

## NULL DIRECTIONAL PREPOSITIONS IN ROMANIAN AND SPANISH

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### 0. *Introduction*

The main goal of this paper is to provide a formal account of non-reflexive non-argumental clitic pronouns of Spanish (1) and reflexive non-argumental clitic pronouns of Romanian (2).<sup>1</sup> The clitics are in bold.

- (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) Eu **mi-am** spălat mașina<sup>2</sup>  
I **myself**-have washed car-the  
“I washed **my**/the car.”

I will focus on five properties associated with these constructions: 1. the inability to produce a telic interpretation of a predicate; 2. the lack of *on/with* entailment; 3. the ability to express *temporary relations*; 4. the ability to prevent idiomatic interpretations; and 5. the resistance to adjectival secondary predication. The Spanish reflexive shows all five properties; the Romanian reflexive shows the first four.

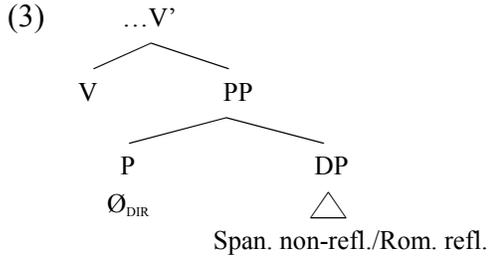
To account for these properties, I propose that both the Spanish non-reflexive and the Romanian reflexive are introduced as the complement of a null directional-like preposition that merges as a complement of the verb (3).

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<sup>1</sup> I refer to **non-reflexive** non-argumental clitic pronouns as *non-reflexives*, and to **reflexive** non-argumental clitic pronouns as *reflexives*.

<sup>2</sup> Romanian also has clitics in accusative case. The accusative clitics show fundamentally different properties from the dative clitics. Throughout the paper, all of the Romanian clitics are dative, unless otherwise noted.

The directional-like nature of the null preposition is motivated by a set of properties shared with overt directional prepositions.



To motivate the structure in (3), it is instructive to first consider the properties of Spanish **reflexive** non-argumental pronouns. Therefore, in section 1, I outline a discussion of Spanish reflexives from MacDonald (2004); he shows that reflexives pattern with goal prepositions. In section 2, I compare Spanish reflexives with Spanish non-reflexives; I show that non-reflexives pattern with directional prepositions. In section 3, I show that Romanian reflexives pattern with Spanish non-reflexives. In section 4, I conclude by briefly considering the question of why Spanish reflexives pattern differently from Romanian reflexives and Spanish non-reflexives.

### 1. *The properties of Spanish reflexives*

In this section, I discuss properties of Spanish reflexives. The discussion is taken from MacDonald (2004), in which he shows that Spanish reflexives share three properties with goal prepositions: 1. they produce a telic interpretation of the predicate; 2. they express an *on/with* entailment; and 3. they can prevent idiomatic interpretation. This section provides a starting point for illuminating the properties associated with Spanish non-reflexive constructions.

#### 1.1. *Telic interpretation of the predicate*

The presence of a Spanish reflexive results in a telic interpretation of a predicate (MacDonald 2004, Nishida 1994, Zagana 1996). As evidence, observe the (in-)compatibility of the durative phrase (e.g. *durante una hora* ‘for an hour’) in (4).

- (4) a. *Lavé el coche durante una hora.*  
 washed the car for an hour  
 “I washed the car for an hour.”

- b. *Me lavé el coche #durante una hora*  
**myself** washed the car #for an hour  
 “I washed my/the car for an hour.”

Durative phrases are compatible with atelic predicates and incompatible with telic predicates (Dowty 1979, Pustejovsky 1991 among others).<sup>3</sup> When no reflexive is present (4a), the durative is compatible. When the reflexive pronoun is present (4b), the durative is incompatible. The reflexive produces a telic interpretation.

Compare the aspectual effects of the reflexive in (4) to the aspectual effects of the goal preposition in (5).

- (5) a. John carried a bag for an hour  
 b. John carried a bag **into the bedroom** #for an hour.

