In favour of secondary predication: the Spanish reflexive <u>consigo</u>

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Abstract[*]

The aim of this paper is to provide the Spanish anaphor <u>consigo</u> with a novel analysis that may help us deal with its intricate properties and its differences with respect to the rest of reflexive anaphoric expressions in this language. The proposal will support Reinhart & Reuland´s 1993 approach to <u>reflexivity</u>, distinguishing between two types of reflexive anaphors: <u>self</u> and <u>se</u> anaphors, licensed in a <u>syntactic</u> and <u>semantic predicate</u> respectively. It will also make valid predictions concerning the observation that the basic dyadic structure of a P-projection cannot function <u>verbally</u> since its incompatible with the canonical extended projection of a verb (Hale & Keyser 1997) The relation between the internal and external relation positions is to be understood as that implied by a Chain.

1.Introduction. Spanish is one of the Romance languages that have two types of syntactic anaphors: a reflexive clitic, which for the third person is se, equivalent to English reflexive himself, and a stressed reflexive anaphor sí mismo (Torrego 1998). In this introduction, we shall be faced with the less known reflexive anaphor consigo, that corresponds to the ablative form of reflexive se, i.e., sigo (secum in Latin), incorporated into the Preposition con 'with', in constructions such as the one in 1.

(1)   Juan lleva dinero consigo.

        Juan brings money with-se

        'Juan brings money with him'.

In 1, the preposition con 'with' corresponds to states in conceptual structure (Jakendoff 1990). Roughly, this preposition accounts for the spatial relation between two arguments, under the subordinating function of accompaniment (see also Hale & Kayser for a lexico/syntactic approach to this type of prepositions). In particular, 1 implies something like Juan goes having money in his pocket. Internal to the predicate headed by such a preposition is a locative phrase, by which one may explain why 1 is equivalent to its adverbial counterpart in 2:

(2)   Juan lleva dinero encima.

   Juan brings money on

        'Juan brings money on (him)'.

In the spirit of Hale & Keyser (1997), the relevant structure we are concerned here for sentence 1 is the one headed by preposition con 'with'. I will claim that this preposition has the property that it takes both a complement (represented by the ablative anaphor sigo (secum in Latin) and a specifier (the DP dinero 'money'). This structure configuration projects two internal arguments, in accordance with its elemental lexical properties.

In addition, we also want to account for the bound reading of the anaphor in 1, which is excluded for other non-coindexed anaphors, as illustrated by the examples in 3.

(3)   a.   Juan$_i$ lleva dinero consigo$_i$

        b.   *Juan$_i$ lleva dinero contigo$_j$

                Juan brings money with you

In our account, the basic <u>lexical projection</u> (lp) of Preposition <u>con</u> 'with' corresponds with a lp-dyadic structure which cannot 'function verbally', since it is incompatible with the canonical extended projection of a verb. This makes it impossible for 4 to function as a simple inchoative. It can, of course, give rise to a derived reflexive anaphor by appearing as a fully DP in the complement position of the verb.

(4)

```
              P
          /      \
      DP          P
                /    \
             P         x
```
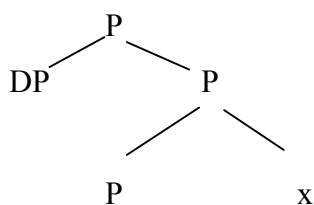
For example, it has long been observed that the so-called <u>snake sentences</u>, in the binding tradition (De Jong 1996) exclusively allow for an anaphor, represented by a pronominal anaphor modified by the noun <u>mismo</u> 'self':

(5) a.   *Juan vio una serpiente cerca de sí .
            Juan saw a snake next to se

    b.   Juan vio una serpiente cerca de sí mismo.
            Juan saw a snake next to himself

We will argue that <u>mismo</u> 'self' constitutes a reflexive marker, which is active in many other languages.[1] Reflexivization necessarily involves semantic interpretation (often discussed as "coreference"), and thus an explanation of 5b in terms of semantic notions would imply that this anaphor is interpreted as a logophor. If, on the other hand, consider the lp-dyadic structure corresponding to the canonical preposition <u>cerca</u> 'next', we observed that the anaphor <u>de sí mismo</u> is a complement of the preposition, but it is in itself a monadic PP. It is difficult to see how this element could be related to an element outside this predicate in a Chain. We will be arguing that this is the reason why a pronominal anaphor is impossible to occur here, as illustrated for the ungrammaticality of 5a.

