

**Expressing Subjectivity: A Cross-linguistic Study
of the Japanese Auxiliary Verb *shimau* and the Spanish Clitic *se****

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0. Introduction

In this paper we present a descriptive study of the Japanese auxiliary verb *shimau*, as in 1a and 2a as well as a certain use of the Spanish reflexive clitic *se*, as in 3a and 4a, as expressions of subjectivity. Each example is contrasted with a sentence without the corresponding morpheme. Note that the English translation for the sentences containing *shimau* and *se* does not reflect any ‘subjective’ meanings discussed below.

Japanese

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1a. Taroo ga wain o nonde SHIMAT ta.
Taroo nom wine acc drink-TE shimau-past
‘Taroo drank the wine/wine’ | b. Taroo ga wain o nonda
Taroo nom wine acc drink-past
‘Taroo drank the wine/wine’ |
| 2a. Kago kara tori ga dete SHIMAT ta.
cage from bird nom get.out-TE shimau-past
‘The bird/the birds got away from the cage’ | b. Kago kara tori ga deta.
cage from bird nom get.out-past
‘A bird/birds/the bird/the birds
came out of the cage’ |

Spanish

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3a. Tomás SE tomó el vino/*vino.
Tom se-3 drank-3sg the the wine/*wine
‘Tom drank up the wine/*wine’ | b. Tomás tomó el vino/vino
Tom drank-3sg the wine/wine
‘Tom drank the wine/wine’ |
| 4a. SE salió el pájaro de la jaula.
se-3 got.out-3sg the bird from the cage
‘The bird got away from the cage’ | b. El pájaro salió de la jaula.
the bird got.out-3sg from the cage.
‘The bird came out of the cage’ |

The Japanese auxiliary verb *shimau* and the Spanish reflexive clitic *se*, while they retain the primary role assigned to them in their respective languages, i.e., *shimau* as a lexical verb to mean ‘put away’ or ‘close up’ and *se* as an anaphor, have been grammaticalized to assume multifunctional roles in a very similar fashion. With respect to *shimau*, it has been widely accepted that, when it is used as a part of a complex verb, it marks not only the completive aspect, but also the sense of regret, surprise, etc. toward the event denoted by the rest of the sentence (Soga, 2000, Iwasaki 2003, Koyama 2004, among others). The Spanish clitic *se* has

also been said to mark the completive aspect (Stozer 1976, Nishida 1994, Zagona 1996, de Miguel and Fernández Lagunilla, Sanz 2000, among others) as well as to convey the sense of ‘counter-expectation’ (Maldonado 1999). In fact, the similarity between these two morphemes has already been pointed out by Strauss (2003), who argues that the Japanese auxiliary verb *shimau*, as in 1a and 2a, its Korean equivalence *pelita*, and the Spanish reflexive clitic *se*, as in 3a and 4a, all demonstrate the properties, as given in 5 below.

5. Properties *shimau*, *pelita*, and *se* have in common (Strauss 2003)

- a. Mark temporal aspect, i.e. finality or completion;
- b. influence the sense of control or volitionality expressed by the main verb with which they occur;
- c. grammatically optional;
- d. tend to mark some type of emotion or evaluative stance (such as “emphatic perspective, accidentality/uncontrollability, regret, relief, pride, counter-expectations, and strong resolve.”)

Strauss proposes that sentences with *shimau*, *pelita*, and *se* are instances of what she calls ‘dynamic eventive’, a term she creates to “capture the pragmatic similarities of these forms across the three languages (p. 654).”

Strauss’s study, however, does not go beyond observing the resemblance among the three morphemes. What we hope to achieve in this paper is two-fold: a) To provide a more detailed account of the behaviors of the two morphemes and show how they add certain senses of eventuality and subjectivity to what is denoted in the linguistic object in its scope, and b) to show how the two morphemes differ in their distribution as such markers. The ultimate goal of this essay, however, is to show that language tends to mark what we can call ‘personal (or private)’ discourse, as shown in 6a, in contrast to the ‘neutral (or public)’ counterpart, as shown in 6b, by way of grammatical means, such as *shimau* or *se*.

- 6 a. Japanese: (Watashi wa) Kinoo ojiichan ga ***nakunatteSHIMATta***. (Personal/Private)
 Spanish: Ayer ***SE*** (me) ***murió*** mi abuelo.
 ‘Yesterday my grandfather passed away (on me)’
- b. Japanese: Sakujitu iraku de gomei no heishi ga ***nakunatta***. (Neutral/Public)
 Spanish: Ayer ***murieron*** cinco soldados en Iraq.
 ‘Yesterday five soldiers died in Iraq’

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 1 and 2, we look at the relevant Japanese and Spanish data, respectively, and characterize the functions assigned to *shimau* and *se*, both eventual and discursal ones. In Section 3, we recapitulate the discussion. Although this paper does not deal with other languages, the observations made here at least extend to Korean for the auxiliary verb *pelita* and to Catalán for the reflexive clitic *se*.¹

1. *Japanese*

1.1. *Some Preliminary Remarks on V te-shimau*

Shimau can be used as a lexical verb to mean ‘put.away’ or ‘close.up’, as shown in 7 and 8 below.

7. Taroo wa saifu o poketto ni **SHIMAT**ta.
Taroo topic wallet acc pocket loc **put.away**-past
‘Taroo put away the wallet in his pocket’
8. Kyoo wa samui kara hayaku mise o **SHIMAI**mashoo
Today top cold because early store acc **close.up**.let.us
‘Today, since it is cold, let us close up the store early’

As an auxiliary/helping verb, *shimau* appears in a complex verb following another verb in the participle *-te* form, which has two allomorphs, *-te* and *-de*, as in 1a and 2a. Japanese is an agglutinate language, and the two verbs plus the tense marker together form a morphophonological unit. The honorific and polite ending *-are-* or *-mas-*, respectively, can be added to the compound verb to pay respect to the subject or to make the sentence sound less brusque; the sentence in 9 contains both endings.

9. Tanaka san ga wain o *nonde***SHIMAW**are**ma**shita
Tanaka Mr. nom wine acc drink-TE shimau-hon-pol-past
‘Mr.Tanaka drank the wine/wine’ (honorific-polite)

In a colloquial speech, *shimau* loses its morphological autonomy as it combines with its partner verb, and the two verbs get fused together undergoing phonological changes. There are several variants; the one used in the Tokyo dialect (considered to be the ‘standard’ variety of

¹ Patric Caudal pointed out to me that a similar phenomenon has been observed in Polynesian languages.

