

# Non-reflexive Non-argumental Clitic Pronouns of Spanish

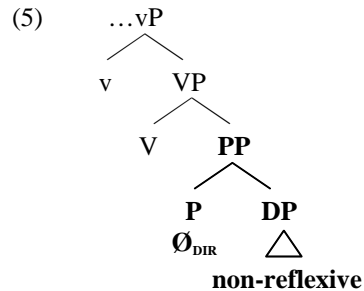
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## 1. Introduction

This paper discusses non-reflexive non-argumental clitic pronouns of Spanish (non-reflexives). Examples are given in (1-2). The non-reflexives are in bold. Two seemingly independent facts of these non-reflexives have resisted a unified explanation: **1.** Non-reflexives resist adjectival secondary predication (3), and **2.** Non-reflexives can prevent idiomatic interpretation (4). In this paper, I offer an account of these facts.

- (1) Yo **le** lavé el coche.  
I **to-him** washed the car.  
'I washed **his** car.' or 'I washed the car **on/for him**.'
- (2) Juan **me** bebió la cerveza.  
Juan **to-me** drank the beer  
'Juan drank **my** beer.' or 'Juan drank the beer **on/for me**.'
- (3) Yo<sub>j</sub> **le**<sub>k</sub> lavé el coche borracho<sub>j/\*k</sub>.  
I<sub>j</sub> **to-him**<sub>k</sub> washed the car drunk<sub>j/\*k</sub>  
'I washed **his** car drunk.' or 'I washed the car **on/for him** drunk.'
- (4) a. Juana bebe los vientos por Javier.  
Juana drinks the winds for Javier  
Idiomatic meaning: 'Juana is in love with Javier.'
- b. #Juana **me** bebe los vientos por Javier.  
Intended meaning: 'Juana is in love with Javier **on me**.'

I propose that non-reflexive non-argumental clitic pronouns of Spanish are introduced as the complement of a null directional-like preposition that merges as a complement of the verb (5).



Not only does this proposal account for the lack of adjectival secondary predication (3) and the prevention of idiomatic interpretation (4), it also explains some obvious parallels between properties exhibited by the non-reflexive and overt directional prepositions; namely, the inability to elicit a telic interpretation of the predicate, and the inability to express an *on/with* entailment.

The paper is structured in the following way: In section 2, I draw out the properties of non-reflexive non-argumental clitic pronouns of Spanish by contrasting them with **reflexive** non-argumental clitic pronouns of Spanish. We see that non-reflexives pattern with directional prepositions, while the reflexives pattern with goal prepositions. In addition to these patterns, I draw attention to another contrast: the non-reflexive's ability to express a temporary relation between the direct object and the denotation of the non-reflexive, and the reflexive's **inability** to express this temporary relation. In section 3, I lay out the main hypothesis that these non-reflexives of Spanish are complements of a null directional-like preposition that merges as the complement of the verb. I detail how this proposal straightforwardly accounts for the non-reflexive's resistance to adjectival secondary predication and its ability to prevent idiomatic interpretation. In section 4, I address another contrast between the reflexive and the non-reflexive that arises when they occur with a particular idiom.

## 2. The Properties of Spanish Non-reflexives

In this section, I discuss properties of non-reflexive non-argumental clitic pronouns of Spanish. These properties take on significance when contrasted with properties of **reflexive** non-argumental clitic pronouns of Spanish (reflexives). The contrast centers on three properties: **1.** The (in)ability to elicit a telic interpretation of the predicate, **2.** The (in)ability to express an *on/with* entailment, and **3.** The (in)ability to express temporary relations. Reflexives elicit a telic interpretation of the predicate, express an *on/with* entailment, but cannot express temporary relations. Non-reflexives do not elicit a telic interpretation of the predicate, do not express an *on/with* entailment, but can express temporary relations.

To conclude this section, I compare these pronouns of Spanish with overt goal and directional prepositions. Goal prepositions elicit a telic interpretation of the predicate and express an *on/with* entailment. Directional prepositions do not elicit a telic interpretation of the predicate and do not express an *on/with* entailment. Reflexives pattern with goal prepositions and non-reflexives pattern with directional prepositions.

