

Reflexive Clitics in the Slavic and Romance Languages.

A Comparative View from an Antipassive Perspective.

Lucie Medová

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Adviser: Leonard H. Babby

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Abstract

In this work, I offer a unified analysis of all the constructions that involve a reflexive clitic SE in Slavic and Romance languages. Next to canonical constructions, in which the reflexive clitic semantically identifies the two arguments of a transitive verb, cf. *John SE wash* means *John washes himself*, there are constructions in which it is not possible to identify the arguments in this way, cf. anticausatives as *The glass SE broke* does not entail that the glass broke itself, it just broke. Inherently reflexive verbs do not exist without the reflexive clitic, certain prefixes cause the morpheme SE to appear in Slavic languages ROZ-rain *(SE) with a certain Aktionsart shift. Finally, there are impersonals and middles, in which the reflexive clitic SE seems to play the role of an unspecified human subject *Cars SE sell* means *Cars are sold (by people)/People sell cars*.

The thesis is built in two steps. First, I consider possible derivations of the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE in Slavic and Romance and following Kayne (1986) and Alboiu *et al.* (2004) I propose that all the constructions are derived by movement: the argument that winds up as NOM starts out within the VP shell and moves to the NOM position. SE, on this view, is a morpheme that ‘blocks’ the argument from becoming a direct object. This derivation is superior to the argument structure derivations (as they face the problem of ECM constructions, cf. Marantz (1984)) and derivations that connect the morpheme SE to the internal argument position (they predict the SE constructions to be transitive, contrary to the facts).

Second, I claim that the reflexive clitic SE is an antipassive morpheme of the sort known from the ergative languages. This connection is clearly supported by the range of constructions that are created by the reflexive clitic SE in Slavic and Romance languages on one hand and antipassive morphemes in ergative languages on the other. In both language types, the particular morpheme (very often) creates also anticausatives, constructions with Aktionsart shift. I derive both antipassives and constructions with the reflexive clitic SE in a parallel fashion within the Peeling Theory of Case (Starke (2005), Starke (2006)).

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List of Abbreviations

A	agent: subject of a transitive verb in E/A languages
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
AP	antipassive
APPL	applicative
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
COND	conditional
DAT	dative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directive
DM	Distributed Morphology
DO	direct object
EA	external argument
E/A	ergative/absolutive language
ERG	ergative
EXIST	existential (St'át'imcets)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HUM	argument referring to a necessarily human being
IA	internal argument
IMP	impersonal
IMPF	imperfective
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INTR	intransitive/intransitivizing
IO	indirect object

LOC	locative
N/A	nominative/accusative language
NEG	negation
NF	non-finite
NFUT	non-future
NOM	nominative
O	object: object of a transitive verb in E/A languages
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PP	past participle
PAST/PRESENT	past tense or present tense
PF	perfective
PL	plural
PRES.CONT	present continuous
REFL	reflexive
RM	Relativized Minimality
SG	singular
S	subject: subject of an intransitive verb in E/A languages
TM	thematic marker (Basque)
TS	thematic suffix (Georgian)
TR	transitive
VER	version
√D	auxiliary characterized by assigning ABS and DAT (Basque)

Introduction

This work is about the reflexive clitic *SE* in Romance and Slavic languages. This morpheme creates a long standing puzzle: it is involved in constructions that seem rather unrelated and it is not obvious why the reflexive clitic *SE* should feature in all of them. This work offers a view that makes sense of the reflexive clitic in all the constructions at hand by suggesting a unified analysis.

Concretely, then, the constructions involving the reflexive clitic do not seem to create a natural class: why should a true reflexive construction (as the one shown in (1)) have exactly the same reflexive clitic as the construction labeled anticausative (and shown in (2))? Moreover, certain verbs have to appear with a reflexive clitic, but it is very difficult to make a (semantic) connection between the reflexive clitic in (1) or (2) on the one hand and the reflexive clitic seen in so called inherently reflexive constructions, as the one in (3). In inherently reflexive constructions, as well as in the construction in (4) – where the *SE* is induced by the presence of certain (Aktionsart) aspectual prefixes – the reflexive clitic *SE* is definitely not ‘reflexive’, if reflexive means to say that the subject is doing the event expressed by the verb on itself, as in the true reflexive construction (1). Moreover, *SE* can also be used to form so called impersonal constructions¹, which also are clearly not semantically reflexive. In example (5), the agent is not identified with an internal argument, but is rather understood as unspecified group of people.

(1) True reflexive

Madlenka *se* učesala.
Madlenka_{NOM.F} *SE* comb_{F.SG}
‘Madlenka combed herself.’

(Czech)

¹There are two types of impersonals, so called [+arg] impersonals (identified by the agreement between the NOM argument and the verb) shown in (5) on one hand and [-arg] impersonals on the other – following the classification of Cinque (1988). Moreover, I also discuss middles together with impersonals, see chapter 11.

(2) Anticausative

Království **se** rozpadlo.
 kingdom_{NOM.N} SE disintegrated_{N.SG}
 ‘The kingdom disintegrated.’

(Czech)

(3) Inherently reflexive

Šimon **se** smál Jáchymovi.
 Šimon_{NOM.M} SE laughed_{M.SG} Jáchym_{DAT}
 ‘Šimon laughed at Jáchym.’

(Czech)

(4) Prefix + V construction

Anička **se** roz-běhla (k mamince).
 Anička_{NOM.F} SE roz-ran_{F.SG} towards mum
 ‘Anička started to run (towards her mum).’

(Czech)

(5) Impersonal

Špagety **se** snědly.
 spaghetti_{NOM.PL} SE ate_{PL}
 ‘The spaghetti were eaten (by somebody).’ / ‘Somebody has eaten the spaghetti.’

(Czech)

Yet, on the surface, at least, it seems that we are dealing with the very same morpheme: it is a clitic and it cliticizes exactly the same way regardless of the ‘nature’ of the construction it is involved with (chapter 2).

So, trying to make sense of the nature of the reflexive clitic SE in the constructions shown above, there are two possible ways to go. First would be that the constructions above do not involve the same reflexive clitic and that each construction in (1) to (5) involves a ‘different’ reflexive clitic. Rephrasing it, we can say that we deal with the case of an accidental homophony.

Of course, saying this, we lose the possibility to say something sensible about the extension of this pattern right off the bat. It is not only Czech (and other Slavic languages) that show the constructions of the type in (1) to (5) (although it seems that (4) is limited to Slavic languages) – but also Romance languages. In other words, the reflexive clitic SE in Romance languages is involved in the true reflexives (6), anticausatives (7), inherent reflexives (8) and impersonals (9).

(6) True reflexive

Giulia **si** pettina.
 Giulia_{NOM} SE comb_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Giulia combs herself.’

(Italian)

(7) Anticausative

La brocca **si** è rotta.
 the jug_{NOM.F} SE AUX_{3.SG} broken_{F.SG}
 ‘The jug broke.’

(Italian)

(8) Inherently reflexive

Carlo **si** vergogna.
 Carlo_{NOM} SE be.ashamed_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Carlo is ashamed.’

(Italian)

(9) Impersonal

Qui, **si** mangiano spesso gli spaghetti.
 here SE eat_{3.PL.PRES} often the spaghetti_{NOM}
 ‘People often eat spaghetti here.’

(Italian, Cinque (1988):(73b))

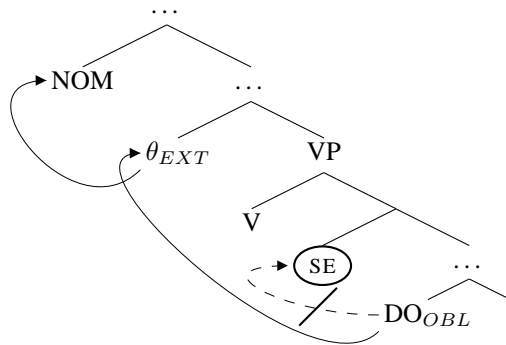
The recurring pattern in Slavic and Romance could be – perhaps – ascribed to Indo-European languages sharing an inherited accidental syncretism. However, the pattern goes beyond Indo European. Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan), Gorum (South Munda) and various Pama-Nyungan languages, for instance, show the very same syncretism in that the morpheme that creates reflexives also creates anticausatives (and antipassives, as discussed further). However, adopting the view that the morphemes in the constructions in (1) to (5) (and (6) to (9)) are reflexes of very different derivations has absolutely nothing to offer with respect to the similar pattern found in the non Indo European languages.

Alternatively, the second possible view of the reflexive clitics seen in (1) to (5) (and (6) to (9)), we could say that the SE seen in these constructions is, indeed, the same morpheme. That is, the semantic differences in the constructions above are a consequence of different derivations with the reflexive clitic SE doing the same job in all of these constructions. And this is the direction explored in this work. I try to dispense with accidental homonymy and see how far it can get us.

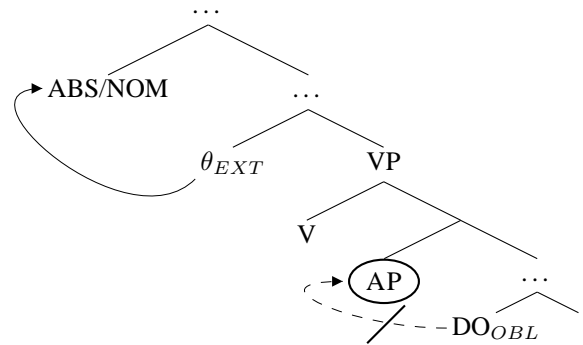
So, the goal of this work is to suggest a unified theory of the constructions that involve the reflexive clitic SE. In particular, I will argue below that the derivation of true reflexives involves antipassivization (chapter 10). Needless to say, I am not the first one to do so, see Postal (1977). Alboiu *et al.* (2004) note the closeness between inherently reflexives and antipassives. The solution I propose has two essential components. First is the closeness of antipassives and reflexives (and other constructions with the reflexive clitic SE) and the second is the movement analysis of both.

Concretely, then: all the constructions that involve the reflexive clitic SE are derived by movement, as indicated for true reflexives in (10) (similar movement derivation will be provided for all the constructions involving a reflexive clitic). The argument that ends up in NOM case starts out inside the VP as an internal argument, either in a direct object position or indirect object position (in the derivation of reflexives from indirect objects, see chapter 8). There is no innovation here, such a derivation of true reflexives was suggested in Kayne (1986), Marantz (1984), Sportiche (1998b) and Alboiu *et al.* (2004) and I follow the first one and the last one very closely. So, the unifying feature of the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE is that the argument seen in the NOM position starts out as a direct object and it reaches the NOM via movement.

(10) reflexive



(11) antipassive



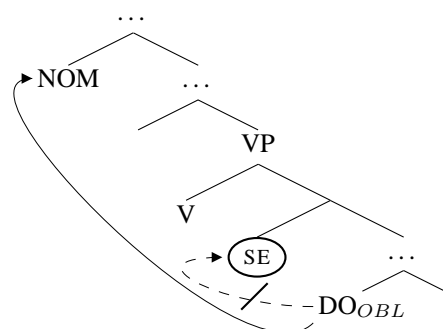
The dashed line in (10) is meant to suggest that the original direct object would like to move to the position of the reflexive clitic, though it cannot: the position is ‘taken’ by the reflexive clitic SE. Along the lines of the derivational approach to the external argument (starting already by Koopman and Sportiche (1991)), I see the direct objects as derived via movement as well. On this view, the direct object is ‘born’ oblique and under ‘normal circumstances’ (in the derivation of transitive verbal constructions) it ‘becomes’ ACC. Notice that on this view even antipassive morphology is seen as an element preventing the underlying oblique internal argument from becoming an ACC, as shown in (11) (similarly to SE in the derivation in (10)).

Metaphorically, then, SE tells you this much: things do not proceed as you might have expected them to proceed assuming you expected that the argument from inside the VP should become a direct object. This argument became a subject instead.

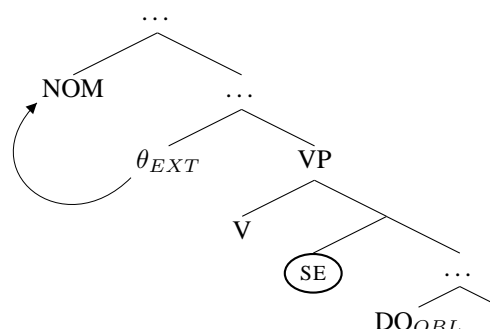
In other words, this work suggests to treat the reflexive clitics and antipassive morphemes as the same kind of animals. Nicely, the antipassive morphemes are syncretic with reflexives in many languages (discussed in details in chapter 10). The syncretism is captured by the parallel derivation of antipassives and reflexives in this work.

I claim that the derivations of all the constructions with the reflexive clitics are essentially the same (and are very close to the derivation of antipassives). But what are the differences between the true reflexives (1) and (6) on the one hand and anticausatives (2) and (7) on the other, for instance? I claim that the difference between the true reflexives and anticausatives boils down to the path taken by the internal argument. On its way to the NOM position, the argument ‘swallowed’ the external θ -role – and thus, the true reflexives are derived (10). If the external θ -role is not present in the derivation, we end up with an anticausative (12). Obviously, the θ -roles, are seen as features that can be accumulated by an argument in the process of the derivation.

(12) anticausative



(13) inherently reflexive



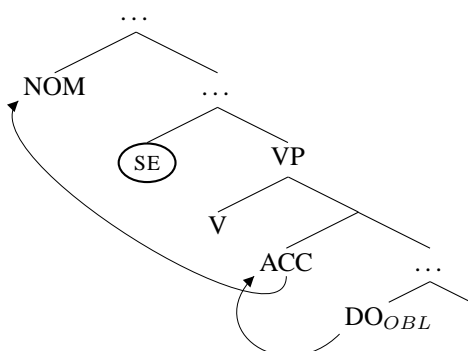
To sum up, this thesis suggests a way to see the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE as a natural class. In particular, I argue that the reflexive clitic essentially blocks the argument inside the VP from becoming a full (=ACC) direct object. As a consequence, that argument either raises to become an external argument (deriving true reflexives), or it ‘stays’ in an oblique case and another argument becomes an external argument, as for instance in the derivation of inherently reflexive verbs shown in (13). Notice that the derivation I propose for the antipassive constructions is essentially the same (11).

Impersonals and middles, on the other hand, have a slightly different derivation. The reflexive clitic SE in impersonals and middles is understood as a subject, simply put as ‘unspecified group of people’ for impersonals and ‘people in general’ for the middles.

As many researchers before me, I believe that the role of the reflexive clitic SE is slightly different in the impersonals (and middles), as opposed to the constructions in (1) to (4) (and (6) to (8)) discussed so far. For one thing, they show different syntactic behavior from the other constructions with the reflexive clitic SE: impersonals and middles are excluded from non-finite contexts (chapter 2). Second, the impersonals and middles of the Slavic or Romance type do not seem to exist in languages with morphologically marked antipassives².

For the derivation of impersonals and middles, then, there are two parts – the constant (*all* constructions with the reflexive clitic SE are derived by movement from the internal argument's position³) and the variable. The variable in the case of impersonals and middles is the position of the reflexive clitic SE in the derivation: in impersonals and middles, the reflexive clitic SE 'lives' in the region of the external arguments (schematized in (14)) – while it 'lives' in the region of the direct objects in all the other constructions.

(14) impersonals & middles



Should the reader get frustrated with my – apparent – frivolous use of metaphors as ‘the morpheme lives’, ‘an argument becomes NOM’ and ‘direct object / external argument region’, it was not meant to be. These phrases will get a very precise content as we proceed, in particular in Part IV, where the Peeling Theory of Case (Starke (2005), Starke (2006), Caha (2006), Caha (2007b), Caha (2007a)) is introduced. Like θ -roles (in a particular view, most notably starting with Hornstein (1999)), Case – under the Peeling Theory of Case – is seen as a feature and what Case the particular argument ends up bearing depends on the course of the derivation. Contrary to the θ -roles which

²A potential exception might be Basque, as discussed in section 8.2.2. Still, to the best of my knowledge, Basque does not have a dedicated antipassive morpheme.

³With the exception of the [-arg] SE in Cinque’s (1988) terms, about which I have very little to say and I say it in section 11.1.2.

are ‘accumulated’ in the course of the derivation, Case is being ‘lost’ in the derivation, leaving behind pieces of the structure – Peels.

In Part IV, then, the core of the thesis lies: I propose a concrete derivation (along the lines outlined above) within the Peeling Theory of Case.

The structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into four relatively independent parts. Part I is dedicated to the properties the reflexive clitic SE has in the constructions involving it. Part II goes through the various approaches proposed to derive true reflexive constructions in the literature so far. Part III is an elaboration of the approach that is followed in this work – and that is proclaimed to be the ‘right one’: the movement derivation of reflexives. Following Kayne (1986) and Alboiu *et al.* (2004) in particular, I argue that seeing reflexives (and all the constructions involving the reflexive clitic SE) as derived by movement gives the tool to unify all the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE in a comprehensive way. Such a way is finally suggested in Part IV, using the Peeling Theory of Case introduced by Starke and developed by Caha.

Part I consists of two chapters. In **chapter 1** I give examples and short descriptions of the individual constructions with the reflexive clitic SE. **Chapter 2** gives an overview of three topics: first, the form of the reflexive clitics (as they just ‘look like’ object clitics), their distribution and, finally, I show that the impersonal constructions are incompatible with the non-finite contexts. This, then, constitutes a major argument for a different treatment of the impersonal and middle constructions, as arrived at in chapter 11.

Part II is a rather comprehensive overview of the approaches to derive the true reflexive constructions as proposed in the generative literature so far (to the best of my knowledge). There are three main streams; to each one of them I dedicate a chapter. Starting with the approaches that see the reflexive clitic SE as an operator in Argument Structure (**chapter 3**), I show that the main problem for this approach is the notorious ECM – essentially, the true reflexive constructions are able to ‘bridge’ two predicates which, consequently, would have to be put together already in the lexicon (or at the argument structure level), which is certainly undesirable. Seeing the reflexive clitic SE as a direct object clitic – or as a clitic somehow connected to the direct object position – is another option, discussed here in **chapter 4**. While seeing the reflexive clitic SE as an object clitic is very tempting (‘the reflexive clitics just look like object clitics’), these approaches actually predict that the constructions with the reflexive clitics should be transitive – but they clearly are not transitive, they are intransitive. Finally, I briefly

introduce the movement analysis of reflexives in **chapter 5**– the idea is that the argument in NOM case in the constructions with the reflexive clitics starts out as a direct object and the reflexive clitic itself is somehow linked to the external argument.

Since this approach to reflexivization is taken up in this thesis, I dedicate the following part – *Part III* – to the reflexivization by movement. In particular, I discuss two instantiations of the movement approach: Kayne (1986) and Alboiu *et al.* (2004). Their descriptions and comparison is to be found in **chapter 6**, as well as a short description of the essentials the analysis proposed here shares with Kayne’s and Alboiu *et al.*’s. The following chapter – **chapter 7** – compares these two approaches with respect to the predictions they make with respect to one specific empirical fact. The fact at hand is the impossibility to have impersonal sentences like (9) with 1st and 2nd persons in Romance languages.

Part IV is the core of the thesis. On the one hand, it introduces the framework – the Peeling Theory of Case, on the other it brings in the data beyond the rather well-known Slavic and Romance facts. **Chapter 8** is built around a rather simple observation – an asymmetry between the direct objects and indirect objects with respect to impersonals. So, in Slavic and Romance, if the reflexive clitic is linked to the direct object, either a reflexive or an impersonal construction can be derived⁴, as shown in (15-a). However, if the reflexive clitic is linked to the indirect object, there is no ambiguity at all: the resulting construction is only reflexive, never impersonal. This is shown in (15-b).

- (15) a. Martin se holí.
 Martin_{NOM.M} SE_{ACC} shave_{3.SG.PRES}
 REFL: ‘Martin shaves himself.’
 IMP: ‘Somebody shaves Martin.’
 b. Martin si čte.
 Martin_{NOM.M} SE_{DAT} read_{3.SG.PRES}
 REFL: ‘Martin reads for himself.’
 *IMP: *Intended*: ‘Somebody reads for Martin.’

(Czech)

A parallel fact is found in languages with antipassives as well: antipassives are only derived from direct objects, but not from indirect objects. Curiously, however, applying the antipassive morphology to the indirect object leads to reflexive reading: the indirect object is necessarily coreferential with the subject (and it cannot be expressed by a pronoun/full DP). This is shown for a number of unrelated languages (Basque, Chukchi,

⁴The impersonal reading requires a strong context (and word order effects seem to play a role, see discussion in chapter 7); regardless, no context would help to receive the impersonal reading in (15-b).

Georgian, Gorum, Halkomelem and Diyari).

I take these two facts to be essentially the same fact: reflexivization and antipassivization are seen as basically identical derivations. This, in turn, is possible because of the Peeling Theory of Case, its Restricted version (section 8.1), to be more precise. As this framework is rather innovative, I discuss the beneficial consequences of the Peeling Theory of Case in **chapter 9**. The most important of the consequences is the DAT intervention effects in the reflexive constructions derived from the direct objects. The intervention effects are visible both in monoclausal and complex structures and follow rather straightforwardly from the derivation I propose.

Chapter 10 argues for the parallel derivation of reflexives and antipassives. I start by showing the syncretism between the reflexive and antipassive morphemes in certain languages (Pama-Nyungan for instance) and proceed to discuss the life of direct objects in the Peeling Theory of Case world view. Combining these two points, then, leads to a derivation of reflexives and antipassives in parallel. Succinctly, the derivation of a reflexive extends an antipassive derivation by raising the oblique internal argument to the external argument position, and subsequently to NOM. Anticausatives, finally, are derived exactly as reflexives, minus the step through the external argument position.

Finally, **chapter 11** deals with impersonals and middles. I argue that in these constructions, the reflexive clitic SE ‘lives’ in the external argument region. I briefly discuss the adverbial modification needed for middles in Czech. Following Caha and Medová (to appear), I take adverbs as bearers of Case. Following Medová (2008), I show that the adverbial modification in the middle must be higher in the structure than other adverbial modifications, like manner adverbs in reflexives. The chapter concludes in an observation: the shift from ergative absolutive (E/A) system to nominative accusative (N/A) system allows the morpheme that creates antipassives and reflexives in E/A language to create impersonal/passive. Lardil (Pama-Nyungan) is the language in question.

Remarks on the Formal Issues

The vast majority of Czech examples are based on the author’s native judgments; and in relevant cases, other native speakers’ judgments were provided. In some cases, I use data found on *Google* and data drawn from the Czech National Corpus, syn2005 in particular (<http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz/english/index.html>).

The Italian data are provided by Tarald Taraldsen and checked with native speakers, notably Arne and Ole Taraldsen.

I use SE to refer to all instances of the reflexive clitics in Romance and Slavic when the discussion is general and also in the glosses.

Glosses to the examples are systematic: if the morpheme is clearly separate, it is shown like this *root-morph* and the gloss is ROOT-MORPH. If the separation is not possible (or irrelevant for the discussion), then the example is *rootmorph* and the gloss marks the whole as *rootmorph*_{DESCRIPTION}.

The pointers to the cited literature should be systematic as well. In a citation like (Yidij, Dixon (1977):274(420)), the number after the ‘:’ refers to the page number, the number in ‘()’ is the number of the example. If only one plain number follows the colon, it is the page number. A number in brackets indicates the original example number.

Part I

Properties of SE

Slavic and Romance languages are notorious for the wide range of constructions that involve the so called reflexive clitic SE. In the canonical reflexive use, the clitic SE might be thought of as an element identifying the agent with the patient, as the examples in (16) and (17) (or the English gloss, for that matter) show.

- (16) Karel se holí.
Karel_{NOM.SG} SE shave_{3.SG.PRES}
'Karel shaves himself.'

(Czech)

- (17) Carlo si rade.
Carlo_{NOM.SG} SE shave_{3.SG.PRES}
'Carlo shaves himself.'

(Italian)

At the same time, not all of the uses of SE can be easily said to be reflexive (in the sense that the agent affects himself): in (18) and (19) (an example of impersonal/passive use of SE), there even is not an (overt) object to be identified with the agent.

- (18) Zpívalo se.
sing_{3.SG.N} SE
'People sang. / There was some singing
going on.'

(Czech)

- (19) Si cantava.
SE sing_{3.SG.IMPERF.PAST}
'People sang. / There was some singing
going on.'

(Italian)

Such a situation then constitutes a long standing puzzle: why should a reflexive clitic appear in a wide range of constructions (I briefly introduce them in the first chapter one by one) that just are not reflexive? The first question thus is: why do the constructions below use the reflexive clitic? Why not another morpheme? What is it about SE? The complementary question is then why should it be exactly those constructions – and not others? Do the constructions with SE form a natural class?

The ultimate goal of this work is to look at all the instances of the uses of the reflexive clitic SE and to present a unified analysis of all the uses of SE. Given the nature of the enterprise, this is, of course, not a first (or last, for that matter) attempt to unify the uses of the reflexive clitic SE. To mention just a few, for Romance one should start with Burzio (1986), Kayne (1986), Cinque (1988), Manzini (1986) and move to D'Alessandro (2004), Kallulli (2006), Folli (2001) and Alboiu *et al.* (2004). For Slavic, the first work in transformational grammar is certainly Babby's (1975) article unifying the uses of the Russian *sja*. Further work is Israeli (1992) (concentrated on Russian), Rivero and Sheppard (2003), Fried (2004), Grahek (2006) and Marelj (2004). Particularly for Czech, there is Panevová (1999) and Oliva (2001).

The first part of this work is, naturally, descriptive: I define the constructions formed by the reflexive clitics (in chapter 1) and then I turn to the characteristics of the morpheme SE that follow from its clitic character. In particular, I point out inconsistencies

that the reflexive clitics show with respect to the ‘well behaved’ other (non reflexive) clitics; this is summarized in chapter 2.

The first chapter falls into two parts: the first discusses the well-known instances of the use of reflexive clitics – the second the uses of the reflexive clitic SE not commonly discussed in the literature. The well known uses of the reflexive clitics (section 1.1) are, incidentally, common to both Romance and Slavic. The second part (section 1.2), then, discusses the uses that seem to be limited to Slavic languages.

The second chapter is dedicated to the clitic nature of SE in four points. First, I compare the form of the reflexive clitics with the form of other, non-reflexive clitics both in Romance and Slavic (section 2.1) and then the distribution of the reflexive clitics – both in the clitic clusters and the position of the reflexive clitics within the clitic clusters (section 2.2). The third part is dedicated to certain asymmetries found in non-finite contexts in section 2.3. That is, while some of the uses of the reflexive clitics survive in non-finite contexts (i.e., infinitives, nominalizations), others (namely impersonals) cannot appear in non-finite contexts. Based on these formal properties of the reflexive clitics, I form a preliminary generalization (section 2.4), a subject to modification in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 1

The Range of SE Constructions

Both Slavic and Romance languages use reflexive clitics in a variety of constructions. The goal of this chapter is to characterize these constructions, in particular with respect to the syntactic requirements posed to the reflexive clitic.

Before we start, notice that certain Slavic languages have two different reflexive clitics: ACC SE and DAT SI. Czech is such a language, as well as Croatian (but not Serbian), Bulgarian and Slovenian. Romance languages, on the other hand, have only one form of a reflexive clitic.

However, the DAT reflexive clitic shows rather severe limitations compared to the range of contexts in which the ACC reflexive clitic SE can appear. The DAT reflexive clitic can be reflexive, reciprocal, (in a few cases) inherently reflexive and applicative (the canonical use of the DAT reflexive clitic) – but no more. In other words, it cannot create anticausatives, impersonals/passives and middles. I offer a solution to this puzzle in chapter 8.

1.1 The well-known uses of SE in Romance and Slavic

Starting with the core uses of reflexive clitics in both Romance and Slavic languages, the first one is of course the one where the reflexive clitic marks reflexivity in the usual sense, i.e. the external argument's reference is identified with that of an internal argument (section 1.1.1). The same reflexive clitic, however, can appear in a construction where the reading is reciprocal, as shown in section 1.1.2. In the use of the reflexive clitic called Inherently Reflexive (and discussed in section 1.1.3) the SE is obligatorily present with all the forms of the verb (contrary to true reflexives or reciprocals). So far so good: the reflexive clitic SE can be reflexive or reciprocal or it just – should we say – fossilized into a particle from its original reflexive use giving inherently reflexive

verbs. In a similar vein, one could say that applicatives 1.1.4 are to be understood as true reflexives.

Next, however, we come to the constructions that use reflexive clitics, but it is rather difficult to detect a reflexive meaning in them: anticausatives (section 1.1.5), impersonal / passives (section 1.1.6) and middle (section 1.1.7). For each of the uses of the reflexive clitic, examples from (at least) Italian and Czech are shown.

We start the discussion of the constructions with the reflexive clitics by looking at the true reflexive constructions.

1.1.1 Reflexive

The reflexive use is taken to be the prototypical use of the reflexive clitic. Traditionally, the reflexive is taken to identify the agent (or, more generally, the external argument) with one of the verb's internal arguments; direct object (1) and (2) as well as indirect object (3)¹ and (4). The (a) examples show the appropriate non-reflexive form.

- (1) a. Luigi ti lava.
 Luigi_{NOM} you_{ACC} wash_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Luigi washes you.’
 b. Luigi si lava.
 Luigi_{NOM} SE wash_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Luigi washes (himself).’

(Italian)

- (2) a. Jan tě myje.
 Jan_{NOM} you_{ACC} wash_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Jan washes you.’
 b. Jan se myje.
 Jan_{NOM} SE_{ACC} wash_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Jan washes (himself).’

(Czech)

- (3) a. Gianni ci parla.
 Gianni_{NOM} us_{DAT} talk_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Gianni talks to us.’
 b. Ci parliamo ogni Sabato.
 us_{DAT} talk_{1.PL.PRES} every Saturday
 ‘We talk to each other every Saturday.’

¹This example has a reciprocal reading rather than pure reflexive. I could not find a proper reflexive reading of a verb that takes DAT object.

(Italian)

- (4) a. Jan mi pomáhá.
 Jan_{NOM} me_{DAT} help_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Jan helps me.’
- b. Jan si pomáhá.
 Jan_{NOM} SE_{DAT} help_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Jan helps himself.’

(Czech)

Notably, Czech has a special DAT form SI of the reflexive clitic (4-b), as opposed to ACC-form SE in (2-b). Italian, on the other hand, has just one form of the reflexive clitic: SI. This form is used both for the direct object and indirect object.

The contrast between (3-b) and (1-b) reveals that Italian (and Romance languages in general) has reflexive clitics alternating with respect to the person of the subject. So, because the subject is 3rd person in (1-b), the form of the reflexive clitic is SI, for the 1st person plural in (3-b) it is *ci*. Slavic languages, on the other hand, have the same form of the reflexive clitic for all persons. Detailed discussion follows in chapter 2 (section 2.1 in particular) and further in chapter 7.

The constructions with the reflexive clitics (that give arise to the true reflexive constructions) are parallel to constructions with the full reflexive pronouns both in Italian (5) and in Czech, both for the ACC and DAT objects (6).

- (5) Luigi lava se stesso.
 Luigi_{NOM} wash_{3.SG.PRES} himself
 ‘Luigi washes himself.’

(Italian)

- (6) a. Jan myje sám sebe.
 Jan_{NOM} washed_{3.SG.PRES} alone_{NOM} himself_{ACC}
 ‘Jan washes HIMSELF.’
- b. Jan pomáhá sám sobě.
 Jan_{NOM} help_{3.SG.PRES} alone_{NOM} himself_{DAT}
 ‘Jan helps HIMSELF.’

(Czech)

While the reflexive clitics (as all the Czech clitics) have to follow the first stressed constituent in the clause (for Czech Comrie and Corbett (2002):494 for instance), the full reflexive pronouns stand in the position full (DAT or ACC) objects would. Similarly

for Italian. I discuss the position of the clitics in the following chapter.

On the other hand, I will not discuss the use of the full reflexive pronouns. I limit my discussion to the remark that in Czech, a use of the full reflexive pronoun gives rise to a more emphasized reading, as meant to be indicated by capital letters in the examples (6).

1.1.2 Reciprocal

The reciprocal use of SE (7) and (8) appears essentially the same as the reflexive use, provided the antecedent of the clitic is a plural DP.

Languages that have two different reflexive clitics, like Czech, have a reciprocal use of both ACC reflexive clitic (8-a) and DAT reflexive clitic (8-b). Should we think that a language that does not have an appropriate form of a reflexive clitic (cf. Italian) cannot use the clitic in a DAT context, we are wrong. The Italian example (7-b) shows that the reflexive clitic *SI* can be used for DAT reciprocal as well.

- (7) a. Maria e Luigi si sono incontrati.
 [Maria and Luigi]_{NOM} SE *be*_{3.PL.PRES} met_{PL}
 ‘Maria and Luigi have met each other.’
 b. Maria e Luigi si sono aiutati.
 [Maria and Luigi]_{NOM} SE_{DAT} *be*_{3.PL.PRES} help_{PL}
 ‘Maria and Luigi have helped each other.’

(Italian)

- (8) a. Jan a Marie se nenáviděj.
 [Jan and Marie]_{NOM} SE_{ACC} hate_{3.PL.PRES}
 ‘Jan and Marie hate each other.’
 b. Jan a Marie si to vysvětlují.
 [Jan and Marie]_{NOM} SE_{DAT} it_{ACC} explain_{3.PL.PRES}
 ‘Jan and Marie explain it to each other.’

(Czech)

Even though this thesis attempts to unify and explain the uses of reflexive clitics in Romance and Slavic in different constructions, I nevertheless remain agnostic to the differences between (true) reflexive and reciprocal readings. I will assume that the reciprocal reading is to be subsumed under the reflexive, running the risk of oversimplifying the matter. (Some further comments on the restrictions on the reciprocal readings are made in section 2.1.)

1.1.3 Inherently reflexive

The examples of so-called inherently reflexive SE (known also as *reflexivum tantum*) are shown in (9) for Italian and for Czech in (10). These constructions are perhaps close to the SE seen with true reflexives². The crucial difference is that in the case of inherently reflexive verb, there is no corresponding transitive form, as shown for each verb in (9) and (10) in the corresponding (b) example.

- (9) a. Luigi si siede.
 Luigi SE sit_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Luigi sits down.’
 b. *Gianni siede Luigi.
 Gianni_{NOM} sit_{3.SG.PRES} Luigi_{ACC}
 Intended: ‘Gianni seats Luigi down.’

(Italian)

- (10) a. Jan se bojí tmy.
 Jan_{NOM} SE fear_{3.SG.PRES} darkness_{GEN}
 ‘Jan is scared of darkness.’
 b. *Karel bojí Jana.
 Karel_{NOM} fear_{3.SG.PRES} Jan_{GEN}
 Intended: ‘Karel scares Jan.’

(Czech)

Not only cannot the SE be replaced by an ACC object, there is more to it. Notice one important property of the inherently reflexive verbs with the reflexive clitic SE: the

²To be more precise, inherently reflexive verbs split into two categories: inherently reflexive verbs that ‘look like’ true reflexives on one hand and inherently reflexive verbs that ‘look like’ anticausatives on the other. Certain inherently reflexive verbs can appear only with a [+HUM] external argument (a property that I attribute to true reflexives in chapter 6), other, typically with an inanimate argument (a property of anticausatives).

- (i) a. Karel / (*den) se chlubí / směje / ptá / dívá.
 Karel_{NOM} / day_{NOM} SE boast / laugh / ask / look_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Karel (*a day) boasts / laughs / asks / looks at sg.’
 b. Den / (*Karel) se šepčí.
 day_{NOM} / Karel_{NOM} SE dusk_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘The day is getting darker.’

(Czech)

Both types, however, share the property of not having a transitive counterpart, contrasting thus crucially with the ‘true’ reflexives and anticausatives, as discussed in the text.

additional argument (cf. *tmy* ‘darkness’ in (10-a) does not appear in ACC case, but in GEN or other oblique case for other verbs. This might suggest that the reflexive clitic has to have something to do with the assignment of the ACC case, or, more generally, with objecthood.

Inherently reflexive verbs exist (in a few cases) also with the DAT reflexive clitic *SI_{DAT}* in Czech (11). In parallel to the inherently reflexive verbs with the ACC reflexive clitics, the corresponding verb with a full DAT argument is absent, as shown in (12).

- (11) a. Jan si toho všímá.
 Jan_{NOM} SE_{DAT} this_{GEN} notice_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Jan notices this.’
 b. Karel si svou chybu uvědomuje.
 Karel_{NOM} SE_{DAT} self mistake_{ACC} realize_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Karel realizes his mistake.’
 (Czech)
- (12) a. *Karel Janovi toho všímá.
 Karel_{NOM} Jan_{DAT} this_{GEN} notice_{3.SG.PRES}
 Intended: ‘Karel makes Jan notice it.’
 b. *Karel Petrovi svou chybu uvědomuje.
 Karel_{NOM} Petr_{DAT} self mistake_{ACC} realize_{3.SG.PRES}
 Intended: ‘Karel makes Petr realize his mistake.’
 (Czech)

Still in parallel to the impossibility of inherently reflexive verbs with the reflexive clitic *SE* to have another ACC argument, the inherently reflexive verbs with the reflexive clitic *SI_{DAT}* cannot have another argument in DAT. Again, I take this gap to suggest that the reflexive DAT clitic has to be crucially involved in DAT case assignment. Discussion follows in chapters 7 and 8. Finally, I propose a derivation for inherently reflexive verbs in section 10.4.3.3.

1.1.4 Applicative

The applicative *SE* exemplified in (13-a) for Italian would appear to be a reflexive counterpart to the equally *applicative* construction with non-reflexive clitics (13-b). That is to say that the applicative argument (bene- or malefactive) is introduced by mechanisms not specific to *SE*, which in this case should simply be subsumed under the analysis of the regular DAT reflexive *SE*.

- (13) a. Maria si è mangiata il panino
 Maria_{NOM} SE be_{3.SG.PRES} eaten_{Fsg} the sandwich_{ACC}
 Maria has eaten the sandwich
- b. Maria mi ha rovinato la cena.
 Maria_{NOM} me_{DAT} have_{3.SG.PRES} destroyed the dinner
 ‘Maria has wrecked my dinner.’

(Italian)

The reflexive clitic can appear with a clearly intransitive verb (14), as observed for impersonal SE.

- (14) a. Ti si tam žili jako bohové.
 they SE_{DAT} there lived_{3.PL} as god_{NOM.PL}
 ‘They lived there (happily) as gods.’

(Czech, Šmilauer (1969):222)

It was suggested that this kind of DAT reflexive clitic might have already become a (speaker oriented) adverbial (Rezac (2005)). Alternatively, such a use of a reflexive clitic can be seen as an instance of a High Applicative, in the sense of Pylkkänen (2002). Even though I will not discuss these construction in particular, the discussion lead in chapters 6 and 8 is relevant.

The next three constructions with the reflexive clitics (anticausative, middle and impersonal) are those uses I have been alluding to so far: in these constructions, it is difficult to pinpoint what exactly should a *reflexive* clitic do in them. We start with anticausatives.

1.1.5 Anticausative

The anticausative use of SE enables an intransitive use of a verb that would otherwise be transitive. Thus, (15-a) and (16-a) seems related to the transitive construction in (15-b) and (16-b), respectively.

- (15) a. Il vetro si rompe.
 the glass SE break_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘The glass breaks.’
- b. Giovanni rompe il vetro.
 Giovanni_{NOM} break_{3.SG.PRES} the glass
 ‘Giovanni breaks the glass.’

(Italian)

- (16) a. Sklenice se rozbila.
 glass_{NOM} SE break_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘The glass broke.’
 b. Jan rozbil sklenici.
 Jan_{NOM} break_{3.SG.M} glass_{ACC}
 ‘Jan broke the glass.’

(Czech)

Given the transitive / anticausative alternations, it is rather natural to think about the reflexive clitic as being the object clitic that is assigned ACC case (as was *il vetro* and *sklenice* in (15-b) and (16-b) respectively). It is doubly nice because the reflexive clitic just looks like an object clitic, both for Romance and Slavic (discussion follows in chapter 2, specifically section 2.1). For Slavic (and Romanian), moreover, there is the contrast between ACC-marked reflexive clitic SE and the DAT-marked reflexive clitic SI. So, SE in (15-a) and (16-a) is assigned ACC case and the only case remaining for the full DP *il vetro* / *sklenice* is NOM. Perfect. We get a transitive construction. What’s the big deal with this thesis?

This: notice that the anticausative (and reflexive and reciprocal and all the other uses of SE we will see) use of the reflexive clitic SE creates an *intransitive* predicate. That is, even though it *looks* like the reflexive clitic does exactly the same thing any other (non-reflexive) clitic (‘eating up ACC case’, say), it just cannot be so – I discuss this in very details in chapter 4, sections 4.3 and 4.4. For now, there is a simple set of examples showing the point: secondary depictives in Czech. (17-a) has the secondary depictive dependent on the 2nd person clitic *tě* and the depictive is in ACC case. However, with the reflexive clitic SE, the depictive cannot appear in ACC (17-b), instead, only NOM is available for the depictive. But how is this possible if the reflexive clitic is exactly like the non-reflexive clitic *tě*, only it has another property, namely being anaphoric? I take it to suggest that the reflexive clitic is only *almost* like the other non-reflexive clitics. In particular, it is different in not being able to ‘transmit’ the ACC case to the depictive, speaking rather informally. From that perspective, then, the reflexive constructions appear to behave like intransitive constructions: instead of two arguments that transitive predicates have (17-a), for instance, we seem to be dealing with a single argument (and SE) in reflexives, as in (17-b). The contrast in between the examples in (17) is what I have in mind talking about reflexive constructions being intransitive, for the rest of this first, introductory part of this thesis. As mentioned above, proper discussion follows in chapter 4³.

³The reader either takes my word for it, or goes forward to the sections 4.3 and 4.4 to check that it is true also for other SE constructions, not only reflexives. Moreover, there is a further asymmetry: the

- (17) a. Umývám tě_i [cel-ou vesel-ou].
 wash_{1.SG} you_{ACC} whole happy_{ACC.F}
 ‘I wash you_i all happy_i.’
 b. Umývám se_i *[cel-ou vesel-ou] / [cel-á vesel-á].
 wash_{1.SG} SE_{ACC} whole happy_{ACC.F} / whole happy_{NOM.F}
 ‘I wash myself all happy.’

(Czech)

So, however simple and elegant life would be with this analysis, it just cannot be.

Moreover, notice that the examples of anticausative SE in (15) and (16) disqualify (or seriously weaken) the possibility to identify the morpheme SE with a necessarily [+HUM] interpretation (as suggested for instance in Alboiu *et al.* (2004), see discussion in section 6.5).

Next to anticausatives, there is impersonal or passive use of the reflexive clitic SE. It requires a rather elaborate discussion, even at this rather informal and preliminary stage.

1.1.6 Impersonal / passive

From the discussion of true reflexives (and reciprocals), inherently reflexive verbs and anticausatives it follows that the reflexive clitic SE has something in common with object clitics: it takes a transitive verb and turns it into intransitive. However, in impersonal / passive construction the SE seems to correspond to an indefinite / generic subject, somewhat like the English *one*, the German *man* or the French *on*. And just like those, SE must have a human referent. It is shown in (18-a) and (19-a). The (b) examples show a transitive counterpart.

- (18) a. Si vendono delle auto.
 SE sell_{3.PL.PRES} some car_{NOM.PL}
 ‘People sell some cars.’
 b. I miei amici vendono delle auto.
 the my friends_{NOM} sell_{3.PL.PRES} some car_{NOM.PL}
 ‘My friends sell some cars.’

(Italian)

- (19) a. Tam se ted’ prodávaj auta.
 there SE now sell_{3.PL} cars_{NOM.PL}

predicate is *unergative* in true reflexives, but it is *unaccusative* in anticausatives (as noted in literature, notably Reinhart and Siloni (2004)). The difference will be discussed in subsequent chapters, notably in section 6.2.

- ‘Nowdays, cars are sold there.’
 b. Tam ted’ moji známí prodávaj auta.
 there now my friends_{NOM.PL} sell_{3.PL} cars_{ACC}
 ‘Nowdays, my friends sell cars there.’

(Czech)

But this requirement is syntactic, as pointed out repeatedly in the literature, cf. D’Alessandro (2004), for instance. Saying (20) or (21) (either in Italian or Czech) I say that some unspecified group of people was barking all day. No dogs.

- (20) Qui si abbaia tutto il giorno.
 here SE bark_{3.SG.IMP} all the day
 ‘Here people bark all day long.’

(Italian, D’Alessandro (2004):45(75))

- (21) Štěkalo se celej den.
 bark_{N.SG} SE all day_{ACC}
 ‘Somebody human was barking all day.’

(Czech)

In this context, consider also the fact that impersonals (or SE-passives) cannot ever appear with an (agentive) *by*-phrase: it is true of Czech (22), Serbo-Croatian (Željko Boškovič, p.c.), Italian, French (23).

- (22) Košile se sušej na šňůře (*každou pořádnou hospodyní / *od každé
 shirts SE dry_{3.PL} on line every proper housewife_{INS} / from every
 pořádné hospodyně).
 proper housewife_{GEN}
 ‘The shirts dry on a line (*by every proper housewife).’

(Czech)

- (23) Ce poème s’est lu hier pendant la fête (*par Marie).
 this poem SE.has read yesterday during the party (*by Marie)
 ‘The poem was read during the party yesterday.’

(French, Dobrovie-Sorin (2005):27)

True reflexives (and reciprocals) and anticausatives are possible only with transitive verbs, as SE seems to correspond (impresionistically speaking) to the direct or indi-

rect object. But with the impersonals, the reflexive clitic SE seems to correspond to a (human) subject: if so, we expect it to be possible not only with transitive verbs, but also with intransitives. This is correct. But let us start the discussion by looking at the impersonals with transitive verbs primarily for expository reasons.

1.1.6.1 Impersonal SE with transitive verbs

Let us contemplate the case marking patterns in the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE. So far, we looked at constructions derived from transitive verbs, as anticausative construction repeated below (24-a). While the corresponding transitive construction has the direct object in ACC case, (24-b) (this is by no means surprising), in the anticausative the original direct object appears in NOM case. Notably, the (original) direct object cannot appear in ACC in an anticausative, shown in (24-c).

- (24) a. Sklenice se rozbila.
 glass_{NOM} SE break_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘The glass broke.’
 b. Jan rozbil sklenici.
 Jan_{NOM} break_{3.SG.M} glass_{ACC}
 ‘Jan broke the glass.’
 c. *Sklenici se rozbila.
 glass_{ACC} SE break_{3.SG.PRES}
 Intended: ‘The glass broke.’

(Czech)

From the case marking patterns, the impersonal constructions in Italian (and a few other Romance and Slavic languages) have both options, so to speak. The impersonal can either retain the ACC case marking on the original direct object, as shown in (25), or it behaves like an anticausatives and the original direct appears with NOM case and triggers agreement on the finite verb, as shown in (26). The double possibility of case marking pattern with the impersonals singles out the impersonals from the other constructions with the reflexive clitic SE: no other construction with the reflexive clitic has such an option, all the other show the NOM case on the original direct object (of a transitive verb it has been derived from).

- (25) a. Qui, si mangia spesso spaghetti.
 here, SE eat_{3.SG.PRES} often spaghetti_{ACC}
 ‘People often eat spaghetti here.’
 b. Qui, li si mangia spesso.
 here, them_{ACC} SE eat_{3.SG.PRES}

‘People often eat them here.’

(Italian, Cinque (1988):(72a,b))

- (26) Qui, si mangiano spesso gli spaghetti.
 here SE eat_{3.PL.PRES} often the spaghetti_{NOM}
 ‘People often eat spaghetti here.’

(Italian, Cinque (1988):(73b))

This double option for the original direct object of the transitive verb combined with the impersonal SE gives rise to variation among languages. So, Slovene (and certain dialects of Serbian) behaves exactly as Italian in that respect. The finite verb agrees with the NOM *voda* (27-a), or the DP has ACC case and the finite verb does not agree with it (it has the non-agreeing 3.SG.N form) (27-b).⁴

- (27) a. Pila se je voda.
 drunk_{3.SG.F} SE be_{3.SG.PRES} water_{NOM.F}
 ‘Water was drunk.’
 b. Pilo se je vodo.
 drunk_{3.SG.F} SE be_{3.SG.PRES} water_{ACC.F}
 ‘People drunk water.’

(Slovene, Rivero and Sheppard (2003)(85a,c))

On the other hand, each Czech (and Bulgarian and Croatian) and Polish show only one pattern; interestingly, however, in Czech the original direct object of the transitive verb behaves always the same way with respect to the case marking on the original direct object – with anticausatives, reflexives and impersonals: the direct object has NOM case and the verb has to agree with it (28).

- (28) a. V Itálii se jedí těstoviny.
 in Italy SE eat_{3.PL} pasta_{NOM.PL}
 ‘In Italy, people eat pasta.’
 b. *V Itálii se jí těstoviny.
 in Italy SE eat_{3.SG} pasta_{ACC.PL}
Intended ‘In Italy, people eat pasta.’

(Czech)

⁴While in Italian the agreeing / non-agreeing options are not absolutely parallel (cf. Cinque (1988) and D’Alessandro (2004) in particular), the two impersonal constructions in Slovene seem to be absolutely correspondent (Lanko Marušić, Rok Žaucer and Peter Jurgec, p.c.).

In Polish, on the other hand, the original direct object of the transitive verb keeps its ACC case (as it did in the transitive construction in (29-b)) and the verb thus does not agree with it (29-a). The NOM version is ungrammatical (29-c).

- (29) a. Te książkę czytało się z przyjemnością.
 this book_{ACC.F} read_{3.SG.N} SE with pleasure
 ‘People read this book with pleasure.’
 b. Maria czytała te książkę.
 Maria_{NOM} read_{3.SG.F} this book_{ACC}
 ‘Maria read this book.’
 c. *Ta książka czytała się z przyjemnością.
 this book_{NOM.F} read_{3.SG.N} SE with pleasure
 Intended ‘People read this book with pleasure.’

(Polish, Rivero and Sheppard (2003)(15a))

This alternation brings in an important issue: so far one could hypothesize that the reflexive clitic makes the originally transitive structure intransitive. But now we see a structure with the reflexive clitic and a DP in ACC case ((25-b), (27-b) or (29-a)). But having ACC case is the hallmark of transitive structures. So, how to unite the structures where the reflexive clitic seems to intransitivize the structure (as with reflexives and anticausatives) on the one hand and the use of SE in impersonals, that seem to be transitive on the other? Possibly, we can say that the structures like (25-a) or (29-a) are transitive and the reflexive clitic is a NOM clitic (as, indeed, Rivero and Sheppard (2003) analyze the Slavic examples). This way, however, one loses the possibility to unify all the uses of reflexive clitic SE. But perhaps that’s the way to go anyway.

1.1.6.2 Impersonal SE with intransitive verbs

As already alluded to, the impersonals with the reflexive clitic SE are unique in yet another respect: it can combine with an intransitive verb. So far, we expect the reflexive clitic to combine with a transitive verb: that is what we have seen so far and it is expected by taking the approach suggested above: SE is a direct object clitic and as such it must be assigned ACC case. But now consider the examples (30) and (31) below.

- (30) Si canta.
 SE sing_{3.SG}
 ‘People sing.’

(Italian)

- (31) Zpívalo se až do rána.
 sings_{3.SG.PAST} SE till to morning_{GEN}
 ‘People were singing till the morning.’

(Czech)

The reflexive clitic SE appears in the structure which is not originally transitive⁵. So, perhaps SE does not need ACC case after all. We know that: the Italian (25-a), Slovene (27-b) and Polish (29-a) examples show that. So, from that perspective, we expect these languages to be able to combine the SE that somehow does not need the ACC case in constructions where the ACC case would not be available in the first place: intransitives, for example. And that’s correct, as shown in Italian (30).

But what about the languages – like Czech – that do not have the option of combining the reflexive clitic SE in its impersonal use (or any other, for that matter) with a DP in ACC case? These languages should not have the impersonal construction with reflexive clitics for intransitives: and yet, they do, (31) is just one like that.

Rivero and Sheppard (2003) propose the following solution. The reflexive clitic SE in a structure (27-b) or (29-b) can be analyzed as NOM (because the ACC is assigned to the DP), in their terminology this SE is *Nominative Indefinite* and it bears NOM case. Thus one expects to find examples of the impersonal use of SE in Slovene or Polish: it would be the same NOM SE we see in (27-b) or (29-b). But what is surprising are examples of impersonal SE based on an *intransitive* verb in a language like Czech, which does not have the NOM Indefinite SE on Rivero and Sheppard’s sense. Yet, all the Slavic languages have impersonal SE even though only Slovene and Polish (and some dialects of Serbian) should, e.g. Czech (31). Rivero & Sheppard take the obvious way out: they posit two different SE’s, one that exists in syntax and semantics and another one that exists only in semantics. The Czech SE in (31) is then the latter one:

Our proposal implies that impersonal constructions with reflexive clitics and intransitive verbs that look identical in several Slavic languages have two different syntactic analyses. In Pol[ish] and Slo[vene] they contain an explicit Nom Indefinite, which is present in syntax and semantics, and in other languages [Czech, for instance (L.M.)] they contain an implicit argument that is present only in semantics.

(Rivero and Sheppard (2003):95)

⁵A sceptic might suggest that the verb *sing* and other intransitive verbs are perhaps transitive after all (along the lines of Hale and Keyser (1993)): most unergative verbs combine with cognate objects. So, we can say *We sang ‘Yellow Submarine’ for hours*. I remain agnostic at this point.

But if so, why do all the languages employ the same morpheme? Moreover such a proposal makes the prediction that a NOM Indefinite should be able to appear in a context (NOM) indefinites would. Provided that a raising context is such, the prediction is that one should be able to use the NOM Indefinite in raising constructions. However, this is excluded, as shown in (32).

- (32) *Izgleda se srećen.
 look_{3.SG} SE happy_{NOM.SG.M}
Intended: ‘One/someone looks happy.’

(Slovene, Peter Jurgec, p.c.)

Cinque (1988) makes a different prediction: in his system, the [+arg] SE feeds on the external θ -role (and NOM case), as opposed to the other (non-argumental) SE, that is seen as a kind of agreement morpheme. The [+arg] SE then is predicted to combine only with subjects of transitive verbs and subjects of unergatives in impersonal constructions. This is true for Italian, but, as Cinque acknowledges, Romanian is problematic for that story: both unergative and unaccusative verbs can have impersonal SE. Cinque suggests to consider the Romanian unaccusatives as ‘hidden’ unergatives, as the auxiliary selected by all unaccusatives in Romanian is *have* rather than *be*.

Czech is like Romanian in that all intransitive verbs combine with the impersonal SE: unergative verbs (31) and (33) as well as unaccusatives (15-b) and (34) – to the extent one can distinguish between them in Slavic in general.

- (33) a. V kanceláři se pracuje, nehrajou se hry.
 in office SE work_{3.SG.PRES} NEG-play_{3.PL.PRES} SE games_{NOM}
 ‘In office, one works, one doesn’t play games!’
 b. Včera se pařilo a nakonec i zpívalo.
 yesterday SE steam_{INF} and in the end also sing_{INF}
 ‘We had been boozing yesterday and in the end, there was even some singing.’

(Czech)

- (34) a. Nakonec se musela podřídít a jelo se do
 in the end SE must_{3.SG.PAST} subordinate_{INF} and go_{3.SG.PAST} SE into
 Liberce.
 Liberec_{INF}
 ‘In the end she had to subordinate and we went to Liberec.’

The other option predicted by Cinque's system is to take the impersonal SE with unaccusative verb (as the one in (34)) as [+arg SE]: a SE that needs external θ -role and NOM case. The contrast between (34) on one hand and (35) on the other remains unexplained as well: if the SE miraculously happen to be satisfied by the internal θ -role with the unaccusative in (34) – working on the assumption that unaccusative verbs do not have an external θ -role – why are the other contexts with internal θ -roles (35) ungrammatical?

Moreover, there are different readings of SE in impersonals, as observed in Cinque (1988) for Italian. Next to quasi-universal (generic, *people in general*) reading, there is quasi-existential, with a reading 'a group of people including the speaker', that is, *we*. Slavic impersonal SE constructions show similar range of SE-reading variation, for instance, the Czech example (31) really suggests that the group of people was rather specified⁷. However, I leave the issue for further research, modulo remarks in section 11.1.3.

1.1.7 Middle

Another construction with the reflexive clitic SE is middle (36) and (37). Following Lekakou's definition, 'on a purely descriptive level, personal middle constructions are generic sentences about the understood object. They feature an otherwise internal argument, the Patient/ Theme, in syntactic subject position. Additionally, the otherwise external argument, the Agent, is demoted to an implicit argument, in other words it is syntactically suppressed,' Lekakou (2005):10.

- (36) Queste camice si lavano facilmente.
 these shirt_{NOM.PL} SE wash_{3.PL} easily
 'These shirts wash easily.'

(Italian, Cinque (1988))

⁷In that light, consider the example in (i). In the first clause, it is clear from the context that the SE refers to one or another Communist Leader in Moscow, while in the second clause, SE must be linked to Gustav Husák and people around him.

- (i) Když se v Moskvě kýchlo, už se v Praze rozevíral deštník.
 when SE in Moscow sneezed_{N.SG} already SE in Praha start.to.open_{M.SG} umbrella_{NOM.M.SG}
 'When somebody [from the Communist Leaders] sneezed in Moscow, in Praha somebody [from Husák's group] started to open an umbrella.'

(Czech, article *Gustáv Husák* by Bohumil Pečinka, Reflex 49/2006)

- (37) Tahle košile se dobře žehlí.
 this shirt_{NOM} SE well irons_{3.SG}
 ‘It is easy to iron the shirt.’

(Czech)

Quite often, the middle is considered a subcase of the impersonal / passive SE. However, contrary to the examples of impersonals above, the Italian (36) and Czech middles (37) have to have an obligatory adverbial modifier (*well, easily*, etc.) What exactly defines a middle as distinct from an impersonal / passive other than the obligatory adverbial remain unsettled in this work (but see the discussion in section 11.2.2.)

As both Italian and Czech use the reflexive clitic for middle-formation, a plausible assumption would be to expect that all the languages with the middles based on reflexive clitics require an adverbial modification. Yet, it is not the case: French middles, apparently, do not require an adverbial modification (38), as discussed in for instance Lekakou (2006).

- (38) Cette racine se mange.
 this root SE eat_{3.SG}
 ‘This root is edible.’

(French, Fagan (1992) from Lekakou (2006)(9d))

An additional puzzling fact is that the Czech middle in (37) can have an DAT argument interpreted as the agent of the event, as shown in (39). The possibility to express an agent is rather surprising: middles are thought of as generic statements with an implicit subject⁸.

- (39) Tahle košile se mi / Karlovi dobře žehlí.
 this shirt_{NOM} SE me_{DAT} / Karel_{DAT} well irons_{3.SG}
 ‘It is easy for me / Karel to iron the shirt.’

(Czech)

⁸Cinque (1988) and Babby (to appear) characterize the middle as a pure passivizer. That means in particular that the suppressed external θ -role cannot be reassigned to any other element, thus, no *by*-phrase is possible. But the DAT argument in Slavic middles seems to be exactly that: the agent, associated with an external θ -role, as discussed further in the text. Very plausibly, such an agent is introduced as a (High) Applicative in the Pytkanen’s (2002) sense, as argued for in Szucsich (2007) and Medová (2008).

Even more surprising is the contrast with a superficially similar DAT in anticausatives. There, an animate DAT is possible, but, importantly, the reading of the DAT is not agentive. This is shown by the contrast between the examples in (40). (40-a) is a middle, as shown by the adverb *špatně*. The DAT argument is the agent of the event, in other words, *I* do the actual tearing of the skirt. (40-b), on the other hand, is minimally different from the middle in (40-a): the example only misses the adverb *špatně*. However, the DAT argument now cannot be interpreted as the agent of the event. The only reading the sentence has is the one in which *I* am the possessor of the skirt, or the person to whose detriment the skirt is torn.

- (40) a. Ta sukýnka se mi špatně trhá.
 this skirt_{NOM} SE me_{DAT} with.difficulty tear_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘It is difficult for me to tear this skirt.’
 b. Ta sukýnka se mi trhá.
 this skirt_{NOM} SE me_{DAT} tear_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘The skirt is getting torn on me.’

(Czech)

I will come back to the problem of the DAT agentive argument – as the one seen in (40-a) – in chapter 9, section 9.3 in particular. The middles in this work are – indeed – treated as constructions very close to impersonals. The relevant discussion is to be found in chapter 11.

Middles, then, also conclude the description of the well-known constructions that use the reflexive clitics in Romance and Slavic languages. In the next section, we look at the constructions that seem to be limited in use to the Slavic languages.

1.2 The lesser-known uses of SE in Slavic

The SE constructions just described in the previous section are found both in Romance languages and Slavic. However, there seem to be four more constructions that use the reflexive clitic SE in (various) Slavic languages, but these constructions do not exist in Romance. First, there is a construction in which SE ‘stands’ for an unspecified human object (and it is described by Rivero and Sheppard (2003)). Second, perhaps as an extension of the unspecified human object, the SE is interpreted as a (specific, though discourse-dependent) object. Interestingly, however, this use of SE seems limited to Russian. Thirdly, I discuss another SE construction, rather unknown in the literature (and as far as I am aware of, limited to Czech): the use of SE that I label ‘Effort’ construction. Finally, in all Slavic languages, SE appears obligatorily with certain prefixes

with (in)transitive verbs.

1.2.1 Unspecified human object

First, there is a construction called *Accusative Indefinites* by Rivero and Sheppard (2003), shown in (41) for Polish, Slovene and Czech⁹.

- (41) a. Marek się bije.
 Marek_{NOM} SE fight_{3.SG}
 ‘Marek fights (other people).’
 (Polish, Rivero and Sheppard (2003)(5a))
- b. Učiteljica, Janezek se spet poriva.
 teacher Janezek SE again push_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Teacher, Janezek is pushing (other people) again.’
 (Slovene, Rivero and Sheppard (2003)(5b))
- c. Paní učitelko, Valenta se strká!
 mrs. teacher_{VOC.F} Valenta_{NOM.SG.M} SE push_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘Teacher, Valenta is pushing (other people)!’
 (Czech)

Descriptively, the verb which is ‘reciprocal by nature’ appears with a singular subject and the object is interpreted as other people. Essentially, as the impersonal SE has to have a human agent (recall the examples in (18-a) and (19-a) on page 13), the Accusative Indefinite SE has to have a human patient. In other words, *Valenta* in (41-c) must push other people; this sentence cannot mean that he is pushing carts into a store or so. However, both episodic (*Valenta is pushing us, other kids, around right now*) and generic (*Valenta is a pusher*) readings are possible, though with the vocative *Paní učitelko* the episodic reading is more likely.

Notice that to substitute the [+HUM] SG subject of the sentences above with an inanimate subject first, worsens the constructions rather dramatically and second, the unspecified human object reading of SE disappears (42). The only readings (non of them without a glitch) are as indicated in the glosses: either truly reflexive (which requires ‘humanizing’ the wardrobe) or impersonal (which is odd without a directional modification).

⁹As pointed out by Rivero and Sheppard (2003):116 for Polish, Bulgarian and Slovene, these constructions are limited to a few verbs. It is true for Czech as well, the only verbs I can think of being used in such constructions are *strkat* ‘push’ and *prát* ‘fight’.

- (42) #Ta skříň se strká.
 the wardrobe_{NOM.SG.F} SE push_{3.SG.PRES}
 REFL ‘The wardrobe is pushing itself.’
 IMP ‘The wardrobe is being pushed around (by somebody).’

(Czech)

I take the readings of (42) to indicate that the verb *strkat* ‘push’ requires [+HUM] subject. The relevant reflexive or impersonal readings then fall out from the analysis I propose. See discussion in chapters 10 and 11.

1.2.2 Non-human object

Russian¹⁰ seem to extend the use of *sja* as a human object into other, non-human objects. So, on one hand, we have examples in which the understood direct object is

¹⁰Russian differs from the other Slavic languages: while all the Slavic languages have a reflexive clitic SE, Russian has a bound morpheme **sja** (that appears in one of the two context-dependent variants: **sja** or **s’**). The range of constructions **sja** ‘can do’ is remarkably similar in Russian and other Slavic. So, next to ‘classical’ reflexives and reciprocals (i), Russian also has anticausatives (ii-a) (and corresponding transitive predicates (ii-b)) and inherently-reflexive verbs (iii).

- | | | | |
|-------|--|------|---|
| (i) | a. Ivan bril. sja .
Ivan shave _{3.SG.M.PAST} sja
‘Ivan shaved.’
b. Oni často vstrečajut. sja .
they often meet _{3.PL.PRES} sja
‘They often meet.’ | (ii) | a. Zemlja vraščajet. sja .
earth _{NOM.F.SG} rotate _{3.SG.PRES} sja
‘The Earth rotates.’
b. Učitel’ vraščajet globus.
teacher rotate _{3.SG.MA.PRES} globe
‘The teacher rotates the globe.’ |
| (iii) | Ja bespokojus’.
I worry _{1.SG.PRES} sja
‘I am worried.’ | (iv) | Kak eto delajet. sja ?
how that do _{3.SG.IMP.PRES} sja
‘How is that done?’ |
- (Russian, Wade (2000):322-325)

As other Slavic languages, Russian also has an impersonal **sja** in finite contexts (iv). As opposed to other Slavic languages, the impersonal **sja** seems somewhat more limited to imperfective verbs (Wade (2000):331).

And finally, as any other Slavic language, Russian has **sja** induced by certain prefixes (as discussed in detail in section 1.2.4), (v) for instance.

- (v) Marina vyspala.**s’**.
 Marina_{NOM.SG.F} vy-sleep_{3.SG.F}**sja**
 ‘Marina had a good sleep.’

necessarily understood as human (or animate, Babby (1975):322, Israeli (1992):164). This construction is exemplified in (43) and (44).

- (43) a. Naša sobaka ne kusaet detej.
 our dog_{NOM} NEG bite_{3.SG.PRES} children_{ACC.PL}
 ‘Our dog doesn’t bite people.’
 b. Naša sobaka ne kusajet.sja
 our dog_{NOM} NEG bite_{3.SG.PRES}. sja
 ‘Our dog doesn’t bite (people).’

(Russian, Babby (1975):322(46b,a))

- (44) a. Korovy bodajut.sja.
 cows_{NOM.PL} butt_{3.PL.PRES}sja
 ‘Cows butt (people).’
 b. Krapiva žžët.sja.
 nettle_{NOM.SG} sting_{3.SG.PRES}sja
 ‘Nettles sting (people).’
 c. Koški carapajut.sja.
 cats_{NOM.PL} scratch_{3.PL.PRES}sja
 ‘Cats scratch (people).’

(Russian, Wade (2000):326)

However, as noted in the literature (Babby (1975), Israeli (1992), Schoorlemmer (1997) and Say (2005)), *sja* does not need to refer only to unspecified human patients. Consider the examples in (45) to (47): here, *sja* ‘stands for’ gas, house and computer program respectively. I take it that there is a difference between the examples as (43) and (44) on the one hand (in which the *sja* refers to a human direct object) and the examples in (45) to (47), in which the *sja* refers to a particular object. I label the later ones as *Non-human objects*¹¹.

(Russian, Wade (2000):326)

¹¹In the Russian tradition, this use of *sja* is known as *aktivno-bez’ob’ektnoe značenie* ‘active-objectless meaning’ (Babby’s (1975) translation), described by Vinogradov (1947):635. Babby (1975):322 sees the morpheme *sja* in these constructions as indicating *understood transitivity* of the verb. Israeli (1992):156ff uses the term aggressive *sja*-forms.

Perhaps a more appropriate term for this use of *sja* in Russian would be Babby’s (1975):323 term *Specified direct objects*. As Babby puts it, if a verb requires a specific direct object (as the verb *smorkat* ‘blow one’s nose’ requires the object *nos* ‘nose’ in Russian), then it can be omitted, as shown in (i-a). Of course, such an omission is impossible if the object is emphasized, as shown in (i-b).

- (45) a. Vasja zapravil mašinu (benzinom).
 Vasja_{NOM.SG} filled-up_{3.SG} car_{ACC} fuel_{INS}
 ‘Vasja filled the tank with the gas.’
 b. Vasja zapravil.sja.
 Vasja_{NOM.SG} filled-up_{3.SG} sja
 ‘Vasja refueled.’

(Russian, Schoorlemmer (1997):258(9))

- (46) a. Masha ubiraet dom.
 Masha_{NOM.SG} cleans_{3.SG.PRES} house_{ACC}
 b. Masha ubiraet.sja.
 Masha_{NOM.SG} cleans_{3.SG.PRES}.sja
 ‘Masha cleans the house.’

(Russian, Julia Belopolsky, p.c.)

- (47) Kogda ja pered ètim zapuskala.s’, on
 when I_{NOM} before that_{INS} launched_{NOM.SG.F}-sja he_{NOM.SG.M}
 rabotal.
 worked_{NOM.SG.M}
 ‘When I launched/started it just before that, it was working properly.’
Context: a novice user tells a serviceman about a problem she had encountered.

(Russian, Say (2005):(14))

This use of **sja** called non-human object in the examples above might appear bizarre: for one thing, how do the speakers of Russian know to what exactly the **sja** refers? According to Say (2005), *sja* must refer to a contextually salient object. In other words, in (47) **sja** is the computer program because it is the topic of the ongoing discourse.

On the other hand, **sja** can refer to a non-specific, but ‘generalized’ object: in (46), *Masha* cleans whatever is there to clean¹². However, what both types of the construc-

- (i) a. Anton vynul nosovoj platok i načal smorkat’.sja.
 Anton_{NOM} took.out_{M.SG} handkerchief and began_{M.SG} blow_{INF}sja
 ‘Anton took out (his) handkerchief and began to blow [(his) nose].’
 b. Katja prinjala.s’ smorkat’ svoj dlinnyj i pravil’nyj nos.
 Katja_{NOM} began_{F.SG}sja blow_{INF} her long and regular nose_{ACC}
 ‘Katja began to blow her long and regular nose.’

(Russian, Babby (1975):323(48d,b))

¹²Julia Belopolsky (p.c.) informed me that this construction are rather common in Moscow dialect. Say (2005) does not suggest any dialectal restrictions, on the contrary, he seems to suggest that this use

tions have in common is the need to ‘background’ the object: either because it is salient, or because it is simply unnecessary. Backgrounding the object then entails that the focus is on the subject and/or the event expressed by the verb. To state the effect of these constructions in terms of backgrounding one participant recalls another construction: passive. In passives, it is the subject of the base transitive sentence that is considered ‘unimportant’ and thus it can be demoted to the peripheral position and expressed by a preposition phrase *Police arrested John*. → *John was arrested (by the police)*. Contrary to passive, in the construction at hand, the backgrounded object cannot be further expressed. Look at the example (48). (48-a) shows a transitive version of (48-b). Importantly, the direct object *èta pačka* ‘this pack’ cannot be expressed; neither in ACC, nor in INS, regardless whether with a preposition or without it (48-c). (This contrasts sharply with the need to express the original object of the corresponding transitive constructions in the Effort constructions described below.)

- (48) a. Ne davi ètu pačku, otkroj
 NEG squeeze_{2.SG.IMPER} this parcel_{ACC.SG.F} open_{2.SG.IMPER}
 novuju.
 new_{ACC.SG.F}
 ‘Don’t squeeze the pack, open a new one.’
 b. Ne davi.s’, otkroj novuju.
 NEG squeeze_{2.SG.IMPER}sja open_{2.SG.IMPER} new_{ACC.SG.F}
 ‘Don’t squeeze [the pack], open a new one.’
 c. *Ne davi.s’ étu pačku / étoj
 NEG squeeze_{2.SG.IMPERATIVE}sja this parcel_{ACC.SG.F} / this
 pačkoj / s ètoj pačkoj.
 parcel_{INS.SG.F} / with this parcel_{INS.SG.F}
 Intended: ‘Don’t squeeze the pack.’

(Russian, Say (2005):(23-25))

This restriction is unexpected from the perspective of other uses of **sja** in Russian. In *sja* passives, the original agent can be expressed using a *by*-phrase (INS in Russian), as shown in (49) and (50).

- (49) Dver’ otkryvaet.sja Antonom.
 door_{NOM} open_{3.SG.PRES}sja Anton_{INS}
 ‘The door is being opened by Anton.’

of *sja* is not only part of a spoken contemporary Russian, but that it occurs also in more formal types of discourse, as TV news broadcasts, etc.

(Russian, Babby (1975):303(11))

- (50) insulin... kotoryj mnogimi ljud'mi ne
 insulin which_{NOM.SG.M} many_{INS.PL} people_{INS.PL} NEG
 vozprinimajet.sja
 take_{3.SG.PRES.IPF.sja}
 'insulin, which is not taken by a lot of people...'

(Russian, Fried (2006):(1b))

As far as I know, the possibility to express the agent with the *sja* passive is limited to Russian, as discussed in Babby (1975):303. Moreover, this construction is further limited to imperfective verbs.¹³

Furthermore, to the best of my knowledge, while the reading of an unspecified human object is available in other Slavic languages (Polish, Slovene, Serbo-Croatian discussed in section 1.2.1), the non-human object referred to by *sja* seems limited to Russian. As Say (2005) suggests, this use is reminiscent of antipassives and I will discuss the connection below (see section 10.4.3.1 in particular).

1.2.3 Effort construction

In Czech, adding SE to imperfective creation verbs leads to a *effort* reading exemplified in (51) and (52). The (a) examples show the usual transitive verb (with an additional DAT argument in (51)), the (b) examples show the same verb with the SE and the flavor of demanding process¹⁴.

¹³Lekakou (2005), ch. 4 claims that the agentive *by*-phrase is possible in reflexive passives but not in middles in Continental French.

¹⁴This construction describes a process that is both demanding and fruitless, according to Šlosar (1995):214 and Kopečný (1958):134 (the only notes about this constructions I found in the literature). However, the fruitlessness is rather a presupposition than an entailment: it can be canceled, as shown in (i).

- (i) Vařila sem se s těma knedlíkama sice celý odpoledne, ale
 cook_{SG.F} be_{1.SG.PRES} SE with these dumplings_{INS.PL.MI} however all afternoon but
 aspoň se skvěle povedly.
 at.least SE splendidly come.off_{PL.MI}
 'I spent the whole afternoon making the dumplings, but at least they came off just splendid.'

(Czech)

- (51) a. Vařím mu tady knedlíky celý odpoledne.
 cook_{1.SG.PRES} him_{DAT} here dumpling_{ACC.PL} all afternoon
 ‘I am making dumplings here for him the whole afternoon.’
- b. Vařím se mu tady s knedlíkama (a von
 cook_{1.SG.PRES} SE him_{DAT} here with dumplings_{INS} and he_{NOM.SG.M}
 přijde domů už najedenej)!
 come_{3.SG.PF} home already having.eaten_{M.SG.NOM}
 ‘I am making (and fighting) dumplings here for him (and he comes home
 [telling me he has] already eaten)!’

(Czech)

- (52) a. Píšu tu disertaci už dva roky, a kde
 write_{1.SG.PRES} this dissertation_{ACC.SG} already two years and where
 nic tu nic.
 nothing there nothing
 ‘I am writing this dissertation already for two years and nothing is coming
 out of it.’
- b. Píšu se s tou disertací už dva roky, a
 write_{1.SG.PRES} SE with this dissertation_{INS.SG} already two years and
 kde nic tu nic.
 where nothing there nothing
 ‘I am working my tail off with this dissertation already for two years and
 nothing is coming out of it.’

(Czech)

To use this constructions, the speaker adds a flavor of effort with which the event happened. As such, it is to some extent a matter of speaker’s perspective. So, the choice between the two options in (53) is a question of whether you consider spending a whole afternoon preparing dumplings an ok option (53-a) or a lot of (useless) effort (53-b).

- (53) a. Babička vařila knedlíky celý odpoledne.
 grandma_{NOM.F} cook_{SG.F} dumplings_{ACC} whole afternoon
 ‘Grandma spent the whole afternoon preparing dumplings.’
- b. Babička se mu vařila s knedlíkama celý
 grandma_{NOM.F} SE him_{DAT.M} cook_{SG.F} with dumplings_{INS} whole
 odpoledne (a von jí ani nepoděkoval).
 afternoon and he_{NOM.SG.M} her_{DAT.F} not.even NEG.thank_{SG.M}
 ‘Grandma worked her tail off and spent the whole afternoon preparing
 dumplings, and he didn’t even say ‘thank you’!.’

(Czech)

The effort construction somehow needs a continuation that the transitive verb does not need, as shown by the contrast in (53).

Syntactically, the original direct object that has ACC case in the (a) examples show up introduced by a preposition *s* ‘with’ and INS case in the (b) examples. The *with OBJ* complement of (b) examples is obligatory. Notice an asymmetry of the objects in the transitive version and the effort construction. It is generally the case that a direct object of an imperfective verb can be omitted when it is generalized (in the sense of English examples of consumption verbs: *I eat at 6pm*). By the same reasoning, the (51-a) version without the direct object is fine, (54-a). On the other hand, the direct object (introduced by the preposition *s* ‘with’) of the effort version cannot be omitted, (54-b).

- (54) a. Vařím mu tady, a von přijde domů
 cook_{1.SG.PRES} him_{DAT} here and he_{NOM.SG.M} come_{3.SG.PF} home
 už najedenej!
 already having.eaten_{M.SG.NOM}
 ‘I cook here for him and he comes home [telling me he has] already eaten!’
- b. Vařím se mu tady *(s knedlíkama) a von
 cook_{1.SG.PRES} SE him_{DAT} here with dumplings_{INS} and he_{NOM.SG.M}
 přijde domů už najedenej!
 come_{3.SG.PF} home already having.eaten_{M.SG.NOM}
 ‘I am making (and fighting) dumplings here for him (and he comes home [telling me he has] already eaten)!’

(Czech)

The impossibility to omit the oblique object introduced by the preposition *s* ‘with’ is quite the opposite of the Russian construction introduced in section 1.2.2 and exemplified in (48-c): the Russian construction with the **sja** standing for a non-human object cannot have the oblique object to appear in the sentence. Despite their differences, I suggest a rather parallel derivation for these constructions. It is shown in sections 10.4.3.1 and 10.4.3.2 respectively.

As yet, I was not able to establish whether any other Slavic (or Romance, for that matter) languages have a similar construction to the effort construction just described with the reflexive clitic SE in Czech. More importantly: the use of SE in this construction – however small the semantic shift might appear – has rather big syntactic consequences. As any use of the reflexive clitic SE, it makes the construction intransitive, in the sense

described in section 1.1.5.

The last rather common use of the reflexive clitic in Slavic languages is with certain prefixes to intransitive verbs.

1.2.4 Prefix+V SE

Slavic prefixes change the aspect of the verb they attach to.

So, taking an imperfective verb and attach a prefix to it, one will wind up with a perfective verb. Examples of such **purely perfectivizing** prefixes are shown in (55). Both transitive verbs (55-a) as well as intransitives (55-b) enter such imperfective – perfective alternation¹⁵. The round brackets () around the object in (55) indicate that the object of an imperfective verb can be omitted, the asterisk before the left bracket *() indicates that the object is obligatory.

- (55) a. psát (článek) – na-psat *(článek)
 write_{INF.IMP} paper_{ACC.SG.M} – NA-write_{INF.PF} paper_{ACC.SG.M}
 ‘write an article’ – ‘finish writing an article’
- b. růst – vy-růst
 grow_{INF.IMP} – VY-grow_{INF.PF}
 ‘grow’ – ‘grow up’
- (Czech)

It is almost superfluous to add that the Slavic aspect is way more complex than the examples in (55) indicate. So, the complexity starts with the simple observation that not all verbs take the same perfectivizing prefix (55): *write* takes NA, *grow* takes VY. In other words, the purely perfectivizing prefix is a lexical matter: each verb will select its own perfectivizing prefix. On the other hand, the general pattern is robust: for virtually every imperfective verb there exists a perfective verb such that the members of the pair differ *only* in (imperfective vs. perfective) aspect.

Now consider the examples in (56). For convenience, (55-a) is repeated below as (56-a). Examples (56-b) to (56-d) show the verb *write* with different prefixes. Similarly, (57-a) shows the (pure imperfective – perfective) aspectual pair from (55-b) and (57-b) shows the verb *grow* with another prefix. As before, adding the prefix changes the aspect of the verb from imperfective to perfective. However, as the glosses indicate, the verbs also have different meanings: for *write* in (56), *write again*, *start to write* and *finish to*

¹⁵There are tests that distinguish imperfective (IMP) and perfective (PF) verbs, but at this preliminary stage, I will not discuss them here. The reader should be aware of the fact that exceptions to virtually all the bold claims in this section are found. However, for the general point I want to make, I will not discuss the exceptions.

write, respectively. Similarly for the intransitive verb *grow*: adding an Aktionsart prefix gives *overgrow*, (57). These prefixes change the **Aktionsart** of the verb.

- (56) a. psát (článek) – na-psat *(článek)
 write_{INF.IMP} paper_{ACC.SG.M} – NA-write_{INF.PF} paper_{ACC.SG.M}
 ‘write an article’ – ‘finish writing an article’
- b. pře-psat *(článek)
 PŘE-write_{INF.PF} paper_{ACC.SG.M}
 ‘rewrite an article’
- c. roze-psat *(článek)
 ROZ-write_{INF.PF} paper_{ACC.SG.M}
 ‘starting to write an article’
- d. do-psat *(článek)
 DO-write_{INF.PF} paper_{ACC.SG.M}
 ‘finish writing an article’
- (Czech)
- (57) a. růst – vy-růst
 grow_{INF.IMP} – VY-grow_{INF.PF}
 ‘grow’ – ‘grow up’
- b. pře-růst
 PŘE-grow_{INF.PF}
 ‘overgrow’
- (Czech)

With certain prefix and verb combinations, the reflexive clitic SE appears obligatorily, both for (originally) intransitive verbs as well as (originally) transitive verbs. Let us start by looking at the prefix NA-.

1.2.4.1 NA-+V SE

Consider first an intransitive verb *work*. in (58). (58-a) shows that the verb can take an optional object, a PP introduced by P *na* in (58-a). Adding the prefix NA- to the verb *work* adds another shade of meaning: ‘to one heart’s content’ / ‘a lot’. Syntactically, the reflexive clitic SE has to appear with NA-prefixed verb (58-b).

- (58) a. Karel pracoval (na tom článku).
 Karel_{NOM.SG} worked_{M.SG} on this article_{LOC.SG.M}
 ‘Karel worked on an article.’

- b. Karel *(se) (na tom článku) ale na-pracoval.
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE on this article_{LOC.SG.M} but NA-worked_{M.SG}
 ‘Karel worked his tail off on this article.’

(Czech)

The need to add the reflexive clitic SE when the verb is prefixed by the prefix NA- applies to transitive verbs as well. First, (59) is an instance of an imperfective transitive verb: the direct object is marked ACC case, nevertheless, it is optional, as is the case with imperfective verbs in Slavic in general.

- (59) Karel zpíval (lidovky).
 Karel_{NOM.SG} sang_{M.SG} folk.tunes_{ACC.PL}
 ‘Karel sang folk tunes.’

(Czech)

Adding the prefix NA-, semantically we say ‘a lot’ / ‘to one’s heart content’ (60). Syntactically, again, the reflexive clitic SE has to be present and, crucially, the original direct object *lidovky* ‘folk tunes’ cannot appear in ACC. There are two options for it: either it is not there at all, as in (60-a), or it is in GEN case (60-b). The ACC case on the original direct object is impossible, as in anticausatives, for instance.

- (60) a. Karel *(se) ale na-zpíval!
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE but NA-sang_{M.SG}
 ‘Karel sang to his heart content.’
 b. Karel *(se) ale na-zpíval (lidovek) /
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE but NA-sang_{M.SG} folk.tunes_{GEN.PL} /
 (*lidovky)!
 folk.tunes_{ACC.PL}
 ‘What a great amount of folk tunes did Karel sing!’

(Czech)

1.2.4.2 DO-+V SE

The prefix DO- shows a similar behavior. First consider an intransitive verb *spát* ‘sleep’ (61-a). As an intransitive verb, it cannot have a direct object: the argument can be introduced as an optional PP *for the Friday’s party*. Adding the prefix DO- has two effects. First, the verb shifts from imperfective to perfective, as is the case with prefixation of any Slavic verb. Second, the argument introduced by the PP in (61-a) can – and must

– ‘be lifted’ to the ACC marked direct object in (61-b). From this contrast it follows that the prefix DO- introduces a direct object position that must somehow be filled by an argument. This argument is *the Friday’s party* in (61-b), or, as above, the reflexive clitic SE, as shown in (61-c). To use the reflexive clitic SE has an additional effect: the argument *the Friday’s party* can be introduced again, and as with the simple intransitive verb (61-a), it comes as a PP, it cannot be a simple direct object (61-c).

