 349) [cf. Figure 6].
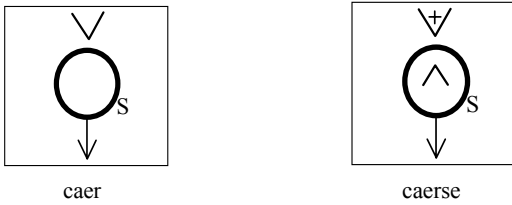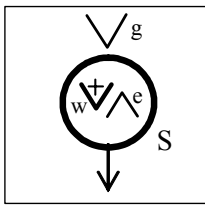
Figure 6. Caer / caerse (Maldonado 1992: 349)

Taking this analysis as the point of departure, I claim that the verb *dejar* adds a force dynamics construal in the causative construction *dejarse caer*. The responsibility for the event is attributed to the participant, which inputs enough energy as to overcome its own resisting force (see Figure 7).

circle = participant
arrow = change of location
angles = force dynamics
g = external force (gravity)
w= internal force (will)
e = internal force (tendency toward equilibrium)

dejarse caer

Figure 7. dejarse caer

In other words, the middle voice together with the causative verb expresses conflicting forces inside the subject participant. This justifies the semantic correspondences shown in Figure 2 – both the Causer and the Affectee are mapped onto the subject of the construction – and correlates with Talmy's (1988) description of "force dynamics patterns" with a "divided self", even though Talmy applies it to English patterns such as *refrain from doing*, considerably different from the constructions under study here.

> In effect, perhaps, a force dynamic opposition originating between the self and the surrounding seems here to be introjected into an opposition between parts of the self (Talmy 1988: 71)

Summing up, the meaning of the causative-reflexive construction implies a specific force dynamics pattern. When the same verb admits more than one construction, coherent semantic interpretations arise, as shown in (26).

(26) a. *Cayó sobre el sofá* [absolute (not energetic)]
      b. *Se cayó sobre el sofá* [energetic : not controlled]
      c. *Se dejó caer sobre el sofá* [energetic and controlled]

Thus, (26a) expresses an absolute construal, which simply depicts a descending event and a final place. In (26b), *se* imposes an energetic construal, in which the event is presented as contrary to expectations as a result of a conflict of forces. In (26c), the verb *dejar* adds to the meaning of the construction the fact that the subject is providing a controlling force over the event, that is, the event is happening only because the subject 'lets' it happen. Altogether, each part is contributing with its meaning to an overall coherent whole.

The important issue here is that in the causative-reflexive construction exemplified in (26c) the situation is conceptualized as a single event with a single participant, with conflicting forces operating inside that participant. This is, of course, also valid for causative-reflexive constructions with transitive verbs and is somehow connected with the construal differences between causative-reflexive constructions and complex constructions with a finite complement clause. As already discussed in constructions with *hacer* or *dejar*, the Causer cannot be coreferential with the embedded subject. Hence it is impossible to have constructional variants if V2 is an intransitive verb such as *caer*. However, with transitive verbs, such as *ver*, both the causative-reflexive construction and the complex construction with *que* plus a finite complement clause and an object coreferring with the matrix subject are found in the corpus. The examples could, in principle, be reworded according to the alternate construction.

- SUBJ$_i$ *hace/deja* [*que* SUBJ V2 OBJ$_i$]
(27) a. --¿Y yo, puedo verla así también? --Me parece que no. *Sólo deja que **la** vean de esa forma los hombres*, y yo, porque soy su hermana. (Arthus/Sur: 81)
          '-- May I see her this way too? --I don't think so. She allows to be seen so only by men, and by me, because I am her sister
      b. Personas que por *hacer*... ¿qué le diría yo?... ¡no sé!... ser un poco originales, *que todo el mundo **les** vea...* (Arthus/Madrid: 18)
          'People that in order to manage … how could I say … I don't know … to be a bit original that everybody sees them

- SUBJ *se hace/deja* V2 (*por* A)
(28)   a.   *El Romano Pontífice quiso dejarse ver por los 50 millones de*
             católicos norteamericanos (Arthus/Raton: 235)
              'The Pope wanted to be seen by 50 million of American
             catholics'
        b.   *No conviene que ande por ahí haciéndome ver*
             (Arthus/Laberinto: 49)
              'It is not convenient that I am making myself be seen
             everywhere'