When no goal preposition is present (5a), the durative is compatible. However, when the goal preposition is present (5b), the durative is no longer compatible. The goal preposition produces a telic interpretation as well.

Both goal prepositions and reflexives produce a telic interpretation of a predicate.

### 1.2. *Expressing an ‘on/with’ entailment*

MacDonald (2004) observes that in the presence of a reflexive, there is what he terms an *on/with* entailment. Consider an utterance in which there is no reflexive (6).

- (6) *Abroché la camisa*  
 buttoned the shirt  
 “I buttoned my/the shirt.”

(6) can be said in a context in which I am wearing the shirt while buttoning it, or in which I am not wearing the shirt while buttoning it; i.e. it could be on a hanger. Contrast (6) with (7) in which there is a reflexive present.

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<sup>3</sup> This is a bit of a simplification of the generalization. Durative phrases are incompatible with telic predicates on a single event interpretation of the predicate. Often the presence of the durative phrase with a telic predicate results in an iterative interpretation of the predicate. See MacDonald (2006b and references therein) for a more detailed discussion of the aspectual role that durative phrases play.

- (7) *Me abroché la camisa*  
**myself** buttoned the shirt  
 “I buttoned my/the shirt.”

(7) can only be said in a context in which I am wearing the shirt at the time of buttoning. (7) cannot be said in a context in which the shirt is on a hanger. In the presence of the reflexive, the shirt is necessarily interpreted as *on* the denotation of the subject. Consider another example in (8).

- (8) *Lavé el coche*  
 washed the car  
 “I washed my/the car.”

In (8) there is no reflexive and the utterance can be said in a context in which I washed the car myself, or in a context in which I dropped the car off at a carwash for someone else to wash. Contrast (8) with (9) in which the reflexive is present.

- (9) *Me lavé el coche*  
**myself** washed the car  
 “I washed my/the car.”

(9) can only be said in a context in which I washed the car myself. It cannot be said in a context in which I dropped the car off at a carwash for someone else to wash. In the presence of the reflexive pronoun, the car is necessarily interpreted as *with* the subject. In the presence of the reflexive, there is an *on/with* entailment.

MacDonald (2004) analyzes this *on/with* entailment of the reflexive as the same entailment elicited by a goal preposition. Consider the utterances in (10).

- (10)a. Frank threw a ball **to Bill**.  
 b. John carried a bag **into the bedroom**.

In (10a) the ball necessarily arrives at Bill. In (10b), the bag necessarily ends up in the bedroom.<sup>4</sup> The object must end up *on/with* the

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<sup>4</sup> An anonymous reviewer observes that in the progressive aspect or the future tense, this entailment does not necessarily hold: *John was carrying a bag into the bedroom (when I saw him)*. *John will carry the bag into the bedroom*. The *on/with* entailment seems to be a potential reading of the goal preposition restricted to certain environments.

complement of the goal preposition. Goal prepositions and reflexives express an *on/with* entailment.

### 1.3. *Preventing idiomatic interpretation*

Finally, MacDonald (2004) observes that the presence of a reflexive can prevent idiomatic interpretation.<sup>5</sup> Consider the Spanish idioms in (11).

- (11) a. *Jose cortó los lazos con Ana*  
 Jose cut the ties with Ana  
 “Jose broke up with Ana.”  
 b. *Juan come la sopa boba*  
 Juan eats the soup stupid  
 “Juan is a sponger.”

Observe that when a reflexive pronoun is added to the utterances in (11), their idiomatic interpretation is lost. This is illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. #Jose **se** cortó los lazos con Ana.  
 b. #Juan **se** come la sopa boba.

Observe that goal prepositions can prevent idiomatic interpretation as well (13).

- (13) a. #John kicked the bucket **to the barn**.  
 b. #John spilled the beans **into the sink**.

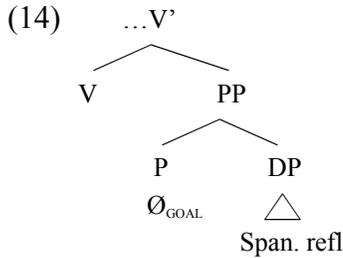
Goal prepositions and reflexives can prevent idiomatic interpretation.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.4. *The structure of Spanish reflexive pronouns*

Given the properties in common with goal prepositions, MacDonald (2004) proposes that the Spanish reflexive is introduced as a complement of a null goal-like preposition that merges as the complement of the verb. This is illustrated in (14).