- (61) a. O víkendu jsem spala (za tu páteční párty) / *tu páteční
over weekend am_{1.SG} sleep_{F.SG} for the Friday’s party / the Friday’s
párty.
party
‘Over the weekend I slept in because of the Friday’s party.’
- b. O víkendu jsem dospala *za tu páteční párty / tu páteční
over weekend am_{1.SG} do-sleep_{F.SG} for the Friday’s party / the Friday’s
párty.
party
‘Over the weekend I slept off the Friday’s party.’
- c. O víkendu jsem se dospala (za tu páteční párty) / *tu
over weekend am_{1.SG} SE do-sleep_{F.SG} for the Friday’s party / the
páteční párty.
Friday’s party
‘Over the weekend I slept off the Friday’s party.’

(Czech)

So, the prefix DO- introduces a direct object position, which can be filled either by an argument (which is otherwise introduced by a preposition in a non-prefixed version of the verb, as in (61-a)), or by a reflexive clitic SE.

Not surprisingly now, we find a similar pattern for transitive verbs, as shown by the set of examples in (62). (62-a) is a simple transitive verb that takes a direct object marked ACC. (62-b) is the same transitive verb, this time prefixed by the prefix DO-. (62-c) shows another option for a prefix DO- with the same verb ‘read’. However, (62-c) is different from (62-b): first, notice that while in the (62-b) the DO- means *finish reading*, the reading of (62-c) is different: *to learn by reading*. Second, the original direct object of the verb ‘read’ cannot appear in ACC case in (62-c); instead it is introduced by a preposition ‘in’. The impossibility of the ACC argument ‘book’ is related to the reflexive clitic SE, similarly as in the contrasts between (61-b) and (61-c). However, what differs is that now (in (62-c)) the reflexive clitic SE cooccurs with another ACC-marked argument *zajímavou věc* ‘interesting thing’.

- (62) a. Karel tu knihu už četl.
 Karel_{NOM.M} this book_{ACC.SG.F} already read_{M.SG}
 ‘Karel has already read the book.’
- b. Karel tu knihu už do-četl.
 Karel_{NOM.M} this book_{ACC.SG.F} already DO-read_{M.SG}
 ‘Karel has already finished reading the book.’
- c. Karel se (v té knize) / (*tu knihu) do-četl
 Karel_{NOM.M} SE in this book_{LOC.SG.F} / this book_{ACC.SG.F} DO-read_{M.SG}
 zajímavou věc.
 interesting thing_{ACC}
 ‘Karel learned an interesting thing (by reading this book).’
- (Czech)

The construction parallel to (62-c) is found in Norwegian (as pointed out to me by Tarald Taraldsen). (63-a) shows a simple transitive sentence, (63-b) is the relevant example. Notice that, similarly to the Czech example above, the parallel to the reflexive clitic – the morpheme SEG – appears. However, the *interesting thing* that is marked as ACC in (62-c) in Czech is introduced by a preposition *til* ‘to’ in Norwegian (63-b).

- (63) a. Håkon leste denne boken.
 Håkon read_{PAST} this book
 ‘Håkon read this book.’
- b. Håkon leste seg til en interessant ting i denne boken.
 Håkon read SELV to a interesting thing in this book
 ‘Håkon found out an interesting thing by reading this book.’
- (Norwegian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

But the direct object on one hand and the argument introduced by DO- ‘learn’ are asymmetrical with respect to passivization. While it is perfectly fine to passivize a direct object (64-a) (even with the prefix DO- ‘finish’), it is impossible to passivize the ACC argument introduced by the DO- ‘learn’ (64-b). Possibly, the fact that the reflexive clitic and passive morphology are mutually excluded, could be invoke as a reason for the ungrammaticality of (64-b). But a real explanation is still to be found out¹⁶.

- (64) a. Ta kniha už byla (do)-čtena.
 the book_{NOM.F} already was_{F.SG} do-read_{F.SG}

¹⁶(i) is potentially problematic. It shows that the SE can stand for the *interesting thing*, which then must be introduced by a P ‘about’ as much as it can stand for the original direct object of the verb ‘read’ in (62-c). The passivization facts make the direct objects asymmetric, but the possibility for the SE to stand in makes them similar.

‘The book had been read.’

- b. *Zajímavá věc se byla do-čtena v té knize.
 interesting thing_{NOM.F} SE was_{F.SG} do-read_{F.SG} in this book_{LOC}
Intended: ‘An interesting thing was found by reading this book.’

(Czech)

There is, moreover, a potential link to verbs that show double ACC, as for instance *lehren* ‘teach’ in German or *učit* ‘teach’ in Czech. Even though both internal arguments are marked ACC case, only one ACC can passivize (65). I however leave it for further research.

- (65) a. Zuza učí Madlenku písničku.
 Zuza_{NOM} teaches Madlenka_{ACC} song_{ACC}
 ‘Zuza teaches a song to Madlenka.’
 b. Madlenka je učena písničku.
 Madlenka_{NOM.F} is_{3.SG} taught_{F.SG} song_{ACC}
 ‘Madlenka is taught a song.’
 c. *Písnička je učena Madlenku.
 song_{NOM.F} is_{3.SG} taught_{F.SG} Madlenka_{ACC}
Intended: ‘A song is being taught to Madlenka.’

(Czech)

To summarize, (Aktionsart) prefixes posit a certain requirement on the argument structure of the verb it combines with: if the verb has a direct object of its own, this direct object must become oblique (GEN (60-b) or PP (62-c)). On the other hand, if the verb has an oblique object (as shown in (58-b)) nothing happens. Finally, if an intransitive verb like *rain* in (66-a) is prefixed by ROZ-, for instance, (66-b), the verb means ‘start to rain’. The meaning shift indicates that this change is an Aktionsart one, parallel to the example (56-c) above. Crucially, however, the reflexive clitic SE has to appear as well.

- (66) a. Prší.
 rain_{3.SG.PRES}

-
- (i) Karel se dočetl o zajímavé věci.
 Karel_{NOM} SE do-read_{M.SG} about interesting thing_{LOC}
 ‘Karel learned by reading about an interesting thing.’

(Czech)

- ‘It rains.’
 b. Roz-pršelo *(se).
 ROZ-rained_{N.SG} SE
 ‘It started to rain.’

(Czech)

In other words, certain Aktionsart prefixes require the presence of SE. Should we think that the SE is there ‘to stand for a direct object’, to put it very impresionistically at this stage, we might equal the SE and the direct object in (67)¹⁷. The derivation of the combinations of (certain) prefixes with verbs that entails the appearance of the reflexive clitic SE is shown in section 10.4.3.4.

- (67) a. Váza se roz-bila.
 vase_{NOM.SG.F} SE ROZ-break_{F.SG}
 ‘The vase broke.’
 b. Marie roz-bila vázu.
 Marie_{NOM.SG.F} ROZ-break_{F.SG} vase_{ACC.SG}
 ‘Marie broke the vase.’

(Czech)

This concludes the description of the use of reflexive clitic SE required by certain (Aktionsart) prefixes. It also concludes the description of the constructions I will be concerned with in this work.

In the next chapter, I turn to the properties of the reflexive clitic as such: its morphological shape and the distribution of the reflexive clitics into and within clitic clusters. Also, I point out certain asymmetries of the constructions with the reflexive clitics with respect to the finiteness of the sentence the construction appears in.

But let us start by looking at the reflexive clitics as clitics: let us identify the properties that tie the reflexive clitics to the other object clitics on one hand and also the properties that make them very different from others.

¹⁷But things just are not that simple: while (67-a) is an intransitive sentence, (67-b) is transitive, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters

Chapter 2

Clitic nature of SE

This chapter is dedicated to the clitic-ness nature of the reflexive clitics and their distribution. In particular, I compare properties of the reflexive clitics with the properties on non-reflexive clitics and try to determine overlaps and ‘misshapes’. This examination will rotate around two axes: the form the reflexive clitics have and the distribution of the reflexive clitics. Concerning the form, I compare the reflexive and non-reflexive clitics in Czech and Italian in section 2.1 (as usual, these languages, by and large, stand for the Slavic group and Romance group, respectively). Then I turn to the distributional properties of the reflexive clitics (section 2.2), still compared to the non-reflexive clitics: I look at the way the reflexive clitics are integrated into the system of the argumental clitics (section 2.2.1) and then I turn to the properties the reflexive clitics have in the clitic clusters (section 2.2.2). Finally, I discuss a problematic case: the reflexive clitics appearing in an environment they should not have assuming they are like any other argumental clitics; the case at hand is Czech nominalizations and the discussion is to be found in section 2.2.3.

The second part of the discussion is dedicated to the asymmetries the constructions with reflexive clitic show in the non-finite contexts, in section 2.3. The non-finite contexts single out impersonal constructions with the reflexive clitics: only impersonal use of the reflexive clitic does not ‘survive’ the shift from a finite to non-finite contexts, as observed by Cinque (1988). It is a rather striking fact, which ultimately leads to a proposal to unify all but impersonal constructions with the reflexive clitic SE (as discussed in chapter 11). A summary of the facts discussed in this chapter will lead to a generalization (section 2.4) about the properties the unified view of the reflexive clitic construction should have.

All in all, the reflexive clitics will be claimed to form a natural class with 1st and 2nd person clitics. Importantly, they differ from them in at least two aspects distribu-

Table 2.1: Czech Pronominal System: SINGULAR

Czech	DAT			ACC			GEN		
		Clitic	Pron		Clitic	Pron		Clitic	Pron
1 st		mi ²	mně		mě	mne		mě	mne
2 nd		ti	tobě		tě	tebe		tě	tebe
REFL		si	sobě		se	sebe		se ³	sebe
3 rd	M&N F	mu (jí)	jemu/němu (jí)/ní	M&N F	ho (ji)	jeho/něho (ji)/ni	M&N F	ho (jí)	jeho/něho (jí)/ní

Table 2.2: Czech Pronominal System: PLURAL

Czech	DAT		ACC		GEN	
	Clitic	Pron	Clitic	Pron	Clitic	Pron
1 st	(nám)	(nám)	(nás)	(nás)	(nás)	(nás)
2 nd	(vám)	(vám)	(vás)	(vás)	(vás)	(vás)
3 rd	(jim)	(jim)/nim	(je)	(je)/ně	(jich)	(jich)/nich
REFL	si	sobě	se	sebe	se	sebe

First, the form of the reflexive clitic is remarkably similar to the form for the 1st and 2nd person. That is, should we think that the vowel is a case ending (-i for DAT and -ě for ACC/GEN, as in nominal paradigms, for instance *muž-i* ‘man_{DAT} and *muž-e* ‘man_{GEN/ACC}), the preceding consonant is then person: *m-* for 1st, *t-* for 2nd. Now, what is *s-* standing for? Kayne (2000) suggested that the *s* is the 3rd person. This, of course, raises the question what are the pronouns that are the 3rd person, like those in the Tables 2.1 and 2.2. On Kayne’s view, they just would not be person. I postpone the discussion of person to the chapter 7.

Moreover, neither of them distinguish gender (only the 3rd person pronouns (and clitics) distinguish gender marking). So, while the ACC non-reflexive clitic for the 2nd person is *tě* regardless of the gender of the hearer, the 3rd person ACC clitic is either *ho* if the participant is masculine or *ji* if the participant is feminine. (It is then only the 3rd person where the grammatical gender is at play.)

Third, it is only 1st and 2nd person clitics and reflexive clitics (and 3rd person mas-

differences are only in spelling. So, the full ACC/GEN pronoun *mne* is not used in spoken Czech, and the form *mě* pronounced [mn^je] appears. Phonetically the same form [mn^je] is found in the DAT pronoun, this time spelled as *mně*. So, for the 1st person, there are just one opposition phonetically speaking: [mi] ‘me_{DAT}-clitic’ vs. [mn^je] standing for all the other forms. The 2nd person pronouns however behave as expected from the description above.

³The GEN reflexive clitic *se* is discussed further in section 2.2.3.

culine/neuter clitics) that could be considered as ‘real’ clitics – as opposed to the 3rd person in the Czech system. That is, only *mi*, *ti*, *si*, *mu* for DAT paradigm and *tě*, *se*, *ho* for ACC/GEN paradigm⁴ qualify unambiguously as clitics, the other forms (marked by round brackets in the Table 2.1) are homophonous to the full pronominal forms (Augustinova and Oliva (1997)). The DAT feminine pronoun *jí* is an example: the same form appears both as a clitic (followed by a ‘real clitic’ *ho*) (3-a) and as a full pronoun (in a contrastive position in (3-b)). Furthermore, the 3rd person full pronouns have a special morphological form appearing after prepositions, with an *n-* preceding the full pronoun, descriptively speaking. Such a form is shown in (3-c).

- (3) a. Dala jsem **jí** ho.
 given_{F.SG} AUX_{1.SG} her_{DAT} him_{ACC}
 ‘I gave it him to her.’
 b. **Jí** bych ho dala, ale jemu ne.
 her_{DAT} COND_{1.SG} him_{ACC} given_{F.SG} but him_{DAT} NEG
 ‘To her, I would give it, but to him, I wouldn’t.’
 c. Jdeme k **ní**.
 go_{1.PL.PRES} toward her_{DAT}
 ‘We go toward her / to her place.’

(Czech)

The 1st and 2nd person plural forms behave like 3rd person pronouns in having the same form for the clitic and the full pronoun, as shown in (4). (4-a) shows the clitic-like use of the GEN pronoun *nás*: it follows the reflexive clitic *SE_{DAT}*, (4-b) is an example of the same form used as a non-clitic, as the contrastive first position in the sentence suggest. In this case the reflexive clitic *SE_{DAT}* has to follow the pronoun *nás*, as the Wackernagel position requires.

- (4) a. Dneska si **nás** nevšímá.
 today SE_{DAT} us_{GEN} NEG.notice_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘She doesn’t pay attention to us today.’
 b. **Nás** si nevšímá, zajímáte ji jen vy.
 us_{GEN} SE_{DAT} NEG.notice_{3.SG} interest_{2.PL} her_{ACC} only you_{NOM}
 ‘About us, she doesn’t care, she is only interested in you’ll.’

(Czech)

The 1st and 2nd person plural forms are still different from the 3rd person pronouns: only 3rd person pronouns have the special form to use after prepositions, as shown in

⁴The 1st person clitic *mě* is disqualified for reasons summed up in footnote 2 on page 40.

(3-c). However, there still is one clitic and full pronoun opposition in the plural system as well: the reflexives. But notice that the reflexives have exactly the same forms as in the singular paradigm (in Table 2.1). I take it to mean that the reflexive clitic (and the full pronoun, too⁵) do not have plural forms, as they clearly do not have the gender distinction (absent in plural paradigms in Czech anyway). The plural pronouns are summarized in Table 2.2.

So, the reflexive clitics do not have neither gender nor number distinction in Czech (and any other Slavic languages) – and nor do they in Italian (or any other Romance languages), as shown in Table 2.3⁶.

Table 2.3: Italian Pronominal System

Italian	ACC			DAT	
		SG	PL	SG	PL
1 st person		mi	ci	mi	ci
2 nd person		ti	vi	ti	vi
reflexive		si		si	
3 rd person	M&N F	lo la	li le	gli (le)	

Again, it is only the 3rd person pronouns that distinguish gender and it is only the reflexive clitic *SE* that has the same form for the singular and plural paradigms.

To sum up, morphologically speaking, the reflexive clitics are much closer to the 1st and 2nd person clitics than the 3rd person clitics. It is shown by: first, the morphological

⁵There is an interesting asymmetry (observed in Kayne (1975)): while the reflexive clitics (as in (i-a)) give rise to both true reflexive and reciprocal reading, the full reflexive pronoun only has the reflexive reading (i-b), the reciprocal is impossible. (And similarly for the DAT full reflexive pronouns.) I do not have anything further to say about this contrast.

- (i) a. Karel a Petr se nenáviděj.
Karel and Petr_{NOM} SE_{ACC} NEG.hate_{3.PL.PRES}
REFL ‘Karel and Petr hate themselves (=Karel and Petr).’
RECIP ‘Karel and Petr hate each other.’
- b. Karel a Petr nenáviděj sebe.
Karel and Petr_{NOM} NEG.hate_{3.PL.PRES} REFL_{ACC}
REFL ‘Karel and Petr hate themselves (=Karel and Petr).’
RECIP *‘Karel and Petr hate each other.’

(Czech)

⁶I do not discuss the weak 3rd person plural *loro*, because it is not a clitic.

shape (*tě* – SE rather than *ho* – SE), second, by incompatibility of plural morphology with the 1st and 2nd persons singular pronouns and reflexive clitics⁷ and third, by morphological three-way distinction (*ho* – *jeho* – *něho*) for the 3rd person non-reflexive clitics in Czech (and other Slavic languages).

The fourth distinction, if we will, might be that the reflexive pronouns are not connected to a distinct NOM form⁸.

2.2 The distribution

Now we have a precise idea what the reflexive clitic look like morphologically, so we are going to look at their distribution. First, we observe that the reflexive clitics cliticize as any other object clitics (section 2.2.1) and not surprisingly, that the reflexive clitics are integrated into the clitic cluster. However, what is perhaps surprising, is the fact that the reflexive clitics interact with other object clitics (in a way unseen for the non-reflexive argumental clitics, at least for Slavic). This is discussed in section 2.2.2. Finally, we turn to nominalizations in Czech: the reflexive clitics are the only clitics that survive in this environment (section 2.2.3).

2.2.1 Into clitic clusters

The reflexive clitics (both in Slavic and Romance) behave as any other object clitics in cliticizing to relevant positions. In Slavic, the relevant position in finite contexts is so called Wackernagel position, the position immediately following the first prosodic word in a sentence (5). Similarly for Romance, as shown for Italian in (6)⁹.

- (5) a. Ráno *{ho} Karel umyl {*ho}.
 morning him_{ACC} Karel_{NOM} washed_{M.SG}
 ‘Karel washed him in the morning.’

⁷The morphological similarity holds exclusively between the singular 1st and 2nd person pronouns and reflexive clitics, the 1st and 2nd person plural are very different, suppletive to the singular pronouns. Plausibly, we could think about singular as a lack of number marking, while plural being marked for number (seeing the number as a privative opposition).

⁸Tarald Taraldsen, p.c. (and unpublished manuscripts and remarks in Medová and Taraldsen (2007b)) proposes to see the forms like French *on* and Scandinavian *man* as the NOM forms to the reflexive clitics SE. On the other hand, it might be significant that the 1st person NOM forms look suppletive even in the non-reflexive paradigms: *já*_{NOM} vs. *mě*_{ACC} or *io*_{NOM} vs. *mi*_{ACC/DAT}.

⁹Strictly speaking, Italian clitics are not 2nd position clitics the same way as the Slavic ones, European Portuguese might come closer. I ignore that distinction as well as I do not pursue the precise syntactic position and mechanisms of cliticization. I take these to be orthogonal to the issue I am pursuing.

- b. Ráno *{se} Karel umyl {*se}.
 morning SE_{ACC} Karel_{NOM} washed_{M.SG}
 ‘Karel washed himself in the morning.’

(Czech)

- (6) a. Anche Arne *{ti} ha lavato {*ti}.
 also Arne you_{ACC} AUX_{3.SG} washed
 ‘It was also Arne who has washed you.’
 b. Anche Arne *{si} è lavato {*si}.
 also Arne SE_{ACC} AUX_{3.SG} washed
 ‘It was also Arne who has washed himself.’

(Italian)

So far so good: the reflexive clitics cliticize as any other object clitics.

However, there are examples showing that the reflexive clitics have different properties from other clitics. First, the reflexive clitics climb less than other clitics in Subject Infinitives (section 2.2.1.1) and they show strikingly different properties also in climbing in subject and object control clauses, in particular when Czech and Polish are compared (section 2.2.1.2)¹⁰. And finally, reflexive clitics in Czech do not participate in PCC (section 2.2.1.3).

¹⁰In addition, Kučerová (2005) shows data indicating that only reflexive clitics – as opposed to non-reflexive clitics – participate in VP-ellipsis. However, I will not discuss the pattern, because I found the contrast – reported by Kučerová – between (i-b) and (i-c) too subtle to build an argument on. (I do not know about another native speaker who would share Kučerová’s judgments.)

- (i) Já jsem se viděl v televizi...
 I_{NOM} AUX_{1.SG} SE seen_{M.SG} in TV
 ‘I saw myself on TV...’
 a. ... a ty taky
 and you too
 b. *... a TY jsi taky.
 and you AUX_{2.SG} too
 c. ?... a TY jsi se taky.
 and you AUX_{2.SG} SE too
 ‘...and you did as well.’
 (Czech, Kučerová (2005):(36-37))

- (ii) Já jsem ho viděl v televizi...
 I_{NOM} AUX_{1.SG} him_{ACC} seen in TV
 ‘I saw him on TV...’
 a. ... a ty taky
 and you too
 b. *... a TY jsi taky.
 and you AUX_{2.SG} too
 c. *... a TY jsi ho taky.
 and you AUX_{2.SG} him too
 ‘...and you did as well.’
 (Czech, Kučerová (2005):(38-39))

2.2.1.1 Out of Subject Infinitive

For instance, in Czech, the non-reflexive 3rd person M.SG clitic *ho* can climb out of an infinitive that syntactically is a subject of a sentence, as shown in (7-a). It is rather impossible for the reflexive clitic *se*, as shown in (7-b).

- (7) a. Myslím, že {ho} není možné [zastřelit {ho} touhle
 think_{1.SG} that him_{ACC} NEG.is_{3.SG} possible_{N.SG} shoot_{INF} this
 zbraní].
 gun_{INS}
 ‘I think it is impossible to shoot him with this gun.’
- b. Myslím, že {se} není možné [zastřelit {se} touhle
 think_{1.SG} that SE_{ACC} NEG.is_{3.SG} possible_{N.SG} shoot_{INF} this
 zbraní].
 gun_{INS}
 ‘I think it is impossible to shoot oneself with this gun.’
- (Czech, Dotlačil (2004):82(125d,a))

Should we think that the reflexive clitic needs to be bound by an argument in the matrix clause, perhaps then we could say that the reflexive clitic just is not properly bound when it climbs in (7-b). Strikingly, however, both Polish (8) and Slovene (9) are perfectly happy to climb the reflexive clitic in exactly the same environment: the true reflexive clitic *se* climbs from an infinitive and the sentences are perfectly grammatical.

- (8) a. Myśle, że go nie można [zastrzelić tą strzelbą].
 think_{1.SG} that him_{ACC} NEG possible shoot_{INF} this rifle_{INST}
 ‘I think that it is impossible to shoot him with this rifle.’
- b. Myśle, że się nie można [zastrzelić tą strzelbą]
 think_{1.SG} that SE_{ACC} NEG possible shoot_{INF} this rifle_{INST}
 ‘I think that it is impossible to shoot him with this rifle.’
- (Polish, Dylą (1983))
- (9) a. Ni ga možno [ubiti s takim nozem].
 NEG him_{ACC} possible kill_{INF} with such a knife_{INS}
 ‘It is not possible to kill him with such a knife.’
- b. Ni se možno [ubiti s takim nozem].
 NEG SE_{ACC} possible kill_{INF} with such a knife_{INS}
 ‘It is not possible to kill oneself with such a knife.’
- (Slovene, Lanko Marušić & Rok Žaucer, p.c.)

So, at least for Czech, the reflexive clitic cannot climb ‘as much as’ a non-reflexive clitic¹¹.

2.2.1.2 SUB vs. OBJ Control in Czech and Polish

Another curious fact (which remains unexplained in this work) is the different possibility of the climbing of the reflexive clitics in control sentences in Czech and Polish¹².

Both languages have both subject (Czech *slíbit* and Polish *obietac* ‘promise’) and object control verbs (Czech *přikázat* and Polish *kazać* ‘order’) that take an INF complement. Both object control verbs have a DAT controller, the subject control verbs have an optional DAT goal argument. Now, within the embedded INF originates (a true reflexive) SE: the expectation is to see the SE climb to the matrix. However, while the SE can climb in subject control sentences in Czech (10-a), it cannot do so in object control sentences (10-b). In Polish, on the other hand, the SE climbs without any trouble in object control sentences (11-a), but in subject control sentences the SE cannot climb if the DAT goal is present (11-b).

- (10) a. Marek {se} (**Ivoně**) slíbil oholit {se}.
 Marek_{NOM} SE_{ACC} Ivona_{DAT} promised shave_{INF} SE_{ACC}
 ‘Marek promised to Ivona to shave himself.’
 b. Marek {*se} přikázal **Toníkovi** oholit {se}.
 Marek_{NOM} SE ordered Toník_{DAT} shave_{INF} SE
 ‘Marek₁ ordered Toník₂ to shave himself_{2/*1}.’

(Czech)

- (11) a. Marek {się} kazał {się} **Tomkowi** {się} ogolić {się}.
 Marek_{NOM} SE ordered SE Tomek_{DAT} SE shave_{INF} SE
 ‘Marek₁ ordered Tomek₂ to shave himself_{1/2}.’
 b. Marek {*się} obiecał {*się} **Joli** {się} ogolić {się}.
 Marek_{NOM} SE promised SE Joli_{DAT} SE shave_{INF} SE
 ‘Marek promised Joli to shave himself.’

(Polish, Dyła (1983):329(30-33,9-12))

Two things should be noted. First, the SE in Polish subject control can climb if the

¹¹Of course, why the reflexive clitic can climb in Slovene or Polish remains mysterious, should one want to unify all the uses of the reflexive clitics in all Slavic and Romance languages. This contrast remains rather a curious fact: I have nothing to contribute for an understanding of the Czech vs. Slovene and Polish differences.

¹²Thanks to Jakub Dotlačil (p.c.) who made me aware of these contrasts and pointed me to Dyła (1983). Also thanks to Patrycja Jablonńska (p.c.) for confirming the Polish data.

DAT goal argument is not present (12). And second, in Czech, climbing to the matrix object control clauses is perfectly fine for other than reflexive clitics (13).

- (12) Marek {się} obiecał {się} ogolić {się}.
 Marek_{NOM} SE promised SE shave_{INF} SE
 ‘Marek promised Joli to shave himself.’

(Polish, Dylą (1983):330(24-26))

- (13) Marek {je} přikázal **Toníkovi** oholit {je}.
 Marek_{NOM} je_{ACC.PL} ordered Toník_{DAT} shave_{INF} them_{ACC}
 ‘Marek ordred Toník to shave them.’

(Czech)

The distinction between the Czech and Polish subject control infinitives (10-a) and (11-b) would have to do with the size of the embedded INF and restructuring à la Wurmbrand (2001): in Czech, the INF would be small (without a PRO subject) and the DAT argument *Ivoně* would be a goal argument of the matrix verb *promise*. In Polish, on the other hand, the DAT argument spells out the subject of the embedded INF and the DAT would then block the movement of *Marek* from inside the INF to the matrix EA. When the offending DAT disappears, the reflexive clitic can climb to the matrix (12). Examples of this type are discussed in section 9.3.

The object control infinitive in Czech (10-b) would be non-restructuring infinitive, with a subject (spelled out by the DAT argument *Toníkovi*) and thus climbing of the argument *Marek* from inside the embedded infinitive would be blocked. I discuss similar pattern in chapter 9

The object control in Polish (11-a) is rather puzzling: how come the DAT argument (the subject of the INF, in my view) does not block the movement of *Marek* from inside the INF – as it did with the subject control in (11-b)? I leave the problem for further research¹³.

2.2.1.3 PCC

There is a further argument for considering the 1st and 2nd person clitics and reflexive a natural class based on French: the Person-Case Constraint (PCC). The first discussion

¹³Either the matrix *Marek* or the embedded subject *Tomek*_{DAT} can be taken to be the subject of the reflexivization in (11-a). As Patrycja Jabłońska notes, coindexing with the matrix subject is harder when the SIĘ is low. When SIĘ climbed to the matrix clause, both interpretations (either *Marek* or *Tomek*) are possible.

of this phenomena goes back to at least Bonet (1991), and it is followed by a massive body of literature.

The basic facts are simple: 3rd person non-reflexive DAT clitics *lui* ‘him/her’ and *leur* ‘them’ are compatible with ACC clitics only if that clitic is also 3rd person (*le*, *la*, *les*). Such a combination of two 3rd person clitics forms a cluster (14-a). If the ACC clitic is 1st and 2nd person, the combination is impossible. Crucially, so is the reflexive clitic *se* (14-b). The facts are summarized in the following scheme.

- (14)
- | | ACC | DAT |
|------|--|---|
| a. | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} le \\ la \\ les \end{array} \right\}$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} lui \\ leur \end{array} \right\}$ |
| b. * | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} me \\ te \\ nous \\ vous \\ se \end{array} \right\}$ | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} lui \\ leur \end{array} \right\}$ |

The PCC effects hold for a number of languages for clitic and affix combinations (see for instance Béjar and Rezac (2003) and literature therein), but its status in Czech (and Slavic in general, as far as I am aware of) is rather unclear. Consider the example of French PCC effect in (15) and very parallel Czech sentence in (16). The offensive clitic combination DAT.3rd and 1st or 2nd person ACC seems rather fine in Czech.

- (15) Je le / *te lui ai présenté.
 I CL_{3.SG.ACC} / *CL_{2.SG.ACC} CL_{3.SG.DAT} have introduced
 ‘I introduced him/*you to her.’

(French, Béjar and Rezac (2003):(1))

- (16) Představím mu tě.
 introduce_{1.SG.PRES} CL_{3.SG.DAT} CL_{2.SG.ACC}
 ‘I’ll introduce you to him.’

(Czech)

On the other hand, it should be noted that such a combination is significantly infrequent. In the ČNK, syn2000, the combinations of 3rd_{DAT}-3rd_{ACC} get invariably hundreds of hits¹⁴, but the PCC combinations (3rd_{DAT}-1/2^{st/nd}_{ACC}) are found in exactly 6 cases.

¹⁴With the exception of the combination *jí*_{3.DAT.SG.F} *jí*_{3.ACC.SG.F} that gets only 26 hits. The reason

The reflexive clitic, moreover, certainly does not pattern with the 1st or 2nd person clitics. (17) is both perfectly fine and as frequent as the 3rd_{DAT}-3rd_{ACC} combinations referred to above.

- (17) Představím se mu.
 introduce_{1.SG.PRES} SE_{ACC} CL_{3.SG.DAT}
 ‘I’ll introduce myself to him.’

(Czech)

However, contrary to French, the order of the Czech clitics shifts: the reflexive clitics in Czech have to precede all the argumental clitics, as discussed in the following section.

Concerning the existence of PCC effects in Czech, it seems to me that one could argue either way: either there are PCC effects in Czech, based on the low frequency of the ‘offensive’ combinations in the corpus, or, following an example (16), we could argue that the ‘offensive’ PCC combinations in Czech are grammatical. Béjar and Rezac (2003) quote Czech among the languages with PCC effects. My intuitions go toward the direction of PCC in Czech. Moreover, the following example (18) is a spontaneous example, in which the order of the clitics ACC – DAT: in other words, it is switched from the canonical DAT – ACC order to have the 2nd person clitic preceding the 3rd person clitic.

- (18) Dám tě jim napospas.
 give_{1.SG} you_{ACC.SG} them_{DAT} mercy
 ‘I’ll leave you at the mercy of them.’

(Czech, Hana Valentová, p.c.)

I still hesitate to take a full stand on the PCC effects in Czech: plenty of native speakers found the ‘offensive’ combinations rather fine. Still, I believe that if not elicited, examples as the (18) might be more common than expected. Needless to say, I leave the empirical issue for further research.

I leave the issue of PCC effects in Czech open, even though I come back to it in chapter 7.

might be perhaps sought in the difficult pronunciation such a string imposes on the speaker.

2.2.2 Within clitic clusters

The reflexive clitic has a specific position within the clitic cluster¹⁵. The ACC clitics follow the DAT clitic (19).

- (19) Proč by mi ji/tě nepředstavil?
 why COND_{3.SG} me_{DAT} her_{ACC}/you_{ACC} NEG.introduce_{M.SG}
 ‘Why wouldn’t he introduce her/you to me?’

(Czech)

Should we think that the reflexive clitic is just another ACC object clitic, we would naturally assume that it takes the same position as other object clitics, that is, as above, following a DAT clitic. But it is wrong: the reflexive clitic must precede the DAT clitic (20) in Czech.

- (20) Proč by *{se} mi {*se} nepředstavil?
 why COND_{3.SG} SE_{ACC} DAT SE_{ACC} NEG.introduce_{M.SG}
 ‘Why wouldn’t he introduce himself to me?’

(Czech)

The reflexive clitic behaves differently from all the other object clitics (regardless whether indirect or direct object clitics) in other respects, too. For instance, the reflexive clitics interact with the AUX clitics in a unique manner. So, the 2nd person AUX clitic is -s, it is the highest clitic in the clitic cluster, descriptively speaking. As such, it precedes all the object clitics (21).

- (21) Proč.s mi ji nepředstavil?
 why.s_{2.SG} me_{DAT} her_{ACC} NEG.introduce_{M.SG}
 ‘Why didn’t you introduce her to me?’

(Czech)

However, when the clitic cluster contains the reflexive clitic – importantly, either the ACC SE or the DAT SI – the 2nd person AUX clitic -s has to follow the reflexive clitic (22).

¹⁵Most observations about the behavior of the reflexive clitics in the clitic clusters for Slavic are taken from Medová (2006) and thus are based on data from Franks and King (2000), Comrie and Corbett (2002) and personal communication with Jožo Müller and Katarina Gregorová (Slovak); Lanko Marušič and Rok Žaucer (Slovene); Cvijeta Stern and Andrea Stiasny (Croatian); Svetoslav Veltchev Marinov, Velina Ninkova Ninova and Vyara Istratkova (Bulgarian).

- (22) a. Proč se.s mi nepředstavil?
 why SE.*s2.SG* me_{DAT} NEG.introduce_{M.SG}
 ‘Why didn’t you introduce yourself to me?’
 b. Proč si.s ho nevzal?
 why SE_{DAT}.*s2.SG* it_{ACC} NEG.take_{M.SG}
 ‘Why didn’t you take it with you?’

(Czech)

Notice that if the AUX clitic *-s* follows a clitic other than a reflexive, the sentence becomes ungrammatical: compare (21) with a minimally different (23).¹⁶

- (23) *Proč mi.s ji nepředstavil?
 why me_{DAT}.*s2.SG* her_{ACC} NEG.introduce_{M.SG}
Intended: ‘Why didn’t you introduce her to me?’

(Czech)

Within Slavic languages, positioning the reflexive clitics shows interesting properties. So, while in Czech, Slovak and Slovene the reflexive clitics (both ACC and DAT) has to precede all the other argumental clitics, Croatian and Bulgarian show another distribution pattern: while the DAT reflexive clitic precedes other argumental clitics, the ACC reflexive clitic follows the argumental clitics. The distribution is schematically shown in the table 2.4.

¹⁶Notice that it is the property of this particular *form* of 2nd person AUX clitic. To use the 2nd person AUX clitic *-s* is the standard norm (and the idiolect of the author). However, in Colloquial Czech the AUX clitic form *-s* is not preferred and it is usually replaced by another AUX clitic for 2nd person, namely *jsi*. Now, the initial glide *j* is not pronounced (except in negated forms, like *nejsi* ‘you are not’), so that the clitic is really [si], giving arise to strings [sise] and [sisi] in (i).

- (i) a. Proč si se mi nepředstavil?
 why *si2.SG* SE me_{DAT} NEG.introduce_{M.SG}
 ‘Why didn’t you introduce yourself to me?’
 b. Proč si si ho nevzal?
 why *si2.SG* SE_{DAT} it_{ACC} NEG.take_{M.SG}
 ‘Why didn’t you take it with you?’

(Czech)

The string [sise] seen above for the combination 2nd person subject AUX and a reflexive clitic SE is the expected form of the combination of DAT and ACC reflexive clitics. It would be enticing to align the 2nd person AUX clitic *si* with the DAT reflexive clitic *si*, except that – first, both of them cooccur in (i-b) and second, that *si se* is ungrammatical when *si* must be DAT reflexive clitic.

The first and last column need further explanation: next to argumental clitics (discussed so far), Slavic languages have verbal clitics, essentially forms of the verb *be*. The clitics for the 1st and 2nd person precede the argumental clitics – this is what the first column labeled AUX_{1/2} indicates. However, the 3rd person auxiliary clitic *je/e* follows the argumental clitics, as shown in the last column by the label AUX₃.

Table 2.4: Distribution of Clitics into Clusters

Czech (& Slovak)	AUX _{1/2}	SI/SE	's		DAT	ACC	GEN		(AUX ₃) ¹⁷
Slovene	AUX _{1/2}	SI/SE			DAT	ACC	GEN		AUX ₃
Croatian	AUX _{1/2}				SI/DAT	ACC	GEN		SE/AUX ₃
Bulgarian	AUX _{1/2}			SI	DAT	ACC		SE	AUX ₃

Similarly to Czech, Serbian and Croatian¹⁸ also shows an interaction of the reflexive clitic SE with an AUX clitic. However, it is the AUX₃ clitic *je* that interacts with the reflexive clitic SE. That is, these two clitics usually do not cooccur, as shown in (24) for true reflexives and in (25) for anticausatives.

- (24) Jan se (??je) umio.
 Jan SE_{ACC} AUX_{3.SG} wash
 'Jan washed.'

(Croatian, Cvijeta Stern, p.c.)

- (25) Vaza se (??je) razbila.
 vase SE_{ACC} AUX_{3.SG.PRES} broke
 'The vase broke.'

(Croatian, Cvijeta Stern, p.c.)

Notice that it is a fact only about the 3rd SG AUX *je*: the 3rd PL AUX *su* must obligatorily appear in such a context, regardless whether the reflexive clitic stands in a true reflexive (26-a) or anticausative (26-b).

- (26) a. Dječaci *(su) se umili.
 boy_{NOM.PL} AUX_{3.PL} SE_{ACC} washed
 'Boys washed themselves.'

¹⁷Czech and Slovak's 3rd person auxiliary form *je* is not a clitic. *je* is used only as a copula and, contrary to other Slavic languages, Czech and Slovak do not have a 3rd person auxiliary. See for instance Toman (1980) and Fried (1994). For that reason, an interaction between the AUX₃ and the reflexive clitic SE, as discussed in the text, cannot be found in Czech.

¹⁸I need to make a distinction between Serbian and Croatian, as only Croatian has DAT reflexive clitics.

- b. Vaze *(su) se razbile.
 vase_{NOM.PL} AUX_{3.PL} SE_{ACC} break
 ‘Vases broke.’

(Croatian, Cvijeta Stern, p.c.)

The same applies to the reflexive clitic SE: it is only the ACC clitic SE that causes *je* to disappear, it can never be the DAT reflexive clitic SI (27).

- (27) Jan *(si) *(je) uzeo slobodan dan.
 Jan SE_{DAT} AUX_{3.SG.PRES} take_{M.SG} free day_{ACC}
 ‘Jan took a day off.’

(Croatian, Cvijeta Stern, p.c.)

Finally, Italian shows a similar interaction, if two reflexive clitics appear for two different uses. So, should the reflexive and impersonal SE cooccur, one reflexive clitic ‘turns’ into a LOC clitic *ci* (which, in this example, appears as *ce* due to reasons orthogonal to this issue).

- (28) Ce lo si è mangiato.
ci it_{ACC} SE is_{3.SG} eaten
 ‘We have eaten it ourselves.’

(Italian, D’Alessandro (2004):10,(17))

Similarly in Czech, the combination of two reflexive clitics is impossible. (29-a) shows an example of an inherently reflexive verb *smát se* ‘laugh’. This verb takes a DAT complement. This complement can be expressed by a full reflexive pronoun (29-b), but to combination of two reflexive clitics is impossible (29-c).

- (29) a. Karel se smál Ivoně.
 Karel_{NOM} SE laughed Ivona_{DAT}
 ‘Karel laughed at Ivona.’
 b. Karel se smál sobě.
 Karel SE laughed himself_{DAT}
 ‘Karel laughed at himself.’
 c. *Karel se si smál.
 Karel SE_{ACC} SI_{DAT} laughed
 Intended: ‘Karel laughed at himself.’

(Czech)

The ban on the cooccurrence of two reflexive clitics concerns the form, not ‘meanings’. In other words, there can be two different constructions each using a reflexive clitic SE combined in one sentence, as shown for instance in (30). What is impossible is to have two reflexive clitics in the sentence: one has to go.¹⁹

Should each of the reflexive clitic mark a different syntactic operation, one might expect to see them cooccurring. Concretely, in the example (30) two uses of the reflexive clitic SE are combined: on one hand, the impersonal SE (discussed in section 1.1.6) and on the other, the SE appearing with certain prefixes (discussed in section 1.2.4.1). Regardless of the ‘origin’ of the reflexive clitic, only one can appear.

- (30) Tam se (*se) včera na-zpívalo lidovek!
 there SE yesterday NA-sang_{N.SG} folk.tunes_{GEN}
 ‘There was a lot of folk tunes singing yesterday!’

(Czech)

That is, the reflexive clitics behave differently from other object clitics. First, with respect to the DAT argumental clitics, the reflexive clitics precede them while ACC argumental clitics follow them (or, the reflexive clitics follow even the ACC clitics, as in

¹⁹Other Slavic languages behave similarly in this respect: in general, two reflexive clitics cannot cooccur. As far as I know, Bulgarian and Moravian (using the term loosely for dialects spoken in Southern Moravia, Czech Republic) can have the DAT and ACC reflexive clitics cooccurring. (i) shows that two argumental reflexive clitics can cooccur in Bulgarian. (ii) shows an inherently reflexive verb *líbit se* ‘like’ with a DAT experiencer. Trying to make the experiencer reflexive using the DAT reflexive clitic gives (ii-b). While this sounds rather odd to me, both Ivona Kučerová (Kučerová (2005)) and Lída Veselovská, (p.c.) found it rather ok in Moravian dialects.

- (i) Toj si se dade.
 he SE_{DAT} SE_{ACC} give_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘He gave himself to himself.’

(Bulgarian, Velina Ninkova Ninova, p.c.)

- (ii) a. Petr se mu nelíbil.
 Petr_{NOM.M} SE_{ACC} him_{DAT} NEG.like_{M.SG}
 ‘He didn’t like Petr.’
 b. Petr si se nelíbil.
 Petr_{NOM} SE_{DAT} SE_{ACC} NEG.like_{M.SG}
 ‘Petr didn’t like himself.’

(Czech, Kučerová (2005):(33a), Lída Veselovská, p.c.)

The oddness of (ii-b) might be related to the facts discussed in the footnote 16 on page 52 above.

the incompatibility of the *n/t*- nominalizations with other types of ACC marked clitics (32-a)²². (32-b) shows a grammatical version with the full DP marked GEN case.

- (32) a. Nemám { *ho } / { *jich } ráda Karl-ov-o
 NEG.have_{1.SG.PRES} like_{F.SG} Karel-_{POSS-NOM.SG.N}
 čištění { *ho } / { *jich }.
 cleaning him_{GEN.SG.N} / them_{GEN.PL}
Intended: 'I don't like Karel's cleaning of it / them.'
- b. Nemám ráda Karl-ov-o čištění
 NEG.have_{1.SG.PRES} like_{F.SG} Karel-_{POSS-NOM.SG.N} cleaning
 kuřete / kuřat.
 chicken_{GEN.SG.N} / chicken_{GEN.PL}
'I don't like Karel's cleaning of a chicken / chickens.'

(Czech)

Reflexive clitics in *n/t*- nominalizations are rather rare, nevertheless, there are examples of all the uses of reflexive clitic SE in nominalizations. The examples were collected by searching Google, they all sound rather natural. There are true reflexives (33) and inherently reflexive verbs (34)²³. Similarly, one can find examples of effort constructions (35), and also anticausative (36). Finally, there are examples of the SE induced by the prefix in (37).²⁴ In all the examples, the reflexive clitic has to immediately follow the nominalization²⁵.

²²The forms of the clitics *ho*_{3.SG.M} and *jich*_{3.PL} used in the example (32-a) are syncretic with the GEN forms, as shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 on page 41. Using a clitic *ji*_{3.SG.F}, which is not syncretic, gives the same ungrammatical result as (32-a).

²³With the inherently reflexive verbs it seems that the options with (i-a) and without (i-b) the reflexive clitic SE are equally good.

- (i) a. ...jsou oslavy medaile jen **chlubením se** cizím peřím
 ...are celebrations_{NOM} medal_{GEN} only strut_{INS} SE strange plumes_{INS}
'The celebrations of a medal are after all just strutting with borrowed plumes.'
- b. Co kdyby místo **chlubení** tělesnou zchátralostí ...
 what if instead strutting_{GEN} physical seediness_{INS} ...
'How about he [promised] – instead of boasting his physical seediness – [that...].'
- (Czech, ČNK, syn2000, [PUB,MIX,NWS])

²⁴There is no impersonal SE construction in nominalizations. It is perhaps not surprising; there are no impersonals in non-finite contexts (as discussed in the following section 2.3). I will come back to the issue in section 3.6.2.

²⁵The position of the reflexive clitic immediately following the nominalization is parallel to the position of a reflexive clitic in infinitives, as observed in Dočekal (2005) (who attributes the observation to Petr

- (33) Pro **oblékání se** na běžky platí podobná
 for dressing SE for cross.country.skies apply_{3.PL.PRES} similar
 pravidla jako pro **oblékání se** na běh v zimě.
 rules_{NOM.PL} as for dressing SE for run in cold
 ‘Dressing up for cross country skiing is driven by similar rules as dressing up
 for winter jogging.’

(Czech, www.vkblek.cz/data/vybaveni_lyze.pdf)

- (34) postrádá některé zbytečnosti typu **ptaní se** na heslo ...
 lacks_{3.SG.PRES} some useless.things_{ACC} type asking SE for password
 ‘[the version] lacks some useless things of the type asking for a password.’

(Czech, oklzia.nagano.cz/bw/)

- (35) Asi po hodině **sraní se** s tím malým trojúhelníčkem jsem
 about after hour shitting SE with this small triangle_{INS} be_{1.SG.PRES}
 to našťvaně strhal.
 it_{ACC} angrily torn.down_{M.SG}
 ‘After about an hour of fiddling with that little triangle I angrily tore it all down.’

(Czech, www.opel-tigra-cz.com/forum/)

- (36) Někdy dochází k **tvoření se** puchýřů a k hnisání.
 sometimes come_{3.SG.PRES} to forming SE blister_{GEN} and to festering
 ‘Sometimes it comes up to forming blisters and festering.’

(Czech, www.lf2.cuni.cz/Projekty/pelikan/peli0295/clanek3.htm)

- (37) Žádná píseň pro srovnání zvuku a **roze-zpívání se**, vystoupení začalo
 no song for comparing sounds and roz-singing SE, performance started

Karlfk, p.c.). It is shown in (i). However, while the rules holds unconditionally for nominalizations, it is less strict for infinitives, as shown in example (41-c) on page 61.

- (i) Potřeba { *se } osvobodit { se } je zjevná.
 need_{NOM.SG.F} free_{INF} SE is_{3.SG} obvious_{NOM.SG.F}
 ‘The need to free (oneself) is obvious.’

(Czech, Dočekal (2005):119)

This might suggest the INF/N moving across SE with the remnant containing SE subsequently moved even higher in the finite clauses.

pěkně zostra.

neatly sharply

‘There was no song to straighten the sounds or to adjust the vocal cords (*lit.* get into singing), the performance started at a brisk pace.’

(Czech, musicserver.cz/clanek/18314/Juliette-And-The-Licks-Metro-Riots-Retro-Music-Hall-Praha-12-4-2007/)

The examples above, with the reflexive clitic SE in nominalizations, brings in yet another issue: is the reflexive clitic really marked ACC case? Given examples in (33) to (37) above, the reflexive clitic SE appears in nominalizations incompatible with the ACC marked objects (31-b). We can – naturally – conclude that the reflexive clitic SE has two homophonous forms, one for ACC (namely SE) and another one for GEN (namely SE). But notice that this fact by itself will not solve the problem: the non-reflexive clitic *ho* in (32) has the same form for both ACC and GEN – and still, it is ungrammatical in the nominalization.

The observation is thus following: the reflexive clitic is the only clitic possible in *n/t*- nominalizations. This suggests that reflexive clitics are introduced lower than other clitics, since nominalizations only contain the lower parts of a VP, excluding, for example, the ACC position. This, in turn, entails that SE comes to precede other clitics in full sentences as a result of movement. I come back to discuss the position of the GEN with respect to ACC position in chapter 10.

2.3 Asymmetries in Non-finite Contexts

All the examples of the constructions with the reflexive clitics given so far were examples of finite contexts (modulo the example of nominalizations discussed in the previous section). Considering non-finite contexts, we wind up with interesting asymmetries, well known for Italian ever since Burzio (1986) and Cinque (1988).

Let us start by looking at impersonal SE in infinitives in Italian (or the lack of it, see section 2.3.1). The same contrast is discussed for Czech in section 2.3.2. In the following two sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4, following Cinque (1988), I point out contexts which apparently contradict the generalization just arrived at: raising with transitive and unergative INF allows for the impersonal reading of SE. All the other contexts are still impossible with impersonal reading of the reflexive clitic SE.

2.3.1 Burzio (1986): Everything but impersonals

In infinitival context (38), the reflexive clitic SE can be true reflexive (or reciprocal) (38-a), inherently-reflexive (38-b), anticausative (38-c) and applicative (38-d).

- (38) a. Sarebbe bello veder.**si** più spesso.
 would.be_{3.SG} nice see_{INF.SE} more often
 ‘It would be nice to see each other more often.’
- b. Non c’è possibilità di sbagliar.**si**.
 NEG there.is possibility of mistake_{INF.SE}
 ‘There is no possibility of being mistaken.’
- c. Quel vaso era già rovinato anche prima di romper.**si**.
 this vase was already ruined already before of break_{INF.SE}
 ‘That vase was already ruined even before breaking.’
 (Italian, Burzio (1986):51(76))
- d. Sarebbe bello mangiar.**si** un panino.
 would.be_{3.SG} nice eat_{INF.SE} a sandwich
 ‘It would be nice to eat a sandwich.’
 (Italian)

However, the impersonal SE in an infinitival context is ungrammatical (39). The impossibility of an impersonal reading of SE contrasts with the perfect grammaticality of a periphrastic passive (40).

- (39) *Sarebbe bello invitar.**si** a quella festa.
 would.be_{3.SG} nice invite_{INF.SE} to this party
Intended: ‘It would be nice to be invited to this party.’
 (Italian, Burzio (1986):50(73a))
- (40) Sarebbe bello essere invitati a quella festa.
 would.be_{3.SG} nice be_{INF} invited to this party
 ‘It would be nice to be invited to this party.’
 (Italian, Burzio (1986):50(73a))

This is rather surprising: so far there didn’t seem to be a distributional difference between different uses of the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE. Let us look at Czech: we can construct examples of all the uses of the reflexive clitic SE that are not found in Italian; that way we can establish whether the impossibility to appear in non-

finite contexts is specific to impersonals or whether impersonals create a natural class with another use of the reflexive clitic construction.

2.3.2 Czech: everything but impersonals

As in Italian, the true reflexive (41-a), inherently reflexive (41-b), applicative (41-c) SE are perfectly fine in non-finite contexts. So are the examples with unspecified human objects (41-d).

- (41) a. *Přece není možný nemejt se dva dny!*
 after.all NEG.is_{3.SG} possible NEG.wash_{INF} SE two days
 ‘After all, it is impossible not to wash oneself for two days!’
- b. *Vždycky je tu možnost chlubit se cizím peřím.*
 always is here possibility strut_{INF} SE strange plumes_{INS}
 ‘There always is a possibility to strut with borrowed plumes.’
- c. *Bylo by pěkné jen tak si vykračovat k domovu.*
 be_{3.SG} COND nice only so SE_{DAT} strut towards home
 ‘It would be nice just to walk peacefully toward home.’
- d. *Strkat se a prát se není hezké.*
 push_{INF} SE and fight_{INF} SE NEG.is_{3.SG.PRES} nice_{NOM.SG.N}
 ‘It isn’t nice to push and fight (other people).’

(Czech)

The following examples of anticausatives, effort construction and the SE induced by Aktionsart prefixes are found by Google search. Effort construction with infinitives (42) are perfectly natural, in particular in spoken Czech. Equally fine are examples of the SE induced by prefixes, as shown in (43). The anticausative SE in infinitival contexts are all of them – perhaps not accidentally – complements to a noun ‘tendency’ (44).

- (42) a. *Vářit se s takovou pidiporcí každý den mi*
 cook_{INF} SE with such mini.portion_{INS} every day me_{DAT}
připadá docela neekonomické.
 seem_{3.SG.PRES} rather NEG.economical
 ‘To put that much effort to prepare such a small portion every day seems to me rather uneconomical.’

(Czech, www.dvojcata.cz/forum.php?idtema=58&pocet=50&page=3)

- b. *Kdyby Howarda bavilo psát se s příběhy*
 if.COND_{3.SG} Howard_{ACC} enjoy_{3.SG.N} write_{INF} SE with story_{INS.PL}

každýho ubožáka, tak by to taky zvládnul.
 every wretch_{GEN} so COND_{3.SG} that as.well managed_{3.SG}
 ‘If Howard took fancy to effortful writing of every chap’s stories, he would master it.’

(Czech, www.rpg hry.cz/forum.php?forum=4&topic=26&offset=88)

- (43) a. **Dospat** *(se) (po každým mejdle) je nutnost.
do-sleep_{INF} SE after each party is necessity
 ‘It is a necessity to sleep (oneself out) after each party.’
 b. Možnost **dozvědět se** zajímavou věc o Tromsø
possibility_{ACC} do-learn_{INF} SE interesting thing_{ACC} about Tromsø
 měli všichni.
have_{3.PL} all_{NOM.PL}
 ‘Everybody had an opportunity to learn an interesting thing about Tromsø.’

(Czech)

- (44) a. [pasterizované mléko] má tendenci **srazit se** v tuhou
pasteurized milk_{NOM} have_{3.SG.PRES} tendency coagulate SE in stiff
 [...] hmotu.

mass_{ACC}

‘Pasteurized milk has a tendency to coagulate into stiff mass.’

(Czech, www.darius.cz/archeus/ZP_mleko.html)

- b. Škoda jen, že slepovaný hrnečky maj sklony
pity only that glued mugs_{NOM.PL} have_{3.PL.PRES} inclination
 k tomu **rozbít se** znova.
toward that break_{INF} SE again
 ‘It’s pity that mugs that have been already glued once have a tendency to break again.’

(Czech, bittersweet.blog.cz/0511/pribeh-jednoho-hrnecku)

- c. [...] také ve schopnosti vláken **rozbít se** na menší
also in ability_{LOC} thread_{GEN.PL} break_{INF} SE on smaller
 vláčenka.
thread_{ACC.PL}
 ‘... also in the thread’s ability to break into finer threads.’

(Czech, www.irz.cz/repository/latky/azbest.pdf)

That is, all the uses of the constructions with SE are perfectly fine (even though not abundant) in Czech. What about impersonals? Impersonals is the only construction

illicit in infinitives in Italian (39) (on page 60) above.

Czech appears the same (45-a). While a periphrastic passive is perfectly fine (45-b), the infinitive with the clitic SE does not have the impersonal reading. Notice, that the (45-a) is not ungrammatical: it has a perfectly plausible reading – a true reflexive (the contrast for Czech was observed in Dotlačil (2004)).

- (45) a. Není možné zkoušet se třikrát v jednom týdnu.
 NEG.be_{3.SG} possible examine_{INF} SE three-times in one week
Intended: *‘It is impossible to be examined three times a week.’
 ‘It is impossible to examine oneself three times a week.’
- b. Není možné být zkoušen třikrát v jednom týdnu.
 NEG.be_{3.SG} possible be_{INF} examined three-times in one week
 ‘It is impossible to be examined three times a week.’

(Czech, Dotlačil (2004):26(26))

So far, so good: neither Italian nor Czech can have impersonal SE in infinitive contexts. It does not mean that we understand why should it be so, it just means that there is a parallelism between Italian and Czech.

And this parallelism is going to be sustained (and refined), even though we now turn to examples in which there actually *is* an impersonal reading in the infinitival contexts.

2.3.3 Raising: impersonals in INF

Indeed, raising constructions provide contexts where impersonal SE is possible, as observed already by Burzio (1986): (46) are his famous examples of control and raising. (46-a) is an example of control structure: the impersonal reading of the SE construed in the embedded INF is impossible, the only reading is true reflexive: *the prisoners would want to free themselves*. On the other hand, the impersonal SE in raising context (46-b) is perfectly fine with the intended impersonal reading of SE.

- (46) a. *Quei prigionieri vorrebbero esser.**si** già liberati.
 those prisoners_{NOM} want_{3.PL.cond} be_{INF}SE already freed_{M.PL}
Intend: ‘Those prisoners would want to have been already freed.’
- b. Quei prigionieri risultavano esser.**si** già liberati.
 those prisoners_{NOM} turned.out_{3.PL} be_{INF}SE already freed_{M.PL}
 ‘Those prisoners turned out to have been already freed.’

(Italian, Burzio (1986):52(78))

non-finite contexts.

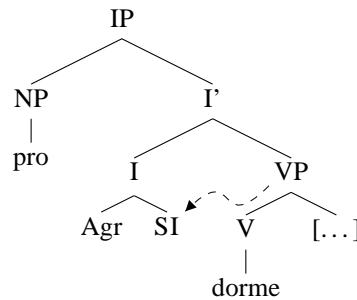
2.3.4 Only TR & UNERG

To Burzio's observation on raising contexts just discussed, Cinque (1988) added another interesting observation: it is not the case that raising context can 'save' the impersonal reading of the reflexive clitic for each and every verb class. That is, just two verb classes appear grammatical in raising: transitive verbs (48-a) and unergatives (48-b). All the other (unaccusatives (48-c), psych-verbs (48-d) as well as copula (48-e), passive (48-f) and raising (48-g) constructions) verbal contexts still remain ungrammatical even in raising.

- (48) a. Sembra non esser.**si** ancora scoperto il vero colpevole.
 seem_{3.SG.PRE} NEG be_{INF}.SE yet found_{N.SG} the true culprit
 'It seems that the real culprit has not been discovered yet.'
- b. Sembra non esser.**si** lavorato a sufficienza.
 seem_{3.SG.PRES} NEG be_{INF}.SE worked_{N.SG} in enough
 'It seems that one/people have not worked sufficiently.'
- c. *Sembra esser.**si** arrivati troppo tardi.
 seem_{3.SG.PRES} be_{INF}.SE arrived_{M.PL} too late
Intended: 'It seems that one/people have arrived too late.'
- d. *Sembra esser.**si** preoccupato solo un genitore.
 seem_{3.SG.PRES} be_{INF}.SE worried_{N.SG} only a parent
Intended: 'It seems that one/people worried only one parent.'
- e. *Sembra non esser.**si** benvenuti qui.
 seem_{3.SG.PRES} NEG be_{INF}.SE welcomed_{M.PL} here
Intended: 'It seems that one/people are not welcome here.'
- f. *Sembra non esser.**si** stati invitati da nessuno.
 seem_{3.SG.PRES} NEG be_{INF}.SE been_{M.PL} invited_{M.PL} from nobody
Intended: 'It seems that one/people have not been invited by anybody.'
- g. *Sembra non risultar.**si** ignorare il problema.
 seem_{3.SG.PRES} NEG end-up_{INF}.SE ignore-INF the problem
Intended: 'It seems that one/people don't end up to ignore the problem.'
- (Italian, Cinque (1988)(5))

The difference between transitive and unergative verbs on the one hand and all the other verbs on the other is clear: only transitives and unergatives assign an external θ -role to its subject. Taking the VP to assign the external θ -role to Spec,IP, Cinque proposes that the VP can assign the external θ -role to a SE attached to the *I* as well.

(49)



Thus, Cinque can say that the SE occurring with transitives and unergatives can be an argument (he calls this SE [+arg SE]). This SE will get its (external) θ -role directly from the VP, and will be assigned NOM case either by the *I* to which it is attached or by the matrix *I*, as in the case of the raising constructions in (48-a) and (48-b), as shown in (49).

But since a SE attached to *I* can only be assigned an external θ -role (by the VP), the SE occurring with predicates that are not transitive or unergative cannot, by the θ -criterion, be the [+arg SE]. Then, the SE with these predicates must be different.

Cinque thus established two strategies for impersonal SE licensing. Either the impersonal SE is an argument, i.e. [+arg SE] and as such it needs an external θ -role and NOM case²⁷; or it is a non-argument [-arg SE], a piece of *personal* agreement morphology, which needs to combine with a personal agreement in the finite clause. Since non-finite clauses do not contain person agreement inflection, it follows that the [-arg SE] will be impossible in all infinitival clauses as in (48-c) to (48-g).

The two possibilities the original direct object has in impersonal constructions of transitive verbs (as discussed in section 1.1.6.1) are tied to the distinction between the argumental and non-argumental impersonal SE, via Burzio's generalization (50).

(50) Burzio's Generalization

all and only the verbs that can assign θ -role to the subject can assign accusative case to an object

(Burzio (1986):178)

Cinque discusses other contexts where the NOM case and θ_{ext} can be assigned to SE: Aux-to-Comp contexts.

²⁷Why is it only NOM case and only external θ -role the argumental SE needs is a question worth pursuing.

- (51) a. Non essendo.**si** ancora scoperto il vero colpevole...
 NEG being.SE yet discovered the true culprit
 ‘One not having yet discovered the true culprit ...’
- b. Non essendo.**si** provveduto alle sue necessità con la dovuta solerezia
 NEG being.SE taken.care all one’s needs with the due zeal
 ...
 ‘One not having taken care of one’s needs with due zeal...’
- c. *Non essendo.**si** morti in giovane età...
 NEG being.SE dead_{PL.M} in young years
Intended: ‘One not having died young...’
- d. *Essendo.**si** preoccupato solo un genitore...
 NEG being.SE worried_{SG.M} only one parent
Intended: ‘One having worried only one parent...’
- e. *Non essendo.**si** contenti del proprio lavoro...
 NEG being.SE happy_{M.PL} of.the proper work
Intended: ‘One not being happy with one’s work...’
- f. *Non essendo.**si** stati invitati da nessuno...
 NEG being.SE been invited_{M.PL} by nobody
Intended: ‘One not having been invited by anybody...’
- g. *Essendo.**si** risultati a tutti essere in regola...
 NEG being.SE appeared to everybody be_{INF} in order
Intended: ‘One having appeared to everybody to be in order...’
 (Italian, Cinque (1988):(7))

Czech seems to have such a construction as well. As in Italian, it requires a peculiar stylistic level. Contrary to Italian where the level is rather formal, the Czech construction is vivid in spoken Czech more than anywhere else. Syntactically, the INF itself moves to a sentence initial position, as in (52), giving rise to a conditional clause. The sentence is perfectly parallel to a conditional in (53).

- (52) Číst se ta kniha na semináři, tak bych tu zkoušku
 read_{INF} SE the book_{NOM} at seminar so COND_{1.SG} the exam_{ACC}
 udělal.
 passed_{M.SG}
 ‘Had the book been read at the seminar, I would have passed the exam.’

(Czech, Dotlačil (2004):26,(27))

- (53) Kdyby se ta kniha četla na semináři, tak bych tu
 if.COND_{3.SG} SE the book_{NOM.F} read_{F.SG} at seminar so COND_{1.SG} the
 zkoušku udělal.
 exam_{ACC} passed_{M.SG}
 ‘If the book had been read at the seminar, I would have passed the exam.’

(Czech)

As in Italian, not all verb classes are perfect in this context. And as in Italian, again, only transitive (52) and unergative (54) verbs can appear in this construction: unaccusative verbs (55-a), passives (55-b) or copula contexts (55-c) are ungrammatical (regardless whether we try to have SG (55-b) or PL (55-c) agreement on the participle).

- (54) Mluvit se o zájmenech, všechno mohlo být ok.
 speak_{INF} SE about pronouns_{LOC} everything could be_{INF} ok
 ‘Had it been spoken about pronouns, everything could be ok.’

(Czech)

- (55) a. *Pustnout se ještě víc, všechno mohlo být ok.
 deteriorate_{INF} SE still more everything could be_{INF} ok
Intended: ‘Had one deteriorate even more, everything could be ok.’
 b. *Být se ošetřeno lépe, všechno mohlo být ok.
 be_{INF} SE treat_{SG.N} better everything could be_{INF} ok
Intended: ‘Had one be treated better, everything could be ok.’
 c. *Být se spokojeni s prací, všechno mohlo být ok.
 be_{INF} SE happy with work everything could be_{INF} ok
Intended: ‘Had one be happy about one’s work, everything could be ok.’

(Czech)

The distinction between transitive and unergative verbs on one hand and unaccusatives (and other contexts) on the other, as shown by the contrasts between (52) and (54) vs. (55), speaks against assimilating unaccusatives to unergatives to account for impersonal SE with unaccusatives in Czech. However, I leave the issue open, not the least because of the need of more data judgments of the (54) vs. (55) type.

To summarize, this section is dedicated to infinitives and SE constructions one can find in infinitives. First, all uses of the reflexive clitic SE seem to be perfectly fine in infinitival contexts, all but one: impersonals. This is true both for Italian and Czech (section 2.3.1 and 2.3.2). However, there are two contexts where impersonals seem fine (both in Italian and Czech): raising constructions (section 2.3.3) and – in a proper

stylistic context – Aux-to-Comp constructions in Italian and ‘Infinitival Conditionals’ in Czech. Crucially, both in Italian and Czech, while these two constructions, indeed, can have impersonal SE, they can do that only for a limited classes of verbs: transitives and unergatives, leaving unaccusatives (and other verb types) aside.

I stop the discussion on non-finite contexts here. In the next section, let us summarize what we learned from the description of the constructions with the reflexive clitics (in chapter 1) and their morphological properties discussed in this chapter.

2.4 The (Preliminary) Generalization

This is how things seem to be (to be modified as we proceed in this section):

The generalization emerging from the discussion so far is that a direct object and reflexive clitic SE cannot cooccur. In other words, DP_{ACC} and SE are in complementary distribution. And in the best of structuralist tradition, they are in complementary distribution because they are the same thing²⁸.

²⁸It would be great to have such a bold claim for DAT reflexive clitics as well, the issue is trickier. The bold claim would be this: the DAT reflexive clitic SE cannot cooccur with another DAT argument. While it seems rather natural, the discussion in section 9.3 and examples such as (i) suggests further complications. In particular, it seems necessary to posit two distinct DAT positions in the structure, one for *goal* arguments, other for *applicative* or *indirect object* type of arguments. In principle, then, we might expect two DATs (one of which would be SE_{DAT}) to cooccur. Indeed, there are examples with two (three, in (i)) DATs cooccurring. In Janda’s example (i), the order of the clitics is *mi si ti*, however, for me (and other Czech native speakers) the order *si mi ti* seems better. As indicated in the glosses, the 2nd person clitic *ti* is clearly discourse related (‘I’m telling you’), but the clitic *mi* can be substituted by a full DP giving (ii). Curiously, when the DAT reflexive clitic is ‘substituted’ by an argumental DAT clitic (ii-b), the full DAT DP *Karlovi* is impossible. This recalls strongly pattern discussed in chapter 9; more discussion follows there.

- (i) context: I sent my daughter to the mountains...
 ... a ona si mi ti tam zlomila nohu!
 and she SE_{DAT} me $_{DAT}$ you $_{DAT}$ there broke leg
 ‘...and you know what=(ti) she broke her=(si) leg on me=(mi)’
 (Czech, Janda (1993):62(39))
- (ii) a. ... a ona si ti tam Karlovi zlomila nohu!
 and she SE_{DAT} you $_{DAT}$ there Karel $_{DAT}$ broke leg
 ‘...and you know what, she broke her leg on Karel!’
 b. ... a ona mu ti tam (*Karlovi) zlomila nohu!
 and she him $_{DAT}$ you $_{DAT}$ there Karel $_{DAT}$ broke leg
 ‘...and you know what, she broke a leg on him!’
 (Czech)

This generalization, moreover, seems to be exactly the one suggested in the section 1.1.5 above: the clitic SE is the direct object clitic, it cannot appear with the ACC marked DP because it is the SE itself that is ACC marked.

And finally, there is the morphological evidence: the reflexive clitic just looks so much like all the other clitics (as discussed in detail in section 2.1). So, plausibly, the reflexive clitic SE just is an object clitic and it is different from all the other clitics because it is also reflexive (thus it needs an antecedent). This view is discussed in detail in chapter 4.

But let me point out even at this preliminary stage that there are strong arguments against this approach. First, plenty of syntactic tests (discussed in detail in chapter 4, sections 4.3 and 4.4) show that the SE constructions are intransitive²⁹. Again, in this preliminary stage, I just remind the reader about the contrast discussed already in section 1.1.5 above: the secondary depictives in Czech (56). While the secondary depictive on the direct object clitic *tě* in (56-a) appears in ACC, when the construction is reflexivized by the reflexive clitic SE, the secondary depictive cannot be in ACC, but obligatory appears in NOM (56-b).

- (56) a. Umývám tě_i [cel-ou vesel-ou_i].
 wash_{1.SG} you_{ACC} whole happy_{ACC.F}
 ‘I wash you_i all happy_i.’
 b. Umývám se *[cel-ou vesel-ou] / [cel-á vesel-á].
 wash_{1.SG} SE_{ACC} whole happy_{ACC.F} / whole happy_{NOM.F}
 ‘I wash myself all happy.’
- (Czech)

That is, if the SE is an object clitic, why does it behave differently from other object clitics, like *tě* in (56-a)?

Second, if the reflexive clitic just is an (object) clitic, why does it appear in constructions that clearly are neither transitive nor reflexive (in the sense that two arguments of the predicate are semantically identical)? As, for instance, above mentioned example (57).

- (57) Si vendono delle auto.
 SE sell_{3.PL.PRES} some car_{NOM.PL}
 ‘People sell some cars.’

²⁹Furthermore, true reflexives are unergative, while anticausative are unaccusative. See the discussion in section 6.2

(Italian)

Thirdly, if ACC and SE are in complementary distribution, how come there are examples where these two cooccur? The attentive reader will recall section 1.1.6 with the Italian, Polish or Slovene examples (the Slovene example (27) is repeated here for convenience)³⁰.

- (58) Pilo se je vodo.
 drunk_{3.SG.F} SE be_{3.SG.PRES} water_{ACC.F}
 ‘People drunk water.’

(Slovene, Rivero and Sheppard (2003)(85c))

The puzzling fact is that all the constructions mentioned so far are based on the ‘reflexive clitic’ SE (and SE morphologically looks like an object clitic). All the constructions are intransitive: the SE makes the structure intransitive (which, again, needs a remark about the status of the examples like (58), with clearly ACC marked direct object).

In other words, this seems to summarize the facts so far: if we take a transitive clause and put the morphological marking on it (=SE), the object of the transitive sentence cannot appear as ACC. It, however, seems to have other options, it can either become NOM (as in true reflexives, anticausatives, Czech impersonals) or it has OBL case marking, or it is introduced by a PP (as in inherently reflexive verbs). For some of them, we might want to talk about a certain aspectual shift: with the Czech effort construction (section 1.2.3) or the Prefix + SE cases (section 1.2.4) or with .

But a cluster of such properties is well documented in many languages: these are the characteristics of antipassives. Indeed, I argue that the Slavic and Romance examples introduced so far are to be compared to antipassives (in chapter 10).

To entice the reader further, a crosslinguistically strong pattern seems to be that

³⁰Based on this contrast, I will argue that impersonal constructions are, indeed, of a different type from the reflexive and the aspectual examples discussed here (chapter 10 and 11). The view that the impersonal SE is different from all the other uses of SE is supported by the examples where two different SE’s cooccur. For instance, the Italian example (i) combines the impersonal and reflexives SE. Notice, however, that the reflexive SE appearing in (i) is morphologically different from the expected *si*: *ce* appears.

- (i) Ce lo si è mangiato.
 SE_{REFL} it_{ACC} SE is eaten
 We have eaten it ourselves.

(Italian, D’Alessandro (2004):10(17))

the same morpheme that creates antipassives also creates reflexive constructions, anti-causatives, changes in the aspectual make up of the structures, etc. And moreover, it seems that at least for some languages, the antipassive morpheme *looks like* an object agreement morpheme (Chukchi, Chukotko-Kamchatkan, for instance) while in other languages it could be tracked back to a reflexive morpheme (Australian, Pama-Nyungan languages, Yidj, for example).

Before exploring this connection, the next part is dedicated to the discussion of the approaches to the reflexive clitics.

Part II

Theories of Reflexives

Consider the examples of true reflexives: the same example *John washed (himself)* is presented for Italian (59), Romanian (60), Czech (61), and Serbo-Croatian (62). In contrast to English, all the languages in the examples below show a reflexive clitic SE. Answering the question why do Slavic and Romance languages have to have a reflexive clitic in reflexive constructions (and what is the so called reflexive clitic and why is it so versatile) is, to remind the reader, the ultimate goal of this work.

(59) Gianni si è lavato.
Gianni SE_{be_{3.SG}} washed_{M.SG}
'Gianni washed.'

(Italian)

(61) Šimon se umyl.
Šimon_{NOM} SE_{ACC} washed_{M.SG}
'Šimon washed.'

(Czech)

(60) Andrei s-a spălat.
Andrei SE_{ACC}-have_{3.SG} washed
'Andrei washed.'

(Romanian)

(62) Borna se umio
Born_{NOM} SE_{ACC} washed_{M.SG}
'Born_a washed.'

(Serbo-Croatian)

True reflexives – in what follows – will be constructions with 'true reflexive meaning'. And by that I mean the semantic identity of the two arguments of the predicate. Concretely, the predicate *wash* has the following argument structure with two arguments: y , *the washer* and x , *the thing being washed*. Reflexive in this sense then means that *the washer* is identical with *the thing being washed*, or, $y = x$ in (63).

(63) $\lambda x \lambda y (y \text{ wash } x)$

The required identity of two arguments can be achieved in two ways: either by marking the relation as reflexive, or by marking one of the arguments reflexive. Depending on the way the reflexivity is viewed, the role of the reflexive clitic SE is radically different: in the first approach, when the SE marks the relation as reflexive, (as for instance in Reinhart and Reuland (1993)), the SE itself is not an argument of the predicate, but merely a marker of the predicate's reflexivity. On the other hand, in the second approach, the reflexive clitic SE is itself an argument of the predicate, which also 'happens' to be anaphoric: the reflexivity is a property of the argument (e.g. Standard Binding Theory).

Under the first approach, the SE marks a reduction of the predicate's requirement (to have two arguments) to a requirement to have one syntactic argument: as long as the (appropriately marked, cf. reflexivized) predicate is provided with an argument, the denotation of the predicate should be necessarily reflexive, as shown in (64).

(64) $\lambda x (x \text{ wash } x)$

Clearly, under this approach the predicate is intransitive. Note however that nothing forces the predicate to be unergative: the only argument required by such a reflexivized predicate does not need to be an external one. Consequently, the syntactically known unergativity of reflexives (cf. Reinhart and Siloni (2005)) must be stipulated. The role of the SE is to label the predicate as reflexive, SE by itself does not play any other syntactic role. This family of approaches will be labeled here as approaches with SE **operating on argument structure** and will be dealt with in detail in chapter 3.

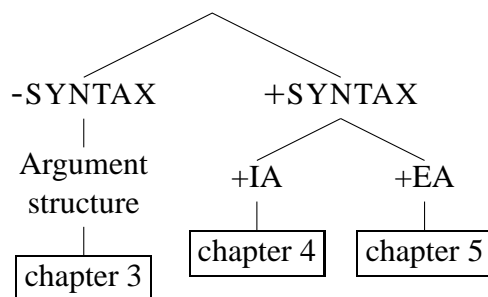
On the other hand, reflexivity can be seen as a property of the argument and the reflexive clitic SE is seen as such a reflexive argument. Consequently, the predicate would look like (65), with the argument y identical to x . Incidentally, under this approach nothing prevents the identity of the arguments ‘by accident’, that is, the same DP ‘happens’ to be selected twice, giving *John washed John*.

$$(65) \quad \lambda x \lambda y (y \text{ wash } x) \ \& \quad y = x$$

As opposed to the view of SE as an argument structure operator, this family of approaches treat SE as a purely *syntactic* element.

Within the syntactic approach, there are two options: assuming that to have a reflexive relation we need a predicate with two arguments. If so, then the SE can in principle be linked to either an internal argument (IA) or to the external argument (EA). Not surprisingly, both ways were suggested in the literature. The family of approaches that link the SE **to the internal argument** is discussed in chapter 4, the approaches that link the SE **to the external argument** are considered in chapter 5. The structure of the present part of this work, then, can be neatly schematized in (66).

(66) Approaches to Reflexive SE



Within the syntactic approaches, there is a further bifurcation: on the one hand, we can say that the reflexive clitic SE is *itself* an argument (Burzio (1986)) or connected to one (Dobrovie-Sorin (1998) and (2004)), except that it is also anaphoric and as such it must be bound by its antecedent. If so, we predict that reflexive constructions are transitive – which is a problem facing ample empirical evidence: it is shown that the

reflexive constructions with the reflexive clitic SE are intransitive (sections 4.3 and 4.4 in particular).

The main concern of this part is to review the approaches to *the true reflexive constructions* with the reflexive clitic SE in three steps, as indicated in (66). Importantly, however, we should still keep thinking about the big picture: how could the discussed view of a true reflexive extend to the other uses of the reflexive clitics in all the different constructions presented in the part I of this work.

Chapter 3

SE operates on Argument Structure

The common denominator of the analyses to be discussed in this chapter is that they consider SE an operator at Argument Structure (or in Lexicon). It is essentially a marker of reflexivization, an operation in Argument Structure (AS) (Grimshaw (1982), section 3.1). Alternatively, SE is an element that influences (or better: interrupts) the usual assignment of an internal (Wehrli (1986), section 3.2) or external (Bouchard (1984), section 3.3) θ -role of a predicate. Chierchia (2004) (section 3.4) exploits the provokingly identical morphological marking on reflexives and unaccusatives (SE, indeed). Finally, I discuss the derivations of the constructions with the morpheme *sja* in Russian, following Babby's (to appear) analysis in section 3.5.

However, there are at least two good reasons to reject an argument structure analysis of SE constructions (section 3.6): ECM constructions and distribution restrictions on the constructions with reflexive clitics in non-finite contexts. While the distribution restrictions in non-finite contexts are problematic only to analyses that propose a unification of all the SE constructions in argument structure, an ECM argument is an essential argument undermining every argument structure analysis.

Reinhart and Siloni (2005) (section 3.7) aware of these problems, escape the threat of ECM by parametrization of reflexivization: the reflexivization happens either at the level of argument structure (lexicon) or, in different languages, in syntax. However, by doing so, one has to give up on the project striving to unify all the uses of SE and that is, a priori, too high a price to be paid.

3.1 Grimshaw (1982)

Grimshaw (1982) defines Reflexivization, a lexical rule, to take a predicate

$P(x, \dots, y, \dots)$ and return a reflexive predicate $P_{REFL}(x, \dots, x, \dots)$, as shown in (1)¹.

(1) Reflexivization

$$P(x, \dots, y, \dots) \rightarrow P_{REFL}(x, \dots, x, \dots)$$

Grimshaw was one of the first ones to observe that the reflexive clitic SE in French does not show the syntactic behavior of a pronoun/clitic: it does not behave as a pronominal clitic in NP-extraposition neither under causative *faire*². For Grimshaw, SE is a grammatical marker of an operation on argument structure. If so, she immediately derives that the reflexives should syntactically behave as intransitive verbs.

From the unification point of view, other uses of SE in French share a feature with the reflexives: for each of the use of SE, there is a *lexical* rule: Inchoativization, Reflexivization and Middle Formation.

This view straightforwardly predicts that all the constructions with reflexive clitics are intransitive, on the other hand, it is less obvious why precisely Inchoativization, Reflexivization and Middle Formation should use the reflexive clitic SE. Why, for instance, is not Middle Formation marked by an expletive?

3.2 Wehrli (1986)

Wehrli (1986) proposes a unified analysis of the constructions with reflexive clitics: the unification of all the uses of SE's amounts to the claim that every SE absorbs an argument. The variation, then, comes from the choice of argument to be absorbed by SE.

In particular, the reflexive construction is derived by SE absorbing an internal argument of the verb (either direct or indirect object)³.

¹Such a view of reflexivization is very general: not only does not (1) specify the number of arguments affected by Reflexivization (here must be at least two arguments), it also does not specify any requirements on the nature of these arguments (cf. one of the arguments must be external). If so, having a predicate with three arguments (like *introduce*) $P^1(x, y, z)$, the reflexivized predicate could in principle be $introduce_{REFL} P^1_{REFL}(x, x, x)$. So, *John SE introduced* should have a meaning *John introduced John to John*, a reading such a structure does not have (in Czech).

²We discuss the arguments in detail further in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.3.

³Both the impersonal (middle, in Wehrli's terminology) and anticausative (ergative, in Wehrli's terminology) are derived by absorption of the external argument. Contrary to a complete absorption of the internal argument (giving reflexivization), when the external argument is absorbed, the external argument position *itself* is not affected, but the θ -assignment to the subject is. If so, it is unclear how one can distinguish between the middle, which has an implicit agent (i-a), and the anticausative SE, which clearly does not allow for agent-oriented purpose clauses (i-b).

This analysis makes the reflexives straightforwardly unergative: the external θ -role is assigned in (presumably) normal fashion. The ‘internal argument absorbed by SE behaves like an internally bound variable, bound by the external argument, giving rise to a reflexive / reciprocal reading;’ Wehrli (1986):274, essentially by co-indexation.

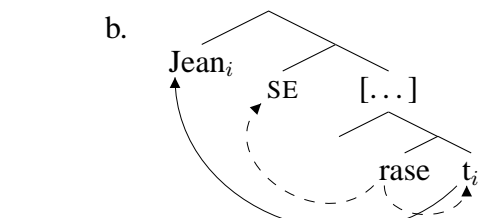
The same question as for Grimshaw is to be asked: why are exactly these constructions (reflexives, anticausatives, impersonals, etc.) derived by the SE absorbing either external or internal argument? Why SE? Why exactly these constructions?

3.3 Bouchard (1984)

Similarly to Grimshaw and Wehrli, Bouchard (1984):68,fn(8) views reflexivization as a lexical operation. In contrast to them, Bouchard proposes that the SE absorbs the external θ -role of the verb⁴. Moreover, the SE also absorbs a case the verb would otherwise assign to the direct object. (Does the case assignment happen in the lexicon?) The idea is shown in (2). The true reflexive (2-a) is derived as shown in (2-b): the dashed arrows show the θ -role assignment, the solid arrow shows the movement of the DP *Jean* from the direct object position to the subject position.

- (2) a. Jean se rase.
 Jean SE shave
 ‘Jean shaves.’

(French, Bouchard (1984))



- (i) a. Une usine, ça se brûle pour toucher l'assurance.
 a factory that SE burn to collect_{INF} the.insurance
 ‘A factory is burnt to collect the insurance.’
 b. *Le verre s'est cassé pour embêter Marie.
 the glass SE.is_{3.SG} broken to bother_{INF} Marie
 Intended: ‘The glass broke to bother Marie.’

(French, Wehrli (1986), from Zubizarreta (1982))

⁴Bouchard's analysis is similar to Sportiche's and Kayne's analyses (discussed in chapters 5 and 6). They agree in seeing the reflexive clitic SE as affecting the external argument, they differ, however, whether to see the operation as lexical (Bouchard) or syntactic (Sportiche and Kayne).

If nothing else is added, such an analysis faces another problem (while still having to answer the general problems of lexical analyses: ECM and distribution restrictions): while it correctly predicts that the reflexive constructions are intransitive, it fails to make the reflexive unergative⁵.

However, it should be pointed out that to view reflexives derived in a parallel fashion to unaccusatives is a initially attractive idea, supported by at least three arguments. First, in some Romance languages, reflexive construction and unaccusatives select the same auxiliaries in past tenses (section 5.2), and second, they show the same past participle agreement (section 5.3). Moreover, both in Romance and Slavic, many unaccusative verbs appear with the reflexive clitic SE. The last point (the morphological similarity of unaccusatives and reflexives) is one of the leading arguments for Chierchia's proposal.

3.4 Chierchia (2004)

Consider the morphological marking: all reflexives in Romance and Slavic are marked with SE⁶, as we know, shown again in (3) and (4)– and a great deal of unaccusatives (anticausatives, in our terminology) show the same morphological marking by SE, shown in (5) and (6).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(3) Dino si è lavato.
 Dino_{NOM} SI AUX_{3.SG} washed_{M.SG}
 'Dino washed (himself).'</p> | <p>(4) Šimon se umyl.
 Šimon_{NOM} SE_{ACC} washed_{M.SG}
 'Šimon washed (himself).'</p> |
| (Italian) | (Czech) |

⁵Bouchard's analysis makes use of Burzio's generalization. The DP *Jean* in (2-b) has to move to the higher position because, by Burzio's generalization, the DP in the direct object position has to move to subject position to get NOM case, since it cannot be assigned accusative.

- (i) Burzio's Generalization
- all and only the verbs that can assign θ -role to the subject can assign accusative case to an object

(Burzio (1986):178)

Many scholars object to Burzio's generalization on empirical grounds; cf. extensive discussion in Babby (1998), Babby (to appear) and Harves (2003), among many others.

⁶Abstracting away from the full reflexive pronouns.

- (5) Il vaso si è rotto.
the vase SE AUX_{3.SG} broken_{M.SG}
'The vase got broken.'

