

The Obviation Agreement Effect

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Abstract

I will critically review Kayne's (2009) hypothesis that the presence of a silent clitic explains the Absence of Principle B Effects *APBE* (Burzio 1991, 1992 among others) with 1st and 2nd person clitics in Romance Languages. I will show that APBE does not depend on the presence of any silent clitic- against Kayne (2009)-, but on the ϕ -features of the DP cross-referenced by subject agreement. I will finally develop a syntactic account for the APBE with local clitics in Romance Languages based on the feature decomposition of person morphemes (Kayne 2003, Béjar 2003, Harley & Ritter 2002) and the existence in Romance Languages of fake indexicals clitics (Kratzer 2009).

1. Absence of Principle B Effects

A long-standing problem in Romance Linguistics has consisted on how to properly characterize the behavior of 1st and 2nd clitics regarding Binding Principles (Burzio 1986, 1991; Kayne 2003, 2009; Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd 2011). Most Romance Languages lack a dedicated reflexive form for 1st and 2nd person clitics. As shown in (1a) for Spanish, a 1st person clitic can be bound by its clause-mate Subject without inducing any Principle B violation (1c).

- (1) a. Yoⁱ meⁱ ví en el espejo.
 I.NOM 1sO saw.1sS in the mirror
 'I saw myself in the mirror'

- b. Juanⁱ me^j vio en el espejo.
 J. 1sO saw1.sS in the mirror.
 'Juan saw me in the mirror'

Spanish

c. Principle B.

A pronoun must be free (not bound) in its governing category.

[Chomsky 1981:188]

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In contrast, 3rd person clitics are always subject to Principle B. A dedicated reflexive form is required whenever the Subject locally binds the Direct Object DO (2). 3rd person pronominal and reflexive clitics are in complementary distribution, but local 1st and 2nd person clitics are not. Cases where a pronoun can express a reflexive relationship, in apparent defiance of Principle B, have been dubbed by Rooryck & Van Wyngaerd (2011) as Absence of Principle B Effects (APBE).

- (2) a. Juanⁱ lo^{*i/j} vio.
 J. 3sO saw.3sS
 ‘Juan saw him.’
- b. Juanⁱ se^{i/*j} vió.
 J. 3refl saw.3sS
 ‘Juan saw himself.’

A new minimalist analysis have been recently put forth by Kayne (2009) to account for the APBE with local clitics across Romance Languages. Kayne (2009) has claimed that a reflexive clitic *se* is always syntactically present in all reflexive sentences. Such a reflexive clitic can be overt as in (2b) or null as in (1a). The role of the null reflexive clitic in sentences like (1a) is to protect the overt 1st person clitic *me* to be locally bound.

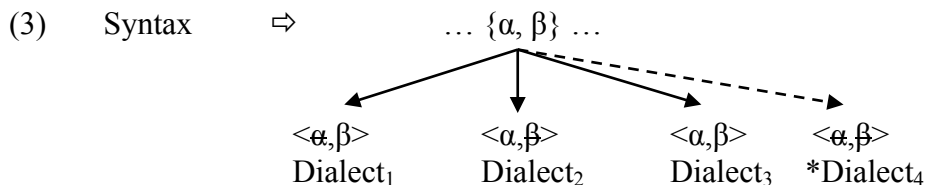
In this paper I will bring forward an alternative analysis of APBE with 1st and 2nd clitic in Romance Languages as fake indexical clitics (Kratzer 2009). I will show that ABPE with local clitics in Romance Languages depends on subject agreement and bring a new generalization showing that the morphological form of reflexive clitics is determined by subject agreement, what I call the *Obviation Agreement Effect* (OAE). Kayne’s (2009) analysis cannot account for this new generalization because his analysis completely obviates the role of subject agreement to explain the ABPE with local clitics in Romance languages. As I will show, my analysis is able to account in a principled way for the OAE.

2. A null reflexive shield (Kayne 2009)

Kayne (2009) develops a syntax-driven account for syncretism and suppletivism phenomena in Romance clitics. He suggests that there is no real syncretism/suppletivism and what he proposes instead is that “overt lexical material and non-pronounced abstract material combine to yield a complete syntactic representation” [Manzini & Savoia 2008: 253].

Syncretism/suppletivism has been traditionally described as a process (typically morphological) whereby an expected item α is replaced by another

item β : $[\alpha] \rightarrow [\beta]$ (Bonet 1991, Pescarini 2010 a.o.). However, Kayne claims that there is no process turning α into β . What seems to be a replacing/substituting process of α into β is simply a matter of pronunciation. Both α and β are syntactically present and different dialects choose different spell-out options.