Japanese), as shown in 10 below in both non-polite and polite forms, is probably the most widely used form across all dialects of Japanese among the young generation. The transcription follows the traditional ‘roomaji’ method.

10. Colloquial Variants of *V-te shimatta* (Tokyo Dialect)

- a. *nonde+shimat+ta* (polite: *nonde+shimai+mashi+ta*) --> *nonjat+ta* (polite: *nonjai+mashi+ta*)
‘drank’
- b. *dete+shimat+ta* (polite: *dete+shimai+mashi+ta*) --> *dechat+ta* (polite: *dechai+mashi+ta*)
‘got.out’

In the discussion below, the non-colloquial (and non-polite) form *V-te shimau* will be used for the examples, although the colloquial forms are much more frequent in spoken Japanese.

1.2. *Distribution of shimau: Constraints on its complement*

First I assume that, although the auxiliary verb *shimau* forms a morphophonological unit with its partner verb and the tense marker, sentences including *V-te shimau* have the thematic structure, as shown in 11, with all the irrelevant details omitted.

11. Thematic structure of sentences with *V-te shimau*:

[tense [*shimau* [V (*x, y, z*)]]] where *x* and *y* may be zero.

Shimau takes the linguistic object consisting of the verb and its arguments (both subject and complements) as its complement and adds a certain aspectual and subjective meaning to it (See Smith 2003 for a discussion of subectivity); tense takes this whole object and situates it in a particular temporal location. Hereafter, I will refer to the linguistic object that is in the domain of *shimau* as *shimau*’s ‘complement’, which I assume is specified for eventual properties, i.e., [\pm durative, \pm telic]. The individual expressing subjectivity is most commonly the speaker, although it can be some other individual. Below I primarily look at cases where the speaker is the one to express his perspective through *shimau*.

Shimau, as an auxiliary verb, has extensive distribution and is extremely productive. It imposes no constraint on its complement as to the type of construction. As shown in 12, it can take an intransitive, - unergative or unaccusative -, a transitive, a ditransitive construction, as well as one that contains a verb taking an oblique complement.

- 12 a. Taroo ga naite**SHIMAT**ta. (Unergative)
 Taroo nom cry-TE shimau-past
 ‘Taroo cried’
- b. Tori ga shinde **SHIMAT**ta (Unaccusative)
 Taroo nom die-TE shimau-past
 ‘The bird died’
- c. Taroo ga tegami o kaite**SHIMAT**ta. (Transitive)
 Taroo nom letter acc write-TE shimau-past
 ‘Taroo wrote the letter/a letter/letters’
- d. Taroo ga Hanako ni tegami o watashite**SHIMAT**ta (Ditransitive)
 Taroo nom Hanako dat letter acc hand-TE shimau-past
 ‘Taroo gave the letter to Hanako’
- e. Taroo ga Tokyoo e itte**SHIMAT**ta. (Motion V with Goal Arg)
 Taroo nom Tokyo to go-TE shimau-Past
 ‘Taroo has gone to Tokyo’
- f. Taroo ga Hanako to kekkonshite**SHIMAT**ta. (V with committative Arg)
 Taroo nom Hanako with marriage.do-TE shimau-Past
 ‘Taroo got married to Hanako’

Shimau can also take a causative as well as passive construction, as shown in 13 and 14, where a full verb, the argument-structure-changing morpheme, *shimau*, and the tense marker are agglutinated into a morphophonological unit.

13. V-causative-TE shima(u)
 Taroo ga seito ni sakubun o kakasete**SHIMAT**ta
 Taroo nom student dat composition acc write-caus-TE shimau-past
 ‘Taroo made the students write a/the composition’
14. V-passive-TE shima(u)
- a. Taroo no jitensha ga nusumarete**SHIMAT**ta (Regular passive)
 Taroo gen bike nom steal-pass-TE shimau-past
 ‘Taroo’s bike was stolen’
- b. Taroo ga jitensha o nusumarete**SHIMAT**ta (Adversitive passive)
 Taroo nom bike acc steal-pass-TE shimau-past
 ‘Taroo had his/the/a bike stolen’

There is only one combinatory constraint the auxiliary *shimau* imposes on its complement, i.e., it has to be [-stative]. In Japanese, simple stative verbs like *shiru* ‘to know’, *aisuru* ‘to love’ are all inchoative, as shown in 15a, and can serve as a partner verb to *shimau*, as in b. These

mental verbs need to combine with the auxiliary *iru* ‘to be/to stay’ to express the stative meaning, as in c; *shimau* cannot be added to this complex stative verb, as shown in d.

- 14 a. Taroo ga hontoo no koto o shitta. ‘Taroo came to know the truth’
 Taroo nom truth gen matter acc know-past
 b. Taroo ga hontoo no koto o shitteSHIMATta.² ‘Taroo came to know the truth’
 Taroo nom truth gen matter acc know-TE shimau-past
 c. Taroo ga hontoo no koto o shitteiru. ‘Taroo knows the truth’
 Taroo nom truth gen matter acc know-TE iru-non past
 d. Taroo ga hontoo no koto o *shitteiteSHIMATta.
 Taroo nom truth gen matter acc know-TE iru-TE shimau-past

With respect to telicity or punctuality, *shimau* imposes no constraint on its complement. As we have already seen in 1a; the same sentence can be interpreted as an activity (durative/atelic) as well as an accomplishment (durative/telic). *Shimau* is compatible with an achievement (punctual/telic) and a semelfactive (punctual/atelic), as seen in 2a above and 15 below, respectively.