This paper not only regards this type of anaphoric dichotomies, addressed from Reinhart & Reuland´s (1993) reflexivity point-of-view. It also aims at discussing the licensing of anaphors in secondary predication in situ, by virtue of a Chain. In essence, we will be supporting R&R´s claim that binding should not concern configurational relations, but rather should deal with reflexive marking of predicates.

The sections of this paper are organized as follows. Section 2 presents the problem within a full characterisation of R&R´s 1993 approach to binding. In section 3, we deal with the issue of morphological feature licensing of pronominal anaphors. Section 4 offers a detailed account of the proposal. In the rest of the following 5-6 sections, supporting evidence for the R-variable status of consigo will be given. Among other things, it will be shown that consigo cannot undergo wh-movement, nor can it function as a resumptive pronoun in contexts of Left Dislocation. Interestingly, it will combine with a reflexive clitic, on a par with true anaphors.

2. The Problem. In R&R 1993, binding regards the well-formedness conditions on the licensing and interpretation of reflexive predicates. They formulate the following two conditions on such predicates in 6 below:

(6)   Reflexivity condition A
        A reflexive-marked syntactic predicate is reflexive.
        Reflexivity condition B
        A reflexive semantic predicate is reflexive-marked.

Reflexive marking and reflexive predicates are defined in 7 (R&R 1993: 678).

(7)   a.   A predicate (formed of P) is reflexive-marked iff either P is
                lexically reflexive or one of P´s arguments is a SELF anaphor.
        b.   A predicate is reflexive iff two of its arguments are coindexed.

To see the effects of the binding conditions in 6, consider the examples in 8.

(8)   a.   Juan**i** se cortó a sí**i** mismo cuando se afeitaba esta mañana

                Juan CL.refl.cut himself when (he) shaved this morning

                'He cut himself shaving this morning'

        b.   *Juan**i** le**i** cortó cuando se afeitaba esta mañana

                Juan CL.pron.cut when (he) shaved this morning

First, a verb like cortar 'cut' is not lexically reflexive. Yet, it may take the reflexive anaphor a sí mismo 'himself' as its syntactic object, and as a result it is interpreted as reflexive. The presence of a clitic pronoun, on the other hand, indicates that the predicate is no longer reflexive, and so the bound reading is excluded by Condition A.

Next, let us look at the difference between the two types of reflexive anaphors inside thematic PPs in 9.

(9)   a.   *Juan**i** sueña consigo**i** / con él**i**.

                Juan dreams with se /with him

        b.   Juan sueña consigo mismo.

                Juan dreams with himself

                'Juan dreams about himself'

Given the definition in 7a, two arguments are coindexed provided that the predicate is reflexive marked. In 9a, the predicate is not lexically reflexive marked, nor does contain it any self anaphor, since consigo is not a self anaphor (our assumption). Hence, Condition B rules out both an indexed pronominal anaphor and an indexed pronoun. The grammaticality of 9b, on the other hand, shows that a self-anaphor like sí mismo may reflexive mark the predicate in the way allowed by Condition B.

In contexts of locative PPs, R&R predict that a self-anaphor may function as a logophor in which case it may also enter into coreference relations. The contrast in 10 shows that a reflexive anaphor like consigo mismo cannot however occupy any PP:

(10) a. Juan vio una serpiente cerca de sí mismo.

Juan saw a snake next to himself

b. *Juan lleva dinero consigo mismo.

Juan has money with himself

Assuming a lp-dyadic structure for those canonical prepositions cerca 'next' and con 'with', there is a different relation between the anaphor in 10a and the one in 10b. While the former anaphor represents a PP- complement (monadic in itself), i.e. de sí mismo , the other anaphor sigo mismo is a NP complement. According to R&R´s approach to binding, a syntactic reflexive anaphor is either licensed as a logophor or as a verbal argument. The logophor. status of de sí mismo is confirmed for 10a.[2] As for the anaphor in 10b, this is also predicted to be ruled out since in this context the anaphor is a P-complement not a verbal complement.