In Kayne's (2009) theory α and β are syntactic pieces not subject to variation (or at least to micro-variation). Dialects can differ in the way α and β are pronounced: whereas α and β are both pronounced in Dialect₃, only α is pronounced in Dialect₂ and only β in Dialect₁, as depicted in (3). Dialect₄ in (3) is predicted not to exist: if both α and β are not pronounced, their content cannot be recovered².

2.1 Suppletivism: on *for nous* in French

It is well-known that in spoken French the subject clitic (SCL) *nous* is often 'replaced', for some speakers obligatorily, by the SCL *on*:

- (4)
- | | | | | |
|----|------|-----------|----------|-------------------|
| a. | Nous | avons | ri. | (Literary French) |
| | We | have.1plS | laughed | |
| b. | On | a | ri | (Spoken French) |
| | One | has.3sS | laughed. | |
- "We have laughed"

Kayne (2009) proposes that a silent NOUS has to be included in the syntactic representation of (4b) -following Kayne's convection, silent pronouns are represented in capital letters-. Kayne argues that a silent NOUS is responsible for licensing the plural floating quantifier *tous* in (5a), non local reflexive *nous* in (5b) and triggering disjoint reference effects in (5c).

- (5)
- | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-------------------|---------|-------------------|---------|
| a. | On | NOUS ⁱ | a | tous ⁱ | ri. |
| | One | | has.3sS | all-pl | laughed |

² To be precise, Kayne (2009) describes the scheme in (3) in slightly different terms. He claims that a silent α is licensed by β in Dialect₁ and a silent β by α in Dialect₂. In Dialect₃ neither α nor β can license a null counterpart of each other. Dialect₄ is also predicted not to exist: if a null category licenses another null category, how is it possible to figure out the number of null categories for a given language? From now on, I will recast the terms of the discussion as neutral as possible.

‘We have all laughed’

- b. ?On NOUSⁱ a essayé de faire semblant de nousⁱ laver.
 “We tried to pretend to wash ourselves” [Kayne 2009: (42)]

- c. a. * On NOUSⁱ⁺ meⁱ voit tous.
 One 1sO see all-pl.
 ‘*We all see me’

2.2 APBE as syncretism

Kayne (2009) extends the silent clitic analysis to the Absence of Principle B Effects (APBE) with local clitics in Romance Languages. He claims that a silent reflexive clitic SE is present in reflexive sentences like (6) in Spanish in order to avoid a Principle B violation: SE protects the pronominal non-reflexive clitic avoiding a Principle B violation. According to Kayne (2009), the silent reflexive clitic SE acts as the *self* particle of complex anaphors in English; as shown in (6b), the object pronoun cannot refer back to its clause-mate Subject unless the *self* particle is attached to it.

- (6) a. Yoⁱ meⁱ SE ví en el espejo.
 I.NOM 1sO saw.1sS in the mirror
 ‘I saw myself in the mirror’

- b. Johnⁱ loves himⁱ-(self)

The mirror image of Spanish is exemplified by Paduan. In this language, when the antecedent is 1st person plural, the reflexive clitic *se* must be overtly expressed (7a). In Paduan the pronominal 1st person plural object clitic *ne* cannot surface if it is bound by its clause-mate Subject (7b). According to Kayne (2009), the reflexive clitic *se* in Paduan has the ability to license a silent NE, as represented in (7c).

- (7) a. Noialtri se lavémo le man.
 We 3refl wash.1pl S the hands
 ‘We washed our hands’ [Kayne 2009: (69)]

- b. * Noialtri ne lavémo le man.
 We 1plO wash.1plS the hands
 ‘We washed our hands’ [Kayne 2009: (65)]

- c. Noialtri se NE lavémo le man.

Finally Milanese seems to allow both pronominal and reflexive clitics to surface overtly under certain conditions, i.e. when a 1st person subject binds its clause-mate internal argument (8).

- (8) Miⁱ a [ma sa]ⁱ lavi i mam.
 I SCL 1sO refl wash the hands
 ‘I wash my hands’

Spanish (6a), Paduan (7a) and Milanese (8) instantiate the full spectrum of variation predicted by (3) to exist. At first sight, Kayne’s analysis seems to be appealing: the syntax of reflexive clitics remains invariant through all Romance Languages and variation is regarded as differences on the externalization (*spell-out*) of the syntactic pieces involved -as depicted in (3)-. However, the details of Kayne’s analysis turn out to be quite problematic on closer inspection.

On the one hand, the proposal to subsume every case of syncretism to the only purview of syntax leads to a non-legitimate sequence of silent clitics. Let’s see how this non-legitimate sequence of silent clitics comes about under Kayne’s analysis. The 1st person plural clitic *ci* (9a) and the locative clitic *ci* (9b) are both syncretic in Standard Italian.