15. (Watashi wa) Hanako no ashi o fundeSHIMATta. (Semelfactive)
 (I topic) Hanako gen foot/feet acc step.on-TE shimau-past
 ‘I stepped on Hanako’s foot’

1.3. *Shimau as an expression of eventual property and subjectivity*

The auxiliary verb *shimau* assumes the general function of focalizing the hearer’s (or reader’s) attention on a particular point of the event denoted by its complement. This is not the same as marking the perfective viewpoint, as defined by Smith (1997). Note that Japanese does not have a morpheme exclusively marking the perfective viewpoint; the past tense marker *-ta/-da* provides that function, as is evident in 1b, 2b, and 14a seen above. Following Smith, the perfective viewpoint, when we have a durative situation like ‘going to Kyoto’ or ‘taking a bath’,

² The stative auxiliary verb *iru* ‘to be/to stay’ can be added to the complex verb *shitteshimau* ‘come to know’ yielding a complex verb, which denotes the resulting state, as in the following sentence.

- i. Taroo wa hontoo no koto o shitteshimateiru. ‘Taroo has come to know the truth’

refers to the totality of an event, the initial point, the process, and the final point. Observe in 16 and 17, that past tense marking in sentences expresses the perfective viewpoint.

16. Taroo wa Kyoto e itta.
Taroo topic Kyoto to go-past
'Taroo went to Tokyo'

17. Taroo was ofuro ni haitta.
Taroo topic bath into enter-past
'Taroo took a bath (lit. Taroo got into the bathtub)'

Since the focus is on the totality of the situation, an adverbial that makes a reference to the process part of the situation is compatible with these sentences, as shown below.

16'. Taroo wa **soto no keshiki o tanoshimi nagara** kyooto e itta.
'Taroo went to Kyoto enjoying the scenarios outside'

17'. Taroo wa **hanauta o utainagara** ofuroni haitta.
'Taroo took a bath humming songs'

Once *shimau* is added to the sentence, as in 18 and 19, it places the focus only on a particular point of the event denoted by its complement. For the event of 'going to Kyoto', the focus is on the initial point – departure, and for 'taking a bath', the focus is on the final point, as seen in 18 and 19, respectively, as is reflected in the English translation.

18. Taroo wa Kyoto e itte**SHIMAT**ta.
Taroo topic Kyoto to go-TE shimau-past
'Taroo left for Tokyo'

19. Hanako wa ofuro ni haitte**SHIMAT**ta.
Hanako topic bath loc enter-TE shimau-past
'Hanako finished taking a bath'

With the use of *shimau*, the process part in either situation now is completely out of the picture; thus, the addition of the adverbial making a reference to that part would yield odd strings, as shown in 18' and 19'.

18'. *?Taroo wa **soto no keshiki o tanoshimi nagara** Kyoto e itte**SHIMAT**ta.

19'. *?Hanako wa **hanauta o utainagara** ofuroni haitte**SHIMAT**ta.

When the partner verb is punctual to begin with, as in 2a, i.e., *deru* 'to get out', what *shimau* does is to overtly focalize the hearer's attention on the point at which a change of state

occurs; thus, the preliminary stage leading up to that point is made out of the focus. The sentence 2a solely places the focus on the point that the bird got away from the cage, while for the sentence 2b, the preliminary stage may constitute the part of the focus. This difference is reflected in the possibility of taking adverbials like *yukkurito* ‘slowly’, as shown below.

- 2a. *? Kago kara tori ga **yukkurito** deteSHIMATta.
 cage from bird nom slowly get.out-TE shimau-past
- b. Kago kara tori ga **yukkurito** deta.
 cage from bird nom slowly get.out-past
 ‘A bird/the bird slowly came out of the cage’

Besides placing the focus on a particular point of the event denoted by its complement, *shimau* also adds certain subjective meanings, as we shall see in the next section. These meanings reflect more often than not the perspective that the speaker has toward the event denoted by *shimau*’s complement.

1.4. *Shimau* expressing subjectivity

1.4.1. *Shimau* expressing the sense of fulfillment/compliance. The first meaning that *shimau* adds to its complement can be as in 20.

20. Meaning related to sentences with *V-te shimau* (I)

The subject takes an action. The speaker conceptualizes this action as one taken by the subject with a resolve to fulfill/comply with what is expected to be his task or what he has intended/wished to do. Consequently, X (subject, speaker, or someone else) experiences emotions related to fulfillment/compliance, i.e., relief, pride, satisfaction, contentness, etc.

I call the individual who conceptualizes an event in a particular way the ‘conceptualizer’ and the one who experiences and expresses an emotion the ‘emotive stance-taker’

Generally, the meaning stated in 20 becomes possible if the partner verb to *shimau* is an agentive. To see an illustrative example, observe the sentence in 21, where the writer, although it is not expressed, is understood to be the speaker himself.

21. Nagai aida kakisashi ni natteita ronbun o yatto kaiteSHIMATta
 long while half-done had.been paper acc finally write-TE shimau-past
 ‘I finally finished writing the paper that had remained unfinished for a long time’

In this sentence, it is clear that the speaker thinks that the action of ‘writing up the incomplete paper’ is a task he had set for himself or one with which he had long intended to comply. With *shimau*, the speaker conveys the sense that he (as the subject) took an action with a resolve to fulfill or comply with such a task. Consequently, he is likely to experience the sense of relief, etc., as he completes the task. To 21, for instance, it is possible to conjoin a clause like ‘I am relieved’, as shown in 21’, where the emotive stance-taker, i.e., the speaker, is made explicit as the topic.

21’. *Watashi wa nagai aida kakisashi ni natteita ronbun o yatto kaiteSHIMAI³*
 I topic long while half-done had.been paper acc finally write-TE shimau-and
hotto shiteiru.
 am relieved
 ‘I, having written up the paper that had been left unfinished for a long time, am relieved’

Observe another example below.

22. (*Kyoo wa ohiru kara isogashiku narunode*) *asa no uchi ni oyoidesSHIMATta.*
 morning gen within in swim-TE shimau-past
 ‘(Today, since I will be busy in the afternoon), I swam in the morning’

Note that ‘swimming’ in this sentence is to be interpreted as ‘swimming as a daily routine’, i.e., doing 10 laps in the swimming pool, swimming for 30 minutes, etc. By using *shimau*, the speaker conveys that he complied with a task consisting of swimming, and not a just simple act of swimming.

1.4.2. *Shimau* expressing the sense of counter-expectation. The second meaning that *shimau* adds to its complement is that of ‘counter-expectation’, as stated in 23.

23. Meaning related to sentences with *V-te shimau* (II)

An event takes place, and the speaker conceptualizes this event as a situation that is perfected contrary to his will or his expectation such that it should not occur. Consequently, X (the subject, the speaker or someone else) experiences emotions related to counter-expectation, such as surprise, regret, dismay, remorse, etc.