(11) a. Juan vio [PP una serpiente [P cerca [PP de [DP sí mismo]]]]

Juan saw a snake next to himself

b. Juan lleva [PP dinero [P con+sigo [DP t mismo]]]

Juan has money with himself

The problem is then how to account for the bound reading of an anaphor like consigo in examples such as 1, now in 12 for the sake of the exposition:

(12) Juan lleva dinero consigo.

Juan brings money with-se

'Juan brings money with him'.

The fact that consigo is allowed here as opposed to its anaphoric counterpart in 10b justifies a second type of anaphor immune to the binding conditions that ruled out the syntactic anaphor in 10b. If consigo is not a syntactic anaphor, it can neither enter into intrasentential coreference. In 13, we give Grodzinsky & Reinhart´s (1993) contexts to test intrasentential coreference. The fact that consigo is impossible suggests that in fact cannot enter into intrasentential coreference, which however should be expected in the case of a

syntactic anaphor.

(13) Luís sueña con Juan , Pedro sueña con Juan,

Luis dreams about Juan, Pedro dreams about Juan,

Andrés sueña con Juan, incluso Juan sueña *consigo/con él.

Andrés dreams about Juan, even Juan dreams about se /about him

Hence, the only way for the anaphor consigo to be coindexed with the sentential subject is by means of a Chain:

(14) Juan lleva mi dinero consigo.

Juan has my money with se

'John has my money with him'

Crucially, R&R 1993 introduce a definition of A-chain when dealing with those predicates that do not always correspond with verbal predicates. Their definition of the A-Chain condition is given in 15:

(15) A maximal A-chain $(\alpha_1, \ldots , \alpha_n)$ contains exactly one link $-\alpha_1,-$ that is both +R and Case-marked.

Intuitively, we are, in fact, in front of two independent predicates: a verbal predicate and a prepositional predicate, and each licenses a different anaphor.

To conclude then we may speak of two types of anaphors, each licensed in a different predicate.

(16)

	SELF	SE	Pronoun
Reflexivizing function	+	-	-
Referential independence	-	-	+

This distinction between anaphoric categories is an important departure from the standard assumptions on binding. R&R´s Conditions A and B make, in fact, no use of configurational

relations like binding, c-command, or even argument hierarchy. It is strictly a condition on reflexive predicates, regardless of their internal structure. Crucially, in the cases where one may not speak of reflexive predicates, i.e. when the predicate containing the NP subject does not coincide with the predicate containing the anaphor as in 12, an additional mechanism is provided through the A-Chain condition.

If we are right in assuming that consigo is bound by the sentential subject by virtue of the A-Chain Condition, the prediction is that an ordinary prepositional pronoun should be excluded, a prediction which is borne out by the ungrammaticality of an example like 17 below:

(17)   */?Juan lleva dinero con él.

         J. has money with him

         'Juan has money with him'.

Unlike a pronominal anaphor, a pronoun is marked with a [+R] and so cannot be part of an A-chain. Significantly, R&R´s concept of an A-chain differs from the standard concept. In order to allow for A-chains, R&R highlight the morphological features of anaphors, rather than exclusively dealing with the thematic requirement on A-chains of standard approaches. This has actually led to a refined definition of A-chains in Anagnostopoulou & Everaert 1999 (A&E 1999: 9), given in 18.

(18)   A-chains are restricted to argument positions of syntactic predicates.

According to 16, -R marked elements in an argument position of a syntactic predicate will be forced to undergo chain formation in order to conform with the chain condition. In A&E´s words: 'This fits the intuition underlying R&R´s formulation of a chain that in order for an element to qualify as a syntactic argument, it must be fully specified for morhological features and Case features'. (A&E 1999: 100). [3]

To assume that the A-chain condition applied exclusively to syntactic predicates raises the issue of the licensing of consigo as a critical area of research.