- (9) a. Gianni ci vede.
 G. 1plO sees.
 ‘Gianni sees us’
 a’. Gianni ci 1PL vede.

 b. Gianni ci mette la macchina.
 G. Loc puts the car
 ‘Gianni puts the car there’
 b’. Gianni ci PLACE mette la macchina.

Kayne (2009) must stipulate that there is a silent 1st person plural clitic 1PL in (9a) -as represented in (9a’) - and a silent PLACE in (9b), as shown in (9b’) - to avoid any appeal to ‘morphological’ syncretism. The problematic case for Kayne’s account comes from 1st person plural reflexive clitics in Standard Italian (10). It is worth noticing that (9a), (9b) and (10) all represent a case of triple syncretism under Kayne’s analysis.

- (10) Noi ci SI 1PL siamo visti in TV.
 We Loc are.1plS seen.pl on TV
 ‘We watched ourselves on TV’

According to Kayne (2009)’s analysis, two silent clitics have to be assumed in simple reflexive sentences like (10): (i) a silent 1st plural clitic 1PL to

account for the locative syncretism (9a-b) and (ii) a silent reflexive clitic SI to avoid a violation of the Principle B, given Kayne's assumption that the silent clitic 1PL is pronominal and needs to be protected. Recall that in the introductory discussion of section 2 we preclude the existence of a silent clitic licensed by another silent clitic, but that is precisely the case of the silent clitic SI in (10) – that is, sentence in (10) is an example of Dialect₄, as depicted in (3)-. Kayne's analysis thus under-generates: the reflexive pattern exemplified in (10) is predicted not to exist, contrary to fact.

On the other hand, the syntactic behavior of the silent reflexive clitic proposed by Kayne (2009) to account for the APBE is not restricted enough. Some French Dialects allow a certain degree of mismatch on ϕ -feature between Subject and Object Clitics (ObjCL) in reflexive sentences (Bauche 1928: 111). This ϕ -feature mismatch is tolerated if SCL is 1st person and ObjCL is 3rd person (reflexive) as in (11a), but not the other way around (11b). In fact, there is no attested French Dialect where the SCL *on* can be co-referential with a clause mate ObjCL *nous*, as the ungrammaticality of (11b) shows.

- (11) a. %Nous se lavons.
 We 3refl wash.1plS (Bauche 1928: 111)
 b. *On nous lave.
 One 1Opl wash.3sS

This paradigm poses a serious problem for Kayne's approach, Why cannot a silent reflexive clitic SE avoid a violation of the Principle B in (11b)? Kayne's analysis cannot rule out the sentence in (11b) and then over-generates. Furthermore, recall that, as pointed out by Kayne himself, if the SCL *on* and the 1st person plural ObjCL *nous* are distant enough from each other, they can co-refer, as we already saw in (5b)- repeated below as (12).

- (12) ?On NOUSⁱ a essayé de faire semblant de nousⁱ laver.
 "We tried to pretend to wash ourselves" [Kayne 2009: (42)]

The contrast between (11b) and (12) is suspiciously similar to typical Principle B Effects (1c). To the extent that the contrast between sentences (11b) and (12) is not accounted for, the APBE with local clitics in Romance languages is left unexplained.

3. The Obviation Agreement Effect.

In this section I will show that the asymmetry observed in (11a-b) for French Dialects is exactly reproduced in European Portuguese and Spanish Dialects.

3.1 Portuguese a gente

The pronoun *a gente* (interpreted as 1st person plural) in European Portuguese EP can trigger either 1st person plural or 3rd person singular agreement on the verb (Costa & Pereira 2013, Taylor 2009).

- (13) a. *A gente cantamos.*
 The people sing.1plS
 b. *A gente canta*
 The people sings.3sS
 ‘‘We people sing’’

If the ϕ -features of subject agreement are identical to the ϕ -features contained in its clause-mate ObjCL, the ObjCL can be either the 3rd person reflexive *se* - as shown in (14a)- or the 1st person plural clitic *nos*, as in (14b) (Costa & Pereira 2013).

- (14) a. *A genteⁱ viu-seⁱ no espelho.*
 The people saw.3sS-3refl in the mirror.
 b. *A genteⁱ vimo-nosⁱ no espelho*
 The people saw.1plS-1plO in the mirror
 ‘‘We people saw ourselves in the mirror’’

However, as happens in French (11), EP exhibits an asymmetry with respect to the agreement mismatches allowed in reflexive sentences. Whereas (15a) is allowed in some dialects (Costa & Pereira 2013, Martins 2009), (15b) is unattested.