³ The morpheme *-i* at the end is a connector, which can attach to verb and conjoins clauses.

This meaning is by far the more common one associated with *shimau* because it places no constraint on its complement. As shown in the three sentences in 24, the speaker adds his perspective to his own action (a), someone else's action (b), and some non agentive event (c), respectively.

- 24 a. (Wathashi wa) mata osake o nondeshimatta.⁴
 'I drank (sake) again'
 [Contrary to the expectation I set for myself that I should not drink]
- b. Taroo ga mata osake o nondeshimatta.
 'Taroo drank (sake) again'
 [Contrary to my expectation that Taroo should not drink]
- c. Musuko ga kawa ni ochiteshimatta.
 'My son fell into the river'
 [Contrary to my expectation/desire that my son should not suffer a tragedy]

Consequently, the speaker is likely to experience some emotions such as (self)-pity, regret, remorse, surprise, disappointment, dismay, etc. (like those mentioned by Strauss in 5d above). The exact nature of the emotive stance he might take toward the event depends on various factors: the nature and gravity of the event, the individual involved in the event, the relationship the speaker holds with that individual, etc. The speaker may verbalize these emotive stances, as shown in 25, where the speaker, as the stance-taker, is realized as the topic.

- 25 a. Watashi wa jibun ga mata osake o nondeshimai,
 I topic self nom again sake acc drink-TE shimau and
 'I drank again [contrary to my will], and
totemo kookaishite iru I regret greatly'
- b. Tanaka san ga mata osake o nondeshimai,
 Tanaka Mr.nom again hon.sake acc drink-TE shimau and
 'Mr. Tanaka drank (sake) again [contrary to my expectation], and
 watashi wa *totemo zannen desu.* 'I regret greatly'
- c. Watashi wa musuko ga kawa ni ochiteshimai,
 I topic son nom river Loc fall-TE shimau and
 'My son fell into the river [contrary to my expectation], and

⁴ In this sentence, the phrase indicating the drinker, *watashi wa*, does not need to be overt; it will be interpreted as the speaker without such a phrase.

bikkuri gyooten shimatta.

I was dismayed'

The emotions such as those expressed in 25 might not always be expressed linguistically, but always implied by the use of *shimau* and understood from the context. However, contrary to what is generally claimed (Soga 2000, Iwasaki 2003, Koyama 2004, Soga, among others), I hold that it is not *shimau* itself that marks these emotive stances. I hold that *shimau* marks the speaker's perspective such that "an event that was not supposed to/expected to happen occurred."

It is interesting to note that, when it is used with an agentive partner verb, and, in particular, if the speaker is reacting to his own conduct (cf. 24a), *shimau* has an effect of canceling out its voluntary nature, thus, turning the event into an involuntary or accidental act, which otherwise, would be interpreted as a voluntary or an intentional act. In other words, by using *shimau*, the speaker removes (or dodges) the responsibility for the materialization of the event as its causer. Thus, sentences with *V-te shimau* are often accompanied by an adverbial expression stressing the lack of intention or the accidental nature of the event, as in 26 and 27.

26. *Watashi wa ureshikute omawazu Hanako ni dakitsuiteSHIMATta.*

'I, being so happy, hugged Hanako without intending to do so'

27. *Watashi wa ureshiku te tsui tobiagatteSHIMATta.*

'I, being so happy, jumped involuntarily'

In these sentences, the situation is being looked at as if my body or body parts took actions on their own without me controlling them. The possible emotive meanings that result from the event in 26 and 27 are not as strong as regret or remorse, rather something more like light embarrassment. Because the complex verb formation with *shimau* is so productive, every agentive verb can have an accidental version as well as a deliberate/intentional one, the two forming a minimal pair.

As we have two meanings associated with sentences with *V-te shimau*, a sentence can be ambiguous, as in 28 below, when the partner verb to *shimau* is agentive.

28. *Osake o nondeSHIMATta.*

sake acc drink-TE shimau-past

'I drank the sake/sake'

Such an ambiguity is generally resolved by the context, as shown in 28'

- 28' a. *Nomanakreba shitsureini naru no de* osake o nonde *SHIMAT*ta. (Compliance)
 ‘Since I would lack courtesy if I did not do so, I drank the sake’
 b. *Sonotsumori wa nakattanoni* osake o nonde *SHIMAT*ta. (Counter-expectation)
 ‘Although I did not have such an intention, I drank the sake/sake’

With sentences with a non-agentive partner verb, the same ambiguity does not arise.

1.5. *Affective experiencer*

Compare the two sentences below.

- 29 a. Watashi wa musuko ga mata osake o nonde *SHIMAI*,
 I topic son nom again sake acc drink-TE shimau and
 ‘My son drank again <contrary to my expectation>, and
totemo zannendato omou I regret/am sorry greatly’
 b. Tanaka san ga mata osake o nonde *SHIMAI*
 Tanaka Mr. nom again hon.sake acc drink-TE shimau-past
 ‘Mr. Tanaka drank again <contrary to my expectation>, and
 watashi wa *totemo zannendato omou* I regret greatly’

In both sentences, the speaker is the conceptualizer and the stance-taker. However, there is a critical difference between the two sentences in terms of the nature of the relationship of the speaker with the individual standing as the subject of the sentence. In 29a, the speaker and the subject hold a kinship (parent-son), whereas in 29b, the speaker and the subject have no such empathetic relationship – possibly they are just co-workers or friends. In the former case, the speaker, besides being a conceptualizer/stance-taker, is also psychologically affected by the event by virtue of being the parent of the drinker. Let us call such an implicit argument as ‘affective experiencer’.⁵ In the latter case, however, the speaker is not necessarily the affective experiencer. In 25c, repeated below, the speaker is also an affective experiencer besides being a conceptualizer/stance-taker.

- 25c. Watashi wa musuko ga kawa ni ochite *SHIMAI*,
 I topic son nom river Loc fall-TE shimau and
 ‘My son fell into the river, and
bikkuri gyooten shimatta. I was dismayed’

⁵ The ‘affective experiencer’ is different from the ‘experiencer’ in that it is not an inherent argument of the verb. The latter is traditionally defined as the dative argument of the reverse psych verbs like *gustar* ‘to appeal’

In fact, when the event is unaccusative, there always seems to be an individual standing as an affective experiencer, as in 30 and 31, who holds some empathetic relationship (kinship, whole/part, possessor/possessed, etc.) with a direct participant of the event, the subject or the oblique.