These two constructions seem to coincide in argument structure, that is, regarding the semantic role each nominal holds with respect to the verbs *hacer/dejar* and *ver*. However, even though the situations to which they apply might be identical, the syntactic structures construe them differently in each case. The two-clause construction of (27) profiles primarily the relation between the Causer and a state of affairs construed as a proposition. In this relation the primary figure (Langacker's 1991 trajector) is the subject, with simply the role of Causer, and the complement clause is the landmark. In the effected event one recognises its own subject (trajector) and object (landmark), the latter being capable of coreferring with the main subject.
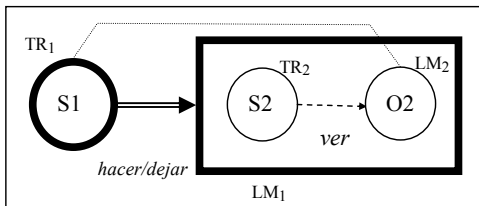

Figure 8. *Ella$_i$ hizo/dejó que la$_i$ vieran*

Therefore, the construction *dejar/hacer* + *que* puts forward an objective relation. Given the relative distance with respect to the caused event, the subject of the latter (TR$_2$) bears responsibility for the initiative, and directs or can direct his/her attention to any entity. In (27a), one understands that the men want to see her and that she does nothing to prevent it or that she permits it. Similarly, (27b) profiles the activity that some people are carrying out in order to obtain the result in which they are interested. Simultaneity of the actions or non-actions of the Causer and the event designated by the subordinate clause is not necessary in either case.

The causative-reflexive construction of (28), by contrast, construes the situation in a simple clause with a lesser degree of elaboration of the different dimensions of the event, and with lesser prominence of the Perceiver in the process of *ver* 'see', by presenting him/her as either irrelevant or secondary with respect to the person being seen. As far as the main subject is concerned, I understand that the construction "does not invoke the conception of distinct participants" (Langacker 1991: 37) but a single participant affected by 'conflicting forces' in a way similar to that mentioned with the intransitive *caer* 'fall', in conformity with Kemmer's and mainly Maldonado's claims about the middle voice.
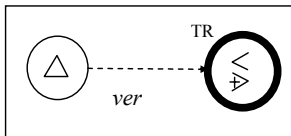

Figure 9. Ella se hizo/dejó ver

The conflicting forces are, on the one hand, the expectations about the unlikeliness of the event's taking place (in this case, the event profiled by the verb *ver*) and, on the other, the subject's wish that the event takes place. In this connection, the causative-reflexive construction attributes the responsibility for the situation to the Causer-Affectee participant, and minimizes the role of the other participants. E.g. (28a) describes what the Pope is doing, and not what the American Catholic people do, whose initiative is not relevant here. The construction with *que* plus a finite clause (*el Papa dejó que los católicos lo vieran*) would yield a very different interpretation, basically a permissive one, which is precluded in the causative-reflexive construction.

2.3. Verbs in the causative-reflexive construction

The syntactic and semantic integration which takes place in the causative-reflexive construction determines which verbs are more likely to combine with *hacerse* and *dejarse.* In Table 6, I give some corpus-based information about the verbs that are found and preferred in the causative-reflexive construction. The column on the left-hand side contains the verbs that easily combine with *hacerse*, and the other columns display the verbs which commonly co-occur with *dejarse.*

Table 6. Verbs co-occurring with *hacerse* and *dejarse* with the highest degree of frequency in Arthus

HACERSE +		DEJARSE +			
pasar (por) 'pose as'	8	*caer* 'fall'	29	*ver* 'see'	4
esperar 'wait'	6	*llevar* 'carry'	21	*guiar* 'guide'	3
notar 'notice'	6	*arrastrar* 'drag'	8	*impresionar* 'move'	3
respetar 'respect'	4	*ir* 'go'	5	*querer* 'want'	3
oir 'hear'	3	*influir* 'influence'	5	*vencer* 'beat'	3
entender 'understand'	2	*invitar* 'invite'	5		

The frequency of certain verbs with the causative auxiliaries is partially due to idiomatic reasons (entrenchment, routinization) and partially to the force dynamics expressed by the verb and the global meaning of the construction. In principle, the subject must be conceptualized as affected, which excludes intransitive active verbs such as *entrar* 'enter', *salir* 'leave', *llorar* 'cry' or *reír* 'laugh'. As seen in Table 6, the verb *dejar* is construed with verbs of continuous physical movement (*caer* 'fall'), verbs of metaphorical movement (*dejarse llevar* 'let oneself lead', *arrastrar* 'carry', *ir* 'go', etc.) as in (29a), or social acts such as *invitar* (29b). In all cases the subject obliterates the expected resistance against the external tendency by which the subject is affected.