### 2.1 Eliciting a telic interpretation of the predicate

It has been observed that in the presence of a reflexive pronoun of Spanish the predicate is interpreted as telic (MacDonald 2004, Nishida 1994, Sanz 2000, Zagona 1996). Durative phrases (e.g. *durante una hora* ‘for an hour’) are incompatible with telic events (see Dowty 1979, Tenny 1994 among others). Observe that the reflexive pronoun is incompatible with the durative phrase (6), where otherwise it would be.

- (6) (Yo) **me** lavé el coche # durante una hora.  
 (I) **myself** washed the car # for an hour  
 ‘I washed the car for an hour.’

In contrast, observe that non-reflexives are compatible with durative phrases (7). Non-reflexives do not elicit a telic interpretation of the predicate.

- (7) (Yo) (**le**) lavé el coche durante una hora.  
 (I) (**to-him**) washed the car for an hour  
 ‘I washed his car for an hour.’ or ‘I washed the car on/for him for an hour.’

Thus, the presence of the reflexive pronoun elicits a telic interpretation of the event. The presence of the non-reflexive does not.

### 2.2 Expressing an *on/with* entailment

A curious restriction has been observed when reflexive pronouns are present in an utterance (MacDonald 2004). The location of the event expressed by the verb is restricted to the location of the subject. This can be observed in (8).

- (8) a. (Yo) **me** abroché la camisa.  
 (I) **myself** buttoned the shirt  
 ‘I buttoned the shirt.’  
 b. (Yo) **me** lavé el coche.  
 (I) **myself** washed the car.  
 ‘I washed the car.’

In (8a), the shirt is necessarily interpreted as on the subject at the time of the buttoning event; the shirt could not be on a hanger while the shirt is being buttoned. In (8b), the subject is necessarily interpreted as carrying out the action of washing the car; he could not have dropped it off at a carwash and let someone else wash it for him.

MacDonald (2004) proposes that the presence of the reflexive forces the direct object to be necessarily interpreted as *on/with* the denotation of the reflexive. As the reflexive is co-indexed with the subject, the direct object is interpreted as necessarily *on/with* the denotation of the subject. Given that the action expressed by the verb is carried out on the direct object, which is interpreted as *on/with* the subject, the subject marks the location of the event. The event expressed by the verb is restricted to the location of the subject because the presence of the reflexive forces the direct object to be necessarily interpreted as *on/with* the denotation of the reflexive.<sup>1</sup>

Compare the data with the reflexives in (8) to the data with non-reflexives in (9).

- (9) a. (Yo) **le** abroché la camisa.  
(I) **to-him** buttoned the shirt  
'I buttoned his shirt.' or 'I buttoned the shirt on/for him.'
- b. (Yo) **le** lave el coche.  
(I) **to-him** washed the car  
'I washed his car.' or 'I washed the car on/for him.'

In (9a), the shirt is **not** necessarily interpreted as on the denotation of the non-reflexive at the time of the buttoning event. The individual denoted by the non-reflexive does not have to be wearing the shirt; the shirt could be on hanger at the time of buttoning. In (9b), the denotation of the non-reflexive does **not** necessarily have to be present during the washing of the car, let alone be carrying out the washing himself. The car could have been dropped off at a carwash to let someone else wash it while the individual denoted by the non-reflexive was at some other location.

When the non-reflexive pronoun is present, the direct object is **not** necessarily interpreted as *on/with* the denotation of the non-reflexive. When the reflexive pronoun is present, the direct object is necessarily interpreted as *on/with* the denotation of the reflexive. The reflexive expresses an *on/with* entailment. The non-reflexive does not.

### 2.3 Expressing temporary relations

It has been observed that under certain pragmatic conditions, the presence of the reflexive pronoun is not licensed (MacDonald 2004). One of those conditions is when the direct object is temporarily related to the denotation of the reflexive.