30. (Watashi wa) hana no ue ni ookina nikiba ga dekitesHIMATA.
 (I topic) nose gen top loc big pimple nom show.up-TE shimau-past
 ‘I had a big pimple showed up on my nose’

31. (Watshi wa) dashita tegami ga modotte kiteSHIMATA.
 (I topic) sent letter nom return come-TE shimau-past
 ‘I had a mailed letter returned’

As in 30 and 31, the affective experiencer is the speaker himself (realized as the topic), who is also the conceptualizer and the possible stance-taker. In this case, the topic can be omitted. In most cases, the affective experiencer is the possessor of the object mentioned in the sentence; however, it is not restricted to the possessor. Observe 32, where the affective experiencer is an individual responsible for an object mentioned in the sentence.

32. Watashi wa azukatta kodomo ga dokokae itteSHIMAI, sugu ni keisautsu ni renraku shita.
 ‘I, because the child I was in charge of had disappeared, contacted the police right away’

The affective experiencer, although it is most commonly the speaker, may be someone other than the speaker, as shown in 33 and 34.

33. Taroo wa hana no ue ni ookina nikiba ga dekiteshmatta yooda/sooda/rashii.
 Taroo topic nose gen top Loc big pimple nom show.up TE shimau-past so it looks/I hear
 ‘Taroo had a big pimple showed up on his nose, so it seems/so I hear’

34. Taroo wa dashita tegami ga modotte kite ta-yooda/-sooda/-rashii.
 Taroo topic sent letter nom return come-TE shimau-past so it looks/I hear
 ‘Taroo had a mailed letter returned, so it looks/so I hear’

In these sentences, Taroo is the affective experiencer. The expression *-yooda/-sooda/-rashii* ‘so it looks/so I hear’ indicate that the speaker did not witness the event; thus, the speaker simply assumes that Taroo has conceptualized the event of ‘the mailed letter returning’ or ‘a big pimple showing up’ as something contrary to his expectation, and that Taroo has taken some emotive stance towards it.

2. Spanish

2.1. Some Preliminary Remarks on Spanish Reflexive Clitic *se*.

The Romance reflexive clitic *se/si* has multifunctional uses associated with it; 35-39 illustrate those found across all Romance languages using Spanish data.

35. Reflexive/Reciprocal *se*:

Los niños *SE* miraron. 'The boys looked at themselves/
The boys SE-3 looked.at-3pl each other'

36. Passive/Middle *se*:⁶

a. En este mercado *SE* venden camarones frescos. 'In this market fresh shrimps are sold'
in this marcke SE-3 sell-3pl shrimps fresh

b. Esta camisa *SE* lava fácilmente. 'This shirt washes easily'
this shirt SE-3 wash-3sg easily

37. Ergative *se*:⁷

SE rompieron los cristales. 'The crystals broke'
SE-3 broke-3pl the crystals

38. Inherent *se*:

Juan *SE* arrepintió. 'Juan repented (himself)'
John SE-3 repented

Attempts have been made in the generative camp to assign a unified function to all the instances of *se* shown above. One of the most widely accepted analyses is proposed by Werhli (1986) and Grimshaw (1990), among others, that Romance clitic *se/si* as a valency-reducing morpheme. In 35-38, *se*, as it is affixed to a transitive verb, 'absorbs'/suppresses one nominal argument associated with the base verb, blocking the syntactic realization of that argument. In all instances, *se* is an anaphor in the sense that it is coreferent with the subject NP. The paradigm for the reflexive clitic is shown in 39.

⁶ Some researchers do not make the division between passive and middle *se* and call both as middle *se*.

⁷ Ergative *se* is also called 'anticausative *se*', 'inchoative *se*', 'unaccusative *se*', and 'neuter *se*'.

39. Reflexive clitics (Spanish)

	sg		pl
<u>1st</u>	Yo _i ME_i miro 'I looked at myself'		Nosotros _i NOS_i miramos. 'We looked at ourselves/each other'
<u>2nd</u>	Tú _i TE_i miras. 'You looked at yourself'		Vosotros _i OS_i miráis. 'You looked at yourselves/each other'
<u>3rd</u>	El/Ella _i SE_i mira. 'He/She looks at himself/herself'		Ellos/Ellas _i SE_i miran. 'They look at themselves/each other'

2.2. *Se as an expression of an eventual property: Its distribution*

Turning to *se* as in 3a and 4a (repeated below), it has been analyzed as a marker of the completive aspect (Strozer 1976, Nishida 1994, Zagona 1996, de Miguel and Fernández Lagunilla 2000, Sanz 2000, among others). Let us refer to this type of *se* as 'aspectual *se*' following Zagona.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3a. Tomás SE tomó el vino/*vino.
Tom SE-3 drank-3sg the the wine/*wine
'Tom drank up the wine/*wine' | b. Tomás tomó el vino/vino
Tom drank-3sg the wine/wine
'Tom drank the wine/wine' |
| 4a. SE salió el pájaro de la jaula.
SE-3 got.out-3sg the bird from the cage
'The bird got away from the cage' | b. El pájaro salió de la jaula.
the bird got.out-3sg from the cage.
'The bird came out of the cage' |

In comparison with *shimau*, the distribution of aspectual *se* is very limited. It can occur only with a certain subset of transitive verbs and of intransitive verbs, as we shall see in detail in the following two sections.