(29)   a.   *Siempre pedía consejos a las profesoras, al claustro y no se dejaba ella llevar por sus ideas.* (Arthus/Sevilla: 172)
             '[She] always asked for advice to the teachers, the staff and did-not let herself be-carried by her ideas'.
        b.   *La chica modosa se resistía a dejarse invitar por un hombre que no fuera su novio* (Arthus/Usos: 88)
             'The cautious girl resisted to let herself be-invited by a man other than her boyfriend'

Hacerse, by contrast, is rare with intransitive verbs except in *hacerse pasar por* (30a). It is also found with perception verbs (*oír*, *notar*, *ver*), as in (30b) or social interaction verbs (30c). In these cases, the subject is attributed the capacity of provoking events by which it is affected, that is, it/he/she is attributed the initiative in them.

(30)   a.   *Carlos Sotuela se hizo pasar por Guardia Civil* (Arthus/3Voz: 26)
              'Carlos Sotuela made-himself be mistaken as a Guardia Civil'
        b.   *Aumenta el griterío. Maffei grita para hacerse oír* (Arthus/Coart: 74)
              'The shouting increases. Maffei shouts to be heard'
        c.   *Es joven y no tolera jactancias. Necesita hacerse respetar* (Arthus/Son: 324)
              'He is young and doesn't accept showing-off. He has a need to feel respected'.

As far as the initiative of the process is concerned, the differences just mentioned follow from the basic opposition between 'causing' and 'letting', as characterized by Talmy:

> Causing: "the Agonist's resultant state of activity is the opposite of its intrinsic actional tendency"
> Letting: "'letting' patterns involve the *cessation of impingement"* "the Antagonist … releases the Agonist to manifest its tendency" (Talmy 1988: 57)

A final remark seems in order here. Causative-reflexive constructions are infrequent with inanimate subjects. The statistically odd cases with inanimate subjects appear in idiomatic expressions. They imply also a further step in the agent's defocusing. Interestingly enough, *hacerse* with an inanimate subject usually combines with the verb *esperar* (31), whereas *dejarse* co-occurs with perception verbs (32).

(31)   *La recuperación económica se está haciendo esperar*
        (Arthus/3Voz: 61)
        'The economic recovery has not come yet' (lit. '<it> is making itself wait')

(32)   *Se dejó oír un desabrido carraspear* (Arthus/Laberinto: 64)
        'A disgusting throat-clearing was heard' (lit '<it> let itself hear')

In these cases, the realization of the event depends on the nature of the inanimate subject, not on that of the agent of the infinitive. Put differently, the fact of waiting or hearing is not brought about by the one who waits or perceives but by the existence and the characteristics of the thing awaited for, or perceived. On the other hand, these constructions are also motivated

by the polysemy of the middle voice in Spanish and by the fact that the middle voice typically marks affectedness of the subject and only secondarily activity or control.

3. Conclusions

We have observed that simple clauses act as a model both for active causatives and for reflexive (middle) causatives. Each syntactic schema, as a conventional pattern for the formation of complex signs, is associated with its own meaning. Basic patterns act as models for the creation of novel expressions. Causative constructions with transitive verbs include three participants and, thus, are structured according to the model of ditransitive clauses, whereas causative constructions with intransitive verbs include only two central participants and allow more readily the choice between accusative and dative for the second participant. As for the causative-reflexive construction, the models are middle-voice constructions, either with one central participant or with two central participants. In them, the subject is presented as Causer and Affectee and, as a consequence, the Causee could only be expressed as an Oblique. The syntactic integration into a simple clause correlates with semantic integration of meaning components and results in construal differences with respect to complex clauses.

The global meaning of an expression is (at least partially) the product of the elements of which it consists. The specific meaning adopted by an expression will depend on the integration (and the compatibility) of the combined meanings. The meaning of the causative-reflexive construction depends on the coherent integration of the meanings of *hacer* or *dejar*, the middle voice, the infinitive verb and the syntactic pattern. Any of these elements is interpreted in relation to the others in the same construction and modulates its meaning accordingly. More specifically, the middle voice imposes a particular cross-space mapping, and also an energetic interpretation that combines coherently with the force-dynamic meaning of *hacer* and *dejar*.