(Italian)

- (6) Váza se rozbila.
vase_{NOM.F.SG} SE broke_{F.SG}
'The vase got broken.'

(Czech)

Chierchia (2004) analyzes the unaccusatives (like those in (5) and (6)) essentially the same way that Grimshaw (1982) analyzes reflexives in French. He starts with a transitive (causative) verb (9-a) and derives an unaccusative (9-b) from it by an operation called *Internal Reflexivization*.

That is, the causative predicate $P(x, y)$ is turned into an unaccusative predicate $P(y)$ parallel to Reflexivization as defined by Grimshaw (1982). However, the difference is that while Grimshaw's Reflexivization projects the *external* argument, Chierchia's Internal Reflexivization projects the *internal* argument, hence, deriving an unaccusative.

- (7) External Reflexivization: $P(x, y) \rightarrow P_{REFL}(x)$
Internal Reflexivization: $P(x, y) \rightarrow P_{UNACC}(y)$

It is a great idea, supported by the morphological marking. Crucially, however, it is supported by the morphological marking only partly: not all unaccusatives have SE, neither in Romance, nor in Slavic.

Consider the examples in (8) and (9), the (a) example is a transitive verb and the (b) the (derived) intransitive version. Even though both the (b) examples are unaccusative (as shown by the *ne*-cliticization in (10)), only the *rompere* 'break' unaccusative is marked by the reflexive clitic SE, not the *affondare* 'sink'.

- (8) a. Giovanni rompe il vetro.
Giovanni break_{3.SG} the glass
'Giovanni breaks the glass.'
b. Il vetro si rompe.
the glass SE break_{3.SG}
'The glass breaks.'

(Italian, Burzio (1986):25)

- (9) a. Gianni ha affondato la barca.
Gianni has sunk the boat
'Gianni sank the boat.'
b. La barca è affondata.
The boat is_{3.SG} sunk
'The boat sank.'

(Italian, Burzio (1986):25,(13))

- (10) a. Ne affondarono due *t*.
ne sank_{3.PL.PAST} two
'Two of them sank.'
b. Se ne rompono molti *t*.
SE *ne* break_{3.PL.PRES} many
'Many of them break.'

Table 3.1: Burzio's classes of verbs

transitive				
	affondare	–	rompere	–
ergative (<i>unaccusative</i>)				
with SE			romper.SI	sbagliar.SI
without SE	affondare	arrivare		

(Italian, Burzio (1986):25)

The table 3.1 summarizes the situation for Italian. *rompere* in (8-a) and *affondare* in (9-b) are examples of transitive verbs that show different behavior with respect to formation of anticausatives: *rompere* has to have SE, *affondare* cannot, as indicated by the first and third column of table 3.1. But a similar distinction holds also for verbs that do not have transitive counterparts, as *arrivare* and *sbagliar.si*. Both of these verbs are unaccusative, yet *arrivare* does not have SE while *sbagliar.si* does.⁷

So, what is the difference between the unaccusatives that come with the SE and those that lack it? Both of them allow for *ne*-cliticization (11), so, from that perspective, their behavior is the same. I do not know about any other differences – other than the obvious morphological one, presence vs. absence of SE.

- (11) a. Se ne sono sbagliate tre.
 SE *ne* are_{3,PL} mistaken_{F,PL} three
 ‘Three of them got mistaken.’
 b. Ne sono arrivate tre.
 ne are_{3,PL} arrived_{F,PL} three
 ‘Three of them arrived.’

(Italian, Burzio (1986))

Moreover, as pointed out by Reinhart and Siloni (2004), true reflexives in Romance languages are unergatives. It is not immediately obvious, then, how to make the reflexives unergative (and anticausative unaccusative), should both of them be derived in the argument structure by essentially the same mechanism.⁸

⁷To complicate things further, there are verbs in Italian that *allow*, but not require the reflexive clitic SE in inchoatives. For discussion of these classes, see Folli (2001):chapter 2, section 4.1.

⁸We come back to Chierchia's observation in a slightly different disguise: Kayne's analysis is driven by the observation on identical past participle agreement facts for unaccusative verbs and reflexives in French.

3.5 Babby(to appear)

Babby (to appear)⁹ bases his analysis on the observation that certain constructions with the reflexive morpheme *sja* are unergative (true reflexives and non-human object constructions) while others are unaccusatives (passives and middles, in his terms¹⁰). Hence, he proposes an analysis that captures these differences on an argument structure level of representation. I essentially follow this insight, though in a different framework (see Part IV in particular).

Babby (to appear) proposes that argument structure level of representation is ‘a rectifier, that aligns the information in a verb’s lexical semantics representation and represents it in a from, which enables there to be a direct mapping between argument structure and syntactic structure’ (Babby (to appear):1). On this view, morpho-lexical rules are in fact a composition of the initial argument structure of lexical heads and the argument structure of ‘paradigmatic affixes’.

Argument structure can be represented as *diathesis*: diathesis encodes *both* the θ -role selection and category selection¹¹. The V can select up to three arguments: thus, there are three positions for the arguments in the diathesis, indicated as 1, 2, and 3. In this notation, 4 indicates the position for the V. This is shown in (12)¹²:

$$(12) \quad \{ \quad \}_1 \{ \quad \}_2 \{ \dots \}_3 \{ \quad V \}_4$$

So far, I have shown the number of arguments selected by the verb. However, the full representation (*diathesis*) specifies also the θ -roles. So, i, j are θ -roles associated with agent i and patient j , respectively. Translated to the notation, i is canonically associated with the first (agent) argument: $\{ i \quad \}_1$. j , on the other hand, with the second (patient) argument: $\{ j \quad \}_2$.

However, we also need to know whether the particular θ -role is associated with an argument. This is ‘decided’ by the verb (or, to be more precise, by the complex

⁹Full discussion of this framework is far beyond the scope of this thesis. Before the comprehensive book Babby (to appear) is available, for an extensive discussion of argument structure and diathesis in Slavic the reader is referred to the following selected works in particular: Babby (1994), Babby (1997), Babby (1998b), Babby (2006).

¹⁰Throughout this section, I use Babby’s (to appear) terminology. However, in my own view, the sentence (20-a) would not be qualified as a middle, but as an anticausative. Also, I use the term *impersonal* in a sense of Cinque (1988) and Kayne (1986), which differs from Babby’s precisely defined use of the term *impersonal*.

¹¹For the motivation for both the θ -selection and the argument selection see Babby (1998b) in particular.

¹²I am concerned with transitive verbs, so, strictly speaking, the third argument (or the third ‘slot’) in the verb’s diathesis is irrelevant for the present discussion. I indicate it by $\{ \dots \}_3$.

diathesis derived by combining the verb's diathesis and the diathesis of a paradigmatic affix). Formally, this is captured by the following notation: $\{i \wedge N\}_1$. It should be read as: the (agent) θ -role (i) is associated with an argument N in the diathesis. The link between the θ -role and the argument N is indicated by the mark \wedge . The full diathesis of an ordinary transitive verb is shown in (13). Each θ -role is associated with an argument.

$$(13) \quad \{i \wedge N\}_1 \{j \wedge N\}_2 \{\dots\}_3 \{- \wedge V\}_4$$

In this theory, operations on argument structure target either θ -roles or categorial arguments of the diathesis, or both. Furthermore, diathetic operations can apply cyclically, as long as the input (cf. even if previously derived) diathesis is compatible with the operation on the diathesis. Specifically, then, the suffix *sja* comes with its own diathesis¹³. The derivation of the constructions with the morpheme *sja* then lies in the combination of the diathesis of the transitive verb with the diathesis of the paradigmatic affix – the morpheme *sja*. Let us look at the concrete derivations within the diathesis framework.

The constructions with the morpheme *sja* are of two types in Russian. However, all the constructions with the reflexive morpheme *sja* in Russian are derived by a combination of the transitive verb's diathesis and the diathesis of the reflexive morpheme *sja*.

Concretely, then, there are intransitive constructions with the morpheme *sja* that are unergative. A typical example of a true reflexive construction¹⁴ is shown in (14-a), with the transitive version in (14-b).

- (14) a. Ivan mojet.*sja*
 Ivan_{NOM} wash_{3.SG}.*sja*
 'Ivan washes.'
 b. Ivan mojet Irinu.
 Ivan_{NOM} wash_{3.SG} Irina_{ACC}
 'Ivan washes Irina.'

(Russian, Babby (to appear))

Another type of the unergative intransitive construction with the reflexive morpheme *sja* is the Non-human object *sja* construction discussed in section 1.2.2, exemplified in

¹³In the text, I abstract away from the lexicalized frozen lexical entries with the suffix *sja* obligatorily present, such as *bojat'.sja* 'be afraid'. I use the traditional term 'inherently-reflexive' for this kind of SE throughout the thesis.

¹⁴There is just a handful of true reflexive constructions with the reflexive morpheme *sja*, mainly with 'grooming verbs', such as *wash*, *dress*, *shave*. Otherwise, the full reflexive pronoun *sebjja* is used in Russian.

(15-a). Again, the transitive version (the base for the derivation of (15-a)) is shown in (15-b). As Babby (to appear) argues, these constructions have the very same unergative syntax as the true reflexive constructions (14-a)¹⁵.

- (15) a. On ljobit tratit' *sja*.
 he_{NOM} like_{3.SG} spend_{INF} *sja*
 ‘He likes to spend money.’
 b. On ljobit tratit' dengi.
 he_{NOM} like_{3.SG} spend_{INF} money_{ACC}
 ‘He likes to spend money.’

(Russian, Babby (to appear))

The derivation of the unergative intransitive constructions with the reflexive morpheme *sja* (the true reflexive construction (14-a) and the non-human object construction (15-a)) starts with the transitive verb's diathesis (16).

- (16) $\{i \wedge N\}_1 \{j \wedge N\}_2 \{\dots\}_3 \{- \wedge V\}_4$

This diathesis is combined with the diathesis of the reflexive morpheme *sja*, shown in (17).

- (17) $\{\wedge\}_1 \{\wedge -\}_2 \{\dots\}_3 \{\wedge -sja\}_4$

The diathesis of the morpheme *sja* specifies two things. First, $\{\wedge\}_1$ indicates that the external argument of the composed diathesis will be inherited from the verb's diathesis.

Second, the marking of the internal argument $\{\wedge -\}_2$ indicates that the internal argument in the combined diathesis will be a combination of the diathesis of the transitive verb (16) and the diathesis of *sja* (17). Concretely, the diathesis of *sja* dissociates the N selected by the transitive verb from the verb's diathesis. Consequently, there is no N to be associated with the internal argument. Hence, the *sja* itself associates with the internal θ -role *j* of the transitive verb in the combined diathesis (18-d). The arrow in is meant to suggest just that. The full derivation is shown in (18).

- (18) a. $\{i \wedge N\}_1 \{j \wedge N\}_2 \{\dots\}_3 \{- \wedge V\}_4$
 b. $\{\wedge\}_1 \{\wedge -\}_2 \{\dots\}_3 \{\wedge -sja\}_4$
 c. (a.) + (b.) \longrightarrow (d.)
 d. $\{i \wedge N\}_1 \{j \wedge -\}_2 \{\dots\}_3 \{\wedge V + -sja\}_4$

¹⁵I follow this insight by proposing a parallel derivation of true reflexives and antipassives (non-human object constructions with the morpheme *sja* are instances of antipassives). See the discussion in chapter 10.

The final diathesis (18-d) is a diathesis of an unergative verb, as desired: the external argument was inherited from the verb's diathesis (16), the internal argument is associated with *sja* itself.

The following constructions with the morpheme *sja* are rather different from the unergative constructions ((14-a) and (15-a)) discussed so far. As argued in Babby (to appear), the constructions discussed below show unaccusative syntax and hence they should be derived as unaccusatives. The constructions in question are passives of imperfective verbs (19-a) and middles (20-a). The (b) examples show the corresponding transitive verbs.¹⁶

- (19) a. Kniga čitajet.*sja* (mal'čikom).
 book_{NOM.F} read_{3.SG.PRES.sja} boy_{INS}
 'The book is being read (by the boy).'
 b. Mal'čik čitajet knigu.
 boy_{NOM.SG} read_{3.SG.PRES} book_{ACC}
 'The boy reads a book.'

(Russian, Babby (to appear))

- (20) a. Jama napolnila.s' vodoj (*rabočimi).
 hole_{NOM.F} filled_{SG.F.s'} water_{INS} (workers_{INS})
 'The hole filled with water.'
 b. Rabočie napolnili jamu (vodoj).
 workers_{NOM.PL} filled_{PL} hole_{ACC} (water_{INS})
 'The workers filled the hole (with water).'

(Russian, Babby (1998b))

The derivation of these unaccusative constructions is in principle the very same as the derivation of the unergative constructions with the morpheme *sja* above. Concretely, the passive and middle constructions with the morpheme *sja* are derived in diathesis by combination of the diathesis of the relevant transitive verb with the diathesis of the derivational affix *sja*. The diathesis of a transitive verb is repeated below in (21).

- (21) $\{i \wedge N\}_1 \{j \wedge N\}_2 \{\dots\}_3 \{- \wedge V\}_4$

Now, since the derivational affix *sja* in the passives and middles ((19-a) and (20-a)) derive unaccusative verbs, its diathesis cannot be completely identical to the diathesis of the morpheme *sja* that derives the unergative constructions (14-a) and (15-a). The diathesis of the (unaccusative) derivational affix is shown in (22).

¹⁶The Russian morpheme *sja* appears as *sja* after consonants, as in (19-a), but as *s'* after vowels, as in (20-a).

$$(22) \quad \{-\hat{N}\}_1 \{ \hat{-} \}_2 \{ \dots \}_3 \{ \hat{-}sja \}_4$$

First of all, the *sja* deriving unaccusatives ‘dethematizes’ the external θ -role i of the verb’s diathesis. This is indicated by the following marking in the diathesis of the derivational affix *sja* in (22): $\{-\hat{N}\}_1$. In other words, the diathesis of this morpheme *sja* takes away the external θ -role of the external argument of the transitive verb it combines with.

Second, the diathesis of the *sja* deletes the subcategorized internal argument from the verb’s diathesis. This step is indicated by the following marking in (22): $\{j\hat{-}\}_2$. The internal θ -role j of the verb’s diathesis is free to be inherited in the final diathesis, and this is shown in (23). ((23) is the combination of the transitive verb’s diathesis (21) with the diathesis of the (unaccusative deriving) *sja* (22).)

$$(23) \quad \{-\hat{N}\}_1 \{j\hat{-}\}_2 \{ \dots \}_3 \{ \hat{V}+sj a \}_4$$

However, (23) cannot be projected to syntax *as it is*. Details aside, $\{-\hat{N}\}_1$ – an N selected by the V in the diathesis *and* not associated with a θ -role – cannot be projected into the syntax of Russian¹⁷. So, a further diathetic operation is automatically applied, as indicated in (24).

$$(24) \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{a.} & \{-\hat{N}\}_1 \{j\hat{-}\}_2 \{ \dots \}_3 \{ \hat{V}+sj a \}_4 \\ \text{b.} & \longrightarrow \\ \text{c.} & \{j\hat{N}\}_1 \{-\hat{-}\}_2 \{ \dots \}_3 \{ \hat{V}+sj a \}_4 \end{array}$$

The internal θ -role j must obligatorily externalize to the external argument position. This is indicated by the marking $\{j\hat{N}\}_1$ in (24-c).¹⁸

Concerning the external θ -role, look at the diathesis (23). It is the combined diathesis of the transitive verb’s diathesis and the (unaccusatives deriving) *sja*’s diathesis. The external argument’s diathesis is indicated as follows: $\{-\hat{N}\}_1$. The external θ -role has been dethematized by the *sja*’s diathesis. Given that it was dethematized (and not deleted), this external θ -role could be reassigned to an agentive adjunct, in principle. And this is precisely what happens in the derivation of imperfective passives in (19-a): the external θ -role was reassigned to the agentive adjunct *mal’čikom*. On the other hand, this external θ -role can be deleted: hence, no agentive adjuncts are possible. This option is taken in the derivation of middles, (20-a) is an example.

I leave the description of different AS approaches to reflexivization here, turning to the problems they face.

¹⁷As Russian does not have an expletive of the English type *there*.

¹⁸The stepwise derivation in (24) is a unified analysis of all unaccusative structures in this framework: those with *sja* and those without it.

3.6 Against the Argument Structure derivation

Leaving aside minor (though interesting!) questions that none of the analyses above sets out to answer (namely, why should the marker of the AS reduction be SE, a reflexive clitic), there is a much bigger problem for the lexicon / argument structure based analyses: ECM constructions. The idea is simple: if reflexivization is an operation in lexicon / argument structure and if every predicate is completely determined in the lexicon / argument structure, there should not be two predicates that are linked by a reflexive clitic SE and the final structure is a true reflexive. In other words, SE should not be able to unify arguments of two different predicates.

However, there are structures like this, as pointed by Marantz (1984) and here discussed in section 3.6.1.

Another argument against the possibility to unify all the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE in the lexicon / argument structure is presented in section 3.6.2. If lexicon / argument structure derives a particular SE construction freely, why are there distributional restrictions in non-finite contexts.

3.6.1 ECM

ECM stands for Exceptional Case Marking, Chomsky (1981). Consider the Icelandic example (25). There are two predicates: the matrix predicate *believe* and the infinitive *have written*. The DP *Maria* is interpreted as a subject of the INF *have written*. However, *Maria* is clearly marked ACC case by the matrix verb *believe*. That is, these two predicates share a single DP.

- (25) þeir telja Maríu hafa skrifað ritgerðina.
 they_{NOM} believe_{3.PL} Maria_{ACC} have_{INF} written thesis
 ‘They believe Maria to have written her thesis.’

(Icelandic, Marantz (1984):163)

Now, consider the same structure with the reflexive suffix *-st* attached to the verb *believe* (26). (This suffix is a cognate to the reflexive clitic SE.) There is just one DP argument *hann*. It is the subject of the verb *believe*, as clearly shown by the NOM marking. On the other hand, *hann* is also the subject of the INF *be strong* – as shown by the NOM marking on the adjective *strong*. Crucially, however, these two predicates (even though one of them has the *st*-marker) are reflexively related in syntax.

- (26) Hann tel.st vera sterkur.
 he_{NOM} believe_{3.SG.ST} be_{INF} strong_{NOM}
 ‘He believes himself to be strong.’

(Icelandic, Marantz (1984):163)

The same kind of constructions are found both in Romance and Slavic languages: ECM constructions with small clause complements in French (27) and Czech (28)¹⁹.

- (27) a. Jean considère Pier intelligent.
 Jean_{NOM} consider_{3.SG} Max_{ACC} intelligent
 ‘Jean considers Max intelligent.’
 b. Jean se considère intelligent.
 Jean_{NOM} SE consider_{3.SG} intelligent
 ‘Jean considers himself intelligent.’

(French, Reinhart and Siloni (2005):394(9))

- (28) a. Ivona považuje Karla za hlupáka.
 Ivona_{NOM} consider_{3.SG} Karel_{ACC} for dummy_{ACC}
 ‘Ivona considers Karel a dummy.’
 b. Karel_i se_i považuje za hlupáka.
 Karel_{NOM} SE consider_{3.SG} for dummy_{ACC}
 ‘Karel considers himself a dummy.’

(Czech)

But if the reflexives are derived in the lexicon (say by the Reflexivization rule of Grimshaw (1982), here on page 80), this means that the matrix verb and the INF or the SC complement have to combine in the lexicon into a single predicate prior to reflexivization. This is certainly undesirable²⁰. In section 3.7.1 I show Reinhart and Siloni’s (2005) proposal to derive ECM. For now, let us consider another potential problem for the AS analysis.

¹⁹Lasnik (1997) argued against the existence of ECM-constructions in Slavic, but see also Caha (2005) for an analysis of (a kind of) ECM constructions in Czech. Regardless of the right analysis, the point is made: the reflexivization can bridge two predicates arguably combined in syntax.

²⁰The Icelandic, French and Czech ECM structures are systematically ambiguous between a reflexive reading indicated by the glosses in the main text, and an impersonal reading.

clitic SE. However, this does not seem to be the case. Consider examples where the external and internal arguments are necessarily unified already from the lexicon: the Czech prefix *sebe* in (30) or Italian *auto* in (31) does precisely that. Nevertheless, the sentences would be ungrammatical should the reflexive clitic be omitted.

- (30) Nevěděl jsem, jestli *(se) sebevraždí nebo si
 NEG.know_{M.SG} AUX_{1.SG} whether SE self-murder_{3.SG.PRES} or SE_{DAT}
 chtěl vařit kafe.
 want_{M.SG} cook_{INF} coffee_{ACC}
 ‘I didn’t know whether he is committing suicide or whether he wanted to make coffee.’

(Czech, ČNK syn2000:[FAC, MEM, B, 39679])

- (31) Gianni *(si) è autopromosso.
 Gianni_{NOM} SE AUX_{3.SG} self.promote_{M.SG}
 ‘Gianni (himself) has promoted himself.’

(Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

These two observations weaken the theories that would have the reflexive clitic SE linking the external and internal argument (or θ -roles): theories that would derive the constructions with the reflexive clitic in the argument structure.

The following section brings in an analysis that claims to be able to circumvent the problems discussed in this section. Let us see.

3.7 Reinhart & Siloni (2004) and (2005)

Recently, Reinhart and Siloni (2005) proposed a general theory of reflexivization. Languages differ with respect to the (operation) reflexivization: some languages reflexivize in the lexicon, while other languages reflexivize in syntax. Naturally enough, then, only languages that reflexivize in syntax are expected to allow for ECM constructions. Slavic and Romance languages are examples of ‘syntax languages’. So they are predicted to have ECM constructions. And they do, indeed²¹.

For Reinhart and Siloni, Reflexivization is an operation that takes a transitive verb and the two verb’s θ -roles and creates one complex θ -role. This operation is called *bundling*. Crucially, bundling cannot apply to *any* two θ -roles of a verb: bundling must

²¹With the notable exception of Russian

operate on an external θ -role (32)²².

(32) Reflexivization bundling

$$[\theta_i] [\theta_j] \rightarrow [\theta_i - \theta_j], \text{ where } \theta_i \text{ is an external } \theta\text{-role}$$

(Reinhart and Siloni (2005):400)

The bundling operation is the common denominator of the reflexivization operations. The variation, then, comes from the place where the reflexivization applies: in the lexicon (33) or in syntax (34). In both cases, an external θ -role must be involved in bundling and still in both of them, reduce²³ ACC case from the verb's grid.

(33) Reflexivization in the lexicon

- a. Bundling: Operation (32) applies on the verb's grid.
- b. Case: The accusative Case feature of the verb is reduced.

(34) Reflexivization in the syntax

- a. Case: Case is reduced by the appropriate morphology (such as the clitic SE).
- b. Bundling: Operation (32) applies to unassigned θ -roles, upon merger of the external θ -role.

First, I discuss the way Reinhart and Siloni (2005) deal with ECM in the syntactic languages. Then I turn into their second main argument for the lexicon-syntax parameter: reflexive nominalizations. As the theory predicts, there should not be any reflexive nominalizations in the syntax languages. As it so happens, however, Czech is a sound counterexample to this generalization, as pointed out by Hron (2005). Hron himself proposes an analysis that undermines the syntax-lexicon parameter (see section 3.7.2). Furthermore, I raise questions concerning anticausatives in this theory (section 3.7.3).

Ultimately, the essence of the bundling operation – the need of an *external* θ -role (32) – has to face the data that clearly show that reflexivization does not need an external θ -role. The case in hand are reflexivizations in raising constructions, as the Czech example (35-b) below. ((35-a) shows a non-reflexive version of a raising construction with a DAT experiencer.)

²²The notion *external* θ -role is precisely defined, cf. Reinhart (2002) and much previous work; I will not go into the details of the definition as it is not crucial for the point to be made.

²³*reduce* is Reinhart & Siloni's term and I use it accordingly, *remove* would be perhaps a less theory dependent term.

- (35) a. Karel jí připadá vtipný.
 Karel_{NOM} her_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} funny_{M.SG}
 ‘Karel seems funny to her.’
 b. Karel si připadá vtipný.
 Karel_{NOM} SE_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} funny_{M.SG}
 ‘Karel seems funny to himself.’

(Czech)

Further discussion of the reflexivization that apparently does not need an external θ -role follows in section 5.5²⁴.

3.7.1 Reflexive ECM in syntax languages

The ECM construction (36) raises this problem (discussed in section 3.6.1): how can two predicates that should be fully determined in the lexicon, be united by a reflexive clitic, a syntactic element?

- (36) Jean se voit laver Marie.
 Jean SE see_{3.SG} wash_{INF} Marie
 ‘Jean sees himself washing Marie.’

(French, Reinhart and Siloni (2005):405(34a))

Reinhart and Siloni (2005) propose that the syntax languages can derive the ECM reflexives, provided the following two stipulations on the θ -Criterion (37) and EPP (38) are added.

- (37) θ -Criterion
 Every θ -role must be assigned in the smallest full IP.
 (38) EPP
 Merging the outermost Spec,IP of the cycle is obligatory.

The unassigned θ -roles appear in the angled brackets $\langle \theta_i \rangle$. The derivation of (36) then proceeds as shown in (39).

First, the direct object *Marie* is merged with the infinitive *laver* and it is assigned an internal θ -role (39-a). The infinitival IP is a defective (EPP-deficient), specifierless

²⁴More examples and a solution in Representation Theory (Williams (2003)) are to be found in Medová (2006). However, contrary to the claim made there, even Romance languages seem to marginally have the constructions with a reflexivization without an external θ -role. Some examples are shown in section 5.5.

IP: thus, (37) is not forced to apply. So, the agentive θ -role remains unassigned, and it stays on the verb to be carried along. The full CP cannot be merged at this stage either because the IP lacks a specifier.

Now, the matrix VP with the reflexive clitic SE is merged (39-b). The internal θ -role of the matrix is assigned to the IP (marked θ_f in (39-b)). Since SE reduces the verb's ability to assign ACC case (according to (34-a)), there is no DP to which an external θ -role of the matrix *se voit* (θ_k) and the external θ -role of the infinitive *laver* (θ_i) can be assigned.

At this stage, upon the external merger of *Jean*, the θ_k and θ_i bundle together and are associated with the same argument, cf. (39-c).

- (39) a. $[_{IP} [laver_{\langle \theta_i \rangle} Marie_{\theta_g}]]$
 b. $[_{VP} se\ voit_{\langle \theta_k \rangle} [_{IP} [laver_{\langle \theta_i \rangle} Marie_{\theta_g}]]_{\theta_f}]$
 c. $[_{IP} Jean_{\theta_k + \theta_i} [_{VP} se\ voit [_{IP} [laver Marie_{\theta_g}]]_{\theta_f}]]$

For the derivation to proceed as described, the deficient status of the embedded INF is essential. Consider now the example (40), with the reflexive clitic SE in the embedded INF.

- (40) Jean voit Marie se laver.
 Jean see_{3.SG} Marie SE wash_{INF}
 'Jean sees Marie wash herself.'

(French, Reinhart and Siloni (2005):406(37))

The derivation starts out with the INF *laver* SE. By (34), the verb loses its ability to assign ACC case. Also, the internal θ -role cannot be assigned, as there is no available DP to which it could be assigned. So, for the derivation to proceed, the merger of the external argument is crucial at this point. Suppose now that the external argument *Marie* merges at IP. By (34-b), the external and the internal θ -roles bundle and – by (37) – are assigned to the DP *Marie*, thus creating an infinitival IP. But, for it to be combined with the matrix verb *voit*, the IP has to be defective (as in (39)). How, then, could the argument *Marie* could merge there? One could suggest that the external argument is really merged at the vP-level, in concord with the VP-internal Subject Hypothesis. But this helps very little: at the vP level, bundling is not forced by (34) and the internal θ -role would remain unassigned.

Lastly, there seems to be a lexicon language that has an ECM structure: Dutch. The problem is that Dutch allows for a perception verb with an INF complement (41) with a reflexive pronoun *zich*. This structure is strikingly parallel to ECM constructions seen

in Romance or Slavic languages, as shown in (42) and (43).

- (41) Max hoorde zich zingen.
 Max heard *zich* sing_{INF}
 ‘Max heard himself sing.’

(Dutch, Reinhart and Siloni (2005):413,(55))

- (42) Jean se voit laver Marie.
 Jean_{NOM} SE see_{3.SG} wash_{INF} Marie
 ‘Jean sees himself wash Marie.’

(French, Reinhart and Siloni (2005):405(34a))

- (43) Karel se viděl mejt Ivonu.
 Karel_{NOM} SE see_{3.SG.PAST} wash_{INF} Ivona_{ACC}
 ‘Karel saw himself wash Ivona.’

(Czech)

Reinhart & Siloni note that “although (41) superficially seems to be analogous to its Romance or Slavic paraphrase”, under their approach it “is an instance of syntactic binding, while (42) is the output of the operation of syntactic reflexivization”. This might, of course, be right. But together with other problems, their argument is weakened.

3.7.2 Reflexive nominalizations

The second piece of evidence for the lexicon-syntax parameter comes from the particular view of nominalizations, adapted from Siloni (1997). The main premise is that all nominalizations are derived *in the lexicon* from the corresponding verbs. In other words, languages that create reflexives in the lexicon can feed the reflexive outputs for nominalizations, and conversely, languages that create reflexives in syntax should not be able to produce any reflexive nominalizations. For instance, Hebrew (44-a), Hungarian (44-b) and English (44-c) (the lexicon languages) have reflexive nominals showing appropriate reflexive morphology.

- (44) a. hitrxcut
 ‘self-washing’
 b. mos-akod-ás
 wash-REFL-*nominal.affix*
 ‘self-washing’

- c. She dresses slowly because she is an elegant *dresser*.

(Reinhart and Siloni (2005):409,(45))

On the other hand, the syntactic languages (we discuss Romance and Slavic here) do not show reflexive nominalizations with the reflexive clitic SE. Or at least they should not.

Unfortunately, they do. As Hron (2005) pointed out, Czech – a syntactic language – has productive nominalizations with the reflexive clitic SE. (Reinhart & Siloni (2005):fn.16 are aware of this problem.)

Czech (along with Polish, cf. Fowler (1998)) has productive nominalizations using the suffix *-n-í* / *-t-í* (the very same nominalization discussed in section 2.2.3). These nominalizations can be reflexivized:

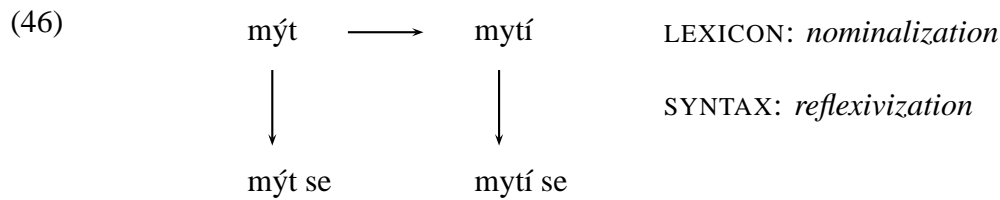
- (45) a. *mytí* *malého dítěte*
 wash-*tí*_{NOM.SG.N} small child_{GEN}
 ‘washing of a small child’
 b. *mytí* *se*
 wash-*tí*_{NOM.SG.N} SE
 ‘self-washing’

(Czech)

Hron (2006) proposes an analysis of Czech reflexive nominalization in the Reinhart & Siloni’s framework. In particular, he wants to retain the assumption that nominalizations occur universally in the lexicon. If so, and if Czech is a syntactic language with reflexivization in the syntax, the nominalized reflexives in (45-b) cannot be derived neither in lexicon, nor in syntax. His proposal, then, is that (45-b) not derived from a corresponding reflexive verb *mýt se*, but rather from a nominalization²⁵ *mytí*, as in (45-a). The derivational schema is showed in (46).

At the schema (46), there is a level of LEXICON and the level of SYNTAX, independent levels of representation. By assumptions, Hron (cf. Reinhart & Siloni) cannot derive the reflexive nominalization *mytí se* in the lexicon: the morpheme SE in Czech

²⁵In Hron’s analysis, the nominalizing suffix is just *-í* which attaches to the ‘passive form of a verb’, (Hron (2006):9). But this is problematic: if indeed the form to which the nominalization applies were passive, there would not be an external θ -role available for bundling, hence, there cannot be reflexivization. The reason passives do not have an external θ -role available is this: in Reinhart & Siloni’s approach (adopted by Hron), passives are derived by operation *saturation*. Saturation ‘saturates the external θ -role by the existential closure; that is, the θ -role is assigned to a variable bound by an existential operator’, (Reinhart and Siloni (2005):420). If the external θ -role is saturated, it cannot be available for bundling, hence, no reflexivization should be possible.



appears only at the level of syntax. If so, to derive the reflexive nominalization *mytí se* we need two levels: first, in the LEXICON we derive the nominalization *mytí* and then, in SYNTAX, we produce a reflexivized nominalization *mytí se*, in a fashion parallel to the derivation of *mýt* → *mýt se*. Such a derivation grants both the basic premises of this approach: first, Czech, a syntax language, derives every reflexivization form in the syntax and second, every nominalization happens in the lexicon.

Consequently, however, there are two types of SE: the SE that arises from the verbal reflexivization (cf. verbal reflexive clitic) and the SE arises from the nominal reflexivization (cf. nominal reflexive clitic)²⁶. Both SE's are unified by their Case reduction property, but they differ with respect to the case they suppress. While the verbal reflexive clitic SE eliminates ACC case (as (34) determines), the nominal reflexive clitic SE has to eliminate GEN case: Czech (Slavic) nominalizations lose their ACC case assigning abilities and instead they assign GEN to their objects, (cf. (63) in footnote 26).

²⁶Hron (2006) points out that the nominal and verbal reflexive clitic show different syntactic behavior. In particular, while the verbal reflexive clitic has to cliticize to the Wackernagel position, the nominal reflexive clitic has to be adjacent to the noun (63).

- (i) a. Petrovo { *SE } každodenní mytí { SE } studenou vodou.
 Petr-OV-NOM.SG.N every day wash_{NOM.SG.N} SE cold water_{INS}
 'Petr's every day washing himself with cold water.'
- b. Každodenní { *SE } mytí { SE } Petra studenou vodou.
 every day wash_{NOM.SG.N} SE Petr_{GEN} cold water_{INS}
 'Petr's every day washing himself with cold water.'

(Czech, Hron (2006):(14b))

This is true, but SE also has to be adjacent to the verb in infinitival contexts, as (ii) shows.

- (ii) Není { *SE } příjemné mýt { SE } studenou vodou.
 NEG.is_{3.SG} pleasant wash_{INF} SE cold water_{INS}
 'It is not pleasant to wash oneself with cold water.'

(Czech)

Both reflexivization operations (the nominal and the verbal one) have to have an external θ -role for bundling, as required by (32). First, note that the existence of external θ -roles in nominals has been challenged by Grimshaw (1990). Second, to posit two absolutely parallel operations which are different only with respect to the base to which they apply (nominal vs. verbal) is undesirable.

Moreover, note that the derivation of *-n-í / -t-í* nominals from the corresponding verb is absolutely regular and productive. Even intransitive verbs create these nominals (47), both unergatives (47-b) and unaccusatives²⁷ (47-c). Inherently reflexive verbs (47-d) do, too.

- (47) a. *pomáhat Petrovi* → *pomáhá-n-í_{NOM.SG.N} Petrovi_{DAT}*
 ‘help Petr’ ‘helping Petr’
 b. *spát_{INF}* → *spa-n-í_{NOM.SG.N}*
 ‘sleep’ ‘sleeping’
 c. *umírat_{INF}* → *umírá-n-í_{NOM.SG.N}*
 ‘die’ ‘dying’
 d. *chlubit_{INF} se* → *chlub-en-í_{NOM.SG.N} se*
 ‘boast’ ‘boasting’

(Czech)

In Reinhart & Siloni’s (2005) framework, productivity is the hallmark of a syntactic operation. So, one might assume that such a productive operation as nominalization in Czech would be treated as a syntactic operation. However, the assumption of universal derivation of nominals in the lexicon is defended fearlessly.

3.7.3 Decausativization

Decausativization, another arity operation in Reinhart & Siloni’s (2005) framework, derives unaccusatives (anticausatives, in our terminology). Decausativization derives (48-b) from the transitive version (48-a).

- (48) a. *Jean a cassé une branche.*
 Jean has_{3.SG} broken a branch
 ‘Jean broke a branch.’
 b. *La branche s’est cassée*
 the branch SE.is_{3.SG} broken

²⁷As I am not aware of a reliable test that would clearly distinguished unaccusatives and unergatives in Czech (the usual battery of tests is not applicable Pesetsky (1982), Schoorlemmer (2004) or not reliable Kosta and Frasek (2004)), I simply take a verb that in other languages (as Italian) is unaccusative.

‘A branch got broken.’

(French, Reinhart and Siloni (2005):418(64))

Decausativization reduces the external θ -role. In Romance and Slavic, the derivation of anticausatives from transitives is marked by the reflexive clitic *SE*, as is reflexivization. It is then natural to assume that the two operations have something in common; recall Chierchia’s intuition, based on morphology (section 3.4)²⁸: the unaccusatives and reflexives share the morphology (cf. *SE*), so their derivations are parallel. If this line of thinking is combined with Reinhart & Siloni (2005)’s parametrization, one might naturally think that the anticausatives in Romance and Slavic are to be derived in syntax. But this is not the case in this framework.

The decausativization eliminates an external θ -role and elimination of a θ -role is prohibited by (49) from syntax.

(49) The lexicon interface guideline

The syntactic component cannot manipulate θ -grids; elimination, modification, and addition of a θ -role are illicit in the syntax.

This is why: if the external θ -role is available in the syntax, it must be detectable. Instrument modification (see Reinhart (2002)) requires the presence of an external θ -role in the structure. If the external θ -role is absent in syntax, Instrument modification is impossible.

(50) shows that anticausatives cannot be modified by an instrument. Hence, the external θ -role has been eliminated, hence, the operation that derives anticausatives by elimination of the external θ -role cannot happen in syntax. Ergo, it was in lexicon.

(50) *La branche s’est cassée avec une hache.
 the branch *SE.is_{3.SG}* broken with an axe
Intended: ‘A branch got broken with an axe.’

(French, Reinhart and Siloni (2005):(66a))

²⁸Similarly, Reinhart (2002) proposed the two operations in a parallel fashion: reflexivization (that eliminates the internal θ -role) derives reflexives and expletivization (the predecessor of decausativization that eliminated the external θ -role) derives anticausatives:

- (i) a. Reflexivization:

$$R_R(V)(x) \leftrightarrow \lambda x[V(x, x)]$$
- b. Expletivization:

$$R_E(V)(x) \leftrightarrow \lambda x[V(x)]$$

The bundling operation (32) creating reflexives in Reinhart & Siloni's (2005) framework requires *an external θ -role*. It is not entirely true that the reflexives need an external θ -role. Some discussion follows in section 5.5.

From the unification perspective of the uses of the reflexive clitic SE, it is rather unattainable to see the derivation of reflexives in Romance and Slavic as derived in syntax while decausativization (the derivation of anticausatives) in the lexicon. The fact that these two operations systematically select the same morphological marking in languages (even outside Indo European, for example Warrungu, discussed in section 10.2.3) comes out as an accident in this theory. Similarly, derivation of nominalizations in Czech (as discussed in section 3.7.2) is problematic. I stop the discussion here and turn to the last proposal within the AS approach – Folli (2001)²⁹.

3.8 SE is something different

Strictly speaking, Folli's (2001) analysis (repeated also in Folli and Harley (2004)) does not fall under the lexicon / argument structure purview. On the other hand, it does not fall under the argumental view of reflexives (in neither of its instantiations) either: in her analysis, SE is a verbal head³⁰. There are two reasons to view a reflexive clitic (a painfully nominal element) as a verbal head: first, it gives the distinction in (51), and

²⁹There is an observation. While the reflexive morpheme is a bound morpheme in all the lexical languages (cf. Hungarian *-óz-*, Russian *sja*), a particular lexical template (cf. Hebrew *hitpa'el*), or nothing (cf. English), the syntax languages have a clitic (cf. Romance and Czech, Serbo-Croatian), or a reflexive morpheme (cf. German *sich*). That is, one could speculate that whenever reflexivization occurs in the lexicon, the marking must be lexical (cf. bound morpheme); when the reflexivization happens in the syntax, then a clitic or free morpheme would mark the reflexivization. It seems that the nature of the morpheme determines the syntactic ability of the construction. On this view, Greek and Icelandic are unexpected: both languages have reflexives created by bound morphemes (cf. Icelandic *-st*), yet are arguably syntax languages, as the ECM constructions witness. On the other hand, while it is assumed (Reinhart and Siloni (2005):411) that all the syntax languages should have a dative reflexivization, Greek does not have it, cf. (i).

(i) *O Yanis ajorastike ena aftokinito.
 the_{NOM} Yanis_{NOM} bought-te-3.SG a_{ACC} car_{ACC}
 Intended: 'Yanis bought a car for himself.'

(Greek, Papangeli (2004):79,(89b))

Papangeli attributes the impossibility of the dative reflexivization to the use of a suffix on the verb rather than a clitic.

³⁰Svenonius (2005):13 analyzes the Icelandic middle *-st* as a head of *MidP*, which can be identified as an alternative to v.

second, the system predicts that the Italian SE cannot appear under *fare* (52).

- (51) a. La finestra si è rotta da sè.
 the window_{F.SG} SE AUX_{3.SG} broken_{F.SG} by itself
 ‘The window broke by itself.’
 b. La finestra si è rotta.
 the window_{F.SG} SE AUX_{3.SG} broken_{F.SG}
 ‘The window got broken.’

(Italian, Folli (2001))

- (52) Maria ha fatto lavare(*SI) Gianni.
 Maria has made wash_{INF} Gianni
 REFL: ‘Maria had Gianni wash himself.’
 non-REFL ‘Maria had somebody wash Gianni.’

(Italian, Folli (2001))

Here are the particulars: SE has a feature composition $[(+v), +V]$ (with the $(+v)$ being optionally selected). It means that the element SE can lexicalize V -head only or, alternatively, it can lexicalize both v and V . The optionality the SE has is shown in anticausatives, like the examples in (51). In (51-a), the agentive adjunct *da sè* attaches, by standard assumption, to vP , hence, given that there is no other candidate for spelling out v -head, it is taken to be spelled out by SE. On the other hand, if the feature composition the SE corresponds to is only $[+V]$, then the sentence (51-b) is derived.

On the other hand, a reflexive SE carries both the $[+v, +V]$ features obligatorily. If so, it follows that the reflexive clitic SE cannot appear in the INF complement under causatives (52): literally, there is no space for it. The v is ‘taken’ by *fare* and the V by *lavare*, so, no SI can surface. (In the true reflexive, as *Gianni si lava*, the SE spells out v .)

One can imagine how the non-reflexive interpretation would arise in (52): routinely, the *washer* of *Gianni* can appear as an (optional) adjunct (introduced either by the preposition *a*, or *da*). How is the reflexive interpretation achieved, however, remains a mystery.³¹

³¹Kučerová (2005) proposes that the reflexive clitic SE, as opposed to other, non-reflexive clitics, satisfies the syntactic requirement TEC, that essentially states that if T is merged, the next step in the derivation must be to merge a projection of T (The T-Extension Condition (TEC)). Now, a reflexive clitic in Czech would satisfy this syntactic requirement while a non-reflexive clitic would not; by assumption, the reflexive clitic attaches to T but the non-reflexive clitics sit lower in the structure. By extension, then, the reflexive clitic would have something in common with T (as opposed to non-reflexive clitic). From the discussion in section 2.2.2 it follows that the reflexive clitics sit higher than non-reflexive clitics (in

3.9 SE operates on Argument Structure: Conclusion

Here I conclude the discussion of the approaches that view the reflexive clitic SE in Slavic and Romance as an operator on lexicon / argument structure. The main problem for all such instantiations of the general approach is still there: the ECM type of constructions, where the reflexive clitic SE unifies two different predicates, contrary to the expectations of the lexicon / AS approaches. In addition, for the view that strives to unify all the uses of the reflexive clitic SE, there were two potential problems. First, it is not obvious from the lexicalist / AS perspective how to explain the restriction on the distribution of the constructions using reflexive clitics (why are impersonals impossible in nominalizations, for instance) and second, if the SE marks the unification of the external and internal θ -roles, why should this relation need to be marked twice, in examples as (53) and (54) (repeated from section 3.6.2).

- (53) Nevěděl jsem, jestli *(se) sebevraždí nebo si
 NEG.know_{M.SG} AUX_{1.SG} whether SE self-murder_{3.SG.PRES} or SE_{DAT}
 chtěl vařit kafe.
 want_{M.SG} cook_{INF} coffee_{ACC}
 ‘I didn’t know whether he is committing suicide or whether he wanted to make coffee.’

(Czech, ČNK syn2000:[FAC, MEM, B, 39679])

- (54) Gianni *(si) è autopromosso.
 Gianni_{NOM} SE AUX_{3.SG} self.promote_{M.SG}
 ‘Gianni (himself) has promoted himself.’

(Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

The proposal Reinhart and Siloni (2005) put forth to overcome the difficulties posed by the ECM constructions with the reflexive clitics by ordering the assignment of θ -roles and application of the reflexivization rule. But the main objection I have against R&S’s view concerns the nominalizations (section 3.7.2) and formation of anticausatives (section 3.7.3). In their view, reflexives – in a language like Czech – are formed in syntax, but anticausatives and nominalizations with the reflexive clitics must come from lexicon. Yet, all three constructions are created by the same item: SE. I do not believe that it is an accident (as it would have to be in R&S’s approach) and I put forth my analysis in Part III. Before we get there, however, we move on to the second family of approaches

Czech), but it is not immediately obvious how exactly to relate them to *T*, in particular in the view of nominalizations with reflexive clitics, as discussed in section 2.2.3.

to the true reflexives. From now on, the SE is seen as an element – either an argument or an operator – in **syntax**. We start with the view which aligns the SE with the *internal* argument of the predicate.

Chapter 4

SE is the internal argument

This chapter presents approaches in which the reflexive clitic SE is identified with an internal argument.

It comes rather naturally to consider the reflexive clitic SE as any other object clitic: it is born inside the VP (as any other object clitic), it then cliticizes to the appropriate position (as any other object clitic). The arguments for this view are summed up in section 4.1. Since SE is inherently anaphoric, it needs to be bound. And this is the only difference between the object clitics and SE, as Burzio (1986) suggested (section 4.2). But things – obviously – are not as simple as this. It is very clear that the reflexive clitic SE just is not another run-of-the-mill object clitic, neither in Romance (section 4.3) nor in Slavic (section 4.4).

Yet, intuitively, the desire to make the SE linked to the internal argument position is very strong. If not the SE itself, we can alternatively think of SE as an element (a piece of morphology) that licenses an anaphoric object DP in VP. An analysis of this kind is presented in the section 4.5.

To anticipate, the weight of the arguments against seeing the reflexive clitic SE as an internal argument (or, alternatively, as an element that licenses an internal argument) is too convincing to be pursued in this work.

4.1 Pro argument status of SE

Parallels with non-reflexive clitics make the view that the reflexive clitics just are internal arguments as any other object clitics irresistibly natural. Recall the discussion in chapter 2: the reflexive clitics morphologically ‘naturally’ complement the 1st and 2nd object clitics, they cliticize as any other clitics, they are part of the clitic clusters – again, as any other clitics. They have full pronominal counterparts, as any other object clitics.

Well, of course, one can go on, but recall that there also are certain disturbing dissimilarities between the reflexive clitics on one hand and the non-reflexive object clitics on the other. For instance, the reflexive clitics do not seem able to put on PL morphology, they interact with AUX clitics (the way the non-reflexive clitics never do) and importantly, the reflexive clitics are the only clitics appearing in nominalizations. One would hope the right analysis of the reflexive clitic would make these properties if not follow, then at least compatible.

The analysis that takes the (certain) morphological characteristics at the face value can be summarized as follows: the reflexive clitic SE is a clitic member of a reflexive pair clitic SE – pronominal form *sebe*¹. It is different from other clitics in being reflexive. This is, by and large, the traditional analysis of the reflexive clitics as found in Šmilauer (1972) or Panevová (1999) within the Czech tradition. In the next section, I follow Burzio's (1986) discussion on Italian.

4.2 Burzio (1986)

Burzio (1986):36ff discusses various examples with reflexive clitic SE in Italian. At this point, however, I only want to look at Burzio's analysis of reflexive SE (1).²

- (1) Maria si guarda.
 Maria SE watch_{3.SG}
 'Maria watches herself.'

(Italian, Burzio (1986))

The reflexive SE is a reflexive object clitic, base-generated in a clitic position and it creates a chain with an empty category in the object position – essentially as any other object clitic (2).

¹In the Czech tradition, Oliva (2001) builds on Havránek (1928) and Havránek (1937) and argues very convincingly against this 'standard' view.

²From the point of unification, Burzio (1986) posits essentially three distinct lexical elements: reflexive SE, ergative and inherently-reflexive SE and impersonal SE. The *reflexive* is an object clitic associated with the objective case. It differs from all the other object clitics by being anaphoric. The *ergative* SE is an affix not associated with any case, but it marks the loss of an external θ -role. The *impersonal* SE, finally, is a subject clitic, which is linked to an external θ -role and NOM case. This view makes partial unifications possible: in particular, the reflexive SE is unified with other object clitics in a straightforward way and, the impersonal and ergative SE could be united in requiring an external θ -role. Yet, to consolidate all the uses of SE under one analysis seems impossible.

- (2) a. Maria lo guarda e.
 ↑
 e
 ↓
 lo
- b. Maria si guarda e.
 ↑
 si
 ↓
 e

The object position is assigned a θ -role by the verb and this θ -role is associated with the clitic through the chain, cf. *(lo, e)*. The only notable difference between the non-reflexive (2-a) and reflexive clitic (2-b) is that the latter, but not the former, has *Maria* as an antecedent³. In other words, the reflexive clitic (as opposed to the non-reflexive one) is anaphoric.

The object-clitic analysis gives a neat explanation of the reflexive DAT (indirect) object clitics. Consider the Italian example (3) or the Czech example (4) with the DAT reflexive clitics in the (a) examples and non-reflexive DAT in the (b) examples. If the SE_{DAT} starts out as an indirect object, then quite naturally, by the same mechanism the SE_{ACC} is linked to the direct object position, the DAT reflexive clitic will be linked to the indirect object position. Both DAT and ACC reflexive clitics then will be bound by the subject, as required by their anaphoric nature.

- (3) a. Tre prigionieri si sono scritti.
three prisoners SE are_{3,PL} written_{M,PL}
'Three prisoners have written to themselves / to each other.'
- b. Tre prigionieri gli hanno scritto.
three prisoners him_{DAT} have_{3,PL} written_{SG}
'Three prisoners have written to him.'

(Italian, Burzio (1986):417,(45))

- (4) a. Děti si vyměnily trička.
kids_{NOM.PL} SE_{DAT} changed_{PL} T-shirt_{ACC.PL}
'The children swapped their T-shirts.'
b. Děti mu vyměnily trička.
kids_{NOM.PL} him_{DAT} changed_{PL} T-shirt_{ACC.PL}
'The children swapped T-shirts on him.'

(Czech)

So, in chapter 2 we saw abundant evidence that the reflexive clitics in Romance and Slavic just look remarkably like non-reflexive object clitics. Here, we add a plausible analysis as well. So, why don't we pronounce a winner? Not yet. In the next section, I present equally ample and abundant evidence that this analysis just must be wrong, regardless its simplicity, beauty and elegance. Just wrong. Both for Romance (section

³Why does the binder have to be local? Why do clitics have to be bound *locally*, while other anaphoric elements, namely full pronouns do not have to be bound locally? These facts are well known, for Russian *sebia*, for instance, see Bailyn and Nevins (2005) and likewise for Italian *sè*, see Giorgi (1990), e.g.

4.3) and Slavic (section 4.4).

4.3 Against argument status of SE I: Romance

Here it comes: the analysis of the reflexive SE as an internal argument predicts that reflexive constructions (5-a) are **transitive**, as much as a construction with a non-reflexive clitic (5-b) is.

- (5) a. Carlo si lava.
 Carlo_{NOM} SE_{ACC} wash_{3.SG}
 ‘Carlo washes.’
 b. Carlo lo lava.
 Carlo_{NOM} him_{ACC} wash_{3.SG}
 ‘Carlo washes him.’

(Italian)

If so, the reflexive clitic SE and the non-reflexive clitic *lo* should show the same syntactic behavior with respect to the tests sensitive to transitivity. In the following two sections, I will go through evidence that shows that the reflexive constructions are intransitives, both in Romance (section 4.3) and in Slavic (section 4.4).

4.3.1 NP-Extrapolation

The NP-extrapolation argument for the intransitive status of reflexives originates in Kayne (1975) and Grimshaw (1982) and it is cited in every subsequent work on reflexives.

In French, an NP can be extraposed (to directly follow the verb) if an expletive *il* appears in a subject position (6-a). The NP-extraposed structure (6-a) alternates with a construction where the associate appears in the subject position itself, as in (6-b).

- (6) a. Il passe un train toutes les heures.
 EXPL go-by_{3.SG} a train every the hour
 b. Un train passe toutes les heures.
 A train go-by_{3.SG} every the hour
 ‘A train goes by every hour.’

(French, Alsina (1996):86)

(7) a. Trois mille hommes ont dénoncé la décision.
three thousand men AUX denounced the decision
'Three thousand men denounced the decision.'

b. *Il a dénoncé la décision trois mille hommes.
EXPL have denounced the decision three thousand men

c. *Il a dénoncé trois mille hommes la décision.
EXPL have denounced three thousand men the decision

(French, Kayne (1975):379)

(8) *Il l'a dénoncé trois mille hommes.
EXPL it.have denounced three thousand men
Intended: 'Three thousand men denounced it.'

(French, Kayne (1975):379)

⁴There is a debate concerning this issue: Alboiu *et al.* (2004) argues that the associate of the expletive must be an internal argument. However, this is probably not true: an unergative verb might appear in an NP-extraposed construction in French, as shown in (i-a). Yet, *en*-cliticization from the NP-extraposed structure is illicit, as shown in (i-b). Perhaps there is more at play; Alsina (1996):85 mentions that the extraposed NP must be indefinite.

- (i) a. ?Il a dormi plusieurs enfants
EXPL have slept several children
'There were several children sleeping.'
- b. *Il en a dormi plusieurs.
EXPL *en* have slept several
Intend.: 'There were several of them sleeping.'
- (French, Sportiche (1998a):149,(107a))

Other languages show the same pattern: in the expletive construction, the associate is usually an internal argument, but there are many examples of clearly unergative verbs in expletive constructions, cf. Norwegian (Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.).

- (9) Il s'est dénoncé trois mille hommes ce mois-ci.
 EXPL SE.is denounced three thousands men this month
 'Three thousand men denounced themselves this month.'

(French, Kayne (1975):379)

The contrast between the ungrammatical transitive construction with a non-reflexive clitic *la* in (8) and the grammatical sentence with the reflexive clitic *SE* in (9) is enough to make the argument: NP-extraposition is sensitive to the distinction between transitives and intransitives and only intransitives are licit in the NP-extraposition context. In other words, the reflexive clitic *SE* just is not the same element as the non-reflexive clitic *la*.

There is a further elaboration concerning the readings of the NP-extraposed constructions with the reflexive clitic *SE*. On the one hand, Kayne (1975), Wehrli (1986) and Sportiche (1998a) report perfectly grammatical judgments on the reflexive reading of the NP-extraposed construction. So, parallel to Kayne's example (9), Wehrli gives a reflexive gloss *Somebody washed himself* for (10) and Sportiche translates (11) as *Many people shave (themselves)*.

- (10) Il se lave quaelqu'un.
 EXPL SE wash_{3.SG} someone
 'Someone washes himself.'

(French, Wehrli (1986):274,(23-f))

- (11) Il se rase beaucoup de gens.
 EXPL SE shave many of people
 'Many people shave (themselves).'

(French, Sportiche (1998a):201,(183b))

Reinhart and Siloni (2004) have an example of an extraposed NP and the reflexive reading they intend to have, is only slightly degraded (12).

- (12) (?)Il s'est lavé beaucoup de touristes dans ces douches publiques,
 EXPL SE.is washed many of tourists in these showers public
 récemment
 recently
 'Many tourist washed in these public showers recently.'

(French, Reinhart and Siloni (2004):172,(23b))

On the other hand, Alboiu *et al.* (2004) report the reflexive reading as ungrammatical, the only reading they quote as grammatical is impersonal, as shown in (13).

- (13) Il s'est lavé plusieurs enfants.
 EXPL SE.is washed several children
 'Several children were washed.'
 *'Several children washed themselves.'

(French, Alboiu *et al.* (2004):(7))

In the NP-extraposition construction, it seems much easier to get unaccusatives (see discussion in footnote 4 on page 111). It also seems much easier to get impersonals in the NP-extraposition construction (at least if we rely on Alboiu *et al.*'s judgments). To that effect, notice that all the clearly reflexive examples ((10), (11) and (12)) have a verb that is naturally construed as reflexive (*wash* or *shave*)⁵. If both unergatives and reflexives are harder to get in the NP-extraposition, it might ultimately be an argument in favor of deriving reflexives by raising the IA to the EA-position, which assimilates reflexives to unergatives rather than to unaccusatives.

4.3.2 Nominalizations

Based on nominalized infinitives in Romance, Alsina (1996):89ff provides an argument for an intransitive status of reflexives. In Catalan, an intransitive infinitive can be nominalized (14).

- (14) El caminar pausat de l'abadessa marcava el ritme de la processó.
 the walk_{INF} calm of the.abbess marked the rhythm of the procession
 'The calm pace of the abbess marked the rhythm of the procession.'

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):89,(11a))

The nominalized INF is distinguishable from NPs headed by an INF VP: only nominalized INF can take postnominal adjectives (*pausat* in (14)) and a prepositional phrase expressing the logical subject (*de l'abadessa* in (14)). On the other hand, NPs headed by an INF VP can take adverbial modifiers and direct objects, but they cannot express the logical subject. In other words, the adjective and the subject PP in (14) indicate that we are dealing with a nominalized INF.

Transitive verbs (15), on the other hand, cannot be nominalized the same way the

⁵It would be interesting to know whether examples that are naturally less reflexives, so to speak, have the reflexive or impersonal reading. I was not able to find out.

intransitives can.

- (15) *El sàtir observava amagat el despullar les nimfes sorollós del centaure.
 the satyr observed hidden the undress_{INF} the nymphs noisy of.the centaur
Intended: ‘Hidden, the satyr was observing the noisy undressing of the nymphs by the centaur.’

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):89,(12a))

In contrast to the transitive verb in (15), if the verb is reflexivized, the sentence is perfectly grammatical (16).⁶

- (16) El sàtir observava amagat el despullar-se de les nimfes sorollós.
 the satyr observed hidden the undress_{INF-SE} of the nymphs noisy
 ‘Hidden, the satyr was observing the noisy undressing of the nymphs.’

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):91,(13a))

If reflexive clitics were really exactly the same as non-reflexive clitics (but anaphoric on top), the contrast between (16) and (i) in the footnote 6 would remain unexplained. However, if the SE creates an intransitive predicate, the data above follow beautifully.

4.3.3 SE under Causatives I.

The argument presented below is yet another argument against the idea that the reflexive clitic is an object clitic, put forth by Grimshaw (1982). I however use Alsina’s (1996):86ff examples.

In Romance, the transitive and intransitive infinitives show different case marking when embedded under a causative verb. So, if an intransitive infinitive, as *ballar* in (17), is embedded under a causative verb, the single argument of the infinitive is marked

⁶Still, one can potentially argue that (16) is grammatical because the object of the infinitive is ‘incorporated’ to the infinitive, or, in other words, the ungrammaticality of (15) is better understood as the impossibility of expressing the object of the infinitive as a full DP. If so, the structure with a *non-reflexive clitic*, which would ‘incorporate’ to the infinitive the same way the reflexive clitic SE does in (16), is predicted to be grammatical. However, this prediction is not born out, as shown in (i).

- (i) ?*La Maria esperava el despullar-la impetuós del seu amant.
 the Maria awaited the undress_{INF-her}_{ACC} impetuous of her lover
Intended: ‘Maria was expecting her lover to undress her impetuously.’

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):92,(14a))

ACC.

- (17) L' / *Li he fet ballar.
 him_{ACC} / him_{DAT} have made dance
 'I've made him dance.'

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):87,(8a))

On the other hand, the subject of the transitive verb *wash the curtain* is marked DAT (18).

- (18) *L / Li he fet rentar la cortina.
 him_{ACC} / him_{DAT} have made wash the curtain
 'I've made him wash the curtain.'

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):87,(8b))

Now, if the reflexive clitic SE were analyzed as a direct object, we would expect the only argument of the reflexive construction (cf. *I* in (18)) to be marked DAT. That is, the reflexive clitic SE is the direct object and as such it is marked ACC case, so, the subject of the transitive verb must be marked DAT, as is indeed the case in (18). However, this prediction is wrong: the subject of the reflexive infinitive must be marked ACC, as an *intransitive* verb (19).

- (19) L' / *Li he fet rentar{-se}
 him_{ACC} / him_{DAT} have made wash-SE
 'I have made him wash himself.'

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):87,(9))

So, once again: the true reflexive construction is intransitive and not transitive, according to this test. It thus follows that the reflexive clitic SE just cannot be analyzed as an anaphoric object clitic.

4.3.4 Subject-verb inversion in indirect interrogatives

The subject – verb inversion in indirect interrogatives is yet another construction sensitive to transitive / intransitive distinction in French, as pointed out by Wehrli (1986). It is possible to invert the subject – verb when the verb is intransitive (20), rather impossible for a transitive verb with a full object (21-a) and quite unacceptable for the clitic (21-b).

- (20) Je me demande quand partira ton ami.
 I me_{inh-refl} ask when leave your friend
 ‘I wonder when your friend will leave.’
 (French, Wehrli (1986):272,(18a))
- (21) a. *Je me demande quand achètera Paul la maison.
 I me_{inh-refl} ask when build_{3.SG.FUT} Paul the house
Intended: ‘I wonder when Paul will build the house.’
 (Wehrli (1986):272,(19a))
- b. ??Je me demande comment les a rasés Paul.
 I me_{inh-refl} ask how them_{ACC} has_{3.SG} shaven Paul
Intended: ‘I wonder how Paul shaved them.’
 (French, Wehrli (1986):272,(20b))

The reflexive construction comes out perfectly grammatical, on a par with the intransitives (22).

- (22) Je me demande comment s’est rasé Paul.
 I me_{inh-refl} ask how SE.is_{3.SG} shaven Paul
 ‘I wonder how Paul shaved himself.’
 (French, Wehrli (1986):273,(20a))

Once again, the true reflexive constructions come out as clearly intransitive. The reflexive clitic SE thus cannot be analyzed as an object clitic, despite its appearance.

So far, in this section, I presented arguments against the analysis of the SE in true reflexive constructions as an object clitic based on Romance languages. But since this is a comparative work, in the following section I present arguments for the same conclusion, but this time drawn from Slavic.

4.4 Against the argument status of SE II: Slavic

To the best of my knowledge, there are just three tests in Slavic languages that clearly make distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs: secondary depictives, *jako*-complementation and embedding under a causative verb *nechat* ‘let’. The latter constitutes a clear counterpart to the Catalan examples discussed in section 4.3.3 and I will start with this test in section 4.4.1. Then I will show secondary depictives in simple sentences (in section 4.4.2) and *jako*-complementation in section 4.4.3.

To anticipate, both secondary depictives and the embedding under a causative classify the SE constructions as intransitive, not transitive – exactly the same conclusion we reached in Romance.

4.4.1 Causative constructions with *nechat*

Similarly to Romance languages, the Czech counterparts to *fare*-constructions are sensitive to the in/transitivity of embedded infinitive. So, the subject of the INF appears in ACC case with any verb (23). However, only with transitive INF can the subject also appear in DAT, bringing along an additional flavor of permission (24).

- (23) a. Nechala jsem Petra podepsat náš dopis řediteli.
 let_{F.SG} be_{1.SG} Petr_{ACC} sign_{INF} our letter_{ACC} director_{DAT}
 ‘I let Petr sign our letter to the director.’
 b. Nechala jsem Petra spát.
 let_{F.SG} be_{1.SG} Petr_{ACC} sleep_{INF}
 ‘I let Petr sleep.’
 c. Nechala jsem Petra umřít.
 let_{F.SG} be_{1.SG} Petr_{ACC} die_{INF}
 ‘I let Petr die.’

(Czech)

- (24) a. Nechala jsem Petrovi podepsat náš dopis řediteli.
 let_{F.SG} be_{1.SG} Petr_{DAT} sign_{INF} our letter_{ACC} director_{DAT}
 ‘I allowed Petr to sign our letter to the director.’
 b. *Nechala jsem Petrovi spát.
 let_{F.SG} be_{1.SG} Petr_{DAT} sleep_{INF}
Intended: ‘I let Petr sleep.’
 c. *Nechala jsem Petrovi umřít.
 let_{F.SG} be_{1.SG} Petr_{DAT} die_{INF}
Intended: ‘I let Petr die.’

(Czech)

The embedded INF with a reflexive clitic (and reflexive reading) cannot have the subject in DAT, even though there is nothing wrong with a permission pragmatically. In other words, the reflexive INF is intransitive.

- (25) Nechala jsem {Petra / *Petrovi} oholit se.
 let_{F.SG} be_{1.SG} Petr_{ACC} / Petr_{DAT} shave_{INF} SE
 ‘I let Petr shave himself.’

(Czech)

The first test in Slavic thus gives the same conclusion we reached looking at Romance: the true reflexive constructions are intransitive. So, even if the morphological appearance is irresistibly convincing, the syntactic behavior is telling us clearly that the reflexive clitic SE just cannot be an object clitic. The constructions with secondary depictives in Slavic will confirm the conclusion.

4.4.2 Secondary depictives

Look at the examples of secondary depictives in (26). In Czech, secondary depictives can modify either a subject (26-a), or an object of a verb (26-b). The morphological endings (cf. case and gender ending) make the modification unambiguous.

- (26) a. Zuza_i umývá Aničku_j [**cel-á vesel-á_i**].
 Zuza_{NOM.F} wash_{3.SG} Anička_{ACC} whole happy_{ACC.F}
 ‘Zuza – all happy – washes Anička.’
 b. Zuza_i umývá Aničku_j [**cel-ou vesel-ou_j**].
 Zuza_{NOM.F} wash_{3.SG} Anička_{ACC} whole happy_{ACC.F}
 ‘Zuza washes Anička, who is all happy.’

(Czech, adapted from Kopečný (1958):125)

If the object of the sentence is not a full DP as in (26), but it is an object clitic instead, the pattern is exactly the same (27): the subject depictive is in NOM (27-a), the object depictive appears in ACC case (27-b).

- (27) a. Zuza_i ji_j umývá [**cel-á vesel-á_i**].
 Zuza_{NOM.F} her_{ACC} wash_{3.SG} whole happy_{ACC.F}
 ‘Zuza – all happy – washes her.’
 b. Zuza_i ji_j [**cel-ou vesel-ou_j**] umývá.
 Zuza_{NOM.F} her_{ACC} whole happy_{ACC.F} wash_{3.SG}
 ‘Zuza washes her, who is all happy.’

(Czech)

So, once again: if the reflexive clitic SE just were another version of an object clitic, it should trigger the ACC morphology on the depictive; as shown in (27-b), that is what the object clitics do. However, and not surprisingly anymore, the depictive can appear only in NOM case (28) indicating that the SE just is *not* a direct object of the verb – at least not in the same way the non-reflexive clitic *ji* in (27-b) or a full DP *Anička* in

(26-b) are.⁷

- (28) Já_i se_i umývám [cel-á vesel-á_i] / *[cel-ou vesel-ou_i].
 I_{NOM.F} SE wash_{1.SG.IMP} whole happy_{NOM.F} / whole happy_{ACC}
 ‘I – all happy – wash myself.’

(Czech)

This is the pattern for *all* the Slavic languages, cf. Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene and Polish (note that the Polish *się* does not behave as a canonical clitic, yet, the secondary depictives show the same behavior).

The same holds for the DAT reflexives (29). The secondary depictive (29-b) must bear NOM case and cannot appear in DAT.

- (29) a. Karel si pomohl.
 Karel_{NOM} SE_{DAT} help_{3.SG.PAST}
 ‘Karel helped himself.’
 b. Karel si pomohl [celý veselý] / *[celému
 Karel_{NOM.MA} SE_{DAT} helped_{3.SG.PAST} whole happy_{NOM.MA} / whole
 veselému].
 happy_{DAT.MA}
 ‘Karel – all happy – helped himself.’

(Czech)

Again, the reflexive constructions with reflexive clitics pattern with intransitives, not transitives, with respect to secondary depictives.

4.4.3 *jako*-complementation

The same pattern as for secondary depictives is repeated with the *jako*-complementation ‘as’-complementation, cf. Babby (1998a), Fried (2004). The *jako*-complement has to

⁷With the full reflexive pronoun *sebe*, the depictive must be dependent on the object (i). This fact, ultimately, raises the question why the depictive cannot ‘choose’ to depend on the subject, given that the arguments of the verb (subject and object) are coindexed. I do not have anything illuminating to say here.

- (i) Já_i umývám sebe_i *[cel-á vesel-á] / [cel-ou vesel-ou].
 I_{NOM.F} wash_{1.SG} myself_{ACC} whole happy_{NOM.F} / whole happy_{ACC.F}
 ‘I wash myself all happy.’

(Czech)

bear the same case marking as the DP it modifies. In (30), the DP *studenty* bears ACC case, as the complement ‘hangs’ on the ACC object clitic *vás*.

- (30) ... a **vás_i** pak představili jako **studenty_i** východních
and you_{ACC} then introduced_{3.PL.PAST} as students_{ACC.PL} eastern
filosofií.
philosophy_{GEN}
‘And then they introduced you’ll as students of eastern philosophy.’

(Czech, Fried (2004))

As the non-reflexive clitic, the full reflexive pronoun (31) triggers the ACC case marking in the *jako* complement.

- (31) ... a **sebe_i** pak představili jako **studenty_i**
and themselves_{ACC} then introduced_{3.PL.PAST} as students_{ACC.PL}
východních filosofií.
eastern philosophy_{GEN}
‘And then they introduced themselves as students of eastern philosophy.’

(Czech, Fried (2004))

On the other hand, the reflexive clitic SE in the *jako*-complement (32) cannot trigger the ACC case on the DP *studenti_{NOM}* showing once again that the reflexive clitic SE just cannot be an object clitic.

- (32) ... a pak **se_i** představili jako **studenti_i** východních
and then SE introduced_{3.PL.PAST} as students_{NOM.PL} eastern
filosofií.
philosophy_{GEN}
‘And then they introduced themselves as students of eastern philosophy.’

(Czech, Fried (2004))

So, the true reflexive constructions clearly behave as intransitive with respect to embedding under *nechat*, secondary depictives and *jako*-complementation tests.

In sections 4.3.1 – 4.4.3 I went through no less than seven tests drawn from both Romance and Slavic to reach the same conclusion over and over: the reflexive clitic SE just does not behave as another object clitic. Thus to align the reflexive clitic with other

object clitics is untenable, even though we all, I believe, share the intuition supported tremendously by all the morphological evidence gathered in section 4.1: the reflexive clitic *SE* just *looks* and *feels* like an object clitic. In the following section, I am going to present an analysis that wants to substantiate this intuition but escape the problems pointed above. In Dobrovie-Sorin (1998) and (2004), the reflexive clitic *SE* is seen not as an object clitic, but rather as an element that licenses the direct object.

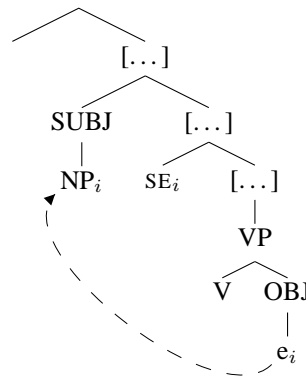
4.5 Dobrovie-Sorin (1998) and (2005)

The ultimate goal of Dobrovie-Sorin's proposals is to unify all the uses of *SE* in Romance languages. To that effect, she distinguishes the middle-passive *accusative SE* and the *nominative/subject SE*. As she puts it, 'these two *SE*'s are homophonous, but clearly distinct linguistic entities', (Dobrovie-Sorin (1998)). Since here I review possible approaches to the true reflexive constructions with *SE*, I will concentrate on the 'middle-passive' ACC *SE* in Dobrovie-Sorin's terminology. All the relevant instantiations of this *SE* are shown in (33).

- (33) a. Reflexive
 Jean_i se_i lave e_i.
 Jean SE wash
 'Jean washes (himself).'
- b. Middle
 Le grec_i se_i traduit e_i facilement.
 the Greek SE translate_{3.SG} easily
 'Greek translates easily.'
- c. Passive
 Il_j s_i.est traduit trois romans_i.
 EXPL SE.is translated three novels
 'Three novels were translated.'
- d. Ergative
 La branche_i s_i.est cassée e_i.
 the branch SE.is broken
 'The branch broke.'
- e. Inherent
 Jean_i se_i.est souvenu e_i de Marie.
 Jean SE.is remembered of Marie
 'Jean remembered Marie.'

(French, Dobrovie-Sorin (2005))

(35)



The examples of (true) reflexive (33-a), middle (33-b), passive (33-c), unaccusative (33-d) and inherently-reflexive (33-e) SE are based on the ‘middle-passive’ SE. All these constructions share the SE: an anaphoric element. The gist of the proposal is this: SE itself is not an argument, and thus it does not appear in an A-position. If not in an A-position, what happens to its anaphoricity, if anaphoricity by definition is relevant only to A-positions? The anaphoric status of the ‘middle-reflexive’ SE is transferred to its trace in an A-position (Dobrovie-Sorin (1998):401). So, the structure relevant for Binding Theory (BT) is (34), with the coindexation relevant for the examples (33).

(34) $NP_i e_i$

The NP_i occupies the subject position, and the e_i the object position. SE itself is not a part of the chain: it is located in an \bar{A} -position irrelevant for the Binding Theory. This is shown schematically in (35).

So, even though the examples (33) are based on the same SE that creates the same binding relation with the same trace (to which it transferred its anaphoricity), the interpretation for each construction is different due to the thematic relations: “One and the same binding relation may form one or two θ -chains, depending on the lexical properties of the predicates.” (Dobrovie-Sorin (2005):129).

Concretely: while the true reflexive construction (33-a) has two arguments (and rely on a two-chain configuration (36-a)), the non-reflexive constructions correspond just to a single chain, the Theme (36-b).

The two chain configuration in (36-a) underlies SE-reflexives, which are characterized by an identification relation between the internal and the external arguments⁸.

⁸The identification relation, however, must identify the internal argument with the external one (and not the other way around), to keep up with the arguments from Reinhart and Siloni (2004). It is not

- (36) a. $(NP_i)(e_i)$
 b. $(NP_i e_i)$

As for the examples based on (36-b) (that is, all examples (33-b)–(33-e)), the interpretative difference among them cannot come from the θ -distinction (as all these constructions are based on the same θ -relation). So, it all depends on what happens to the external θ -role. According to Dobrovie-Sorin, there are two (syntactic) options for an external θ -role: either nothing happens to it ('it is not suspended'), as with (33-b) and (33-c), or it is suspended, as with (33-d) and (33-e). If not suspended (in syntax), it is still semantically active and thus could be detected as an implicit agent (as is the case with middles (33-b) and passives (33-c)), if suspended, we get unaccusatives (anti-causatives) (33-d) and inherently-reflexive constructions (33-e).

Furthermore, Dobrovie-Sorin offers a solution to a long-standing puzzle concerning reflexive clitics: their ungrammaticality with derived subjects. (Dobrovie-Sorin herself notes examples that disconfirm the impossibility of reflexive with derived subjects, some further examples are in section 5.5.) Going back to Rizzi's (1986b) observation (discussed further in section 6.3.1), the reflexive clitics cannot be bound by derived subjects. While to have a non-reflexive clitic in a raising context is perfectly fine (37-a), the structure appears ungrammatical if the raised subject *Gianni* and the clitic *SE* are construed as coindexed (37-b).

- (37) a. Gianni_i mi / ti / gli sembra [t_i essere furbo].
 Gianni me_{DAT} / you_{DAT} / him_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} be_{INF} smart
 'Gianni seems smart to me/to you/to him.'
 b. *Gianni_i si_i sembra [t_i essere furbo].
 Gianni SI_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} be_{INF} smart
 'Gianni seems smart to himself.'

(Italian, Rizzi (1986b))

In Rizzi's terms, (37-b) is ungrammatical because the chain did not hold at one level of representation, namely at D-structure.

Dobrovie-Sorin (2005):133 proposes a modification: the coindexing requirement imposed by *SE* does not need to be true for *every* level of representation: in particular, it does need to hold at D-structure; it should hold in the Lexicon.

But there must be something I miss: if the coindexation has to hold in the Lexicon, how can a structure clearly derived in syntax have the right kind of coindexation *from the Lexicon*? Even if we admit that raising constructions could be specified in the Lexicon

obvious to me how to achieve that without further assumptions not mentioned in the Dobrovie-Sorin's text.

(a very odd assumption in the first place), how can coindexation in the Lexicon work in the case of passives with SE_{DAT} , as shown in Romanian example (52)?

- (38) Ion și Maria și-au fost prezentați anul trecut.
 Ion and Maria SE_{DAT} -have_{3.pl} been presented year-the last
 ‘Ion and Maria were presented to each other last year.’

(Romanian, Dobrovie-Sorin (2005):132,(33))

The levels of representations (and what is available at which level) in Dobrovie-Sorin’s work are not transparent. For instance, the true reflexive constructions are characterized by an identification relation between the external and internal arguments. But if this identification happens in the lexicon, how can we explain the ECM constructions? And if the proper level of representations to identify two arguments is syntax, how come that the reflexives appear as intransitive, if there are two arguments in the syntax? Dobrovie-Sorin alludes to another level of representation⁹, but which level this should be is far from obvious.

Lastly, but importantly: what is the role of SE, exactly? It is characterized as an inherently anaphoric element, but as a matter of fact, its inherent anaphoricity is always transferred to a trace in the object position. From that perspective, I found it natural to question the inherent anaphoricity of reflexive clitics. For instance, Kayne (2000) argues that the *s*-type pronoun (reflexive clitic), not the *l*-type (as the definite articles) is the natural candidate for the 3rd person to complete the line *m*- (pronoun with the root *m*) for 1st person, *t*- for 2nd person. Similar idea is presented in D’Alessandro (2004). And needless to say, I do not see the reflexive clitic SE as inherently reflexive, either.

4.6 SE is the internal argument: Conclusion

The conclusion of this section is clear: the reflexive clitic SE just is not (and it cannot be) another (anaphoric, for instance) version of other object clitics. It was shown that the true reflexive constructions are intransitive: both for Romance languages (section 4.3) and for Slavic (section 4.4).

⁹“The full representation of (36), (exemplified in (i) and (ii), [L.M.]) should be viewed as pertaining to a level of representation other than S-structure.” Dobrovie-Sorin (2005):ft(14).

- (i) (NP_{*i*}) (SE_{*i*} e_{*i*})
 (ii) (NP_{*i*} SE_{*i*} e_{*i*})

However, there is the ‘morphological burden’: in chapter 2 I listed evidence that just make the reflexive clitics *look* like object clitics.

So, what’s next? We know that the reflexive clitic is a syntactic element (it is not a part of Lexicon or AS distinct from syntax, as argued in chapter 3) and we know that it just cannot be an object clitic (as discussed in this chapter). So, there is another way to look at the reflexive clitics: the reflexive clitic is somehow linked to the external argument (EA). But what about the morphological similarity to object clitics? Let’s see.

Chapter 5

SE is linked to the external argument

The leading idea in this approach is that the sole argument of the true reflexive constructions with the reflexive clitic SE starts out in the position inside the VP and moves to the subject position – the way the sole arguments of unaccusative verbs do. SE, then, is present to make this movement possible, to state its role in a very general way.

In the previous approaches, the reflexive clitic SE was seen as an operator in lexicon / argument structure (in chapter 3) and as an object clitic (in chapter 4). Both approaches have one thing in common: the NOM DP *Gianni* is seen as an external argument (EA). They differ in the way they look at the internal argument (IA): for the lexicon / argument structure approaches, the IA's θ -role is linked to the EA's θ -role (cf. Reinhart & Siloni's Bundling, Chierchia's External Reflexivization, etc.), for the second family of approaches, the SE itself is the IA (cf. Burzio) or somehow it licenses the IA (Dobrovie-Sorin). But as I argued in the previous chapters, there are problems with both views.

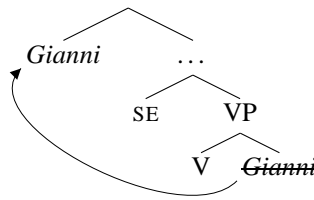
Logically, then, there is another option: it is the SE that somehow prevents the 'normal' assignment of the external θ -role in the true reflexive constructions. The only argument – *Gianni* in (1) – would then have to start out as an IA and go through a derivation similar to (the standard) unaccusatives, as shown schematically in (1) for the sentence in (1). This chapter, then, summarizes arguments for such a view.

- (1) Gianni si è lavato.
Gianni_{NOM} SE be_{3.SG} washed_{M.SG}
'Gianni washed himself.'

(Italian)

There are at least four good reasons for considering the true reflexive constructions with the reflexive clitics derived by movement from the IA position to the subject po-

(2)



sition. First, morphology (namely, SE) shared by true reflexives on the one hand and unaccusatives (anticausatives, in our terminology) on the other (section 5.1). This argument is valid both in Romance and in Slavic. Second, auxiliary selection in Romance languages (section 5.2). Third, past participle agreement (section 5.3) and fourth, causatives of reflexivized verbs (section 5.4). Finally, I discuss a potential argument: if it were the case that the true reflexive SE is dependent on availability of an external θ -role, then we predict that true reflexive constructions are impossible in passives, unaccusatives and raising constructions. However, there are examples of true reflexive constructions both in Slavic and Romance that clearly go against this generalization. This is discussed in section 5.5.

The last subsection of this chapter shows one particular instantiation of the unaccusative analysis of the reflexives: Sportiche (1998a). But because the movement analysis of reflexives is taken up in this work, I discuss (and update) Kayne's (1986) analysis and Alboiu *et al.*'s (2004) analysis in the chapter 6.

The indisputable charm of this particular view of reflexive clitic is that it renders possible the unification of the different uses of SE – even in constructions that can be hardly seen as reflexive, as reviewed in previous chapter (chapter 1 in particular). Notice that the role of the reflexive clitic SE is far from obvious under this scenario. So, Sportiche has it that the reflexive clitic SE interrupts an assignment of an external θ -role. For Kayne, the SE somehow makes the movement of an argument from inside the VP to the subject position possible and for Alboiu *et al.*, the SE is simply a spell-out of the trace left by the moved argument *Gianni* in the reflexive construction in (1).

5.1 SE is shared by true reflexives & unaccusatives

Abstracting away from the reflexive constructions with the full reflexive pronouns¹, all the true reflexive constructions in Slavic and Romance are marked by the reflexive clitic SE, as shown in (3) to (6) for a variety of languages.

- (3) Gianni si è lavato.
Gianni SE_{be}_{3.SG} washed_{M.SG}
'Gianni washed.'

(Italian)

- (5) Šimon se umyl.
Šimon_{NOM} SE_{ACC} washed_{M.SG}
'Šimon washed.'

(Czech)

- (4) Andrei s-a spălat.
Andrei SE_{ACC}-have_{3.SG} washed
'Andrei washed.'

(Romanian)

- (6) Borna se umio
Borna_{NOM} SE_{ACC} washed_{M.SG}
'Borna washed.'

(Serbo-Croatian)

Large amount of unaccusative verbs in Slavic and Romance come with the reflexive SE (as noted by Burzio (1986), section 4.2, and by Chierchia (2004), section 3.4). This is illustrated in (7-a) for Italian and (7-b) for Czech. These are run-of-the-mill transitive sentences *John breaks the glass*.

- (7) a. Giovanni rompe il vetro.
Giovanni break_{3.SG} the glass
'Giovanni breaks the glass.'
b. Jan roz-bí-jí sklenici.
Jan_{NOM} roz-break-3.SG.PAST glass_{ACC}
'Jan breaks the glass.'

(Italian; Czech)

(8) are equally run-of-the-mill unaccusative sentences *The glass breaks*. Contrary to English, the Italian (8-a) and Czech (8-b) examples have to have the reflexive clitic SE.

¹Like the example in (i). Recall the discussion in section 1.1.1.

- (i) Karel umyl sebe, děti nechal špinavé.
Karel_{NOM} washed himself children_{ACC.PL} left dirty_{ACC.PL}
'Karel washed himself, he left the children dirty.'

(Czech, adapted from Šmilauer (1969))

- (8) a. Il vetro *(si) rompe.
 the glass SE break_{3.SG}
 ‘The glass breaks.’
 b. Sklenice *(se) roz-bil-a.
 glass_{NOM.F} SE roz-break-_{F.SG.PAST}
 ‘The glass broke.’