Thus, in (10), the reflexive pronoun is not licensed in the following context: I am a car-washer and I am temporarily assigned cars to wash as part of my job.

- (10) #(Yo) **me** lavé el coche.  
(I) **myself** washed the car.  
'I washed the car.'

I wash a car temporarily assigned to me and wish to express this. I cannot express this by uttering the sentence in (10) with the reflexive pronoun. In a similar car-washer scenario, in which I do my fellow car-washer colleague a favor and wash his car for him, I **can** express this with the non-reflexive pronoun, as in (11).

- (11) (Yo) **le** lavé el coche.  
(I) **to-him** washed the car  
'I washed his car.' or 'I washed the car on/for him.'

An individual is temporarily assigned a car as part of his job. I wash it for him, and I can express this by uttering sentence (11) using the non-reflexive to denote that individual. The reflexive pronoun cannot express a temporary relation between the direct object and the denotation of the clitic. The non-reflexive pronoun can.

To briefly summarize, we can contrast constructions that contain a **non-reflexive** non-argumental clitic pronoun of Spanish with constructions that contain a **reflexive** non-argumental clitic pronoun of Spanish on three points: **1.** The (in)ability to elicit a telic interpretation of the predicate, **2.** The (in)ability to express an *on/with* entailment, and **3.** The (in)ability to express temporary relations. Reflexives elicit a telic interpretation of the predicate, express an *on/with* entailment, but cannot express temporary relations. Non-reflexives do not elicit a telic interpretation of the predicate, do not express an *on/with* entailment, but can express temporary relations.

#### **2.4 Goal and directional prepositions exhibit parallel properties**

In this section, I draw a parallel between properties of goal prepositional phrases and reflexives, and between directional prepositional phrases and non-reflexives. It will be shown that goals pattern with reflexives by eliciting a telic interpretation of the predicate and by expressing an *on/with* entailment. Directionals pattern with non-reflexives by not eliciting a telic interpretation of the predicate and by not expressing an *on/with* entailment.

Observe that goal prepositional phrases, like reflexives, are not compatible with the durative phrase (12a), while directional prepositional phrases, like non-

reflexives, are (12b). Like reflexives, goal prepositional phrases delimit the event. Like non-reflexives, directional prepositional phrases do not.

- (12) a. Ralph pushed the car **to the garage**      #for an hour.  
b. Ralph pushed the car **toward the garage**      for an hour.

Observe that goal prepositions, like reflexives, express an *on/with* entailment (13a), while directional prepositions, like non-reflexives, do not (13b).

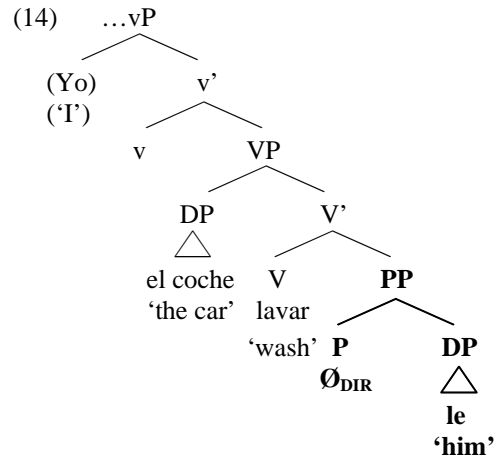
- (13) a. Ralph threw the ball **to Frank**.  
b. Ralph threw the ball **toward Frank**.

In (13a), the goal preposition expresses the entailment that the ball ends up in Frank's possession; it is necessarily *on/with* Frank. In (13b), there is no such *on/with* entailment expressed by the directional; the ball may or may not end up in Frank's possession.

Thus, goal prepositional phrases and reflexive pronoun constructions pattern together on the one hand, while directional prepositional phrases and non-reflexive pronoun constructions pattern together on the other. These parallel patterns motivate the proposal that these non-reflexive non-argumental clitic pronouns of Spanish are complements of a null directional-like preposition. I lay out this proposal in detail in the next section.