- (15) a. % *A genteⁱ vimo-seⁱ no espelho.*
 The people saw.1pl-3refl in the mirror.
 b. * *A genteⁱ viu-nosⁱ no espelho*
 The people saw.3sS-1plO in the mirror
 ‘‘We people saw ourselves in the mirror’’

The pronoun *a gente* can bind the ObjCL *nos* outside of its local domain (16), even if the pronoun *a gente* triggers 3rd person singular agreement on the root verb.

- (16) *A genteⁱ disse que o Pedro nosⁱ viu.*
 The people say.3sS that the Pedro 1plO saw.
 ‘‘We people said that Peter saw us’’ [Costa & Pereira 2013: (2a)]

French and EP show that there is a link between the ϕ -features of subject agreement and the ϕ -features of ObjCLs in reflexive sentences.

- (17) *Obviation Agreement Effect* (first version)
 If subject agreement is 3rd person and its clause mate ObjCL is 1st person plural, then the object must be locally free.

It is worth noticing that the restriction in (17) goes only in one direction. ϕ -feature identity between subject agreement and ObjCL is not necessary. But if there is a mismatch on ϕ -feature between the Subject and the Object, then only (15a) for European Portuguese and (11a) for French are allowed- as established in (17).

3.2 Western Andalusian Spanish *ustedes*

In certain Andalusian Spanish Dialects, the 2nd person plural pronoun *vosotros* has been lost. It has been replaced by the honorific 3rd person plural pronoun *ustedes*. The pronoun *ustedes* can trigger 3rd plural or 2nd plural agreement on the verb (Lara 2012).

- (18) a. *Ustedes cantan.*
 Thou.pl sing.3plS
 b. *Ustedes cantais.* *Western Andalusian Spanish*
 Thou.pl sing.2plS
 ‘Y’all sing’

As happens with Portuguese *a gente* and French *on*, in reflexive sentences full match on ϕ -features is widely attested in Andalusian Spanish Dialects.

- (19) a. *Ustedesⁱ osⁱ engañáis.*
 Thou.pl 2Opl cheat.2plS
 b. *Ustedesⁱ seⁱ engañan.*
 Thou.pl 3refl. cheat.3plS
 ‘Y’all cheat yourselves.’

However, an asymmetry arises again in cases showing partial mismatch of ϕ -features. Whereas (20a) is attested in Western Andalusian (Lara 2012), the pattern illustrated in (20b) is not.

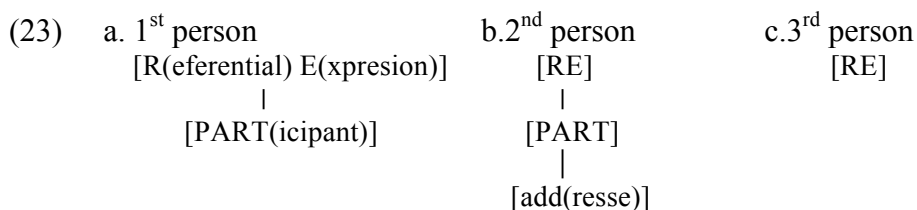
- (20) a. % *Ustedesⁱ seⁱ engañáis.*
 Thou.PL 3refl cheat.2pSl
 b. * *Ustedesⁱ osⁱ engañan.*
 Thou.PL 2Opl cheat.3plS
 ‘Y’all cheat yourselves’

(21) Ustedesⁱ dicen que [él] osⁱ engaña³
 Thou.pl say.3plS that he 2Opl cheat.3sS
 ‘You say that he cheats you’

(22) *Obviation Agreement Effect* (second version)
If subject agreement is 3rd person (singular or plural) and its clause mate ObjCL is 1st or 2nd person plural, then the object must be locally free.

3.3 A Feature Geometry for the OAE (Harley & Ritter 2002)

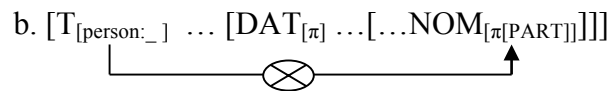
Harley & Ritter (2002) have organized ϕ -features in pronouns (clitics and non-clitics) in a dependent structure of privative features. They originally assume that the value *speaker* is universally provided as the default value dominated by the node PART(icipant), as represented in (23a). Harley & Ritter (2002) relegate 3rd person pronouns as non-person pronouns (Benveniste 1966).



³ <http://andaluciainformacion.es/ronda/318257/el-jamn-plantea-una-drstica-reduccion-de-derechos-salariales/>

Béjar (2003) extends this ϕ -feature geometry to agreement markers too and shows in detail that a category π has to dominate the node PART to include 3rd person arguments triggering intervention effects in agreement dependencies. That is, Béjar (2003) argues that certain 3rd person pronouns contain person features- against Benveniste (1966)-. This explains, for example, why 3rd person Quirky Subjects in Icelandic trigger Intervention Effects with Low Nominative Objects [Sigurðsson 1996: (1)-(28)].