(Italian, Burzio (1986); Czech)

So far so good: in both true reflexives and unaccusatives, the reflexive clitic could be thought of as “a morphological reflex of the ‘loss’ of the subject θ -role which marks the derivation of the ergative [unaccusative, in our terminology (L.M.)] entries from transitive ones”, to quote Burzio’s (1986):38 formulation. Effectively, then, we can say that reflexives share a morphological marking with a (subset of) unaccusatives².

But there are at least two points to be made. First, it is not the case that every unaccusative verb in Romance or Slavic is marked with the reflexive clitic SE. There are plenty of verbs that are by all means unaccusative (as the examples below), yet they do not have the reflexive clitic SE. And second, it is a well known fact that the true reflexives are not unaccusatives, but unergatives. I postpone discussion of the latter issue to the next chapter, concretely section 6.2. To anticipate, however, I believe to have a solution that both derives the true reflexives in a manner parallel to unaccusatives, yet

²Moreover, it is cross-linguistically well documented pattern: reflexives ‘share’ morphology with another construction of a language within the language. I will discuss in detail the syncretism between reflexives and antipassives in some languages, see chapter 10. To anticipate, however, there is an example from Yidj (Australian, Pama-Nyungan). (i) is a simple transitive sentence, the examples (ii-a) and (ii-b) both have the morpheme *ḍi*: (ii-a) is an example of an antipassive, (ii-b) is a reflexive construction. Both reflexives and antipassives are intransitives (derived from a transitive construction) and both reflexives and antipassives are unergatives.

- (i) waguḍangu buṇa giba:-l
 man_A woman scratch-_{PAST}
 ‘The man scratched the woman.’

(Yidj, Dixon (1977):(420))

- (ii) a. wagu:ḍa giba:-ḍi-ju buṇa:nda
 man_S scratch-AP-_{PAST} woman_{OBL}
 ‘The man scratched the woman.’
 b. wagu:ḍa giba:-ḍi-ju
 man_S scratch-AP-_{PAST}
 ‘The man scratched himself (on purpose).’

(Yidj, Dixon (1977):(422),(424))

it derives them as unergatives.

Now, to the first problem: not every unaccusative verb in Romance (or Slavic) has the reflexive clitic SE. The sentences in (9) are perfectly parallel to the transitive sentences in (7). The disturbing part is this: contrary to the unaccusative examples (8), the unaccusative examples (10) do not come (and cannot come) with the reflexive clitic SE.

- (9) a. L'artiglieria affondò due navi nemiche.
 the artillery sank_{3.SG.PAST} two ships enemy
 'The artillery sank two enemy ships.'
 b. Karel usušil košili.
 Karel_{NOM} u-dry_{3.SG.PAST} shirt_{ACC}
 'Karel dried the shirt.'

(Italian, Burzio (1986):25,(13))

- (10) a. Due navi nemiche (*si) affondarono.
 two ships enemy SE sank_{3.PL.PAST}
 'Two enemy ships sank.'
 b. Košile (*se) u-sch-(nu)-la.
 shirt_{NOM.F} SE u-dry-NU-3.SG.F.PAST
 'The shirt dried.'

(Italian, Burzio (1986):25)

Both (8) and (10) are unaccusative³. For Italian, it is shown by *ne*-extraction test

³Strictly speaking, I do not show that the Czech examples (8-b) and (9-b) are unaccusative. There is a simple reason for it: there are no reliable unaccusativity diagnostics for Czech. This claim goes against Kosta and Frasek (2004), but I do not find their tests reliable. However, consider the examples below. While it is perfectly natural to have the DAT benefactor in both types of unaccusatives, with the reflexive clitic SE (i-a) or without it (i-b), the reading of the DAT benefactor with a true reflexive is very particular (ii): *Šimon* is a child and he washed himself to make life easier for *Karel*. Importantly, there is no need for a particular context in examples (i). I touch upon the different types of DATs in chapter 9, especially section 9.3.

- (i) a. Karlovi se roz-bi-la sklenice.
 Karel_{DAT} SE roz-break-F.SG.PAST glass_{NOM.F}
 'The glass broke on Karel.'
 b. Karlovi u-sch-la košile.
 Karel_{DAT} u-dry-3.SG.F.PAST shirt_{NOM.F}
 'The shirt dried on Karel.'

(Czech)

- (ii) #Šimon se Karlovi umyl.
 Šimon_{NOM} SE Karel_{DAT} washed_{3.SG.MA.PAST}

(11). Both the unaccusative with the reflexive clitic SE (11-a) and one without it (11-b) allow for *ne*-extraction, the classical unaccusative test in Italian (Belletti and Rizzi (1981), Burzio (1986)).⁴

- (11) a. Ne affondarono due *t*.
 ne sank_{3.PL.PAST} two
 ‘Two of them sank.’
 b. Se ne rompono molti *t*.
 SE *ne* break_{3.PL.PRES} many
 ‘Many of them break.’

(Italian, Burzio (1986))

The true reflexive constructions and a subset of unaccusative verbs – anticausatives – share a piece of morphology: the reflexive clitic SE. Hence, it is plausible that these two constructions should be derived in parallel.

5.2 Auxiliary selection

In Standard Italian, the two compound past tenses combine a past participle and an auxiliary. Unergatives (12-a), transitives (12-b) and ditransitives (12-c) select auxiliary *avere* ‘have’, while unaccusatives (13-a) and passives (13-b) select auxiliary *essere* ‘be’. The auxiliary selection facts are well known at least since Burzio (1986).

- (12) a. Giovanni **ha** telefonato.
 Giovanni have_{3.SG} telephoned
 ‘Giovanni has telephoned.’
 b. L’artiglieria **ha** affondato due navi nemiche.
 the artillery have_{3.SG} sunk two ships enemy
 ‘The artillery has sunk two enemy ships.’
 c. Gianni mi **ha** comprato una macchina.
 Gianni me_{DAT} have_{3.SG} bought a car
 ‘Gianni has bought me a car.’

‘Šimon washed himself (#on Karel).’

(Czech)

⁴True reflexives, as alluded above, do not pass the *ne*-cliticization test. I discuss the pattern in section 6.2.

(Italian, Burzio (1986):53,(79b),(80a))

- (13) a. Maria *è* arrivata.
 Maria *be*_{3.SG} arrived_{F.SG}
 ‘Maria has arrived.’
 b. Maria *è* stata accusata.
 Maria *be*_{3.SG} been accused_{F.SG}
 ‘Maria has been accused.’

(Italian, Burzio (1986):54,(81))

When, a transitive verb (shown in (14-a)) or a ditransitive verb (shown in (14-b)) is ‘turned’ into a reflexive, the auxiliary selected by such a predicate is *be*.

- (14) a. Maria *si è* accusata.
 Maria *SE be*_{3.SG} accused_{F.SG}
 ‘Maria accused herself.’
 b. Gianni *si è* comprato una macchina.
 Gianni *SE be*_{3.SG} bought_{M.SG} a car
 ‘Gianni has bought himself a car.’

(Italian, Burzio (1986):54,(81))

So, if the auxiliary selection depends on the origin of the argument in NOM case, then reflexives should be derived as unaccusatives. That is, if the auxiliary *essere* is selected whenever the subject is derived (by movement from the object position) – as it is clearly the case with unaccusatives – then the reflexives *must* also have a subject derived exactly the same way.⁵

5.3 Past participle agreement

French has complex rules for past participle agreement (PP-AGR). First, in passives and unaccusatives, the past participle agreement is obligatory: in the passive (15-a), the PP *remis-e* has to agree with the (derived) subject *Maria*. Equally, in unaccusative (15-b), the PP has to carry a F.SG AGR marker *-e* to mark the agreement with the (derived) subject *Marie*. Importantly, the PP agrees with an *object*, not with a subject, as shown clearly in the case of transitive constructions.

- (15) a. Marie sera remis-e / *remis à sa place
 Marie will.be put-_{+AGR} / put-_{-AGR} to her place

⁵The empirical facts are more complex than presented here. See section 6.3.3 for refinement.

- ‘Marie will be put to her place.’
 b. Marie est mort-e / *mort hier.
 Marie is died-_{+AGR} / died-_{-AGR} yesterday
 ‘Marie died yesterday.’

(French, Kayne (1986))

In transitive constructions the PP-AGR depends on the ‘nature’ of the object argument: if the object is a full DP (16), the PP-AGR is obligatorily with the object DP *la robe*.

- (16) Marie a *décrit / décrit-e **la robe** aux enfants.
 Marie has described-_N / described-_{F.SG} the dress_{ACC.F} to children
 ‘Marie has described the dress to the children.’

(French, Sportiche (1998a):154,(117))

If, on the other hand, the object DP is a clitic (17), the PP-AGR is optional: the clitic either triggers the PP-AGR (17-a) or it does not (17-b).

- (17) a. Marie l’a décrite aux enfants.
 Marie it_{F.SG}.has described_{F.SG} to children
 ‘Marie has described it to the children.’
 b. Marie l’a décrit aux enfants.
 Marie it_{F.SG}.has described_N to children
 ‘Marie has described it to the children.’

(French, Sportiche (1998a):154,(117))

Should SE be an object clitic, then the expected pattern in reflexive constructions is (17): the PP should be able either to agree with the object (=SE), or it does not need to. But the reflexive constructions do not behave like that in French.

In true reflexive constructions (18), the participle has to *obligatorily* agree with the full DP *Maria* in a reflexive construction. The obligatory agreement is unexpected when compared to the optional agreement with non-reflexive object clitics (17-a) and (17-b) in French.

- (18) **Marie** s’est décrit-e / *décrit aux enfants.
 Marie SE.is described-_{F.SG} / described_{N.SG} to children
 ‘Marie described herself to the children.’

(French, Sportiche (1998a))

On the other hand, the obligatoriness of the PP-AGR in reflexives is explicable if the reflexives actually are derived in a manner similar to unaccusatives.⁶

5.4 SE under Causatives II.

Another argument for the unaccusative analysis of reflexives is pointed out in Alboiu *et al.* (2004). When an unaccusative verb is embedded under a causative, the subject of the infinitive cannot be deleted (19). On the other hand, unergative (20-a) and transitive verbs (20-b) can freely delete the subject of the infinitive.

- (19) Il fumo farà uscire *(la gente) dalla casa.
 the smoke make_{3.SG.FUT} exit_{INF} the people from.the house
 ‘The smoke will make the people come out of the house.’

(Italian, Alboiu *et al.* (2004):(4a))

- (20) a. Il maestro ha fatto (la gente) lavorare molto.
 the teacher have_{3.SG} made (people) work_{INF} a lot
 ‘The teacher made the people work a lot.’
 b. Il maestro ha fatto (la gente) aprire il libro.
 the teacher have_{3.SG} made (people) open_{INF} the book
 ‘The teacher made the people open the book.’

(Italian, Alboiu *et al.* (2004):(4c,d))

If the reflexive is to be analyzed as a transitive or an unergative, the expectation is that the subject of the infinitive could be deleted. Yet, the reflexive patterns with unaccusatives: the subject of the infinitive cannot be deleted, as shown in (21).

- (21) Ho fatto travestir(*si) *(gli attori).
 have_{1.SG} made disguise.SE the actors
 ‘I made the actors disguise themselves.’

(Italian, Alboiu *et al.* (2004):(4b))

This particular argument for unaccusative analysis of reflexives is, however, dubious. As Tarald Taraldsen (p.c.) pointed out, the examples in (20) are not of the same type. Since Kayne (1975), it has been recognized that Romance causatives with *faire* (or Italian *fare*) fall into two classes, the *faire par* (FP) and *faire infinitif* (FI)⁷. For the

⁶The facts are a little bit more complex than this: see section 6.3.2 for further details.

⁷Some more discussion on these patterns is to be found in section 9.3.1.

present discussion it is important to know that a subject of a transitive INF under *fare* in FP can appear either introduced by the preposition *da*, or it does not appear at all – essentially as with passives. So, the second option accounts for the absence of the subject *la gente* in (20-b). Notice that with the subject *la gente* present in (20-b), we deal with FI, not FP.

The option of leaving the subject *la gente* out in (20-a) is licensed differently. Since Rizzi (1986a) it is known that generic context can license an arbitrary pro_{arb} null object, as (22).

- (22) Il medico esamina pro_{arb} nudi.
 the doctor examines_{3.SG} naked_{M.PL}
 ‘The doctor examines people naked.’

(Italian, Rizzi (1986a))

In (20-a), *la gente* is construed as an object of *fare*, so, if the context is generic, the object could be pro_{arb} . But this is true for unaccusatives as well, consider (23).

- (23) Quel libro fa scoppiare dal ridere.
 this book make_{3.SG} explode_{INF} from laugh
 ‘The book make people laugh.’ (*lit*): ‘explode from laughing’

(Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

So, (19) should be possible if it appears in the right generic context. Consider in this light Alsina’s examples of unaccusatives under *fare* (24).

- (24) a. A l’estiu, la calor fa sortir al carrer.
 in summer, the heat make_{3.SG} come-out_{INF} into.the street
 ‘In summer, the heat makes people come out into the street.’
 b. Aquestes preguntes són per fer caure.
 these questions are for making fall
 ‘These questions are for making people fall / make errors.’

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):99,fn.10)

Going back to the reflexive (21), notice that it is ambiguous between a passive and a reflexive reading. The agentive θ -role can be expressed by a *by*-phrase only for the passive, not the reflexive reading (25). Notice, finally, that the *by*-phrase is not the Italian usual prepositional phrase *a DP*, but *da DP*. This is tied to the distinction between FI and FP, as alluded to above.

- (25) a. Luisa fa sempre radere Giovanni.
 Luisa make_{3.SG} always shave_{INF} Giovanni
^{OK}REFL: ‘Luisa always makes Gianni shave himself.’
^{OK}PASS: ‘Luisa always has Giovanni shaved.’
- b. Luisa fa sempre radere Giovanni dal barbiere.
 Luisa make_{3.SG} always shave_{INF} Giovanni by barber
^{*}REFL: ‘Luisa always makes Gianni shave himself by the barber.’
^{OK}PASS: ‘Luisa always has Giovanni shaved by the barber.’
- (Italian, Alboiu *et al.* (2004):fn.3)

This argument for the unaccusative analysis of reflexives (put forward in Alboiu *et al.* (2004)) claims that the subject of an infinitive embedded under a causative *fare* can be deleted only if the embedded infinitive is unergative or transitive. However, a more careful consideration weakens (if not disqualifies) these facts as a potential argument for the unaccusative analysis of reflexives.

Still, the arguments based on the auxiliary selection facts, past participle agreement and the SE shared by the unaccusative and reflexive constructions are valid. Moreover, there is another argument to consider: the claim that for reflexivization by the reflexive clitics to be possible, an external θ -role must be available. Let us see in the following section.

5.5 SE constructions need an external θ -role

The next piece of evidence for considering the reflexives derived as unaccusatives might be the following fact. Reflexive clitics are incompatible with verbs that do not assign an external θ -role, as noted by Bouchard (1984), Rizzi (1986b), Sportiche (1998b), Pesetsky (1995):103ff among many others. If a true reflexive construction cannot appear in a structure that does not provide an external θ -role, it seems rather natural to want to link this impossibility to the need of SE to ‘feed’ on an external θ -role.

It has been a long-standing believe in the literature that it – indeed – is the case, namely, that true reflexive constructions do not exist in the environment without the external θ -role. There are three traditional constructions of that type: psych-verbs of the *piacere* type (cf. Belletti and Rizzi (1988)), raising constructions and passives. The classical Rizzi’s (1986) examples are shown below. (26) shows an example of a psych-verb in Italian: while the experiencer *mi* is fine in the (26-a), it is rather impossible to say *I appeared to myself* using the reflexive clitic, as shown in (26-b).

- (26) a. Mi apparisti tu.
 me_{DAT} appear_{2.SG.PAST} you_{NOM}
 'You appeared to me.'
- b. *Mi_i apparvi io_i.
 me_{DAT} appear_{1.SG.PAST} I_{NOM}
Intended: 'I appeared to myself.'

(Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c. quoting Alessandra Giorgi, p.c.)

The very same pattern is reported for raising verb *sembrare* in Italian (27): the experiencer is fine (27-a) so long it is not reflexive; trying to coindex *Gianni* with the DAT experiencer leads to ungrammatical (27-b).

- (27) a. Gianni_i mi/ti/gli sembra [t_i essere furbo].
 Gianni (me/you/him)_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} be_{INF} smart
 'Gianni seems smart to me/to you/to him.'
- b. *Gianni_i si_i sembra [t_i essere furbo].
 Gianni SI_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} be_{INF} smart
Intended: 'Gianni seems smart to himself.'

(Italian, Rizzi (1986b))

Finally, still quoting Rizzi (1986b), in passive construction the derived subject cannot be an antecedent of a reflexive clitic SE, as shown in (28-b). Again, a non-reflexive clitic is perfectly fine (28-a)

- (28) a. Gianni è stato affidato a se stesso.
 Gianni is_{3.SG} become entrusted to REFL
 'Gianni was entrusted to himself.'
- b. *Gianni si è stato affidato.
 Gianni SE is_{3.SG} become entrusted
Intended: 'Gianni was entrusted to himself.'

(Italian, Rizzi (1986b))

Note that this also holds for 1st and 2nd person, as shown in (29). Finally, the reflexivity 'per se' is not the factor, as shown by the grammaticality of reflexives in extraposition (30).

- (29) *Io_i mi_i sembro [t_i essere furbo].
 I SI_{DAT} seem_{1.SG} be_{INF} smart
Intended: 'I seem smart to myself.'

(Italian, Rizzi (1986b))

- (30) Ormai, perfino a se stesso Gianni sembra [t non fare il suo dovere]
 at this point even to himself Gianni seems NEG do_{INF} the his duty
 ‘At this point not even Gianni seems to himself to do his duty.’

(Italian, Rizzi (1986b):(23a))

So, if SE feeds on the external θ -role then if there is no external θ -role (the verb either does not assign one, as with raising and unaccusative verbs, or the external θ -role is unavailable, as it is with passives) to link to, the reflexive clitic cannot appear in such a structure⁸.

But here comes the contradiction: it just is not true that true reflexive readings are excluded in the environments mentioned above. The counterexamples, moreover, are found both in Slavic and Romance languages and are rather numerous.⁹ Let us see.

5.5.1 Psych verbs

Starting with French, Reinhart and Siloni (2005) note that the experiencer verbs *plaire* ‘please’ and *déplaire* ‘displease’ – parallel to the *piacere* type examples (26) above in

⁸From Reinhart and Siloni (2004):169 it could be inferred that it is not the clitic status of the SE that matters in this respect. They point out that the Dutch *zich* – even though not a clitic – is an element similar to the reflexive clitic SE of Romance and Slavic in many respects (cf. Reinhart and Siloni (2004) and Reinhart and Siloni (2005)). And as it is claimed for the Romance SE that it cannot appear with derived subjects, the same is true for *zich* in Dutch, as shown in examples in (i). So, while the expletive construction is perfectly grammatical with transitive verbs (i-a) and unergative verbs (i-b) (thus verbs that assign an external θ -role), it is ungrammatical with the unaccusative verbs (i-d) – and reflexives (i-c) as well.

- (i) a. Er werd een kind gewassen.
 there was a child washed
 b. Er werd gedanst.
 there was danced
 c. *Er werd zich gewassen.
 there was *zich* washed
 d. *Er werd gegroeid.
 there was grown

(Dutch, Reinhart and Siloni (2004))

⁹For the data in the following sections I am thankful to many native speakers. For Romanian, I am grateful to Gabriela Alboiu, Oana Săvescu Ciucivara and Maria-Gabriela Sirbu. For Bulgarian, to Svetoslav Veltchev Marinov, Velina Ninkova Ninova and Vyara Istratkova. For Slovene, to Lanko Marušić and Rok Žaucer. For Croatia, to Cvijeta Stern and Andrea Stiasny.

that they have an unaccusative syntax (Belletti and Rizzi (1988), Pesetsky (1995), etc.) – do allow reflexive clitics.¹⁰

- (31) a. Jean se plaît / déplait sur cette photo.
 Jean SE pleases / displeases on this picture
 ‘Jean pleases / displeases himself on this picture.’
 (French, Reinhart and Siloni (2004):170,fn.7)

In Italian, already Burzio (1986) notes that the following Italian example (32) is acceptable to many speakers.

- (32) ?Giovanni e Maria si piacquero subito.
 Giovanni and Maria SE please_{3.PL.PAST} immediately
 ‘Giovanni and Maria liked each other immediately.’
 (Italian, Burzio (1986):429, fn. 1)

Indeed, these types of examples seem to be rather natural in everyday Italian: the following examples were collected in Rimini and at the Ronchi airport (December 2006).

- (33) a. Mi piaccio con gli occhiali.
 me_{DAT} like_{1.SG.PRES} with the glasses
 ‘I like myself with the glasses.’
 b. Ti fotografi, ti piacci, ti
 you_{DAT} photograph_{2.SG.PRES} you_{DAT} like_{2.SG.PRES} you_{DAT}
 spacchi.
 take_{2.SG.PRES}
 ‘You take a picture of yourself, you like yourself, you take it.’
 (Italian)

¹⁰The contrast in (i) seem to suggest that idioms (i-b) seem to be harder to get than non-idiomatic expressions (i-a). Obviously, a lot of work needs to be done in this matter.

- (i) a. Ils se sont venu en aide.
 EXPL SE are came on aid
 ‘They came to each other’s aid.’
 b. *Ils se sont venu à l’esprit.
 EXPL SE are came to the.mind
 Intended: ‘They came to each other’s mind.’
 (French, Burzio (1986):429,fn.1, quoted from Richard Kayne, p.c.)

Romanian, even though it has morphologically distinct reflexive clitics for DAT case *își* and ACC case *se*, does not have the psych-verbs (34) with the reflexive clitic *își* construed as reflexive with the DAT experiencer. Consider now the psych-verb *place* in detail. (34) show that the postverbal DP *dress* is in NOM case, witnessed by the agreement on the verb; both in singular (34-a) and plural (34-b).

- (34) a. Mie îmi place rochi-a.
 me_{DAT} SE_{DAT} please_{3.SG} dress-DEF_{sg}
 ‘I like this dress.’
 b. Mie îmi plac rochii-le
 me_{DAT} SE_{DAT} please_{3.PL} dress-DEF_{pl}
 ‘I like these dresses.’

(Romanian)

Now, trying to raise the NOM across the DAT experiencer and make it reflexive makes the sentence ungrammatical (35). (36) shows a grammatical alternative, importantly, without the reflexive clitic.¹¹

- (35) *Eu îmi plac
 I me_{DAT} please_{1.SG}
 Intended: ‘I like myself.’
 (36) Mie îmi place de mine
 me SE_{DAT} please_{3.SG} of me_{ACC}
 ‘I like myself.’

(Romanian)

In Slavic languages, examples of psych verbs with the reflexive clitics are rather natural, if the right context is found. The verbs of *piacere* type have a DAT experiencer and a NOM theme, and they are shown in (37) for Croatian, (39) for Bulgarian, (41) for Slovene and, finally, in (43) for Czech. In all these languages, a reflexive reading is perfectly grammatical: the experiencer is expressed as the DAT reflexive clitic *si*, the NOM DP is the ‘antecedent’ of the reflexive. The relevant examples are shown in (38) for Croatian, (40) for Bulgarian, (42) for Slovene and (44) for Czech.

- (37) a. Ivanu nedostaje žena.
 Ivan_{DAT} misses_{3.SG.PRES} wife_{NOM}
 ‘Ivan is missing his wife.’
 b. Kuća pripada Janovim roditeljima.
 House_{NOM} belongs_{3.SG.PRES} Jan’s parents_{DAT}

¹¹Oana Săvescu Ciucivara, p.c., pointed out, that for her, (35) could be interpretable under strong contrastive focus on *eu*: *If you don’t like X, Y or Z, who do you like?! Then, the answer could be EU îmi plac.*

‘The house belongs to Jan’s parents.’

(Croatian)

- (38) a. Ivan si nedostaje.
 Ivan_{NOM} SE_{DAT} miss_{3.SG}
 ‘Ivan misses himself.’
 b. Ivan si pripada.
 Ivan_{NOM} SE_{DAT} belong_{3.SG}
 ‘Ivan belongs to himself.’

(Croatian)

- (39) a. Ne mi lipsvat sili.
 NEG me_{DAT} lack_{3.PL} strength_{PL}
 ‘I lack strength.’
 b. Ne mi lipsvavъ obraženije.
 NEG me_{DAT} lack_{3.SG} imagination_{SG}
 ‘I lack imagination.’

(Bulgarian)

- (40) a. Ne si lipsvam.
 NEG SI_{DAT} lack_{1.SG}
 ‘I don’t lack myself.’
 b. Ivan si lipsva.
 Ivan SI_{DAT} lack_{3.SG}
 ‘Ivan lacks himself.’

(Bulgarian)

- (41) a. Janezu ugajajo dolgi lasje.
 Janez_{DAT} please_{3.PL} long hair_{NOM.PL}
 ‘Janez likes long hair.’
 b. Janezu presedajo dolgi lasje.
 Janez_{DAT} annoy_{3.PL} long hair_{NOM.PL}
 ‘Janez is annoyed by long hair.’

(Slovene)

- (42) a. Janez si ugaja.
 Janez_{NOM} SI_{DAT} please_{3.SG}
 ‘Janez likes himself.’
 b. Janez si preseda.
 Janez_{NOM} SI_{DAT} annoy_{3.SG}
 ‘Janez annoys himself.’

(Slovene)

- (43) a. Ivona Karlovi schází.
 Ivona_{NOM} Karel_{DAT} miss_{3.SG}
 ‘Karel misses Ivona.’
 b. Karel Ivoně stačí.
 Karel_{NOM} Ivona_{DAT} suffice_{3.SG}
 ‘Karel is sufficient (good enough) for Ivona.’

(Czech)

- (44) a. Karel si schází.
 Karel_{NOM} SE_{DAT} miss_{3.SG}
 ‘Karel misses himself.’
 b. Ivona si stačí.
 Ivona_{NOM} SE_{DAT} suffice_{3.SG}
 ‘Ivona is sufficient (good enough) for herself.’

(Czech)

True reflexive readings thus seem to be possible in environments that do not have external θ -role, as seen above for the unaccusative type of verbs. At least in Slavic languages, French and Italian. Romanian remains a mystery. Below, we look at raising.

5.5.2 Raising

Raising constructions seems tricky. First of all, neither Italian (45) nor French (46) can construe reflexives in raising.

- (45) *Gianni_i si_i sembra [t_i essere furbo].
 Gianni SI_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} be_{INF} smart
Intended: ‘Gianni seems smart to himself.’

(Italian, Rizzi (1986b))

- (46) *Jean se semble être heureux.
 Jean SE seem_{3.SG.PRES} be_{INF} happy
Intended: ‘Jean seems to be happy to himself.’

(French, Bouchard (1984))

As for Romanian, raising is impossible. (47) shows the grammatical sentence with non-reflexive clitics.

- (47) Maria îmi / îți pare harnică.
 Maria me_{DAT} / you_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} hardworking_{F.SG}
 ‘Maria seems to me / to you hardworking.’

(Romanian)

An attempt to combine raising with reflexivization is shown in (i). (48-a) shows the ungrammatical sentence for the 3rd person, (48-b) for 1st. They are ungrammatical because the reflexive clitic is forced to be coindexed with the raised argument *Maria*.¹²

- (48) a. *Maria își pare harnică.
 Maria me_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} hardworking_{F.SG}
Intended: ‘Maria seems hardworking to herself.’
 b. *Eu îmi par harnică.
 I me_{DAT} seem_{1.SG} hardworking_{F.SG}
Intended: ‘I seem hardworking to myself.’

(Romanian)

So, summing up, raising & reflexivization is impossible in Italian, French and Romanian. Slavic languages split with respect to reflexives in raising.^{13,14}

Bulgarian (49) does not allow the DAT experiencer to be reflexive in raising structures (49-b). Non-reflexive DAT experiencer is fine (49-a).

¹²Additional examples from Dobrovie-Sorin (2005) are shown in (i). (i-b) is marked as ?* by Dobrovie-Sorin, it is clearly ungrammatical to Gabriela Alboiu, Oana Săvescu Ciucivara and Maria-Gabriela Sirbu.

- (i) a. *Copiii tăi își păreau să fie fericiți.
 children yours SE_{DAT} seemed that be happy
Intended: ‘Your children seem to each other to be happy.’
 b. ?*Copiii tăi își păreau fericiți.
 children yours SE_{DAT} seem happy
Intended: ‘Your children seemed happy to each other.’

(Romanian, Dobrovie-Sorin (2005):170,fn.19)

¹³One important note should be added. While the raising in Romance is clearly raising out of infinitives, the raising constructions shown here for Slavic are invariably constructions with raising out of a small clause. Crucially, I assume raising out of small clause to be the same as raising out of infinitive, but consider Williams (1983).

¹⁴In Slovene, the raising verb *seem* is an inherently reflexive verb *zditi se*. Slovene, as Czech (and contrary to Bulgarian) does not allow for cooccurrence of two reflexive clitics. So, the needed example cannot be construed.

- (49) a. Ivan mi izgležda [t glupav].
 Ivan me_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} stupid_{ADJ}
 ‘Ivan seems stupid to me.’
 b. *Ivan si izgležda [t glupav].
 Ivan SI_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} stupid
 Intended: ‘Ivan seems stupid to himself.’

(Bulgarian)

On the other hand, Czech and Croatian can have reflexive raising constructions. In particular, the Czech (50) is perfectly natural, both with a non-reflexive dative (50-a), as well as with the DAT reflexive SI, (50-b).

- (50) a. Ivona₁ mi/Petrovi připadá [t₁ úžasně vtipná].
 Ivona me_{DAT}/Petr_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} [awfully funny]
 ‘Ivona seems to me/to Petr awfully funny.’
 b. Ivona₁ si připadá [t₁ úžasně vtipná].
 Ivona SI_{DAT} seem_{3.SG} [awfully funny]
 ‘Ivona seems to herself awfully funny.’

(Czech)

Croatian raising has two options. The embedded SC can be either adjectival (thus, showing an agreement with the raised DP, (51-b)), or adverbial, non-agreeing (51-c). Note that the non-agreeing form is better¹⁵.

- (51) a. Ivan_i mi izgleda [t_i dosadan].
 Jan me_{DAT} seems_{3.SG.PRES} boring_{ADJ}
 ‘Jan seems boring to me.’
 b. ?Ivan_i si izgleda [t_i dosadan].
 Ivan SI_{DAT} seems_{3.SG.PRES} boring_{ADJ}
 ‘Ivan seems boring to himself.’

¹⁵A similar fact is repeated for Czech: the verb *vy-pad-a-t* ‘look like’ is different from the raising verb *při-pad-a-t* ‘seem’ only in the prefix. While the raising verb *při-pad-a-t* takes an adjectival complement, as discussed in the text, the *vy-pad-a-t* ‘look like’ verb takes an adverbial complement (i), parallel to the Croatian example of raising.

- (i) Ivona vy-pad-á smutn-ě / *smutn-á
 Ivona_{NOM.SG.F} vy-look_{3.SG.F.PRES} sad_{NOM.SG.F.ADV} / sad_{NOM.SG.F.ADJ}
 ‘Ivona looks sad.’

(Czech)

- c. Ivan_i si_i izgleda [t_i dosadno].
 Ivan SI_{DAT} seems_{3.SG.PRES} boring_{ADV}
 'Ivan seems boring to himself.'

(Croatian)

So, only Czech and Croatian have raising combined with reflexivization – provided raising out of small clause is the same as raising out of an infinitive. Non of the Romance languages allow raising to combine with reflexivization. Finally, there are passives.

5.5.3 Passives

The pattern found for reflexivization in passives is rather complex: Italian (and French, Bouchard (1984)) don't have such constructions, while Romanian does – but only for verbal passives, adjectival passives are excluded. Among Slavic languages, Bulgarian is out, but Slovene, Czech and Croatian seem to allow for the reflexivizations in passives.

In Romanian, the verbal passives are acceptable, if the reflexive clitic creates a reflexive or reciprocal reading, as shown in (52).

- (52) a. Ion și Maria și-au fost prezentați anul trecut.
 Ion and Maria SE_{DAT}-have_{3.PL} been presented year-the last
 'Ion and Maria were presented to each other last year.'
- b. Ion își e recunoscător numai lui.
 Ion SE_{DAT} is grateful only to him(self)
 'Ion is grateful only to himself.'
- c. Ion și Maria și-au devenit pur și simplu insuportabili.
 Ion and Maria SE_{DAT}-have_{3.PL} become purely and simply unbearable
 'Ion and Maria have become purely and simply unbearable to each other.'

(Romanian, Dobrovie-Sorin (2005):132,(33))

But adjectival passives are ungrammatical (53).¹⁶

¹⁶But the (i) example is grammatical, even though it seems to be an example of adjectival passive as well. I do not understand the pattern.

- (i) Ei își sunt credincioși (unul altuia).
 they SE_{DAT} are_{3.PL} faithful (one to-another)
 'They are faithful to each other.'

(Romanian)

- (53) *Ei își sunt prezentați (unul celuilalt).
 they SE_{DAT} are $_{3.PL}$ introduced (one to-another)
Intended: ‘They were introduced to each other.’

(Romanian)

As for the Slavic languages, Croatian (54) and Bulgarian (55) do not allow for the reflexive clitic SI in passives¹⁷. On the other hand, Slovene and Czech do, as shown for Slovene in (56) and for Czech in (57).

- (54) a. Dječaci_i su mu_i bili povjereni t_i.
 boys $_{M.PL}$ AUX $_{3.PL.PRES}$ him $_{DAT}$ were entrusted $_{M.PL}$
 ‘The boys were entrusted to him.’
 b. ??/*Dječaci_i su si_i bili povjereni t_i.
 boys $_{M.PL}$ AUX $_{3.PL.PRES}$ SI $_{DAT}$ were entrusted $_{M.PL}$
 ‘The boys were entrusted one another.’

(Croatian)

- (55) a. Momčeta bjaha povereni/prisjedeni na Ivan (ot suda).
 boys $_{DEF.PL}$ AUX $_{3.PL.PAST}$ entrust $_{M.PL}$ to Ivan (from court)
 ‘The boys were entrusted to Ivan by the court.’
 b. *Momčeta si bjaha povereni/prisjedeni.
 boys $_{pl}$ SI $_{DAT}$ AUX $_{3.PL.PAST}$ entrusted
Intended: ‘The boys were entrusted to each other.’

(Bulgarian)

¹⁷Slabakova (1996) points out the examples of unaccusative (i-a), raising (i-b) and passives (i-c) from Bulgarian as counterexamples to Rizzi’s (1986) claim that anaphoric clitics can be bound only by non-derived subjects. To me, (i-a) and (i-c) look like the *benefactive* DAT SI, parallel to Czech. (i-b) is surprising: my informants report the reflexive clitic impossible in raising, cf. (49-b).

- (i) a. Ivan si pristigna.
 Ivan $_{NOM.SG}$ SE_{DAT} arrived
 ‘Ivan arrived at his place.’ / ‘Ivan came back home.’
 b. Ivan si izgležda simpatičen.
 Ivan $_{NOM}$ SE_{DAT} seem $_{3.SG}$ sympathetic
 ‘Ivan seems sympathetic to himself.’
 c. Kūšata si beše postroena na hūlma.
 house.the SE_{DAT} was $_{3.SG}$ built on hill.the
 ‘The house (to itself) was built on the hill.’

(Slabakova (1996):257,(11-13))

- (56) a. Micka in Vid sta si bila predstavljena.
 Micka and Vid COP_{3.du} SI_{DAT} were introduced_{du}
 ‘Micka and Vid were introduced (to each other).’
 b. Otroci so si bili predstavljeni.
 boys AUX_{3.PL} SI_{DAT} were introduced_{M.PL}
 ‘The boys were introduced to each other.’

(Slovene)

- (57) a. Jakub a Petr mu byli představeni.
 Jakub and Petr_{NOM} him_{DAT} COP_{3.PL.PAST} introduced_{M.PL}
 ‘Jakub and Petr were introduced to him.’
 b. Jakub a Petr si byli představeni.
 Jakub and Petr_{NOM} SI_{DAT} COP_{3.PL.PAST} introduced_{M.PL}
 ‘Jakub and Petr were introduced to each other.’

(Czech)

So, passives divide the languages differently from raising and psych-verbs: reflexivizing in passives is fine in Czech, Slovene and Romanian, as opposed to ungrammatical Bulgarian, Croatian, French and Italian.¹⁸

¹⁸Spanish – as far as I know – does not have the option of having a reflexive clitic in non of the constructions discussed above. (i) shows the psych verb and (ii) is an example of passive. In other words, Spanish seems to be the language Rizzi (1986b) claimed Italian to be. Data thanks to Luisa Martí.

- (i) a. Me parece Juan
 me_{DAT} appear_{3.sg} Juan
 ‘That guy seems Juan to me.’
 b. *Me parece yo
 me appear_{3.sg} I_{NOM}
 Intended: ‘I appeared to myself.’
 (ii) a. Los chicos seran presentados.
 the boys be_{3.sg.FUT} introduced
 ‘The boys will be introduced (to each other/to somebody else).’
 b. *Los chicos se seran presentados
 the boys SE be_{3.SG.FUT} introduced
 Intended: ‘The boys will be introduced to each other.’

(Spanish)

As for raising, for those speakers that accept the verb *parecer* ‘seem’ as a raising verb with a DAT experiencer (as Luisa Martí, p.c.), the contrast is strong, as indicated in (iii). However, there are speakers that do not accept the example (iii-a) (as Antonio Fábregas, p.c.), so, for these speakers the raising scenario is irrelevant.

To summarize the data presented in this section, there is the table 5.1. If anything, these data show that the link between the external θ -role and a reflexive clitic (in reflexive reading) is not straightforward. It is clear for languages like Czech and Slovene; other languages differ significantly. Given the variability, more work needs to be done on the pattern. I leave the issue open.

Table 5.1: Reflexivization with Psych-verbs, Raising and Passive

lg/cons	Cz	Sln	Cr	Bg	It	Ro	Fr	Sp
psych-verbs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	✓	*
raising	✓	♣ ¹⁹	✓	*	*	*	*	(*)
passive	✓	✓	*	*	*	✓	*	*

To conclude this section, I presented arguments for considering the reflexive clitic SE in a true reflexive construction as connected to an external θ -role. I kept the link rather vague as the below discussed proposals each go for a particular take on the theme. Before diving into the discussion, however, let me summarize the arguments for such a view. First, one strong argument is the fact that unaccusatives and reflexive share the same piece of morphology, namely the reflexive clitic SE. Second, both unaccusatives and reflexive select the auxiliary *essere* and show the same pattern in past participle agreement. Two additional arguments, the behavior of the external argument under causatives and finally the need of an external θ -role for true reflexives were put on hold, for now. Still, the three arguments are very convincing.

In the following section, I would like to discuss one particular execution of the idea that the reflexive clitic SE is linked to an external θ -role: Sportiche's (1998) analysis. Since two other proposals of the same nature (Kayne (1986) and Alboiu *et al.* (2004)) are base for the analysis presented in this work, I discuss the other two instantiations in the next chapter, with pros and cons of each one of them.

- (iii) a. Juan₁ me/te parece [t₁ estar contento].
 Juan me/you_{DAT} seems be_{INF} satisfied
 'Juan seems to me/to you to be satisfied.'
 b. *Juan₁ se parece [t₁ estar contento]
 Juan SE seems be_{INF} satisfied
 Intended: 'Juan seems satisfied to himself.'

(Spanish)

¹⁹A raising construction cannot be constructed for Slovene: the raising verb is inherently reflexive and two reflexive clitics are excluded independently.

5.6 Sportiche (1998)

Sportiche (1998a) proposes an analysis of reflexive constructions such that the sole argument of the reflexive construction starts out in a direct object position, in parallel with the subjects of unaccusatives. So, in (58), the argument *ils* starts out in the direct object position and raises to the subject position – as Kayne or Alboiu *et al.* would have it.

- (58) Ils se sent rasé.
 they SE be_{3,PL} shaved
 ‘They shaved (themselves).’

(French, Sportiche (1998b):125(113))

So, what is the role of SE according to Sportiche? For Sportiche, SE ‘affects the normal expression of the external θ -role of a verb, and, possibly, by Burzio’s generalization, affects the Case assigning properties of the verb’, Sportiche (1998):156. Notice that such a view of the reflexive clitic SE is very similar to Bouchard’s (section 3.3), except that for Sportiche SE is a syntactic element, while for Bouchard it is an element in the lexicon.

In Sportiche’s take, the reflexive clitic SE is seen as a head, in parallel to other pronominal clitics. So, SE heads its own projection *seP*, as shown in (59). Moreover, SE itself is analyzed as an external argument: this idea is executed as SE selecting as its complement a VP with an external argument slot: VP* with NP*_{EXT}, see (59).

The PP-agreement facts (section 5.3) Sportiche takes to indicate that the reflexive clitic SE always agrees in person and number with the subject of its clause, as shown for the reflexive clitics in (60).

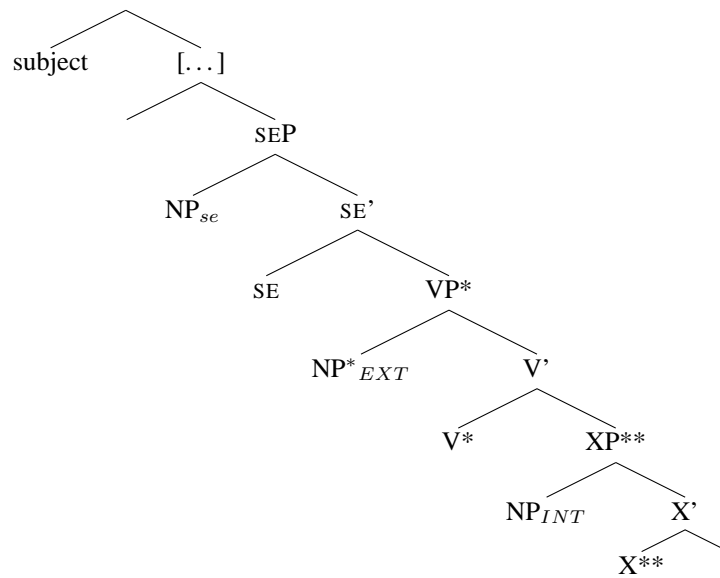
- (60) **Marie** s’est décrit-e / *décrit aux enfants.
 Marie SE.is described-_{F,SG} / described-_{N,SG} to children
 ‘Marie described herself to the children.’

(French, Sportiche (1998a))

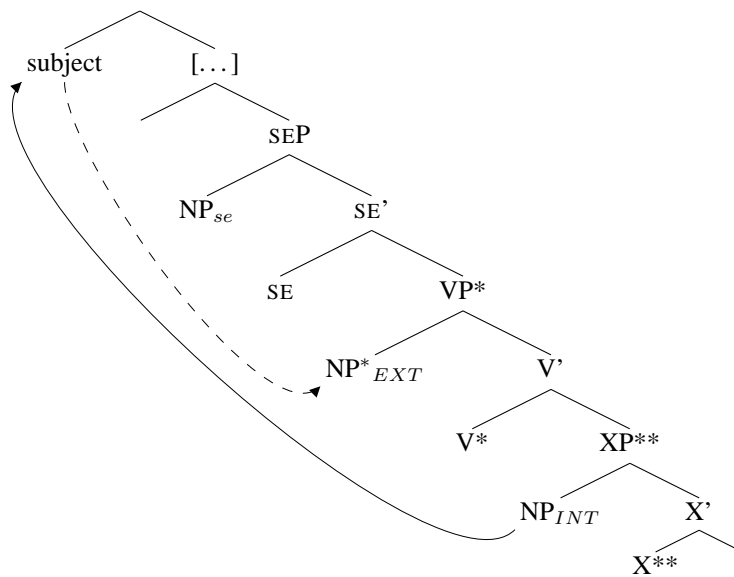
The derivation for the reflexive construction then proceeds as follows: the NP_{EXT} is an argument with an external θ -role. However, it also is coindexed with an internal argument inside VP – NP_{INT}. According to Sportiche, this coindexation makes the NP_{EXT} anaphoric and as such, it needs to be bound. This ‘need’ of the NP_{EXT} leads to the movement of NP_{INT} to the subject position, where it can c-command, thus can bind the NP_{EXT}. It is indicated in (61). The dashed line indicates the binding.

The difficult part of the proposal is that it is not entirely obvious why should the

(59)



(61)



coindexation between NP^*_{EXT} and NP_{INT} make the NP^*_{EXT} anaphoric (rather than NP_{INT}). On the other hand, the good part is that the reflexive clitic SE finds its place naturally in the clitic cluster, among other pronominal clitics. However, given its coindexation with the external argument (the SE itself is an external argument), we might expect that the reflexive clitic would pattern with subject clitics. But this is not true: reflexive clitics routinely look like and behave as object clitics (chapter 2).

I believe that Kayne's and Alboiu *et al.*'s proposals treat the reflexive clitics in a more interesting way that can be extended to the proposal put forth here. I discuss the other two analyses in the following chapter (and subsequent ones).

The nature of this enterprise declare that this is the point in which I should discuss the arguments *against* the movement analysis of reflexives and I agree, it is. However, given that I will discuss two more proposals of the same kind in the following chapter, there I also postpone the discussion of the objections raised against this view. Before doing so, let's summarize.

5.7 Conclusion

In this part, I discussed various approaches to derive true reflexive constructions. First (chapter 3), I examined the possibility to derive the true reflexive constructions in the lexicon/argument structure. This line of thoughts is doomed for a simple reasons: it is not obvious how to render the structures clearly derived in the syntax (the problem with ECM constructions).

Second, the approaches that identifies the reflexive clitic SE with an object clitic were examined in chapter 4. Recall that despite the seductiveness of the morphological shape of the reflexive clitics we have to dispense with this approach: it just makes wrong predictions concerning the reflexives making them essentially transitive (while all the syntactic evidence points toward the reflexives being intransitive).

Finally, in this chapter, I discussed the possibility to derive the true reflexives in a fashion parallel to unaccusatives: by the movement from the IA to the NOM position. Despite the evidence summed up in the literature against this approach (to be shown in the following chapter), I suggested that the damage is far from fatal, quite on the contrary: it is only this approach that not only renders the true reflexives derivable without wrong predictions, it moreover allows for a unification of the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE.

Part III

Updating Reflexivization by Movement

To start with a strong and bold claim for the last two parts of this work, from here on, accidental homophony is taken not to exist. In other words, there is just one SE and a lot of different things it seems to do is via derivation.

This part is dedicated to the theory that see reflexives as derived by movement from inside the VP to the NOM position. Two main instances of such a theory are discussed here. First, an analysis proposed by Richard Kayne in a very short handout from 1986 (Kayne (1986)). His analysis has the virtue of unifying the reflexives and impersonals derived by the reflexive clitic SE – by movement (section 6.1). The second proponent of this view are Alboiu, Barrie and Frigeni in article cited as Alboiu *et al.* (2004). They, building on Kayne’s proposal, updated his analysis by adapting Hornstein’s movement theory of control (section 6.4).

There have been many objections raised to deriving reflexives by movement from inside VP – and I summarize them in section 6.2. The main objection raised against the theory that derives reflexives in parallel to unaccusatives has always been this: given that reflexives crosslinguistically pattern with *unergatives*, how could they be derived as *unaccusatives*? Fair and square, but wrong. For each objection raised by the opponents of the movement derivation of reflexives, I point a solution that is at least compatible (way better in some cases) with the unaccusative derivation of reflexives than any other theory of reflexivization. Moreover, there always is the charm of possible unification of all the uses of SE with the unaccusative analysis of reflexives, missing to any other theory.

This much settled, the task is to decide which of the two unaccusative derivations of reflexives to choose. They differ with respect to the EA: while Kayne has the EA to be PRO, Alboiu *et al.* (2004) propose to move the argument from inside the VP *through* the EA position. Such a distinction has necessarily consequences one way or another. In chapter 7 I look at one case like that. The empirical base is simple: Romance languages cannot have agreeing impersonals with 1st or 2nd person subjects. Adapting an intervention kind of solution to these data (following D’Alessandro (2004) and Rivero (2004b)), it turns out that the movement through the EA gives better predictions than the PRO analysis. And so the movement through the EA, it is.

Chapter 6

Reflexivization by movement

This chapter is dedicated to two concrete analyses of reflexives (Kayne's and Alboiu *et al.*'s), their problems – and their advantages. This type of analysis, I believe, is ultimately the one that makes the unification of all the uses of the reflexive clitics possible. Naturally, then, this is the base of the analysis proposed in this work.

We start by looking at Kayne's (1986) proposal (section 6.1). The following section summarizes arguments against such a type of analysis: the movement analysis of reflexives predicts the reflexives to be unaccusatives, while true reflexives, as pointed out repeatedly, are unergatives. However, the evidence is far from obvious, as a matter of fact, the movement analysis scores better than any other type of analysis (section 6.2). There are arguments against the specifics of Kayne's analysis (section 6.3), that lead to inevitable and natural conclusion: to update the analysis. One particular proposal was put forth by Alboiu *et al.* (2004) and I discuss it in section 6.4 and problems of this specific implication in section 6.5. Finally, as alluded to, as I consider this type of analysis on the right track, I give a bare bones overview of the virtues this analysis offers in section 6.6.

6.1 Kayne (1986)

The simple and attractive feature of Kayne's (1986) short analysis is unification of the true reflexive use of the reflexive clitic *SE* and the impersonal use of *SE*. The underlying assumption is that there is just one *SE*, the different readings come out as consequences of a derivation.

6.1.1 PP-agreement & AUX-selection

The starting point is the observation about past participle (PP) agreement in French (discussed already in section 5.3). In French, only the (derived) subjects of unaccusatives (1-a) and passives (1-b) have to obligatorily show agreement on the past participle – unergatives (and transitives) do not show subject agreement on the PP (2).

- (1) a. Marie est mort-e / *mort-Ø hier.
 Marie_{F.SG} is died-F.SG / died-M.SG yesterday
 ‘Marie died yesterday.’
 b. Marie sera remis-e / *remis-Ø à sa place.
 Marie_{F.SG} will.be put-F.SG / put-M.SG to her place
 ‘Marie will be put to her place.’

(French, Kayne (1986))

- (2) Marie a *dormi-e / dormi-Ø.
 Marie_{F.SG} has slept-F.SG / slept-M.SG
 ‘Marie has slept.’

(French, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

If a true reflexive construction were to be derived as a transitive (the SE being an object clitic), we expect to see the non-agreement pattern with true reflexives, in parallel to (2). Strikingly, however, in a true reflexive construction the past participle *has* to agree with the subject (3). The obligatoriness of the subject agreement on the PP with true reflexive constructions makes it quite the opposite to a construction with a non-reflexive clitic. In (4), the PP cannot agree with the masculine subject *Jean*, but it can agree with the feminine clitic *la*. So, concerning the subject – PP agreement, the true reflexives pattern with unaccusatives and passives, not with unergatives or transitives.

- (3) Marie s’est frappé-e / *frappé-Ø.
 Marie_{F.SG} SE.is hit-F.SG / hit-M.SG
 ‘Marie hit herself.’

(French, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

- (4) Jean l’a repeint-e / *repeint-Ø.
 Jean_{M.SG} her_{F.SG}.has repainted-F.SG / repainted-M.SG
 ‘Jean has repainted it.’

(French, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

Not only is the agreement pattern the same for unaccusatives and passives on one hand and the true reflexives on the other, moreover, all the constructions also select auxiliary *être* (as discussed in section 5.2). The essential examples are repeated below for convenience. The unergatives (5-a) and transitives (5-b) select the auxiliary *avoir* ‘have’, while unaccusatives (5-c) have *être* ‘be’.

- (5) a. Jean **a** téléphoné.
 Jean has telephoned
 ‘Jean has called.’
 b. Jean **a** écrit un livre.
 Jean has written a book
 ‘Jean has written a book.’
 c. Jean **est** tombé.
 Jean is fallen
 ‘Jean has fallen.’

(French, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

These two facts – the obligatoriness of the subject – PP agreement and the auxiliary *essere* ‘be’ on unaccusatives and true reflexives – then suggest deriving these two constructions in a parallel manner. That is, the object of unaccusatives and passives starts out in a position direct objects do, and the core of the proposal is that so does the subject of true reflexive constructions.

6.1.2 The analysis in Barriers framework

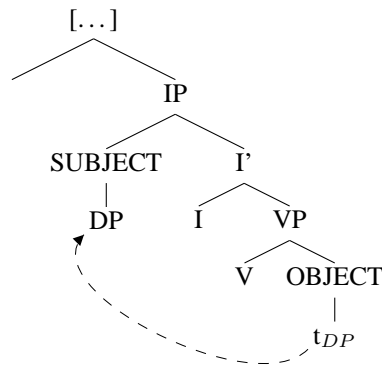
Kayne’s (1986) proposal offers a rather technical solution anchored in Barriers, a particular addition to the G&B theory, Chomsky (1986a).

Following Chomsky, Kayne sees the agreement on the past participle as an ‘escape hatch’ from an ECP violation¹: the DP-trace in the D-structure object position would be ungoverned, if the object DP moved directly from its base position to the subject position, as indicated in (6). Concretely, VP is a Barrier.

To prevent the (lack of government) violation, the DP can stop over at an projection just above the VP – the AgrP, the locus of agreement. This stopover has two effects: first, as the AgrP ‘is’ agreement, the DP that passed through the Spec,AgrP will trigger

¹‘ECP’ stands for *Empty Category Principle*: an empty category (a DP-trace in our case) cannot remain ungoverned. *Government* is defined as follows. A governs B iff (i) A c-commands B (ii) no C of the same type as A c-commands B but not A and (iii) no Barrier contains B but not A. *Barrier*: X is a Blocking Category iff X is a maximal category not selected by a lexical head X is a Barrier iff $X = CP, VP, DP$ and X is a blocking category or X immediately dominates a Blocking Category.

(6)



agreement on the participle and second, Kayne proposes that ‘antecedent government is available for these shorter links’.

So, for unaccusatives (7), we have the relevant structure in (8).

- (7) Marie est morte / *mort hier.
 Marie is died_{AGR} / died_{-AGR} yesterday
 ‘Marie died yesterday.’

(French, Kayne (1986))

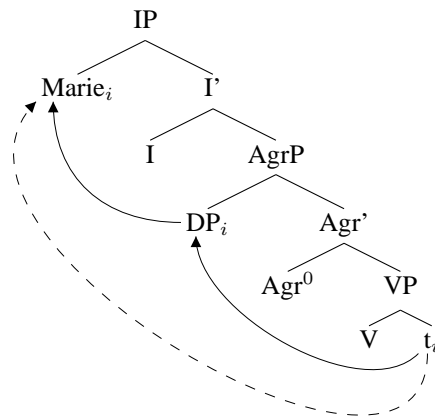
The dashed line shows the ‘improper movement’ from the object position directly to the subject position (the same movement as in (6) above). The solid lines, on the other hand, show a cyclic movement of the direct object via the Spec,AgrP to the subject position: the shorter movements make the trace inside the VP governed, hence, the structure is grammatical.²

So, (8) shows a derivation of a construction with a PP-agreement. But we have identified three such constructions with the obligatory PP-agreement so far: unaccusatives, passives – and true reflexives. Since the true reflexive construction (3) shows the same participle agreement as unaccusatives and passives, the derivation of reflexives happens in the very same manner, as shown in (9): the DP *Jean* starts out in the object position and moves via the Spec,AgrP to the Spec,CP, exactly as *Marie* in an unaccusative in (8) above.

- (9) Jean s’est frappé.
 Jean SE.is hit
 ‘Jean hit himself.’

²In the following tree structures, the IP projection stands for the sentence level, not participle level.

(8)



(French, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

So, we have a good reason (two good reasons: PP-agreement facts and AUX-selection) to assimilate the derivation of true reflexives to the derivation of unaccusatives and passives (for now, leaving aside the exact role of SE in the derivation of reflexives). Moreover, this line of analysis is perfectly expandable to the derivation of true reflexives of *indirect* object, as in (10).

- (10) a. Marie s'est offerte un cadeau.
 Marie SE.is offered_{F.SG} a present
 'Marie offered a present to herself.'
- b. Marie s'est offert un cadeau.
 Marie SE.is offered_N a present
 'Marie offered a present to herself.'

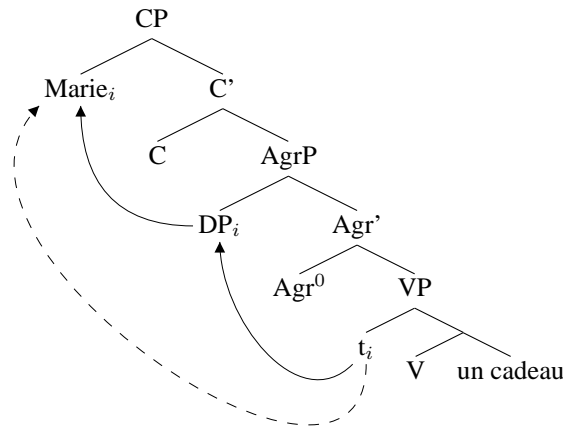
(French, Kayne(1986))

But even as things are, there is a potential wrinkle: while the past participle agreement is obligatory for unaccusatives, passives and true reflexives derived by movement from the *direct* object position, the past participle agreement is only optional if the *indirect* object is reflexivized. Consider the examples (10): they show that the past participle agreement is not obligatory in French³. (10-a) shows that the DP *Marie* can agree with

³There is a dialectal difference: while Kayne reports optional agreement with reflexivized indirect objects, for Sportiche the agreement is impossible if the direct object is a full DP (i-a). When the direct object cliticizes (i-b), the past participle must agree with it.

- (i) a. Marie s'est décrit / *décrite la robe.
 Marie SE.is described_{-AGR} / described_{+AGR} the dress

(11)



the past participle, (10-b), on the other hand, shows the non-agreeing option.

The non-agreement example (10-b) is unexpected: we just made the agreement on the past participle the only option (for the DP-movement to the subject position) to escape the ECP violation. For (10-b), however, we have now almost an exact replica of the impossible structure in (6), as shown in (11).

So, how come the (10-b) is grammatical if we predict it should not be? Kayne suggests that it is the SE that should be credited: the SE governs the trace in the object position and thus it saves the structure from the ECP violation, as shown in (12)⁴.

Finally: what do we know about SE à la Kayne? It has two duties. First, it has to govern the trace inside the VP, as discussed above. It is the SE that serves as an antecedent governor of the trace of the DP moved from the direct object position, as indicated by a dashed line in (12). In this way, SE is connected to the argument internal to the VP.

On the other hand, SE is endowed with another property: it is also linked to an external θ -position⁵. Importantly, the SE itself is not in a θ -position, it is linked to an

'Marie described the dress to herself.'

b. Jean se **les** est décrites / *décrit.

Jean SE them is described_{+AGR} / described_{-AGR}

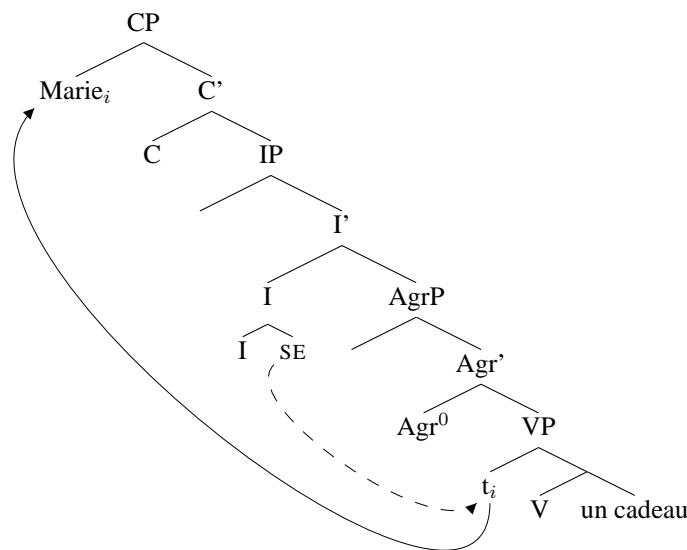
'Jean described them to himself.'

(French, Sportiche (1998):193,(174e))

⁴For the ease of exposition, I place SE as an adjunct to the *I*. It is not obvious where Kayne would place it, for the present argument it is sufficient that SE itself is not in a θ -position.

⁵Where exactly the θ -external is located is not trivial, in particular if one wants to translate Kayne's framework into today's terms. Here is what Kayne says: "Presumably we want this [external] θ -position to be within a V-projection – either [_{VP} VP [e]] (an adjunction configuration at S-structure) or within

(12)



empty category in a (external) θ -position. This empty category is taken to be PRO, as shown in (13).

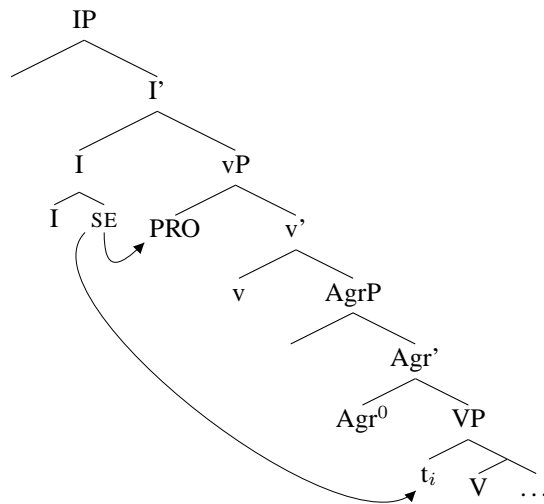
SE in this analysis is thus connected both the internal argument position and the external argument position. This set of assumptions not only explains the problem with optional agreement of the reflexivized indirect objects, it also makes the unification of all the structures with the reflexive clitic SE possible. The more fine grained details follow.

Let us start with the **true reflexive** construction with SE, an Italian example of which is in (14). Recall that the past participle agreement with the subject *Gianni* Kayne takes to indicate that *Gianni* starts out in the original object position in the VP. The obligatory stop over at the Spec,AgrP gives the agreement on the past participle.

The role of PRO in Spec,vP is a little technical. Assuming the Binding Theory of Chomsky (1986b), the PRO lives a ‘double life’: it is both a pronominal element and an anaphor. The first condition (PRO is pronominal) requires PRO to be free in a certain

the usual VP (but external with respect to the other θ -positions, cf. Haegeman 1985),” (Kayne, 1986; §V.) So, the external argument of the verb must be introduced *higher* than the VP. On the other hand (to state explicitly Kayne’s implication) the external argument must be higher than AgrP: the external argument of the verb can never agree with the past participle in French or Italian (passive and unaccusative subjects are, of course, raised internal arguments on this view). Assuming further that the external argument is introduced in vP, the verb’s projection must then consist of three phrases: the VP, AgrP, and vP in that order. Note, incidentally, that such a structure for a verb was proposed by Collins and Thráinsson (1996) and considered as a possible structure in Kayne (1993).

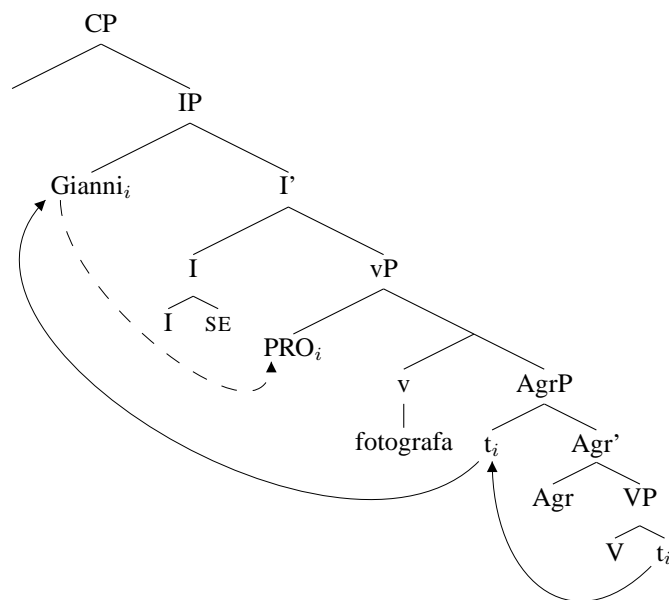
(13)



- (14) a. Gianni si fotografa.
 Gianni SE photograph_{3.SG}
 'Gianni takes pictures of himself.'

(Italian, Kayne (1986))

b.



domain (CFC – Complete Functional Complex). PRO's anaphoric nature, on the other hand, forces it to be bound in another domain.

For the true reflexive example at hand, the PRO in Spec,vP is governed by its own *v*: there is no other subject (in VP or AgrP, as discussed in footnote 5 on page 162) that could be construed as a binder of the PRO, consequently, the PRO is free within the vP.

On the other hand, the PRO needs to be bound in a domain – where is it? Kayne suggests that the PRO is bound by *Gianni*, the DP that raised from the object position to the Spec,IP.

Hence, there is a domain in which the PRO is bound (within IP) and also a domain, in which the PRO is free (vP). The binding relation between the DP in Spec,IP *Gianni* and the external θ -role position (Spec,vP) gives rise to the reflexive interpretation of (14).

The **impersonal** SE construction (15) is derived (almost) identically as the true reflexive. The basic idea is that SE is always the same element and what differs (and thus gives rise to different interpretation of the constructions with (the same) SE) is the syntactic environment. Concretely for the impersonal SE, the derivation of the impersonal SE differs from the derivation of the true reflexive construction in that the PRO (in Spec, vP) is not bound by the DP in Spec,IP. In other words, the impersonal interpretation of SE (with the PRO_{arb} in Spec,vP) is a consequence of the PRO_{arb} being ungoverned in the CP-domain: the *pro* in subject position is an expletive, licensed by the pro-drop character of Italian (cf. Cinque's GLOW 1986).

The moved DP has two options: it either governs the PRO and hence the interpretation is reflexives, or it does not govern the PRO and then the PRO is interpreted as *arbitrary*. Thus, we predict that the sentence (16) must be ambiguous between a true reflexive reading and an impersonal reading: for the former, the moved DP *Gianni* governs the PRO in Spec,vP, for the latter it fails to do so and the sentence is interpreted as impersonal. The prediction is correct.

- (16) Gianni si fotografa.
 Gianni SE photograph_{3.SG}
 REFL 'Gianni takes pictures of himself.'
 IMP 'People take pictures of Gianni.'

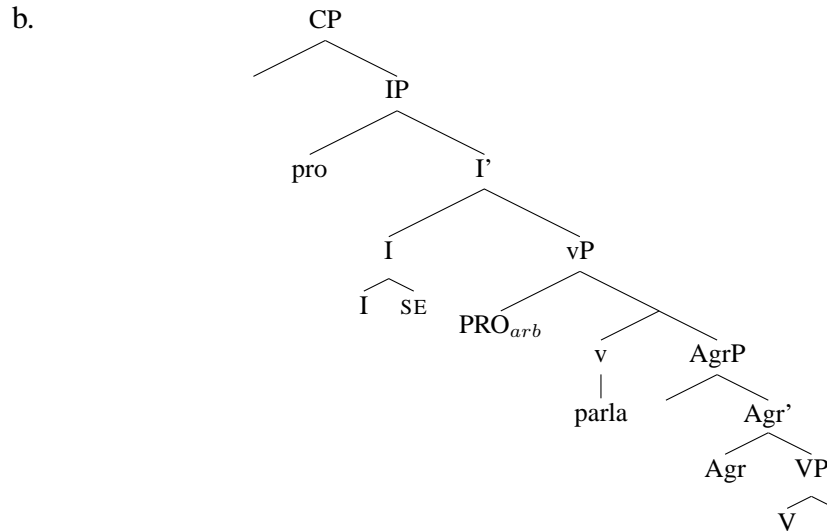
(Italian, Kayne (1986))

6.1.3 Conclusion & Potential Problems

To sum up, the reflexive clitic SE in Kayne's view is linked to the external θ -role (to PRO). The PRO is either bound by the DP raised from the VP-internal position and then

- (15) a. Si parla.
 SE speak_{3.SG}
 'It is said / People say.'

(Italian, Kayne (1986))



the the interpretation of the structure is reflexive; or the PRO is unbound (PRO_{arb}) and this configuration yields the impersonal interpretation. Furthermore, the SE is linked to an empty category inside the VP (that way it contributes to overcome an ECP violation). This link assimilates the SE to other object clitics.

Compared to the analyses proposed in previous chapters, this analysis first of all does not make wrong predictions⁶. Second, it gives us the PP-agreement facts and auxiliary selection facts for free: the unaccusatives and reflexives are derived the same way. Third, and most importantly, it also gives us a handle to unify the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE that just are not true reflexive (impersonal, etc. as summarized in chapter 1).

Needless to say, there are challenges to be dealt with: for one thing, there is evidence that the true reflexives do not show properties expected on the derivation just proposed. That is, if Kayne is right and the only argument in constructions with SE (*Gianni* in (17)) starts out in a VP-internal position we expect (predict, perhaps) that the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE should show unaccusative properties, along with the true

⁶The line of theories that see SE as an operator on argument structure faces the problems of ECM-constructions, analyses that assimilate the reflexive clitic SE completely to other object clitics makes a wrong prediction concerning the intransitivity of constructions with SE, to remind the reader briefly.

unaccusatives (18).

- (17) Gianni si lava.
Gianni SE wash_{3.SG}
'Gianni washes.'

- (18) Il vetro si rompe.
the glass SE break_{3.SG}
'The glass breaks.'

(Italian)

And they do: the PP-agreement facts and auxiliary selection (which started the analysis) confirm just that. However, there are other properties not shared by true reflexives and unaccusatives, as pointed out most persuasively by Reinhart & Siloni (2004). In particular, with respect to a number of tests, the true reflexives behave as *unergatives* (as discussed in detail in the following section). This discrepancy between an 'unaccusative analysis' and an 'unergative behavior' of true reflexives is taken to disqualify the unaccusative analysis of reflexives once and for all (cf. Reinhart and Siloni (2004)).

However, I believe that Kayne's analysis stands up remarkably well with respect to the objections raised by Reinhart & Siloni and I discuss the evidence in detail presently.

(Yes, Kayne's analysis will come out with flying colors, should the reader get insecure.)

6.2 True reflexives are unergative, not unaccusative

A number of authors (c.f. Alsina (1996), Alboiu *et al.* (2004), and Reinhart and Siloni (2004):171ff) took the prediction made by Kayne's analysis at a face value. Thus, to derive true reflexives in an absolute parallel manner with unaccusatives (as Kayne (1986) did) one predicts that the true reflexives should pass all the tests the unaccusatives do. In other words, given that the derivations are parallel, their syntactic behavior should be parallel. Hence, the true reflexives should be unaccusatives.

Running the tests for unaccusativity on true reflexives reveals that this prediction is wrong: as the tests show, the true reflexives pattern with unergatives not unaccusatives, contrary to the expectations. Moreover, such a behavior is not pertinent to only one or two Romance languages, but true reflexives just behave as unergatives in a wide variety of languages (Reinhart & Siloni cite examples from French, Italian, Hebrew, Russian and English). Thus, the conclusion is that to derive the true reflexives by movement from the VP-internal position to the NOM position just must be wrong.

However, more detailed discussion (following below) reveals that this is far from obvious. For each of the following tests I sketch an outline of an argument Kayne might have suggested to defend his analysis.

I present the standard arguments showing the relevant difference between a true reflexive and an anticausative construction with reflexive clitic SE: *ne*-cliticization in section 6.2.1, argument based on reduced relatives in section 6.2.2, secondary depictives are discussed in section 6.2.3, bare plurals in section 6.2.4, and agent-oriented adverbs in section 6.2.5.

6.2.1 *ne*-cliticization

The clitic *ne* (resp. *en* for French) is standardly assumed to single out ‘deep’ direct objects in Italian (and French): *ne* can cliticize from a direct object position (Belletti and Rizzi (1981), Belletti and Rizzi (1988), Burzio (1986)) both for transitive verbs and unaccusatives. On the other hand, *ne* is incompatible with verbs that only have an external argument.

The unaccusative verb is shown in (19): an unaccusative verb *arrivare* ‘arrive’ with a postverbal subject in (19-a) allows *ne*-cliticization in (19-b).

- (19) a. Sono arrivate tre **ragazze**.
 are_{3.PL} arrived_{F.PL} three girls
 ‘Three girls arrived.’
 b. **Ne_i** sono arrivate tre t_i.
 ne are_{3.PL} arrived_{F.PL} three
 ‘Three of them arrived.’

(Italian, Belletti and Rizzi (1981))

An unergative verb *telefonare* ‘telephone’ in (20) – even with a postverbal subject (20-a) – does not allow *ne*-cliticization (20-b).

- (20) a. Hanno telefonato tre **ragazze**.
 have_{3.PL} telephoned three girls
 ‘Three girls have called.’
 b. ***Ne_i** hanno telefonato tre t_i.
 ne have_{3.PL} telephoned three
 Intended: ‘Three of them called.’

(Italian, Belletti and Rizzi (1981))

Turning now to reflexives, (21-a) shows that the subject of a true reflexive verb can appear postverbally. However, it is impossible to *ne*-cliticize and keep the true reflexive reading at the same time; the only possible reading is impersonal (21-b).

- (21) a. Si sono vestite tre ragazze.
 SE are_{3.PL} dressed three girls
 'Three girls dressed (themselves).'
- b. Se **ne**_i sono vestite tre t_i.
 SE *ne* are_{3.PL} dressed three
 *REFL 'Three of them dressed themselves.'
 OK IMPERSONAL 'Three of them got dressed.'

(Italian, Reinhart and Siloni (2004):172, (25))

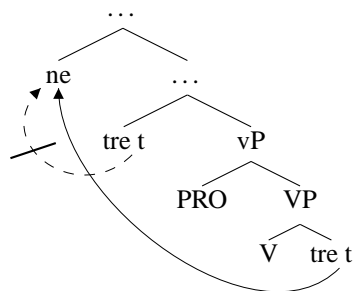
The data above are based on the observation that both the subject of unaccusatives and the subject of unergatives can appear postverbally, in other words, the postverbal position of the subject is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for *ne*-cliticization. That is, not even unaccusatives allow *ne*-cliticization when the VP-internal argument raises to a subject position, as shown in (22). The standard assumption is that when the *ne*-cliticization happens, the VP-internal argument has to remain in a postverbal direct object position.

- (22) *[Tre **ne**_i] sono arrivate.
 three of-them are_{3.pl} arrived_{F.pl}
 Intended: 'Three of them arrived.'

(Italian, Belletti and Rizzi (1981))

The contrast between (19-b) and (22) shows that there is a (preverbal) position accessible to the VP-internal arguments (unaccusative subjects) such that once the DP reaches it, the *ne* cannot cliticize any more. This is shown schematically in (23).

(23)



So, for Kayne's analysis to go through it is enough to say that the true reflexive reading can only arise when the DP from inside the VP *must* raise to this high, preverbal position. The need for the raised DP to control the PRO in Spec,vP makes this a

very plausible assumption.

The lack of *ne*-cliticization with true reflexives is thus if not predicted by Kayne's mechanism at least very much compatible with it.

6.2.2 Reduced relatives

Another test from the repertoire of clear unaccusative characteristics cited by Reinhart and Siloni (2004) is the reduced relatives test⁷. Reduced relatives can be formed exclusively from internal arguments. Thus, reduced relatives based on unaccusative (24-a) and passive (24-b) are well-formed. On the other hand, trying to form a reduced relative based on an unergative verb fails, as shown by Italian (24-c).

- (24) a. L'uomo **arrivato** a Ginevra è una spia.
 the man arrived to Geneva is a spy
 'The man arrived to Geneva is a spy.'
 b. L'uomo **arrestato** dalla polizia è una spia.
 the man arrested by police is a spy
 'The man arrested by the police is a spy.'
 c. *L'uomo **telefonato** a suo nonno è una spia.
 the man telephoned to his grandfather is a spy
 Intended: 'The man that has called his grandfather is a spy.'

(Italian, Reinhart and Siloni (2004):173,(26))

A reduced relatives from SE constructions split, apparently, into a grammatical reduced relatives based on an anticausative SE and ungrammatical reduced relatives based on a reflexive SE. So, while the reduced relative formed from a verb *romper.si* 'break(.se)' is grammatical (25-a), a reduced relative cannot be formed from a reflexive verb *lavar.si* 'wash(.se)', as shown in (25-b).

- (25) a. Il bicchiere **rotto.si** ieri apparteneva a mio nonno.
 the glass broken.SE yesterday belonged to my grandfather
 'The glass broken yesterday belonged to my grandfather.'
 b. *L'uomo **lavato.si** ieri è mio nonno.
 the man washed.SE yesterday is my grandfather

⁷The data in this section are taken from Reinhart and Siloni (2004), as indicated. However, I am not quite sure about their validity, as at least for some Italian speakers, the reduced relatives from unergatives and true reflexives are possible (Arne Taraldsen, p.c.). The argumentation is then applied to Reinhart & Siloni's data, if the unergative and true reflexive reduced relatives are grammatical, the preverbal subject position is available for them within the reduced relative's projection, assimilating them to the structure of *ne*-cliticization above.

Intended: ‘The man that washed yesterday is my grandfather.

(Italian, Reinhart and Siloni (2004):173,(27))

If we believe, with Kayne, that all the constructions with SE are derived the same way, namely, by movement from the VP-internal position to a preverbal position from which the PRO is controlled, the different grammaticality judgments in (25) are unexpected.

However, there is a striking difference between the *ne*-cliticization and reduced relatives from reflexives: while the *ne*-cliticization (21-b) (repeated below (26)) gives rise to an impersonal reading, the reduced relative based on a reflexive is simply ungrammatical (25-b), crucially, it does not have the impersonal reading.

- (26) Se **ne**_i sono vestite tre t_i.
 SE *ne* are_{3.PL} dressed three
 *REFL ‘Three of them dressed themselves.’
 OK IMPERSONAL ‘Three of them got dressed.’

(Italian, Reinhart and Siloni (2004):172, (25))

The fact that (25-b) does not have even the impersonal reading might indicate that the reduced relative does not have an external argument position (the preverbal position needed for the controller to move in, as identified in (23) above) within its structure to start with. If so, then the impossibility to derive a true reflexive reduced relative follow under the same assumptions as for the *ne*-extraction: the DP from the VP-internal argument position has to move above the preverbal position (in order to control PRO in Spec,vP). But, if the reduced relative is ‘so small’ that it lack this position in a first place, the impossibility to derive the true reflexive reading of reduced relatives follows.

6.2.3 Modifiers of the logical subject: Secondary depictives

The next test that clearly identifies unaccusatives as opposed to unergatives is the behavior of secondary depictives in Catalan, as described by Alsina (1996):109ff⁸.

Only ‘real’ subjects can be targeted by secondary depictives in Catalan. This is illustrated by the contrast between (27) and (28): in the active sentence (27), the depictive can modify only the subject *en Ferran*, not the object *la Gertrudis*. However, in the passive (28), neither the NOM subject *la Gertrudis* nor the logical subject (or, agentive *by*-phrase) *en Ferran* can be modified by the depictive. That is, the depictive in this

⁸Alsina uses the term ‘Modifiers of the Logical Subject’, I use the term ‘(secondary) depictive’

language needs to modify an underived subject⁹.

- (27) En Ferran_i ajudava la Gertrudis_j content_i / *contenta_j.
 the Ferran helped the Gertrudis happy_{M.SG} / happy_{F.SG}
 'Ferran_i helped Gertrudis happy_i.'

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):110(46a))

- (28) La Gertrudis_j serà ajudada *contenta_j / *content_i (par en Ferran_i).
 the Gertrudis will.be helped happy_{F.SG} / happy_{M.SG} (by the Ferran)

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):110(47a))

If the derived nature of the passive (or unaccusative) subjects were to be responsible for the impossibility of the secondary depictive, we predict that the subjects of true reflexives should not be able to be modified by secondary depictives; still under the assumption that the true reflexives have the derivation crucially parallel with unaccusatives (and passives), as Kayne suggested. However, the subjects of true reflexives can be modified by a secondary depictive (29).

- (29) [En Ferran i la Gertrudis]_i s'ajudaven **contents**_i.
 the Ferran and the Gertrudis SE.helped happy_{pl}
 'Ferran and Gertrudis helped each other happily.'

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):111(48a))

There is a crucial difference between the (standard) derivation of passives on one hand and the derivation of true reflexives à la Kayne (1986) that just might be responsible for the contrast between (28) and (29). Recall that in Kayne's derivation of true reflexives, the raised DP controls the PRO in Spec,vP – an external argument position (EA). In other words, the raised DP (*En Ferran i la Gertrudis* in (29)) is linked with an External Argument (the raised DP and the EA-position create a kind of a chain). If the correct generalization is that Catalan only allows depictives linked to a DP which is both a (NOM) subject and an EA, Kayne might conceivably respond by pointing out that the raised IA with his reflexive SE forms a kind of chain with the EA (PRO in Spec,vP), so that in a certain sense, the subject of a reflexive is actually both a subject and an EA. (In the following, I make an explicit proposal along these lines.)¹⁰

⁹As Alsina (1996):110,fn.16 points out, this is an argument against an analysis of passives that keep the external θ -role assigned to an element as well, e.g., to the affix *-en*, cf. Baker *et al.* (1989): if only the assignment of an external θ -role is sufficient, the depictive is predicted to be grammatical.

¹⁰If the licensing condition on the secondary depictive in Catalan is indeed the necessary link between

6.2.4 Bare Plurals / Mass Nouns as subjects

Another subject – object asymmetry used as a test for a derived nature of the subjects of unaccusatives concerns Bare Plurals or Mass Nouns. I follow Alsina's (1996) description. The object of a transitive verb (30-a) and a subject of an unaccusative (30-b) can be expressed as a bare indefinite noun. On the other hand, a subject of a transitive verb (31-a) and a subject of an unergative (31-b) cannot¹¹.

- (30) a. Aquest mecànic arregla **motos**.
 this mechanic fixes motorbikes
 'This mechanic fixes motorbikes.'
 b. Cauen **rocs** de la muntanya.
 fall rocks from the mountain
 'Rocks fall from the mountain.'

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):(32a),(37a))

- (31) a. ***Mecànics** arreglen el teu cotxe.
 mechanics fix the your car
 Intended: 'Mechanics fix your car.'
 b. *Durant les vacances, **nens** treballen.
 during the holidays children work
 Intended: 'During the holidays, children work.'

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):105,(36a))

The subject of a reflexive construction cannot be a bare noun (32). Taken at face value this fact implies that the true reflexive cannot be derived as an unaccusative: the former does not show the same properties as the latter.

- (32) **Es** renten **nens** al safareig.
 SE wash children in.the wash house
 *REFL: 'Children are washing themselves in the wash house.'
 ^{OK} IMPERSONAL: 'Children are washed in the wash house.'

the (NOM) subject position and the EA (Spec,vP), we make a prediction that the impersonal construction with SE should not be compatible with the secondary depictive modification, essentially for the same reason the passive cannot take the secondary depictive: in Kayne's analysis, the raised DP does not control the PRO in Spec,vP, which, essentially, means that the chain between the NOM position (the position to which the DP has raised) and the EA position (PRO in Spec,vP) is not created.

¹¹The examples from Catalan as cited here from Alsina (1996):104f are taken from Solà (1992). The very same facts are observed by Belletti (1988) for Italian and by Alboiu *et al.* (2004) for European Portuguese.

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):107,(39a))

But the impersonal reading of (32) is fine. This recalls the examples of *ne*-cliticization ((21) from section 6.2.1 above, repeated below).

- (33) Se **ne**_i sono vestite tre t_i.
 SE *ne* are_{3.PL} dressed three
 *REFL ‘Three of them dressed themselves.’
 OK IMPERSONAL ‘Three of them got dressed.’

(Italian, Reinhart and Siloni (2004):172, (25))

Both bare/mass NP subject (32) and *ne*-cliticization (33) are incompatible with a true reflexive reading (the children wash themselves (or each other)), but both are fine with an impersonal reading.

Moreover, as with the *ne*-cliticization, the subjects (of an unaccusative or reflexive) has to be postverbal: a preverbal bare/mass subject is ungrammatical with unaccusatives (34-a).

- (34) *Rocs cauen de la muntanya.
 stones fall from the mountain
Intended: ‘Stones fall from the mountain.’

(Catalan, Alsina (1996):(35a))

So, we have an exact match between the structural behavior of *ne*-cliticization and bare/mass NP subjects: unaccusatives (and impersonal SE) have both, true reflexives neither.

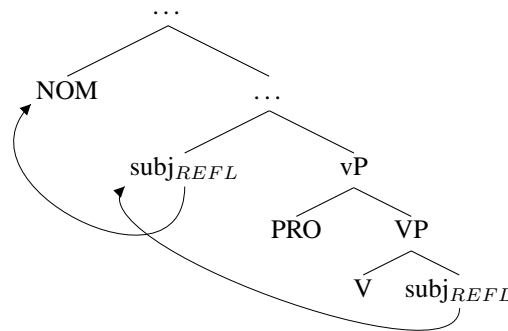
On Kayne’s analysis, the reflexive interpretation arises only when the IA raises to the subject position to control the PRO in EA position, while the IA of an unaccusative or in an impersonal sentence can remain in the object position. Thus, Kayne’s analysis actually makes the correct predictions.