2.2.1. Transitive Constructions. In transitive constructions, aspectual *se* is most commonly distributed among situations involving consumption in a broad sense, as in 40, and those in which the subject moves through a spatial object, as shown in 41.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 40 a. Juan SE comió una manzana.
b. Juan SE fumó un puro.
c. Juan SE gastó mil dólares.
d. Juan SE leyó la novela.
e. Juan SE recitó un poema.
g. Juan SE aguantó una opera. | 'John ate an (entire) apple'
'John smoked a cigar'
'John spent \$1,000'
'John read the (whole) novel'
'John recited a (entire) poem'
'John sat through an (entire) opera' |
| 41 a. Juan SE vio toda costa.
b. Juan SE visitó/conoció toda la ciudad. | 'John saw the whole coast'
'John visited/got acquainted with the entire city' |

- c. *Juan SE cruzó el desierto.* ‘John crossed the desert’
 d. *Juan SE caminó dos cuadras.* ‘John walked two blocks’

Note that all these sentences have the DO that is quantized (Krifka 1992) and constitutes an incremental theme (Dowty 1991), where there exists homomorphism between the event and the object involved in the event. According to Tenny (1886), the DO in these sentences “measures out” the event. In terms of situation types (Smith 1997), they are accomplishments.⁸ Note that these sentences would equally be accomplishments without *se*. As in those with *V-te shimau*, I assume that sentences containing aspectual *se* have the thematic structure, as shown in 42 below (disregarding irrelevant details), although *se* forms a morphophonological unit with the verb and the tense/aspect marker.

42. [tense [viewpoint aspect [*se* [*V*(*x*, *y*)]]]]] where *x* may be zero.⁹

When *se* takes a complement that is transitive, what it does is to focalize the hearer or reader’s attention on the final point of the event denoted by its complement.

As observed in Zagona (ibid.), *se* does not readily occur with other types of accomplishment than those shown in 40 and 41. One type of verb not compatible with *se* is verbs of creation, such as *construir* ‘to construct’, *dibujar* ‘draw’, *escribir* ‘to write’, *hacer* ‘to make’, etc., although these verbs do take an incremental theme DO. Sanz (ibid.) claims that the DO of the transitive sentence with aspectual *se* must denote an object that already exists at the beginning of the situation. *Se* DOES occur with verbs of creation; however this *se* is interpreted as the reflexive IO assuming the thematic role of Goal-benefactive rather than aspectual *se*, as shown in 43 below.

43. *Juan se escribió la carta.*
 ‘John wrote the letter for himself/*John wrote the entire letter’

⁸ Aspectual *se* can occur with stative verbs like *saber* ‘to know’ and *conocer* ‘to get acquainted’ to denote a resulting state of an accomplishment, as in *Juan se conoce la ciudad* ‘John is acquainted with the (entire) city’.

⁹ Spanish marks the viewpoint aspect morphologically for the past tense, i.e., preterite [+perfective] and imperfect [-perfective].

Sanz also observes that *se* can occur in transitive construction which Smith would classify as ‘devired’ accomplishments, as shown in the b-sentences in 44 and 45 below.

- 44 a. *Juan *SE* olió una rosa.
 John se-3 smelled-3st one rose
 b. Juan *SE* olió veinte rosas en un minuto.
 John se-3 smelled-3sg twenty roses in a minute
 ‘John smelled (all) twenty roses in one minute’
45. a.*? Juan *SE* lavó los trastes.
 John se-3 washed-3sg the dishes
 b. Juan *SE* lavó los trastes en una hora.
 John se washed-3sg the dishes in an hour
 John washed (all) the dishes in an hour’

In 44, ‘to smell a rose’ is an activity; ‘to smell all twenty roses (one by one) in one minute’ becomes an accomplishment. In 45, ‘to wash the dishes’ may be an activity, but by adding a limiting adverbial *in an hour*, it shifts to an accomplishment.

2.2.2. Intransitive Constructions. The aspectual *se* also occurs with intransitive verbs, including purely intransitive verbs like *dormir* ‘to sleep’, *morir* ‘to die’, *volar* ‘to fly’, etc. as well as motion verbs like *ir* ‘to go’, *volver* ‘to return’, *escapar* ‘to run away’, *salir* ‘to get out’, etc. – both goal- and source-oriented. If the base verb denotes a durative situation, telic or atelic, *se* places the focus on the initial point of such a situation, as shown in 46 and 47 below, turning it into an inchoative achievement.

- 46 a. Juan fue a la tienda. ‘John went to the store’
 John went-3sg to the store
 b. Juan *SE* fue para/a la tienda. ‘John left for/to the market’
 John SE-3 went-3sg for/a the store
- 47 a. Pedro durmió bien anoche. ‘Peter slept well last night’
 Peter slept-3sg well last.night
 b. Ya *SE* durmió Pedro. ‘Peter fell sleep’
 already SE-3 slept-3sg Peter

Se is not compatible with verbs like *caminar* ‘to walk’ or *correr* ‘to run’ even though they constitute durative situations since the initial point of these situations would not denote any change of state.

If the base verb denotes a punctual and telic event to begin with, *se* picks out the exact point where the change of state occurs leaving the preliminary stage leading up to that point out of the focus. Observe the two sentences in 48, which contain a punctual and telic verb *volver* ‘to return’. Note that if *se* is not used, as shown in 48a, the event of returning to one’s native village may include the process leading up to the arrival in the village; once *se* is added, however, the process part can never be included, as shown in b.

- 48 a. Pedro volvió al pueblo natal **pasando por varios pueblos en el camino**.
 ‘Pedro returned to native village passing by several village on his way’
 b. Se volvió Pedro al pueblo natal ***pasando por varios pueblos en el camino**.
 ‘Pedro returned to his native village *passing by several village on his way’

In essence, intransitive sentences with *se* are unaccusative. However, not all unaccusative verbs can appear with *se*. For instance, *aparecer* ‘to appear’, *morir* ‘to die’, *terminar* ‘to end’, *venir* ‘to come’, can, but *desaparecer* ‘to disappear’, *nacer* ‘to be born’, *comenzar* ‘to begin’, and *llegar* ‘to arrive’ cannot. It is not clear why *se* does not occur with the latter group of verbs, except perhaps that compatibility with *se* might be idiosyncratically determined.¹⁰

There is evidence that supports that intransitive sentences with *se* refer to the point (or a sum of points) where a change of state occurs. McCready and Nishida (to appear; M&N, henceforth) point out that the thematic subject of intransitive constructions with *se* is also subject to the similar constraint as the thematic DO in the transitive counterparts. As shown in 49a below, an intransitive verb with aspectual *se* is compatible with the quantized subject NP, but resistant (marginal to ungrammatical, according to native speakers) to one that is non-quantized, as shown in b. If it does not have the aspectual *se* affixed to it, the same intransitive verb is free to take a quantized as well as a non-quantized subject NP, as in c.