<sup>5</sup> De Miguel and Fernández Lagunilla (2000) make a similar observation.

<sup>6</sup> Goal prepositions and reflexives do not always prevent idiomatic interpretation: *John spilled the beans to the police*; *sin comer(se)lo ni beber(se)lo*, “without deserving it”. This ability depends in part on the semantic contribution of the additional element (see Nunberg et al. 1994). MacDonald (2006a) discusses the effect of Spanish reflexives (and non-reflexives) on idiomatic interpretation. See footnote 11.



MacDonald (2004) accounts for the range of properties associated with the reflexive in the following way. The property of an overt goal preposition that allows it to produce a telic interpretation of a predicate is also present on the null goal-like preposition.<sup>7</sup> The *on/with* entailment results from a property of the null preposition that contributes to a compositional theta-role assigned to the direct object by the verb and prepositional phrase<sup>8</sup>, such that the object is interpreted as *on/with* the denotation of the complement of the goal-like preposition. That is, the object is interpreted as *on/with* the denotation of the reflexive and given that the reflexive is coindexed with the subject, the object is interpreted as *on/with* the denotation of the subject. Finally, MacDonald (2004) argues that the ability to prevent idiomatic interpretation results from the low merger of the null preposition. Typically, only elements merged within the verb phrase can affect idiomatic interpretation (Marantz 1984 and Svenonius 2004). Let us now consider the properties of Spanish non-reflexives.

## 2. *The properties of Spanish non-reflexives*

In this section, I discuss Spanish non-reflexives. Non-reflexives pattern with directional prepositions in four ways: 1. they do not produce a telic interpretation of the predicate; 2. they do not express an *on/with* entailment; 3. they can prevent idiomatic interpretation and; 4. they resist adjectival secondary predication. As such, I propose that the non-reflexive is introduced as a complement of a null directional-like preposition that merges as a complement of the verb.

I make these properties of the non-reflexive salient by contrasting them with the properties of the reflexive. I argue that the differences between the reflexive and the non-reflexive result from a distinct set of properties associated with the null prepositions introducing them. I supply more evidence

<sup>7</sup> Directional prepositions lack this property. See (16) below.

<sup>8</sup> Larson (1988) argues for compositional theta-roles assigned by a verb plus prepositional phrase.

for the distinct set of properties by drawing attention to yet another contrast between these constructions in section 2.2.

2.1. *A comparison of Spanish non-reflexives and Spanish reflexives*

As we saw in section 1, Spanish reflexives pattern with goal prepositions in the following ways: 1. they produce a telic interpretation; 2. they express an *on/with* entailment; and 3. they can prevent idiomatic interpretation. We will see that Spanish **non-reflexives** pattern with directional prepositions in the following ways: 1. they **do not** produce a telic interpretation of the predicate; 2. they **do not** express an *on/with* entailment; and 3. they can prevent idiomatic interpretation. Consider the utterance in (15).

- (15) (*Le*) *lavé el coche durante una hora*  
 (**to-him**) washed the car for an hour  
 “I washed his car for an hour.” or “I washed the car for him for an hour.”

The non-reflexive does not affect the compatibility of the durative. The non-reflexive does not produce a telic interpretation. Observe that directional prepositions pattern in the same way (16).

- (16)a. John drove the car (**toward the garage**) for an hour.  
 b. John carried the bag (**toward to beach**) for an hour.

They do not affect the compatibility of the durative. They do not produce a telic interpretation. Consider the utterances in (17a-b).

- (17)a. *Le abroché la camisa*  
**to-him** buttoned the shirt  
 “I buttoned his shirt.” or “I buttoned the shirt on/for him.”  
 b. *Le lavé el coche*  
**to-him** washed the car  
 “I washed his car.” or “I washed the car on/for him.”