- (24) a. Henni {leiddust þeir /*leiddumst við}
 He.Dat bored.3plS they.Nom /bored.1plS we.Nom
 ‘He found us/they boring’



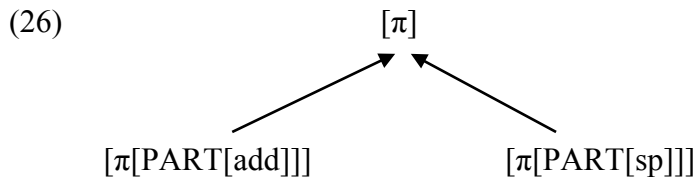
Low Nominative Objects can only agree with the verb in number, but not in person. This pattern can be straightforwardly explained if the person feature of the Quirky Subject is specified as π and then intervenes between the agreement head and the Low Nominative Object.

Béjar (2003) additionally shows that the default values of the ϕ -feature geometry proposed by Harley & Ritter (2002) have to be parameterized to account for the differences in agreement restrictions attested in Languages like Basque, Georgian and Nishnaabemwin, among others. According to Béjar (2003) three different ϕ -geometries would be in principle available by Universal Grammar. The first ϕ -geometry is similar to Harley & Ritter’s (2002) one, where the value *speaker* is provided as the default value, as in (25a). In (25b) the value *addressee* is provided as the default one, and in (25c) there is no default value at all.

- (25) a. *speaker* as default
 $[\pi] \Leftrightarrow 3^{\text{rd}}$ $[\pi[PART]] \Leftrightarrow 1^{\text{nd}}$ $[\pi[PART[\text{add}]]] \Leftrightarrow 2^{\text{st}}$
 b. *addressee* as default
 $[\pi] \Leftrightarrow 3^{\text{rd}}$ $[\pi[PART]] \Leftrightarrow 2^{\text{nd}}$ $[\pi[PART[\text{sp}]]] \Leftrightarrow 1^{\text{st}}$
 c. full specification
 $[\pi] \Leftrightarrow 3^{\text{rd}}$ $[\pi[PART[\text{add}]]] \Leftrightarrow 2^{\text{nd}}$ $[\pi[PART[\text{sp}]]] \Leftrightarrow 1^{\text{st}}$

As argued by Béjar (2003), different ϕ -geometries imply different entailment relations. If entailment is bottom-up, the entailment relations in (25c) will be

the followings: $[\pi[\text{PART}[\text{add}]]]$ and $[\pi[\text{PART}[\text{sp}]]]$ both entail $[\pi]$ and do not entail each other, as depicted in (26).



Assuming that the full specification option is the option instantiated in Spanish, French and European Portuguese⁴, we can rephrase the OAE in the following terms:

- (27) *Obviation Agreement Effect* (final version)
 If the ϕ -features of subject agreement are entailed by the ϕ -features of the Object, then the Object must be locally free.

The Obviation Effect spelled out in (27) is similar *in spirit* to the *relativized* Condition C proposed by Lasnik (1989), whereby a nominal cannot be bound by other nominal located lower in the referential scale in (28b).

- (28) a. A less referential expression may not bind a more referential one.
 b. pronoun < epithet < name [Lasnik 1986: (51’)]

In the case of (27) Condition B is relativized to ϕ -feature entailments (Béjar 2003).

4. Deriving the OAE

4.1 Reflexive clitics as minimal pronouns (Kratzer 2009)

⁴ This is, however, an empirical issue. If (25a) or (25b) ϕ -geometries are adopted, the system apparently over-generates. For (25b), it would be possible in principle for a 1nd person subject to bind a 2st person object, given that 1nd person is more specific than 2st person. However, the OAE in (27) is a condition on Obviation; it specifies which sort of co-references are impossible, not which ones are possible.

Following Kratzer (2009), I will assume that pronouns in syntax come in two flavors: (i) as *minimal pronouns* underspecified for ϕ -features and interpreted as variables, and (ii) as *indexical pronouns* with the full set of ϕ -features already specified in syntax. Kratzer (2009) justifies the existence of *minimal pronouns* in syntax in order to account for the bound variable reading of 1st and 2nd person pronouns (29a).

- (29) Only Iⁱ did myⁱ homework
 a. I am the only x such that x did x's homework (bound reading)
 b. I am the only x such that x did my homework (referential reading)

1st and 2nd person pronouns triggering bound variable readings are called fake indexical pronouns because 1st and 2nd features contained in them are not semantically interpreted (Rullman 2004). If they were interpreted, the bound variable reading of the possessive pronoun in (29a) would be impossible, contrary to the facts.

