

`Zich' in adjectival prepositional objects

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I would like to bring to the fore some curious data concerning the distribution of the anaphor *zich* ('SE') in Dutch. Central to the discussion is the contrast in (1), where *zich* is the prepositional object of the adjective *afhankelijk* ('dependent').

- (1) a. *Hans* acht HIL niet van *zich* afhankelijk.
Hans considers HIL not of SE dependent
'Hans does not consider HIL dependent on *him(self)*.'
- b. * *Hans* acht HIL niet afhankelijk van *zich*.

To get started, a short overview of the use of *zich* is in place. *Zich* is a medium distance anaphor. According to Everaert (1986), Reinhart & Reuland (1993), De Vries (1998) and others, it may not be bound by a co-argument, as opposed to the local anaphor *zichzelf* ('SE-SELF') – except for inherent reflexive cases. This is shown in (2).

- (2) a. *Hij* haatte *zichzelf*/**zich*. [DO]
'He hated *himself*.'
- b. *Hij* gaf het cadeau aan *zichzelf*/**zich*. [IO]
'He gave the present to *himself*.'
- c. *Hij* zette de koffer naast *zich* neer. [locative PP]
'He put the suitcase beside *himself*.'
- d. *Ze* voelde [*zich* wegglijden]. [AcI/ECM]
'She felt *herself* slip.'
- e. *Ze* schaamde *zich*. [inh. refl.]
'She was ashamed of *herself*.'
- f. *Ze*_i zag Paul_j naast *zich*_{i/j} kijken. [AcI+PP_{loc}]
'She_i saw Paul_j look beside *him(self)*_i/*her(self)*_i.'

In APs there is a difficulty for the "non-co-argument hypothesis". In (3a) *hem*, the subject of the adjective, is a co-argument of the adjectival prepositional object *zich(zelf)*. Therefore, only the local anaphor *zichzelf* is allowed. However, in (3b) the anaphor is bound by the matrix subject. This is not a co-argument of *zich*. Nevertheless, *zich* is not allowed.

- (3) a. *Ze* waant [_{AP} *hem* trots op/dol op/boos op *zichzelf*/**zich*].
'She fancied *him* proud of/fond of/mad at *him(self)*.'
- b. * *Ze* waant [_{AP} *hem* trots op/dol op/boos op *zich*].
'She fancied him proud of/fond of/mad at *her(self)*.'

According to Broekhuis (1991:Ch7) *zich* is never the prepositional object of an adjective. In view of (3) this seems correct, but there are exceptions like the opening sentence (1a).

The sentences at issue contain deverbal adjectives – e.g. *afhankelijk (van)* ('dependent (on)') – and pseudo-participles – e.g. *geneigd (tot)* ('inclined (to)'). These classes of adjectives allow for two possible positions for the prepositional object (4a/b); other adjectives do not (4c) – unless heavy stress is used. (N.B. Not with all deverbal adjectives and pseudo-participles P-stranding on the right is possible. Maybe this is a *freezing*-effect as a result of "PP-over-A".)

- (4)
- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a. | Hij is geneigd tot liegen. | ` He is inclined to telling lies.' |
| a.´ | Hij is tot liegen geneigd. | |
| b. | Hij is afhankelijk van mij. | ` He is dependent on me.' |
| b.´ | Hij is van mij afhankelijk. | |
| c. | Hij is dol op pudding. | ` He is fond of pudding' |
| c.´ * | Hij is op pudding dol. | |

It turns out that *zich* becomes possible if a prepositional object precedes the deverbal adjective or pseudo-participle. In mirrored order *zich* is ungrammatical, cf. constructions with other adjectives like those in (3b).

- (5)
- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| a. | <i>Hij waande mij van zich afhankelijk.</i> | <i>`He fancied me dependent on him(self).'</i> |
| a.´ * | <i>Hij waande mij afhankelijk van zich.</i> | |
| b. | <i>Hij achtte mij niet tegen zich opgewassen.</i> | <i>`He considered me no match for him(self).'</i> |
| b.´ * | <i>Hij achtte mij niet opgewassen tegen zich.</i> | |
| c. | <i>Hij maakte mij voor zich verantwoordelijk.</i> | <i>`He made me responsible for him(self).'</i> |
| c.´ * | <i>Hij maakte mij verantwoordelijk voor zich.</i> | |
| d. | <i>Hij beschouwde mij als tegen zich gekant.</i> | <i>`He regards me as opposed to him(self).'</i> |
| d.´ * | <i>Hij beschouwde mij als gekant tegen zich.</i> | |
| e. | <i>Hij vond mij van zich vervreemd.</i> | <i>`He thought me alienated from him(self).'</i> |
| e.´ * | <i>Hij vond mij vervreemd van zich.</i> | |
| f. | <i>Hij waande mij met zich begaan.</i> | <i>`He fancied me sorry for him(self).'</i> |
| f.´ * | <i>Hij waande mij begaan met zich.</i> | |