### 3. The Null Directional-like Preposition

Based on the parallel patterns observed between goal prepositional phrases and reflexive pronoun constructions, MacDonald (2004) proposes that the reflexive non-argumental clitic pronoun of Spanish is introduced as the complement of a null preposition that has properties of a goal preposition; i.e. a goal-like preposition. In a similar vein, I argue that the non-reflexive non-argumental clitic pronoun of Spanish is introduced as the complement of a null preposition that has properties of a directional preposition; i.e. a directional-like preposition. This proposal straightforwardly explains the properties outlined in section 2 (i.e. the inability to delimit the event, and the lack of *on/with* entailment); they result from the nature of the null preposition. I assume that this null preposition merges as a complement of the verb resulting in a structure as in (14).



I assume that the verb together with the prepositional phrase assigns a compositional theta-role to the internal argument (Larson 1988), which determines the permissible range of relations between the direct object and the denotation of the non-reflexive (e.g. temporary relations). The clitic then undergoes clitic movement and the derivation proceeds normally.

Indirect support for the low merger of the null preposition comes from *do-so* constructions. Directional prepositional phrases are odd in *do-so* constructions (15a), especially when compared to location prepositional phrases (15b).

(15) a. ??Ralph pushed the car **towards** the church  
and Frank did so **toward** the school.

b. Ralph played soccer **at** the church  
and Frank did so **at** the school.

These data suggest that directional prepositional phrases are not adjoined to vP, but merge lower in the structure. Maintaining the parallels between the overt directional prepositional phrase and the null directional-like prepositional phrase, I assume that the null directional-like prepositional phrase has the same configuration as the overt directional prepositional phrase. As such, I take these *do-so* data as indirect support for the structure in (14) in which the null directional-like prepositional phrase merges as a complement of the verb.

### 3.1 Adjectival secondary predication

As noted above, non-reflexives of Spanish resist adjectival secondary predication. The data that illustrates this fact is repeated below in (16) for convenience.

- (16) Yo<sub>j</sub> **le**<sub>k</sub> lavé el coche borracho<sub>j/\*k</sub>.  
 I<sub>j</sub> **to-him**<sub>k</sub> washed the car drunk<sub>j/\*k</sub>.  
 'I washed **his** car drunk.' or 'I washed the car **on/for him** drunk.'

Observe that the resistance to adjectival secondary predication is not a result of the clitic status of the non-reflexive pronoun, as **argumental** clitics can be modified by adjectival secondary predicates, as shown in (17).

- (17) Juan **la**<sub>k</sub> besó borracha<sub>k</sub>.  
 Juan **her**<sub>k</sub> kissed drunk<sub>k</sub>.  
 'Juan kissed **her**<sub>k</sub> drunk<sub>k</sub>.'

Adopting the analysis of adjectival secondary predication of Bowers (2000), the fact that the null directional prepositional phrase merges as a complement of the verb explains the resistance to adjectival secondary predication. Bowers claims that secondary predicates are V' adjuncts that contain a PRO in their specifier. In order to establish a predication relation, a DP must control PRO. Given that the null directional-like prepositional phrase merges as a complement of the verb, it merges lower than the secondary predicate and, as such, the non-reflexive cannot control PRO. Thus, no predication relation can be established between a non-reflexive non-argumental clitic of Spanish and a secondary predicate.

As expected, complements of overt directional prepositions also resist adjectival secondary predication. This expectation is shown in (18).

- (18) Ralph<sub>j</sub> threw the ball **toward Frank**<sub>k</sub> drunk<sub>j/\*k</sub>.

Thus, given the proposal by Bowers (2000), the lack of adjectival secondary predication results transparently from the low merger of the null directional-like prepositional phrase. To put it another way, the lack of adjectival secondary predication supports the low merger of the null directional-like prepositional phrase.<sup>2</sup>

### 3.2 Idiom prevention

Idioms are assumed to enter into the syntax as units. In order to prevent idiomatic interpretation from surfacing, a syntactic element must merge locally to the idiom unit. Given the low merger of the null prepositional phrase, we expect that non-reflexives can prevent idiomatic interpretation. This was shown in (4) above. I repeat the data below in (19) for convenience.