- 49 a. **SE** salieron **los pájaros/dos pájaros** de la jaula, aunque traté de cerrar la puerta.
 se-3 left-3pl the birds/two birds from the cage even.though I.tried to close the door
 ‘The birds/two birds got out of the cage, even though I tried to close the door’

¹⁰ De Miguel and Fernández Lagunilla (2000) discuss this point and try to explain the difference between the two sets of verbs in terms of their eventual properties. However, their explanation is not free of counterexamples.

- b. *SE* salieron *?pájaros de la jaula, aunque traté de cerrar la puerta.
 se-3 left-3pl birds from the cage even.though I.tried to close the door
- c. Al romper el mago el globo, salieron pájaros/los pájaros/dos pájaros de ahí.
 To.the break the magician the balloon, got.out-3pl birds/the birds/two birds from there
 ‘As the magician broke the balloon, birds/the birds/two birds emerged from there’

An intransitive verb with the aspectual *se* is resistant to a non-quantized subject NP, like a bare plural, because such a subject would not necessarily guarantee the denotation intended of the sentence with *se*, i.e., a point where a change of state occurs. Birds getting out would not necessarily be confined to a point in time (or a sum of points over a delimited period of time), although it may.

To summarize the discussion here, *se* can be added to a durative (telic or atelic) or punctual and telic situation and places the focus on the point at which a change of state occurs. This analysis allows us to correctly predict that *se* can never take a semelfactive situation as its complement such as *brincar* ‘to jump’, *parpadear* ‘to blink’, *tocar a la puerta* ‘to knock’, etc.

2.3. *Aspectual se an expression of subjectivity?*

Is aspectual *se* also used to convey subjectivity as we have observed with *shimau*? Once again, let us look at transitive and intransitive constructions separately, but this time, the latter first, because we see more robust evidence in them.

2.3.1. *Intransitive Constructions.* Spanish intransitive constructions with *se*, which are basically unaccusative, are very similar to Japanese counterparts with *shimau* because they also seem to express the second meaning associated with *shimau*, as stated in 23 above, repeated below.

23. Meaning related to sentences with *V-te shimau* (II)

An event takes place, and the speaker conceptualizes this event as a situation that is perfected contrary to his will or his expectation such that it should not occur. Consequently, X (the subject, the speaker or someone else) experiences the emotions related to counter-expectation, such as surprise, regret, dismay, remorse, etc.

Maldonado (1999), who studied all uses of the Spanish reflexive clitic *se*, came to a similar conclusion independently about intransitive constructions containing *se*. Maldonado observes

that intransitive sentences containing *se* “designate a conceptualization of the event in which there occurs an instantaneous, sudden or quick change, or they comprise events that develop contrary to the normal desires/expectations of the speaker (354: Translation mine).” Maldonado, who works within a cognitive framework, focuses his attention more on the first property of sentences with *se*, i.e., a swift materialization of the event, and he analyzes *se* in intransitive constructions as the marker of energetic events, events that have more dynamicity. As we have seen, *se* places the focus on the point at which a change of state occurs, thus, leaving the process leading up to that point out of the picture. For this reason, the event depicted in sentences with *se* seems to have materialized all of a sudden. This was also true of Japanese unaccusative sentences with *shimau*.

There is another similarity between intransitive (unaccusative) sentences with *shimau* and those with *se*. Recall that Japanese unaccusative sentences with *shimau* can always have an affective experiencer represented as the topic of the sentence, who is often the conceptualizer and the emotive stance-taker. As pointed out by M&N, one property that uniquely characterizes intransitive sentences with aspectual *se* is that they can occur with the so-called ‘dative of interest’ realized in the form of a dative clitic (or a dative clitic/NP pair), which most often than not is the first person singular, i.e., the speaker, as illustrated in 50-52 below.

50. **SE me** escapó el niño de la escuela.
 SE-3 CL-1sg escaped-3sg the boy from the school
 ‘The boys sneaked out of school on me’
51. El niño **SE me** quedó dormido en el coche.
 The boy SE-3 CL-1sg remained-3sg asleep in the car
 ‘The boy fell asleep in the car on me’
52. Ayer **SE me** murió el niño.
 yesterday se-3 CL-1sg died-3sg the boy
 ‘Yesterday the/my boy died on me’

The dative of interest is precisely the affective experiencer of the event, who is supposed to have some empathetic relation with a direct participant of the event, *el niño* ‘the boy’, and is there to experience the event. The speaker, as the affective experiencer of the event, conceptualizes the event as one that happened contrary to his expectation or will. Consequently, he is bound to

experience some emotions that are generally negative such as regret, dismay, remorse, disappointment, etc. In 50-52, the dative of interest is optional. However, even when it is not there, the sentence does not lose the sense of counter-expectation, as stated in 23. There are cases in which the dative of interest is obligatory, in particular, if some direct participant of the event constitutes a body part, as in 53; not expressing the affective experiencer makes the sentence uninterpretable, not necessarily ungrammatical.

- 53 a. *SE* me salió un granito enorme encima de la nariz.
 se-3 CL-1sg got.out-3sg a pimple enormous on.top of the nose
 ‘An enormous pimple showed up on top of my nose’
- b. **SE* salió un granito enorme encima de la nariz. (Uninterpretable)
 se-3 get.out a pimple enormous on.top of the nose

Verbs like *escapar* ‘to get out/escape’, *quedar* (*Adj.*) ‘to become (*Adj.*)’ and *morir* ‘to die’, as shown in 47-49, can be used without *se*, as shown in the a-sentences in 54-56; however, the dative of interest cannot be added to these *se*-less sentences, as shown in the ill-formed b-sentences.

- 54 a. El niño escapó de la escuela
 The boy got.out-3sg from the school
 ‘The boy ran away from school’
- b. *El niño me escapó de la escuela
 The boys CL-1sg got.out-3sg from the school
- 54 a. El niño quedó dormido en el coche.
 The boy remained-3sg asleep in the car
 ‘The boy fell asleep in the car’
- b. *El niño me quedó dormido en el coche.
 The boy CL-1sg remained-3sg asleep in the coche
- 56 a. Ayer murió el niño.
 Yesterday died-3sg the boy
 ‘Yesterday the boy died’
- b. *Ayer **me** murió the boy
 Yesterday CL-1sg died-3sg my grandfather

As in sentences with *shimau*, the affective experiencer in sentences with *se* can be someone other than the speaker, as in 57 and 58.