3. Agreement and Morphological Features. To see the effects of lack morphological specification of gender and number features, consider examples in 19a,b:

(19)   a.   El turista**i** / La turista**i** lleva dólares consigo**i**.
                the tourist (masc./fem.sing.) takes dollars with-se
        b.   Los turistas**i**/ las turistas**i** llevan dólares consigo**i**.
                the tourists (masc./fem. plur.) take dollars with-se

In both examples, <u>consigo</u> freely combines with any type of NP-antecedent, regardless of the gender and number features of the sentential subject.

R&R 1993 argue that morphologically defective anaphors need to raise to I in order to inherit the subject´s morphological features. Given our analysis of <u>consigo</u> so far, I want to departure from the view of raising into the verbal predicate as a way to satisfy its morphological features. According to minimalist ideas in Chomsky (1995), I assume that agreement is not a Spec-head relation. Rather, I want to claim that the morphological licensing of the defective anaphor in the previous examples may take place by virtue of the A-Chain Condition. In the cases of syntactic anaphors, on the other hand, such a mechanism is not required. Notice that they already fully agree with the sentential subject in number and gender features:

(20)   a.   El turista/ La turista habla consigo mismo /misma.
                the tourist(masc./fem. sing.)speaks with himself/herself
                (masc.fem.sing).
                'The tourist speaks with himself/herself'
        b.   Los turistas/Las turistas tienen dinero consigo.
                the tourists (masc./fem. plur.)have money with-se
                'The tourists have money with them'.

The rest of this section is devoted to illustrate some locality constraints, which are somehow expected if <u>consigo</u> needs to be licensed within an A-Chain.

In the first place, examples in 19 illustrate the fact that <u>consigo</u> is sensitive to the

specified subject condition and cannot undergo long-distance binding, as opposed to standard prepositional pronouns:

(21)   a.   Juana quería que el dinero viajase con ella.

                Juana wanted that the money travelled with her

                'Juana wanted the money to travel with her'.

        b.   *Juana quería que el dinero viajase consigo.

                Juana wanted that the money travelled with se

Next, in contexts of Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) our anaphor is bound by the matrix clitic pronoun, functioning as the subject of the embedded infinitive:

(22)   a.   Juan me dejó llevar dinero conmigo /*consigo.

                J. me(cl.) let carry money with-me/with-se

                'Juan let me have money with me'.

        b.   Juan te dejará llevar dinero contigo /*consigo.

                J. you(cl.) let carry money with-you/ with-se

                'Juan let you have money with you'.

Third, the minimal pair in 23 illustrates the fact that consigo cannot occur inside the complex NP la guerra PP being a syntactic island: [4]

(23)   a.   La factura le causó la guerra consigo mismo.

                the bill caused him the war with himself

        b   *La factura le causó la guerra consigo.

                the bill caused him the war with se

Following Thráinsson 1991, a diagnostic property of logophoric anaphora is that on that use the anaphor may refer freely. The fact that consigo is ruled out within a complex NP shows, once more, that it cannot function as a logophor.

4. The proposal. Previously, we already announced that the locative PP containing the anaphor consigo constitutes a complex configuration consisting of a P-projection (dyadic, in Hale & Keyser´s 1997 terms) embedded as the complement within a V-projection (itself monadic). We took it to be an inherent and fundamental property of canonical prepositions that they project a structure containing both a complement and a specifier. In this respect, they contrast with other thematic prepositions which instead project a P-projection (monadic).

To begin with, we may follow Everaert´s (1991) observation that se anaphors are structurally identical to pronouns. So, if pronouns project as full NPs, as in (24a), so do se-anaphors in (24b):

(24)   a. $[_{NP}$ Pron $[_{N'} ...e...]]$.

   b. $[_{NP}$ SE $[_{N'}...e...]]$.

In particular, I assume some instances of anaphor incorporation, and so the se-anaphor in 25b is incorporated into P at some point in the derivation.

(25)   a.   Juan lleva $[_{PP}$ dinero $[_{P'}$con $[_{NP}$ sigo]]]$.

   Juan brings money with se

   b. $[_{PP}$ dinero $[_{P}$ con+sigo$\textbf{i}$ $[_{NP}$ t$\textbf{i}$]]]$.