6.2.5 Agent-oriented Adverbs

Parallel to the argument based on Secondary depictives, Alboiu *et al.* (2004) propose an argument based on Agent-oriented Adverbs. The puzzling property is this: if a true reflexive construction is derived as an unaccusative, then the moved DP should only have an internal θ -role and thus agent sensitive modifiers should not be possible.

Agent-oriented adverbs, the classical modifier of an external θ -role, are perfectly fine with true reflexives (35).

(36)



- (35) Šimon se zamatlal schválně.
 Šimon SE *za*-smudged_{M.SG} on.purpose
 'Šimon smudged himself on purpose.'

(Czech)

In Kayne's view, in the reflexive, the moved DP has to control the PRO in Spec,vP (shown schematically in (36)): so, how do we know that the agent-oriented adverb does not relate to the PRO (an instance of an external argument¹²) in the structure proposed for true reflexives?

The agent oriented adverbs are perfectly fine with impersonal SE in Romanian (27) and European Portuguese (38). In this case, it clearly must be the PRO that is modified by the Agent oriented adverb, as pointed out by Alboiu *et al.* (2004).

- (37) S-a murdărit în mod intenționat.
 SE.have_{3.SG} dirtied in manner intentional
 'People dirtied themselves on purpose.'

(Romanian, Alboiu *et al.* (2004):(8))

- (38) Sujou-se de propósito.
 dirtied_{3.SG}SE of purpose
 'S/he deliberately dirtied her/himself.'

(European Portuguese, Alboiu *et al.* (2004):(8))

¹²An alternative is suggested in Alboiu *et al.* (2004): the DP itself moves from the direct object position to the EA position and thus 'collects' two θ -roles, an internal θ -role in the direct object position and an external θ -role in the subject position. The agent-oriented adverbs then modify the external θ . This proposal will be discussed in great detail in section 6.4 and further.

- 'Gianni seems smart to me/to you/to him.'
- b. *Gianni_i si_i sembra [t_i essere furbo].
 Gianni SI_{DAT} seem_{3.sg} be_{INF} smart
Intended: 'Gianni seems smart to himself.'

(Italian, Rizzi (1986b))

Rizzi (1986b) offers a representational solution. (39-b) is ungrammatical because there is an element – SE – that is a part of two distinct chains assigned two distinct θ -roles, as schematically shown in (40). First, SE is a part of a 'raising' chain (*Gianni*, SE, *t_i*) and second, SE must be a part of the chain to which the experiencer θ -role is assigned (40-b). Consequently, SE violates θ -criterion, because it accumulates two distinct θ -roles.

- (40) a. (Gianni_i, SE_i, t_i)
 b. (SE_j)

Looking at Kayne's analysis of true reflexives, the movements and coindexation creates virtually the same chains that Rizzi claimed to be the cause of the ungrammaticality of (39-b). Recall that Kayne proposes to derive the true reflexive construction (41) by movement of *Gianni* from the direct object position to the position above (PRO in) Spec,vP and SE is an element that on one hand binds the trace in the direct object position (thus it participates in the chain (42-a)) and on the other, it is linked to the external θ -position (thus it participates in the chain (42-b)).¹⁴

- (41) Gianni_j si_{i,j} fotografa PRO_i t_j
 Gianni SE photograph
 'Gianni takes pictures of himself.'
- (42) a. (Gianni_i, SE_i, t_i)
 b. (SE_j, PRO_j)

Incidentally, Rizzi's formulation of the problem must be wrong. Empirically, there is plenty of examples that instantiate exactly the 'prohibited' configurations. A small

¹⁴The impersonal SE (i) does not face this problem in Kayne's explanation: SE is not a part of the internal θ -role chain, as shown in (ii-b). The idea is simply that the true reflexive SE is more 'object-like', as it governs the trace of the moved DP in the direct object position.

- (i) a. Cela_j se_i dit PRO_i t_j.
 there.it SE told
 'People say that.'
- (ii) a. (SE, PRO)
 b. (la, t)

sample of such constructions both from Romance and Slavic languages is gathered in section 5.5. Furthermore, see Medová (2006) for a derivational account of the patterns.

6.3.2 Non Obligatory Agreement

Kayne's story, as far as I see, does not have much to offer with respect to the agreement facts with indirect objects on one hand and direct objects on the other. Here are the facts summarized once more for convenience.

Reflexivizing the indirect object of the verb, there are two options with respect to the shape of the past participle: it can either agree with the NOM subject of the sentence (10-a) or it does not have to agree (43-b), both examples are repeated from (10).

- (43) a. Marie s'est offerte un cadeau.
 Marie SE.is offered_{F.SG} a present
 'Marie offered a present to herself.'
 b. Marie s'est offert un cadeau.
 Marie SE.is offered_N a present
 'Marie offered a present to herself.'

(French, Kayne(1986))

On the other hand, if the direct object is reflexivized, the agreement on the past participle (with the NOM subject) is obligatorily present, as shown in (44).

- (44) a. Marie s'est offerte à Paul.
 Marie SE.is offered_{F.SG} to Paul
 'Marie offered herself to Paul.'
 b. *Marie s'est offert à Paul.
 Marie SE.is offered_N to Paul.
Intended: 'Marie offered herself to Paul.'

(French, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

Kayne (1986) viewed the obligatory agreement (with the reflexivized direct object) on the past participle (44-a) as reflecting movement through an escape hatch from an ECP violation (as discussed in detail in section 6.1).

However, it is not obvious to me why the past participle agreement with the reflexivized direct object is obligatory. We saw (43-b) that a reflexivized indirect object is perfectly grammatical without the subject PP-agreement. In Kayne's analysis, this non-agreement option was ascribed to the existence of SE, an element that governs the trace

inside the VP and in that way it saves the structure from an ECP-violation. Why cannot SE 'perform its magical trick' and save the ECP-violation even when the reflexivized is a direct object? In other words, why is there an asymmetry with respect to the subject PP-agreement depending on which of the objects is reflexivized – if indirect, the subject PP-agreement is optional, if direct object, subject PP-agreement is obligatory?

There is also the flip side of the agreement facts above: why is it only with the *reflexivized* objects that we see to agree on the past participle? (45-a) shows an reflexive example *I offered myself to Paul*. In Kayne's story, the shape of past participle *offert-e* is determined by the reflexive clitic ME moving via the Spec,AgrP triggering the agreement on the past participle. But when the very same clitic (morphologically speaking) appears not to be reflexive (45-b), then it also cannot trigger agreement on the past participle. Why?

- (45) a. Je me suis offert-e à Paul.
 I me_F am offered-F.SG to Paul
 'I offered myself to Paul.'
- b. Jean m'a offert-Ø / *offert-e à Paul.
 Jean me_F.has offered-M.SG / offered-F.SG to Paul
 'Jean offered me to Paul.'

(French, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

Incidentally, (45-b) is perfectly fine, at least in Standard Italian.

- (46) Gianni m'ha offert-a a Paolo.
 Gianni me_{F.SG}.has offered-F.SG to Paolo
 'Gianni has offered me to Paolo.'

(Standard Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

The agreement facts thus remain rather mysterious and I do not have anything to offer on this score, either. However, in chapter 8 I discuss further asymmetries between indirect and direct objects with respect to reflexivization: while to reflexivize a direct object gives rise to an ambiguity between impersonal and reflexive reading, to reflexivize an indirect object leads to exclusively reflexive interpretation, impersonal is impossible.

6.3.3 Auxiliary selection

In the section 5.2, I discussed the empirical evidence routinely used as an argument for the same derivation of reflexives as unaccusatives: in Standard Italian, unaccusatives (and passives) select the auxiliary *essere* 'be' while transitives, ditransitives and unerga-

tives select *avere* ‘have’. Reflexives come with the auxiliary *essere* and this is a starting point for the line of thoughts that assimilates the derivation of reflexives (the movement of the DP from the direct object position to NOM position) to the derivation of unaccusatives.

The evidence is by and large legitimate and valid. However, one should be aware of much wider variation once we step out of the realm of Standard Italian. (Thanks to Tarald Taraldsen, p.c. for pointing out the data.) For instance, Vallader has the auxiliary *essere* for unaccusatives and *avere* for unergatives (like Standard Italian), however, it has the auxiliary *avere* for true reflexives.

In the Trentino dialects, there is a variation determined by the reflexivized person. Like unaccusatives (in Standard Italian), the 1st and 2nd person reflexive select auxiliary *essere*: (47-a) shows an unaccusative verb *go*. However, the 3rd person reflexive selects the auxiliary *avere* (47-b).

- (47) a. La Maria l’è vegnuda.
 the Maria, her’is_{3.SG} come
 ‘Maria has arrived.’
 b. La Maria, la se a lavada.
 the Maria, her SE have_{3.SG} washed
 ‘Maria has washed.’

(Trentino, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

The ‘real’ variation among Italian dialects is far too overpowering at this point: however, see (the monumental) Manzini and Savoia (2005) for overwhelming details¹⁵. The bottom line is clear, however: the true reflexives just do not select the same auxiliary as unaccusatives¹⁶.

6.3.4 So? Update!

The last three sections pointed out problems for Kayne’s analysis of the true reflexives. First, there was a technical problem of Chain Formation (section 6.3.1): but this objection is anchored deeply in a particular set-up of the framework. Moreover, Rizzi’s (1986) ‘forbidden’ configurations are found routinely in Slavic languages and to some

¹⁵Auxiliary selection in Romance is beyond the scope of this work, but see Kayne (1993): based on facts similar to one mentioned in the text, he developed an analysis of auxiliary selection (which also accounts for the fact that reflexives systematically select *be* in French and Standard Italian) without treating reflexives as unaccusatives (cf. contrary to his 1986 analysis).

¹⁶This is also the reason for which Richard Kayne never extended his analysis into a full article. Thanks to Tarald Taraldsen for reporting his personal communication with Richard Kayne to me.

degree in Romance languages as well.

The indirect / direct object asymmetries remain unsolved.

The empirical problem is hanging there: Kayne's analysis predicts that the auxiliary selection facts should be exactly the same for unaccusatives and true reflexives. However, already Alboiu *et al.* (2004) is much better off with respect to the auxiliary selection facts: the moment the PRO is substituted by the movement through the EA position, things are looking up, as discussed further.

So, if the analysis just were updated, it would still deal better with all empirical issues than any other analysis discussed so far. Here is a potential for update: Kayne's analysis is based on the traditional view of control. In his proposal, the DP moves from inside the VP into a position higher than Spec,vP and from this position it controls the PRO (=EA) in Spec,vP. But given further development in the theory of Control, namely Hornstein (1999) and Hornstein (2001), it is worth while to translate Kayne's analysis into the movement theory of control while, naturally, keeping all the marvelous things it could do.

This step is taken by Alboiu *et al.* (2004) and I discuss their take presently. (The next step will be an analysis the way I see things.)

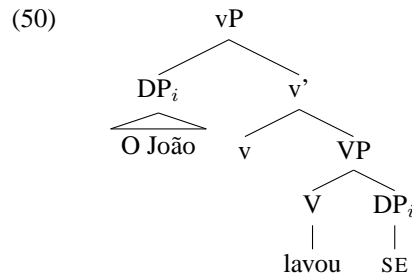
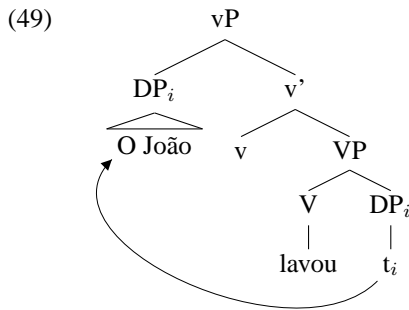
6.4 Alboiu *et al.* (2004)

Similarly to Kayne's analysis, the analysis presented by Alboiu, Barrie and Frigeni has the true reflexive constructions with the SE derived by movement from the direct object position to the subject position. The only change is their update of control following Hornstein (1999) and Hornstein (2001). While Kayne worked with (government &) control, Alboiu *et al.* (2004) see control derived via movement. In other words, it is the very same DP that 'is' both the internal argument (born in VP) and the external argument: the DP just moves from the VP-internal position to the Spec,vP position in the derivation of reflexives.

This shift to the movement theory of control requires a solution of a potential θ -role violation (if we assume that the same DP moves from the VP-internal position to the EA position, one should ask about the θ -roles). Going back to Hornstein's original view, there is no reason why a DP could not accumulate more than one θ -role once we see θ -roles as features satisfiable via movement. The discussion follows in section 6.4.2.

On the problematic side, I'd have to put Alboiu *et al.*'s rather technical implementation of the role of SE in the derivation of reflexives.

On the other hand, the movement via EA (as opposed to Kayne's PRO) makes an additional right prediction with respect to an empirical fact (discussed in chapter 7).



6.4.1 Move it

The derivation of the reflexive sentence¹⁷ (48) is shown in (49) and (50).

- (48) O João lavou-se (a si mesmo).
 the João wash_{3.SG-SE} (to self same_M)
 'João washes (himself).'

(European Portuguese, Alboiu *et al.* (2004):(1))

The derivation proceeds as follows. First, the DP argument *O João* merges with a transitive V *lavou* as its direct object. Second, the same DP *O João* moves to undergo a second merge in Spec,vP.

This movement is essentially θ -driven: the Numeration has only one DP, but there are two θ -roles that require saturation. The movement creates a non-trivial chain with two identical copies and two θ -roles.

In Hornstein's original proposal, both copies of the chain must be pronounced to satisfy Case requirements. Alboiu *et al.* follow the idea, however, they argue that the lower copy is pronounced as SE, as indicated in (50).

As Kayne's, Alboiu *et al.*'s proposal has the potential for a unification analysis of all the uses of reflexive clitic SE in Romance possible. First, every Romance language has only one lexical entry SE, because SE itself is not linked to reflexivity. So, the fact that SE appears in many different constructions hardly any of which are reflexive (as discussed in detail in chapter 1) is not surprising.

Specifically, SE has the following characteristics.

¹⁷While Kayne made his proposal to unify reflexives and impersonals, Alboiu *et al.* (2004) only list such a possibility as an advantage of their approach, without a full-blown analysis of impersonals. Where relevant, I use the most natural extension of their proposal.

- (51) a. SE in derived reflexives is the phonological spell-out of an A-bound trace that is ACC or DAT
 b. SE is specified [+human] and marked for π (person), which can surface in any context requiring a reduced (i.e., Φ -incomplete) DP.

(Alboiu *et al.* (2004))

The first condition (51-a) concerns true reflexives: the other member of the chain created by movement is a DP with a fully specified set of Φ -features. In that sense, the SE in true reflexives is a ‘phonological reflex of a Φ -complete DP’, it then follows that it is either DAT or ACC-marked, depending on the case marking of the Φ -complete DP.

On the other hand, in all the other SE constructions (passives, middles, impersonals) the indefinite semantics associated with the SE follows from the derivation and the ‘constant’ characteristics are those listed in (51-b). In other words, the derivation reaches a point where ‘a Φ -incomplete/reduced DP’ is required and the SE is inserted¹⁸.

To sum up: the true reflexive constructions are derived by the movement from the object position to the subject position, this movement then creates a chain. At spell-out, one of the copies of the moved DP is spelled out as SE (conditions on spell-out are discussed in the following section).

There are two differences between Kayne’s and Alboiu *et al.*’s approaches. The first concerns the role of SE in the derivation. For Kayne, in the derivation of true reflexives, the SE binds the copy of the moved DP inside the VP to avoid an ECP violation¹⁹. For Alboiu *et al.*, SE is a spell-out of a trace left by a DP in true reflexives (and a spell-out of a Φ -incomplete/reduced DP in impersonals.)

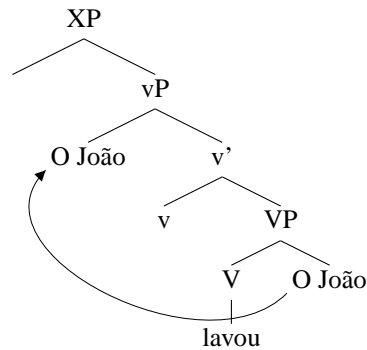
The second difference concerns the nature of the external argument: Kayne proposes that the external argument is always PRO in (what I identified as) Spec,vP, Alboiu *et al.* have the DP move through the external argument position. As things are, we derive the reflexive constructions either way and either way is compatible with other non-reflexive constructions with the reflexive clitic SE. However, there is a reason to select the movement approach over the PRO²⁰ and I turn to it after having explored the technical problems Alboiu *et al.*’s analysis faces.

¹⁸Anticausatives create a problem: on one hand, there is no obvious way how to unify them with reflexives, on the other, there is no indefinite semantics associated with anticausatives.

¹⁹The role of SE in the impersonals is less clear.

²⁰There already is a reason to choose Alboiu *et al.*’s analysis over Kayne’s: *have/be* alternations.

(52)



6.4.2 θ -roles

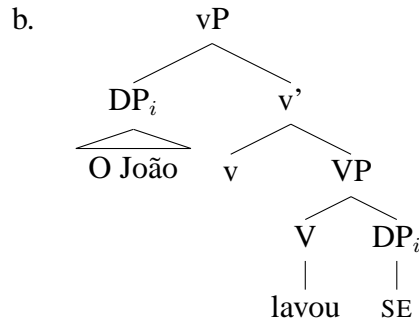
Obviously, the derivation of true reflexives in (52) violates the θ -criterion, according to which each DP can be assigned only one θ -role.

In Alboiu *et al.*'s view, the movement from the direct object position to the subject position is contingent upon Hornstein's view of control as movement and its consequence, the thematic roles as features satisfiable via movement, Hornstein (1999). So, a single DP can, in principle, receive multiple θ -roles.

6.5 Against Alboiu *et al.*'s analysis of reflexives

Given the derivation of a true reflexive (53-a) in (53-b), the assumption is that the *lower* copy of the DP *O João* is spelled out as the reflexive clitic *SE*.

- (53) a. O João lavou-se (a si mesmo).
 the João wash_{3.SG-SE} (to self same_M)
 'João washes (himself).'



Such a spell-out is – in Alboiu *et al.*'s analysis – keyed to Reinhart & Reuland's (1993) notion of the General Condition of A-chains, cited in (54).

(54) General Condition on A-chains

A maximal A-chain ($\alpha_1 \dots \alpha_n$) contains exactly one link – α_1 – that is both +R²¹ and Case-marked.

(Reinhart and Reuland (1993):696)

For the reflexives, as (48), Alboiu *et al.* propose the following derivation. The A-chain consists of (*O João*₁, *O João*₂). Both the copies are case marked: *O João*₁ is marked for NOM case, *O João*₂ for ACC case. If the higher copy (α_1) is +R, the lower copy cannot be +R and, consequently, it has to surface as an underspecified argument and SE is such an argument.

It is not directly obvious how the spell out works. Under the copy theory of movement, as adopted by Alboiu *et al.* (2004), the moved DP *O João* has two identical copies, one in the object position and the other in the subject position. That is, how could the lower copy fail to be +R if it is identical to the higher copy?

There are other questions raised by this approach. For instance, both copies created by the movement are full DPs, cf. (53-b). So, why a copy of a full DP winds up spelled out as a *clitic*?

Second, it is not at all obvious why it should be the *higher* copy that spells out as *O João* and the lower copy as a deficient SE. There is nothing in their framework that prevents the *higher* copy to spell out as an underspecified SE, in particular in the view of many proposals that treat an instance of impersonal SE as marked with NOM case (Rivero and Sheppard (2003) among many others). But even if we say that the SE cannot spell-out NOM case, why cannot the higher copy of the full DP be spelled out as an expletive and the lower copy could be spelled out as a full DP. Expletives are underspecified elements as well, they routinely appear in NOM case and they are not referential, so that they would comply with the conditions in (54).

Another problem follows from seeing the condition on chain formation not in syntax, but as a spell-out condition. Concretely, while for Reinhart & Reuland (54) is a condition on chain formation *in syntax*, Alboiu *et al.* shifted (54) to be a condition on *spell-out*. That is, it is the vocabulary insertion in the phonological component that has to observe the conditions in (54). In this context, a legitimate question is why should a

²¹According to Reinhart and Reuland (1993):697, an NP is +R iff it carries a full specification for Φ -features and structural Case.

- (55) a. Io **mi** lavo.
 I me_{ACC.sg} wash
 'I wash (myself).'
- b. Noi **ci** laviamo.
 we us_{ACC.pl} wash
 'We wash (ourselves).'

- (56) a. Tu **ti** lavi.
 you you_{ACC.sg} wash
 'You wash (yourself).'
- b. Voi **vi** lavate.
 you you_{ACC.pl} wash
 'You'll wash (yourselves).'

trace be spelled as SE and not, say, *O João*, or nothing at all²².

Furthermore, SE is seen as Φ -incomplete (SE 'lacks a complete set of Φ -features; it is only specified for person, but not for number or gender.') and such an underspecification gives rise to the versatile uses²³.

While the total underspecification is fine with SE, it is far from obvious how the reflexives with 1st and 2nd person are derived. For 1st and 2nd persons, the reflexive clitic 'agrees' with the subject in Romance, as shown in (55) and (56)²⁴.

Notice that treating *mi*, *ti*, *ci* and *vi* as regular (anaphoric) object clitics, i.e. not deriving (55) and (56) by raising the internal argument, as with SE, would incorrectly predict past participles with reflexive *mi*, *ti*, *ci*, *vi* to come with the auxiliary *avere* 'have' rather than *essere* 'be'.

Finally, as Alboiu *et al.* (2004) point out, their analysis predicts that the reflexive clitic SE should not appear under causatives. There is an empirical issue, however: while this is true for Italian, it is false in French (or Catalan).

All these problems are really technical issues that follow from the particular implementation of the movement idea by Alboiu *et al.* (2004): it should be clear from the preceding discussion that I believe the derivation to be on the right track²⁵. What I do not know, yet, is whether to opt for Kayne's proposal or Alboiu *et al.*'s. Before trying to decide – on empirical grounds – which of the options to follow, let us summarize where we are and what we know. And what we want.

²²On the spell out of resumptive pronouns under similar circumstances see Abels (2005) and Taraldsen (2006).

²³Problematically, SE is specified as human: 'the only properties intrinsic to SE are its human argument semantics and a syntactic π -feature.' But this is plainly wrong for anticausatives.

²⁴Slavic has an invariant SE, which might be what Alboiu *et al.* (2004) would perhaps predict. Regardless, the [+HUM] feature cannot be inherent to Slavic SE either: there are anticausatives in Slavic as well, with no [+HUM] semantics at all.

²⁵In the following chapters, I will propose an analysis that is like Alboiu *et al.*'s, but it avoids all the technical problems by seeing the movement as stranding case-projections.

6.6 Summary of the Essentials

This is a summary of the derivations that Kayne, Alboiu *et al.* and I propose.

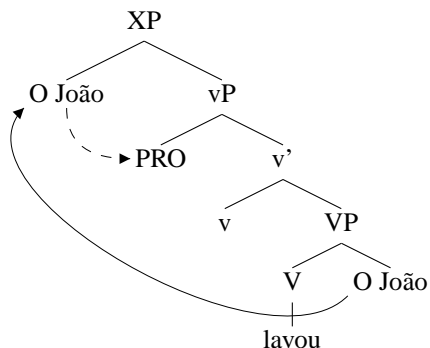
6.6.1 Reflexives

Pointing to the similarity between the unaccusatives and reflexives (with respect to auxiliary selection, PP-agreement (but see the discussion in section 6.3.3, etc.), the essence of the proposal is this: the DP that appears as NOM subject of the true reflexive construction (57) starts out in the direct object position within the VP.

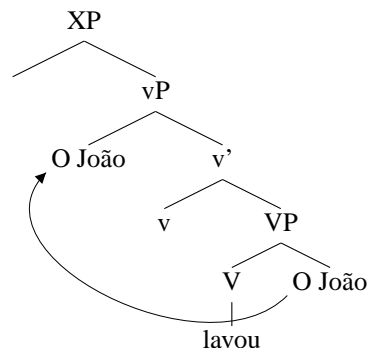
- (57) O João lavou-se (a si mesmo).
 the João wash_{3.SG-SE} (to self same_M)
 ‘João washes (himself).’

(European Portuguese, Alboiu *et al.* (2004):(1))

- (58) Kayne



- (59) Alboiu *et al.*



Contrary to the unaccusatives, the reflexive is obtained by the subsequent movement (Alboiu *et al.*) via the external argument position – or by control of it (Kayne). In any event, the reflexive reading *has* a connection to the external argument and thus the tests designed to detect the external argument in the structure are successful – as expected by these analyses and as discussed in section 6.2.

6.6.2 Impersonals

Impersonals, as well as reflexives, have the external argument present – as PRO_{arb} ²⁶. This was proposed by Kayne and implied by the analysis of Alboiu *et al.*.

In the agreeing version of the impersonal (60-a), the DP *gli spaghetti* raises to the NOM position (alternatively, as discussed in the following chapter, the DP must establish a link (agree) with T), the non-agreeing version of an impersonal (60-b) does not and the DP *gli spaghetti* stays in the VP-internal position (ACC-marked, as shown by the ACC clitic *li* in (61)).

- (60) a. Qui, si mangiano spesso gli spaghetti.
 here SE eat_{3.PL.PRES} often the spaghetti_{NOM}
 ‘People often eat spaghetti here.’
 b. Qui, si mangia spesso spaghetti.
 here, SE eat_{3.SG.PRES} often spaghetti_{ACC}
 ‘People often eat spaghetti here.’

(Italian, Cinque (1988):(73b),(72a))

- (61) Qui, li si mangia spesso.
 here, them_{ACC} SE eat_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘People often eat them here.’

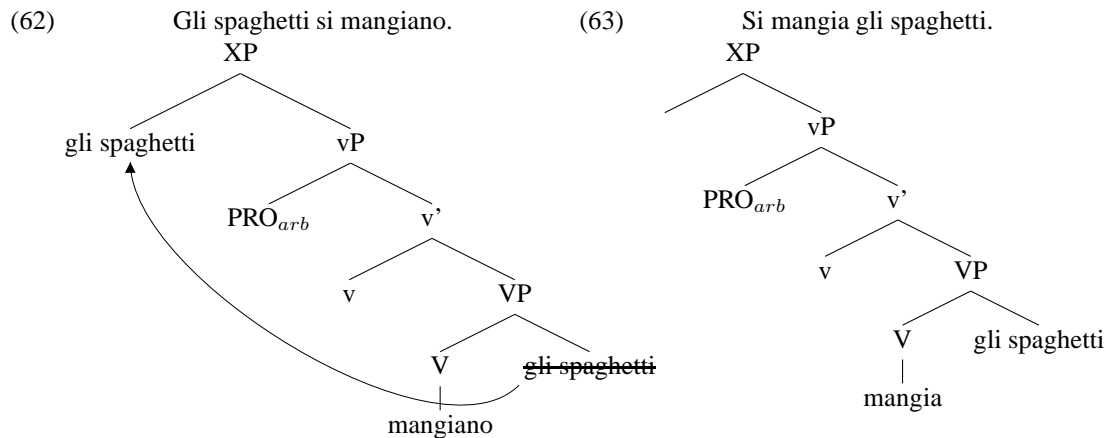
(Italian, Cinque (1988):(72b))

In the case of impersonals formed from intransitive verbs, as (64), the external argument position will have PRO_{arb} , only this time, there is no DP inside VP, contrary to the tree in (63-b).

- (64) Si parla.
 SE speak_{3.SG}
 ‘People speak.’

(Italian, Kayne (1986))

²⁶The prediction is that impersonals should also pass the tests discussed in section 6.2. I do not discuss it here, but note in passing that they pass the Agent-oriented Adverb test. If these adverbs are sensitive to the presence of the external argument in the structure (as is the standard assumption), then they would have to be considered as transitives with potentially unaccusative syntax, similarly to the reflexives. I leave the issue for further research.



6.6.3 Anticausatives

Neither Kayne, nor Alboiu *et al.* discuss the anticausative (65-a) transitive (65-b) alternation. However, in both approaches it is implied that the anticausative should be derivable a way similar to the reflexives and impersonals.

- (65) a. Il vetro si rompe.
 the glass SE break_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘The glass breaks.’
 b. Giovanni rompe il vetro.
 Giovanni_{NOM} break_{3.SG.PRES} the glass
 ‘Giovanni breaks the glass.’

(Italian)

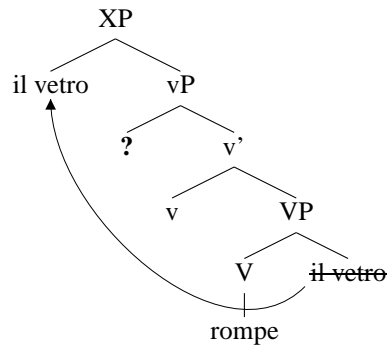
While the transitive version passes the tests for external arguments (after all, there is an external argument: *Gianni*), the anticausative version does not pass any tests that detect an external argument in the structure. So, for instance, to add an agent oriented adverb renders the sentence ungrammatical – as well as the English inchoative counterpart in the gloss²⁷.

- (66) *Il vetro si rompe intenzionalmente.
 the glass SE break_{3.SG} on.purpose
 Intended: ‘The glass got broken (*on purpose).’

(Italian)

²⁷The impersonal interpretation of (66) is irrelevant.

(67) Il vetro si rompe.



If the agent oriented adverb is contingent upon the external argument, then from examples as (66) we should conclude that there is no external argument in the (66). In other words, following Kayne's and Alboiu *et al.*'s unification plan, the structure should be as follows in (67).

So, why is there no external argument (the Spec,vP) in anticausatives? In particular in the view of the fact that in many languages (as shown for Czech (68) and Spanish (69)) it is possible to add a DAT sentient argument in the anticausatives.

(68) **Karlovi** se rozbily brejle.
 Karel_{DAT} SE broke_{3.PL} glasses_{NOM.PL}
 'The glasses broke on Karel.'

(Czech)

(69) **A Juan** se le rompieron las gafas.
 Juan_{DAT} SE CL_{DAT} broke_{3.PL} the glasses_{PL}
 'John was affected {negatively/positively} by the glasses breaking.'

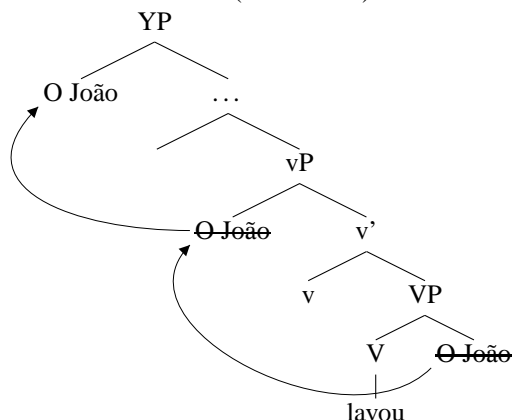
(Spanish, Rivero (2004a):(35))

DAT arguments (though not of this particular type) will be discussed further in section 9.3. As a first approximation, we might want to say that the DAT *Karlovi* is introduced by an APPL head.²⁸

²⁸In an ideal world, we would want to unify the DATs with anticausatives and the EAs DATs discussed in section 9.3.1. However, as things are, it seems impossible: for one thing, the DAT with anticausatives just do not have agentive reading (though, Rivero (2004a) suggests they might have, at least for a subset of South Slavic and Balkan languages). I leave the issue open.

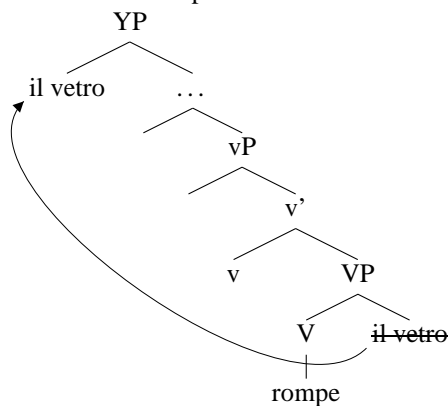
(70) Reflexives

O João lavou-se (a si mesmo).



(71) Anticausative

Il vetro si rompe.



6.6.4 Reflexives have [+HUM] subjects

There is a crucial observation, usually taken for granted and thus usually not mentioned: true reflexives are derived only for [+HUM] arguments, while anticausatives only for inanimate arguments. Taking this distinction seriously, I propose that the derivation of true reflexives and of anticausatives is essentially the same, except that to derive reflexives, the raised DP has to pass through the EA position (70)– in the spirit of Alboiu *et al.* (2004) (or moved higher and control the PRO in the EA position, in the spirit of Kayne (1986)), and to derive anticausatives, the DP does not (cannot) pass through the EA position (71) (or, it cannot end up controlling an agentive PRO, in Kayne's (1986) world view). If it did, it would derive a reflexive. (The EA position is identified as Spec,vP, but see following discussion.)

For the [+HUM] argument in (72-a), the salient reading is reflexive, for an inanimate (72-b), the reading is impersonal. This is the observation, as simple as that.²⁹

- (72) a. Karel se umyl.
Karel_{NOM.SG} SE washed_{M.SG}
'Karel washed himself.'

- b. Talíř se umyl.
plate_{NOM.SG} SE washed_{M.SG}
'The plate has been washed.' / 'Somebody washed the plate.'

²⁹I abstract away from examples of clear coercion, when the [+HUM] argument is taken to 'act' as inanimate (as happens with babies) and when an inanimate argument is said to act 'on its own', as in fairy-tale kind of scenario.

(Czech)

The distinction between true reflexives on one hand and anticausatives on the other, then, concerns the external argument position. The true reflexive reading is contingent upon this position. I postpone the discussion to the chapter 8.

While animate / inanimate distinction is not particularly prominent in the syntax, I want to make such a link. In the chapter 7, I propose that the EA position is an intervener in various configurations for relations involving ‘person’ (π). This implies that the [+HUM] characteristic is relevant as a member of the category person, grouping 1st, 2nd and 3rd animate persons together as opposed to 3rd person inanimates.

6.6.5 What does the SE do?

In Kayne’s view, SE binds the trace inside the object position for reflexives, forcing the obligatory agreement on the past participle – but recall the problems of non-obligatory agreement with the reflexivization of indirect objects. Moreover, the role of SE with the impersonals is not obvious.

For Alboiu *et al.* (2004), the problems of the spell-out of SE were discussed in detail in section 6.5. In their set up, any Φ -incomplete DP would do, as far as I see.

I believe that SE is essentially a morpheme that does what antipassive morphemes do. Concretely, they block the direct object position so that the DP (that would otherwise become a direct object) has to remain oblique (deriving antipassive – or inherently reflexive verbs), or it has an option to raise to the NOM position (via the Low EA) and derives reflexives. Without the stop over at the EA position, anticausatives are derived. In other words, the SE is a kind of an inverse morpheme saying: look, the argument that winded up as the subject started out as an object.

The rest of the thesis is an elaboration and a concrete proposal based on these few lines.

Chapter 7

EA: PRO or movement through?

Here we are: we just compared Kayne's and Alboiu *et al.*'s approaches deriving reflexive (and impersonal and anticausative) constructions. All the constructions are derived by movement from inside the VP to a higher position: to the EA position for Alboiu *et al.* (2004) directly, to a position higher than the EA for Kayne (1986). This step, for either approach, guarantees that there is a detectable external argument in the structure of reflexives, as shown by discussion in section 6.2.

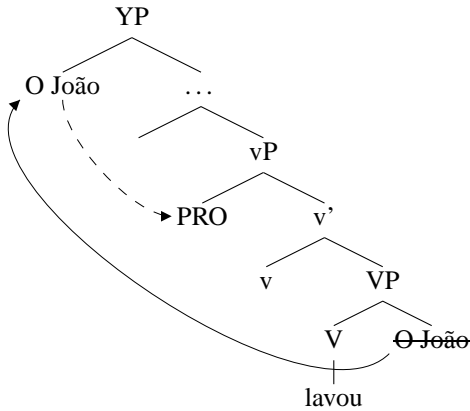
All in all, the crucial difference between Kayne's and Alboiu *et al.*'s approach boils down to the question what the external argument is. For Kayne, it is PRO, in Alboiu *et al.*'s approach, it is the DP itself, as schematized once more in (1) and (2).

The Spec,vP is the EA position, as discussed in the previous chapter, section 6.6.4. It is PRO in Kayne's view and the moved DP controls it (indicated by the dashed line) in (1). For Alboiu *et al.*, the external argument is the moved DP (2). (In both, the SE is abstracted away from.)

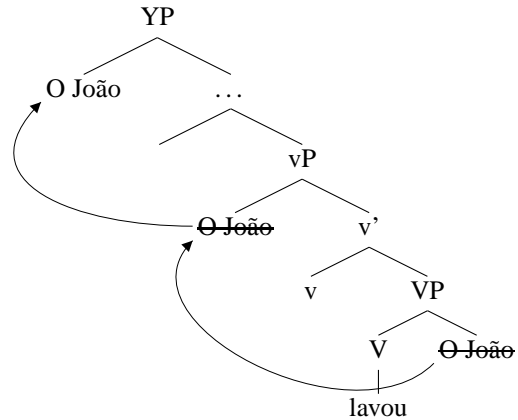
But which approach is better? That is, which approach makes better predictions? As a matter of fact, we have already seen that Alboiu *et al.*'s analysis scores better with the Auxiliary selection. But what if Kayne's analysis turns out to deal better with the present problems? (It will not: movement through the EA position wins completely. But let us play the game.)

The empirical observation discussed in this chapter is simple: 1st and 2nd person subjects are excluded in the impersonal SE constructions in Romance languages (D'Alessandro (2004):ch.4 and Rivero (2004b), among others). After contemplating D'Alessandro's and Rivero's suggestions (section 7.2), we apply both theories of SE's: first Kayne's (section 7.3) and then Alboiu *et al.*'s (section 7.4). This step will show that Alboiu *et al.*'s suggestion copes better with the data. In the second part of this

- (1) O João lavou-se (a si mesmo).



- (2) O João lavou-se (a si mesmo).



chapter, we turn to a discussion of the data parallel to the Romance facts described in the first part of this chapter – data drawn from Slavic languages (section 7.5). I only briefly contemplate Rivero's suggestion (section 7.6) to see the Romance and Slavic SE as different with respect to person features.

7.1 *Agreeing Impersonals with 1st and 2nd person

There is a context in which the subject can only be 3rd person and not 1st or 2nd in Italian: agreeing impersonals, as described in section 1.1.6.1. The problem was first observed in Burzio (1986), to the best of my knowledge. Here, I will concentrate on the solution proposed by D'Alessandro (2004). Before looking into the proposed solution, let us concentrate on the basic facts. Recall that there are two possible outcomes for the SE impersonals with transitive verbs, the basic examples are repeated below.

- (3) a. In Italia si mangiano gli spaghetti.
 in Italy SE eat_{3.PL} the spaghetti_{PL}
 'In Italy, people eat spaghetti.'
 b. In Italia si mangia spaghetti.
 in Italy SE eat_{3.SG} spaghetti_{PL}
 'In Italy, people eat spaghetti.'

(Italian, D'Alessandro (2004):51(1-2))

These two sentences both are examples of an impersonal SE, but they differ with respect to the subject¹ – verb agreement: while the subject *gli spaghetti* agrees with the verb in person and number in (3-a), the (3-b) shows an non-agreeing version, the verb has the 3rd person singular ending.

These two options are asymmetrical with respect to the person of the subject. So, while 3rd person can appear in either agreeing or non-agreeing impersonal SE constructions, 1st or 2nd person is excluded in the agreeing impersonal SE construction.

Concretely, then, for 1st and 2nd person subject, the agreeing version is ungrammatical, as shown in (4) below. In other words, when the subject *tu* tries to agree with the verb *inviterai*, the sentence is ungrammatical (4-a). Similarly for the 1st person in (4-b).

- (4) a. *Tu si inviterai volentieri.
 you_{NOM} SE invite_{2.SG.FUT} willingly
 Intended: ‘You will be eagerly invited.’
 b. *Io si inviterò volentieri.
 I_{NOM} SE invite_{1.SG.FUT} willingly
 Intended: ‘I will be eagerly invited.’

(Italian, Burzio (1986):43)

The only option for 1st and 2nd person is to use the non-agreeing impersonal SE (5)².

- (5) a. In televisione mi/ci si vede spesso.
 in TV me/us_{ACC} SE see_{3.SG} often
 ‘People see me/us often on TV.’
 b. In televisione ti/vi si vede spesso.
 in TV you/you’ll_{ACC} SE see_{3.SG} often
 ‘People see you/you’ll often on TV.’

(Italian, D’Alessandro (2004):117(4))

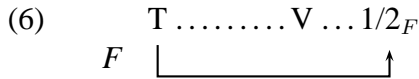
To sum up, 1st or 2nd person IAs are compatible only with a non-agreeing impersonal SE (cf. contrast between (4) on one hand and (5) on the other), while 3rd person IAs can appear in either agreeing impersonal or a non-agreeing one, as shown in (3).³

¹The terms ‘subject’ and ‘internal argument’ (IA) here refer to the same element: ‘subject’ is justified by the subject-verb agreement, the IA is legitimate because we follow Kayne in assuming the movement derivation for impersonals.

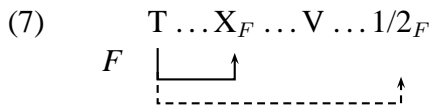
²There are reasons to believe that the DP in the non-agreeing version of the impersonal is in ACC case, the presence of accusative clitics, for instance. This is orthogonal to the present issue.

³A similar effect is reported from Spanish by Rivero (2004b); her observation concerns derived verbs like *olvidar* with the reflexive clitic SE. The relevant examples of a grammatical 3rd person IA are in (i-a) and the ungrammatical 1st and 2nd person IAs in (i-b) and (i-c). Modulo the DAT experiencer, the struc-

Suppose that to agree means to establish a link between a probe (let us take T for concreteness) and the goal, in cases at hand the 1st or 2nd persons IAs. The link is taken to be a feature, let us say F : the goal probes for the feature F which the 1st or 2nd persons IAs have, as indicated schematically in (6).



Suppose now that such a link fails to be established between the T and 1st or 2nd persons subjects. Relativized Minimality opens up for a neat way of explaining the failure to establish the relation in (6): suppose that higher than the 1st or 2nd persons subjects (cf. closer to the probe T), there is an element X bearing the same feature F as the probe T looks for (and which the 1st or 2nd persons subjects have as well). In that case, X would be an (RM) intervener, as indicated in (7). Consequently, the structure would not be grammatical⁴.



A solution like (7) for the examples in this section is invoked by D'Alessandro and Rivero. Moreover, for both authors, the intervener is the reflexive clitic *SE*. Details follow below.

tures are identical to the Italian impersonals. Rivero's proposal is essentially identical to D'Alessandro's and I will thus consider both analyses as one.

- (i)
- a. A Ana se le olvidaron esos chicos / ellos.
 Ana_{DAT} SE CL_{DAT} forgot_{3.PL} those guys / they_{NOM.PL}
 'Ana forgot those guys / them.'
 - b. *A Ana nos le olvidamos nosotros.
 Ana_{DAT} REFL_{1.PL} CL_{DAT} forgot_{1.PL} we_{NOM.PL}
 Intended: 'Ana forgot us.'
 - c. *A Ana os le olvidasteis vosotros.
 Ana_{DAT} REFL_{2.PL} CL_{DAT} forgot_{2.PL} you_{NOM.PL}
 Intended: 'Ana forgot you.'

(Spanish, Rivero (2004b):496(8))

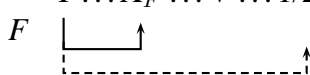
⁴Or at least, impossible as it is, without a 'repair mechanism', see Rezac (2008), for instance.

7.2 SE as an intervener

The examples with 1st or 2nd persons subjects in the agreeing impersonal (8) are taken to have the structure (9)⁵. Two questions arise: first, what is *F* and second, what is *X*.

- (8) a. *Tu si inviterai volentieri.
 you_{NOM} SE invite_{2.SG.FUT} willingly
 Intended: ‘You will be eagerly invited.’
 b. *Io si inviterò volentieri.
 I_{NOM} SE invite_{1.SG.FUT} willingly
 Intended: ‘I will be eagerly invited.’

(Italian, Burzio (1986):43)


- (9) $T \dots X_F \dots V \dots 1/2_F$
 F 

The natural candidate for *F* is *person* (π). And who is *X*? SE. How? Look.

To start, let us assume that SE's *F* value is 3rd person. In other words, we assume (following the discussion in section 2.1) that the reflexive clitic SE is 3rd person. On the other hand, it does not have number or gender. Second, there is a single probe (*T*, let us assume) that probes both for person (π) and number (#). With these assumptions, the PCC effect follows.

Assume first a 3rd person subject, as in the structure for (10-a), schematized in (10-b). *T* is looking down the tree for a person feature and it finds SE. *T* thus matches its person features with SE and by doing so, its π features are satisfied. The number is not satisfied by numberless SE, so the *T* probes down to find the IA which then satisfies the number features of *T*.

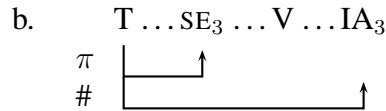
⁵The scenario (9) has the shape of a syntactic solution for PCC (Person-Case Constraint) effects (discussed in section 2.2.1.3). PCC reflects the impossibility of clitic combination *DAT₃ ACC_{1/2}. In the original work on PCC by Bonet (1991), the impossible combinations were essentially constraints in morphological combinations of the clitics. Recently, however, Anagnostopoulou (2003), Rezac (2008) among others, proposed a syntactic solutions as schematized in (i). Assuming that both DAT and ACC clitics have the feature *F*, then the feature *F* on the DAT prevents the feature *F* on ACC from being licensed.

- (i) Probe_F ... DAT_F ... ACC_F ... V
 F 

The configurations in (i) and (9) are identical, except that, of course, the intervener is the DAT in the PCC while it is the SE in the impersonals above.

- (10) a. In televisione si vedono spesso loro.
 in TV SE see_{3.PL} often they_{NOM.PL}
 ‘People often see them on TV.’

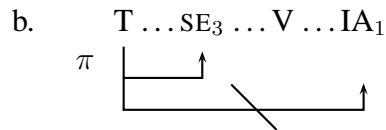
(Italian, D’Alessandro (2004):117(2))



Now, if the subject is 1st and 2nd person (11-a), the situation changes a little, significantly, though. Again, in the same scenario, the *T* is probing down the tree to satisfy its π features. And again, by Relativized Minimality, it finds the SE first and matches whatever features it can with it. In our case, it will be the π feature, but not the $\#$ feature: SE is only 3rd person, but it is numberless. But doing so, the π features of the 1st or 2nd person IAs remain unchecked and the derivation crashes. This is indicated in (11-b).

- (11) a. *In televisione io si vedo spesso.
 in TV I_{NOM} SE see_{1.SG} often
 Intended: ‘People see me often on TV.’

(Italian, D’Alessandro (2004):117(4))



This solution entails a crucial consequence for 3rd person arguments. Given that the derivation in (11) is impossible because the 1st or 2nd person subject fails to be π licensed, we need to say something more about the 3rd person subject in (10). And this is what we say: 3rd person arguments do not have π , they are mere $\#$. It is only SE that carries π features in this story.

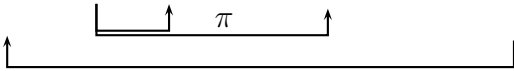
I put the question of the non-agreeing impersonals aside: 1st and 2nd persons IAs are perfectly grammatical, but it is not obvious how the 1st and 2nd persons are licensed, say in (5). In particular, it seems that the 1st and 2nd persons did not establish a relation with the *T*, or at least, it could not happen exactly as with agreeing impersonals discussed in this section. Most likely, the ACC case marking on these arguments is crucial.

All in all, assuming the general architecture of the problem is correct, that is, that there is an intervening element that causes the person restriction in these structures, let us see how Kayne’s and Alboiu *et al.*’s theory would cope with it, starting with Kayne’s view.

7.3 Kayne

Adapting the story to Kayne's, the intervener in the agreeing impersonal constructions discussed above could be either SE, or PRO_{arb} ; Kayne's analysis predicts the PCC-violation with impersonals in either case. Let us see.

The problematic example of an agreeing impersonal SE with a 1st and 2nd persons subject is repeated below in (12). Kayne's analysis is schematized in (13).

- (12) *In televisione io si vedo spesso.
 in TV I_{NOM} SE see_{1.SG} often
Intended: 'People see me often on TV.'
- (13) IA_1 T ... SE ... [_{VP} PRO_{arb} ... V ... IA_1]



As before, the T searches down for π and it first finds SE or PRO_{arb} . Either way, it checks its π features with it and the 1st or 2nd person IA's π features remain unlicensed – regardless the movement to Spec,TP, indicated in (13).

The only thing we can be unhappy in Kayne's derivation is that we do not know whether it is the SE or PRO_{arb} that causes the intervention in (12).

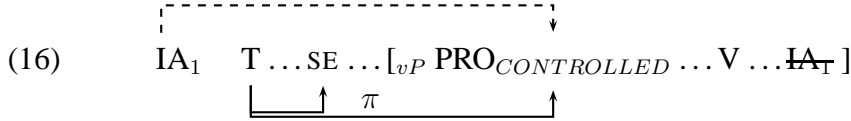
The derivation of reflexive (14), however, is way more problematic.

- (14) Io mi vedo spesso in televisione.
 I_{NOM} SE see_{1.SG} often in TV
'I see myself often on TV.'

In the reflexives, the external argument (PRO) is controlled by the raised DP, as schematized in (15). As before, the derivation starts out with the 1st or 2nd person DP inside the VP; this DP has to raise to the position higher than the PRO in order to control it. The movement is indicated by the solid line, the control by the dashed line.

- (15) IA_1 T ... SE ... [_{VP} $PRO_{CONTROLLED}$... V ... IA_T]


Now, the T looks down the tree searching for π . It finds, again, either SE or PRO, either way, the element is 3rd person, thus, it satisfies the T's π feature and consequently the IA remains unchecked (unlicensed).



So, (16) shows a situation identical to the (13), except that here, in the derivation of reflexives, the PRO is controlled by the moved DP. In the derivation of impersonals (as in (13)), the PRO in Spec,vP is not controlled; it is a PRO_{arb} . And this is precisely the problem: while the impersonals are ungrammatical (that is, the derivation crashes), the reflexives should be grammatical and thus their derivation should be fine. Leaving aside the SE, for now, the only difference between these two structures is the arbitrariness / control status of the PRO.

In other words, we need the structure with a controlled PRO (16) to be fine (since, reflexives with 1st or 2nd person subjects are fine), but a structure with an arbitrary PRO_{arb} (13) to be impossible, somehow. I do not see a natural way to implement this.

Thinking now about the SE as an intervener, I am at loss as well: informally speaking, if the SE ‘shifts’ its form from SE to 1st person *mi* (talking about the example (14)), it would cease to be an intervener and the derivation would proceed till the happy-end. However, in the impersonal, SE would still be an intervener with respect to π relation (to be established between *T* and *IA*).

At this point, we might think that due to the agreement relation between the subject (original internal argument) and the SE, the SE somehow ceases to be an intervener. In other words, the agreement links the π feature of SE and the π feature of the subject creating a single shared π feature, as it were. (Mechanisms related to chain formation, come to mind, such as Case being assigned to a whole chain rather than to single member of it.) Similar reasoning might apply if PRO is taken to be the intervener: control might make the controller and PRO share a single π feature, still speaking impressionistically. However, implementing these informal ideas will require the adoption of formal mechanisms that do not seem to have any independent justification.

So, there is a problem: Kayne’s analysis as it is fails to derive true reflexives for 1st or 2nd person subjects. Let us hope Alboiu *et al.*’s approach gives a better result; as it seems to me I painted myself (Kayne, really) into the corner.

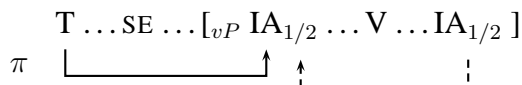
7.4 Alboiu *et al.*

Alboiu *et al.*’s analysis of reflexives has it that the *IA* moves to the *EA* position itself⁶. So we deal with the scenario in (17). Effectively, there is no PRO in *EA* position, hence,

⁶As I have it, it will move further to the *NOM* position, see discussion in the following chapters.

it cannot count as an intervener.

(17) Reflexive SE



Concretely, the $IA_{1/2}$ raises to the Spec,vP. This has the effect that the very same $IA_{1/2}$ is the first goal found by the π probe. So, the reflexives are derived.

That is, so long it is the EA position that should be an intervener, things are fine. However, if, following D'Alessandro, we were to take it that it is the SE that intervenes in the relevant sense, things go wrong. First, in (17), not only SE, but also 1st or 2nd person reflexive clitics should count as interveners, assuming that the clitics sit in a position higher than the EA (or Spec,vP). This is certainly wrong: we have reflexive constructions with 1st or 2nd person subjects in Italian (18).

- (18) Mi lavo ogni giorno.
 me_{1.SG} wash_{1.SG} every day
 'I wash every day.'

(Italian)

Naturally, D'Alessandro might object that in her view, reflexive constructions are not derived Kayne's or Alboiu *et al.*'s way, but that to her, SE is an object clitic (as described in chapter 4). But that helps very little: even then, she would have to assume that a π relation needs to be established between T and Spec,vP where the subject of the reflexive construction is born. Basically, then, we wind up with a very same scenario as in (13) above, as shown in (19)⁷.

- (19) $\pi \quad \begin{array}{c} T \dots mi \dots [_{vP} io \dots V \dots \cancel{mi}] \\ \quad \quad \quad \uparrow \quad \quad \quad \uparrow \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{-----} \end{array}$

By extension, if SE – specified only as π – were to count as an intervener, so should *mi*, *ti*, *ci*, *vi*, presumably: they are at least π , too (and # and gender features). But they clearly do not (20).

⁷I assume that the cliticization happens from the object position to the position higher than Spec,vP. Should D'Alessandro argue that the cliticization targets a position higher than T , the clitic then would not be an intervener in the sense described in the text. However, the impersonal SE would still have to be in the position in between the v and T , given the restrictions of the impersonals to the finite contexts.

- (20) Ti sono caduto addosso.
 SE_{2.SG} be_{1.SG} fallen_{M.SG} on
 ‘I fell on you.’

(Italian, Tarald Taraldsen p.c.)

This fact, then, argues in favor of the intervener being the EA position rather than the SE itself, at least when the reflexives are concerned.

For the impersonals, on the other hand, assuming the PRO_{arb} to be an intervener, we still predict a PCC-violation, as shown in (21). As before, the π probe looks down the tree and it finds the PRO_{arb}, it checks its π features with it. By this, it saturates its ‘ π needs’ and thus, as in D’Alessandro’s and Rivero’s story, the IA’s π features remain unchecked and the derivation thus crushes.

- (21) Impersonal SE
- $$\begin{array}{c} \text{T} \dots \text{SE} \dots [\text{}_{vP} \text{ PRO}_{arb} \dots \text{V} \dots \text{IA}_{1/2}] \\ \pi \quad \underbrace{\hspace{1.5cm}} \uparrow \end{array}$$

So, this argument favors the movement of the DP from the VP to the external argument position (Alboiu *et al.*) over Kayne’s analysis, that would have the moved DP control PRO in the external argument position. In other words, we derive the same facts as D’Alessandro (2004), assuming that the intervener is not the reflexive clitic SE, but the external argument (PRO_{arb}) in the case of impersonals. In the case of reflexives, there is neither PRO_{arb} (nor PRO) in the structure in Alboiu *et al.*’s analysis, hence, the reflexives come out perfectly fine, as shown in (17).

Incidentally, it just so happens that the Slavic counterparts to ungrammatical impersonals examples with the 1st or 2nd person subjects (cf. (22) repeated from above), are perfectly grammatical.

- (22) *In televisione io si vedo spesso.
 in TV I_{NOM} SE see_{1.SG} often
Intended: ‘People see me often on TV.’

(Italian, D’Alessandro (2004):117(4))

Such examples (discussed in detail in the next section) might be explained along the lines of Rivero’s (2004b) suggestion for Spanish vs. Bulgarian. In that case however, the intervener would not be the PRO, as discussed above, but the SE – when it has the π features (as in Spanish, but not in Bulgarian). This possibility is explored in the

- (i) a. Léčím se u dr. Pažourka už dva roky.
heal_{1.SG.PRES} SE by dr. Pažourek_{GEN} already two years
'I am being treated by dr. Pažourek for already two years.'
(Czech, Karlík *et al.* (1995):525)
- b. Holím se u pana Zelinky.
shave_{1.SG} SE by Mr. Zelinka_{GEN}
'Mr. Zelinka is my barber.' / (more lit.: 'I am being shaven by Mr. Zelinka.'
(Czech, Kopečný (1958):121)

However, one can find also examples from other contexts, in particular where the true reflexive reading can be suppressed, as for instance (24). It should be stressed that the context is very important and out of blue, these sentences would not be acceptable (in the non-reflexive reading). This much being said, imagine the following context: there is a fête and an artist paints children's pictures. One child says to another (24-a), while another insists that it is his turn to get a picture of himself made (24-b).

- (24) a. Podívej, ted' se kreslíš ty!
 look now SE draw_{2.SG.PRES} you_{NOM}
 'Now you are being drawn!'
- b. Ted' se budu malovat já! Ty už obrázek máš!
 now SE AUX_{1.SG.FUT} paint_{INF} I_{NOM} you already picture have_{2.SG}
 'Now I will be painted, you've already got a picture!'

(Czech)

Hence, the potentially important issue is the word order effects in the constructions with impersonals. Boldly put, the position of the NOM pronoun in the sentence seems to force (or at least facilitate) one reading. In particular, to have the NOM pronoun *já* in the first position in the sentence creates most likely a true reflexive (25) while when the NOM pronoun is the last element in the sentence (as in (24)), the impersonal reading is obtained.

- (25) Já se kreslím.
 I_{NOM} SE draw_{1.SG.PRES}
 'I draw myself.'

(Czech)

Other Slavic languages might pattern with Czech – at least Slovene does. So, explaining to the Monster the way he appeared on Earth, dr. Frankenstein might have said (26).

- (26) Sestavil si se iz petih različnih teles.
 assembled_{M.SG} AUX_{2.SG} SE from five different bodies
 'You were assembled from five different bodies.'

(Slovene, Lanko Marušić & Rok Žaucer, p.c.)

Recall that Slovene has – as Italian – two options with the impersonal SE with transitive verbs (as discussed in section 1.1.6.1). (26) is the agreeing pattern: the original direct

object has NOM case. (27) is the non-agreeing version (the ACC is retained on the original direct object). As reported by native speakers, the non-agreeing version sounds better (as it is not ambiguous between the true reflexive and impersonal).

- (27) Sestavilo se te je iz petih različnih teles.
 assembled_{N.SG} SE you_{ACC} AUX_{3.SG} from five different bodies
 ‘You were assembled from five different bodies.’

(Slovene, Lanko Marušić & Rok Žaucer, p.c.)

To summarize the facts, the contrast with Romance languages is still there: while in Italian, to have a 1st or 2nd person agreeing subject is impossible in impersonal constructions, such a possibility is fine in Slavic, as shown for Czech and Slovene above. Still, there seems to be a tendency for a preferred interpretation depending on the word order. Thus, to have the 1st or 2nd person subject as the last element in the sentence facilitates an impersonal reading, to raise the 1st or 2nd person subject to the first position (or to have only the subject verb agreement) suggests more a reflexive reading.

These facts could be explained by taking SE to be the intervener (rather than PRO_{arb}) in Romance, but not in Slavic. Such a view entails that the SE in Romance is different from the SE in Slavic languages. There is a reason for such a claim and I discuss it in the following section.

7.6 Rivero (2004b)

Similarly to D’Alessandro (2004), Rivero (2004b) explains the crucially parallel facts of Spanish *olvidar* cases (mentioned in footnote 3 on page 195 above) as an intervention effect of SE. Thus, both for Rivero and D’Alessandro, there is an element – SE – that is an intervener between the relation that the π probe tries to establish with the 1st and 2nd person IA. This view entails that SE must have π features.

Pointing to the set of facts from Slavic languages⁹ with no intervention, Rivero

⁹Rivero’s data are the following Bulgarian examples of a psych verb with a DAT experiencer (i). Given that the Spanish examples in footnote 3, page 195 and the Bulgarian examples in (i) have a DAT experiencer, it could be that it is the DAT experiencer argument that is an intervener. But notice that Rivero (2004b) excludes the DAT as a potential intervener in the relation of a 1st or 2nd person and a higher probe, based on the examples in (ii). These examples (ii) differ minimally from those in footnote 3 above: in the former, there is no SE and the sentences with 1st or 2nd person are perfectly grammatical, the latter has SE and the structures are ungrammatical. Hence, it must be the SE.

- (i) a. Na Ivan mu se privizhdat tezi momicheta.
 to Ivan_{DAT} him_{DAT} SE imagine_{3.PL} these girls

(2004b) concludes that the reflexive clitic SE cannot do the same job in Romance and in Slavic.

Concretely, Rivero (2004b) suggests that the invariant Slavic clitic SE does not carry π features – contrary to its Romance counterpart. This is supported by the true reflexive paradigms. (28) shows a full paradigm of the Czech (Slavic) reflexive verb ‘shave’, (29) is the parallel paradigm of the verb ‘wash’ in Italian (Romance). While Slavic has an invariant SE for all persons, Romance reflexive clitics are person-sensitive.

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|--|
| (28) | a. Já se holím.
b. Ty se holíš.
c. On/a se holí.
d. My se holíme.
e. Vy se holíte.
f. Oni se holej. | (29) | a. Io mi lavo.
b. Tu ti lavi.
c. Lui/Lei si lava.
d. Noi ci laviamo.
e. Voi vi lavate.
f. Loro si lavano. |
|------|--|------|--|

So, Rivero and D’Alessandro posit different status of SE in Romance (SE has π features) and in Slavic (SE is π -less). Following the insight of Alboiu *et al.*’s, an alternative is to say that the intervener is PRO_{arb}, as described in the section 7.4.

-
- ‘Ivan has a vision of these girls.’
b. Na Ivan mu se privizhdate vie.
to Ivan_{DAT} him_{DAT} SE imagine_{2.PL} you_{NOM.PL}
‘Ivan has a vision of you.’
c. Na Ivan mu se privizhdame nie.
to Ivan_{DAT} him_{DAT} SE imagine_{1.PL} we_{NOM.PL}
‘Ivan has a vision of us.’

(Bulgarian, Rivero (2004b):500(16))

- (ii) a. Yo sé que a Ana le gustan ellos.
I know that Ana_{DAT} them_{DAT} like_{3.PL} they_{NOM}
‘I know that Ana likes them.’
b. Yo sé que a Ana le gustais vosotros.
I know that Ana_{DAT} them_{DAT} like_{2.PL} you_{NOM}
‘I know that Ana likes you.’
c. Yo sé que a Ana le gustamos nosotros.
I know that Ana_{DAT} them_{DAT} like_{1.PL} we_{NOM}
‘I know that Ana likes us.’

(Spanish, Rivero (2004b):495(2))

7.7 Conclusion

We settled two things in this part of the work. First, the true reflexives and all the other constructions that employ the reflexive clitic SE must be derived by movement: the argument has to start out inside the VP and move to the subject position (chapter 6). But we know more than that: to derive a true reflexive, the argument from inside the VP has to move via the EA position. This view (adapting Alboiu *et al.*'s proposal) has been taken to give us advantage compare to the alternative proposal that would have the EA position filled with PRO (Kayne), as shown in this chapter.

However, there are some issues we did not settled. For instance, I have been rather vague as for the exact movement of the argument from the VP to the EA to the subject position. I was equally parsimonious on explaining what exactly should this EA be like. And, very clearly, I did not decide on the issue raised in this chapter: what is the role of SE in all of this? What does the SE do? There seem to be a good indication that the reflexive clitics in Romance just must be different from their Slavic counterparts – so long the π features are concerned, for instance. And still, they create the very same constructions. Why?

I try to answer these questions in the rest of this work. There are two main components to the tackle I take. First, I introduce a novel theory of case (Peeling Theory of Case) and second, I broaden the range of languages I look at. In particular, I want to see the connection between intransitivization and reflexivization on one hand and antipassives and reflexives on the other.

Part IV

Reflexivization through Peeling

The essential component in the analysis is the Peeling Theory of Case, as proposed by Starke (2005). It is introduced in the section 8.1 and its beneficial consequences are laid out in chapter 9.

On the empirical side, in chapter 8 I discuss the curious asymmetry between the reflexivization on indirect objects on one hand and direct objects on the other. That is, to apply intransitivizing morphology (of which reflexivization is an instance) on the direct object leads to either impersonal reading or a reflexive reading. However, to apply an intransitivizing morphology on the indirect object does not lead to an ambiguity: only reflexive reading is available, not impersonal.

Such an observation is interesting by itself, but there is more to it: the very same facts hold also for ergative languages – this time, the relevant intransitivizing morphology is antipassive. In other words, to apply antipassive morphology to the direct object leads to a construction known as antipassive, as expected. However, if the same intransitivizing morphology (cf. antipassive morpheme) applies to an indirect object, the resulting structure cannot have antipassive interpretation, but it has to be interpreted as reflexive.

The meeting point then is this: intransitivizing on an indirect object (cf. reflexivizing or ‘antipassivizing’) always leads to a reflexive reading such that the original indirect object is both the subject and the benefactor in the sentence.

The second empirical fact (discussed in chapter 10) is this: there are languages in which the antipassive morphology and the reflexivizing morphology are syncretic. I take this syncretism to be non-accidental: the antipassive and reflexives, then, are given parallel analyses. Reflexive clitics, from this perspective, are very close to antipassive morphology.

The third empirical fact (discussed in chapter 11) is the simple observation that the impersonals (and middles), while they share the same piece of morphology with the reflexives, anticausatives, etc. are still rather different from them. For one thing, they by and large cannot occur in untensed contexts (recall the discussion in section 2.3). I propose a derivation that makes both these conditions come out. The same piece of morphology spells out the same piece of structure – in the external argument region for the impersonals, while it is in the direct object region for the reflexives and anticausatives (and antipassives).

Chapter 8

Intransitivizing on Indirect Object forces Reflexive reading

The first empirical observation this chapter is based on is simple: while the ACC reflexive clitic *SE* is ambiguous between a true reflexive reading and impersonal reading, such an option is never available to the DAT reflexive clitic. The DAT reflexive clitic can only have a true reflexive reading, never an impersonal one. This pattern (only REFL reading available when indirect object is reflexivized) is observed in both Slavic and Romance¹.

Moreover, this observation is valid also for a language that does not show overt morphology like *SE*: Basque and Chukchi are examples. So, intransitivizing on an indirect object gives rise to a reflexive interpretation with the indirect object coreferential with the EA. This is the first empirical observation discussed in this chapter.

The second empirical observation is based on languages with antipassives. (Antipassive is a construction with a demoted object, the name is meant to suggest its parallel – the passive, where the demoted argument is a subject.) In a language with such morphology, an antipassive morpheme applied on a direct object gives rise to an antipassive construction. But to add antipassive morphology relating to an indirect object does not yield an antipassive construction (‘no antipassive from oblique’). In that sense, this observation is parallel to the impossibility to have an impersonal reading on the DAT reflexive clitic mentioned above. There is another fact parallel to that of DAT reflexive clitic: the antipassive morphology on an indirect object gives rise to a reflexive construction. I discuss this pattern for Halkomelem and Diyari.

These two observations are usually kept as two separate facts. This chapter is going to show that these two observations are in fact the same fact.

¹In section 10.6.2 I add an observation: anticausative reading is possible from an indirect object as well. For the purposes of this chapter, however, let us ignore this option.

As far as I am aware of, there is no explanation for such a fact in neither theory of reflexives discussed above. This chapter, then, brings in a novel theory of Case: Peeling Theory of Case (proposed by Starke (2005), Starke (2006) in unpublished work and Caha (2006), Caha (2007c), Caha (2007b), Caha (2007a)). I show that under certain assumptions coherent with the Peeling theory, the forced reflexive reading in an intransitivized structure follows neatly. Moreover, the general set-up of the Peeling theory allows us to see reflexivization as an operation parallel to antipassivization. This is a particularly welcome result given the (rather common) syncretism of antipassive morphology and reflexive morphology, a fact that otherwise has to be stipulated.

The chapter has the following set-up. As the Peeling Theory of Case will be the framework I work in from now on, I start by introducing it in section 8.1. Then I introduce the first observation in detail: reflexivizing the indirect object does not produce an impersonal reading (section 8.2) not only for Slavic and Romance (section 8.2.1), but also for Basque (section 8.2.2), Chukchi (section 8.2.3) and Georgian (section 8.2.4). While it is not obvious Gorum (section 8.2.5) is a language with an AP morpheme, other languages – clearly with AP morphology – are discussed further. They (Halkomelem in section 8.2.6 and Diyari in section 8.2.7) show the same pattern: this time, the antipassive morpheme applied to an indirect object forces a reflexive reading.

Finally, I show a derivation using Peeling theory of case (section (39)). Consequences of the derivation are discussed in the subsequent chapter 9.

8.1 Peeling Theory of Case

The Peeling Theory of Case was proposed by Michal Starke (unpublished work, Starke (2005) and Starke (2006)), elaborated on by Pavel Caha (Caha (2006), Caha (2007c), Caha (2007b), Caha (2007a)) and used by others (Taraldsen (2006), Medová (2007), Medová and Taraldsen (2007b) for instance).

There are two basic ingredients to the Peeling Theory of Case. The first one is an assumption about the nature of the UG – the *fseq*, and the second is a specific assumption about the way a DP moves in the *fseq*. I discuss these assumptions in turn starting with the feature specification of Case in the *fseq*.

8.1.1 *fseq*

The first ingredient is nothing else than an assumption that syntactic structure is composed of a large number of primitives (features) that are hierarchically ordered in functional projections: *fseq*, (Cinque (1999), Starke (2004)).

One way to think about Case is to see it as a feature dominating a DP (as for instance in Toman (1994)), as in (1). In particular, if a DP is morphologically marked as DAT, a DAT feature (=K₁) will dominate such a DP, (1-a). As a consequence, such a structure is spelled out as DP_{DAT}. Similarly for GEN (represented as K₂): for DP to appear in GEN case it would have to be dominated by K₂, as in (1-b).

- (1) a. [K₁ [DP]]
b. [K₂ [DP]]

But this representation alone does not take *fseq* into consideration: it does not establish a relation between the Cases K₁ and K₂.

Another way is to see Case as a unique syntactic structure where one Case can be understood as a structural subset of another Case, as (2).

- (2) a. [K₁ [DP]]
b. [K₂ [K₁ [DP]]]

The reason to posit (2) over the representation in (1) is empirical. That is, some languages show that morphologically, one Case is built on another one. Concretely, as observed by Ausbury (2007), in Tongan (Polynesian), a Benefactive is built on a Possessive. So, (3) shows possessor marking: for the inalienable possession, the morpheme *o* is used (3-a), while a morpheme *a* is used for alienable possession (3-b).

- (3) a. ko e 'ulu 'o Sioné
 KO SPEC.ART head GEN.INAL Sioné.DEF
 'Sione's head'
b. ko e ka 'a Sioné
 KO SPEC.ART car GEN.AL Sioné.DEF
 'Sione's car'

(Tongan, Ausbury (2007):(37), cited from Caha (2007b)(4))

For Benefactives in Tongan (4), we should observe two things. First, the allomorphy for in/alienable possession is kept. Second, the benefactive is brought in by a preposition that attaches to the possessive marker. This preposition is *mV*, where the final vowel harmonizes with the following vowel.

- (4) a. Na'a nau langa 'a e fale **mo'o** Siale.
 PAST 3.PL.INIT build ABS DEF house BEN.INAL Siale
 'They built a house for Siale.'

- b. Na'a nau tanaki 'a e pa'nga **ma'a** Siale.
 PAST 3.PL.INIT collect ABS DEF money BEN.AL Siale
 'They collected some money for Siale.'

(Tongan, Ausbury (2007):(36), cited from Caha (2007b)(5))

One might be sceptical about the relevance of the Tongan pattern for the Case theory saying perhaps, that it is because the Case alternation is expressed by a prepositional markers. Importantly, however, there are languages where the same pattern – one case is built on another one – is visible also where the case markers follow the noun. For instance, Czech shows the same pattern as Tongan: the case for benefactors (DAT) is literally build on the case for possessors (GEN). (5) shows two (out of three) major allomorphs for GEN plural: *-ũ* for masculine (5-a) and *-í* for feminine (and neuter) in (5-b).

- (5) a. dũm m-ých syn-**ũ**
 house my-GEN.PL son-GEN.PL
 'the house of my sons'
 b. dũm m-ých kolegyn-**í**
 house my-GEN.PL colleague-GEN.PL
 'the house of my (female) colleagues'

(Czech, Caha (2007b)(7))

The benefactor (expressed by DAT) is build by adding the DAT suffix *-m* to the appropriate GEN marker (6)

- (6) a. Petr postavil dũm m-ým syn-ũ-**m**.
 Petr built house my-DAT.PL son-GEN.PL-DAT.PL
 'Petr built a house for my sons.'
 b. Petr postavil dũm m-ým kolegyn-í-**m**.
 Petr built house my-DAT.PL colleague-GEN.PL-DAT.PL
 'Petr built a house for my (female) colleagues.'

(Czech, Caha (2007b)(8))

For now, I will assume that the structure of DAT case is indeed (7).

- (7) [DAT [GEN [DP]]]

Building on this insight, we might want to take the contemplation one step further, within the general idea of *fseq*. That is, a particular Case can be understood to be a structural subset of another Case, simple version of which is shown in (8). The structural

cases are added; I follow Bittner and Hale (1996) and Taraldsen (1995) in seeing NOM as a bare DP.

(8)

- a. nominative [DP]
- b. accusative [K₁ [DP]]
- c. genitive [K₂ [K₁ [DP]]]
- d. dative [K₃ [K₂ [K₁ [DP]]]]

(Caha (2007b)(9))

Observe that this particular hierarchy is based on Case syncretisms found crosslinguistically in morphological case, and documented and discussed by Caha in numerous work cited throughout.

The nature of this approach requires that all the (morphological) cases should be seen as features and thus all the morphological cases should be lined up on top of a DP. We established the order [DAT [GEN [DP]]]. What about the other cases?

Blake (1994) proposed a universal hierarchy based on typological generalizations. The hierarchy is shown in (9) and it should be read as follows: if a language has a morphological exponent to express a case A, it also has morphological exponents to express the cases lower on the hierarchy than case A. So, for instance, if a language has LOC, the hierarchy entails that it also has NOM, ACC, GEN and DAT.

(9) NOM ACC/ERG GEN DAT LOC ABL/INS others

(Blake (1994):89(72))

Blake (1994) meant this hierarchy to hold morphologically as suggested above. However, such a hierarchy is untenable as a morphological hierarchy: there are languages, that do not conform this hierarchy, that is, they have a case A, but one of the cases that 'having a case A' presupposes is missing. One such example is Hungarian: Hungarian has a morphologically marked DAT, so it should also have NOM, ACC and GEN, but there is no morphological marking of GEN in Hungarian. One way to face the problem would be to make GEN case more marked than say INS, but this move makes the wrong predictions for languages like German or Ancient Greek: these languages have GEN (and DAT), but no INS. So, gaps in the hierarchy of morphologically expressed cases in some languages make the hierarchy problematic as a morphological universal. (Caha (2007b):8).

However, the hierarchy (9) could be taken to suggest order of the features as those in (8). In other words, the full representation of a DP is given in (2). Notice that to capture

Blake, it seems necessary to make additional assumptions, in particular the assumption that all features in the tree must be lexicalized.

(10) [COM [INS [LOC [DAT [GEN [ACC [NOM]]]]]]]

(Caha (2007b):(17))

Notice that under this story gaps could be explained. So, if we translate GEN as a case of a possessor, then for Hungarian it does not mean that it cannot express possessors. As a matter of fact, Hungarian expresses possessors by DAT case. In other words, in Hungarian the sequence [K₂ [K₁ [DP]]] (from (8) above) is not spelled out by a separate morpheme, but such a sequence is spelled out by the [K₃ [K₂ [K₁ [DP]]]] as DAT case, by the superset principle², Starke (2005), Caha (2007c).

So, how can a DP appear in a particular case, say, DAT? That is ensured by the second ingredient of the Peeling theory of Case: the movement of the DP in the tree, known as *Peeling*³.

8.1.2 Peeling

The second ingredient of the Peeling theory of Case consists of specific assumptions about the way the DP merges with the predicate and the way it moves.

So, when a DP is merged in the tree, it is dominated by a number of Case projections, as shown in (11). (Whether the DP merges with the layer K₁ or K₃ as it's highest projection depends on the merging site of the DP.)

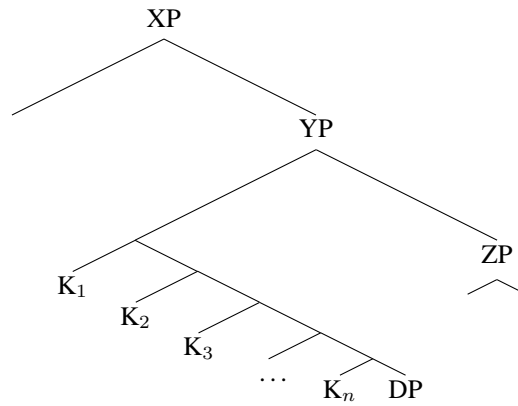
If nothing else happen, the DP in (11) would have the case K₁ (determined by K₁...K_n). But how does the DP appear in a different Case, let us say K₂? This is ensured by *peeling* (Starke (2005)): a movement of a DP such that one layer of the Case projection is left behind. This is illustrated in (12).

After the step in (12), the structure looks like the right hand tree in (12) with the K₁ stranded under the YP. When peeling happens, the DP shifts case: by assumption, case is a spell out of the functional sequence above the DP. The functional sequence above the DP is [K₂ ... DP] in (12), thus the DP would spell out marked by K₂. In this theory, thus, the DP grows 'smaller' with respect to the case it bears, referring to the hierarchy (2).

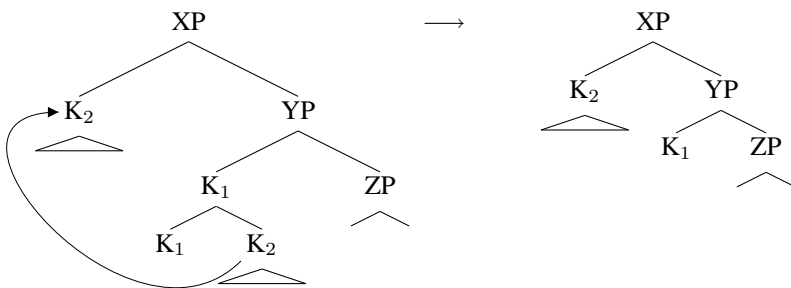
²On this view, the lexicalization process can target not only terminals but also bigger non trivial subtrees. Every nominal node is equated with a feature, so that subtrees can be viewed as an ordered set of features. Lexical items are associated with similar sets of features. The lexical item X can replace a syntactic tree T if the features associated with X is a superset of features in T. See section 10.4.2 for more details.

³It also depends on determining how many K's a DP has initially.

(11)



(12)

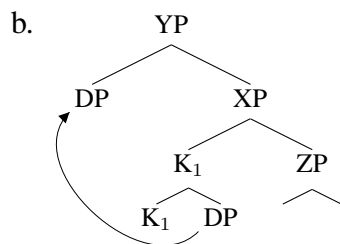


Motivation for such a movement can be looked for in pseudopassives (13-a). The DP *John* starts out as a complement to the P, but it strands the P and moves to the Spec,TP and appears as NOM. Under the standard treatment of pseudopassives, the DP *John* fails to be case-marked by the P and thus has to raise to Spec,TP to receive NOM case.

On the peeling scenario, the DP *John* merges in the very same structure as it does in an active sentence, in particular, it is marked as K_1 in both passive and active sentence. But since the NOM position is now free in the passive, the DP *John* (the NOM case under the present assumptions) is free to subextract to it. When the DP raises, it leaves the layer K_1 behind and it is spelled out as a part of the P.

(13) a. John₁ was yelled [at t₁].

(Caha (2007b):(10))



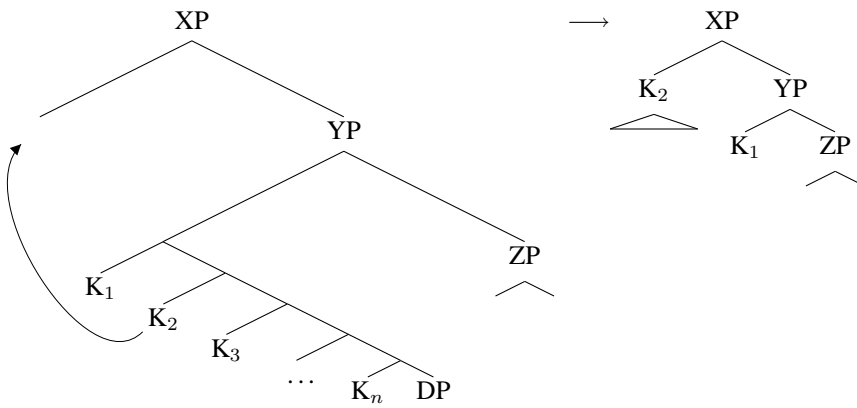
Importantly, movement always changes the case of the DP from ‘bigger’ to ‘smaller’. ‘This basic prediction distinguishes the present account from the theories presented in Jayaseelan (2007) and Pesetsky (2007), who independently develop a Case theory basically in the spirit of Sportiche (2005) and Kayne (2004). In their theories, dP movement is also connected to Case, but this is done via a completely opposite mechanism from the one adopted here. Whereas under the present account, dPs lose features under movement, in the alternative theories dPs get enriched by raising, since when they raise, they combine with functional Case heads sitting dispersed in the projection line of the category where the dP is introduced.’ Caha (2007b):7,fn.7

There is another assumption I make here (not forced by the general set up of the Peeling theory of Case). As a matter of fact, I will discuss an alternative in this assumption in the next chapter. But for now, I’ll take it as a principle of the Peeling theory, as discussed presently.

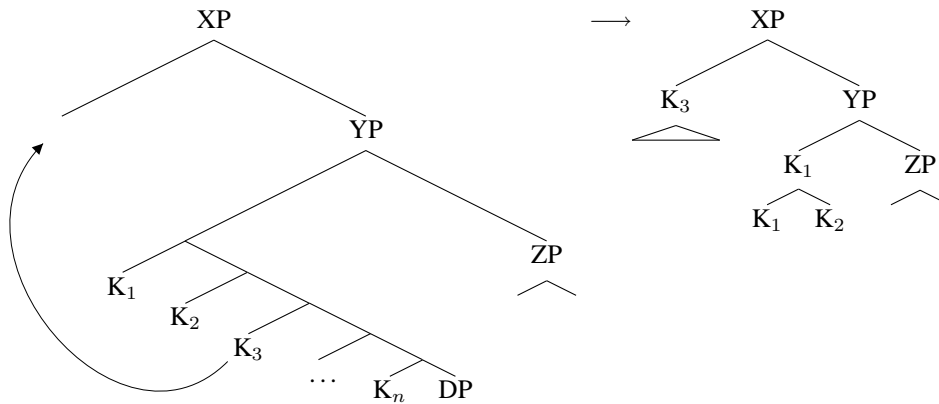
8.1.3 One layer at a time

Let us contemplate the options of the peeling movement in general. As a starting point, we have (11) (repeated here as (14)). Peeling targets the sister of the highest head: in the case at hand, the highest head in the dP projection is K_1 , its sister is K_2 . Thus, by

(14)



(15)

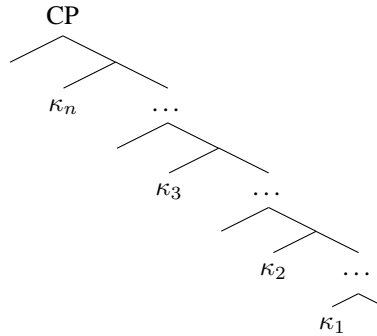


the rule, the structure dominated by K_2 will move and the layer K_1 remains stranded. Metaphorically, the K_2 peeled the layer K_1 off and left it behind.

In principle, peeling could target either of the layers below K_2 : the Peeling theory only requires that after the movement has taken place, one layer has to stay behind, be stranded. This requirement would be fulfilled even if, say, K_3 moved up, as shown in (15). In that case, the layers K_1 and K_2 would be stranded.

There are reasons to believe either of the versions of the peeling just shown. In the original proposal (Starke (2005)), the version shown in (14) was proposed. The motivation is essentially conceptual. The structure of the dP is seen as a mirror of the clausal structure. The structure of the dP is seen as $[K_1 [K_2 [K_3 \dots [K_n [DP]]]]]$. Assuming that movement can target only appropriate positions (K_2 can only move to the clausal position κ_2), the structure of the clause should be so $[\kappa_n \dots [\kappa_3 [\kappa_2 [\kappa_1 [CP]]]]]$.