(17a) can be said in a context in which the shirt is on a hanger during the buttoning. In (17b), the individual denoted by the non-reflexive does not have to be present while the car washing takes place. The non-reflexive does not express an *on/with* entailment. Observe that directional prepositions pattern in the same way (18).

- (18)a. John drove the car toward the garage.

- b. John threw the ball toward Bill.

The car does not necessarily end up at the garage (18a), nor does the ball necessarily end up at Bill (18b). Directional prepositions do not express an *on/with* entailment. Consider the Spanish idiom in (19a). The non-reflexive prevents idiomatic interpretation of the utterance (19b).

- (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.”

Directional prepositions can also prevent idiomatic interpretation (20).

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

Observe another way in which Spanish non-reflexives pattern with overt directional prepositions: they both resist secondary adjectival predication. Consider the utterance in (21).

- (21) *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.”

Only the subject can be interpreted as drunk in (21); the non-reflexive resists adjectival secondary predication. Observe in (22) that clitics in general do not resist adjectival secondary predication. The denotation of *la* ‘her’ is interpreted as drunk.

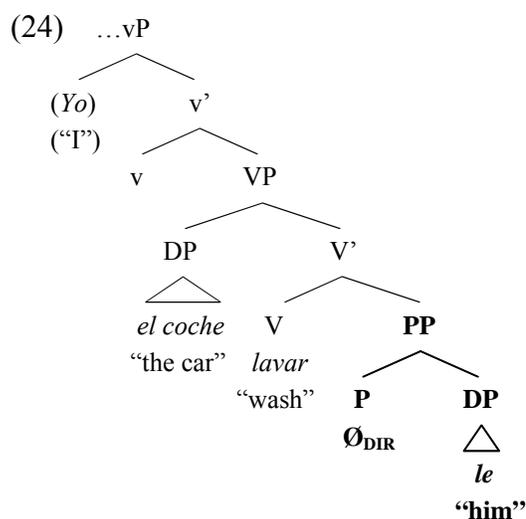
- (22) *Juan la<sub>k</sub> besó borracha<sub>k</sub>*  
 Juan **her<sub>k</sub>** kissed drunk<sub>k</sub>  
 “Juan kissed her<sub>k</sub> drunk<sub>k</sub>.”

Observe that, like non-reflexives, complements of directional prepositions also resist adjectival secondary predication (23). Only Ralph can be interpreted as drunk.

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

## 2.2. *The structure of Spanish non-reflexives*

Spanish non-reflexives pattern with overt directional prepositions in four ways: 1. they do not produce a telic interpretation of the predicate; 2. they do not express an *on/with* entailment; 3. they can prevent idiomatic interpretation; and 4. they resist adjectival secondary predication. To account for these parallels, I propose the structure in (24) in which the non-reflexive is the complement of a null directional-like preposition that merges as a complement of the verb.



I assume that the properties of the null preposition account for the first two properties shared in common with directional prepositions, and the low merger of the null preposition accounts for the second two properties. I discuss the low merger first.

To affect idiomatic interpretation a constituent must merge within the verb phrase (Marantz 1984 and Svenonius 2004). As a complement of the verb, the null preposition is in a position to prevent idiomatic interpretation.

The resistance to adjectival secondary predication can be accounted for by the low merger of the prepositional phrase if we adopt Bowers's (2000) proposal. Bowers claims that secondary predicates are V' adjuncts that contain a PRO in their specifier.<sup>9</sup> In order to establish a predication relation, a DP must control PRO. Given that the null preposition merges as a complement of the

<sup>9</sup> As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the result of this V' adjunction approach to secondary predication established with a direct object is that the VP contains a non-branching V' dominating only the verb. A structure of this sort is becoming more difficult to justify theoretically.