In order to realise fully the parallel between llevar dinero consigo (have money with you) and the secondary predication llevar dinero encima 'have money on' we must contrive to get the dyadic structure of the preposition in all cases. This is in fact illustrated by the examples in 26.

(26)   a   La política lleva consigo mucho desgaste.

   the politics brings with itself a lot of burden

   b   *La política lleva consigo.

   the politics brings with itself

That is, if the preposition con 'with' exclusively projected a monadyc structure, which is

typical of non-canonical prepositions, we would expect that one of the arguments could be omitted, contrary to fact. Example 26b is in fact ungrammatical, since one of the P-arguments has been excluded, namely, the internal specifier that finally represents the sentential object.

In the cases of thematic PPs, we observe that a syntactic anaphor may survive, since this is part of a verbal monadic structure:

(27)   Juan habla de sí mismo.
            Juan speaks of himself

We assumed that, unlike a se-anaphor, a syntactic anaphor reflexive marks the verbal predicate.

On the assumption then that se-anaphors occupy a place in secondary predication, the relation between the internal and external positions (between the internal P-argument and the external argument or sentential subject) is to be understood as that implied by an A-Chain.[5] This approach nicely meets R&R´s distinction between syntactic and semantic predicates, we introduce in 28:

(28)   Definitions:
        The <u>syntactic predicate</u> formed of (a head) P is P, all its syntactic arguments,
        and an external argument of P (subject). The syntactic arguments of P are the
        projections assigned θ-role or Case by P.
        The <u>semantic predicate</u> formed of P is P and all its arguments at the relevant
        semantic level.

Unlike the definition of syntactic predicates, the definition of semantic predicates is rather trivial. As R&R argue: 'It is determined solely by logical syntax, provided that the compositional rules mapping structures into function-argument configurations are defined. Deciding what counts as a syntactic predicate, however, is based on grammatical structure. There seems to be no disagreement on requiring that syntactic predicates should include all the arguments assigned a θ-role by the head P, but at least as far as binding is concerned, this is not sufficient. The line we take here follows, in essence, the notion of complete functional complex (CFC) proposed by Chomsky (1986), according to which, a CFC is a projection at

which all grammatical functions compatible with the head P and (by definition) an external subject are syntactically realized. This entails that verbs, nouns, and adjectives may form syntactic predicates, but not prepositions, which do not license an external argument (Giorgi 1991)'. (R&R 1993: pp. 678-679).

On the other hand, R&R (1993) suggest that it is appealing to assume a small-clause analysis for locative PPs, to explain their English minimal pair in 29 (R&R 1993: 67b.d).

(29)   a.   *Max rolled [the carpet over it].

         b.   Max rolled [the carpet over itself].

On Hale & Keyser´s analysis, <u>over</u> may also constitute a lp-dyadic structure and so it behaves like two-place predicate. Further I assume that English <u>himself</u> is ambiguous between a self or se-anaphor. This actually explains why it is subject-oriented in examples such as the one in 30a. Crucially, a referential pronoun is also allowed in 30b, provided that it does not get any bound reading (R&R 1993:65):

(30)   a.   Max rolled the carpet over himself.

         b.   Max examined the carpet underneath it.

In a footnote, R&R point out that a plausible way to get the anaphor paradigm above is in fact by assuming a small clause configuration as in Hoekstra (1991). In particular, the proposal is that a locative PP projects a small configuration with an empty subject as in 31:

(31) Max_1 rolled the $carpet_2$ [PRO_2 over $himself_1$].

The presence of an empty subject PRO is, however, somewhat ad-hoc on minimalist assumptions. Moreover, if we stick to our previous idea that the external subject is related to sentential syntax, namely to the EPP feature in minimalist syntax (Chomsky 1995), the presence of a NP occupying the Spec of locative P is no longer a problem. By assumption, the EPP feature is a T-feature, not a P-feature.