(16)



This version of the Peeling theory of Case will be referred to as the **Restricted version of the Peeling theory** or by slogans such as ‘only the sister of the highest head can be peeled’ and/or ‘one layer at a time’, which briskly express the basic idea⁴. In the rest of this chapter, I will use this version of the Peeling theory, as it neatly derives the pattern we are concerned with (and which is described in detail in the following section). However, in the consequent chapter, I will discuss motivation for the **Unrestricted version of the Peeling theory**. It should be clear from the discussion that the ‘unrestriction’ refers to the amount of the layers which are peeled and left behind, in other words, it is the scenario depicted in (15). The main motivation for the ‘more layers at a time’ scenario comes from resumptive pronouns.

8.1.4 Where we are

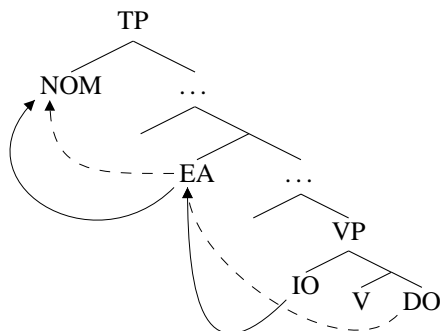
The basic assumptions of the Peeling theory of case once more: the DP is born as an OBL with a stock of case-layers on top. The movement (aka peeling) has two properties: it changes the case of the moved DP and it strands one layer of the case behind. Peeling can (and often must) happen more than once: the same DP can thus start with one case K_1 , move to a position where it would have another case K_2 and move again with a consequent change of case once again, so that it appears as K_3 .

Reflexivization, on the other hand, in the theory developed here, is seen as a movement from inside the VP via the EA position to the NOM position. The reflexive clitics SE are seen as a kind of intransitivizing morphology.

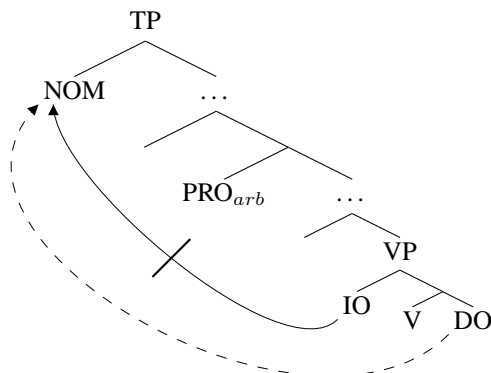
Juxtaposing these two assumptions, it is obvious where we head to. And we do, starting with the observation on the indirect objects and intransitivizing morphology.

⁴This version of the Peeling theory was implemented for instance in Medová (2007) and Medová and Taraldsen (2007b).

(17) REFLEXIVE



(18) IMPERSONAL



8.2 Data

So far, I have been mainly concerned with the reflexive clitic SE_{ACC} , the one standing for the direct object (DO). Here I want to concentrate first on the indirect object (IO) and the prediction we make for it so far.

Kayne's and Alboiu *et al.*'s analyses (and mine) which essentially unifies the reflexive and impersonal use of SE, make the right prediction for reflexivization from the IO. As is the case with DO, the argument from that position raises to the EA position and further to the NOM position and the reflexive interpretation is obtained. This is shown in (17).

The impersonal, on the other hand, is derived by a movement from the DO directly to the NOM position, as shown by the dashed line in (18). But this setup also predicts that the argument from the IO position should be able to move directly to the NOM position, the EA would then be PRO_{arb} and we would get impersonal interpretation, as the solid line in (18) indicates.

But this prediction is wrong. There is no impersonal reading of the structure where the IO has been reflexivized, or put differently, where the IO has been substituted by a reflexive clitic. Translated into the terms of our analysis, when an argument starts out as a IO, it has to move to the EA before it eventually becomes NOM.

This observation is interesting: why should the fact that the DP starts out as an IO prevent it from moving directly to the NOM position leaving PRO_{arb} in the EA position?

What makes this observation perhaps even more interesting is that it does not hold only for Slavic and Romance languages. In other words, this pattern holds crosslinguistically, and I show data from rather unrelated languages: Basque, Chukchi, Georgian, Gorum, Halkomelem and Diyari. In every and each of them, to add intransitivizing

morphology related to the IO causes the sentence to have a reflexive reading, with the IO being coreferential with the subject.

Furthermore, the shape or nature of the intransitivizing morphology of the particular language plays no role whatsoever. Basque, for instance, marks intransitivity by a suffix on the auxiliary form, Gorum uses a suffix and Halkomelem, interestingly, uses the same morpheme that derives antipassives. Regardless of the shape, when the intransitivizing morphology applies to the IO, the resulting structure must be reflexive with the IO being coreferential with the subject.

This pattern falls out of the (Restricted) Peeling theory of Case. But first, I describe the data, starting with Slavic and Romance.

8.2.1 Slavic and Romance

A ditransitive verb with a DAT and ACC object, as in (19), allows either of its arguments to be ‘substituted’ by a reflexive clitic – cf. either the indirect object (20) can be reflexivized or a direct object (21).

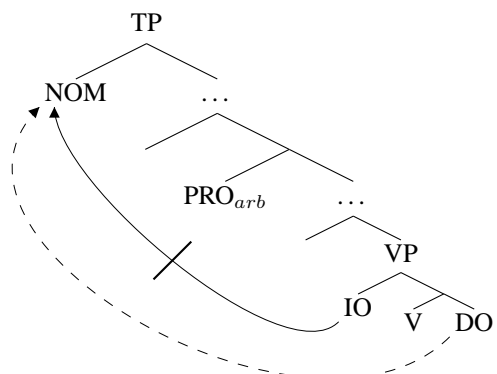
- (19) Rodiče dávaj dětem hračky k vánocům.
 parents_{NOM} give_{3.PL} children_{DAT} toys_{ACC} for Christmas
 ‘Parents give toys to the children for Christmas.’
- (20) Děti si dávaj hračky k vánocům.
 children_{NOM.PL} SE_{DAT} give_{3.PL} toys_{ACC.PL} for Christmas
 REFL: ‘Children give toys to each other for Christmas.’
 *IMP: ‘Children are given toys for Christmas.’
- (21) Hračky se dávaj dětem k vánocům.
 toys_{NOM.PL} SE_{ACC} give_{3.PL} children_{DAT} for Christmas
 #REFL: ‘Toys give themselves to children for Christmas.’
 IMP: ‘Children are given toys for Christmas.’

(Czech)

But as indicated in the glosses, the options are not symmetrical: reflexivizing the indirect object (20), we wind up with a reflexive reading and no impersonal is possible. On the other hand, reflexivizing the direct object (21) gives rise to an impersonal reading.

The parallel set of examples for Italian is shown in (22). Again, reflexivizing on the indirect object (23) gives rise only to a reflexive reading, not to an impersonal. Conversely, reflexivizing on the direct object gives rise to an impersonal reading (24),

(25) IMPERSONAL



while the reflexive is excluded⁵.

- (22) I genitori regalano libri ai bambini a Natale.
 the parents_{M.NOM} give_{3.SG} books_{ACC} to.the children_{DAT} for Christmas
 ‘Parents give the children books for Christmas.’

- (23) I bambini si regalano libri a Natale.
 the children_{M.NOM.PL} SE give_{3.PL} books_{ACC} for Christmas
 REFL: ‘The children give each other books for Christmas.’
 *IMP: ‘The children are given books for Christmas (by somebody).’

- (24) I libri si regalano ai bambini a Natale.
 the books_{NOM.PL} SE give_{3.PL} to.the children_{DAT} for Christmas
 #REFL: ‘Books give themselves to the children for Christmas.’
 IMP: ‘Books are given to the children for Christmas.’

(Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

So, to reformulate the problem in the terms of the theory developed here, why can an argument that starts out as a DAT become NOM only if it also moves to the EA position? And, similarly, why does an argument that starts out as ACC have two options, either become NOM directly (then the EA is a PRO_{arb} giving rise to an impersonal) or raising via the EA position and thus deriving a true reflexive? Why has the movement from DAT to NOM happen via the EA? The situation is depicted in (25) (repeated from (18) above).

⁵Recall that the relevant observation is that REFL is obtained only from [+HUM] arguments. It is woven into the present theory by the assumption that to obtain a reflexive reading, the DP has to move to the NOM position via the EA position. Discussion follows in chapter 10.

Before answering this question, we can discard an alternative view. Alternatively, we could say that the DAT reflexive clitic is different from the ACC reflexive clitic, essentially suggesting to treat them separately. So, the DAT reflexive clitic could still be seen as an (DAT) object clitic while the ACC reflexive clitic is treated differently, say, along the lines suggested here. But notice that such a view is problematic from at least two perspectives.

First, the DAT and ACC reflexive clitics show the same morphological behavior and they are mutually excluded in a majority of Slavic languages. Such an interaction would have to be stipulated if one of them were an object clitic while the nature of the ACC reflexive clitic was different.

Second, the DAT reflexive clitic causes the same PP-agreement facts as the ACC reflexive clitic, as discussed in detail in section 6.1.1 and recall also discussion in section 6.3.2. Following Kayne (1986), the PP-agreement in Italian (and French, to some extent) is taken to indicate a DP movement out of a VP. The relevant examples are shown below. (26) is an example of a passive with the DP moved from a DO to the NOM position, (27) is a reflexive of an indirect object. In either case, the past participle shows agreement with the moved DP, as boldface indicates.

- (26) **La casa** è demolit-**a**.
 the house_{NOM.SG.F} is destroyed_{F.SG}
 'The house is destroyed.'

(Italian)

- (27) **I bambini** si sono lavat-**i** le mani.
 the children_{M.NOM.PL} SE AUX_{3.PL} wash_{PL.M} the hands_{ACC}
 REFL: 'The children washed their hands.'

(Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

But if this is the case, it suggests that the structures in (23) and (24) should receive a parallel derivation, if the past participle agreement facts are to be taken seriously. In other words, both (indirect and direct) objects have to move via the projection that is responsible for the PP-agreement (Spec,Agr_{OP} in Kayne's terms).

Thirdly, such a view has nothing to offer from the cross-linguistic perspective. Finally, here are the data.

8.2.2 Basque

Basque (Basque) has a way to derive intransitives from transitive verbs. Starting with a transitive verb (28-a), notice that transitivity is marked on the auxiliary *du*. (28-b) is intransitive: the only difference between (28-a) and (28-b) is the shape of the auxiliary. The AUX *du* in (28-a) shows transitive agreement, the *da* in (28-b) shows intransitive agreement. (Intransitive verb with intransitive auxiliary shows ambiguity similar to the transitive verb with an intransitive auxiliary, as shown in (28-c).) Such a change from the transitive agreement to intransitive agreement entails two possible reading: either impersonal or reflexive, as indicated by the glosses. This strikingly replicates the pattern familiar from Romance and Slavic⁶.

- (28) a. Ezagutzen du.
 knowing AUX.3SG.ABS.3SG.ERG
 ‘She knows him.’
 b. Ezagutzen da.
 knowing AUX.3SG.ABS
 IMP: ‘One knows him.’
 REFL: ‘He knows himself.’
 c. Joaten da.
 going AUX.3SG.ABS
 IMP: ‘One goes.’
 REFL: ‘He goes.’

(Basque, Rezac (2007):(42))

What is perhaps surprising is the fact that the shift from transitive to intransitive is not ‘marked’ by a special morphology similar to SE. So, to put intransitive agreement on a monotransitive verb leads to an ambiguous sentence: either reflexive or impersonal reading is available in Basque (and Slavic and Romance).

To put an intransitive auxiliary on the indirect object yields a different pattern shown in (29) (% indicates that not all speakers accept (29); see Albizu (2000)⁷ and Rezac (2007) for discussion). The impersonal reading disappears, and the only interpretation the structure has is a true reflexive. Again, this is the pattern we found in both Slavic and Romance, as discussed above.

- (29) a. %Aritz eta Mikel bizarra laga dira aurten.
 Aritz and Mikel_{ABS} beard_{ABS} leave AUX3PL.ABS this.year

⁶Thanks to Tarald Taraldsen (p.c.), who pointed out the Basque pattern to me.

⁷Thanks to Milan Rezac (p.c.) for first, providing me with Albizu’s article and second, for discussion.

- ‘Aritz and Mikel have kept their beard this year.’
 b. %Etxe berria erosi naiz.
 house new_{ABS} bought AUX.1SG.ABS
 ‘I bought myself a new house.’

(Basque, Rezac (2007):(45), taken from Albizu (2000):fn.12)

The example (29-a) has two DPs marked ABS, but only one of them shows the agreement on the AUX. This pattern is reminiscent of the Warrungu examples, discussed in the footnote 16 on page 236 and to Diyari examples discussed in footnote 6 on page 281. Moreover, the subject has to be a sentient being, otherwise no reflexive interpretation would arise, given the general assumptions of this work.

Leaving these problems for further research, let us look at the pattern of reflexives from indirect objects in Chukchi.

8.2.3 Chukchi

Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan) is a language spoken in North-Eastern parts of Siberia. (30) shows a transitive sentence, marked as such both by ERG-marked subject and a transitive AGR morphology *nin*. The direct object *mustache* is marked as ABS. The sentence is ambiguous between a reflexive reading and a transitive one, as indicated in the glosses.

- (30) ənan lelu-t rinimen-nin-et
 he_{ERG} mustache_{ABS-PL} shaved-3.SUB>3.OBJ.AOR-PL
 ‘He shaved his/(somebody’s) mustache.’

(Chukchi, Kozinsky *et al.* (1988):(52a))

An intransitive sentence – as (31) – has the intransitive AGR morphology *-yʔt*. Moreover, the direct object *mustache* has incorporated into the verbal form. Now, the sentence only has a reflexive reading.

- (31) ətlon lelu-nimet-yʔt
 he_{ABS} mustache-shave-3.SUB.AOR
 ‘He shaved.’ / (lit.) ‘He₁ shaved his₁ mustache.’

(Chukchi, Kozinsky *et al.* (1988):(52b))

In other words, it does not mean *He₁ shaved his₂ mustache*. Such a reading is available with the incorporated noun *mustache* as well, as shown in (32). Importantly, however,

- (33) a. (ga-)(Ø-Ø-)a-ġ-eb
 PREV-()-3.PER-VER-open-TS
 ‘you (will) open X/them’
 b. (ga-)i-ġ-eb-a
 PREVVER-open-TS-3.SUB
 ‘X is opening (will open)’

(Georgian, Hewit (1995):277)⁸

now the agreement morphology is transitive again, as in (30) above, it is *nin*.

- (32) ənan₁ ətlon₂ lelu-nimen-nin
 he_{ERG} he_{ABS} mustache-shave-3.SUB>3.OBJ.AOR
 ‘He₁ shaved his₂ mustache.’

(Chukchi, Kozinsky *et al.* (1988):(52c))

One can object saying that the examples above do not have an indirect object. This is true only partially. As will be discussed for lexical suffixes in Halkomelem in detail, incorporation of a noun has the effect of introducing also the external possessor of the noun. That is, the *mustache* has an owner and this person has to be coreferential with the subject when the sentence is intransitive (31). Importantly, it does not have to be, as (32) with a transitive morphology shows. In other words, the interpretation depends on the (in)transitivity of the whole structure: it is precisely when we see an intransitive morphology that the structure has to be interpreted reflexively.

8.2.4 Georgian

Georgian (South Caucasian (Kartvelian)) shows the same pattern as Slavic, Romance, Basque and Chukchi. To start with, there are three main ways to form intransitives from a transitive in Georgian. The most widespread type is the so-called prefixal passive: it places the vowel *-i-* immediately before the verbal root. (33) shows a contrast between a transitive verb (33-a) and an intransitive formed by the prefixal passive *-i* (33-b).

Hewit (1995):276 notes that this intransitivizing vowel is presumably the *Subjective version vowel*. The term *version* ‘refers to the system whereby Georgian employs a range of vowels to indicate certain types of relation holding between the subject and object or between the direct and indirect objects of the verb.’ Hewit (1995):176. The

⁸The glosses here are absolutely unreliable: Hewit (1995) shows only the break-up into the morphemes, the glosses are mine.

Subjective triggers a relation in which the subject is acting upon himself or in his own interests. This is shown in (34): the indirect object has to be coreferent with the subject of the sentence. In particular, no other ‘benefactor’ is possible. As Anderson and Gurevich (2005) note, the subject is animate in most cases and the object is usually 3rd person.

- (34) a. (me) saxl-s v-i-shen-eb (*mas)
 (I) house-_{DAT} 1.SG.SUBJ-VER-build-TS he_{DAT}
 ‘I build a house for myself.’
 b. meri saxl-s i-shen-eb-s (*mas)
 Mary_{NOM} house-_{DAT} VER-build-TS-3.SG.SUBJ he_{DAT}
 ‘Mary builds a house for herself.’

(Georgian, Anderson and Gurevich (2005):(6))

In other words, in an intransitivized version of a verb with a direct and indirect object, the indirect object can only be coreferential with the subject. Hence, the reflexive readings for (34).

The idea is that the Subjective version vowel *-i-* introduces an applicative (benefactive) argument. However, in (34-a) there is not one (as opposed to the example (i-a) in footnote 9) – thus, the nominative subject must be the applicative argument, which, being a DAT, must first have raised to the EA position.⁹

⁹The version vowel *-i-* is also an object vowel for 1st and 2nd person (for 3rd person, the version vowel is *-u-*). The object version introduces an indirect object both for intransitive and transitive verbs.

- (i) a. shen m-i-cek’v-eb (me)
 you 1.SG.OBJ-VER-dance-TS I
 ‘You will dance for me.’
 b. meri-m a-m-i-gho (me) c’ign-i
 Mary-_{ERG} PV-1.SG.OBJ-VER-take_{AOR} (1.SG) book-_{NOM}
 ‘Mary took a book for me.’

(Georgian, Anderson and Gurevich (2005):(4a,2b))

Out of context some verb-forms are ambiguous as between Subjective and Objective Version Hewit (1995):183

- (ii) mogiq’van
 a. mo-g-i-q’van
 PREV-you-SUBJ.VERSION-bring
 ‘I shall fetch you’
 b. mo-(Ø)g-i-q’van
 PREV-3.PER-you-OBJ.VERSION-bring
 ‘I shall fetch them_{ANIMATE} to you’

- (37) a. noʔn balt'i turyaʔ-u luʔru
 he bucket kick-INF PRES.CONT
 'He is kicking the bucket.'
- b. noʔn turyaʔ-**nuʔ** luʔru
 he kick-INTR PRES.CONT
 'He is kicking.'

(Gorum, Aze (1973):284)

While Gorum is thus still pending as an example where the intransitivizing morphology is the same one as for antipassive, we now turn to a language where this is true for sure: Halkomelem.

8.2.6 Halkomelem

Halkomelem (Central Salish, spoken in southwestern British Columbia, Canada) replicates the pattern: the indirect object has to be coreferential with the EA when the intransitivizing morpheme *-əm* applies to an indirect object introduced either by an applicative or by a lexical suffix. As far as I am aware of, Halkomelem *-əm* is never interpreted as reflexive outside of the context of the lexical suffixes and applicative. Strikingly, however, it is a morpheme used to create antipassives and passives.

Halkomelem uses suffixes to introduce both direct and indirect objects. So, attaching the transitivity suffix *-t* to the root gives rise to a transitive sentence (38). The IA is

ing (ii-b). The morphemes discussed in this work are routinely 'polyfunctional' in the relevant language. Needless to say, the other uses of the morphemes are left for future research.

- (i) a. ne-la-t-om
 I-hit-FUT-you
 'I will hit you.'
- b. ne-laʔ-**tuʔ**
 I-hit-INTR
 'I will hit myself.'

(Gorum, Aze (1973):281)

- (ii) a. bubong-di or'ing-u-ni ki arlang
 baby-FOC walk-PAST-HAB or not.yet
 'Is the baby habitually walking or not yet?'
- b. ingkuʔ or-or'ing-**nuʔ**
 no NEG-walk-INTR
 'No, he is not (capable of) walking.'

(Gorum, Aze (1973):283)

not overtly expressed, as in (38), but it can be in (39): then it appears as a plain DP (in ABS case).

- (38) ni cən q^wəl-ət
 AUX I_{SUB} bake-TR
 ‘I baked it.’

(Halkomelem, Gerds (1988):47(53))

- (39) ni cən q^wəl-ət t^θə səplíl
 AUX I_{SUB} bake-TR DET bread
 ‘I baked the bread.’

(Halkomelem, Gerds (1988):148(3a))

Next to the transitive in (39), there is another way to express the *bread baking* event, namely the antipassive in (40). The root *bake* is not suffixed with the transitivizer *-t*, but it is immediately followed by the suffix *-əm*. Syntactically, the argument introduced as ABS in (39) (*the bread*) is introduced as an OBL in (40)¹².

- (40) ni cən q^wəl-əm ?ə t^θə səplíl
 AUX I_{SUB} bake-M OBL DET bread
 ‘I baked the bread.’

(Halkomelem, Gerds (1988):148(3b))

Now we finally get to the sentences with IO. Adding an applicative on top of a transitive, we get a double object structure (41). The applicative suffix *-ətc-* directly follows the root, the argument the applicative suffix introduces is unmarked (thus in the ABS case) while the argument introduced by the transitivizer *-t* appears with an OBL(ique) marking.

- (41) ni cən q^wəl-ətc-t tə sɛ́ni? ?ə k^wθə səplíl
 AUX I_{SUB} bake-APPL-TR DET woman OBL DET bread
 ‘I baked bread for the woman.’

(Halkomelem, Gerds (1988):155(26a))

(41) gives us the starting point: we now have a predicate that introduces a direct and

¹²Importantly, such a structure is intransitive, even though the *I.SG.SUB* is the same in the transitive sentence (39) and in the intransitive (40). See Wiltshko (2006), Gerds (1988) for evidence

indirect object, so that adding the antipassive (intransitivizing) suffix *-əm* on top of the applicative *-ətc-* should make the argument introduced by the applicative come out as an OBL (the direct object is OBL anyway) and the sentence should be intransitive. In other words, we now intransitivize a double object construction. The outcome, however, is not an antipassive – even though the antipassive morpheme *-əm* must relate to the argument introduced by the applicative.

First of all, the sentence is ungrammatical if the argument introduced by the APPL appears introduced as an OBL (42).¹³

- (42) *ni cən q^wəl-ətc-əm ?ə tə sténi? ?ə k^wθə səplɪl
 AUX I_{SUB} bake-APPL-M OBL DET woman OBL DET bread
Intended: ‘I baked bread for the woman.’

(Halkomelem, Gerds (1988):155(26b))

However, if the argument introduced by the APPL is coreferential with the EA, the sentence becomes perfectly grammatical with the applicative argument removed and the reading is reflexive (43)¹⁴.

¹³Notice that the ungrammaticality of (42) cannot be ascribed to a (syntactic) requirement banning two OBL marked DPs in one sentence, two OBL marked DPs are grammatical: (i).

- (i) ni θəy-ətc-t-əm k^wθə swəy?qe? ?ə-λ’ Bob ?ə k^wθə snəx^wət
 AUX make-APPL-TR-M DET man OBL-DET Bob OBL DET canoe
 ‘Bob fixed the canoe for the man.’

(Halkomelem, Gerds (1988):233(102))

¹⁴In Gerds and Hukari (2006), this use of the morpheme *-əm* is labeled ‘logophoric use of reflexive’ based on the claim that such a use has to refer to the speaker. But as G&H note, the most common use is in imperatives, the speaker oriented interpretation might follow from this fact. Such a view is reinforced by the existence of examples (from Gerds (1988)) with the same combination *-ətc-əm* which just are not logophoric, as those in (i). In addition, could the APPL be reinterpreted as a lexical suffix (Gerds (2000):150), it would suggest to treat the *-ətc* applicatives and lexical suffixes (discussed in the text) as a natural class.

- (i) a. @ni q^wəl-ətc-əm ?ə k^wθə səplɪl
 AUX bake-APPL-M OBL DET bread
 ‘He baked bread for himself.’
 b. @ni θəy-ətc-əm
 AUX make-APPL-M
 ‘He made it for himself.’

(Halkomelem, Gerds (1988):182(130,131))

- (43) @ni cən q^wəl-ətc-əm ?ə k^wθə səplíl
 AUX I_{SUB} bake-APPL-TR OBL DET bread
 ‘I baked myself some bread.’

(Halkomelem, Gerdts (1988):180(124a))

(43) thus illustrates the observation that antipassives cannot be formed from derived direct objects. For instance, Gerdts (2004):780 says ‘The basic generalization is that antipassive only targets patients.’ That is, the interpretation we get is not antipassive, but reflexive. So, the generalization to be drawn from this is that intransitivizing a predicate with an APPL-introduced argument yields a reflexive structure and only that. So, this is essentially what we saw in Slavic, Romance, Basque, Chukchi, Georgian and Gorum so far. So, it seems that once we have an indirect object to which we relate intransitivizing morphology, the argument has to move to the NOM position (ABS position for the ergative languages, at this first approximation) *via* the EA position – this is indicated by the resulting reflexive reading.

But not only applicatives behave this way in Halkomelem: the very same pattern as with APPL is observed with lexical suffixes. First, like APPL they directly follow the root and like APPL, they also introduce an (ABS) argument (44). (The basic word order of Upriver Halkomelem is VSO (Gerdts (1988):42), the first argument is thus an agent, the second one the IO in (44))

- (44) th'exw-xál-t-es te Strang te Konrad
 wash-foot-TR-3.ERG.SUB DET Strang DET Konrad
 ‘Strang washed Konrad’s foot.’

(Halkomelem, Wiltschko (2004):123(49))

As lexical suffixes very commonly denote body parts (as *foot* in (44), or *hand*, *nose*, etc.), it is usually concluded that the argument associated with such a lexical suffix (*Konrad* in (44)) is the possessor of the body part, giving rise to an external possession construction (Payne and Barshi (1999)). Recall, moreover, the very same pattern of Chukchi (example (32)), discussed in section 8.2.3¹⁵. As with APPL, to put an intransitivizing suffix *-əm* on top of the lexical suffix yields a reflexive reading (45) and (46).

¹⁵This is corroborated by the structure (i): the argument *foot* is not a lexical suffix but it is introduced as an (ABS) DP; *Konrad* is syntactically an inalienable possessor introduced by OBL determiner. The structure is syntactically transitive, as shown by the 3.ERG.SUB marker *-es*.

- (i) th'exw-at-es te s̥xéle-s tl' Konrad the Martina
 wash-TR-3.ERG.SUB DET foot-3.POSS OBL Konrad DET.F Martina
 ‘Martina washed Konrad’s foot.’

The pattern is exactly the same for Halkomelem and Chukchi.

- (45) th'exw-xál-em te Strang
wash-foot-M DET Strang
'Strang washed his feet.'

(Halkomelem, Wiltschko (2004):121(43))

- (46) ni? ʔəǰ-ay-θín-əm
AUX scrape-CON-mouth-M
'He shaved.'

(Halkomelem, Gerdts and Hukari (2006):57(15b))

There is about one hundred lexical suffixes in Upriver Halkomelem (Gerdts (2000):147) and examples like (45) and (46) are extremely common (Gerdts and Hukari (2006):57). As a matter of fact, even the APPL suffix *-əɬc* can be traced to a lexical suffix: 'The benefactive suffix [=APPL (LM)] may be the lexical suffix for 'belly'. The stomach is the metaphorical seat of the emotions in Halkomelem. If the applicative markers are in fact grammaticized lexical suffixes, then the parallel behavior of applicative and lexical suffix constructions is accounted for by their common history.' Gerdts (2000):150. This much about lexical suffixes¹⁶.

(Halkomelem, Wiltschko (2004):124(50))

¹⁶Tentatively, Warrungu (Pama-Nyungan) might show the same pattern as Halkomelem (43), if additional assumptions (existence of double object construction in Warrungu, which I have no way to confirm) were proven to be right. That is, Tsunoda (1988):602 discusses an unexpected lack of expected OBL (DAT or INS) marking on a (original) direct object with a certain class of verbs with an AP marking. This is shown in (i-a): the direct object *trousers* is marked ABS and this is unexpected if the AP morphology *kali* 'demoted' this object into an OBL. However, if we think that the original direct object *trousers* is a parallel to the lexical suffixes of Halkomelem, we expect the ABS marking on it, but also, crucially, that the indirect object must be coreferential with the EA.

In other words, we expect a semantic distinction between (i-a) and (i-b): the former should have the reading indicated by the glosses, in the latter one, *the trousers* would necessarily need to be *yours*. Tsunoda (1988) only remarks that both structures are acceptable.

- (i) a. yinta tyarrutya-Ø wuta-kali-ya
2.SG.NOM trousers-ABS take.off-AP-PAST/PRESENT
'Take off [your] trousers.'
b. yinta tyarrutya-ngku wuta-kali-ya
2.SG.NOM trousers-INS take.off-AP-PAST/PRESENT
'Take off [your] trousers.'

(Warrungu, Tsunoda (1988):602(12))

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|---|
| (47) | a. $x^{w\theta} \check{x}^w \acute{a}s-\acute{o}m$
‘wash one’s face’
b. $\acute{p}\acute{e}.\acute{a}q^w-\acute{o}m$
‘straighten one’s hair’ | (48) | a. $x^{w\theta} \check{x}^w \acute{a}s-t$
‘wash his face’
b. $\acute{p}\acute{e}.\acute{a}q^w-t$
‘stroke his head/ hair’ |
|------|---|------|---|

(Musqueam Halkomelem, Suttles (2004):231)

For Musqueam¹⁷, Suttles describes precisely this pattern. Suppose that the ‘-*əm* is suffixed to a stem composed of a root and a lexical suffix (related as verb and object). If the suffix names a body part, the *əm* indicates that the action is undergone by the subject (47). In contrast, the *-t* in a transitive counterpart indicates that the action is undergone by another (48),’ Suttles (2004):231.

One further remark about Halkomelem *-em*. It shows person sensitivity, namely, it cannot antipassivize 1st and 2nd person. In that respect, it seems to be the only AP morpheme not to be able to do that (judging from at least Polinsky (2005) and my own research on the patterns of antipassives crosslinguistically). Moreover, the antipassive morpheme *-əm* is also a part of (what is traditionally called) passive: the combination of the transitivizer *-t* with the antipassive morpheme *-əm*. Still further, 1st and 2nd person cannot be a by-phrase in the Halkomelem passive. Notice that both the (demoted) object of an antipassive and the (demoted) agent of a passive (*by*-phrase) should appear as OBL (as Halkomelem only distinguish between ABS and OBL marking). Given that 1st and 2nd person can appear in an OBL in constructions other than antipassive and passive, as shown in (49), I take it that the restriction is caused by the person sensitivity of *-əm*. From that perspective it might be interesting to think about the Halkomelem *-əm* as the person sensitive reflexive clitic SE in Romance languages. I leave the issue for further research.

- (49) $\text{ʔi} \quad y\acute{a}-\text{ʔ}\acute{e}\text{ʔ}w\acute{a} \text{ʔ}\acute{a}-\lambda' \quad \text{ʔ}\acute{e}.n\text{ʔ}\theta\acute{a}$
 AUX ser-come OBL-DET 1_{emph}
 ‘He’s coming to me.’

Tsunoda notes that the ABS appears with verbs with an ‘expected object’, as *understand (a language)*, *take off (a shirt)*. As the last speaker of Warrungu, Alf Palmer, is dead, the issue will remain pending. But recall that Basque also shows double ABS marking; perhaps the issue is the same. I leave it here for further research.

¹⁷There are three main dialect of Halkomelem: Upriver, Island and Downriver Halkomelem. The data presented here come mainly from Upriver Halkomelem from the cited sources. Musqueam is a Downriver dialect, Suttles (2004):xxiii.

(Halkomelem, Gerdt (1988):45(41))

8.2.7 Diyari

Similarly to Halkomelem, Diyari (Australian, Pama-Nyungan, spoken in north-east South Australia) has an antipassive morpheme *-tadi-*, that can intransitivize the indirect object yielding a reflexive interpretation¹⁸. In Austin's words, '[d]i-transitive verbs can also take *-tadi-* as a reflexive derivation; it indicates that the subject gives, shows or names himself something. The direct object (the thing given or shown or the name applied) can appear with these reflexive verbs as in the following (50)', Austin (1981):153.

- (50) *nani* *maða* *yiŋki-tadi-yi*
 3.SG.F.S stone_{ABS} give-AP-PRES
 'She gives herself money.'

(Diyari, Austin (1981):153(347))

8.2.8 Summary of the data

Summarizing the facts so far, looking at rather different languages from rather different language families, we found the same pattern again and again: intransitivizing on an indirect object makes the indirect object coreferential with the subject of the sentence, hence, we gain a reflexive reading. Often benefactive or possessive.

The observation can be stated from a Peeling perspective as this: once you start going up the tree (=peel) from a DAT position, you have to go all the way to NOM. In particular, you cannot stop in the EA position (GEN) and decide to remain there. This is very peculiar thing (not only because the terms in which I stated it). Notice that it is true not only for indirect objects (as described in preceding sections), but also for DAT experiencers with verbs like *seem* or *like*. In other words, the examples discussed in section 5.5 belong here as well.

Moreover, the psych verbs show an interesting split, depending on the case of the experiencer of the particular psych verbs. We have seen in section 5.5 that the psych verbs of the *piacere* type – thus, psych verbs with the DAT experiencer – can have reflexive reading with the DAT reflexive clitic. The relevant example for Czech is repeated below. (51-a) is an example of a psych verb with a DAT experiencer, in (51-b), the reflexive clitic *SE_{DAT}* 'stands' for the experiencer and the structure is reflexive.

¹⁸Diyari will be discussed again in section 10.2.2: the morpheme *-tadi-* is both an antipassive and a reflexive.

- (51) a. Ivona Karlovi schází.
 Ivona_{NOM} Karel_{DAT} miss_{3.SG}
 ‘Karel misses Ivona.’
 b. Karel si schází.
 Karel_{NOM} SE_{DAT} miss_{3.SG}
 ‘Karel misses himself.’

(Czech)

However, verbs with ACC experiencers do not have a true reflexive reading, the only reading available with the reflexive clitic SE is anticausative-like. This is shown – for Czech again – in the following example.

Starting with (52-a), it shows a construction with the ACC experiencer *Zuza*, *Martin* is the cause of *Zuza*’s irritation. But it is impossible to say that *Zuza* upset herself using the reflexive clitic SE: (52-b) can have only *anticausative* reading, as *something* upset *Zuza*, but it could not be *Zuza* herself. To get a *reflexive* reading, the full pronominal form *sebe* must be used, as shown in (53-a) and (53-b).

- (52) a. Martin Zuzu naštvál.
 Martin_{NOM} Zuza_{ACC} upset_{3.sg.PAST}
 ‘Martin upset Zuza.’
 b. Zuza se naštvála.
 Zuza_{NOM} SE upset_{3.sg.PAST}
 ‘Zuza got upset.’
 *‘Zuza upset herself.’

(Czech)

- (53) a. Zuza naštvála i sama sebe.
 Zuza_{NOM} upset_{3.sg.PAST} even REFL_{NOM} herself_{ACC}
 ‘Zuza upset even herself.’
 b. Zuza se naštvála sama na sebe.
 Zuza_{NOM} SE upset_{3.sg.PAST} REFL_{NOM} on herself_{ACC}
 ‘Zuza upset even herself.’

(Czech)

Czech is not the only language with such an asymmetry, the same facts are reported for Italian and Croatian. The data might indicate that the relation between a DAT case and the EA is somewhat more straightforward than the relation between the ACC case and the EA, as predicted by the analysis here. I leave the issue for further research.

At this point, I believe that the list of languages that show the very same pattern

as described for the languages above could be much longer¹⁹, for now, I move to the theoretical consequences this cross-linguistic pattern might have for the derivation of reflexives.

8.3 Derivation

The pattern we want to explain is this: intransitivizing on an indirect object leads to a reflexive interpretation, the indirect object has to be coreferential with the subject of the sentence.

First of all, the view that would ascribe lack of an impersonal reading with the reflexive clitic in the structures where the indirect object is reflexivized to a kind of morphological quirk of Slavic and Romance language groups would lose the possibility to explain the reoccurring pattern from other languages. It is not only that the impersonal reading is missing (in languages which might be expected to have it in the first place), importantly, no other than a reflexive reading is possible. In other words, the view that would ascribe the impossibility of impersonals from the DAT arguments to existence of a particular morphology (as the reflexive clitic SE) looses the option of explaining the (very same) Basque, Chukchi, Georgian, Gorum and Halkomelem pattern²⁰. The proposal made here captures all these languages regardless of (overt) morphological marking, which reinforces the assumptions I made.

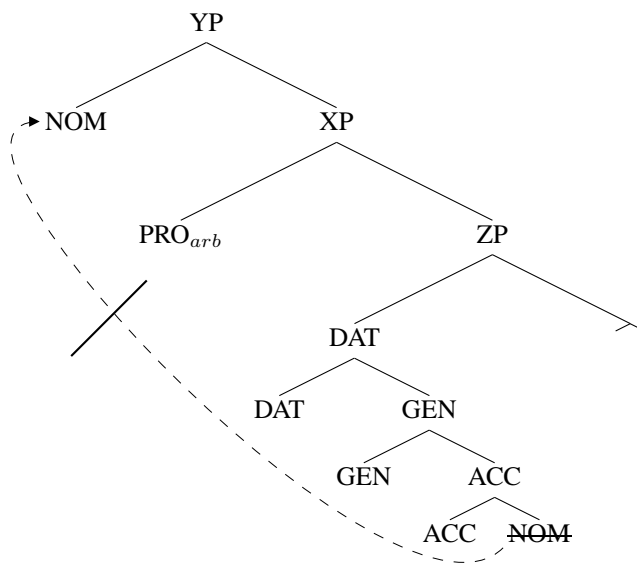
The assumptions I made about the nature of the IO in all the languages in hand forces the view that there is not a crucial difference between N/A and E/A languages: in particular, both types have to have an EA associated with an oblique case and second, in both types of languages the reflexive structures are intransitive. Consequentially, I am going to assume that in both language types the subject of a reflexive is as a matter of fact associated with the NOM position. This view then unites the E/A and N/A languages further. (The fact that even a reflexivized IO must end up NOM is surprising for the E/A languages.)

In this work, reflexivization is seen as a movement from one position to another with a crucial stop-over at the EA. The tool box we have is the (Restricted) Peeling theory of case. For now, I consider all the IOs of all the languages above to be structurally the same, abstracting away from the ‘real’ case patterns of the particular language. In other words, I assume that all the IO discussed above are to be subsumed under the label

¹⁹From a very sketchy look I had, it seems that Chinook (Wasco-Wishram, spoken in West USA) confirms the pattern, see Silverstein (1986):sec.2.4. Thanks to Milan Rezac, p.c. for pointing out the reference.

²⁰Specially Basque is very telling: it does not even use AP morphology in the relevant sense.

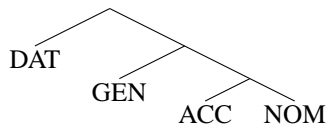
(55)



‘DAT’, as the IO in Czech or Italian. I will come back to the issue later.

Given the Peeling theory of Case, the IO has a precise structure. A DAT DP would appear with a GEN and ACC case layers inside, as shown in (54) (The hierarchy is discussed in detail in section 8.1.1.)

(54)



Since we now adopt the restricted Peeling theory of Case that permits only the sister of the highest head to move, it is impossible for the NOM in the (54) to move directly to the NOM position, as shown in (55). Such a movement violates the requirement that only the sister of the highest head can move.

The illicit movement of the NOM layer from under the GEN layer then makes the impersonal reading impossible: there is no way the NOM layer can sneak up on the NOM position.²¹

This then raises the question why the true reflexive reading is possible. To obtain a true reflexive reading, the DP has to move via the EA position, as forced by the view of reflexivization pursued here.

²¹The movement from the IA position to the NOM position, consequently, must be possible from the ACC position. I discuss the issue in detail in chapter 10.

The Peeling theory of Case has it that the movement from the DAT to NOM position in (57) has to happen stepwise: first, the GEN layer has to peel, second, the ACC layer has to peel and only after these two steps can the NOM layer move to the NOM position.

There are two points to be discussed. First, we have a prediction that the EA position (XP in the tree in (57)) must be associated with a Case layer. Moreover, we have it that this Case layer is GEN.

Second, by the Restricted version of the Peeling theory we are forced to posit an ACC position above the EA (=GEN=XP in (57)) position. Moreover, we have to assume that the DO can remain low (like the OBL DO in Halkomelem in (56)) when the IO reflexivizes²².

- (56) ni cən q^wəl-əlɕ-t ɬə sléni? ʔə k^wθə səplíl
 AUX I_{SUB} bake-APPL-TR DET woman OBL DET bread
 ‘I baked bread for the woman.’

(Halkomelem, Gerdtz (1988):155(26a))

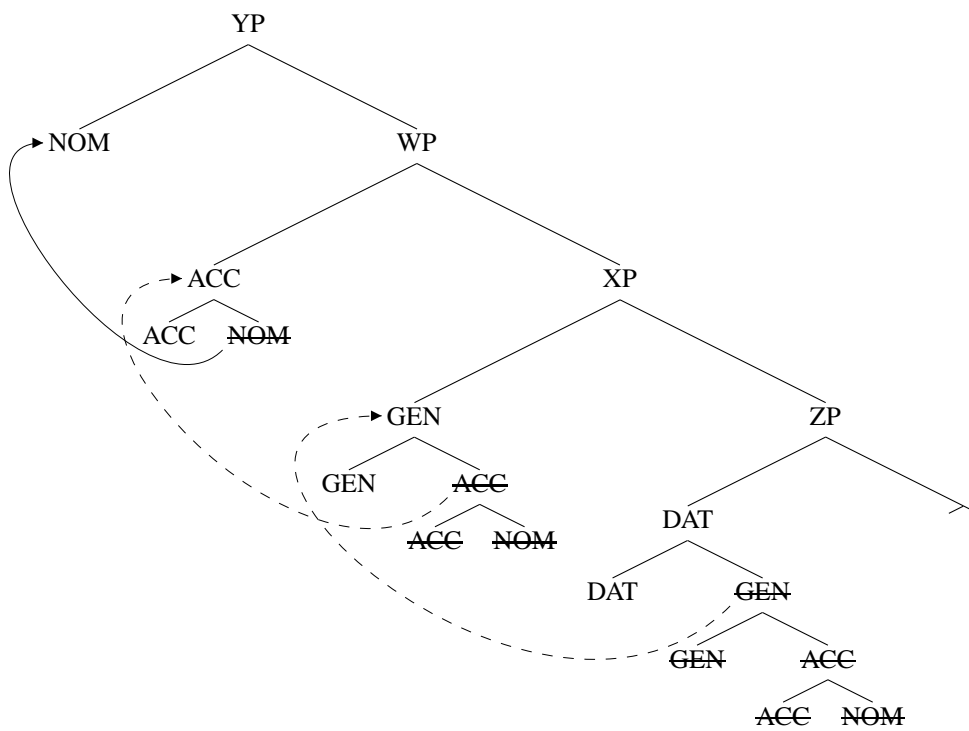
Thus, the combination of the Peeling theory of Case and the movement derivation of reflexives predicts – correctly – the impossibility of an impersonal reading from the DAT arguments. Not only that, this set up predicts that any other than a reflexive interpretation is impossible: the movement from the IO position is forced to happen stepwise via the EA position to the NOM position.

This is – crucially – true for all the languages discussed so far: Czech (and Slavic), Italian (and Romance), Basque, Chukchi, Georgian, Gorum and Halkomelem, regardless whether the language in question is nominative/accusative (N/A) language (as the Slavic or Romance families) or the ergative/absolutive (E/A) type of a language (as all the rest). The relevant structures (with the reflexive IO) are invariably marked as intransitive in the E/A languages. This is neatly shown in Chukchi, for instance, the relevant examples are repeated here. The intransitive structure (58) is reflexive, the transitive one (59) is not reflexive, it is a standard barber shop scenario.

- (58) ətlon lelu-nimet-ɣʔt
 he_{ABS} mustache-shave-3.SUB.AOR
 ‘He shaved.’

²²How is the DO assigned ACC case is going to be discussed in the subsequent chapter. Notice, however, that to allow the DO to go to the high ACC position (WP in (57)), one will eventually have to give up the ‘one layer at the time’ requirement, hence, abandon the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case in favor of the Non-restricted version. In particular, if the ACC position in WP were the only ACC position per clause, we would have to allow the GEN to NOM movement in one swoop without a stop-over for the ACC layer.

(57)



(Chukchi, Kozinsky *et al.* (1988):(52b))

- (59) ənan_1 ətlon_2 lelu-nimen-nin
 he_{ERG} he_{ABS} mustache-shave-3.SUB>3.OBJ.AOR
 ‘He₁ shaved his₂ mustache.’

(Chukchi, Kozinsky *et al.* (1988):(52c))

In other words, the set-up forces the same derivation both for N/A and E/A languages.

8.4 Conclusion

Wrapping up, this analysis makes the E/A and N/A languages absolutely the same in at least two respects: first, both language types have the EA associated with an OBL case. Second, both language types seem to have the same restriction: if the IO is intransitivized, the IO has to move to the NOM (or ABS) position via the EA position. In other words, in both language types, intransitive morphology applied to an IO forces reflexive interpretation such that it unifies the argument introduces as IO with the EA argument. In the Restricted Peeling theory of Case, this is achieved by the movement from the IO position to the NOM/ABS position via the oblique EA position.

Czech (and other Slavic languages that have the DAT reflexive clitic *si*) is from that perspective an anomaly: it is the only language that seem to have a particular morpheme to ‘intransitivize’ the indirect object; all the other languages we saw used the morpheme that is used for intransitivizing the direct object as well (with the potential exception of Georgian, but I leave this for further research).

Finally, in the pattern above, I see intransitivization as the basic operation, which produces the reflexive reading as a by-product. This line of thinking will be taken up in the chapter 10, after I properly discuss the consequences the Peeling theory of Case has for the derivation of reflexives.

So far, a lot has been said about the derivation of reflexives from IO. The reader must be wondering about the derivation of reflexives from direct objects. I postpone the discussion of the reflexivization of direct objects to the chapter 10. Just to anticipate a little, the consequence of the Peeling Theory of Case is that the direct object in order to reflexivize needs to start as an oblique case. This will bring in the parallel between the reflexivization / antipassivization, for which there is a non-trivial amount of syncretism found crosslinguistically (section 10.2).

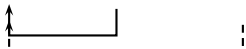
For now, let us explore other consequences of the present discussion of intransitivizing the IO in the Peeling theory framework. The chapter 9 is dedicated to that.

Chapter 9

Beneficial consequences of Restricted Peeling Theory

There are three main consequences of the the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case. First, not only E/A, but also N/A languages have to have an EA associated with an OBL case. A full discussion follows in section 9.1. Second, this view also makes a prediction that no reflexives (derived by intransitivizing morphology) can be derived from cases bigger or smaller than DAT. This corollary is taken up in the section 9.2.

The third part of this chapter (section 9.3) is dedicated to intervention effects, competition and the nature of the EA. Reflexives are derived by movement through the EA position in this work. Now, imagine a Relativized minimality RM (Rizzi (1990)) scenario: two arguments ARG₁ and ARG₂ (of the same type) are in the domain of a head (EA, in this case), as schematically indicated in (1).

- (1) EA ... ARG₁ ... ARG₂
- 

By RM, ARG₁ is closer to the EA and thus could either block the movement of the ARG₂ to the EA completely, or it could cause an Intervention effect: the reflexive reading would not be available.

Such effects are known in the literature also for the reflexives. For instance, look at the Italian example (2). The expected reflexive reading is unavailable if the subject of the INF *Maria* is introduced as DAT (by the preposition *a*), but it is fine if the subject of the INF is introduced by the preposition *da*.

- (2) Gianni si è fatto lavare da Maria / *a Maria.
 Gianni SE is made wash by Maria / to Maria

‘Gianni got himself washed by Maria / *Maria to wash him.’

(Italian, Folli and Harley (2007):209,fn10)

To explain such a bizarre behavior of the reflexivization, I first discuss the EA positions in the clause (section 9.3.1) and then I turn to the two possible scenarios for the RM/Intervention effects: monoclausal (section 9.3.2) and complex examples with an INF embedded under a matrix verb, as in (2). Various instances of such intervention effects are discussed both for Czech and for Italian in section 9.3.3.

9.1 EA is OBL

In the theory of reflexivization developed here, to derive a reflexive reading means to move the argument from within the VP to the NOM position via the EA-position. From that perspective, the subject of the reflexive (cf. the NOM argument) has to move via the EA-position (recall the discussion from chapter 6).

On the other hand, the Peeling theory of Case posits movement of a DP driven by case. Given that the NOM case is the highest on the hierarchy (that is, the most embedded inside the DP), the EA has to be associated with an oblique case. In further discussion, this oblique case is identified as GEN.

Leaving the particular shape of the EA case aside, the derivation proposed in chapter 8 unifies the N/A and E/A languages in one way. Concretely, both language types now have to have an EA associated with oblique case. This is trivially true for E/A languages: the ERG is an oblique case. Even N/A languages have been proposed to come with an oblique EA: in *have/be* alternations, à la Kayne (1993), Mahajan (1994) and others, an EA is associated with an oblique case.

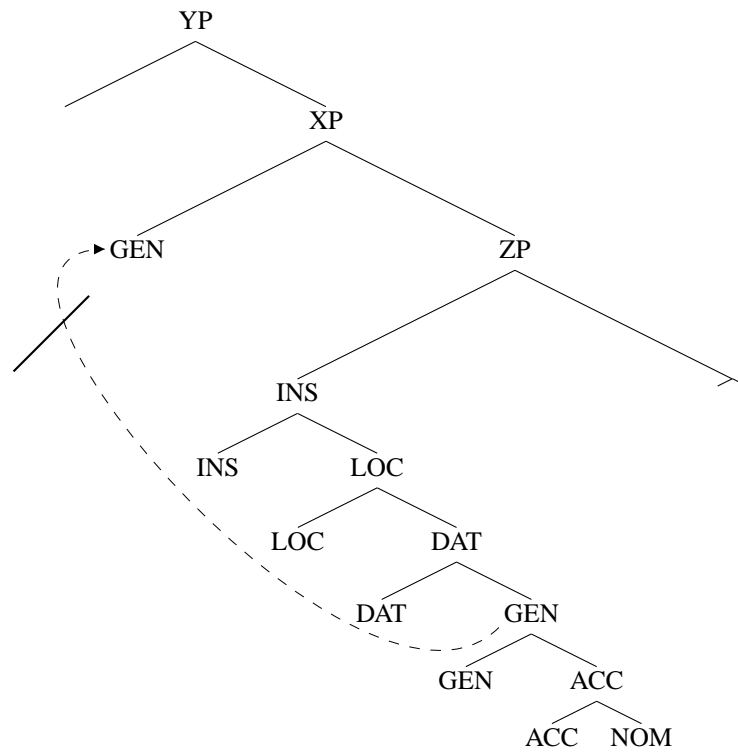
Taking up now the issue of the shape of the oblique case of the EA, the theory predicts that it should be GEN: if GEN layer is under the DAT and in order to move from DAT to NOM the GEN has to be peeled (leaving the ACC case layer aside), and if the only position the DP stops is the EA, then it must be that the EA is in fact GEN. But if so, then we make a prediction that the ERG case should be syncretic with GEN: they are predicted to be the same.

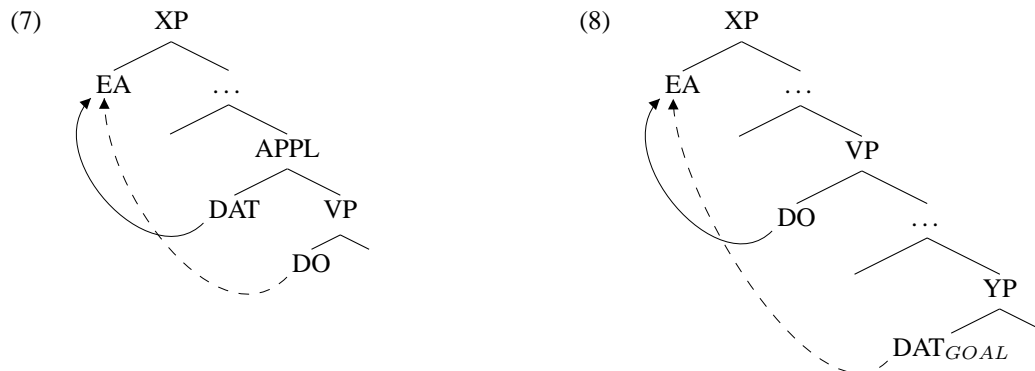
Fortunately, there are languages that show GEN/ERG syncretism. Not only that, the GEN/ERG syncretism is a well-documented pattern, judging from Blake (2001). For instance, GEN/ERG syncretism is found in Burushaki (isolated, Pakistan or India, Klimov (1970):42, quoted from WALS) or Abaza (Northwest Caucasian).

In the Eskimo languages, the relative case (=ERG) marks both a possessor (3) and

³This prediction needs to be rethought once we abandon the Restricted version of the Peeling theory.

(6)





Similarly for Basque: judging from the quote from Albizu (2000) (as quoted in Rezac's (2008):16 handout): reflexivization never [happens (LM)] with an oblique such as an instrumental.

The complementary part of this prediction, namely, that to reflexivize, the DP has to be *exactly* DAT (and not smaller) is taken up in chapter 10.

9.3 DAT intervention effects

Viewing reflexivization as a movement from the DAT to the NOM via the EA⁴ brings in a prediction: if the EA position (through which the argument has to travel to yield the reflexive reading) is 'unavailable', reflexive reading should not be possible.

There are two possible scenarios: monoclausal and a complex structure with a matrix EA and an EA of the embedded INF. I discuss both types in turns: in section 9.3.2 the monoclausal structures, in section 9.3.3 the complex structures with Italian *fare* 'make' and Czech verbs *dát* 'give' and *chtít* 'want'. Before we get there, however, I need to clarify certain issues.

First, reflexive reading is contingent upon the argument from inside the VP (IO or DO) moving to the EA position. Now, in the monoclausal scenario, the DAT argument (indirect object) could be an RM intervener in the movement of the DO to the EA (translated, recall, in the Peeling Theory of Case, as movement from the DAT to GEN position). Such a scenario is depicted in (7): the IO is closer to the EA position than the DO.

But not all DATs in a monoclausal structure are predicted to be RM interveners for the movement of the DO to the EA; one such is shown in (8). The DAT argument could

⁴And via the ACC position, which I will not include in the discussion in this section, as it is orthogonal to the present issue. For the full picture, see chapter 10.

be an intervener only if it is hierarchically *above* the DO. I show that both scenarios in (7) and (8) are found in Czech and that only the first one exhibits the intervention effects. Moreover, I argue that in intervention scenarios, the DAT argument is introduced by an APPL head (or, in my terminology, Low EA), as discussed in detail in section 9.3.2. The DAT arguments introduced lower than DO, as depicted in (8), do not cause intervention effects in the reflexive reading. I take it that the DAT arguments lower than the DO are *Goal* type of DAT.

Secondly, the reflexive reading in this work depends on the movement of the argument from inside the VP into the (agent-introducing) EA position. We have already discussed that – given the assumptions of Peeling Theory of Case – this position is associated with an oblique case (GEN, concretely), as discussed in section 9.1. Now we added a DAT argument introduced by an APPL to the discussion: it is routinely (Rivero (2004a), Szucsich (2007) and Taraldsen (2008), to mention just a few) assumed that APPL head can introduce an agent (cf. agents in FI constructions). So, what is the relation between the GEN EA position (essential for the reflexive interpretation) and the DAT agent introduced by an APPL head? Discussion follows in section 9.3.1.

The very same configuration as in (7) is conceivable also in a more complex structures. Assume a matrix predicate with an embedded INF, as illustrated in (9). (Italian examples with *fare* ‘make’ and Czech examples with *dát* ‘give’ are discussed as instances of such constructions.)

In these structures, the EA position in the infinitive would be a potential intervener if the GEN from inside the YP were to raise to the Matrix EA(=GEN) position. In other words, the GEN from inside the EA of the INF (under XP_{INF}) would be closer to the matrix EA (under XP_{MATRIX}) and by the Relativized Minimality it thus should block the movement of the GEN from under the YP to the matrix clause.

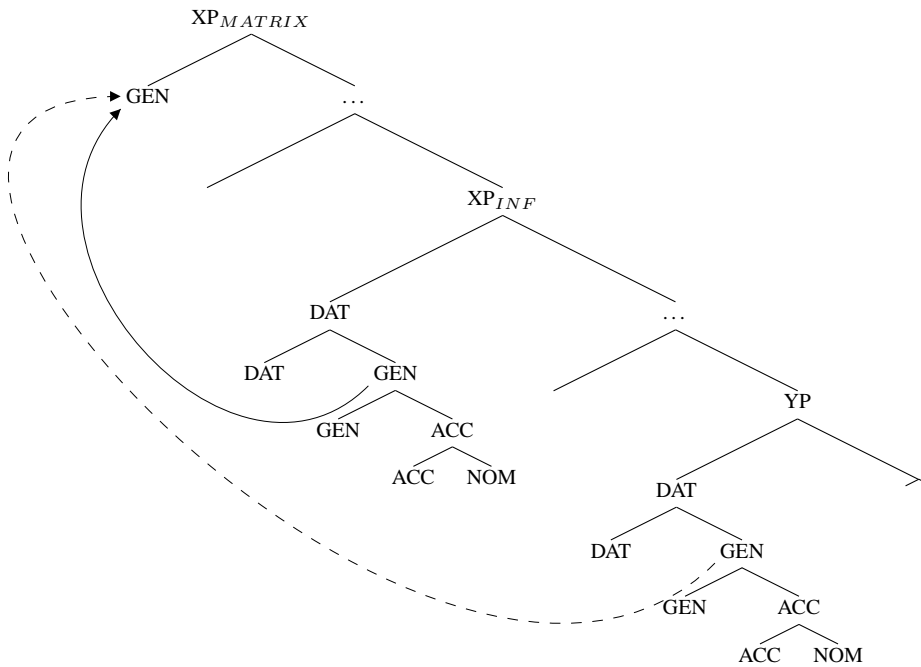
Before discussing these two predictions (which are born out), we turn to the above mentioned issues. First, there is the issue of different DAT arguments (APPL introduced vs. Goal-like) discussed in section 9.3.2. Second, I need to discuss different types of agents. I start with the latter in the following section 9.3.1.

Having discussed the different types of agents and different types of DATs, we can move to the intervention effects in the reflexive reading in simple clauses 9.3.2 and in complex clauses with Italian *fare* ‘make’ and Czech *dát* ‘give’, in section 9.3.3.

9.3.1 Low EA & High EA

In Italian, the verb *fare* (or its French cognate *faire*) enters two distinct constructions, as recognized first by Kayne (1975). So, these constructions differ with respect to the case marking of the Causee (the subject of the embedded INF): the subject appears marked

(9)



DAT in so called *faire infinitif* (FI), as in (10), while it is introduced by a preposition in *faire par* (FP) construction (11). The preposition is *par* in French and *da* in Italian – in both languages, the preposition also introduces *by*-phrases with passives.

(10) FAIRE INFINITIF (FI)

- a. Elle fera lever la main à Jean.
 she will.make raise the hand to Jean_{DAT}
 ‘She will have Jean raise his hand.’
- b. Lei farà aggiustare la macchina a Gianni.
 she will.make repair the car to Gianni_{DAT}
 ‘She will make Gianni repair the car.’

(French, Kayne (1975):236, cited from Folli and Harley (2007):199(4) & Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

(11) FAIRE PAR (FP)

- a. Elle se fera embrasser par Jean.
 she SE will.make kiss by Jean
 ‘She will make herself be kissed by Jean.’

- b. Lei farà aggiustare la macchina **da** Gianni.
 she will.make repair the car from Gianni
 ‘She will make Gianni repair the car.’

(French & Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

These two constructions differ with many respects; for the present purposes is important to notice different requirements on the nature of the agents (matrix agent vs. INF agent) in FI constructions. As recently noted in the literature (Folli and Harley (2007)), the matrix agent can be anything – animate (12) or inanimate argument (13).

- (12) a. *Gianni* ha fatto rompere la finestra **a** Maria.
 Gianni has made break the window to Maria
 ‘Gianni made Maria break the window.’
 b. *Gianni* ha fatto disinfettare il computer **al** tecnico.
 Gianni has made disinfect the computer to.the technician
 ‘Gianni made the technician disinfect the computer.’

(Italian, Folli and Harley (2007):212(20))

- (13) a. *La rabbia* fece rompere il tavolo **a** / *da Gianni.
 the rage made break the table to / by Gianni
 ‘Rage made Gianni break the table.’
 b. *La generosità* fece donare la casa **a** / *da Gianni.
 the generosity made give the house to / by Gianni
 ‘Generosity made Gianni donate the house.’

(Italian, Folli and Harley (2007):212(20))

Surprisingly (or perhaps not), the agent of the INF cannot be inanimate as shown in (14).

- (14) a. Gianni ha fatto rompere la finestra a Maria / ***al ramo**.
 Gianni has made break the window to Maria / to.the branch
 ‘Gianni made Maria / *the branch break the window.’
 b. Gianni ha fatto disinfettare il computer al tecnico / ***al programma**.
 Gianni has made disinfect the computer to.the technician / to.the program
 ‘Gianni made the technician / *the program disinfect the computer.’

(Italian, Folli and Harley (2007):212(20))

So, the subject of the infinitive in the FI construction can only be [+HUM] argument – the matrix agent (or the agent introduced in the INF by the *par/da* preposition, cf. in FP constructions) does not pose such a restriction to its agents.

Assuming Cinque's (2004) approach to restructuring, he specifically points out that *fare* in FI is a 'restructuring' head. It entails that the structure of FI is monoclausal, hence, involving just one *fseq*. If so, the matrix agent in FI must be introduced by a different head than the agent of the INF: the agent that must be [+HUM], as shown in (14)⁵.

Such a requirement (to introduce only *sentient* agents) is cross-linguistically known, for instance from Salish languages. St'át'imcets⁶ have two different transitivizers that entail different properties of the introduced EA. In Salish tradition, they are referred to as control and non-control transitives.

'Control transitives (suffixed with the DIRective transitivizer) entail agency, whilst non-control transitives (suffixed with the CAUSative transitivizer) do not. The difference emerges clearly with inanimate subjects, which are compatible only with the non-control transitivizer.'

(Davis (2000):51)

The examples of each transitivizer are shown in (15). Only the [+HUM] EA *Bucky* is compatible with the DIR transitivizer (15-a), but not the inanimate *wind* (15-b). The inanimate EA has to be introduced by the transitivizer CAUS (15-c).

- (15) a. k'áx-an'-aš ʔi-šćúq^waz'-a k^w-š-Bucky
 dry-DIR-ERG PL.DET-fish-EXIST DET-NOM-Bucky
 'Bucky dried the fish.'
- b. *k'áx-an'-aš ʔi-šćúq^waz'-a ti-šk'éxəm-a
 dry-DIR-ERG PL.DET-fish-EXIST DET-wind-EXIST
Intended: 'The wind dried the fish.'

⁵FP construction does not involve restructuring, hence, it includes two (sub)parts of *fseq*, hence, no restrictions on the lower agent are expected.

⁶In the literature on other Salish languages, as Halkomelem (Galloway (1993), Gerdts (1988) and much work by Gerdts, Hukari and Wiltschko, Wiltschko (2003) in particular) and Musqueam (Suttles (2004):sec 10.1.) (which I am more familiar with than St'át'imcets), the distinction is routinely made between a full control transitivizer *-t-* and limited control transitivizer *-l-*. The full control transitivizer introduces external arguments that 'do purposely', while the limited control transitivizers introduce external argument that 'do accidentally'. Intuitively, we would want to align the St'át'imcets' DIR with the full control transitivizer *-t-* of Halkomelem and Musqueam, and the St'át'imcets' CAUS with the limited control *-l-*. However, in the literature I did not find any indications that would support this connection.

- c. k'áx-š-aš ?i-šćúq^waz'-a ti-šk'éxəm-a
dry-CAUS-ERG PL.DET-fish-EXIST DET-wind-EXIST
'The wind dried the fish.'

(St'át'imcets, Davis (2000):51(63))

Animacy restriction on agents is also observed in single clause environment. Czech middles are an example; consider the contrast in (16) and (17). In a transitive sentence (16), either an animate (16-a) or an inanimate (16-b) noun can be an agent of the washing event. However, in the middle (discussed in section 1.1.7), the DAT argument must be a [+HUM], as in (17-a), the inanimate noun is impossible (17-b).⁷

- (16) a. Náš Karel špatně meje veliký talíře.
our Karel_{NOM} wrongly wash_{3.SG} big plates_{ACC.PL}
'Our Karel washes the big plates improperly (so that they remain dirty).'
- b. Naše myčka špatně meje veliký talíře.
our dishwasher_{NOM} wrongly wash_{3.SG} big plates_{ACC.PL}
'Our dishwasher washes the big plates improperly (so that they remain dirty).'

(Czech)

- (17) a. Velký talíře se Karlovi špatně mejou.
big plates_{NOM.PL} SE Karel_{DAT.SG} wrongly wash_{3.PL.PRES}
'Karel washes big plates with difficulties.'
- b. *Velký talíře se myčce špatně mejou.
big plates_{NOM.PL} SE dishwasher_{DAT.SG} wrongly wash_{3.PL.PRES}
Intended: 'A dishwasher washes big plates with difficulties.'

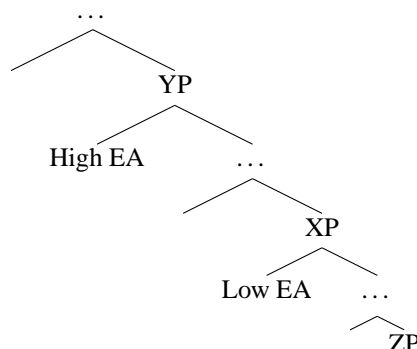
(Czech)

To summarize, the examples from Italian FI construction, St'át'imcets' directive transitive and Czech DAT agents in the middle construction show the same property: the introduced agent has to be a sentient being. It then suggests that there indeed is a position that introduces only [+HUM] external arguments. For expository reasons, I call this position **Low EA** position. Notice, incidentally, that what I call Low EA position might be equated with the APPL head described in the similar proposals by Taraldsen (2008), Rivero (2004a), Szucsich (2007), Medová and Taraldsen (2007a) or Medová (2008).

The Italian FI example – repeated below in (18) – highlights another important consequence: provided we deal with a single *fseq* (relying on Cinque (2004)), there must be

⁷Notice, incidentally, that the interpretation of the adverb *špatně* differs in the transitive and middle in a systematic way. For discussion see Medová (2008) and here section 11.2.

(19)



another agent-introducing position. Concretely, given the restriction on the agent of the INF (^{OK}*a Maria* vs. **a ramo*) we know that this agent has to be introduced by the Low EA. The agent of the matrix clause *Gianni*, then, has to be introduced by a different head – a head higher than the agent introduced by the Low EA (it follows trivially from the architecture of the FI construction). Not surprisingly, then, this agent is labeled **High EA** in this work. And it is this agent that is introduced as GEN previously (section 9.1).

- (18) Gianni ha fatto rompere la finestra a Maria / **al ramo*.
 Gianni has made break the window to Maria / to.the branch
 ‘Gianni made Maria / *the branch break the window.’

(Italian, Folli and Harley (2007):212(20))

Schematically, then, we deal with the following scenario (19).

There is a further property that clearly distinguished between the agents introduced by the Low vs. High EA position.

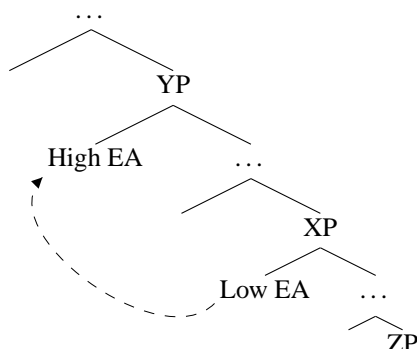
Given the [+HUM] requirement on the Low EA position-introduced agents, it is rather surprising that the sentences with such agents cannot be modified by an agent oriented adverb, as *on purpose*. This is shown in (20) for Czech middles⁸.

- (20) Velký talíře se (**schválně*) Karlovi špatně mejou.
 big plates_{NOM.PL} SE intentionally Karel_{DAT} wrongly wash_{3.PL.PRES}
 ‘Karel (**intentionally*) washes big plates with difficulties.’

(Czech)

⁸Similar patterns were described for Norwegian *get*-passives in Taraldsen (2007) and Taraldsen (2008) and Czech *have*-passives in Medová and Taraldsen (2007a).

(22)



Similarly for the FI construction (21): *on purpose* modification does not make the sentence ungrammatical, however, it is only the matrix agent that can be modified by the agent-oriented adverb *apposta*, as indicated by the glosses.

- (21) Re Giovanni ha fatto mancare (*apposta*) il bersaglio (*apposta*) a
 King John has made miss (on purpose) the target (on purpose) to
 Robin Hood (*apposta*).
 Robin Hood (on purpose)
 ‘King John made Robin Hood miss the target on purpose.’
 *‘King John made it such that [Robin Hood miss the target on purpose.]’

(Italian, Taraldsen (2008))

Following Taraldsen (2008), I assume that the agent is modifiable by *intentionally* or *on purpose* only when the agent is raised to the NOM position via both the external argument position that introduces [+HUM] arguments (from now on, Low EA position) and the High EA position⁹. This is schematized in (22).

In other words, I follow a ‘modular’ approach to agenthood grafted to the syntactic structure, as essentially proposed by Kayne (1993), Mahajan (1994) and others. The external argument may be born in one position (Low EA) and then moves to the High EA position, as schematized in (22).

On the other hand, there should be EAs that are born in the High EA position, i.e. the inanimate ones and others introduced by (a head corresponding to the St’át’imcets’) CAUS.

⁹The NOM position should be dissociated from a High EA position, since IAs can go to the NOM position without also becoming (High) EAs, most clearly in passives, impersonals and middles.

I leave the discussion of the EA arguments here, summarizing again: there are two different position in which the EA can be introduced. The Low EA position that introduces only [+HUM] arguments (and these arguments spell out as DATs) on one hand and the High EA position which, importantly, does not posit any ‘selectional’ restrictions on the type of the external argument it introduces. This position, in this work, is associated with GEN case in the Peeling Theory, as discussed in section 9.1¹⁰.

One further remark still: in this work, I do not take the distinction between DAT experiencers (23) and DAT agents (24) too seriously.

- (23) Gianni sembra furbo **a Maria**.
 Gianni_{NOM} seem_{3.SG} cunning_{M.SG} to Maria_{DAT}
 ‘Gianni seems cunning to Maria.’
- (24) Gianni ha fatto rompere la finestra **a Maria**.
 Gianni has made break the window to Maria
 ‘Gianni made Maria break the window.’

(Italian, Folli and Harley (2007):212(20))

In particular, both experiencers and DAT agents are seen as being born in the same ‘middle field’ (in presumably different positions) and thus I lump them together, as the distinction does not seem to be crucial for the purposes of this work.

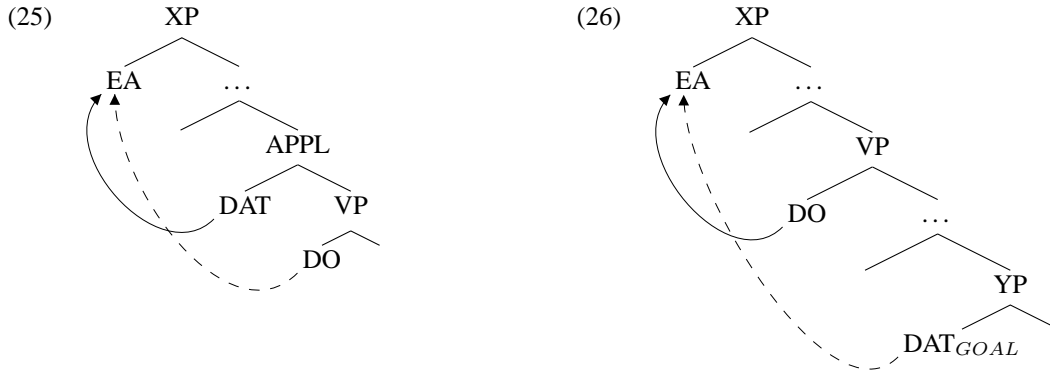
9.3.2 Monoclausal Structures

As indicated in the section 9.3, only arguments introduced by an APPL higher than the IA are of interest for the intervention effect in reflexive reading, as shown, again, schematically in (25) vs. (26).

That is, assuming that the argument from inside the VP needs to reach the (GEN) EA position, the DAT argument (introduced by an APPL) in (25) is an RM intervener for the movement of the argument from the VP to the EA. In (26), on the other hand, the DAT is introduced lower than the DO, hence, it should not be an RM intervener in the movement of the DO to the EA position¹¹.

¹⁰In N/A languages, the EA is not spelled out as GEN, but (for reasons unclear to me) the EA has to move further to the NOM position. In E/A languages, on the other hand, the EA is spelled out as ERG.

¹¹If anything, we expect to find intervention effects such that the DO prevents the DAT argument from reflexivization. As far as I am aware of, there are no such intervention effects. This, perhaps, has something to do with the fact that inside the VP, the ACC and DAT arguments seem to behave symmetrically with respect to bound pronoun reading – as opposed to the judgments reported in the text. I leave the issue open, showing the relevant bound pronouns examples.



First of all, there are languages in which such a distinction was made, Rezac (2007):sec.3 most notably. Looking at Applicative Unaccusatives in Basque, Rezac shows that there are two different DATs in Basque, one structurally higher than the IA, the other lower. If the DAT argument is born lower than the internal argument – as shown in (27), such a DAT does not pose restrictions on the internal argument. On the other hand, if the DAT argument is born higher than the internal argument, it causes a PCC effect, as shown in (28). The idea is that the internal argument cannot climb to the π licensing position across the DAT argument, hence, this DAT counts as an intervener for π licensing.


- (27) a. Nii Peru-rij hurbildu ni-a-tzai-oj.
 I_{ABS} Peru-DAT approached 1-TM- $\sqrt{D-3}$
 ‘I approached Peru.’
 b. H ... IA ... DAT
 π \uparrow $\boxed{}$

(Basque, Rezac (2007):73(20))

- (28) a. */??Nii Miren-ij baldarr-a iruditu ni-a-tzai-oj.
 I_{ABS} Miren-DAT clumsy-ABS seemed 1-TM- $\sqrt{D-3}$

- (i) a. Přivedla jsem každý mamince_i jejího_i syna.
 brought_{F.SG} AUX_{1.SG} every mother_{DAT} her son_{ACC}
 ‘To every mother, I brought her son.’
 b. $\forall \text{DAT}_i > \text{her}_i \text{ ACC}$
- (ii) a. Přivedla jsem každého syna_i jeho_i mamince.
 brought_{F.SG} AUX_{1.SG} every son_{ACC} his mother_{DAT}
 ‘I brought every son to his mother.’
 b. $\forall \text{ACC}_i > \text{his}_i \text{ DAT}$

(Czech)

- Intended:* ‘I seemed clumsily to Miren.’
- b. H ... DAT ... IA
- π 

(Basque, Rezac (2007):73(20))

In other words, we have two different configurations: in (27-a), the ABS (the internal argument) is higher than the DAT, hence, no PCC effect, in (28-a), on the other hand, the DAT is higher than the ABS, hence the PCC effect.

In the rest of this section, I show a similar pattern for Czech: there are DATs (identified as higher DATs below) that cause intervention effects in REFL reading, and, in parallel to Basque (27-a), there are DATs that are oblivious to the reflexive reading. In these cases, we deal with a DAT that is born lower than the IA argument¹².

The contrast is shown in (29). While the DAT ‘benefactor’ in the (29-a) is rather awkward¹³, the DAT in (29-b) is perfectly fine.

- (29) a. ??Šimon se Michalovi oblékl.
 Šimon_{NOM} SE_{ACC} Michal_{DAT} put.on_{M.SG}
 Intended: ‘Šimon put on a sweatshirt for Michal’s benefit.’
- b. Markéta se Lídě představila.
 Markéta_{NOM} SE_{ACC} Lída_{DAT} introduced_{F.SG}

¹²In Czech, the internal argument becomes NOM. For simplicity, I take the distinction between ABS and NOM irrelevant in this particular construction.

¹³An additional set of examples follows. In (i-a), *Karel* could be a possessor of the *car*, but does need to be, he could just be a benefactor of the car-washing event by *Petr*. (On such Czech patterns, see Fried (1999b) and Fried (1999a).) Plausibly, now, we can imagine a scenario in which *Petr* washes himself and this event might have some beneficial consequences for *Karel* – it should be possible given the vague relation between the NOM and DAT arguments as indicated in (i-a). For instance, *Petr* is sick and *Karel* is supposed to wash him, but because *Petr* is considerate (and knows that *Karel* has many other things to do), *Petr* would do his best and wash up to help *Karel*. Such a scenario cannot be expressed as (i-b).

The data, however, are not as straightforward as one would want them. In particular, for many speakers are the sentences like (i-b) and (29-a) fine talking in a parent-child scenario. So, if *Karel* is *Petr*’s father (or person who is supposed to take care of *Karel*), the benefactive reading for *Petr* is relatively fine. I do not understand why should the parent-child interpretation remote the intervention effect.

- (i) a. Petr Karlovi umyl auto.
 Petr_{NOM} Karel_{DAT} wash_{3.SG.M} car_{ACC}
 ‘Petr washed the car on Karel.’ (/ ‘Petr washed Karel’s car.’)
- b. Petr se (??Karlovi) umyl.
 Petr_{NOM} SE Karel_{DAT} wash_{3.SG.M}
 ‘Petr washed (??on Karel).’

(Czech)

‘Markéta introduced herself to Lída.’

(Czech)

Both verbs can have corresponding constructions with DAT and ACC (30). Notice that for both verb types, the unmark word order seems to be for the DAT to precede the ACC.¹⁴

- (30) a. Michal oblékl Šimonovi mikinu.
 Michal_{NOM} put.on_{M.SG} Šimon_{DAT} sweatshirt_{ACC}
 ‘Michal dressed Šimon into a sweatshirt.’
 b. Markéta představila Mojžíra Lídě.
 Markéta_{NOM} introduced_{F.SG} Mojžír_{ACC} Lída_{DAT}
 ‘Markéta introduced Mojžír to Lída.’

(Czech)

Tests that would establish that the DAT in (29-a) is higher than the IA and, on the other hand, that the DAT in (29-b) is lower than the IA are less clear than one would want them to be. This is, in part, because the tests Rezac uses for Basque (causativization, anaphora binding and obligatory control) are not directly applicable to Czech. However, the examples with bound variables seem to indicate the two classes after all¹⁵.

Assuming that for the binding relation to come through the quantifier phrase has to c-command the pronoun (cf. May (1985)), the examples at hand make distinction between the verbs of *obléknout* type on one hand and the *představit* type on the other.

To set up a plausible context for *obléknout*, imagine that *Karel* just started to work in a hospital as a nurse: his first task is to make everybody like him, so, starting with

¹⁴Both verbs can also reflexivize on the indirect object (i), however, to do so for the verb *představit* ‘introduce’, the resulting reading is idiomatic and it means *imagine*, as shown in (i-b).

- (i) a. Šimon si oblékl mikinu.
 Šimon_{NOM} SE_{DAT} put.on_{M.SG} sweatshirt_{ACC}
 ‘Šimon put on a sweatshirt.’
 b. Představila si titulky v bulvárním tisku.
 introduce_{F.SG} SE_{DAT} headline_{ACC} in tabloid
 ‘She imagined the headlines in the tabloid.’

(Czech, ČNK, SYN2000, [NOV,X,B,40608])

¹⁵I am grateful to Mojžír Dočekal for long and patient (and prompt!) discussion. Also many thanks to Pavel Caha, Jakub Dotlačil, Věra Dvořáková Procházková, Ivona Kučerová, Kateřina Součková, Lída Veselovská and Markéta Ziková for sharing their judgments with me. Out of these 9 speakers (including the author), six speakers found the contrast in between (37) and (36) remarkable (to the varying degrees).

other nurses, to each one of them, he dressed up one of her patients for her.

For *představit*, *Petr* is the boss of the department and he is in charge of distributing students to supervisors (and the other way around).

So, while it is perfectly fine to bind the pronoun from the DAT quantifier to the ACC argument for the *představit* verbs (31), the same binding is quite bad for verbs of *obléknout* type (32). This judgment is for once very clear.

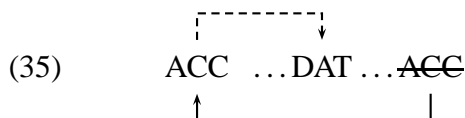
- (31) a. Petr představil každého studenta jeho školiteli.
 Petr_{NOM} introduced every student_{ACC} his supervisor_{DAT}
 ‘Petr introduced each student to his supervisor.’
 b. $\forall \text{ACC}_i > \text{his}_i \text{ DAT}$
- (32) a. *Karel oblékl každého pacienta její sestře.
 Karel_{NOM} dressed every patient_{ACC} her nurse_{ACC}
 Intended: ‘For every patient_i, Karel dressed a patient of hers_i.’
 b. * $\forall \text{ACC}_i > \text{her}_i \text{ DAT}$

Now, with the ‘reverse’ order – with DAT above the ACC – we get the perfect binding relation for the verbs of *obléknout* type (33)¹⁶. The other half of the outcome is less satisfying: the binding from the DAT to the ACC is quite perfect also for the *představit* type of verbs (34). I have nothing to add to clarify the issue other than to point out to the word order effects mentioned above for the examples in (30).

- (33) a. Karel oblékl každou sestru jejího pacienta.
 Karel_{NOM} dressed every nurse_{DAT} her patient_{ACC}
 ‘For each nurse_i, Karel dressed a patient of hers_i.’
 b. $\forall \text{DAT}_i > \text{her}_i \text{ ACC}$
- (34) a. Petr představil každému školiteli jeho studenta.
 Petr_{NOM} introduced every supervisor_{DAT} his student_{ACC}
 ‘For each supervisor_i, Petr introduced him_i his_i student.’
 b. $\forall \text{DAT}_i > \text{his}_i \text{ ACC}$

Assuming that the binding relations give us the c-command relation, the conclusion is that the order is DAT > ACC for verbs like *obléknout*. In particular, then, (32) indicates that the binding is impossible if the ACC is moved above the DAT. This is schematically indicated in (35).

¹⁶The examples where the pronoun precedes the quantifier have invariably rigid (not bound) reading of the pronoun.



The result remain unclear for the *představit* type of verb, though our suspicion that the DAT is lower than the ACC is immense. The suspicion is indirectly supported by the contrast found in *intransitive* verbs with the NOM and DAT argument.

Consider the examples in (36). (36-a) shows a verb *scházet* ‘miss’ and (36-b) has a verb *křivdit* ‘treat unjustly’. Both verbs have the same case frame: one argument is DAT, the other is NOM.¹⁷

These verbs differ with respect to the possibility to have a bound variable. So, while (36) is perfectly fine, the example (37) is rather bad.

- (36) a. Každý matce schází její syn.
 every mother_{DAT} misses her son_{NOM}
 ‘Every mother_i misses her_i son.’
 b. $\forall \text{DAT}_i > \text{her}_i \text{ NOM}$
- (37) a. ??Každý matce křivdí její syn.
 every mother_{DAT} treats.unjustly her son_{NOM}
 ‘Every mother_i is treated unjustly by her_{j/??i} son.’
 b. ?? $\forall \text{DAT}_i > \text{her}_i \text{ NOM}$

(Czech)

This time, however, what is impossible is to bind from DAT to NOM for one class of verbs, while it is fine for other class. Again, assuming that the binding relation gives us c-commanding, it follows that for the *scházet* types of verbs we have DAT c-

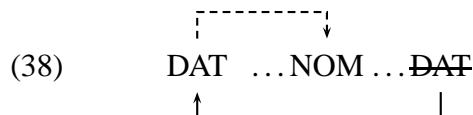
¹⁷The examples are shown in (i) and (ii). A few verbs for each type are listed in the table.

- (i) Ivona křivdí Karlovi.
 Ivona_N treat.unjustly_{3.SG} Karel_D
 ‘Ivona treats Karel unjustly.’
- (ii) Karlovi schází Ivona.
 Karel_{DAT} miss_{3.SG.PRES} Ivona_{DAT}
 ‘Karel misses Ivona.’

DAT V NOM		NOM V DAT	
chutnat	enjoy	lichotit	flatter
vadit	bother	ulevit	relieve
scházet	miss	ublížit	harm
překážet	be-in-way	škodit	harm
stačit	be-enough	křivdit	treat unjustly
chybět	miss	vzdorovat	resist
patřit	belong	podlehnout	succumb
slušet	suit	pomáhat	help

commanding NOM (36). On the other hand, (37) tells us that for this class of verbs, binding from the DAT to the NOM is impossible. How come?

Taking NOM position to be the highest A-position in the structure, then the structure of (37) had to be created by A'-movement to the position to the left of the NOM position, as schematically shown in (38).



The perfectly fine binding in (36) then must be derived differently. As a matter of fact, I believe that the DAT above NOM is the underived word order¹⁸. In an ideal world, I should show that the *scházet* type of verbs are unaccusatives while the *křivdí* type are unergative: there is, indeed, one test that we could use, namely, Agent oriented adverbs. If the *scházet* type of verbs were unaccusative, they should not be able to be modified by adverbs like *intentionally*. The unergative type, on the other hand, should be quite comfortable with such a modification. This is indeed correct, as shown by the contrast between (39) and (40).