There are good reasons to analyze reflexive clitics in Romance Language as fake indexical pronouns. On the one hand, they always trigger bound variable readings in ellipsis (30) and under the scope of quantifier binders (31).

- (30) Me defendí mejor que Pedro.
 1sgO defended.1sS better than Peter
 'I defended myself better than Peter.'
 a. ✓ I defended myself better than Peter [defended himself]
 b. ✗ I defended myself better than Peter [defended me]

- (31) Solo yo me entiendo.
 Only I 1sgO understand.1sS
 'Only I understand myself'
 a. ✓ I am the only x such that x understands x.
 b. ✗ I am the only x such that x understands me.

On the other hand, reflexive clitics are ungrammatical in the so-called *Mme Toussard* contexts (Jackendoff 1992). The sentence in (32) cannot be interpreted as Ringo's shaving his own statue at the wax museum. These

properties of reflexive clitics can be nicely grasped if they are analyzed as variables.

- (32) Ringo dijo: “me afeité en el museo de cera”.
 Ring said 1sgO shave in the museum of wax
 ‘Ringo said: I shaved myself in the wax museum’

It is commonly believed that Reflexive Clitics *ReflCL* Constructions have to be kept separate from Reflexive Strong Pronoun *ReflStr* Constructions (Burzio 1986). In Standard Italian, for example, *ReflCLs* selects for the auxiliary verb ‘essere’ (33a), but *ReflStr* select for the auxiliary verb ‘avere’ (33b).

- (33) a. Gianni si è accusato.
 G. 3refl be.3sg accused
 b. Gianni ha accusato se stesso.
 G. have.3sg accused him self
 ‘Gianni has accused himself.’ [Burzio 1986: 395-6]

It is thus important to stress that my analysis only deals with Reflexive Clitic *ReflCL* Constructions.

4.2 Reflexive clitics are person clitics (Kayne 2003)

Kratzer’s solution to bound reading of indexical pronouns consists on claiming that fake indexical pronouns are born in syntax as mere indices and pick up their ϕ -features via binding relations in the PF branch of syntactic derivations. Departing from Kratzer (2009), I will assume that minimal pronouns are minimally specified in syntax as $[\pi]$.

- (34) a. $[\pi]$ (minimal pronoun)
 b. $[\pi[\text{PART}[\text{sp}]]]$ (indexical pronoun)

The reason is based on Kayne (2003)’s hypothesis that 1st, 2nd and reflexive clitics form a natural class, excluding 3rd person accusative and dative clitics. We will call the class containing 1st, 2nd and 3rd reflexive clitics as ϕ -clitics and 3rd person clitics as Determiner clitics. Kayne (2003) shows that ϕ -clitics are morphemes that carry only pure person (and number) features. Determiner

Firstly, Determiner clitics show gender inflection (35a), but ϕ -clitics do not (35b) [Kayne 2003: 134].

- Secondly, Determiner clitics realize regular plural morphology, but ϕ -clitics does not [Kayne 2003: 140].

- Thirdly, the lateral morpheme *l-* that typically surface in Determiner clitics never combines with possessive markers (37b-b'), but all the consonants (*m-*, *t-*, *s-*, ...) making up ϕ -clitics do (37a-a') [Kayne 2003: 141].

- Finally, I want to add that reflexive clitics- as happens with 1st and 2nd person clitics- give rise to Person Effects in clitic clusters (Bonet 1991, Ormazabal & Romero 2007). This sort of Person Effects can be obtained if ϕ -clitics Agree (Chosmkky 2000) with the ϕ -Probe contained in little v^5 .

⁵ That means that if the IO needs to establish a formal dependency with *v* (i.e. checking its Dative case against *v*), such a formal dependency will be forbidden. This situation could fall under the *Object Agreement Constraint*: “If the verbal complex encodes object agreement, no other argument can be licensed through verbal agreement.” [Ormazabal and Romero 2007: (50)]. In the case of (38a), the reflexive pronoun agrees with little *v*, leaving no room for the dative pronoun to check its Dat case against little *v*.