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 and a secondary predicate.<sup>10</sup>

Recall that MacDonald (2004) analyzes Spanish reflexives as the complement of a null goal-like preposition that merges as the complement of the verb (14). Given that proposal, and given the structure proposed here for non-reflexives (24), it is natural to conclude that any diverging patterns between the two (i.e. the (in-)ability to produce a telic interpretation and express an *on/with* entailment) result from distinct properties of the null prepositions themselves. In fact, I claim that the source of variation between reflexives and non-reflexives is the distinct properties associated with the null prepositions that introduce them. Observe another property that is a point of divergence between these null prepositions.<sup>11</sup>

Consider a context in which I work at a car wash and I am assigned cars to wash. My boss, who is concerned with whether or not I washed a particular car assigned to me, asks whether I did so. To tell him that I washed my car, I cannot use the reflexive pronoun. Thus, the utterance in (25) is not a felicitous response to his question.

- (25) #*Me lavé el coche*  
**myself** washed the car.  
 “I washed my/the car.”

Consider a similar situation in which my coworker is assigned a particular car that my boss asks about. Let us say that I washed his car. I can utter the sentence in (26) with the non-reflexive pronoun to respond to my boss.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Demonte (1988) has an account of secondary predication that depends on mutual c-command between the secondary predicate and the DP with which it establishes a predication relation. Given that the non-reflexive is housed in a prepositional phrase on the present account, it cannot c-command out to establish the mutual c-command relation. Thus, under Demonte’s proposal, the resistance to adjectival secondary predication provides evidence for the existence of the null prepositional phrase itself. However, it is not clear that complements of prepositions generally cannot c-command out of a prepositional phrase. Observe that the complement of the preposition can c-command out and control the PRO of an embedded clause: *John gave money to Bill<sub>i</sub>; PRO<sub>j</sub> to buy milk*.

<sup>11</sup> MacDonald (2006a) discusses how the distinct properties associated with these null prepositions can account for the variable behavior of reflexives and non-reflexives in the idiom *sin comerlo ni beberlo*. Reflexives do not prevent idiomatic interpretation: *sin comerselo ni beberselo*, while non-reflexives do #*sin comemelo ni bebermelo*.

<sup>12</sup> Example (26) is typical of a *benefactive* or *malffective* in Spanish. Consider another: *Juan me compró un libro* ‘Juan bought me a book.’ Observe that the benefactive/malffective

- (26) *Le lavé el coche*  
**to-him** washed the car  
 “I washed his car.” or “I washed the car for him.”

In the carwash scenario, the reflexive pronoun **cannot** express a *temporary relation* established between an object, in this case a car, and the denotation of the reflexive.<sup>13</sup> The non-reflexive pronoun **can** express this temporary relation. This temporary relation is one example of a general difference between these reflexive and non-reflexive constructions with respect to the interpretation of the direct object. In general, the non-reflexive is not as restricted as the reflexive is. The non-reflexive tolerates *temporary relations* and is not restricted to objects interpreted as *on/with*. The reflexive does not tolerate *temporary relations* and is restricted to objects interpreted as *on/with*. The direct objects in non-reflexive constructions are less restricted in their interpretation than the direct objects in reflexive constructions.

More formally, I claim that the range of possible relations between the direct object and the denotation of the (non-)reflexive is regulated via the compositional theta role assigned by the verb plus prepositional phrase. The restrictions on the interpretation of the direct object vary according to the properties of the preposition.

### 2.3. *Recapping the findings*

The properties of Spanish non-reflexives that we have uncovered are listed in (27).

- (27) a. Do not produce telic interpretation → like directional PP  
 b. Do not express *on/with* entailment → like directional PP  
 c. Can express a temporary relation  
 d. Can prevent idiomatic interpretation → like directional PP  
 e. Resist adjectival secondary predication → like directional PP

The common properties between the non-reflexive and the directional preposition motivate the structure in (24) in which the non-reflexive is introduced as a complement of a null directional-like preposition that merges as a complement of the verb. The properties in (27a-c) are argued to result

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interpretation is independent of the reflexive/non-reflexive contrast: *Juan se compró el libro.* ‘Juan bought himself a book.’ The benefactive/malfactive interpretation is independent of the present discussion.

<sup>13</sup> MacDonald (2004) refers to this as *temporary possession*. I use *relation* to remain neutral.

from the nature of the null preposition itself, while the properties in (27d-e) are argued to result from the low merger of the null preposition. Consider now the properties of Romanian reflexives.