To conclude, the discussion of some anaphors inside English locatives has constituted independent evidence for a dyadic structure for canonical prepositions. In the following

section, we will concentrate on se-anaphors like <u>consigo</u> in contexts of wh-movement, Left-Dislocation and plural subjects, supporting its status as NP-predicate

5. Extraction facts, left-dislocation and plural subjects. Previously we observed that an anaphor like <u>consigo</u> cannot co-occur in any PP. Rather, it is restricted to occur within PPs projecting a lp-dyadic argument structure. Here we consider this proposal on the basis of extraction facts, Left-Dislocation and plural subjects.

To begin with, consider the following minimal pair:

(32) a. ¿Con quién habla Juan?
          to whom talks Juan
          'Who does Juan talk to?'
      b. *¿Con quién lleva dinero Juan?
          with whom has money Juan

The contrast in 32 may be related to the fact that, unlike a thematic PP, a NP-predicate cannot be derived as an instance of wh-movement. In particular, we have assumed that the anaphor has incorporated into the preposition and therefore cannot be excorporated. In the cases of thematic PPs, there is no similar incorporation mechanism and extraction by means of wh-movement is in.

Longobardi (1993) showed that a thematic argument corresponds to a full DP in a syntactic argument position. In our analysis, <u>consigo</u> is a NP-predicate incorporated into P. On the assumption that referentiality is related to DPs, <u>consigo</u> cannot enter into intrasentential coreference (Grodzinsky & Reinhart 1993), as we previously saw with our example in 13 above. Along the same lines, <u>consigo</u> cannot function as an ordinary resumptive pronoun in instances of Left-Dislocation (Chomsky 1977).

(33) *Con él, Luís nunca llevaba dinero consigo.
       with him, Luis never had money with-se

Crucially, there is a strong contrast with respect to syntactic anaphors that, on the other hand,

freely function as resumptive pronouns in similar instances of Left-Dislocation:

(34)   A Juan? El debía afeitarse a sí mismo

         to Juan? He should shave himself

         'John? He should shave himself'

A second interesting prediction of the NP-predicate status of <u>consigo</u> is that it must always trigger a distributive reading when occurring with plural subjects, as opposed to a referential pronoun. Consider examples in 35, in this respect:

(35)   a.   Los indios llevaban el machete consigo.[6]

                 the Indians took the knife with themselves.

         b.   Los indios llevaban el machete con ellos.

                 the Indians took the knife with them.

                 'The Indians had knives with them'.

Whereas 35a preferably has a distributive interpretation of the plural set (it entails different knives taken by different Indians), 35b forces a collective interpretation only (implying just one knife taken by all Indians). The two interpretations are approximated in 36:

(36)   a.   Los indios (λx (x llevaban el machete con x))

         b.   Los indios (λx (x llevaban el machete con ellos))

On the one hand, the distributive interpretation in 36a indicates that one of the predicates (x llevaba el machete con x) is reflexive. The collective interpretation in 36b, on the other hand, implies that the predicate is not distributed over the plural NP in the subject position; rather it is taken as one set. Following R&R´s reflexivity mechanism, none of the arguments of the Verbal predicate of the P-predicate in 35b has been reflexive-marked, so condition B blocks the resulting reflexive derivation. In other words the distributive interpretation of this sentence is ruled out because this reading would imply reflexive marking, which is impossible in the absence of a reflexive-anaphor. As for the reflexivity interpretation of 35a, this follows from the A-Chain condition that forces the anaphor to be interpreted as a NP-variable [-R].

To stress our point, an ambiguous universal quantifier like <u>todos</u> 'all' crucially triggers a distributive interpretation in examples such as 37:

(37)   En el examen todos los estudiantes llevaban la misma calculadora consigo .
          In the exam, all the students took the same calculator with-se
          'In the exam the students had the same calculator'.

In effect, the first natural reading of this sentence is one in which the situation implies that different students have different calculators which happen to be of the same type, i.e., of the same brand and make. This can be paraphrased as <u>each student had the same type of calculator</u>. I want to support Z&V's hypothesis that: 'a singular definite expression may give rise to a distributive interpretation only if it is associated with a plural expression by the Predication relation (in the sense of Williams 1980)'. Crucially, insertion of a strong pronoun results in ungrammaticality:

(38)   *Todos los estudiantes llevaban la misma calculadora con ellos.
          all the students   had   the same calculator   with them.Both the A-

Chain-condition and Condition B rule out binding of a pronoun by the quantifier.