- (39) Ivona *schválně* *křivdí* Karlovi.
 Ivona_{NOM} on.purpose treat.unjustly_{3.SG} Karel_{DAT}
 ‘Ivona treats Karel unjustly on purpose.’

(Czech)

- (40) a. *Karlovi *schválně* *schází* Ivona.
 Karel_{DAT} on.purpose miss_{3.SG.PRES} Ivona_{NOM}
 b. *Ivona *schválně* *schází* Karlovi.
 Ivona_{NOM} on.purpose miss_{3.SG.PRES} Karel_{DAT}

¹⁸Binding from the NOM position to the DAT should not be problematic. This is true: compare (i) and (ii). Both verbs are fine when the NOM argument binds into the DAT (the special anaphoric pronoun *svůj* is possible only in such a configuration).

- (i) Každý syn *křivdí* svůj matce.
 every son_{NOM} treats.unjustly his/SELF mother_{DAT}
 ‘Every son_i treats his_i mother unjustly.’
 (ii) Každý syn *schází* svůj matce.
 every son_{NOM} misses his/SELF mother_{DAT}
 ‘Every son_i is missed by his_{j/??i} mother.’

(Czech)

Intended: ‘Karel misses Ivona on purpose.’

(Czech)

So, even though the evidence is rather indirect and the data not absolutely clear, I take it that there is indication toward the distinction of DATs of different types. In particular, there is a DAT introduced higher than the IA (this IA is then spelled out as ACC in transitive verbs, as *obléknout*, but it appears as NOM with intransitive verbs, as *scházet*) and a DAT introduced lower than the IA (for the transitive verbs like *představit*; for the intransitive *křivdit* we cannot tell). Only the first type of DAT causes an intervention effect in a reflexive derivation.

Another example of a high (APPL introduced) DAT that causes an intervention effect with the [+HUM] argument is the following set of examples of the verb *return*¹⁹. First of all, the verb *vrátit* ‘return’ behaves like its English counterpart to some extent. So, next to an transitive version (41-a), there is an intransitive one (41-b). The only difference is that the intransitive version has to have the reflexive clitic *SE*.

- (41) a. Karel vrátil knihy do knihovny.
 Karel_{NOM} returned_{M.SG} books into library
 ‘Karel returned the books into the library.’
 b. Karel se vrátil domů.
 Karel_{NOM} SE returned_{M.SG} home.
 ‘Karel returned home.’

(Czech)

The observation, then, is the following. Adding a DAT argument to the intransitive version of the verb *return* in Czech does not allow for an ‘intransitive’ agentive reading (parallel to (41-b)): the only reading the example (42) has is impersonal²⁰.

- (42) Děti se vracejí rodičům.
 children_{NOM} SE return_{3.pl.PRES} parents_{DAT}

¹⁹The curious behavior of the verb *return* is taken from Růžička (1992). Incidentally, he claims that this pattern is true of Russian; my informants deny such a possibility. The examples here are Czech and the data are correct.

²⁰To anchor the sentence (42) in a context, imagine a kindergarten. (i) is perfectly parallel to (42), either one could easily be a note on a kindergarten door, reminding parents about the teachers’ obligations (to return the children exclusively to their parents and not to anybody else).

- (i) Učitelé vracejí děti výhradně rodičům.
 teacher_{NOM.PL} return_{3.PL} children_{ACC} exclusively parents_{DAT}
 ‘The teachers return children exclusively to their parents.’

IMP: ‘Children are being returned to their parents.

*‘Agentive’: *‘Children return to their parents.’

(Czech)

An agentive reading does exist – but the DAT has to be removed, as in (43): the goal argument of the motion is introduced by a preposition *k*.

- (43) Děti se vracejí k rodičům.
 children_{NOM} SE return_{3.pl.PRES} to parents_{DAT}
 Agentive: ‘Children return to their parents.’

(Czech)

The contrast is absolutely clear. Sadly, however, the test for the height of the DAT we have (variable binding) is rather unclear even for this example. For the lack of evidence, I leave the issue open until a better test is found.

Before doing so, let me point out a similar observation for constructions based on the verb *jít* ‘go’ with various prefixes. For instance, taking the prefix *do-* gives the meaning ‘run out’, as shown in (44), with the DAT. Importantly, the NOM argument must be inanimate.

Once the NOM argument is animate – 1st, 2nd or 3rd person – the DAT counts as an intervener with respect to the argument inside the VP. Consequently, it is impossible to have a DAT and an animate NOM cooccur, as in (45).

- (44) a. Došla mi trpělivost.
*do-went*_{F.SG} me_{DAT} patience
 ‘I lost my patience.’ / (*lit.*) ‘Patience ran out on me.’
 b. Došel mu tabák.
*do-went*_{SG} him_{DAT} tobacco
 ‘He ran out of tobacco.’
- (45) a. #Došla mi Zuza.
*do-went*_{F.SG} me_{DAT} Zuza_{NOM}
 #‘I ran out of Zuza.’
 b. #Došla jsem Pavlovi.
*do-went*_{F.SG} be_{1.SG} Pavel_{DAT}
 #‘Pavel ran out of me.’

(Czech)

If the animate argument from inside the VP has the chance to raise via the Low EA

(in other words, the DAT is not present), the sentence is perfectly fine – but it also has an ‘unergative’ reading to it. An example is in (46).

- (46) První Češka došla na severní pól.
 first Czech_{NOM.F} do-went_{F.SG} on North pole
 ‘A first female Czech reached the North Pole.’

(Czech, <http://www.radio.cz/cz/zpravy/102893#17>)

In any event, one thing should be added: only [+HUM] arguments are relevant for an intervention. In our approach, both the DAT and the IA ‘compete’ for raising to the EA position (through which a reflexive reading is derived). Now, if the IA argument cannot produce a reflexive reading (being an inanimate, see discussion in section 6.6.4), then no intervention effects are expected, as indeed is the case in (47).

- (47) Knihy se vracejí majitelům.
 books_{NOM.PL} SE return_{3.PL} owners_{DAT.PL}
 ‘The books are to be returned to their owners.’

(Czech)

On the positive side, on the other hand, the data are crystal clear in the more complex structures, both for Italian and Czech. Let us see.

9.3.3 Complex Structures

In this section, we look at three verbs that embed an infinitive: first, the Italian *fare* ‘make’ in FI construction and then two examples from Czech. Similarly to the causative *fare*, there is a causative Czech *dát* ‘give’ (section 9.3.3.2). The verb *chtít* ‘want’ adds a further twist: in this construction, the subject of the infinitive can appear in DAT case overtly and the reflexive clitic SE must be present as well. See discussion in section 9.3.3.3.

9.3.3.1 FI

Starting with Italian FI construction (48), the subject of the INF clause is expressed as DAT (introduced by a preposition *a*).²¹

- (48) Elena fa aiutare Ole col greco al papà.
 Elena_{NOM} make_{3.SG} help_{INF} Ole with.the Greek to.the dad

²¹The FP constructions do not cause the intervention effects, hence I do not discuss them here.

‘Elena makes dad help Ole with Greek.’

(Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

Imagine now that we want to say that it is *Ole* himself who makes his dad help him with the Greek, using the reflexive clitic *SE*. (Effectively, then, we make the IA argument of the INF climb to the matrix clause.) Such a structure is impossible in the intended reflexive reading, that is, as shown in (49). The only possible reading is impersonal²².

- (49) Ole si fa aiutare col greco **al papà**.
 Ole_{NOM} SE make_{3.SG} help_{INF} with-the Greek to.the dad
Intended: *REFL ‘Ole gets himself help with Greek from his father.’
 IMP: ‘Somebody(=SI) makes Ole’s father help Ole with the Greek.’

(Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

The availability of the impersonal reading indicates that the DAT is not an intervener for A-movement, as shown also by passives.

The (49) is shown schematically in (50). The DAT subject of the INF is closer to the EA position of the matrix and thus an RM intervener in the movement of the IA of the INF to the matrix.

- (50) Ole ... SI fa ... [_{INF} ... [_{XP} **al papà** ... aiutare ... Ole]]
-

9.3.3.2 *dát*

The same type of example is found in Czech as well. Consider the following scenario, with little *Jáchym* being bathed. *Michal* has bathed *Jáchym* and now he hands the little one to *Eva* and she dries him dry. This is expressed in (51).

- (51) Michal dá **Evě** osušit Jáchyma.
 Michal_{NOM} give_{3.SG}^{PF} Eva_{DAT} o-dry_{INF} Jáchym_{ACC}
 ‘Michal will give Eva little Jáchym₁ to wipe him₁ up.’

²²The intended reflexive reading is available in the FP construction.

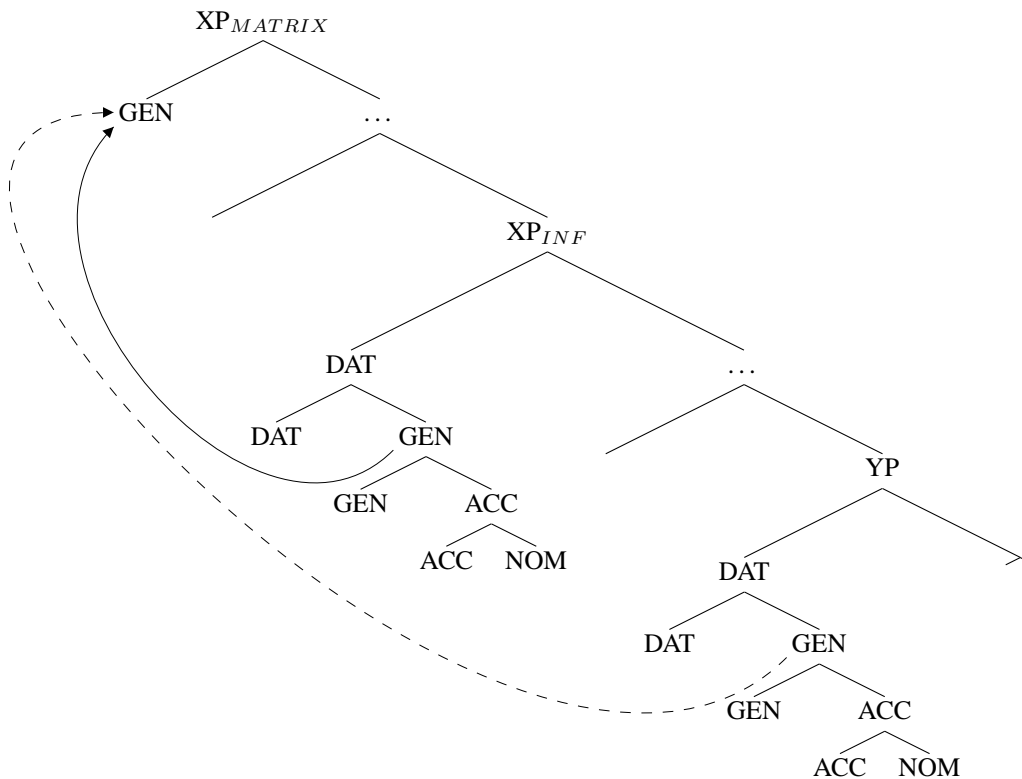
- (i) Ole si fa aiutare col Greco **dal papà**.
 Ole_{NOM} SE make_{3.SG} help_{INF} with-the Greek from.the dad
 ‘Ole gets himself help with Greek from his father.’

(Italian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

Syntactically, *Eva* is the subject of the INF and appears expressed in DAT case²³.

(Czech)

(54)



the DAT (subject of the embedded INF) is given in (54)²⁵.

Now, it is essential that the raising IA is [+HUM] for the intervention effects to be seen: we are talking about a reflexive reading and reflexive reading, in this work, is contingent upon the IA moving to the EA position. The intervention effect (as shown in (54)) is a classical RM scenario: two arguments of the same kind – the higher one blocks the movement of the lower one up.

9.3.3.3 *chtít*

If the infinitival IA is inanimate (hence, it cannot form a reflexive structure by raising to the EA), it should be perfectly fine to raise to the matrix clause (to a NOM position, say). In other words, it should be able to cross the [+HUM] subject of the INF, because

²⁵The same provisory note (as before) needs to be added: the IA argument in the INF needs to have DAT case layer on top to count as a competitor with the DAT subject of the INF, even though it would appear in ACC should it stayed. I discuss the issue in the chapter 10.

they would not be competitors with respect to the EA. This is correct, looking at the restructuring examples with the verb *want* and the DAT subject of the INF²⁶.

The verb *chtít* in Czech has an option to have the subject of the INF appearing as DAT (and, the reflexive clitic *SE* appears). It leaves the IA of the INF with two options: it either has ACC case (55-a), or it has a NOM case (55-b) (yielding a restructured sentence). As the examples demonstrate, the IA can climb to the matrix clause either way, with ACC or with NOM case.

- (55) a. Tu bábovku se mi nechce péct.
 that marble.cake_{ACC} SE me_{DAT} NEG-want_{3.SG.PRES} bake_{INF}
 'I don't feel like baking the marble cake.'
- b. Ta bábovka se mi nechce péct.
 that marble.cake_{NOM.F} SE me_{DAT} NEG-want_{3.SG.PRES} bake_{INF}
 'I don't feel like baking the marble cake.'

(Czech, Skoumalová (2003):(7))

The structure of the restructuring (55-b) is shown in (56).

- (56) ta bábovka ... SE **mi** nechce ... [_{INF} ... [_{VP} **mi** ... péct ... ta bábovka]]
-

Now, should the IA of the INF be a [+HUM] argument, the subject of the INF should become an RM intervener in the IA's attempt to raise to the matrix EA. Consider the examples in (57)²⁷.

- (57) a. Toho pána se mi nechce potkat.
 that man_{ACC} SE me_{DAT} NEG-want_{3.sg.PRES} meet_{INF}

²⁶The 'usual' control verb *want* is shown below in (i). The INF *bake* is embedded under the matrix predicate *chtít* 'want' (i). The IA of the INF can only appear in ACC (i-a), a NOM on the IA is impossible (i-b). The subject of the matrix controls the subject of the infinitive, under the usual view of verbs like *chtít*.

- (i) a. Zuza nechce péct tu bábovku.
 Zuza_{NOM} NEG-want_{3.SG} bake_{INF} this marble.cake_{ACC}
 'Zuza doesn't want to bake the marble cake.'
- b. *Zuza nechce péct ta bábovka.
 Zuza_{NOM} NEG-want_{3.SG} bake_{INF} this marble.cake_{NOM}
 Intended: 'Zuza doesn't want to bake the marble cake.'

(Czech)

²⁷I thank Steven Franks for bringing the examples discussed in Skoumalová (2003) to my attention. Similar data (for inanimate objects only) are discussed in Fried (2004).

- ‘I don’t feel like meeting that man.’
 b. *Ten pán se mi nechce potkat.
 that man_{NOM.MA} SE me_{DAT} NEG-want_{3.sg.PRES} meet_{INF}
 ‘I don’t feel like meeting that man.’

(Czech, Skoumalová (2003):(8d,c))

The IA of the INF is *ten pán*, a [+HUM] argument. If this argument has ACC case (even if it moves to the matrix clause), the structure is perfectly grammatical (57-a) with the expected reading ‘I don’t feel like’.

In the restructuring context, the IA *ten pán* needs to get NOM from the matrix (57-b) and the sentence is ungrammatical. The idea is that the DAT argument *mi* in (57-b) blocks the movement of the IA to the matrix. But, the contrast between (55-b) and (57-b) is striking: why does the [+HUM] argument *ten pán* has to raise to the NOM position *via* the matrix EA position? It is, ultimately, what makes the sentence ungrammatical, the DAT RM intervention, I believe, as shown in (58).

- (58) ten pán ... SE [_{XP} EA nechce ... [_{INF} ... mi ... potkat ... ten pán]]

If the (offensive) DAT is removed, the sentence become perfectly grammatical (59). But this sentence also shows that – for whatever reason – the [+HUM] IA has to raise to the matrix *via* the matrix EA – as indicated by the reflexive reading of (59)²⁸.

- (59) Ten pán se nechce potkat.
 that man_{NOM.MA} SE NEG-want_{3.sg.PRES} meet_{INF}

²⁸The sentence means *The man does not want to meet with the speaker*, hence the gloss. Substituting the INF with another one, like *shave*, the sentence is ungrammatical with the intended meaning (i). (It has the weird reading on which *Karel* is the benefactor of that event, as in child-parent scenario (or, for this case more plausibly, patient-nurse) described in section 9.3.2.) Without the DAT, the sentence is perfectly fine and, importantly, it has to have a reflexive reading (ii).

- (i) *Ten pán se Karlovi nechce holit.
 that man_{NOM.MA} SE Karel_{DAT} NEG-want_{3.sg.PRES} shave_{INF}
Intended: ‘Karel does not feel like shaving this man.’
 #‘This man does not feel like shaving himself (and it affects Karel).’
 (ii) Ten pán se nechce holit.
 that man_{NOM.MA} SE NEG-want_{3.sg.PRES} shave_{INF}
 ‘This man does not feel like shaving himself.’

(Czech)

‘This man does not want to be met.’

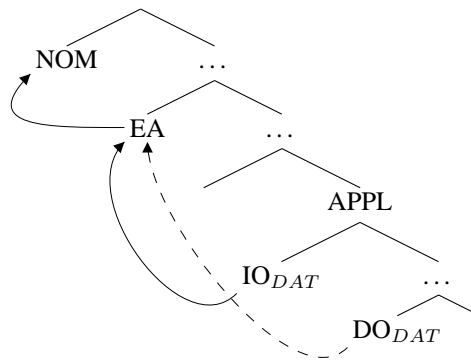
(Czech)

So, why does the [+HUM] IA need to raise via the matrix EA? I do not know and leave it open here.

9.4 Conclusion

The DAT intervention effects happen only in the true reflexive readings. True reflexive readings are derived when the [+HUM] argument raises to the EA position and further to the NOM position. The intervention is caused by the DAT argument above the direct object. The DAT argument must be [+HUM], as discussed in section 9.3.1. This is depicted again in (60) and an example is repeated in (61).

(60)



(61) ??Šimon se Michalovi oblékl.

Šimon_{NOM} SE Michal_{DAT} put.on_{M.SG}

Intended: ‘Šimon put on a sweatshirt for Michal’s benefit.’

(Czech)

However, no intervention is observed in anticausatives, as shown in (62).

(62) Ty hodinky se Michalovi rozbily.

this watch_{NOM.F.PL} SE Michal_{DAT} broke_{F.PL}

‘The watch broke on Michal.’

(Czech)

If we take it for granted that the shared morphology between reflexives and anticausatives indicates parallel derivation (and I show such a derivation in section 10.6), the difference between the reflexive reading with an intervening DAT (61) and perfectly fine anticausative (62) reveals that the nature of the (original) direct object matters. This is schematized in Table (62).

DAT	DO	
+HUM	+HUM	*REFL
+HUM	inanimate	ANTIC

There are consequences of this observation. First, the DAT and [+HUM] animate direct object (those that derive reflexives, section 6.6.4) must look the same. In other words, for the RM scenario to work, not only the DAT intervener, but also the argument that becomes NOM must be DAT. There are indications supporting such a claim and I discuss them in section 10.3.

By the same coin, then, inanimate direct objects should not look like the objects that derive reflexives: if they did, we would expect intervention effects in anticausatives as well, but we do not get them, as shown in (62). Anticipating discussion in 10.3 it seems that the inanimate direct objects are born as plain ACC, while the animate (or [+HUM]) are – at least at certain point of the derivation – DAT.

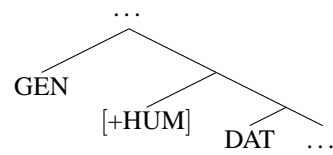
Both the DAT that causes intervention and the Low EA must be [+HUM]. Assuming only one [+HUM] position in the EA region, the following picture emerges²⁹ translated to the Peeling Theory of Case framework. The [+HUM] feature must be sandwiched in between the GEN and DAT in the EA region, as shown in (63).

²⁹I assume that the [+HUM] characteristics of (certain) external arguments comes from the structure. By doing so, I have absolutely nothing to say about the necessarily [+HUM] arguments in direct object position, as the Italian (i). Given such examples, the link between the particular position and the [+HUM] feature might be wrong, if indeed *fseq* had only one position for each feature. Thanks to Tarald Taraldsen (p.c.) for patient repetition of this example to me.

(i) Il medico esamina pro_{arb} nudi.
the doctor examines_{3.SG} naked_{M.PL}
'The doctor examines people naked.'

(Italian, Rizzi (1986a))

(63)



So, in some languages, it might be spelled out as GEN, but it might be spelled out as DAT in others, assuming the core mechanisms of the Peeling Theory of Case described in section 8.1.1. See Caha (2007c) and Caha (2007b) for details.

Chapter 10

Reflexivizing on Direct Object

Up to now, we were concerned with the reflexivization of IO. Now, I would like to address the reflexivization of DO. Reflexivization, in this work, means that a DP from inside a VP (DO, given that we are concerned with DO in this chapter) moves to the EA position (and then further to NOM). In section 9.3.1 I established that this EA is associated with a GEN case. Hence, we know that to reflexivize, the DP has to have a GEN layer inside.

But we know more than that: the GEN layer has to be on the ‘right place’ so to speak. Recall the discussion in section 9.2: we predict (correctly) that no reflexivization is possible for the structure ‘born’ as say INS or LOC, as indicated in (1).

It is because, recall, we work within the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case, thus, layers have to peel one by one. Hence, no reflexives are predicted to exist from structures bigger than DAT, if the first step in the derivation must be to peel to the GEN(=EA).

But we know even more than that: the structure of ACC, according to Caha’s hierarchy (repeated below (2)), is (3).

But if this is true, we would never be able to derive reflexives from the direct objects, contrary to the facts: (4) just shows an improper movement, definitely not a reflexive derivation.

Since we know we can reflexivize direct objects, the structure in (4) cannot be the right one¹. To derive a reflexive, we need to have a structure which would have at least one layer available for the movement to the EA position. (4), however, does not have any. In other words, this structure is too small to derive reflexives.

The direction we are forced to go to is this: the structure of the DO is not the one

¹As things are, even using the Unrestricted version of the Peeling theory would not help with the scenario in (4). Recall that unrestricted Peeling Theory allows to peel more than one layer at a time – but there is no way to make (4) work even on this assumption.

```

graph TD
    YP --> Empty1[ ]
    YP --> XP
    XP --> GEN1[GEN]
    XP --> ZP
    ZP --> INS1[INS]
    ZP --> Empty2[ ]
    INS1 --> INS2[INS]
    INS1 --> LOC1[LOC]
    LOC1 --> LOC2[LOC]
    LOC1 --> DAT1[DAT]
    DAT1 --> DAT2[DAT]
    DAT1 --> GEN2[GEN]
    GEN2 --> GEN3[GEN]
    GEN2 --> ACC1[ACC]
    ACC1 --> ACC2[ACC]
    ACC1 --> NOM[NOM]
    GEN1 -.-> GEN3
    
```

(Caha (2007b):(17))

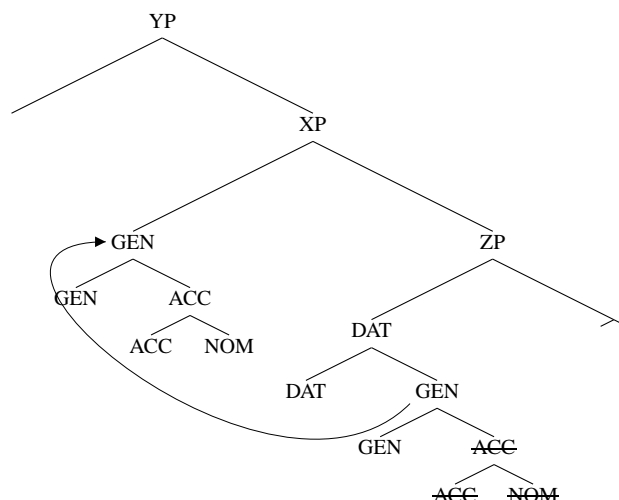
ACC
ACC NOM

```

graph TD
    YP --> NOM1[NOM]
    YP --> XP
    XP --> GEN[GEN]
    XP --> ZP1[ZP]
    ZP1 --> ACC1[ACC]
    ZP1 --> ZP2[ZP]
    ZP2 --> ACC2[ACC]
    ZP2 --> NOM2[NOM]
    GEN -.-> ACC1
    subgraph Cut
    ACC1
    ZP2
    ACC2
    NOM2
    end

```

(5)



in (3), but it is ‘bigger’. The direct object must have a structure similar to the indirect ones, in particular with a GEN case layer inside the Case layers. In other words, the direct object has to be an oblique case to make the reflexivization possible. Given the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case, it must be DAT, as shown in (5).

As a matter of fact, such an assumption is not as shocking as it might seem at the first blush. In many languages, the direct objects that reflexivize (that is, *animate* direct objects) appear in DAT. For instance, Spanish or South Italian dialects show this property; discussion follows in section 10.3.

In addition, there is a construction in which the (original) direct objects appear as DAT² rather routinely in one construction: **antipassives**. I discuss the antipassives in the following section. For now, antipassive is an intransitive construction derived from a transitive verb.

Strikingly, there are more similarities between antipassives and reflexives and I discuss them in this chapter.

First, both of them derive intransitives from transitives: chapter 4 for reflexives deals with this in particular and antipassives are discussed in the following section. But not only that, both operations (reflexivization and antipassivization) derive unergative intransitives: I showed that for reflexives in section 6.2 and such a claim is a part of the definition of antipassives (discussed in section 10.1).

Second, in a relatively high number of languages that have an antipassive morpheme,

²It is more precise to claim that the direct object appears as an *oblique* rather than stating it is DAT. I am aware of this shortcoming.

this antipassive morpheme is syncretic with the reflexive morpheme. The following sections fill in the details.

These two properties are intriguing. Both operations derive unergative intransitives. The direct objects appear as oblique in certain circumstances: some Romance varieties have the reflexivizing direct objects appearing as DATs; the direct objects in antipassive constructions appear in oblique cases. The Peeling Theory of Case makes such a view unifiable and this chapter, then, is about a unified derivation of reflexives and antipassives. I first discuss antipassives in section 10.1 and the syncretism in section 10.2. Then I turn to the shape and life of direct objects in section 10.3. In particular, I will set out to explain what exactly I mean by saying that the direct object is both DAT (section 10.3.1) and ACC (section 10.3.2). The rest of the chapter are derivations: of the antipassive constructions (in a variety of languages) in section 10.4 and, finally, derivation of reflexive constructions 10.5.

10.1 Antipassive

An antipassive construction is an intransitive construction derived from a transitive construction. The term **antipassive** (which goes back to Silverstein (1976)) is supposed to suggest the mirror of a passive. So, while passives apply to a transitive structure and derive an intransitive by demoting a subject, antipassives apply to a transitive structure and derive an intransitive one by demoting an object³.

According to Dixon's (1994) definition, antipassive

1. applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive
2. the underlying Agent becomes the Subject of the antipassive (it shows an ABS case)
3. the underlying Object goes into a peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, preposition, etc.; this NP can be omitted, although there is always the option of including it;
4. there is some explicit formal marking of an antipassive construction

(Dixon (1994):146)

The examples in (6) show the transitive/antipassive alternation. The verb *scratch* is transitive in (33): the subject *man* is ERG, the object *the woman* is ABS. The antipassive

³Traditionally, the antipassive construction is associated with ERG/ABS systems Silverstein (1976). However, it has been pointed out in the literature that the restriction of antipassives to ergative systems is artificial, see Postal (1977), Givón (1984), Davies (1984), for an overview see Polinsky (2005).

version is shown in (6-b). The verb is marked with the AP morpheme *-di-* and the object *the woman* is now expressed by an oblique case (DAT, for (6-b)). The derived structure in (6-b) is clearly intransitive, as the ABS on the subject *the man* indicates.⁴

- (6) a. wagudangu bupa giba:-l
 man_{ERG} woman_{ABS} scratch-PAST
 ‘The man scratched the woman.’
 b. wagu:da giba:-**di**-pu bupa:-nda
 man_{ABS} scratch-AP-PAST woman-DAT
 ‘The man scratched the woman.’

(Yidip, Dixon (1977):274(420),(422))

The semantic impact of an antipassive could be assimilated to the conative alternations in English (Polinsky (2005)). While a transitive sentence expresses a change of state of the object – (7-a) entails that *the bear* is dead –, the example (7-b) does not have that entailment, it merely express the fact that there was a shooting event and the shot was directed toward the bear. Notice that even in English the object of such an event is not expressed as a direct object, but it is introduced by a preposition; in other words, it is oblique.

- (7) a. The hunter shot the bear.
 b. The hunter shot **at** the bear.

Very roughly speaking, the usual aspectual change brought in by an antipassive is an imperfective⁵, where the importance lies in the event itself, not the change the object undergoes – as illustrated, for instance, by the English conative alternation in (7). In Australian languages, Dixon (1980):450 characterizes the aspectual impact of the REFL/AP morpheme in Kalkatungu as ‘activity that is extended over a period of time’.

Now, we want to see languages where the antipassive morphology is syncretic with a reflexive morphology: we are driven by the idea that their syncretism is not accidental, but it reveals that their derivation have something in common. First, I give a sample of four languages with the expected syncretism and then I sketch the analysis. Finally, Lardil will be shown to fulfill some predictions made by this approach.

⁴The semantic and discourse functions of antipassives can differ across languages (Comrie 1978; Heath 1976; Cooreman 1988, 1994), Polinsky (2005).

⁵Stated explicitly for Greenlandic in Bittner (1987).

10.2 Reflexive/Antipassive syncretism

The syncretism between antipassive morphology and reflexive morphology is rather common in Australia. But there is a non-Australian language that shows the same syncretism: Chukchi. Just for the lack of better marking, the morpheme in question will be labeled *AP* (suggesting antipassive). We start the parade with an Australian language, Yidj.

10.2.1 Yidj

Yidj (Australian, Pama-Nyungan) uses the morpheme *-:ḍi-n* to derive both reflexive and antipassive sentences. (8) is an example of a transitive sentence, repeated from (6) above.

- (8) *wagudḁngu bupa giba:-l*
 man_{ERG} woman_{ABS} scratch-PAST
 ‘The man scratched the woman.’

(Yidj, Dixon (1977):274(420))

The sentence with the morpheme *-:ḍi-n* shows an antipassive (9), again, from (6) above. Notice, again, that the object *the woman* is marked as DAT, that is, it is not an ABS direct object, but has to appear in an oblique case.

- (9) *wagu:ḍa giba:-ḍi-ḡu bupa:-nda*
 man_{ABS} scratch-AP-PAST woman-DAT
 ‘The man scratched the woman.’

(Yidj, Dixon (1977):(422))

The very same morpheme *-:ḍi-n* also marks a reflexive, as shown in (10).

- (10) *wagu:ḍa giba:-ḍi-ḡu*
 man_{ABS} scratch-AP-PAST
 ‘The man scratched himself.’

(Yidj, Dixon (1977):275(424))

So, the ambiguity translates to the syncretism of reflexive and antipassive marker in Yidj.

10.2.2 Diyari

The same set of data for Diyari (Australian, Pama-Nyungan). The morpheme *-tadi-* makes the sentence reflexive (11). (12) shows a transitive counterpart.

- (11) $\eta\alpha\eta i$ $muduwa-tadi-yi$
 1.SG.S scratch-AP-PRES
 ‘I scratch myself.’

(Diyari, Austin (1981):152,(342))

- (12) $\eta\alpha\tau u$ $yina\eta a$ $muduwa-yi$
 1.SG.A 3.SG.O scratch-PRES
 ‘I scratch you.’

(Diyari, Austin (1981):152,(343))

On the other hand, (13) shows another transitive sentence and (14) a corresponding antipassive with the morpheme *-tadi-*⁶.

- (13) $\eta\alpha\tau u$ $\eta\alpha\eta a$ $wi\eta a$ $k\alpha\eta a-yi$
 1.SG.A 3.SG.F.O woman_{ABS} wait.for-PRES
 ‘I wait for the woman.’

(Diyari, Austin (1981):153,(350))

- (14) $\eta\alpha\eta i$ $k\alpha\eta a-tadi-yi$ $\eta\alpha\eta ka\eta u$ $wi\eta a-ni$
 1.SG.S wait.for-AP-PRES 3.SG.F.LOC woman-LOC
 ‘I wait for the woman.’

⁶A subclass of verbs in Diyari (Austin’s class 2C, Austin (1981):72) shows a double ABS pattern: the original direct object is not marked LOC, as in the case of ‘normal’ AP, but it remains in ABS. Double ABS is observed also in the case the indirect object is intransitivized, as in (i-a). ((i-b) shows a corresponding transitive sentence.) The connection to the Warrungu and/or Basque examples, suggested in footnote 16 on page 236 is obvious.

- (i) a. $\eta\alpha w u$ $k\alpha\eta a$ $\eta\alpha\eta a$ $\eta\alpha\eta i$ $\eta\alpha y i-tadi-yi$
 3.SG.NF.S person-ABS 3.SG.NF.O meat-ABS eat-AP-PRES
 ‘The man is having a feed of this meat.’
 b. $\eta\alpha l u$ $k\alpha\eta a-l i$ $\eta\alpha\eta a$ η $\eta\alpha\eta i$ $\eta\alpha y i-y i$
 3.SG.NF.A person-ERG 3.SG.NF.O meat-ABS eat-PRES
 ‘The man is eating this meat.’

(Diyari, Austin (1981):154(354),(355))

(Diyari, Austin (1981):153(351))

So, the same morpheme *-tadi-* creates reflexives, as shown in (11) and antipassives (14). Similar behavior for Warrungu is shown in the following section.

10.2.3 Warrungu

Warrungu (Australian, Pama-Nyungan) uses the morpheme *-kali*⁷ for an even wider set of constructions, in particular, also for anticausatives.

Starting with a transitive sentence (15-a), the usual pattern is found, namely ERG marking on the subject, ABS on the object. Attaching the morpheme *-kali-* produces an antipassive: the original direct object now appears marked INS, as shown in (15-b).

- (15) a. pama-ngku kamu-Ø pitya-n
 man-ERG water-ABS drink-PAST/PRESENT
 ‘A man drank/drinks water.’
 b. pama-Ø kamu-ngku pitya-**kali**-n
 man-ABS water-INS drink-AP-PAST/PRESENT
 ‘A man drank/drinks water.’

(Warrungu, Tsunoda (1988):(598(3,4)))

The same morpheme *-kali-* creates also reflexives (16) and, as mentioned above, anticausatives (17).

- (16) bama-Ø bambu-**gali**-n.
 man-NOM shoot-AP-NFUT
 ‘A man shot himself.’

(Warrungu, Tsunoda (2006):305(3b))

- (17) yuri-Ø waju-**kali**-n
 kangaroo-NOM burn/cook-AP-NFUT
 ‘The kangaroo got cooked.’

(Warrungu, Tsunoda (2007):1423(52))

Chukchi shows the same syncretism as Warrungu (reflexive, antipassive, anticausative) and even more constructions:

⁷Tsunoda (1988) and Tsunoda (2006) spell the relevant morpheme *-gali-*, Tsunoda (2007) *-kali-*; I use the spelling according to the paper I cite.

10.2.4 Chukchi

Not only Pama-Nyungan languages show a syncretism between the antipassive and reflexive marker: Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan) is an example. As majority of E/A languages, a transitive sentence in Chukchi has the subject marked ERG and the object is marked ABS, as shown in (18).

- (18) ətlə-e keyŋ-ən penrə-nen
 father-ERG bear-ABS attack-3.A>3.O.AOR
 ‘The father attacked the bear.’

(Chukchi, Kozinsky *et al.* (1988):(2c))

The antipassive morpheme *-tko-*⁸ derives an antipassive, as shown in (19). The original object *bear* is now expressed as DAT.

- (19) ətlə-ən penrə-tko-ŋʔe kayŋ-etə
 father-ABS attack-AP-3.S.AOR bear-DAT
 ‘The father rushed at the bear.’

(Chukchi, Kozinsky *et al.* (1988):(1c))

The reflexive derivation by *-tko-* is shown by the contrast in (20).

- (20) tewla-nen – tewla-tko-ŋʔe
 shake.off-3.A>3.O.AOR – shake.off-AP-3.S.AOR
 ‘He shook it off.’ – ‘He shook himself.’

(Chukchi, Nedjalkov (2006):(11a))

The anticausative is shown in (21). There are other uses of the morpheme *-tko-* in Chukchi which I do not discuss here, for an overview of the different uses of *-tko-*, see Nedjalkov (2006):221–223⁹.

⁸Chukchi has two distinct antipassive morphemes, *ena-* and *-tko-*. Kozinsky *et al.* (1988):659 say that some verbs select *-tko-* while others don’t. There seems to be a syntactic distinction between them, as Skorik (1977):120 notes: while *-ena*, apparently, allows more oblique complements, the antipassive with *-tko-* allows only one oblique complement at a time as a rule. Both Polinsky (2007) and Bobaljik (2007) consider *-ena* as the main AP morpheme in Chukchi, while Nedjalkov (in all of his cited work) systematically *-tko-*. I limit the discussion to the morpheme *-tko-* here and leave the connection between the two morphemes (and two potentially different APs) for further research.

⁹I mention just one, an aspectual change different from the (expected) imperfective-like reading. Chukchi examples (i) and (ii) seem to be of a different type. This use seems to be rather similar to the uses of the reflexive clitics with prefixes in Slavic languages (and discussed in detail in section 1.2.4),

- (21) ejpə-nin – ejpə-**tku**-ɣʔi
 close-3.A>3.O.AOR – close-AP-3.S.AOR
 ‘He closed it.’ – ‘It (cf. eyes) closed.’

(Chukchi, Nedjalkov (2006):(11c))

Again, the list of languages that show the reflexive marker / antipassive marker syncretism could be much longer (recall Gorum discussed in section 8.2.5, for instance), but I stop here, as the point is clear: The same piece of morphology marks an antipassive and a reflexive.

10.2.5 Concluding remarks on AP morphology

In this section, I concentrated exclusively on the reflexive/antipassive syncretism. There are languages in which the antipassive morpheme is syncretic with other morphology (for instance, there is a connection between an antipassive and irrealis in Yukulta (Australian), Dixon (1980):452, Keen (1983)) and on the other hand, the morphemes discussed here can have other ‘functions’ in the given language. Crucially, the repertoire of constructions created by the REFL/AP morphology is rather limited and twice importantly, it seems to be a subset of the constructions created by the reflexive clitic SE, as discussed in the chapter 1. Thus, anticausatives are often created by the REFL/AP morpheme, as illustrated for Warrungu and Chukchi above, (22) is another example from Diyari.

- (22) ɖala kil̥t̥a-tadi-yi ŋ apa t̥udu-yali
 skin-ABS peel-AP-PRES water fire-ERG
 ‘The skin peeled off because of the boiling water.’

(Diyari, Austin (1981):156(362))

Interestingly, there are also uses of the AP(/REFL) morphology that seem to contradict the basic principle of AP, namely, intransitivizing the verb and producing thus an unergative predicate. In other words, in certain languages the AP morpheme is used

except that in Chukchi, no prefix is needed for the shift in the meaning. (In the examples, I add Skorik’s Russian glosses.)

- a. piŋku-k – piŋku-**tku**-k
 jump-INF – jump-AP-INF
 ‘jump’ – ‘jump a little’
 ‘prygat’ – ‘poprygivat’

- b. vinret-ə-k – vinret-ə-**tku**-k
 help-INF – help-AP-INF
 ‘help’ – ‘help sometimes, a little’
 ‘pomogat’ – ‘pomogat ponemnožku’

(Chukchi, Skorik (1977):192)

with transitive morphology. For instance, Yidij uses the AP morpheme in a kind of Out-of-Control construction in a situation, when the agent is inanimate and thus ‘[it (LM)] could not be said to have volitional control over the action.’ Dixon (1977)

- (23) η apap η ginga: η giba:- η i- η u (η ayu ban η apunda)
 I_O prickles_{ERG} scratch-AP-PAST ($I_{S/A}$ pass.by_{DAT.SUBORD})
 ‘A prickles scratched me (as I went past [a bush]).’

(Yidij, Dixon (1977):275(426))

In Yukulta, the AP morpheme must be used in an inverse configuration, regardless of tense/polarity. In other words, whenever there is a combination of an 3rd person Agent with a 1st or 2nd person Object, or 2nd person Agent with a 1st person non-singular Object, the antipassive morpheme has to appear as well. The sentence, however, remains transitive, as shown by agreement, Dixon (1980).

Finally, Chukchi shows transitive syntax with an AP morpheme *-tko-* in a subset of inverse constructions. Thus, *-tko-* obligatorily appears if a 2nd person subject cooccurs with a 1stPL person object, as shown in (24) and (25). The constructions are transitive¹⁰.

- (24) (γ an) pela-*tko*- γ ?e (25) pela-*tko*-tək
 you_{ERG.SG} leave-*tko*-2.SG.A leave-*tko*-2.PL.A
 ‘You left us.’ ‘You’ll left us.’

(Chukchi, Nedjalkov (2006):(16))

If all the uses of the antipassive morphology should be unified (and I believe they should), the uses with the ‘transitive’ morphological marking on the arguments indicate that the antipassive morpheme itself cannot be held responsible for the lack of the ‘transitive’ morphological marking on the arguments in ‘real’ antipassives. In other words, that the ‘normal’ AP is intransitive might not be a property of the AP morphology itself, but a particular constellation of the AP syntax. That all the ‘unexpected’ transitive uses of AP morphology are found in inverse context suggests that the notion ‘person’ must be at play. For now, however, I leave the issue open.

The aim of this section was not to bring in problems connected to the particular shape of the AP morphemes, but to show that there is a non-accidental correlation between the reflexive and antipassive morphology. In the next section, I go back to some of

¹⁰This phenomenon is discussed in detail in Bobaljik and Branigan (2006) under the label *Spurious Antipassive*. In different works (Skorik (1977), Nedjalkov (2006):223), *-tko-* in (24) is seen as a 1st.PL object marker in the presence of the 2nd person subject. Moreover, 1st.SG object is marked by the other antipassive morpheme *-ena-* and, importantly, it is only a subset of inverse environment that requires the presence of the AP morphemes. Needless to say, these problems are left for further research.

the Slavic constructions discussed earlier in chapter 1: the constructions look different in the light of the antipassive discussion.

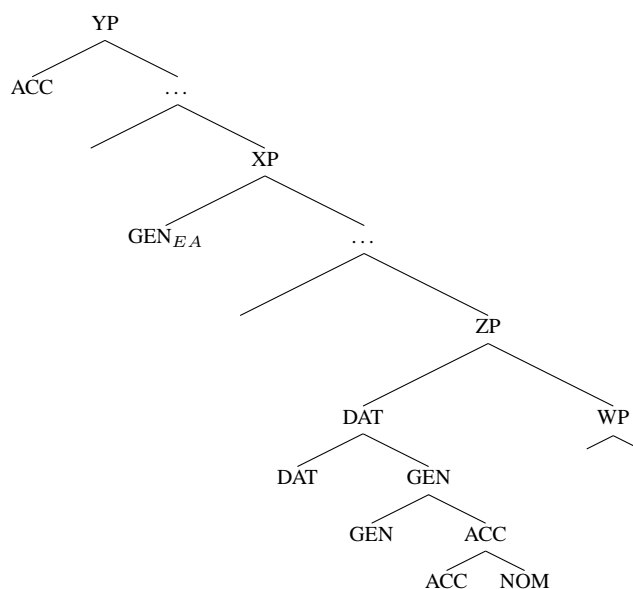
10.3 The shape and life of Direct Objects

The proposal is built stepwise: first, as shown at the beginning of this chapter, we need to make sure that the direct object is – at some stage of the derivation – DAT. This is shown in the following subsection 10.3.1. However, direct objects usually appear as ACC. I discuss the apparent inconsistency (the direct object is both DAT and ACC) in the subsequent subsection 10.3.2.

10.3.1 Direct Objects start out as DAT

In correspondence with the Peeling theory of Case, the DP that will end up as a NOM/ABS starts out as DAT, as required by the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case (and discussed at the beginning of this chapter). The beginning of the derivation is shown schematically in (26).

(26)



The DO starts out as DAT, above, there is a (Low) EA position associated with GEN case (section 9.3.1) and yet higher, there is an ACC position. Still above it, the NOM position is not indicated in this tree.

It is clear that the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case predicts for the DO object to be born as DAT. But is there evidence that would at least suggest that this might be on a right track? Indeed, there are indication pointing in this direction. First of all, we talk only about arguments that can reflexivize. Only [+HUM] arguments can do so (see section 6.6.4). In other words, we look for evidence showing that the [+HUM] direct objects are different (in an ideal world: DATs) from the plain non-human direct objects.

First, in Spanish, Romanian and many of Southern Italian dialects we actually *see* a special marking on animate direct objects. Examples from Romanian (27) and Spanish (28) are shown below. Romanian [+HUM] direct objects come with the preposition *pe* in (27-a), but unlike the Spanish/Sardinian *a*, *pe* is not used to form DATs. The inanimate direct object does not show any special marking (27-b). Similarly, in Spanish, the animate direct objects are introduced by the DAT preposition *a*, as in (28-a), the inanimate direct object cannot have such a marking (28-b).

- (27) a. L-am văzut *pe* Ion.
 him_{ACC}-AUX_{1.pl} seen *PE* Ion
 ‘We saw Ion.’
 b. Am văzut biserica.
 AUX_{1.pl} seen church_{ACC}
 ‘We saw the church.’

(Romanian, Tarald Taraldsen, p.c.)

- (28) a. Vi a Antonio.
 saw_{1.SG} to Antonio
 ‘I saw Antonio.’
 b. Vi (*a) un libro.
 saw_{1.SG} to a book
 ‘I saw a book.’

(Spanish, Antonio Fábregas, p.c.)

The same phenomenon is found in Sardinian, as described by Jones (1993). The preposition *a* introduces determinerless nouns referring to *humans* (29-a). Non-human objects, on the other hand, do not have the DAT preposition *a*, as in (29-b). This contrast is preserved with pronouns and quantifiers as well, showing that the relevant property picked up by the preposition *a* is [+HUM] rather than – say – morphological shape of the pronoun. So, if the referent of the direct object is [+HUM], the preposition *a* is obligatory (30-a), as opposed to the non-human referents (30-b).

- (29) a. Appo vistu a signora Ledda.
 ‘I saw Mrs. Ledda.’

- b. Appo vistu (*a) su cane.
'I saw a dog.'

(Sardinian, Jones (1993):65)

- (30) a. Appo salutatu a tottu.
'I greeted everybody.'
b. Appo mandicatu tottu.
'I ate everything.'

(Sardinian, Jones (1993):65)

Perhaps surprisingly, the very same phenomenon is common to spoken Colloquial Afrikaans¹¹. The preposition *vir* 'for' is used to introduce indirect objects (31-a), but it also appears with [+HUM] direct objects (31-b).

- (31) a. Ek het dit vir hom gegee.
I have it *for* him given
'I gave it to him.'
b. Hy het laasjaar vir haar op 'n partytjie ontmoet.
he has last.year *for* her up in party met
'He met her at a party last year.'

(Afrikaans, Donaldson (2000):66)

There is an additional piece of evidence for the idea that animate / [+HUM] direct objects are treated differently by syntax if born as direct objects, this time drawn from Slavic. Every Slavic language has so called GEN for ACC¹². It means that singular masculine animate nouns have GEN form if they are direct objects, as shown by the contrast in (32-a). It should be noted, however, that only masculine singular nouns show the distinct marking¹³, not feminine nouns, as shown in (32-b).

- (32) a. Vidím Karl-a / hrad-Ø.
see_{1.sg.PRES} Karel-GEN / castle-ACC
'I see Karel / castle.'
b. Vidím Ivon-u / škol-u.
see_{1.sg.PRES} Ivona-ACC / school-ACC

¹¹Thanks to Tarald Taraldsen for pointing it out to me!

¹²The Slavic languages differ with respect to the degree of the GEN for ACC. For a comprehensive overview, see Townsend and Janda (1996), for instance.

¹³From a historical perspective, (Lunt (1974)), the use of the GEN ending for ACC was restricted to nouns denoting healthy, free adult males (= the *virile* nouns) in Old Church Slavonic. (Quoted from Townsend and Janda (1996):154.)

‘I see Ivona / school.’

(Czech)

Hence, we do have some evidence showing that the direct objects that reflexivize ([+HUM] arguments) start out as oblique, and in some cases, this oblique case is DAT.

On the other hand, there are (some) languages that systematically show direct objects as oblique (and as DATs, in some languages) as well: the direct object in antipassives appears as oblique. Recall that in Yidip, the original direct object in the antipassive construction appear as DAT, as repeated below in (33-b)¹⁴.

- (33) a. waguḍangu buṇa giba:-l
 man_{ERG} woman_{ABS} scratch-PAST
 ‘The man scratched the woman.’
 b. wagu:ḍa giba:-ḍi-ju buṇa:-nda
 man_{ABS} scratch-AP-PAST woman-DAT
 ‘The man scratched the woman.’

(Yidip, Dixon (1977):274(420),(422))

Hence, the DAT case on the original direct object in antipassive construction in Yidip support the conclusion: at a certain point in the derivation, the direct object appears as DAT. What are the conditions and why we see the direct objects appearing as ACC most of the time, are the questions to be answered in the following section.

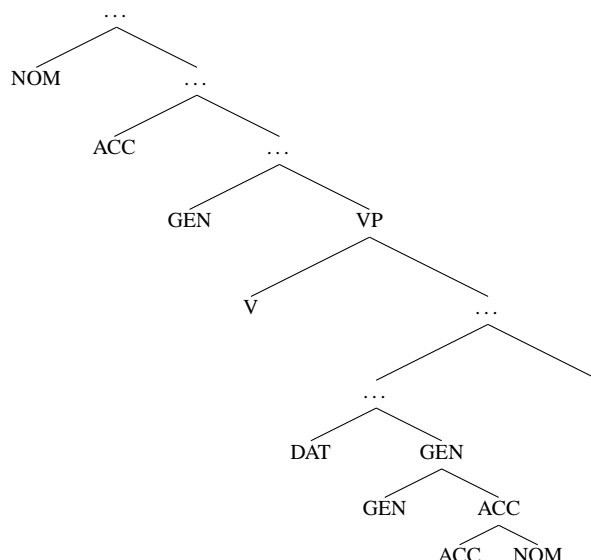
10.3.2 Direct Objects are ACC

Under normal circumstances we see the direct objects appearing as ACC. As things are, we only have one ACC position in the structure (under the NOM position) and under the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case, this ACC is needed for the EA to reach the NOM position and appear as NOM in the sentence. The structure we presumed so far is depicted in (34) again.

But if so, how could the direct object appear in ACC in a normal transitive sentence? As things are, we would expect the DO to appear in DAT case, as DAT seems to be the highest case layer available for the DO. In particular, DAT seems to be the only case available for the direct object if we take it that the EA peels all the way to NOM. Hence, there is something wrong, the DO needs to be able to reach an ACC position, if under

¹⁴There are two objections I am perfectly aware of: first, it is not the case that every language that has antipassive has the (original) direct object appearing as DAT, and second, I myself showed (section 9.3) that DATs are of different types. Both objections are left for further research.

(34)



normal circumstances (in a transitive sentence) we see the direct object to appear in ACC case¹⁵.

Going by the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case (peel exactly one layer at a time) and assuming that the arguments for the DO appearing as DAT at the point of reflexivization are correct, we are led to conclude that the direct object has to have two positions available: the GEN and ACC one, in this order, as shown in (35).

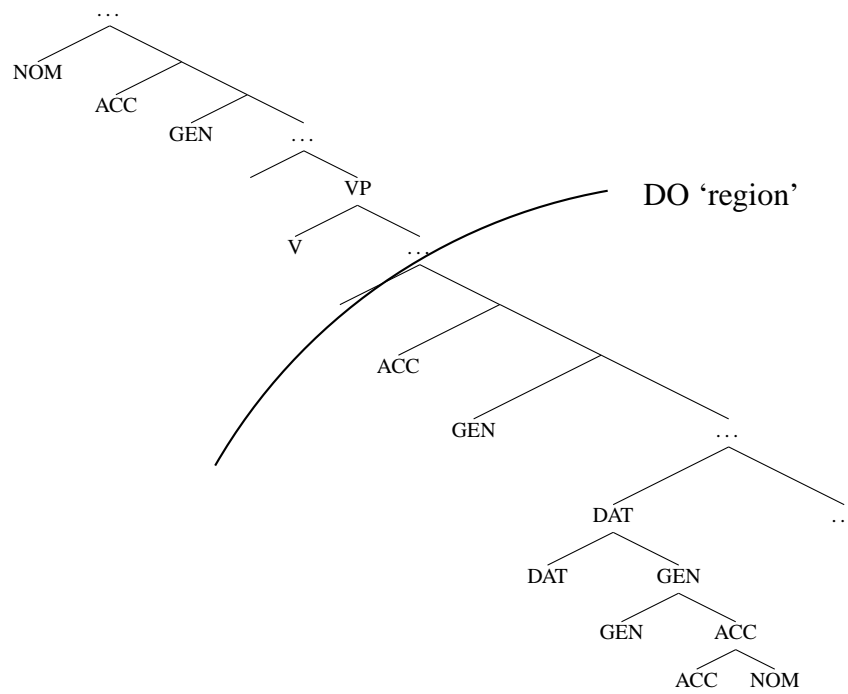
If (35) is correct, the direct object has the opportunity to peel all the way to the ACC case and the EA can peel to the NOM: the way we want it to happen in a transitive sentence. This is indicated in (36). The external argument and the direct object appear in the cases indicated by the circles.

Notice that the clause structure would now have a unique NOM position. By that, the tree keeps the desired asymmetry between the subject and objects: there is just one NOM position, hence, only one argument can peel to the NOM. The need to have an argument peeled to the NOM position is essentially the original EPP requirement (Chomsky (1981)).

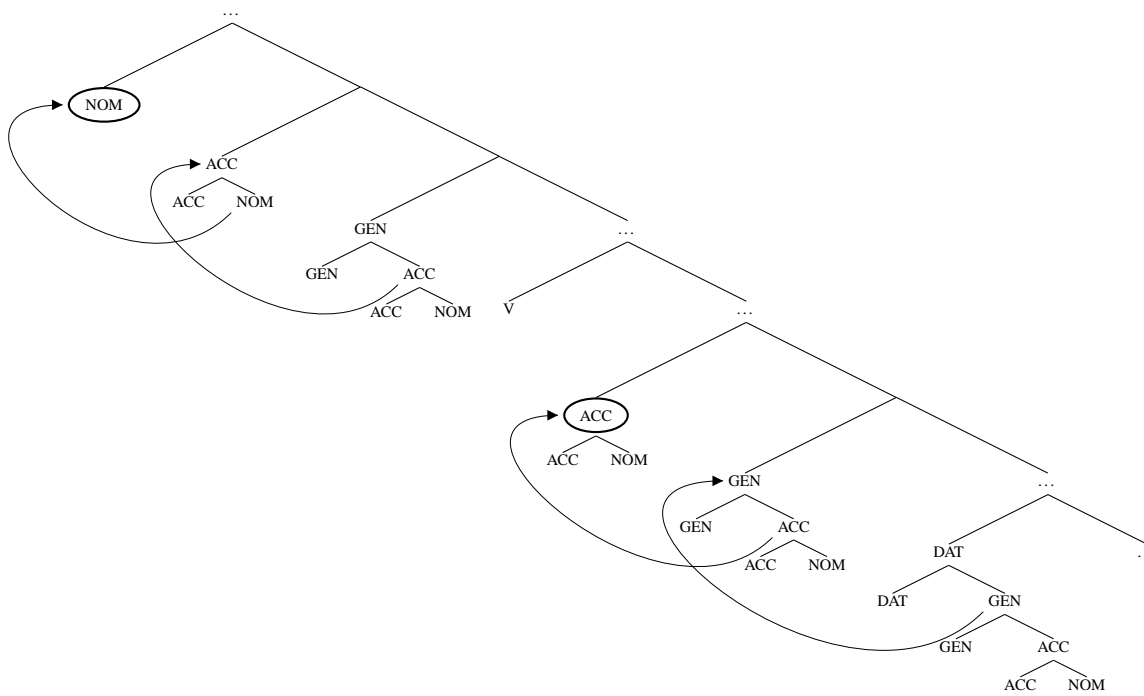
In a transitive sentence, it is the EA that canonically appears in NOM in N/A lan-

¹⁵In an ideal world, we would want to have just one case position (of a certain type) in a clause; say, one GEN position and one ACC position, etc. But this is clearly incompatible with the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case. Hence, either the Restricted Peeling Theory is abandoned, or there appear more case positions in the sentence structure. I explore the second option in this work leaving the consequences of the Unrestricted Peeling Theory of Case to be explored in other work.

(35)



(36)



guages. However, I claim (following essentially Kayne (1986) and Alboiu *et al.* (2004)) that it is the DO that peels to NOM in the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE.¹⁶ So, one NOM position is fine and exactly what we want. But can we be satisfied (if not happy) with the other predictions of the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case? In particular, do we have a reason to believe that we need an ACC position for subjects on one hand and a GEN position for the direct object on the other? And the answer is: yes, actually. Let us see.

There is a construction in which the external argument appears in ACC: *ECM*. Recall that in Icelandic it is possible to see the ACC on the subject of the INF, as shown in (37). The idea is that the INF selected by the ECM verb ‘lacks’ the NOM layer¹⁷, hence, the external argument appears in the highest position available – ACC.

- (37) þeir telja Maríu hafa skrifað ritgerðina.
 they_{NOM} believe_{3,PL} Maria_{ACC} have_{INF} written thesis
 ‘They believe Maria to have written her thesis.’

(Icelandic, Marantz (1984):163)

On the other hand, there is the GEN position under the ACC for the direct object; we have to have it in order to comply with the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case. However, as before, there is an independent argument for such a GEN position: *nominalizations*. Under nominalizations, the direct object comes marked as GEN, not ACC. It is repeated for the Czech *-n/-t-* nominalizations (discussed in sections 2.2.3 and 3.7.2) in (38)¹⁸.

- (38) nošení čapk-y / *čapk-u přes ucho
 wearing cap-GEN / cap-ACC over ear
 ‘wearing of a hat over one’s ear’

(Czech)

So, I take the structure in (35) to represent by and large the clause structure, as predicted by strictly following the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case. I say by and large because there is one piece missing: the indirect object. Recall the discussion of the reflexivization on indirect objects in chapter 8 and the discussion from chapter 9 that

¹⁶More needs to be said about the E/A languages, and I say it in section 10.4.1.

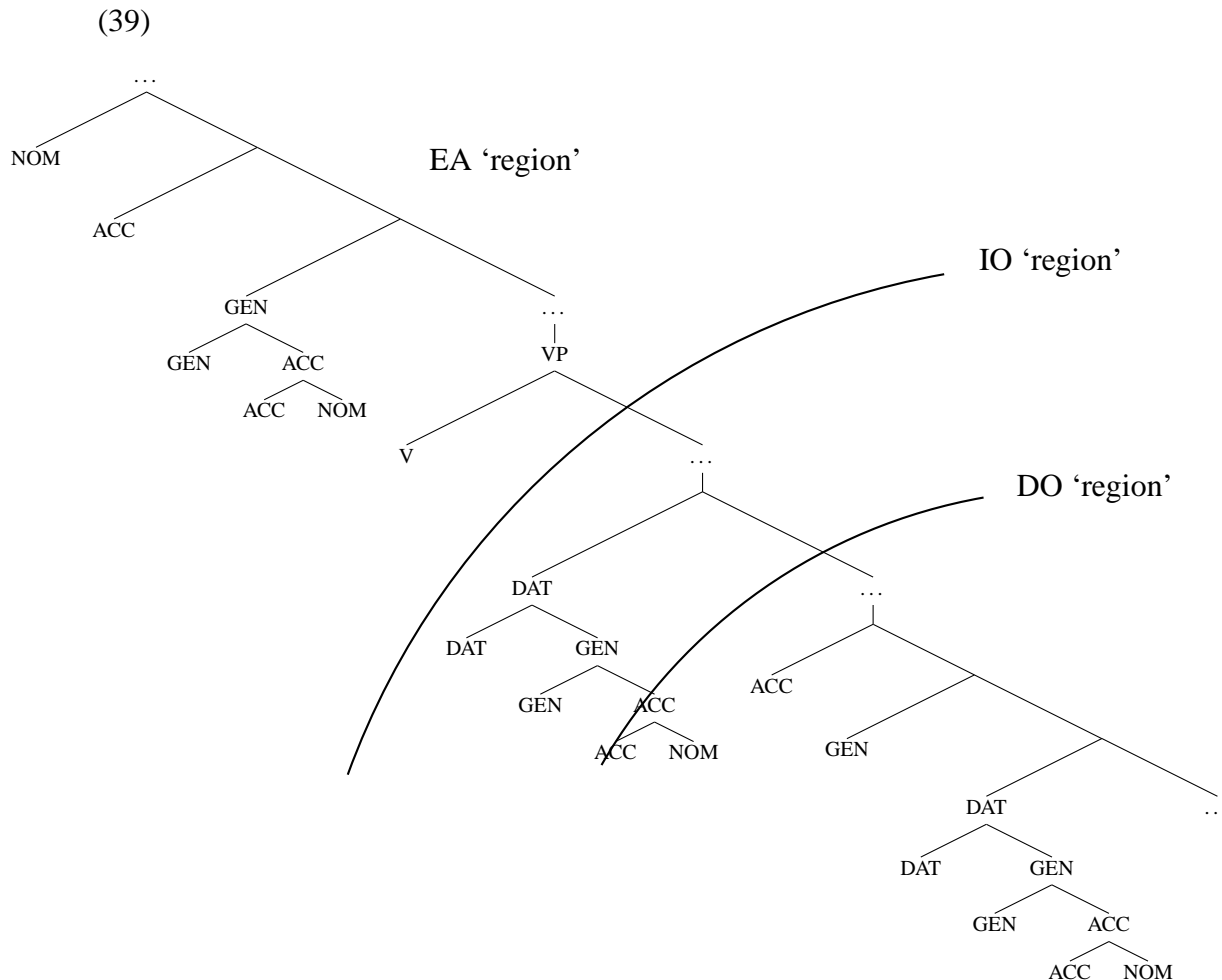
¹⁷By saying this, I bypass the issue of continuity of *fseq*: can a head (as for instance the NOM discussed in the text) be simply ‘skipped’? Of course, there is a difference between the *fseq* lacking its top (from NOM and up, for example), and having internal gaps. The latter may be impossible, but the former seems uncontroversial.

¹⁸The external argument of a nominalizations from an unergative verb appears in GEN as well. However, this GEN must be the higher GEN, associated with external arguments.

lead us to posit that the indirect object is above the direct object and it appears as DAT. All in all, then, we derive at the clause structure shown in (39).

At the first blush, it might appear overwhelmingly big, but as a matter of fact, the structure is perfectly canonical: the external argument is above the verb and the indirect object and direct objects are below the verb (in the order IO – DO). What could complicate the picture slightly would be the case layers, but they will not, as the case layers should have become second to nature by now.

For convenience, I divided the structure into three ‘regions’: the highest one is the external argument region, under the V there is the indirect object and yet under it the direct object. Each ‘region’ has its highest case position: NOM for the EA, DAT for the IO and ACC for the DO.



This structure gives me finally a tool to express the basic intuition about the morpheme SE: this piece of morphology is a kind of *inverse* morphology that indicates that it is the (original) object, not the external argument that moves to the EA ‘region’ in the tree. (The AP morphology, on the other hand, tells you that the direct object didn’t make it all the way to the structural object position.) The mechanism is – as desired – the same for antipassives on one hand and the constructions with the morpheme SE on the other.

Let us start with the antipassives.

10.4 Deriving AP

The essential idea is that the AP morphology spells out a piece of the structure that would otherwise be spelled out by the direct object itself. This idea is relatively easy to express in the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case framework if combined with the clause structure proposed in (39) above. (For the sake of typesetting clarity, I will not include the indirect object into the trees here, hence, the structure is as the one in (35).)

The following sections show an execution of this idea, first for the languages with AP morphemes and then I propose the essentially same derivation for inherently reflexive constructions in Romance and Slavic languages. After that, the derivation of reflexives is proposed.

10.4.1 AP in AP languages

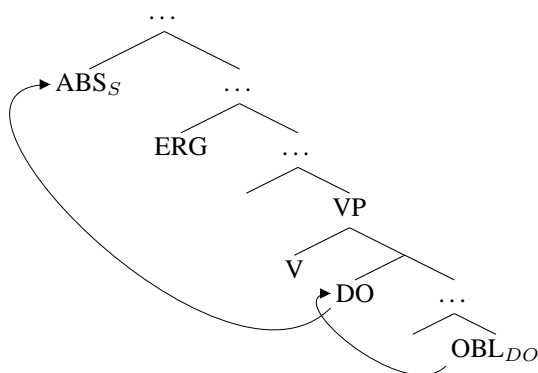
Antipassive, again, is a derived (unergative) intransitive construction. The starting point is the transitive sentence in (40) and by applying the AP morpheme *-tko-* the antipassive is derived (41). In the transitive sentence, the subject is marked as ERG and the direct object is in ABS. In the antipassive construction, the direct object appears in DAT (or another oblique case) and the subject is now in ABS, hence, the structure is intransitive.

- (40) *ətlə-e keyŋ-ən penrə-nen*
 father-ERG bear-ABS attack-3.A>3.O.AOR
 ‘The father attacked the bear.’

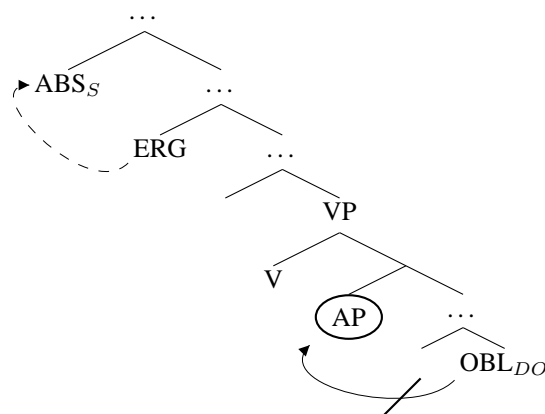
(Chukchi, Kozinsky *et al.* (1988):(2c))

- (41) *ətlə-ən penrə-**tko**-ŋʔe kayŋ-etə*
 father-ABS attack-AP-3.S.AOR bear-DAT
 ‘The father rushed at the bear.’

(42) transitive



(43) antipassive

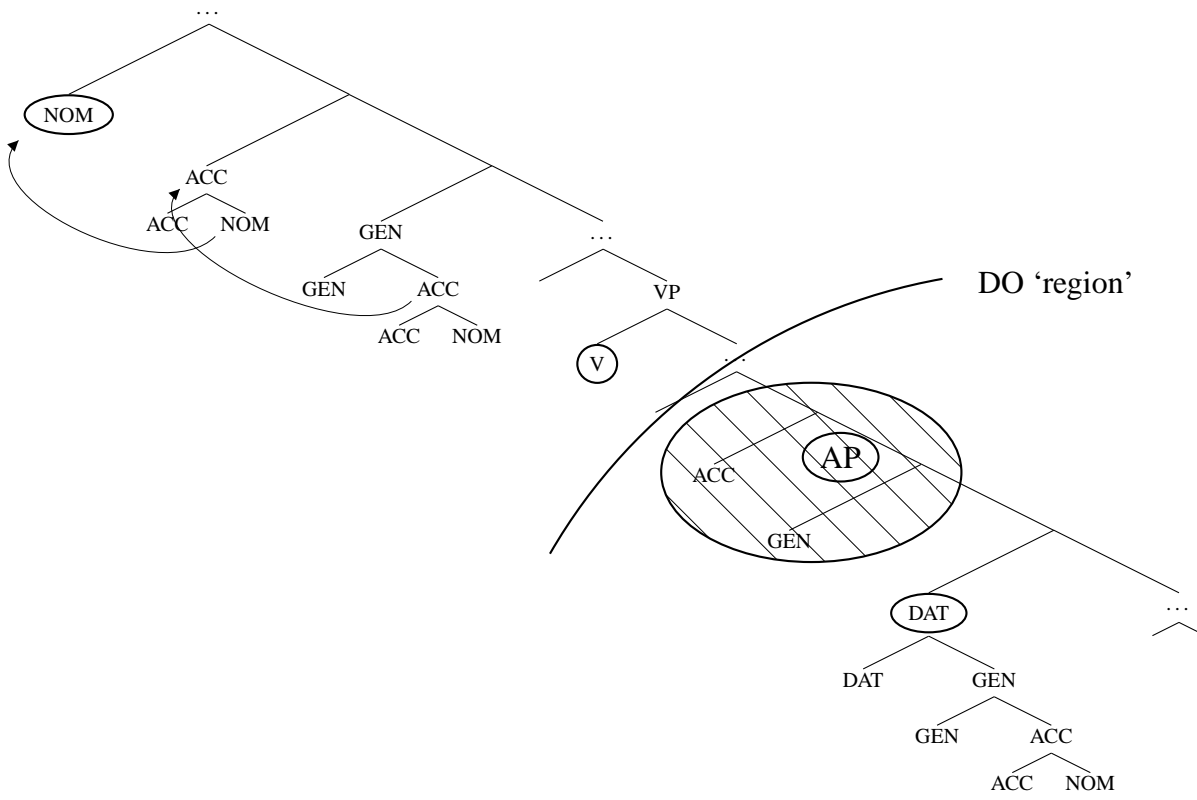
(Chukchi, Kozinsky *et al.* (1988):(1c))

There is another assumption I need to make: it is the direct object in transitive constructions that moves to the NOM (ABS) position in E/A languages (I discuss the repercussions of this assumption later in this section). This is shown schematically in (42). Assuming that the direct object is born as an oblique, the essential idea of antipassives is that the direct object could not peel to the highest direct object position. And it could not do so because the antipassive morphology ‘sits’ in the position where the direct object would like to move. Hence, the direct object ‘remained’ in an oblique case. Consequently, it is the external argument that moves to the NOM (ABS) position – to comply with the kind of EPP suggested above. The intuition is expressed in (43).

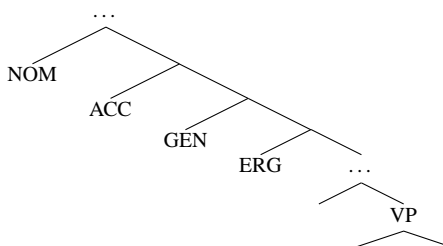
Now, to be more concrete, the antipassive morphology spells out the topmost layer of the direct object ‘region’: the ACC and GEN layers, as indicated by the ellipsis in (44). The circles indicate the final spell out shape of the arguments: the external argument appears as NOM (ABS), the V is followed by the AP morpheme and finally, the original direct object is spelled out as oblique (DAT, in this concrete example).

Looking at (44), by RM we would predict that it is the EA that moves to the NOM (ABS) position, in particular if we equalled the EA with the GEN position, as I did in section 9.3.1. But that is clearly undesirable: we want the direct object to be able to move to the NOM (ABS) position in E/A languages. One possible execution of such a requirement compatible with the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case is the following. Perhaps assuming that the GEN necessarily *is* the external argument’s place of origin is not really true, at least for the E/A languages. Perhaps the ERG is born right under the GEN position and the fact that they are syncretic in many languages is masked by the usual spell-out (discussed in the following section). So, following suggestion of Tarald

(44)



(45)



Taraldsen (p.c. & Taraldsen (2008)), we could separate the ERG and GEN positions, as shown in the tree (45).

Now, assuming a kind of EPP for the NOM (ABS), the direct object (peeled into ACC under normal circumstances: in transitive construction) peels directly to the NOM in one step. On the other hand, if the external argument (ERG) were to peel to the NOM position, it would take three steps (ERG to GEN, then to ACC and finally to NOM). To make it work, a kind of RM relativized to the ‘peeling steps’ is called for. And because I do not have one, I leave the issue open¹⁹.

The essential idea about antipassive morphology is this: the AP morphology spells out the topmost piece of the direct object region, concretely the ACC and GEN layers. They are circled in the tree (44). How is this done is the topic of the next section.

10.4.2 Superset Principle

I follow Caha (2007b) and Caha (2007c) closely on this issue.

The first premise is that phonological exponents are inserted into the structure once the syntactic derivation has been completed, as proposed by McCawley (1968) and Halle and Marantz (1993), for instance. Second, spell-out targets both terminal and non-terminal nodes, again, following McCawley (1968), Starke (2006) and Neeleman and Szendrői (2007). Lexicalization is driven by a version of the Superset Principle (Starke (2006), Caha (2007c)). The Superset principle is similar, yet different in certain respects to the Subset Principle of the Distributed Morphology (DM). The version of Superset Principle I assume is given in (46).

- (46) *Superset Principle:*
A phonological exponent is inserted into a node if its lexical entry

¹⁹Moreover, nothing in this derivation of ergative languages prevents the external argument of becoming ACC.

has a (sub-)constituent that is identical to the node. If there are more such items, the one with least features not contained in the node gets inserted.


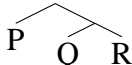
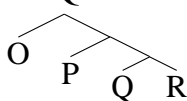
(Caha (2007b):14,(28))

The underlying idea is the Lexicon is a ‘garage’ of well-formed syntactic structures that are paired with sound and/or meaning, using Starke’s (2006) metaphor. The structures from the Lexicon are matched up with the actual syntactic trees and a partial identity between these two structures is required. So far, the process I describe is no different from the Subset principle of the DM. The difference comes out now: according the Superset Principle, the lexical entry can match the syntactic structure perfectly – or it can be *bigger* than the relevant syntactic structure. The Subset Principle, on the other hand, would have it that the lexical entry either matches perfectly the structure – or it is smaller, in the relevant sense.

The following example shows the Superset Principle (quoted from Caha (2007b)). Suppose there is a lexical entry A, paired with the sound /a/ and the structure shown in (47). Suppose further that the structures in (48) are the actual syntactic structures. Now, the lexical entry (47) can spell out the structure in (48-b): it matches it perfectly. According to the Superset Principle (46) above, it can also spell out the structure in (48-a): this structure is identical to a subconstituent of the lexical entry. Notice that two distinct syntactic structures – (48-a) and (48-b) – are spelled out by the same lexical entry. This is how Superset Principle sees syncretism. (Needless to say, this is precisely what I will argue for the AP/REFL syncretism and the (multiple) syncretism observed in the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE.)

(47) Lexical entry A: /a/ \Rightarrow 

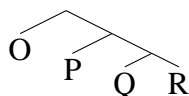
(48) Syntactic structures

- a. 
- b. 
- c. 

On the other hand, the lexical entry A cannot spell out the structure in (48-c): the lexical entry matches only a subset of the syntactic structure.

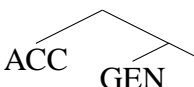
In other words, to be able to spell out the structure (48-c), we have to find another

lexical entry *B* – as shown in (49).

- (49) Lexical entry *B*: /b/ \Rightarrow 

Notice that the lexical entry *B* could in principle spell out also the structures (48-a) and (48-b): the lexical entry is a superset of the relevant syntactic structures. But notice that according to the Superset Principle (46), such a situation is ruled out by competition (*Elsewhere condition*). So given that there is the lexical entry *A* (47), the entry *B* (49) will not be allowed to spell out structures (48-a) or (48-b), because the lexical entry *B* contains more superfluous features than the entry *A*.

Concretely for the AP, then, the AP morphology must be able to spell out at least the ACC and GEN layers, hence, for sure the lexical entry of the AP morpheme *-tko-* in Chukchi must be as shown in (50). Let me remind you that I assume that the antipassive (and reflexive) morphology spells out the verbal part of the tree, not the nominal. Hence, the sequence is ACC – GEN, as shown in (50).²⁰

- (50) Lexical entry *AP* (first approximation): /-tko-/ \Rightarrow 

So, in the light of the Superset Principle, what should we say about the SE? Let us start with the one closest to the antipassives: the inherently reflexive constructions and the effort constructions.

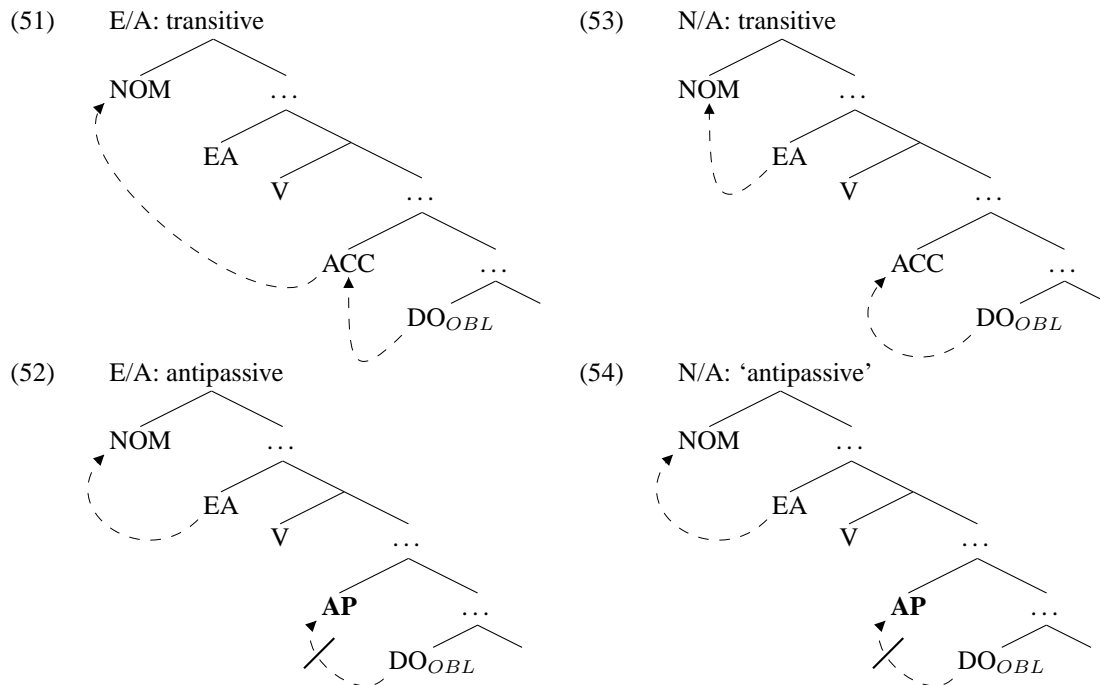
10.4.3 Antipassive in Slavic and Romance

The antipassive morphology has been identified with the topmost layers of the direct object (namely, ACC – GEN) in the previous sections. I believe that the same morphology – even though usually not labeled antipassive morphology – is at work in Slavic and Romance languages as well.

The antipassive construction – in languages that are traditionally taken to have one, hence E/A languages, as Chukchi, Yidip, Halkomelem, etc. – is very striking: it derives an intransitive from a transitive. The striking part is the case marking on the subject:

²⁰Since the morpheme *-tko-* appears to be able to do way more than this, we know – by Superset Principle – that its lexical entry will be bigger than this. Hence, (50) is only a first approximation of the actual size of *-tko-*.

Notice that by the Superset Principle, in principle, we could expect to spell out any sequence ACC – GEN by the lexical entry *AP* (50). For instance the ACC – GEN sequence in the structure (45) could be spelled out by (50). Of course, we need to prevent this.



while in transitive sentence the subject is marked ERG, it is marked as ABS in an intransitive (antipassive) construction.

I suggested that in E/A languages it is the direct object that undergoes peeling to the NOM in transitive sentences, as in (51). In antipassives, however, it is the EA argument that peels to the NOM, as shown schematically in (52). Hence, the striking difference between the 'transitive' marking on the subject and the 'intransitive' marking.

In N/A languages, on the other hand, it is always the EA that peels to the NOM (modulo constructions with SE, as discussed below). Hence, even if the antipassive construction were to be derived in N/A language, it would not have struck us as strikingly different: the subject would always be marked NOM: in the transitive sentence (53) or in the 'antipassive' (54).

There are three types of examples of the (54) type. The first one is 'a real antipassive': the Russian construction labeled as Non-human objects. The second closest to an antipassive is the Czech Effort construction. Finally, I take it that all the inherently reflexive verbs (both in Romance and Slavic) are instances of antipassives.

10.4.3.1 Non-human objects: Antipassives (of a sort)

The set of examples below repeats the Russian examples discussed in section 1.2.2. (55-a) is the transitive sentence, (55-b) shows the ‘antipassive’ version, *sja* is the antipassive morphology.

- (55) a. Ne davi ètu pačku, otkroj
 NEG squeeze_{2.SG.IMPER} this parcel_{ACC.SG.F} open_{2.SG.IMPER}
 novuju.
 new_{ACC.SG.F}
 ‘Don’t squeeze the pack, open a new one.’
- b. Ne davi.s’, otkroj novuju.
 NEG squeeze_{2.SG.IMPER}sja open_{2.SG.IMPER} new_{ACC.SG.F}
 ‘Don’t squeeze [the pack], open a new one.’
- (Russian, Say (2005):(23-24))

Antipassives – as a rule – come in two shapes depending on the possibilities to express the original direct object. First, there are languages that can express the original direct object as an oblique (as for instance Yidiṁ in (9) on page 280) and second, there are languages in which the original direct object is implicit, as Mayan languages, for instance. According to WALS (Haspelmath *et al.* (2005)), from 48 languages that have AP, 18 have an implicit object.

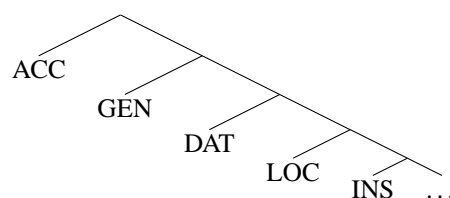
From that perspective, the Russian ‘antipassive’ would constitute an example of a language in which the original direct object cannot be expressed in an oblique case. This is shown in (56).

- (56) *Ne davi.s’ ètu pačku / étoj pačkoj /
 NEG squeeze_{2.SG.IMPERATIVE}sja this parcel_{ACC.SG.F} / this parcel_{INS.SG.F} /
 s étoj pačkoj.
 with this parcel_{INS.SG.F}
Intended: ‘Don’t squeeze the pack.’
- (Russian, Say (2005):(25))

If the direct object cannot be expressed *at all*, I take it that the AP morpheme (=sja) is able to spell out the whole direct object ‘region’. In particular, next to the ACC – GEN layer of the structure (as I posited that antipassive morphology spells out in (50)), the Russian *sja* is apparently able to spell the rest of (Caha’s) Case hierarchy (57).

The antipassive morphemes of the languages that make the original direct object implicit in the antipassive construction is taken to be able to spell out the whole hierarchy

(57)



of cases in (57) – like the Russian morpheme *sja* in the construction discussed above.

Given the Superset principle, we might ask why the AP wouldn't spell out just a piece of the actual structure (like the ACC – GEN layers) and the rest is spelled out by the object. In other words, why aren't all APs in all languages alike in allowing the original direct object to appear in an oblique case. The question seems legitimate to me, the answer however unknown. The starting point in answering that, however, should be to look at the properties of AP in different languages: the notion antipassive perhaps lumps together too many rather different things.

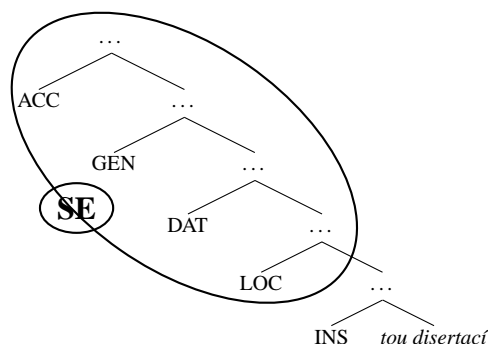
10.4.3.2 Effort Constructions: Antipassives (of another sort)

Another example of a – sort of – an antipassive in a Slavic language is the Czech Effort construction I described in section 1.2.3. The relevant example is repeated here for convenience. First (58-a) is an example of a transitive sentence, thus, the direct object *the dissertation* appears in ACC case. (58-b) shows the SE construction: now, the (original) direct object has to be appear as INS and the reflexive clitic SE is obligatorily present.

- (58) a. Píšu tu disertaci už dva roky, a kde
 write_{1.SG.PRES} this dissertation_{ACC.SG} already two years and where
 nic tu nic.
 nothing there nothing
 'I am writing this dissertation already for two years and nothing is coming
 out of it.'
- b. Píšu se s tou disertací už dva roky, a
 write_{1.SG.PRES} SE with this dissertation_{INS.SG} already two years and
 kde nic tu nic.
 where nothing there nothing
 'I am working my tail off with this dissertation already for two years and
 nothing is coming out of it.'

(Czech)

(59)



The effort construction emphasizes the event, not the result. This feature is similar with the meaning ascribed to the antipassive constructions.

On the syntactic side, I believe there is a similarity as well. In particular, I take it that the reflexive clitic *SE* spells out the upper part of the direct object ‘region’ hierarchy – as an antipassive morpheme or the *sja* in the Russian construction above. However, given the obligatoriness of the original direct object in the effort construction, the morpheme *SE* spells out just a subset of the whole direct object region hierarchy. Concretely, then, the reflexive clitic *SE* in the effort constructions spells out all the cases up to the *INS*. This is indicated in (59). The ellipse shows schematically the span of the spell-out that the morpheme *SE* does in the effort construction.