The global meaning is not predictable straightforwardly on the basis of the meaning of the parts, although it is motivated by them. In the conceptual integration, the output blend adds new properties, at least interpretation routines. The global meaning will also depend on meanings conventionally associated with the expression as a whole. One of the consequences is that only some infinitives are coherent with causative-

reflexive constructions; more specifically, only a few can occur in semi-idiomatic constructions with inanimate subjects.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. Traditionally, *se* has been analyzed as a reflexive pronoun. Whereas in García-Miguel (1985) I claim that its reflexive content is a variant of the middle voice, other scholars prefer to keep reflexive meaning and middle voice apart (see, for example, Kemmer 1993 and Maldonado 1999). At least for the causative-"reflexive" construction, I believe that it is better to include the meanings of *se* within the middle voice.

2. Mandelblit (2000: 240n3) notes:

   "Fauconnier and Turner suggest analyzing the caused-motion sentences as a case of blending between a prototypical *instance* of the caused-motion construction (e.g., *Mary threw the ball into the basket*) and an unintegrated novel conceived caused-motion event sequence. In the analysis proposed in this article, the blending is between an *abstract representation* of the caused-motion construction and a novel caused-motion event sequence. That is, one of the input domains to the blend (input 2) is not a representation of any actual sentence in the language, but rather a representation of the construction's form and semantics- a *schema* abstracted from all instances of the construction.".

   I mostly agree with Mandelblit's view. The conceptual integration is based on perceived similarity between input 1 and input 2 in generic space. In my view, the blending is also based on the syntagmatic contrast between central syntactic functions.

3. Most examples and data I will use have been obtained from ARTHUS ('Archivo de Textos Hispánicos de la Universidad de Santiago'), a corpus of contemporary Spanish of 1,5 million words. The syntactic analysis of the

160.000 clauses of this corpus constitutes the BDS ("Base de Datos Sintácticos del español actual"), and their semantic annotation constitutes the ADESSE project, still under development. All frequency tables are retrieved from these two databases.

4. The syntactic and conceptual independence is more evident in constructions with complement clause (*Juan dejó que los niños jugaran*). Portuguese has an intermediate construction with personal infinitive and nominative causee as subject of the infinitive (*A Maria deixou* [*os miúdos brincarem*]) (Soares da Silva 1998).

5. If one considers only the cases with an animate Causee, the rate with *hacer* is 25–45. With an inanimate Causee the clitic is normally accusative, even though we have registered an example in the Dative, probably motivated by the middle voice of the infinitive: *Los volúmenes se apelmazan bajo el grisáceo resplandor – o quizá la vista nublada **les** hace diluirse en la penumbra* (ARTHUS/Mirada 18).

6. In ditransitive clauses we get three participants, whose encoding is accomplished by way of three different functions. The hierarchy SUBJ>IO>DO (García-Miguel 1995: 51–52, relying on E. García 1975) establishes contrast between the central participants in terms of agentivity and topicality. In monotransitive clauses we can choose among three syntactic functions for the encoding of two participants. This allows for the non-subject participant's paradigmatic selection between Accusative and Dative.

7. In our corpus, a human Causee with *dejar* takes the accusative form in 31 cases and the dative form in 18; but with *hacer* the figures are 25 examples in the accusative case, and 45 in the dative case.

8. Relying on the fact that the oblique causee is identical in form to the passive oblique, many studies of Romance causatives, for example Hyman and Zimmer (1976), Gibson and Raposo (1986), have proposed that its presence is the result of passivizing the embedded predicate in the causative construction. Such passive interpretation is rejected by, *inter alia*, Kayne (1975), Legendre (1990), and Alsina (1996). Kemmer and Verhagen (1994 :136) disfavor passivization and maintain that "the marking found on instruments, passive agents, and the similarly marked causees designates a dispensible, non-topical causal intermediary".

9. This interpretation is incompatible with any formalist account that interprets *se* as an anaphoric pronoun, and is to a larger extent in line with other accounts that interpret it as a marker of valence reduction (for example, Grimshaw 1982, García-Miguel 1985, Alsina 1996). Nevertheless, both Kemmer (1993) and Maldonado (1992, 1999) show that valence reduction does not account for the full range of data and that conceptual factors must be considered.

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ADESSE = *Base de datos de verbos, Alternancias de Diátesis y Esquemas Sintáctico-Semánticos del Español* <http://webs.uvigo.es/adesse/>

ARTHUS = *Archivo de Textos Hispánicos de la Universidad de Santiago* <http://www.bds.usc.es/corpus/>

BDS = *Base de datos sintácticos del español actual* <http://www.bds.usc.es/>

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