6. A contrast with other anaphoric expressions. In all our previous examples, <u>consigo</u> was not overtly doubled by a reflexive clitic. Yet, it is the case that it may nevertheless combine with it in examples such as that in 39 below:

(39)   Juan se llevó el dinero consigo.
          Juan CL.-REFL had the money with se

So far, the observation has been that true anaphors in a clitic-doubling language like Spanish are doubled by reflexive clitics, not by pronominal clitics: (40)   Juan *(se)   lava   [a   sí   mismo].
               J. CL.-REFl washes a himself

(41) *Juan lo lava [a sí mismo].

J. CL-PRON washes a himself

Compare the reflexive clitic in 40 with that occurring with a se-anaphor in 42 with respect to availability: while the clitic is required in the former example, it is not in the latter example:

(42) Juana (se) llevó dinero consigo

Clearly, we are in front of two different phenomena. Unlike 40, 42 should not be considered an ordinary paradigm of clitic doubling. The presence of the reflexive clitic se 'himself' in this example may rather be related to the pragmatic notion of 'context confinement' (Uriagereka 1995). To illustrate, if we are talking about a particular amount of money, we may use the clitic se, not otherwise:

(43) a. Juana se llevó dinero consigo al extranjero (??hasta siete veces).

Juana Refl.Cl had money with-se abroad (up to seven times)

b. Juana llevó dinero consigo al extranjero (hasta siete veces).

Juana had money with se abroad (up to seven times)

'Juana took money with her abroad up to seven times'.

In 43a, there is only one particular trip involved. This explains why an iterative reading provided by an adverbial expression like hasta siete veces 'up to seven times' is odd. The absence of the clitic in 43b, on the other hand, produces the lack of context confinement and a possible iterative reading. On this difference in interpretation, the presence of the clitic in 43a may indicate the presence of an additional functional verbal layer related to verbal Aspect. This supports the view that functional projections are motivated by sentential syntax only.

On the other hand, a lp-dyadic analysis of canonical P also predicts reflexive overlapping . That is, on the assumption that the specifier of P contains a DP that eventually functions as the sentential object, the prediction is that both a reflexive clitic may combine with a se-anaphor, since each reflexive anaphor occurs in different predicates. The prediction

is well born out by the examples in 44 and 45 below:

(44)   a.   La lámpara no se tiene en sí.

                The lamp not CL.refl. has in-se

                'The lamp does not stand'

         b.   *La lámpara no tiene en sí.

                the lamp not has in-se

(45)   a.   Luisa no se tiene en sí.

                *Luisa no tiene en sí

                'Luisa is not all in'

         b.   *Luisa no tiene en sí.

                Luisa not has in-se

Unlike in our previous cases, the reflexive clitic is in fact required. This follows from the observation that the canonical preposition projects both a specifier and a complement. As to the pronominal anaphors, they are licensed in situ by virtue of the A-Chain Condition. Crucially a syntactic anaphor results in ungrammaticality, even though it follows a reflexive clitic:

(46)   a.   *La lámpara no se tiene en sí misma.

                the lamp not CL.refl. has in itself

         b.   *Luisa no se tiene en sí misma.

                Luisa not CL.refl. has in herself

Our system predicts complementary distribution of two syntactic anaphors.

7. Conclusions. The non-unitary analysis of anaphors put forward in R&R (1993) and references there-in is an appropriate method for unveiling the main properties of anaphoric expressions in natural language. In this paper I have been discussing anaphoric expressions in Spanish and the proposal has been to distinguish between self and se-anaphors, on the basis of the type of predicate where each anaphor is identified: within a syntactic or a semantic

predicate.

Considering semantic predicates, they conformed with an argument structure typology which is determined by two fundamental structural relations: complement and specifier. Like many other languages, Spanish possesses a large number of prepositions that allow for such an argument structure. The complement relation was explicit in the discussion of impossible syntactic anaphors, which are restricted to occur with verbal predicates due to its inherent reflexivizing function. These syntactic anaphors were predicted to either occur within contexts of logophoricity or function as verbal complements. As to se-anaphors, they were allowed as P-complements, provided they enter into an A-chain with the sentential subject. Among other interesting consequences, this non-unitary approach finally resolved the issue of the so-called snake-sentences and the identification of the noun mismo 'self' as a reflexive marker. As for the specifier relation, we finally illustrated the case in which a reflexive clitic combines with a se-anaphor.