### 3. *The properties of Romanian reflexives*

In this section I show that Romanian reflexives share the first four properties in (27) with Spanish non-reflexives.<sup>14</sup> Based on these common properties, I propose that Romanian reflexives, like Spanish non-reflexives, are introduced as the complement of a null durational-like preposition that merges as the complement of the verb.

Consider the utterance in (28). Observe that the reflexive does not affect the compatibility of the durative. The reflexive does not produce a telic interpretation.<sup>15</sup>

- (28) *Eu mi-am spălat mașina timp de zece minute*  
 I **myself**-have washed car-the time of 10 minutes  
 “I washed my/the car for 10 minutes.”

Consider the utterances in (29).

- (29) a. *Eu mi-am pătat cămașa*  
 I **myself**-have stained shirt-the  
 “I stained my/the shirt.”  
 b. *Eu mi-am spălat mașina*  
 I **myself**-have washed car-the  
 “I washed my/the car.”

(29a) can be said in a context in which the shirt is not on the subject<sup>16</sup>, and (29b) in a context in which the subject dropped the car off at the carwash

<sup>14</sup> We cannot test whether or not the reflexives resist adjectival secondary predication, for we cannot determine whether predication is established with the subject or with the reflexive itself.

<sup>15</sup> Observe that in the following sentence, the durative phrase is incompatible and there is a reflexive pronoun present: *Eu mi-am mâncat mărul \*timp de zece minute* “I ate my/the apple for an hour.”; observe nevertheless that the durative phrase remains incompatible when the reflexive is not present: *Eu am mâncat mărul \*timp de zece minute*. This suggests that the reflexive does not produce the telic interpretation here; the telic interpretation most likely results from the properties of the verb itself.

<sup>16</sup> Manoliu-Manea (1996) observes that when the reflexive is accusative, an overt preposition (*la*) is required, and the shirt is necessarily interpreted as *on/with* the denotation of the clitic: *Eu m-am pătat la cămașă* “I stained my shirt” (The example is my own). Given the case difference and the presence of the overt preposition, I take this to be a distinct construction

for someone else to wash. The Romanian reflexive does not express an *on/with* entailment. Consider the utterance in (30).

- (30) *Eu mi-am spălat mașina.*  
 I **myself**-have washed car-the  
 ‘I washed my/the car.’

It can be said in a context in which the car is temporarily assigned to the denotation of the subject. The Romanian reflexives can express temporary relations. Consider the Romanian idiom in (31a). Observe that the reflexive prevents idiomatic interpretation (31b).<sup>17</sup>

- (31)a. *Eu am spart gheața*  
 I have broken ice-the  
 ‘I broke the ice.’ → Idiomatic meaning: ‘I started a conversation.’
- b. #*Eu mi-am spart gheața.*  
 I **myself**-have broken ice-the

The reflexive pronoun of Romanian patterns in exactly the same way as the non-reflexive pronoun of Spanish with respect to the properties in (18a-d). I take this result as evidence that these constructions have the same underlying structure. I conclude that both the Spanish non-reflexive and the Romanian reflexive are introduced as the complement of a null directional-like preposition that merges as the complement of the verb.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper we have seen that a range of properties can be used as a diagnostic for the underlying structure of Spanish reflexive non-argumental, Spanish non-reflexive non-argumental and Romanian reflexive non-argumental clitic pronouns. These properties are summarized in Table 1.

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than the one under consideration. Space limitations prevent me from any further consideration of what an analysis of this accusative construction could purport to the present discussion.

<sup>17</sup> Another construction in Romanian in which idiomatic interpretation is lost in the presence of the reflexive is the following: *Eu (\*mi)-am vazut negru.* literally ‘I have seen black.’, with the idiomatic meaning ‘I have become angry.’ (Laura Spinu p.c.). Arguably because there is a mass term direct object this is a different construction from those under discussion in the text. However, the proposed structure for the Romanian reflexives discussed here offers a way to understand the loss of idiomatic interpretation in this construction as well.

	produces a telic interpretation	necessary <i>on/with</i> entailment	tolerates temporary relations	can prevent idioms	resists secondary predication
Span. Refl.	yes	yes	no	yes	NA
Goal Prep.	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
Span. Non-refl.	no	no	yes	yes	yes
Rom. Refl.	no	no	yes	yes	NA
Dir. Prep.	no	no	NA	yes	yes

Table 1: *Properties of non-argumental clitic pronoun constructions*

Observe that all of these pronoun and prepositional phrase constructions pattern the same with respect to the ability to prevent idiomatic interpretation and with respect to the resistance to adjectival secondary predication (where available). These were accounted for by the low merger of the prepositional phrases.