- (19)a. Juana bebe los vientos por Javier.  
 Juana drinks the winds for Javier  
 Idiomatic meaning: 'Juana is in love with Javier.'



- b. #Juana **me** bebe los vientos por Javier.  
Intended meaning: 'Juana is in love with Javier **on me**.'

It follows straightforwardly from the low merger of the null directional-like prepositional phrase that the presence of the non-reflexive can prevent idiomatic interpretation. It merges locally to the idiom unit and can break it up. Note moreover, as expected, overt directional prepositions can also prevent idiomatic interpretation (20).

- (20) #John spilled the beans **toward** the police.

### 3.3 Recap

I have argued that the non-reflexive non-argumental clitic pronoun of Spanish is introduced as the complement of a null directional-like preposition that merges as the complement of the verb. Given the low merger of this null prepositional phrase, previously unexplained facts surrounding the presence of the non-reflexive are straightforwardly explained. Resistance to adjectival secondary predication results from the null prepositional phrase merging lower than the secondary predicate, and the ability to prevent idiomatic interpretation results from the null prepositional phrase merging locally to the idiom unit and being in a configuration to break it up. Furthermore, three properties surrounding the non-reflexive construction have been argued to be a result of the nature of the null preposition that introduces the non-reflexive; namely, the inability to elicit a telic interpretation of the predicate, the inability to express *on/with* entailment, and the ability to express temporary relations. These properties were made salient by a contrast with constructions containing reflexive non-argumental pronouns of Spanish. In the next section, we turn to another contrast between reflexives and non-reflexives.

## 4. Variation in the Prevention of Idiomatic Interpretation

There is a curious, and previously unnoticed, variation in the prevention of idiomatic interpretation in Spanish that is contingent on the type of non-argumental clitic pronoun present with the idiom. Observe the idiom in (21); the idiomatic portion is underlined.

- (21) a. Sin  $PRO_i$  comer( $se_i$ )lo ni beber( $se_i$ )lo Inés<sub>j</sub> recibió un puñetazo.  
without  $PRO_i$  eat(**herself**<sub>i</sub>)it nor drink(**herself**<sub>i</sub>)it Inés<sub>j</sub> got a punch  
'Without  $PRO_i$  deserving it, Inés<sub>j</sub> received a punch.'

- b. #Sin PRO<sub>i</sub> comer<sub>k</sub>lo ni beber<sub>k</sub>lo Inés<sub>j</sub> recibió un puñetazo.  
 without PRO<sub>i</sub> eat.to-me<sub>k</sub>it nor drink.to-me<sub>k</sub>it Inés<sub>j</sub> got a punch  
 ‘Without PRO<sub>i</sub> deserving it, Inés<sub>j</sub> received a punch (on me<sub>k</sub>).’

In the presence of the reflexive pronoun (21a), there is no loss of idiomatic interpretation.<sup>3</sup> However, in the presence of the non-reflexive the idiomatic interpretation is lost (21b). These facts provide a means of better understanding the range of relations expressible by the non-reflexive.<sup>4</sup>

I have argued that the non-reflexive has the underlying structure given in (14) above in which it is introduced as the complement of a null directional-like preposition. MacDonald (2004) argues that the reflexive pronoun has essentially the same underlying configuration as the non-reflexive pronoun structure in (14), except that the null preposition introducing the reflexive is goal-like in nature. Thus, given the parallel syntactic configurations of both the reflexive and the non-reflexive constructions, it is difficult to appeal to their underlying structure to explain the variation in ability to prevent idiomatic interpretation, as observed in (21). Given that the only difference between these constructions lies in the nature of the null preposition taking each pronoun, we expect this variation to result from the different properties of these distinct null prepositions.