57. A Silvia *SE le* murió el papá cuando tenía apenas 3 años.
 To Sylvia SE-3 CL-dat-3sg died-3sg the father when had-3sg barely 3 years
 ‘Sylvia’s dad died on her when she was barely 3 years’

58 a. Su marido *SE le* quedó ciego en el incendio.
 Her husband SE-3 CL-dat-3sg remained-3sg blind-masc.sg in the fire
 ‘Her husband became blind on her in the fire’

In these sentences, it seems that the conceptualizer and the possible stance-taker can be the individual that stands as the affective experiencer or the speaker depending on whether the speaker witnessed the event or is just conveying the event indirectly.

Although Spanish intransitive sentences with *se* and Japanese counterparts with *shimau* might share some properties, the distribution of *se* is much more restricted than *shimau*. Unlike those with *shimau*, Spanish intransitive sentences with *se* are strictly unaccusative, and they are achievements with the focus placed on the point at which a change of state occurs. Sentences such as 59a, where *se* occurs with an ergative verb depicting a semelfactive situation is ill formed.

59 a. *Juan *SE* parpadeó justo en ese momento.
 John se-3 blinked-3sg just in that moment.
 b. Juan parpadeó justo en ese momento.
 ‘John blinked exactly in that moment’

Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that there are a few unergative verbs such as *orinar* ‘urinate’, *reír* ‘laugh’, and *sonreír* ‘to smile’, can occur without or with *se*, making a minimal pair of an intentional/deliberate vs. unintentional/spontaneous action, as in Japanese. This fact indicates that there is the potential that *se* might be used more extensively as a marker of subjectivity.

2.4.2. Transitive Construction. Maldonado does not extend his analysis of energetic dynamics to transitive constructions with *se*, as in 40 and 41, and does not seem to hold that transitive sentences with *se* express the sense of counter-expectation, as he has proposed for intransitive constructions. Strauss, however, gives one example, as in 60 below, and claims that this transitive sentence expresses emotive stances, as given in the parenthesis.

60. (Ellos) **SE** comieron mis galletas
'(To my regret, surprise, relief, etc.) they are (up) my cookies' (2003: 662, ex. 21)

Martínez-Benito (2003 and personal communication) comments that transitive sentences with *se* could imply surprise, amazement, dismay, etc., and the completion of the event was brought about very quickly or in a short period of time particularly if the sentence is accompanied by limiting adverbials like *en un instante* 'in an instant'.

Since the types of verbs to which *se* attaches are mostly agentive, the first meaning associated with sentences with *V-te shimau*, as stated in 20, - repeated below - , seems possible with transitive sentences containing aspectual *se*, particularly if the agentive subject is the speaker him/herself.

20. Meaning related to sentences with *V-te shimau* (I)

The subject takes an action. The speaker conceptualizes this action as one taken by the subject with a resolve to fulfill/comply with what is expected to be his task or what he has intended/wished to do. Consequently, X (subject, speaker, or someone else) experiences emotions related to fulfillment/compliance, i.e., relief, pride, satisfaction, contentness, etc.

Observe an example with this meaning expressed.

61. Ese líquido se veía horrible, pero **ME** lo tomé con los ojos cerrados
porque me quería sanar pronto.
'That liquid looked horrible, but I drank it down with my eyes closed
because I wanted to get well soon'

The sentence describing the drinking event would sound awkward – if not ungrammatical - without aspectual *se*, i.e., *me*, in this context.

Although Spanish transitive sentences with *se* and the Japanese counterparts with *shimau* might share similar properties, the use of *se* as an expression of subjectivity is much more limited. First, we have seen above that not all accomplishment sentences allow aspectual *se*. Furthermore, aspectual *se* never occurs in activity situations, as in 62a.

- 62 a. *Juan **SE** tomó vino sin querer.
b. Juan tomó vino sin querer.
'John drank wine without wanting it'

3. Conclusion.

In this paper we have examined the Japanese auxiliary verb *shimau*, as in 1a and 2a and the Spanish reflexive clitic *se*, as in 3a and 4a, as expressions of subjectivity. First, we have determined that both of them place the focus on a particular point of the event denoted by the linguistic expression that stands as its complement. At the same time, both morphemes add certain subjective perspective to this event, which, most often than not, originates from the speaker witnessing the event.

Although *shimau* and *se* share certain aspectual and discursal properties, *shimau* has much more extensive distribution as an expression of subjectivity than *se*. *Shimau* can take any type of event as its complement and add subjective perspectives to it, particularly the sense of counter-expectation. This means that *shimau* has reached the final stage of grammaticalization as an expression of subjectivity, whereas *se* has not. The more restricted use and the degree of grammaticalization is possibly because *se* is still tied with syntactic functions as an anaphor and an argument-changing morpheme; *se* can be used to assume the aspectual or discursal function only when such a use does not interfere with other functions. *Shimau*, on the other hand, has no such restrictions, since its two functions, a main verb and an auxiliary verb, do not overlap each other.

In spite of the differences between the two morphemes, what is most important is that the two languages have created, by using an existing morpheme, a means to distinguish a personal/subjective discourse from a neutral/objective one, as we have seen in 6a and b, respectively, at the beginning of this paper, repeated below.

- 6 a. Japanese: (Watashi wa) Kinoo ojiichan ga ***nakunatteSHIMATta***. (Personal/Private)
Spanish: Ayer ***SE*** (me) ***murió*** mi abuelo.
'Yesterday my grandfather passed away (on me)'
- b. Japanese: Sakujitu iraku de gomei no heishi ga ***nakunatta***. (Neutral/Public)
Spanish: Ayer ***murieron*** cinco soldados en Iraq.
'Yesterday five soldiers died in Iraq'

In fact, it is interesting to note that in Spanish, there are some personal situations that can only be expressed using *se*, as shown in the examples below.

- 63 a. *SE* me salieron las lágrimas.
 ‘Tears came out of my eye’
 b. * Me salieron las lágrimas.
- 64 a. *ME* muero por verte.
 ‘I am dying to see you’
 b. * Muero por verte.

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