The variation among these (null) prepositions, then, results from the properties associated with the prepositions themselves. Two opposing groups emerge when considering the different properties of these prepositions. Spanish reflexives and goal prepositions pattern together on the one hand, and Spanish non-reflexives, Romanian reflexives, and directional prepositions pattern together on the other. A natural question is why these properties are divided up the way they are.

With respect to the ability of a preposition to produce a telic interpretation of a predicate, Beck and Snyder (2001) and Snyder (1995) found that cross-linguistically languages vary with respect to the ability of a goal preposition to produce a telic interpretation. Snyder (1995) posits that this ability is related to the presence or absence of a null telic morpheme. A preposition that has this null telic morpheme produces a telic interpretation and a preposition that does not have it, does not produce a telic interpretation. Along these lines, we can say that goal prepositions and the null preposition introducing Spanish reflexives bear this null telic morpheme, while directional prepositions and the null preposition introducing Spanish non-reflexives and Romanian reflexives do not. This accounts for the variation in ability to produce a telic interpretation in the same way that wider cross-linguistic variation of this type can be accounted for. This suggests that the variation in the production of a telic interpretation is not unique to these Romance (non-) reflexive constructions, and therefore not entirely unexpected. It also introduces a big question: What determines whether or not a preposition bears a null telic morpheme or not? A related question more specific to the present study is: Why are Spanish reflexives associated with a preposition that bears a

null telic morpheme while non-reflexives and Romanian reflexives are not? There may be telling correlations among the properties in Table 1 that can provide an answer to this specific question.

The patterns in Table 1 give the impression that there is a correlation between an *on/with* entailment and the ability to produce a telic interpretation. It is not clear, however, that this correlation exists. MacDonald (2006b) observes in French that the presence of a reflexive pronoun results in an *on/with* entailment (32a) that otherwise does not exist without the reflexive (32b).

- (32) a. *Jean s'est boutonné la chemise*  
 Jean himself-is buttoned the shirt  
 "Jean buttoned his shirt."  
 b. *Jean a boutonné la chemise*  
 Jean has buttoned the shirt  
 "Jean buttoned his shirt."

Moreover, he notes that the presence of the reflexive pronoun does not affect the compatibility of the durative phrase (33).<sup>18</sup>

- (33) a. *Jean s'est/a boutonné la chemise pendant une heure*  
 Jean himself-is/has buttoned the shirt for an hour  
 "Jean buttoned his shirt for an hour."

These facts suggest that the property responsible for producing a telic interpretation is independent of the property responsible for expressing an *on/with* entailment. If these properties are indeed independent, then, there is no way to determine if a preposition can produce a telic interpretation of a predicate if it expresses an *on/with* entailment, or vice-versa. Nevertheless, as an independent property, we can assume that some heads have the property and some do not. This does not tell us why some heads have the property nor why some heads do not, but it provides us with a way to understand the scope of possible (cross-linguistic) variation based on the presence or absence of the properties in Table 1. That is, given the range of properties, we can determine whether or not any is contingent on the presence or absence of another property, or whether each is a property truly independent of all others. In the former case, we could begin to find insight into and perhaps understand more clearly the patterns of these Romance (non-)reflexive constructions. In the

<sup>18</sup> There does seem to be some variation with respect to the compatibility of the durative phrase here.

latter case, we expect to find a (null) preposition for each of the possible combinations of the presence and/or absence of each property in Table 1. In this latter case, it would not be clear what the insight into the divergent patterns of these distinct Romance (non-)reflexives would be.

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