- (38) a. Juanⁱ seⁱ (*le^j) entregó a la policía^j.
 Juan 3refl 3sgIO delivered.3sS to the police
 ‘Juan delivered himself to the police’
 [Kaminszczik & Saab 2015: (1b)]
- b. Juan me (*le^j) entregó a la policía^j.
 Juan 1sgO 3sgIO delivered.3sS to the police
 ‘Juan delivered me to the police’

The ungrammaticality of (38) shows that a finer distinction between Determiner and reflexive clitics has to be made. Such a distinction can be obtained if it is assumed –following Kayne (2003)- that ϕ -clitics contains only person features, including 3rd person, but Determiner clitics lack any sort of person specification, that is if Determiner clitics are specified as non-person clitics. The ϕ -specification of person pronouns in Romance Languages are thus specified as follows:

- (39) *ϕ -feature make-up of ObjCLs in Romance:*
- a. 3rd person: [π] \Leftrightarrow /se/
 b. 2nd person: [π [PART [add]]] \Leftrightarrow /te/
 c. 1st person: [π [PART [sp]]] \Leftrightarrow /me/

4.3 Step I: Agree (Chomsky 2000)

Kratzer (2009)’s main innovation is to assume that binders for pronouns are provided by verbal inflectional heads, rather than by ‘antecedent’ DPs (Adger & Ramchand 2005). She argues that little ν introduces external arguments and a binder that locally binds a pronoun within its sister VP. The argument introduced by ν and the pronoun bound from ν receives a co-referential or covarying interpretation. (40b) represents the semantic derivation of a simple reflexive sentence like (40a).

- (40) a. I blame myself
 b. [_{VP} I [_v[n] [_{VP} blame [n]]]], parsed as [_{VP} I [_v [λ [n] [_{VP} blame [n]]]]]

Let’s be more explicit about the syntactic derivation of (40b). Recall that I am departing from Kratzer (2009) in assuming that minimal pronouns are always minimally specified as π in syntax. The immediate syntactic consequence of this assumption is that a minimal pronoun in object position has to Agree

(Chomsky 2000) with the ϕ -Probe contained in little v^6 . In the syntactic derivation of a reflexive sentence like (41a), little v Agrees with the internal argument of the verb (41b), a minimal pronoun in this case.

- (41) a. Yo me ví. ‘I saw myself’
 b.
 c. *Yo se ví.
 I 3refl saw.1sS

However, if nothing else is added, we expect that the final spell-out of the ObjCL will be the 3rd person reflexive clitic *se* (41c), contrary to the facts.

4.4 Step 2: Predication and Spell-Out

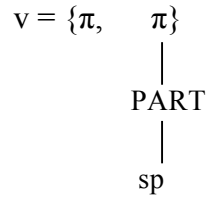
Kratzer (2009) proposes a way to overcome this type of spell-out problem through an operation called Predication (42).

- (42) *Predication.*
 When a DP occupies the specifier position of a head that carries a λ -operator their ϕ -feature sets unify.
- (43) *Unification.*
 An operation that applies to expression $\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n$ with associated feature set A_1, \dots, A_n and assigns to each $\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n$ the new set $U \{A_1, \dots, A_n\}$.

⁶ I depart from (Kratzer 2009) in assuming that variables are not born in syntax as mere indices. This allows me to derive fake indexical clitics without *Feature Transmission under Binding* (Kratzer 2009: 195). This is a welcome theoretical consequence, given the fact that *Feature Transmission under Binding* and *Agree* (Chomsky 2000) mainly overlap.

As a consequence of Predication (42), the ϕ -feature set $\{[\pi]\}$ contained in little v in (41b) unifies with the ϕ -feature set $\{[\pi[\text{PART}[\text{sp}]]]\}$ of the DP placed at $[\text{Spec}, \text{vP}]$. When little v in (41b) arrives to PF, it bears the following ϕ -feature set:

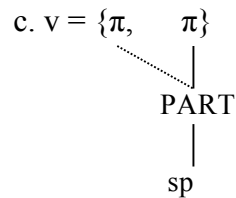
(44) ϕ -feature set of v at PF (after Predication)



Under a Late Insertion model like Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993), the elements belonging to the set in (44) compete for insertion and the more specific one will win the competition. If Spanish contains the Vocabulary Items in (45a-b), then the most specific one will be chosen: (45a) in this particular case. This is equivalent to collapse the features contained in (44) as a single morpheme, in a way similar to a re-linking process (45c).

(45) a. $[\pi[\text{PART}[\text{sp}]]]$ \Leftrightarrow /me/

b. $[\pi]$ \Leftrightarrow /se/



One of the advantages of this analysis is that the OAE in (27) comes for free: if the Subject binds locally the Object, that always means that the ϕ -features in Object agreement never entail the ϕ -features in Subject agreement.

4.5 Variation in Clitic Reflexive Constructions.

In previous section, I have shown how reflexive clitics are derived in Spanish, a language in which the final spell-out of the reflexive clitic fully reflects the ϕ -features of its binder. But –as we have seen in section 2- there are two additional spell-out options instantiated by Paduan (7a) and Milanese (8), languages in which reflexive clitics only partially reflect the ϕ -features of their binders.

4.5.1 Milanese

In Milanese – as shown in (8)- two different clitics surface in reflexive sentences: (i) one clitic reflects the ϕ -features of its binder and (ii) the other one reflects the ϕ -features of the minimal pronoun.