Why this construction is limited only to a subset of verbs in Czech – and why it is found only in Czech, to the best of my knowledge – remain open questions, topics of further research.

10.4.3.3 Inherently Reflexive Verbs: Antipassives

The inherently reflexive constructions are ‘the real antipassives’ in the Romance and Slavic languages²¹. I described the construction in the section 1.1.3 above. So, the inherently reflexive verbs come with the reflexive clitic *SE* and the direct object – that would otherwise appear as *ACC*, I assume – appears in an oblique case. There is a variety of the oblique cases the direct object can assume; (60) shows three options for Czech: *DAT*, *GEN* and prepositional *ACC* respectively.

²¹Alboiu *et al.* (2004) suggest to see inherently reflexive verbs in parallel to antipassives. In this work, I take not only inherently reflexive verbs, but also true reflexives to be analyzed in parallel to antipassive constructions.

- (60) a. Karel se směje Ivoně.
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE laugh_{3.SG.PRES} Ivona_{DAT.SG}
 ‘Karel laughs at Ivona.’
- b. Karel se dotýká Ivony.
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE touch_{3.SG.PRES} Ivona_{GEN.SG}
 ‘Karel touches Ivona.’
- c. Karel se dívá na Ivonu.
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE look_{3.SG.PRES} on Ivona_{ACC.SG}
 ‘Karel looks at Ivona.’

(Czech)

As in antipassive constructions, the emphasis in the inherently reflexive constructions is not on the result of the event, but rather at the event itself.

Here comes the problematic part: I should not really call the inherently reflexive examples above *constructions*, as they are not productive. There is only a handful of verbs in each Slavic and Romance language that simply behave this way: they appear necessarily with the reflexive clitic and the object in an oblique case. In other words, these verbs do not have a transitive counterpart. This is the main difference between the inherently reflexive verbs and the antipassive constructions: the antipassives in Slavic and Romance (i.e., the inherently reflexive verbs) are not productive. Why is the question left for further research.

The structure I propose for the inherently reflexive verbs is essentially the same as the structure for antipassives (shown in (44) above). The direct object is born in the direct object region of the clause, it would raise to the topmost layer of the direct object region (i.e., the ACC layer), but it cannot: this region is spelled out by the antipassive morpheme (the reflexive clitic SE in the case of inherently reflexive verbs). The direct object, then, raises only as much as it can. Translated into the Peeling Theory of Case, the direct object appears in (the highest) oblique case it could climb to.

In other words, the direct object region of the clause is spelled out completely in a transitive clause as well as in the antipassive: the difference comes with the size of the region being spelled out by the direct object itself vs. the part being spelled out by the antipassive morpheme. This is shown schematically in (61). In the case of a transitive sentence, it is the direct object that spells out the whole region, in the case of antipassives, the antipassive morpheme spells out a part and the rest is left for the direct object – in an oblique case. The alternation is shown neatly in the contrast in (62) discussed in the following section.

10.4.3.4 Prefix + V constructions in Slavic

Finally, the constructions described in section 1.2.4 are – rather predictably, I hope – taken to be essentially the same structures as those described above. In particular, the morpheme *SE* spells out the upper part of the direct object region of the clause, the rest is left for the direct object, as in the example (62-a). In the transitive sentence (62-b), the whole direct object region is spelled out by the direct object.

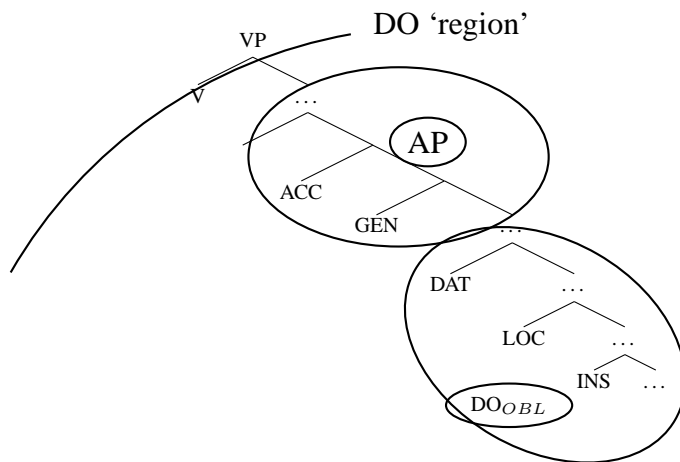
- (62) a. Karel se do-čká smrti.
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE do-wait_{3.SG.PRES} death_{GEN.SG}
 ‘Karel will live to see death.’ / (*lit.*) ‘Karel will wait for death.’
- b. Karel o-čekává smrt.
 Karel_{NOM.SG} o-wait_{3.SG.PRES} death_{ACC.SG}
 ‘Karel waits for death.’

(Czech)

Of course, the role of the prefixes remains to be shown. For the purposes of this work, it is enough to assume that the relevant prefixes must have one property in common: they have to introduce the internal argument into the sentence, as shown in the section 1.2.4.

If the prefix introduces the direct object region and the verb does not have an object of its own, the reflexive clitic *SE* steps in to sit in for the (non-existent) direct object. In that case, I suppose, the reflexive clitic *SE* spells out the whole direct object region (as for instance the Russian *sja* in the Non-human object constructions discussed above). An example is the verb *rain*: without the relevant prefix, it has no arguments of its own (63-a), with the prefix *ROZ-*, the reflexive clitic has to appear (63-b).

(61)



- (63) a. Prší.
rain_{3.SG.PRES}
'It rains.'
- b. Roz-pršelo *(se).
ROZ-rained_{N.SG SE}
'It started to rain.'

(Czech)

On the other hand, if the verb comes with a direct object of its own, as in (64), there are two options. The reflexive clitic SE spells out the whole (prefix-introduced) direct object region, as in (65-a) – or (63-b) above.

- (64) Karel zpíval (lidovky).
Karel_{NOM.SG} sang_{M.SG} folk.tunes_{ACC.PL}
'Karel sang folk tunes.'

(Czech)

- (65) a. Karel *(se) ale na-zpíval!
Karel_{NOM.SG} SE but NA-sang_{M.SG}
'Karel sang to his heart content.'
- b. Karel *(se) ale na-zpíval (lidovek) /
Karel_{NOM.SG} SE but NA-sang_{M.SG} folk.tunes_{GEN.PL} /
(*lidovky)!
folk.tunes_{ACC.PL}
'What a great amount of folk tunes did Karel sang!.'

(Czech)

Alternatively, the reflexive clitic spells out only the ACC layer of the direct object region and leaves the lower layers (GEN and below) to be spelled out by the original direct object of the verb. Such a situation is shown in (65-b).

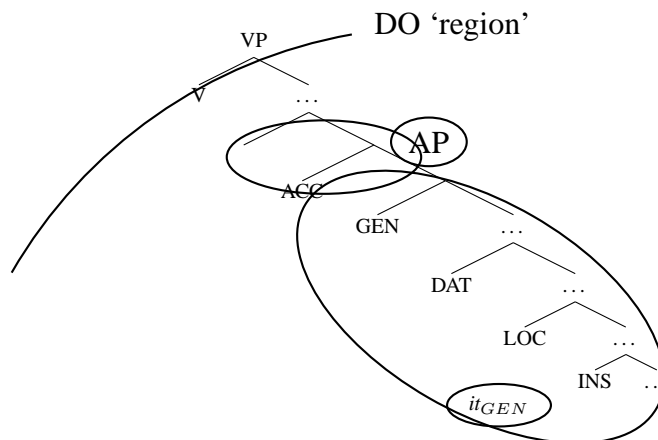
The option of 'splitting' the spell-out of the direct object region between the reflexive clitic SE and another 'argument' is quite common for unergative verbs as well, as shown in the example (66). (66-a) is an example of an unergative verb. (66-b), on the other hand, shows the same verb with the prefix NA- (identified with the meaning 'to one's heart content'). Notice that next to the reflexive clitic SE, optionally, the 'argument' *it* in GEN case can appear. It is rather difficult to put a finger on the contribution of this GEN pronoun *it*. It is certainly not referential: it does not refer to a specific project or event Petr and Pavel pulled out on somebody. It is just 'stuff'.

- (66) a. Pavel s Petrem blbnou (jako malí kluci)!
 Pavel_{NOM} with Petr_{INS} fool.around_{3.PL} (like small boys_{NOM})
 ‘Pavel and Petr fool around (like small boys).’
 b. Pavel s Petrem se_{ACC} (toho) na-blbnou!
 Pavel_{NOM} with Petr_{INS} SE it_{GEN} NA-fool.around_{3.PL}
 ‘Pavel and Petr fool around quite a lot.’

(Czech)

(67) schematizes the underlying idea of the split spell-out between the SE and the (non-referential) *it* for the (66-b) above. Notice that it is – again – the same structure I posited for antipassives and all the constructions above.

(67)



So, the reflexive clitic SE spells out a certain part of the direct object region introduced by the prefix. The absolutely crucial part is the topmost, ACC layer of the direct object region.²² On the other hand, how ‘powerful’ the AP morpheme (or SE in the constructions above) depends on both the language (recall that some languages have the direct object appearing always in a particular oblique case) and/or on the particular verb (in Czech, for instance, the inherently reflexive verbs vary greatly with respect to the case of the direct object).

²²As far as I am aware, there is one potential counterexample to this generalization. In Russian, an inherently reflexive verb *fear* takes abstract nouns in GEN, but concrete nouns can have ACC case.

- (i) Maša bojit.sja temnoty / mamu.
 Maša_{NOM} fear_{3.SG}.sja darkness_{GEN} / mom_{ACC}
 ‘Maša is scared of darkness / mom.’

(Russian, Laura Janda, p.c.)

To sum up, the same kind of structures and derivations were proposed to antipassive constructions in languages that have antipassives, and to a variety of constructions in Romance and Slavic languages. So far so good.

How this derivation extends to the reflexives is the topic of the next section. At this point, I believe it is rather obvious: in reflexives, the original direct object climbs (i.e., peels) all the way to the NOM position itself. Let us look at the details.

10.5 Deriving Reflexives

The reflexive constructions and antipassives share the AP morphology, as we have seen for some languages in section 10.2. So, how does the syncretism of the morphology translates to the derivation using the Superset Principle and the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case?

The essential difference is in the amount of arguments each construction is ‘born’ with: while antipassive has both the external argument and a direct object (that shares its ‘region’ with the AP morpheme), the reflexive construction is born without the external argument – it is the direct object itself that moves to the EA position and appears as NOM (ABS) in the end of the day. Let us see how.

10.5.1 Reflexives in AP languages

Below are again the relevant examples of antipassive (68) and reflexive (69) drawn from Diyari (discussed above in section 10.2.2). Both constructions have the same piece of morphology **tadi**.

- (68) ṇaṇi kaḷka-**tadi**-yi ṇaṇkaṇsu wiḷa-ṇi
 1.SG.S wait.for-AP-PRES 3.SG.F.LOC woman-LOC
 ‘I wait for the woman.’

(Diyari, Austin (1981):153(351))

- (69) ṇaṇi muduwa-**tadi**-yi
 1.SG.S scratch-AP-PRES
 ‘I scratch myself.’

(Diyari, Austin (1981):152(342))

For the antipassive, I assume the derivation essentially like (67). In addition, the external argument is born in the EA position and moves to the NOM position, as discussed above.

For the reflexive, on the other hand, the derivation starts and proceeds as in (67) above as well. Except that there is no external argument. That is, the direct object is the only argument the verb has. The derivation is shown in (70).

When the direct object reaches the DAT layer within the direct object region, it cannot climb (i.e., peel) any higher within the direct object region: the AP morpheme has taken its position there²³. Now, then, it must be the direct object that can (and must) move to the EA position and then to the NOM position (for the ‘original’ EPP reason: a sentence needs to have a subject). In this way, the reflexive construction is derived. Crucially, with the same piece of morphology as antipassive. In both cases, the antipassive morphology is just a telltale of the fact that the direct object cannot make it all the way to become the ‘real’ direct object, that is, ACC marked direct object.

10.5.2 Reflexives with the reflexive clitic

The derivation of the reflexive constructions with the reflexive clitic is then really essentially the same as shown above for the reflexives with the AP morpheme. The only difference is the spell-out of the morpheme, to put it boldly. So, the derivation is shown in (70).

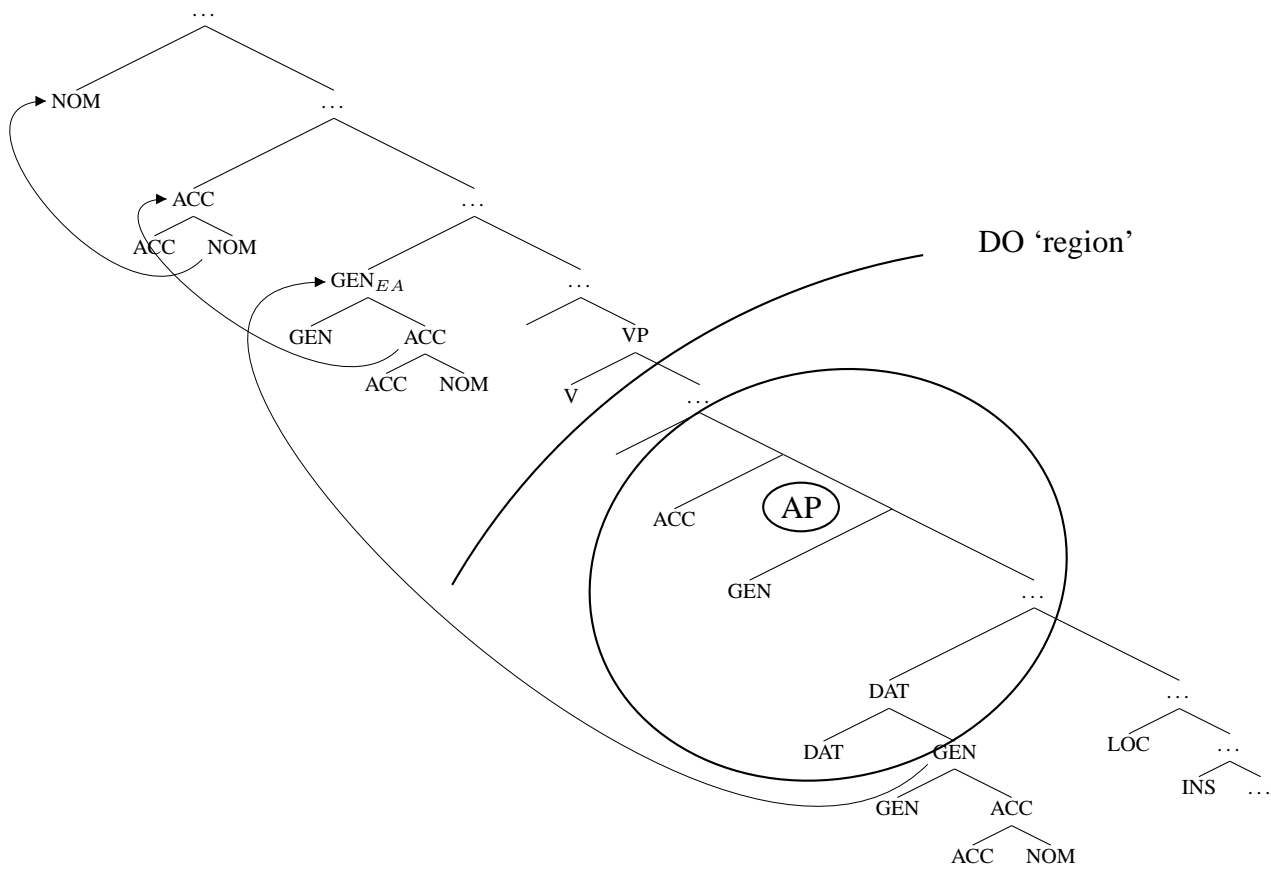
There are two points which should be mentioned. First, notice that the intervention effects I discussed in chapter 9, section 9.3 in particular, are predicted to happen in the derivation of reflexives (and reflexives only, as opposed to antipassives). And second, the effects on ‘antipassivizing’ and/or reflexivizing on indirect objects (discussed in chapter 8 are predicted by the derivation as well.

First, the direct object and the indirect object have the same shape: they are both DATs in the relevant point of derivation. The relevant point in the derivation is when the direct object climbs as high as DAT within the DO region and the highest positions of the direct object region (ACC and GEN layers) were ‘taken up’ by the reflexive clitic SE. (Let me remind you that the ‘regions’ are on the *fseq* and not DP internal. Hence, ACC is higher than GEN, etc.) At this point, we are facing an RM scenario: the EA=GEN position needs to be filled up (invoking, again, a kind of EPP) and the first GEN layer found looking down the tree is the GEN layer from under the indirect object. This is indicated in (71).

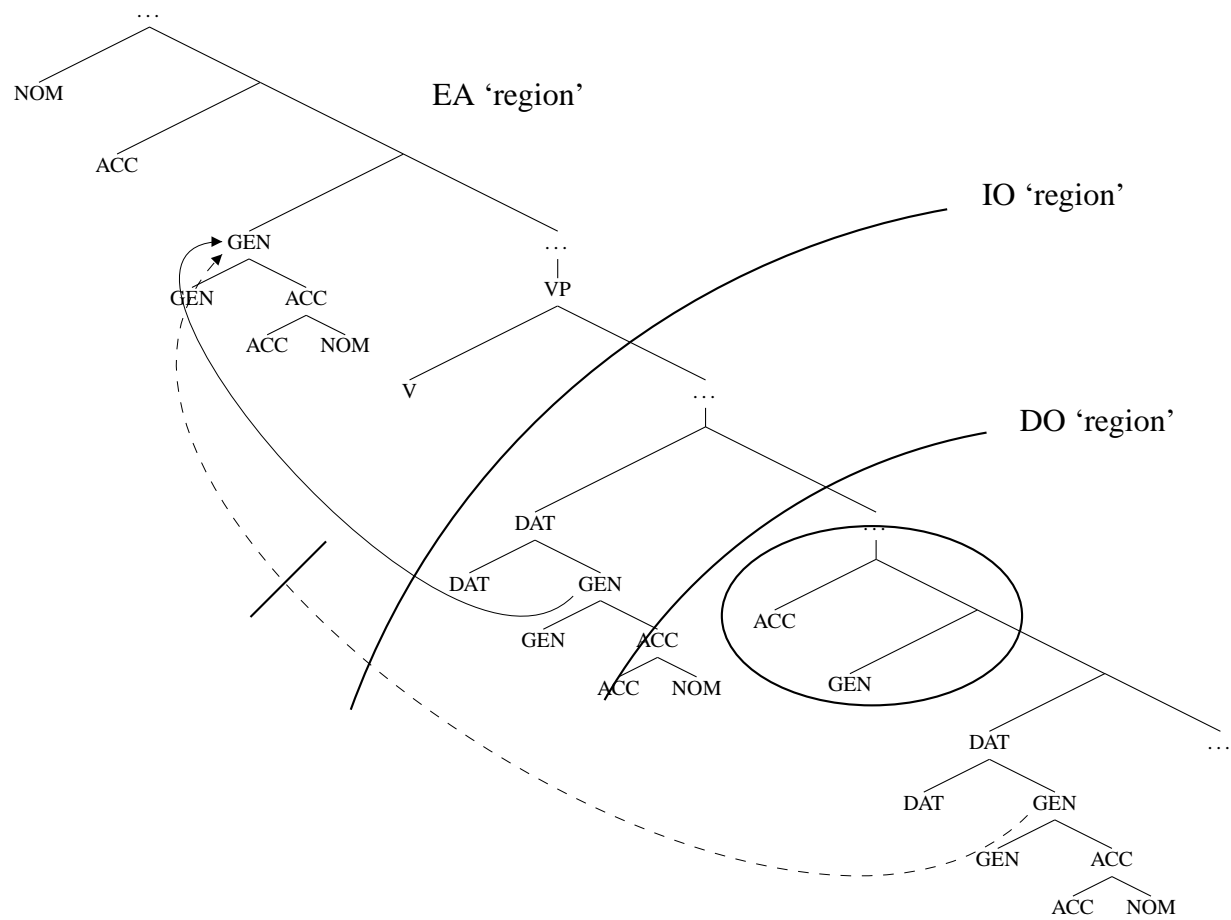
The second prediction (once the reflexive/antipassive morphology applies to the indirect object (in the sense of chapter 8), only true reflexive construction can (and must) be derived) is still just a stipulation of the Restricted Peeling Theory of Case. Now, however, I can at least stipulate one more thing: the AP / reflexive morphology must be

²³Notice that in compliance with the Superset Principle, the AP morpheme has to be able to spell out the DAT layer of the direct object region as well. I come back to this in the final section of this chapter.

(70)



(71)



able to ‘block’ the highest region of the indirect object as well. I assume that the highest region of the IO is DAT.

There is one more construction that is derived like reflexives: anticausatives, the topic of the next section.

10.6 Deriving Anticausatives

Anticausative use of SE (discussed in section 1.1.5) enables intransitive use (72-a) of otherwise transitive verb (72-b).

- (72) a. Il vetro si rompe.
 the glass SE break_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘The glass breaks.’
 b. Giovanni rompe il vetro.
 Giovanni_{NOM} break_{3.SG.PRES} the glass
 ‘Giovanni breaks the glass.’

10.6.1 Anticausatives are almost like reflexives

The derivation of anticausatives is exactly the same as the derivation of reflexives. There is one difference, however: while the structures deriving reflexives have an external argument associated with the High EA position (section 9.3.1), the structures that derive anticausatives do not have such a position²⁴. In other words, anticausatives lack an external argument. Notice, however, that in the Peeling Theory of Case it does not mean that the (High) GEN position is missing: no, it is not. The Peeling Theory of Case just separates the θ -roles from the Case positions. In that sense, then, the anticausatives

²⁴Babby (1975):306 proposes essentially the same explanation to capture the difference between imperfective passive sentences (i-a) on the one hand (the agent is selected) and middles (i-b) on the other. In the middles, the agent is not present in the underlying representation.

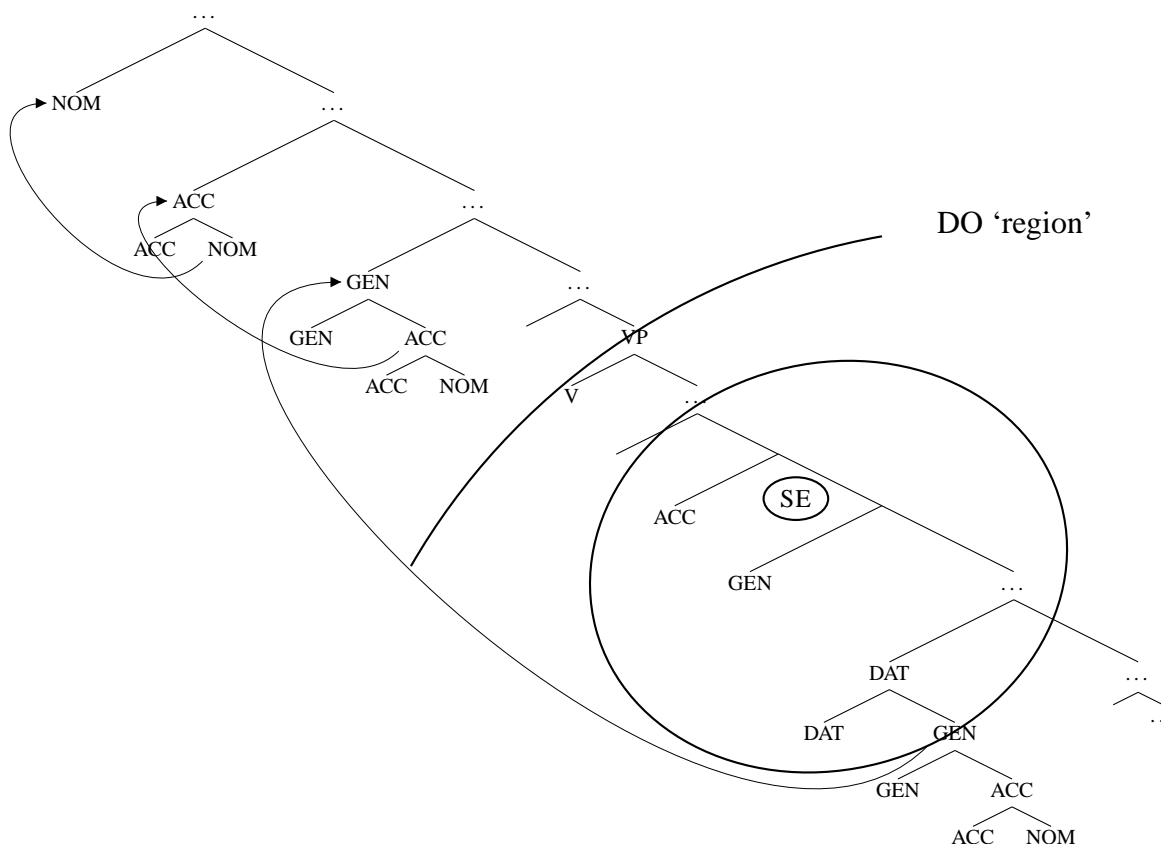
- (i) a. Dver’ otkryvaet.sja Antonom.
 door_{NOM} open_{3.SG.PRES}^{IMP}sja Anton_{INS}
 ‘The door is being opened by Anton.’
 b. Dver’ otkryla.s’ (*Antonom).
 door_{NOM} open_{3.SG.PRES}^{PF}sja Anton_{INS}
 ‘The door opened.’

(Russian, Babby (1975):303(11,16))

are derived exactly as reflexives, modulo the lack of the external argument θ -role in the case of anticausatives.

Concretely, then, the derivation of an anticausative is shown in (73).

(73)



Anticausatives, as opposed to reflexives, are unaccusatives. In the derivation proposed here, this contrast follows from the lack of the external θ -role with anticausatives. Reflexives, on the other hand, have to have the external θ -role present in their derivation (associate with the High GEN layer (section 9.3.1), or, as suggested in the discussion on page 298, somewhere rather close to the High GEN position).

The next question we want to ask is why there are unaccusatives of two types: on one hand, there are simple unaccusative verbs, like *arrivare* ‘arrive’ and, on the other, there are anticausative verbs like *romper.si* ‘break_{INTR}’. These two patterns were shown in section 3.4.

The verbs that have to have the reflexive clitic SE (= anticausatives) are derived: they

have a transitive counterpart. According to the analysis of anticausatives proposed here, the reflexive clitic ‘paralyzes’ the higher regions of the direct object position (as shown in (73)) and the single argument of the anticausative has to reach the NOM position. The reason the IA has to reach the NOM position, is the EPP as before just because there is no EA that will reach this position in anticausatives. Otherwise, the IA should be happy to remain in its oblique Case position, as in antipassives.

As for the ‘simple’ unaccusatives, we can assume that they do not have the ACC – GEN layers (the highest parts of the direct object region). Such an assumption is plausible, given that the simple unaccusative verbs just do not have transitive counterparts. If so, simple unaccusative verbs do not have a structure that would need to be ‘blocked’: the sole argument of these unaccusative verbs just does not have other option than to raise to the NOM position itself. Hence, the reflexive clitic does not have the relevant structure ‘to spell out’, hence, these verbs never appear with a reflexive clitic SE²⁵.

10.6.2 Anticausatives from Indirect Objects

If the derivation of reflexives and anticausatives is parallel, then we make a prediction: as we have reflexives derived from the indirect object, we would expect to see anticausatives derived from an indirect object as well. In other words, saying that the difference between anticausative and reflexives boils down to the absence vs. presence of an external θ -role, I predict that we should be able to see anticausatives derived from indirect objects – as much as we see reflexives derived from indirect objects (recall chapter 8).

This prediction is born out²⁶. Consider the Italian example (74) and the parallel Czech example (75). Both examples have two unequally plausible readings. The first reading (labeled A in the glosses) is the salient reading: *Gianni broke his leg*. On this reading, the sentence means just that: *Gianni* is now in hospital and his leg is in plaster²⁷.

²⁵However, they can have impersonals. This is predicted by the derivation of impersonals I propose in the final chapter 11.

²⁶Thanks to Tarald Taraldsen (p.c.) for pointing the prediction out to me.

²⁷This reading is also found in English and Norwegian (i). The fact that there is no SE in the English and Norwegian examples seems to reflect the fact that *break* can be used as an unaccusative without SE in (ii).

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (i) | a. John broke his leg.
b. Jens brakk benet.
Jens broke leg.the
‘Jens broke his leg.’ | b. Benet brakk.
leg.the broke
‘His leg broke.’

(English, Norwegian, Tarald
Taraldsen, p.c.) |
| (ii) | a. His leg broke. | |

The other reading – *B* – is way less likely, but possible nevertheless. This reading is compatible with a scenario when *Gianni* took his leg and broke it himself.

- (74) Gianni si è rotto la gamba.
 Gianni_{NOM} SE AUX_{3.SG} broken_{M.SG} the leg
 A: ‘Gianni broke his leg.’
 B: ‘Gianni broke his leg intentionally.’

(Italian)

- (75) František si zlomil nohu.
 František_{NOM} SE_{DAT} broken_{M.SG} leg_{ACC}
 A: ‘František broke his leg.’
 B: ‘František broke his leg intentionally.’

(Czech)

In other words, the reading *B* is the true reflexive reading derived from an indirect object, the *A* reading shows the expected anticausative reading – derived from an indirect object. This is directly obvious from the Czech example (75): the reflexive clitic has to be DAT, ACC SE is impossible.

10.7 The shape of SE

So, reflecting on the proposal put forward in this chapter, we can summarize the role of SE as follows.

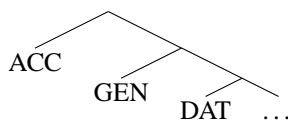
First, the reflexive clitic SE – and the antipassive morphology – are seen as a kind of inverse morphology. Succinctly put, the relevant morpheme says that the direct object did not do what the direct object usually does, namely, becoming an ACC direct object. In the case of antipassives, the direct object remained oblique, in the case of reflexives, it became the external argument. That’s it.

On the other hand, the shape of the reflexive clitic was taken to be essentially like an object clitic (chapter 2). Similarly, at least for some languages (Chukchi, for instance), the antipassive morphology looks like a object agreement morpheme. I believe that these morphemes are basically non-referential object clitics.

Finally, these lexical entries are rather ‘big’, assuming the Superset Principle. Notice that this is easily observable difference between the Subset Principle of DM. While I

suppose we agree on the fact that the reflexive clitic is a kind of ‘default’ morphology, according to the Subset Principle, the default is essentially almost nothing, other than a bundle of very few features (3rd person, no number, no gender, etc.). According to the Superset Principle, the reflexive clitic is ‘huge’: I show the lexical entry of the reflexive clitic SI for Italian in (76). (I assume that the LOC and INS are lexicalized by prepositions in Italian.)

(76) Lexical entry SI in Italian:



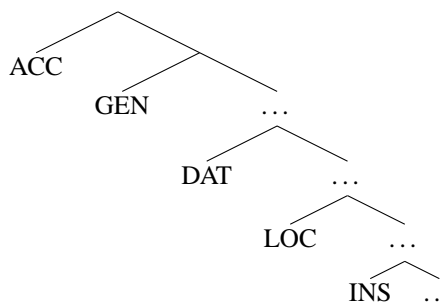
In particular, the same reflexive clitic must be ‘big’ enough to be able to ‘stand’ for the ACC – GEN – DAT layer of the direct object region (for the reflexives to be derived). On the other hand, it has to be able to ‘stand’ for the full direct object region (all the Case-layers) – in the case of inherently reflexive verbs, like *be ashamed* shown in (77).

(77) Carlo si vergogna (per questo motivo).
 Carlo_{NOM} SE be.ashamed_{3.SG} (for this reason)
 ‘Carlo is ashamed (for this reason).’

(Italian)

While Italian only has one reflexive clitic, Czech has the same shape of the reflexive clitic SE, but in addition, it has the DAT reflexive clitic. By the Elsewhere condition (the last sentence of the Superset Principle (46)²⁸), the more specific morpheme SI_{DAT} has to apply in the case of intransitivizing on the indirect object.

(78) a. Lexical entry SE in Czech:



b. Lexical entry SI in Czech:



²⁸I take *Elsewhere condition* to refer to the principle saying that the candidate remaining with the fewest unused features wins. Maybe *the Best Fit principle* is a better name for this.

So, reflexives, anticausatives and various versions of antipassive constructions are derived by the reflexive clitic SE ‘paralyzing’ the highest layers of the direct object region. However, given the lexical entries, there is another potential area which they can ‘paralyze’: ‘upstairs’, in the region of the external argument. This is precisely how impersonals and middles are derived. I discuss them in the last chapter.

Chapter 11

When SE creeps in upstairs...

In the constructions discussed above, the reflexive clitic SE spells out the topmost region of the direct object. In principle, however, nothing prevents the lexical item SE to spell out the relevant sequence somewhere else – concretely, in the external argument region. And this is precisely what I think happens in the case of impersonals and middles. The impersonals are treated first 11.1 followed by discussion of middles in section 11.2. The final section shows an intriguing correlation between impersonals and N/A languages, Lardil is the language in question 11.3.

11.1 Impersonals

The use of reflexive clitics labeled *impersonal* is shown again in the Italian (1) and Czech (2) examples. In these sentences, recall, the reflexive clitic seems to stand for an indefinite or generic human subject, in line with the English *one* or German *man*. These two properties, by itself, are rather odd: the reflexive clitic is a *subject*-like clitic and it has to have a [+HUM] interpretation.

- (1) Si vendono delle auto.
SE sell_{3.PL.PRES} some car_{NOM.PL}
'People sell some cars.'

(Italian)

- (2) Tam se ted' prodávaj auta.
there SE now sell_{3.PL} cars_{NOM.PL}
'Nowdays, cars are sold there.'

(Czech)

From the description of the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE conducted in chapters 1 and 2 it should follow that the impersonals (and middles to which I turn in the next subsection) are the odd man out: they show different properties compared to the other uses of SE.

First, both in Romance and Slavic, impersonal constructions are the only constructions with the reflexive clitic SE that are impossible in non-finite contexts. The relevant examples are repeated below both for Italian (3) and Czech (4). Notice, again, that the Czech sentence is grammatical – but only with the irrelevant reflexive interpretation: the desired impersonal is missing. Details were described in section 2.3.

- (3) *Sarebbe bello invitar.**si** a quella festa.
 would.be_{3.SG} nice invite_{INF.SE} to this party
Intended: ‘It would be nice to be invited to this party.’

(Italian, Burzio (1986):50(73a))

- (4) Není možné zkoušet se třikrát v jednom týdnu.
 NEG.be_{3.SG} possible examine_{INF} SE three-times in one week
Intended: IMP *‘It is impossible to be examined three times a week.’
 REFL ‘It is impossible to examine oneself three times a week.’

(Czech, Dotlačil (2004):26(26))

Second, recall that impersonals – again, as the only construction with the reflexive clitic SE – have two options with transitive verbs (section 1.1.6). This is shown, again, for Italian in (5).

- (5) a. Qui, si mangiano spesso gli spaghetti.
 here SE eat_{3.PL.PRES} often the spaghetti_{NOM}
 ‘People often eat spaghetti here.’
 b. Qui, si mangia spesso spaghetti.
 here, SE eat_{3.SG.PRES} often spaghetti_{ACC}
 ‘People often eat spaghetti here.’

(Italian, Cinque (1988):(73b),(72a))

The original direct object of the transitive verb *mangiare* ‘eat’ can appear either in NOM case, as in (5-a), or in ACC case (5-b).

Thinking about the pattern of the constructions with the reflexive clitic SE we have been dealing with so far, the construction (5-a) conforms to the pattern. In other words,

the original direct object appears in NOM case, as the original direct object of reflexives and anticausatives. In Cinque's (1988) terms, the SE seen in this construction is called [+arg] SE (section 2.3.4), D'Alessandro (2004) uses the term 'agreeing impersonal SE construction' (section 7.1).

The construction in (5-b) (the [-arg] SE or 'the non-agreeing impersonal SE construction'), however, is rather puzzling: it has *both* ACC case on the direct object *gli spaghetti* (shown by the ACC clitic in (6)) and the reflexive clitic SE which, in this work, is taken to 'paralyze' an ACC (and some more) layers of the structure. The challenge, of course, is to reconcile the accusatives, so to speak.

- (6) Qui, li si mangia spesso.
 here, them_{ACC} SE eat_{3.SG.PRES} often
 'People often eat them here.'

(Italian, Cinque (1988):(72b))

From the comparative perspective – and thirdly, if you will – ergative languages have syncretism between antipassives and reflexives (as described in the preceding chapter), quite often the same morpheme also creates anticausatives (cf. Warrungu, Chukchi, Gorum, etc.) – but never impersonals of the type shown for Italian or Czech above¹.

Judging from these three facts we might want to give impersonals a derivation rather different from reflexives or anticausatives or antipassives. The difference I propose is that the SE seen in impersonals (and middles) paralyzes the upper regions of the sentence – concretely the ACC – GEN layers of the external argument region.

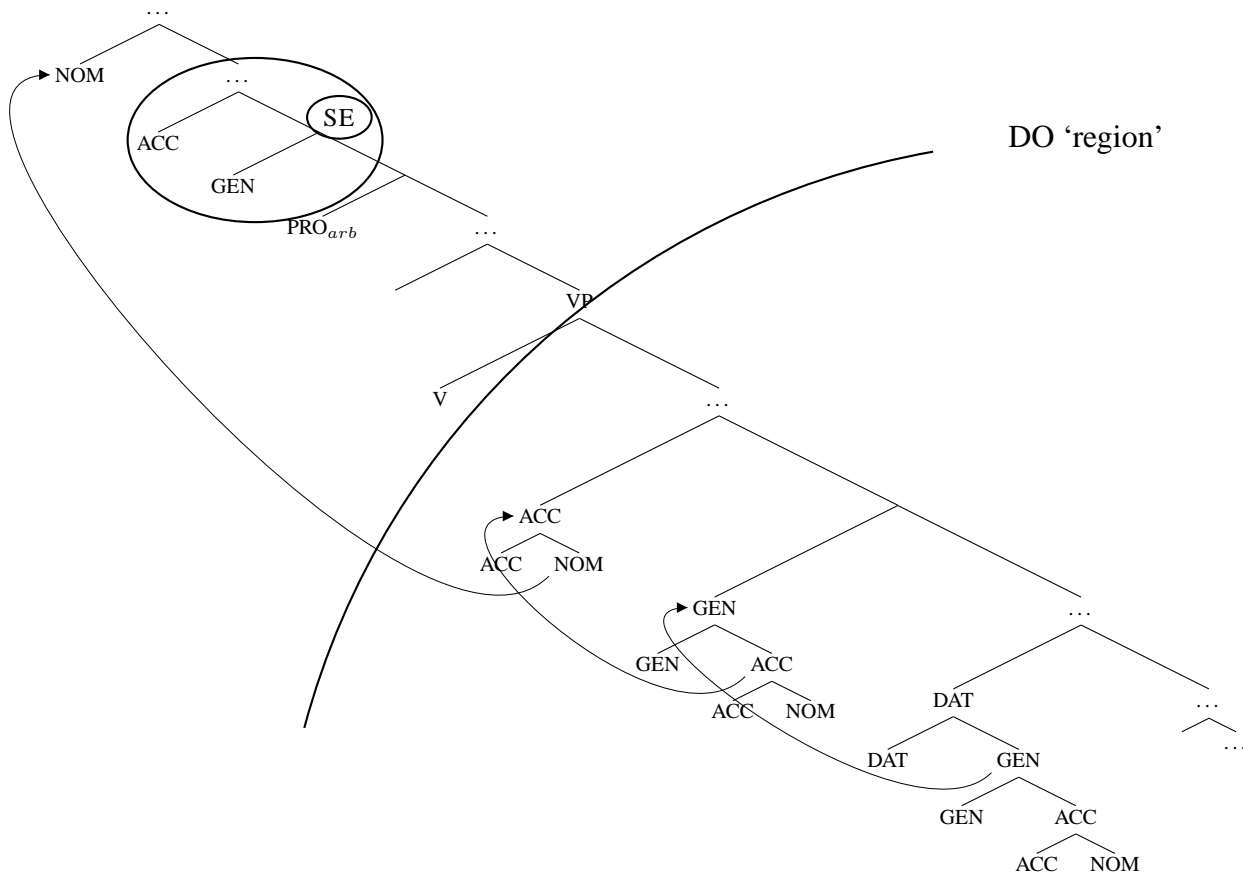
The essential idea for the impersonals still is the same as for the reflexives and anticausatives (and antipassives, etc.). Under 'normal circumstances' (deriving a transitive construction), the external argument peels to the NOM position. In the case of [+arg] impersonals, however, it is the original direct object that peels to the NOM position. So far, this is exactly like the derivation of reflexives (or anticausatives). However, the derivation of [+arg] impersonals differs from the derivation of reflexives in the position the SE 'paralyzes': it is the highest layers of the direct object in the case of reflexives, but the highest layers of the external argument in the case of [+arg] impersonals. (For the [-arg] impersonals, I propose that essentially that the morpheme SE is 'more powerful', see section 11.1.2). For the impersonals, I assume that the external argument is the PRO_{arb}. Let us start with the [+arg] impersonal.

¹That is: to the best of my limited knowledge. Basque, again, might be problematic. Recall discussion in section 8.2.2.

11.1.1 [+arg] Impersonals

The derivation I propose for the [+arg] impersonal SE is shown in (7). The same premise as in the case of reflexives and anticausatives holds: the derivation of impersonals can proceed only if there is just one overt argument in the structure – the original direct object. The external argument is PRO_{arb} in the low EA position, associated with the [+HUM] feature. This is, essentially, just adaptation of Kayne's (1986) idea.

(7)



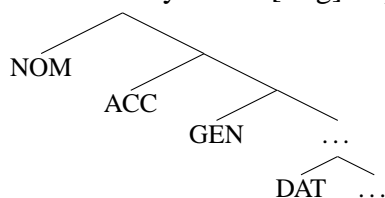
The argument from the direct object region peels all the way to become a 'real' (ACC) direct object. But since there is no external argument able to peel to the NOM, it must be the direct object that peels to the NOM position to comply with the EPP requirement. The reflexive clitic SE spells out the ACC–GEN layers of the external argument region.

From that perspective, then, the reflexive clitic still is a kind of inverse morphology – it ‘indicates’ that the derivation did not proceed ‘normally’ (it was not the external argument that became a NOM).

11.1.2 [-arg] Impersonals

The [-arg] impersonals are essentially the same as the [+arg] ones – except that the reflexive clitic SE is even ‘bigger’. In particular, in the languages that have the [-arg] SE have the reflexive clitic SE grew up as a lexical item ‘one notch up’: it is able to spell out the NOM layer of the structure as well. So, the lexical entry for the [-arg] SE is shown in (8).

(8) Lexical entry: SE in [-arg] impersonals (Italian)

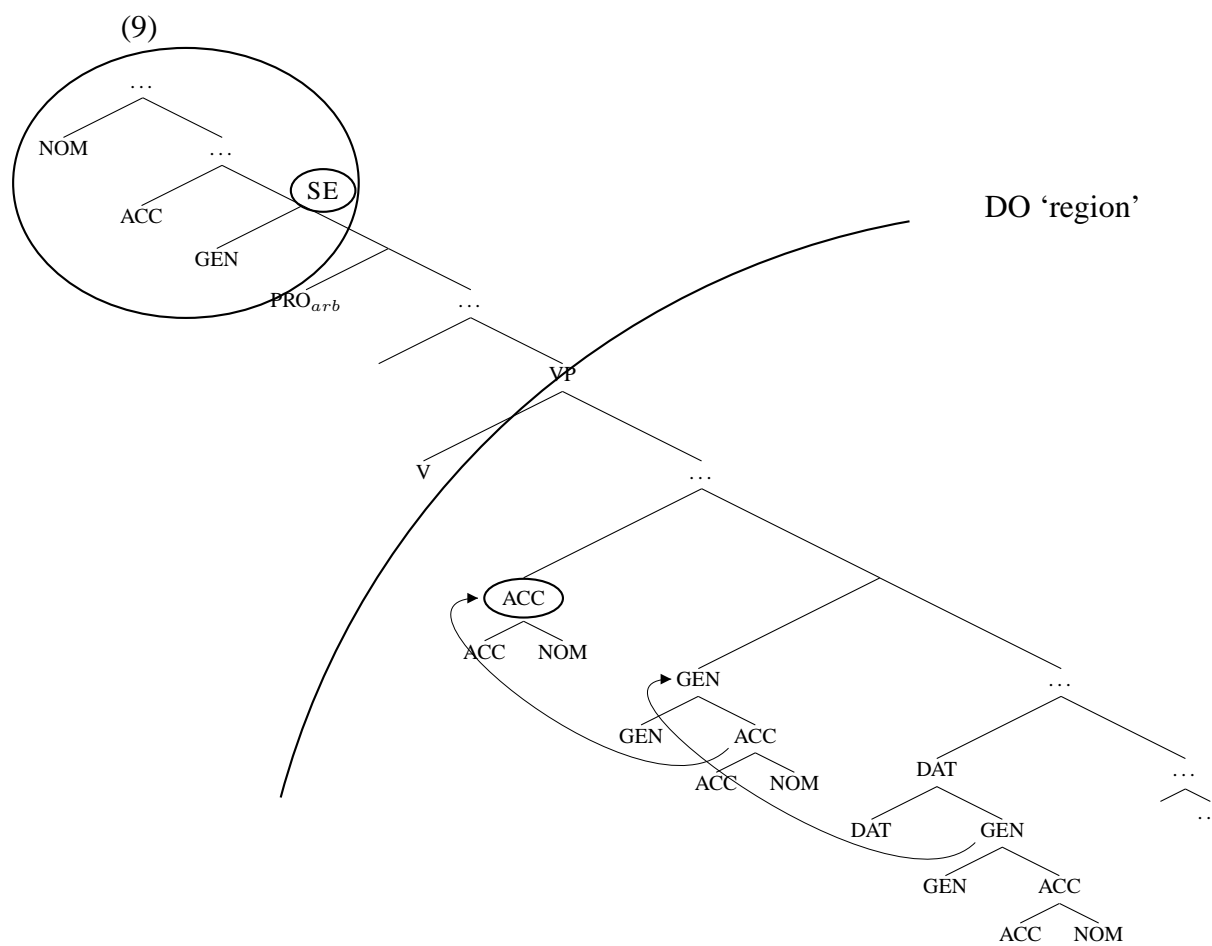


The derivation of [-arg] SE is then shown in (9). It starts out as any other derivation with just one overt argument: from the direct object position. In this case, however, the original direct object becomes a real direct object (in ACC case) – and can stay as such: the EPP is taken care of by the lexical entry SE. The external argument is, again, as I always assume for impersonals, PRO_{arb} in the low EA position.

Now, assuming that the [-arg] SE is as big as shown in (8) brings in a prediction: assuming the Superset principle, if a language has such a lexical item, it should also have all the other uses of the reflexive clitic SE – [+arg] SE, anticausative and reflexive in particular. As far as I know, this is true of Italian, Slovene and Serbian: these languages have both the [\pm arg] impersonal SE, reflexives and anticausatives².

On the other hand, Polish is perhaps unexpected: the reflexive morpheme *się* creates [-arg] impersonal constructions (10), but as far as I know, the [+arg] impersonal SE is

²The Slavic varieties also have the Unspecified human object constructions (section 1.2.1) and the SE induced by the prefix (section 1.2.4).



very marginal or perhaps impossible (Patrycja Jabłońska, p.c.)^{3,4}.

- (10) Mięwało się różne przygody.
 have_{3.SG.N} SE various events_{ACC.PL}
 ‘Different things happened (to one).’

(Polish, Comrie and Corbett (2002))

I leave the issue pending.

11.1.3 Impersonals of intransitive verbs

The examples of impersonal SE with an intransitive verb are repeated below for both Italian and Czech. As discussed in section 1.1.6.2, impersonal SE construction is possible with both types of intransitive verbs – unergatives, as the examples (11) and (13), and unaccusatives, as in (12) and (14) both in Italian and in Czech.

- (11) Si canta.
 SE sing_{3.SG}
 ‘People sing.’

(Italian)

- (12) Spesso si arriva in ritardo.
 often SE arrive_{3.SG} late
 ‘Often one/people arrive late.’

(Italian, Cinque (1988))

- (13) Zpívalo se až do rána.
 sings_{3.SG.PAST} SE till to morning_{GEN}

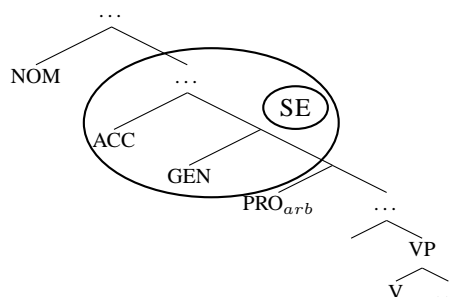
³The only example I have is what I would identify as a middle in (i), the presence of the adverb *dobrze* would be the telltale.

- (i) Te filmy się dobrze sprzedają.
 these films_{NOM.PL} SE well sell_{3.PL.PRES}
 ‘These films sell well.’

(Polish, Patrycja Jabłońska, p.c.)

⁴Venetian, according to Cinque (1988), would constitute another example like Polish. Venetian has only the [-arg] SE, but not the [+arg] one.

(16)



The derivation of impersonals, then, is sketched in (16). The impersonal SE ‘paralyzes’ the ACC – GEN layers in the external argument region, the external argument is PRO_{arb} , as above.

However, things just cannot be as simple as I present them here. For one thing, in the derivation (16) the NOM layer remains not spelled-out. One could posit a silent *pro* to spell out precisely this position, but such an assumption backfires to us in the derivation of the [+arg] SE for the transitive verbs. So, if there is such a marvelous lexical item pro_{NOM} , why is there [+arg] impersonal SE? In particular, the original direct object of the transitive structure is forced to peel to the NOM position to comply with the EPP requirement (the derivation is shown in (7)). If the derivation could be ‘saved’ by the pro_{NOM} here, why not in (7)?

The second problem is raised by the contrast between Italian on one hand and Romanian or Czech on the other (observed by Cinque (1988) and here discussed in section 1.1.6.2). While in Italian the impersonal SE constructions are fine with all verb types, the Czech (Romanian) impersonal SE cannot appear with passives, copula verbs and raising (all of these contexts were shown in section 1.1.6.2 on page 20). Invoking the [\pm arg] distinction does not help: both Czech and Romanian are happy with the impersonal SE with unaccusative verbs. Of course, the next step needed to solve this problem is to find the distinction between unaccusative verbs on one hand and passives, raising verbs and copula verbs on the other – all with respect to the Peeling Theory of Case. I leave the issue very open.

11.2 Middles

Middles (described in section 1.1.7) are taken to be generic statements about the original direct object. I will concentrate only on the middles in Italian and Czech in particular: the middles in these two languages are easily recognizable as they obligatorily require

adverbial modification (next to the reflexive clitic SE, of course). Middle construction is shown for Italian in (17) and for Czech in (18).

- (17) Queste camice si lavano facilmente.
 these shirt_{NOM.PL} SE wash_{3.PL} easily
 ‘These shirts wash easily.’

(Italian, Cinque (1988))

- (18) Tahle košile se dobře žehlí.
 this shirt_{NOM} SE well irons_{3.SG}
 ‘It is easy to iron the shirt.’

(Czech)

Now, abstracting away from the adverbial modification, I – indeed – believe that middles and impersonals are very close. In particular, both middles and impersonals ([+arg] variety, to be precise) have the reflexive clitic SE spell out the upper part of the structure, the ACC – GEN layer of the external argument. What, however, distinguishes middles from impersonals is the behavior of the external argument.

11.2.1 DAT EA in the Middle

For the impersonals, I posited the PRO_{arb} in the low EA position, following, essentially, Kayne (1986). However, in Czech, the external argument can be spelled out by an overt DAT argument, as shown in (19). Moreover, this DAT argument must be [+HUM], as shown by the contrast in (20), discussed already in section 9.3.1.

- (19) Tahle košile se **Karlovi** dobře žehlí.
 this shirt_{NOM} SE Karel_{DAT} well irons_{3.SG}
 ‘It is easy for Karel to iron the shirt.’

(Czech)

- (20) a. Velký talíře se Karlovi špatně mejou.
 big plates_{NOM.PL} SE Karel_{DAT.SG} wrongly wash_{3.PL.PRES}
 ‘Karel washes big plates with difficulties.’
 b. *Velký talíře se myčce špatně mejou.
 big plates_{NOM.PL} SE dishwasher_{DAT.SG} wrongly wash_{3.PL.PRES}
Intended: ‘A dishwasher washes big plates with difficulties.’

(Czech)

I take it, then, that the DAT argument is a possible spell-out of the low, necessarily [+HUM] external argument in Czech. If so, then this brings in the discussion (started on page 298) whether the external argument is associated with a particular Case position (GEN, as I have been arguing throughout this work, see section 9.3.1 in particular), or whether the GEN and the EA positions are separate and only very commonly spelled as one position. The fact that the (necessarily) [+HUM] external argument can be spelled out as DAT in Czech middles suggests to cut the link between the GEN and the EA position.

The derivation of middles, then, looks as follows in (21). It is very similar to the derivation of [+arg] impersonals, modulo the spell out of the external argument. As before, the circles show the spell-out of the relevant arguments. The adverbial modification is not shown in the structure. It deserves a bit more discussion, to which I turn presently.

11.2.2 Adverbs bear Case

The adverbial modification of the middles – I am going to argue – is associated with the ACC Case layer from the direct object region⁵.

The sentence (22) is two way ambiguous: it either has a true reflexive reading or a middle reading, as indicated in the glosses.

- (22) Karel se špatně meje.
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE wrongly wash_{3.SG.PRES}
 a. REFL: ‘Karel washes in a wrong way / (*with difficulties).’
 b. MID: ‘Karel washes (*in a wrong way) / with difficulties.’

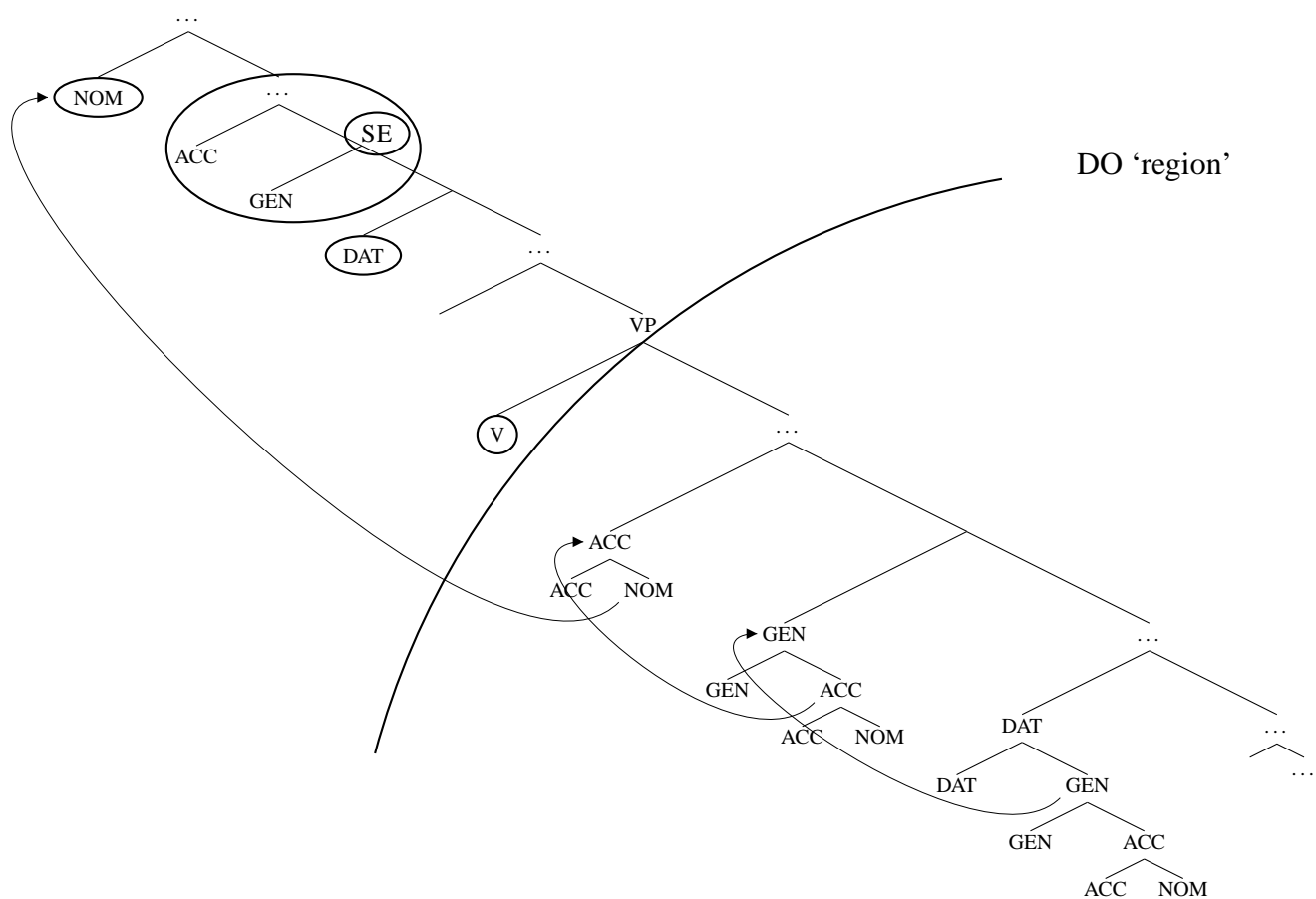
(Czech)

For the reflexive reading, we can imagine the following scenario: regardless how much *Karel* washes his face, there still always are smudges around his mouth. Hence, the interpretation of the adverb *špatně* in the reflexive reading is something like *in a wrong way*. In the following text, I gloss this reading as *špatně_{WAY}*.

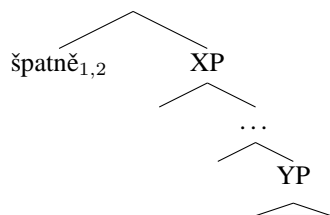
On the other hand, the middle reading of the sentence (22) comes out clearly in a different scenario: *Karel* is a lively child and when *Petr* washes him, *Karel* jumps and splashes and makes thus the washing difficult for *Petr*. In the middle construction, then, the interpretation of the adverb *špatně* is something like *with difficulties*. Again, it is

⁵This section is essentially extended Medová (2008) and Caha and Medová (to appear).

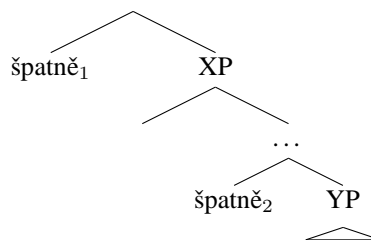
(21)



(24) semantically ambiguous



(25) different structural positions



glossed as *špatně_{DIFF}*.

Crucially, the reflexive reading has to have the adverb interpreted as *in a wrong way* while the middle must have the reading *with difficulties*. I argue that these two interpretations are due to a different structural positions of the adverbs in the sentence structure. Moreover, following Caha and Medová (to appear), I identify the positions of the adverbs with particular Case layers.

As with any other middle in Czech, *Petr*, the agent of the event described in the middle, can be expressed in the DAT case (23).

- (23) Karel se Petrovi špatně_{DIFF/*WAY} meje.
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE Petr_{DAT} wrongly wash_{3.SG.PRES}
 ‘It is difficult for Petr to wash Karel.’

(Czech)

Given that the middle forces the *with difficulties* interpretation of the adverb and the reflexive the *in a wrong way* interpretation, there are two options for the adverbs. First, the adverb is ambiguous in its nature and it simply must be read one way with one construction and another way with another construction. The mechanism for the switch between the readings would have to be determined. On the other hand, there is another option. The adverb is forced to have the particular reading because it appears in a particular position where such a reading is the only option. Schematically, then, these two options are shown in (24) and (25).

I argue for the second, structural approach. Trying to decide about the structural positions of the two adverbs, we might notice that while there are two readings in the active, there is just one in an adjectival passive. The sentence (22) is ambiguous, but when we turn to the adjectival passive, only the *in a wrong way* reading remains, as shown in (26).

- (26) Karel je **špatně**_{WAY/*DIFF} umytej.
 Karel is wrongly washed_{M.SG}
 'Karel is washed in a wrong way.'
 *'It is difficult to wash Karel.'

(Czech)

Kratzer (2000) observed that there are adjectival passives of two types. These types differ in the 'size' of the participle. So, Resultant state participles are 'bigger' than Target state participles. The Target state participles denote a simple state, and their telltale is the possible modification by *still*. The original German examples are shown in (27): (27-a) is the Target state participle, it can be modified by *still*. (27-b), on the other hand, is the Resultant state participle: it cannot take the modification by *still*, because Resultant state participles are not only states, they inherently involve an event leading to that state.

- (27) a. Die Geisslein sind *immer noch* versteckt.
 the little.goats are still hidden
 'The little goats are *still* hidden.'
 b. Die Wasche ist (**immer noch*) getrocknet.
 the laundry is still dried
 'The laundry is (**still*) dried.'

(German, Kratzer (2000)(1a,2c))

Now, the adjectival passive modified by the *špatně* survive perfectly under *still* (28), hence, we now know that the adjectival participle is the Target state participle. Hence, we know that the *špatně* interpreted as 'in a wrong way' can modify a simple state.

- (28) Karel je *ještě pořád* **špatně**_{WAY/*DIFF} umytej.
 Karel is still wrongly washed_{M.SG}
 'Karel is still washed in a wrong way.'

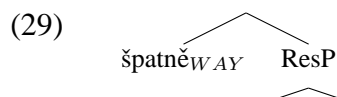
(Czech)

By the same reasoning, the *špatně* interpreted as 'with difficulties' cannot modify a simple state: the reading with this interpretation of the adverb is unavailable in (28).

Adopting Ramchand (2008) (doing so, I follow reasoning of Taraldsen and Medová (2007) for Czech), the Target state participles are pure *ResP* in Ramchand's terms⁶ and

⁶Ramchand (2008) decomposes the VP into three heads, each representing a subevent of the event described by the V. The *Res(ult)P* represents the final state of the event; it is dominated by *Proc(ess)P*, a head that represents the process that led to the Result state *ResP*. Finally, the event is started by the

the *špatně*_{WAY} applies to it.



On the other hand, there are verbs that – even in active sentence – have only one reading of the adverb *špatně*: verbs of perception. Intriguingly, it is the *špatně*_{DIFF} with the perception verb like *slyšet* ‘hear’, as shown in (30).

- (30) Karel **špatně**_{DIFF/*WAY} slyší (vysoký tóny).
 Karel_{NOM} wrongly hear_{3.SG.PRES} high tones
 ‘Karel hears high tones with difficulties / (*in a wrong way).’

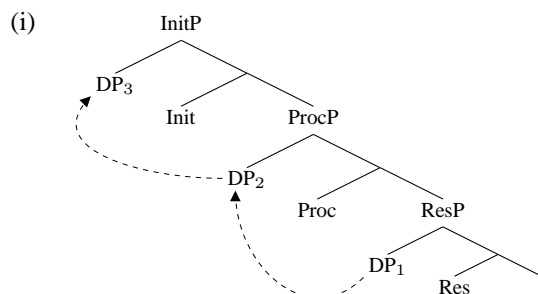
(Czech)

According to Ramchand’s decomposition, the *špatně*_{DIFF} could potentially modify the *ProcP* or the *InitP* – but not the *ResP*, as shown by the lack of ambiguity in (28) on one hand and the impossibility to modify the adjectival passive of the verb *slyšet* ‘hear’ by *still*, as shown in (31).

- (31) *Vysoký tóny jsou (ještě pořád) slyšený.
 high tones_{NOM.PL} are still heard_{PL}
Intended: ‘High tones are still heard.’

(Czech)

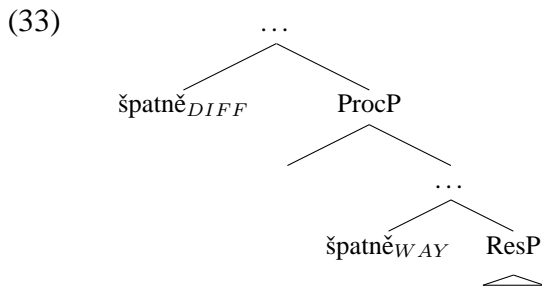
Init(iator)P: this head introduces the initiating subevent of the event expressed by the V. The full VP decomposition is shown in (i). Notice that not every verb has to include all three subevents; the perception verbs, for instance, do not have the *InitP*, according to Ramchand (2008). Each verbal head has an option of introducing an argument – the same argument, then, can become a subject of *ResP* and a subject of *ProcP*, for instance. The potential movements are indicated by the dashed lines in the tree.



Assuming (with Ramchand) that the modification by *intentionally* would ‘pick up’ on the Initiator, we have another test on the size of the verb *slyšet*: if *intentionally* is a good modifier of the verb *slyšet*, this verb has an *InitP*.

- (32) Karel (*schválně) **špatně**_{DIFF/*WAY} slyší vysoký tóny.
 Karel_{NOM} intentionally wrongly hear_{3.SG.PRES} high tones
 ‘Karel (*intentionally) hears high tones with difficulties / (*in a wrong way).’
 (Czech)

Since the verb *slyšet* ‘hear’ cannot take the modification by *intentionally*, as shown in (32)⁷, the verb does not have the *InitP*. Since it cannot be modified by *still*, it does not contain the *ResP*. Hence, this verb consists of only one verbal projection: *ProcP* (an option predicted by Ramchand). Consequently, the *špatně*_{DIFF} must modify the *ProcP* in Ramchand’s terms. All together, then, we arrive at the following structure:



To summarize so far, the *špatně*_{DIFF} sits higher in the structure than the *špatně*_{WAY} and the adverb that sits higher in the structure (hence *špatně*_{DIFF}) is the one that we see in middles.

Moreover, Czech makes it possible to see the structural distinction among the adverbs (derived from adjectival stems) in their morphology. In particular, Caha and Medová (to appear) argue that adverbs are adjectives with nominal case endings. Concretely, there are two dominant adverbial endings in Czech: *-o* and *e/ě*⁸. The adverb *špatně* discussed above is an example of the *-e/ě* ending adverb; the *-o* ending is shown in the adverb *těžk-o* ‘heavily’, for instance. The distribution of the endings distinguishes three classes of adverbs, as shown in the Table 11.1.

The first class of adverbs – the O-adverbs – are semiproductive in Czech and I will leave them aside. For the discussion here, the classes 2 and 3 are important. While

⁷The modification by *intentionally* is bad with the verb *hear* even when the *špatně* in (32) is dropped.

⁸The hook above the *e* signalizes palatalization of the preceding consonant.

Table 11.1: Czech adverbs

	higher	lower	
Class 1 O-adverbs	sychrav-o dávno-o		<i>damp-and-cold</i> <i>long-time-ago</i>
Class 2 O/E-adverbs	lehk-o těžk-o	lehc-e těžc-e	<i>easily</i> <i>heavily</i>
Class 3 E-adverbs		špatn-ě dobř-e	<i>wrongly</i> <i>well</i>

the adverbs in Class 3 have only one ending, namely *-e/ě*, the adverbs in Class 2 have ‘switch’ between the *-o* ending and *-e/ě* ending depending on the environment the adverb appears in. Concretely, then, the adverb in the middle construction must have *-o* ending, as shown in (34). The reflexive reading is impossible.

- (34) Karel se **těžko** opíjí.
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE heavily-O drink_{3.SG.PRES}
 a. *REFL: ‘Karel gets drunk heavily.’
 b. MID: ‘It is difficult to get Karel drunk.’

(Caha and Medová (to appear)(26))

On the other hand, having the *e/ě* ending excludes the middle reading and the reflexive is the preferred reading, as shown in (35).

- (35) Karel se **těžce** opíjí.
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE heavily-E/ě drink_{3.SG.PRES}
 a. REFL: ‘Karel gets drunk heavily.’
 b. ?*MID: ‘It is difficult to get Karel drunk.’

(Caha and Medová (to appear)(26))

On the other hand, the adverbs from Class 3 are ambiguous between the two readings. The example is repeated in (36).

- (36) Karel se **špatně** mele.
 Karel_{NOM.SG} SE wrongly wash_{3.SG.PRES}
 a. REFL: ‘Karel washes in a wrong way / (*with difficulties).’
 b. MID: ‘Karel washes (*in a wrong way) / with difficulties.’

(Czech)

In other words, the *-o* adverb, if it exists, sits higher in the structure, while the *-e/ě* adverb lives in the low position and if there is no *-o* adverb available, it can sneak into the high position.

We have tests that clearly identify the position of the adverb. So, we make a prediction: the *-o* version of the adverb should pass the test that identify the high adverb (the *špatně_{DIFF}* seen in middles). That is, it should not be able to embed under *still*. On the other hand, the *-e/ě* version of the adverb should. The prediction is born out, as shown in (37).⁹

- (37) Karel je *ještě pořád těžc-e* / **těžk-o* opilej.
 Karel is still heavily-E/ě / heavily-O drunk
 ‘Karel is still heavily drunk.’

(Czech)

The second prediction is that it should be the *-o* adverb that modifies the perception verbs. Again, this is born out, as shown in (38).

- (38) Karel *těžko* / **těžce* slyší vysoký tóny.
 Karel_{NOM} heavily-O / heavily-E/ě hear_{3.SG.PRES} high tones
 ‘Karel hardly hears high tones.’

(Czech)

To summarize, the *-o* adverb is able to appear only in a subset of environments the *-e/ě* adverbs are. This is, according to Caha and Medová (to appear), because the *-o* adverbs are deficient in the sense of Cardinaletti and Starke (1999): the *-o* adverbs lack a part of a structure that the *-e/ě* adverbs have. The second empirical point argued for in Caha and Medová (to appear) is to identify the *-o* ending with the ACC-case ending and the *-e/ě* ending with the LOC-case ending. In other words, then, the Czech adverbs are argued to bear Case.

Translated to the Peeling Theory of Case and assuming the Superset Principle, plau-

⁹Notice that the ungrammaticality of (37) cannot be ascribed to the impossibility of *-o* adverbs to modify adjectival participles; as a matter of fact, they can, as shown in (i).

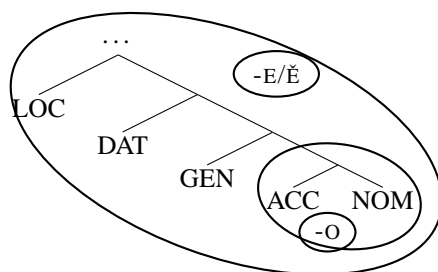
- (i) To je jen *těžk-o* / **těžce* uvěřitelný.
 this is only heavy-O / heavy-E/ě believable
 ‘That is only hardly believable.’

(Czech, Caha and Medová (to appear):(25))

sibly, we can imagine the scenario in (39). That is, the *-o* lexical item is the ACC (and NOM) ending, hence, it can spell out only the ACC and NOM layers of the case structure. The *-e/ě* lexical item, on the other hand, spells out much bigger a structure: LOC and everything below.

Given the Elsewhere Condition (or, ‘the Best Fit’ Condition, as suggested in footnote 28 on page 317), if the *-o* ending is available for the selected adverb, it must be chosen rather than the *-e/ě* ending.

(39)

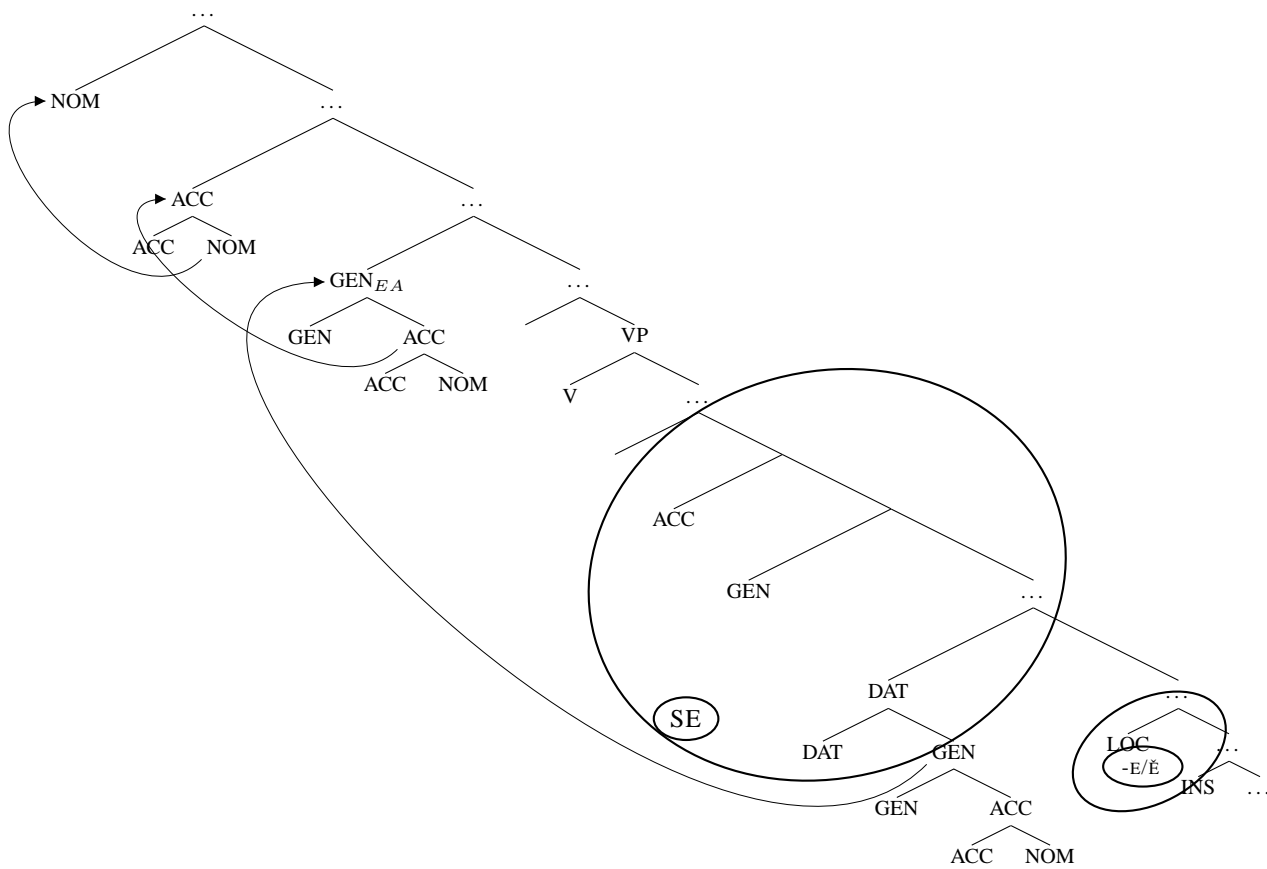


Associating the adverbs with a particular case layer then brings in the following – rather sketchy and intuitive – picture for middles and reflexives. The reflexive clitic *SE*, I argued, paralyzes the upmost layers (ACC – GEN – (DAT)) in the direct object region, as shown again in (40). The LOC case layer in the direct object region then remains available for the adverb. Of course, what exactly it means that the particular case layer is ‘available’ for the adverb has to be determined (in further work). But since the low ACC layer is paralyzed by the reflexive clitic *SE*, the intuition is that the high (ACC) adverb cannot be associated with the ACC layer. Hence, with the reflexive reading of the reflexive clitic, the adverb must be the low one.

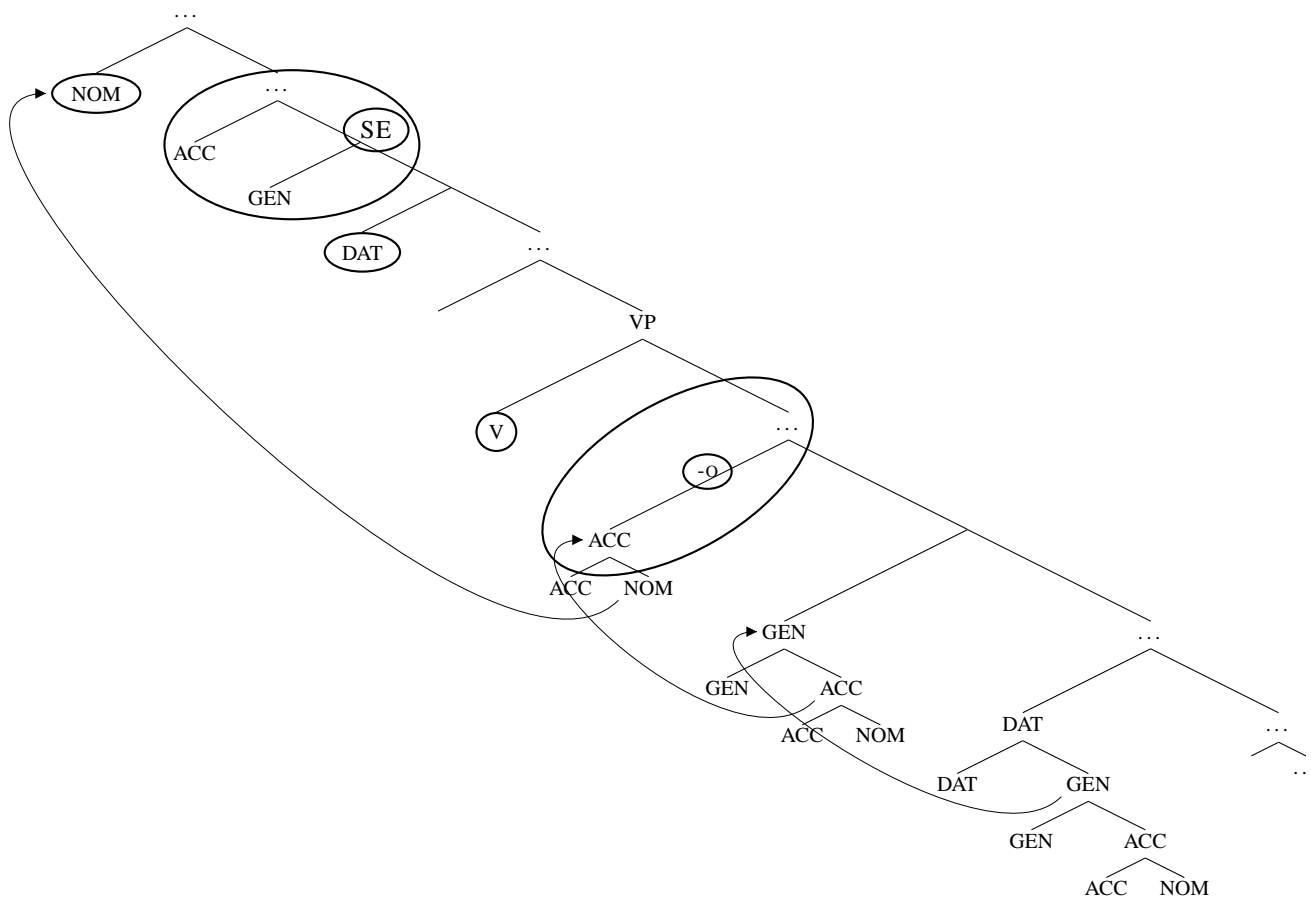
The middles, on the other hand, have the reflexive spell out the ACC – GEN layers of the external argument region, as repeated in (41). I can only offer an intuition about the necessity to have the High (ACC) adverb with the middles: the ACC layer in the direct object position is not ‘taken’ or paralyzed by the reflexive clitic – and that seems to be the crucial difference between the middles and the true reflexives. Of course, how exactly the adverb is licensed is left widely open.

However, there is a prediction made by the sketchy picture I draw: in the middle construction, it should be possible to have the low (LOC) adverb cooccurring with the high (ACC) adverb. This prediction is borne out, as shown in (42). Imagine that *Marina* is a very careful (almost meticulous) person and she was given the task of washing *the bowl* improperly. The sentence (42) then expresses *Marina*’s hard time while she is achieving the task.

(40) Reflexives with Low (LOC) Adverb



(41) Middle with a High (ACC) adverb



- (42) Marině se ta miska špatně (těžko / *těžce)
 Marina_{DAT.SG} SE this bowl_{NOM.SG.F} wrongly_{DIFF} (heavily-O / heavily-E)
 meje špatně.
 wash_{3.SG.PRES} wrongly_{WAY}
 ‘Marina has a hard time (=DIFF) washing the bowl sloppily (=WAY).’

Finally, the question arises why cannot the low LOC adverb give rise to a middle interpretation by itself. To this question, I have no answer and leave it for further research.

11.3 Lardil

There is an intriguing correlation in the syncretisms in E/A languages on one side and the N/A languages on the other. So, we saw that it is rather common to see a syncretism between the antipassive morpheme and the reflexive morpheme in the E/A languages (as discussed in chapter 10). That observation led to an analysis of reflexives parallel to the derivation of antipassives.

On the other hand, in N/A languages, we see quite often syncretism between the reflexive morpheme and the ‘impersonal subject’ morpheme. This syncretism was treated in this chapter.

Schematically, then, the situation is captured in Table 11.3.

E/A languages	antipassive	reflexive
N/A languages	impersonal	reflexive

I argued that antipassive constructions exist in N/A languages as well: recall the discussion in section 10.4.3. The question then is: do impersonal constructions exist in E/A languages? Do antipassive morphemes sometime create impersonals?

To the best of my (admittedly, very limited) knowledge, they do not. That is, I do not know about an E/A language that would have an impersonal construction of the Italian or Czech type created by the use of the antipassive morpheme. (As a matter of fact, I do not know about an E/A language that would have impersonal constructions.)

There is, however, an interesting observation: when a language becomes fully N/A, the morpheme that created antipassives while the language still was E/A, now, when the language ‘turned’ N/A, creates impersonals. Lardil (Pama-Nyungan, Australian, spoken on Mornington Islands) is an example.

Lardil and Yidj (section 10.2.1) are close relatives. Yidj is a split ergative language¹⁰, Lardil turned into a nominative/accusative language: both nouns and pronouns show an entirely nominative-accusative paradigm, Dixon (1980):456.

Dixon (1980):448,450 links the morpheme *-Vji-n* in Yidj – the one that creates antipassives and reflexives – to the proto-Australian putative derivational affix **-DHirri-y*.

The same putative morpheme **-DHirri-y* gives arise to the morpheme *-(y)i* in Lardil, Dixon (1980):457. As its close relatives, Lardil uses the morpheme *-yi* to derive reflexives, shown in (43)¹¹.

- (43) Ngata kiri-**i**-thur yuda.
 I wash-yi-FUT body
 ‘I will wash myself.’

(Lardil, Klokeid (1976):290(26a))

The reflexive reading is entirely expected. We also might expect to see an antipassive – as we did in Yidj. Indeed, the example (44) is ambiguous between two readings, one being reflexive as indicated in the glosses. However, the other reading is not an antipassive, but a passive/impersonal.

- (44) Ngata kiri-**i**-thur yuda.
 I wash-yi-FUT body
 REFL: ‘I will wash myself.’
 PASS/IMP: ‘I will be washed on the body (by somebody).’

(Lardil, Klokeid (1976):296(34))

The passive/impersonal (in an untensed clause) is shown in the following set of examples. First, (45-a) is a simple transitive sentence with the subject being marked as NOM and the object is ACC. (45-b) shows a passive sentence: the original object *boomerang* is now marked NOM and precedes the verb (SVO is an unmarked word order), the original subject *man* is marked ACC case. The ACC marking on the *by*-phrase might be surprising; however, the direct objects and *by*-phrases – both marked ACC in Lardil – are syntactically different. In tensed clauses, ‘the DO takes the tense

¹⁰Like many other Australian languages, Yidj has absolutive–ergative system of nominal inflection, but a nominative–accusative system pronoun paradigm.

¹¹The morpheme *-thur* is a marker of FUT(ure) tense, that is copied to every noun in the sentence, as discussed in Richards (2007). As Klokeid (1976) does not parse the morphemes, the morpheme separators are my own.

of the verb, whatever it may be, but the passive agent always takes the GEN.', Klokeid (1976):279.

- (45) a. Tanka yuud wungi ngithunin wangalkin.
 man ? steel my_{ACC} boomerang_{ACC}
 'A man stole my boomerang.'
- b. Ngithun wangal yuud wungi-i tangan.
 my boomerang ? steel-yi man_{ACC}
 'My boomerang was stolen by a man.'

(Lardil, Klokeid (1976):274(1))

So, the same morpheme derives reflexives and antipassives in absolutive/ergative languages (like Yidip, Warrungu, etc.) – but reflexives and passives in nominative/accusative languages – like Lardil or Italian. This striking correlation raises the question of the differences between nominative/accusative languages on one hand and ergative/absolutive on the other.

It seems plausible that the difference between the E/A languages on one hand and N/A on the other should have something to do with the make up of the external argument region. In particular, I argued that the subject of the impersonal constructions is PRO_{arb}. Perhaps E/A languages do not have such a lexical entry. Needless to say, the Lardil facts will remain a simply interesting observation in this work.

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