The assumed distinction between syntactic and semantic predicates also entitled us to put forward common features of pronominal anaphors with prepositional pronouns. Among these features there are, for example, a similar PP configuration, a similar sensitivity to the A-Chain Condition, and definite location inside semantic predicates. On the other hand, the feature specification of pronominal anaphors has decidedly been different from the feature specification of a pronoun. Unlike pronouns, a [-R] feature characterises pronominal anaphors like consigo which therefore can not constitute a possible resumptive pronoun candidate in instances of Left Dislocation. An important interaction of condition B and the chain condition was crucially invoked to rule out pronouns in contexts of plural subjects. On the assumption then that se-anaphors constitute a group with pronouns with respect to those binding conditions, a strong prediction is made with respect to language acquisition. In particular, children are expected to acquire both pronouns and pronominal anaphors at the same time. Whether or not this prediction is borne out awaits further research.

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Notes

[1] See however Solà 1993 for a different account of Romance _mismo_, suggesting that it is a mere intensifier rather than a reflexive marker.

[2] Marantz (1984) has shown that locative PPs like the one discussed in the text or in ia, must be distinguished from the PPs that are selected by the verb. In ia, the verb does not select for the PP, in fact there are other possible prepositions:

(i) a. Juan vió una serpiente lejos de sí mismo.

    Juan saw a snake far from himself

 b. Juan vió una serpiente al lado de sí mismo.

    Juan saw a snake by his very side

The possibility of a syntactic anaphor in these contexts follows from the fact that they may enter into intrasentential coreference.

[3] Anagnostopoulou & Everaert (1999) have argued on the basis of the Greek anaphor o eaftos tu that the +self, +R combination which is missing in Reinhart & Reuland´s (1993) reflexivity model may nevertheless exist. Crucially, they showed that this anaphor constitutes a complex structure, and as a whole it is part of the argument structure of the verb. They also argued that this type of anaphors are actually expected from R&R´s model provided two conditions. The first condition is that they do not enter into chain formation. The second condition is that they do not perform any reflexive marking along the lines put forward in Conditions A and B. On the basis of the first condition, they argue that the A-Chain condition must apply at syntactic predicates. Yet, they leave aside those contexts in which the verbal predicate does not coincide with the predicate containing a pronominal anaphor, departing from R&R´s original proposal for the A-Chain condition. These contexts are the ones discussed in this paper.

[4] R&R 1993 in fact discuss Condition A in NPs on the basis of anaphors inside picture-of-

NPs as in (i)

(i)   Lucie saw a picture of herself.

In the text we extend their analysis to our guerra-NPs since an anaphor like consigo mismo implies incorporation of the ablative anaphor to the preposition con 'with' which normally accompanies this type of nominals, as also exemplified in (ii):

(ii)   La guerra consigo mismo fue muy larga.
          'The war against the French was very long'.

[5] Crucially in languages like Dutch, we may also speak of two types of anaphors: the se-anaphor zich and the self-anaphor zichzelf, and expectedly zich is the grammatical counterpart of Spanish consigo, provided the right Dutch preposition bij (cf. Sergio Baauw, p.c.):

(i)   a.   *Jan heeft geld bij zichzelf.
                 J. has money by himself
         b.   Jan heeft geld bij zich.
                 J. has money by se

[6] On the assumption that the Spanish Determiner el is an expletive (Zubizarreta & Vergnaud 1993, Baauw 1996), the nominal el machete 'the knife' is interpreted as a type nominal. Following Baauw (1996), there is a correlation between the presence of expletives and their ability to be interpreted as R-variables. In fact, we will argue that there is a distributivity reading available, according to which each Indian had a different knife with him. On the other hand, the fact that the same DP will trigger a referential reading in the other example results from a syntactic fact, i.e. from the presence of the pronominal preposition .