Nunberg et al. (1994) offer a way of understanding how the different properties of these null heads can affect idiomatic interpretation. They claim that idioms can have parts, and that these parts can be modified.<sup>5</sup> If modification is consistent with idiomatic meaning, then there will be no loss of idiomatic interpretation. If modification is inconsistent with the idiomatic meaning, then there will be a loss of idiomatic interpretation. Let us take a closer look at the idiom in question and unpack its parts.

The idiom in (21) expresses that there is some object *lo* ‘it’ received by some individual that does not deserve it. Thus, there are two parts to the idiom: **1.** The object received (*lo*), and **2.** The individual who receives the object (who happens not to deserve it). The receiver of the object controls PRO, and the object comes into the possession of the controller of PRO. Crucially, in order to express this idiom, as a minimal requirement on the idiom’s use, the object must be understood to have come into the possession of the controller of PRO.<sup>6</sup> In the example in (21), the object is a punch, and Inés receives it. Inés is the controller of PRO.

Let us examine the affect of the addition of the reflexive on this idiom. As shown in (21a), Inés controls PRO. Inés also binds the reflexive. One of the properties stemming from the nature of the null goal-like preposition introducing the reflexive is expressed by an *on/with* entailment; i.e. the direct object is interpreted as *on/with* the denotation of the reflexive (see section 2). In (21a), the reflexive expresses that *lo* ‘it’ is *on/with* Inés. This is precisely what the idiom itself must crucially express, that the object come into the possession of

the receiver (i.e. Inés). Thus, the addition of the reflexive modifies part of the idiom in a way that is consistent with the meaning of the idiom, and idiomatic interpretation is not lost.

Let us examine the affect of the addition of the non-reflexive on this idiom. Crucially the denotation of the non-reflexive is not Inés, not the individual that receives the object. In virtue of what the idiom expresses, Inés must be in receipt of the object, of *lo*. Given that Inés and the non-reflexive denote distinct individuals, the idiom containing the non-reflexive expresses that *lo* is related to distinct individuals: Inés and the denotation of the non-reflexive. This seems to be the reason why idiomatic interpretation is lost in the presence of the non-reflexive. That is, the object must have come into the possession of Inés in order for her not to deserve it; yet, the presence of the non-reflexive expresses that there is a relation between the individual denoted by the non-reflexive and *lo*. If there is a relation between the denotation of the non-reflexive and *lo*, then it seems that *lo* cannot have been understood to have come into the possession of Inés. If *lo* cannot be understood to have come into the possession of Inés when the non-reflexive is present, then the non-reflexive modifies part of the idiom in a way inconsistent with the idiomatic meaning, and idiomatic interpretation is lost.

Observe another way to understand the ungrammaticality of the idiom in the presence of the non-reflexive in (21b). Let us assume that *lo* has come into Inés's possession, satisfying the minimal requirements on the use of the idiom. In this case, it appears that the source of the ungrammaticality in (21b) must arise from the inability of the non-reflexive to express a relation between the individual denoted by the non-reflexive and an object (already) related to some other individual; *lo* is already related to Inés in virtue of *lo* having come into her possession. In this case, the non-reflexive cannot be used to express any type of relation at all that may exist between *lo* and the individual denoted by the non-reflexive.

A non-idiomatic construction serves to make this constraint of the non-reflexive more salient (22).

- (22) \*Juan **me** bebió la cerveza.  
Juan **to-me** drank the beer  
'Juan drank my beer.'

In a context in which I make beer, bottle it and then sell it to Juan, when Juan is later in his home drinking the beer, I cannot use the non-reflexive to express that Juan drank my beer (22). I cannot use the non-reflexive to express any relation I might have had, or still have with the beer. Contrast the non-reflexive with the genitive possessor, which can express this type of relation (23).<sup>7</sup>

- (23) Juan bebió **mi** cerveza.  
Juan drank **my** beer  
'Juan drank my beer.'