This pattern is comparable with *zich* in prepositional objects of verbs. These too show two possible orders with respect to the verb:

- (6)
- | | | |
|----|---|----------------------------------|
| a. | Hij heeft met zijn verleden afgerekend. | ` He has settled with his past.' |
| b. | Hij heeft afgerekend met zijn verleden. | |

With the help of AcI-constructions it can be shown that *zich* is only possible in the first position; see (7).

- (7)
- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| a. | <i>Hij hoorde mij op zich mopperen.</i> | <i>`He heard me grumble at him(self).'</i> |
| a.´ * | <i>Hij hoorde mij mopperen op zich.</i> | |
| b. | <i>Hij liet mij voor zich werken.</i> | <i>`He made me work for him(self).'</i> |
| b.´ * | <i>Hij liet mij werken voor zich.</i> | |

I don't see how the contrasts in (5) and (7) could be accounted for with (plausible) structural defined binding conditions. Possibly an explanation is to be found in the realm of prosodic constraints. Suppose that selected prepositions must be followed by an element that can be stressed. (N.B. This is not relevant for independent locative PP' s.) From this hypothesis the right predictions for prepositional objects with *zich* follow. (Further consequences I will discuss later

The local anaphor *zichzelf* is not prosodically weak, because *-zelf* can possibly bear stress. Thus it is predicted that *zichzelf* as a prepositional object may occupy each of the two available positions: before or after the verb. This is shown in (8).

- The anaphor *zich* may carry along a contrastive adjunct ZELF (‘SELF’). The expectation is that the ungrammaticality of the prime sentences in (5) and (7) may be resolved by adding ZELF to *zich*. The same must be valid for (3b). Notice that *zichZELF* must not be confused with the local anaphor *zichzelf*. The former satisfies the structural binding conditions for SE, the latter those for local anaphors. Furthermore, *zichzelf* does not need to carry sentence accent, *zichZELF* does. The contrasts in (9) may not be very strong, but they are there.

- Another way to satisfy the prosodic constraint on selected prepositions is to use an auxiliary verb or to embed the sentence. In that case the main verb bears the (secondary) stress. Compare (10) with (9b/c/d).

- As expected, the trick does not work if the added element is not part of the intonation phrase.

- Of course it must be shown yet that the prosodic restriction proposed applies to weak elements other than *zich*. Some examples are given in (12). The contrasts are weak; probably not all speakers

will agree.

- (12) a. Ik hoorde Joop mopperen op jou/??je.
I heard Joop grumble at you/you_{red}.
a.´ Ik hoorde Joop op jou/je mopperen.
b. Ik achtte Joop niet opgewassen tegen jou/??je.
I considered Joop not a match (ADJ) for you/you_{red}
b.´ Ik achtte Joop niet tegen jou/je opgewassen.

Notice that V₂-movement of the PP-selecting verb does not count. This can be confirmed by using a particle.

- (13) a. Ik praat tegen je. a.´ ... dat ik tegen je praat.
I talk to you_{red} that I to you_{red} talk
b. Ik stuur het wel naar je terug. b.´ ... dat ik het wel naar je terugstuur.
I send it yes to you_{red} back that I it yes to you_{red} back-send
c. ?? Ik stuur het wel terug naar je. c.´ ?? dat ik het wel terugstuur naar je.

Finally, it can be shown that the same prosodic phenomenon asserts itself in prepositional objects of nouns. (N.B. In (14) *zich* is somebody else than a potential implicit subject of *foto* ('picture')).

- (14) a. * *Hij zag een foto van zich.* ´He saw a picture of *him(self)*.
b. *Hij zag een foto van zichZELF.* ´He saw a picture of *HIMSELF*.
c. *Hij zag een foto van zich op tafel liggen.*
´He saw a picture of *him(self)* lying on the table.'

My (tentative) conclusion is that the distribution of *zich* as a complement of a selected preposition is not constrained by complicated binding conditions (unless co-argumenthood is involved). Rather, a prosodic constraint on the use of these prepositions is involved: a selected preposition must be followed (within its intonational phrase) by a stressable element. If so, the non-co-argument rule for *zich* can be maintained. It is unknown yet what the underlying reason is for the constraint proposed. It seems to be related to the tendency in OV languages that clitics must be at a position further leftward than full NP's.

Literature:

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