It seems that once a relation is established by some contextually salient means between an object and some individual not denoted by the non-reflexive, a relation between that same object and the denotation of the non-reflexive cannot be expressed using the non-reflexive. This is precisely the situation described above in the idiom in (21). An object (i.e. *lo*) is related to an individual (Inés) in virtue of the idiom itself, and therefore, even if there were some relation between the individual denoted by the non-reflexive and that same object, the non-reflexive could be used to express it.

The variation in the ability to prevent idiomatic interpretation observed in (21) is contingent on the type of non-argumental clitic pronoun that is present with the idiom. The non-reflexive prevents idiomatic interpretation and the reflexive does not. I have suggested that this variation is a result of the distinct properties of the null prepositions that introduce these non-argumental clitics. Furthermore, we observed that in a context in which some object was contextually associated with an individual other than the one denoted by the non-reflexive, any type of relation between the individual denoted by the non-reflexive and that object could not be expressed using the non-reflexive. This affords a greater understanding of the range of relations expressible by the non-reflexive.

## 5. Conclusion

I have argued that the non-reflexive non-argumental clitic pronoun of Spanish is introduced as a complement of a null directional-like preposition that merges as a complement of the verb. This hypothesis straightforwardly explains a range of properties shared between these non-reflexive constructions and constructions containing an overt directional preposition; they result from the nature of the null directional-like preposition taking the non-reflexive as its complement.

## Notes

1. In fact, to account for these facts formally, MacDonald (2004) argues that this reflexive pronoun of Spanish is introduced as the complement of a null **goal-like** preposition.
2. Another analysis of adjectival secondary predication is offered by Demonte (1988). She argues that predication results from mutual c-command. If her analysis is correct, then this is an argument for the existence of the null prepositional phrase itself; for the presence of the maximal projection of the null prepositional phrase blocks the non-reflexive from c-commanding out and c-commanding another XP.
3. Observe that reflexives **can** prevent idiomatic interpretation though: #*Juana se bebe los vientos por Javier*, literally 'Juana herself drank the winds for Javier.', meaning Juana is in love with Javier. This fact about reflexives is observed in de Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) and

MacDonald (2004). The prevention of idiomatic interpretation by the reflexive can be argued to result from the nature of the null preposition introducing the reflexive, and its inability to modify part of the idiomatic meaning. See Nunberg et al. (1994) for more details on the ability to modify idiom parts.

4. Observe that in (21a) the accent written over *comér(se)lo* is only required when the reflexive is present. It is not required if no reflexive is present.
5. Nunberg et al. (1994) claim that not all idioms have parts. Those that do are termed *idiomatic combining expressions*, and those that do not are called *phrasal idioms*. The idiom in (21) patterns with an idiomatic combining expressions.
6. It should be noted that there seems to be some ambiguity with respect to the interpretation of the denotation of *lo* in this idiom. Some speakers take *lo* to denote an object that has come into the possession of an individual. However, some people take *lo* to denote the entire event experienced by that individual. For those who take *lo* to denote the event experienced, in (21) the event would be *the receipt of a punch*. This ambiguity has consequences for the licensing of this idiom. Observe that in (i-ii) there is no object that has come into the possession of Inés. Thus, for native speakers that take *lo* to refer to an object received, the idiom is not licensed here. For native speakers that take *lo* to refer to the entire event experienced, the idiom is licensed here. i) *Sin comerlo ni beberlo, (ellos) me engañaron*. 'Without me deserving it, they cheated me.' ii) *Sin comerlo no beberlo, (ellos) le robaron el coche a Inés*. 'Without her deserving it, they stole Inés car.'
7. The genitive possessor is able to express this type of relation (23). This suggests that the genitive possessor can express a wider range of relations than the non-reflexive. Moreover, recall from section 2 that the non-reflexive can express temporary relations while the reflexive cannot. This suggests that the non-reflexive can express a wider range of relations than the reflexive. A hierarchy of expressible relations seems to emerge. The reflexive seems to express the most restricted range of relations, the non-reflexive seems to be able to express a wider range, and the genitive possessor seems to be able to express the widest range of relations.

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