- (8) Mi^i a $[ma \quad sa]^i$ lavi i mam.
 I SCL 1sO refl wash the hands
 ‘I wash my hands’

This pattern is straightforwardly explained if one assumes the Vocabulary Items in (46a-b) for Milanese. In this particular case, both VIs are not competing to each other and two different exponents can be spelt-out, an operation similar to Fission (Noyer 1992), as depicted in (46c).

- (46) a. $[\pi]$ \Leftrightarrow /sa/
 b. $[sp]$ \Leftrightarrow /ma/
 c. $v = \{\pi, \pi\} \Rightarrow \langle ma, sa \rangle$
 |
 PART
 \neq
 sp

It is worth pointing out that the 1st person clitic in Milanese has neutralized number features. It can be employed to cross-reference either singular or plural 1st person internal arguments [Kayne 2003: 136].

- (47) a. El me véd nun
 SCL 1O see.3sS us
 ‘He sees us.’
 b. El me véd nò.
 SCL 1O see.3sS not
 ‘He does not see me/us.’

This piece of data brings additional support to the above assumption that the VI of the 1st person clitic is smaller in size than that of other ϕ -clitics in Milanese.

4.5.2 Paduan

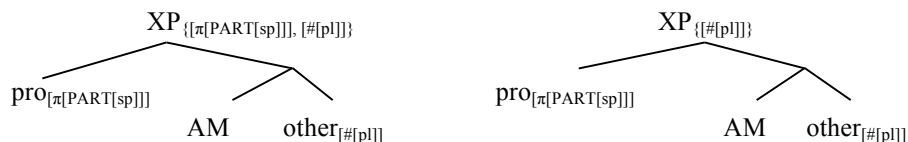
Finally, the case of Paduan in (7a) remains to be explained.

- (7a) Noialtri se lavémo le man.
We 3refl wash.1pl S the hands
'We washed our hands' [Kayne 2009: (69)]

It's widely assumed that 1st and 2nd plural pronouns are not a plurality of speakers or addressees, but the association of the speaker or the addressee with a given group of individuals. A simple way to account for the associative interpretation of 1st and 2nd plural pronouns consists on building them with a cover associative marker AM. This AM takes as its complement a group of associates and a focal referent –the individual of the group that represents the whole group- as its specifier (Vassilieva 2005). Interestingly enough, the 1st person plural pronoun *noi/altri* in Paduan can be decomposed into *noi* 'we' –the focal referent- plus *altri* 'others' –the associate-.

The proposal I want to defend here is that the 1st plural pronoun *noialtri* in Paduan only projects the plural feature of the associated ‘others’ to the label of the pronoun XP, as represented in (48b).

- (48) a. Projection of person + number features. b. Projection of number feature only.

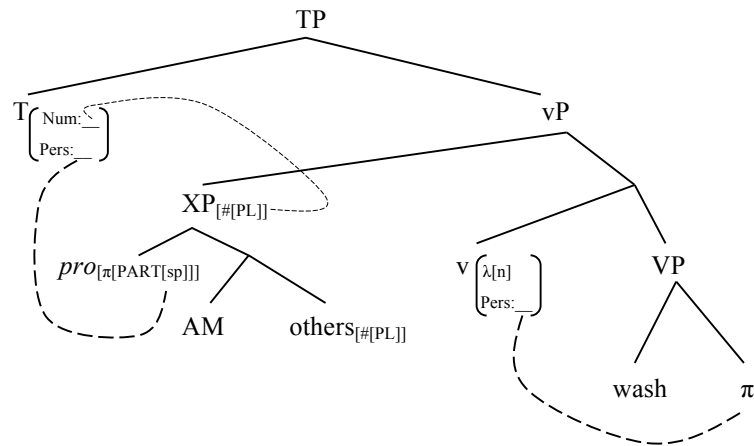


It is worth noticing that in Spanish the 1st plural pronoun *nosotros* ‘we/us’ in the partitive coda of a distributed quantifier like ‘each’ can optionally project its ϕ -feature to the label of the Quantifier Phrase QP, triggering 1st plural agreement on the verb (49a). If there is no percolation of the ϕ -features of the 1st plural partitive coda, the verb cross-references only the ϕ -features of the 3rd person singular head *each* of the QP, as shown in (49b).

- (49) a. Cada uno de nosotros solo quiere-{mos} volver a {nuestra} casa
Each one of us only want- 1plS come to our house
b. Cada uno de nosotros solo quiere-{Ø} volver a {su} casa.
Each one of us only want- 3sS come to his house
'Each of us only wants to go home'

We already have all the pieces to derive the final spell-out of the reflexive clitic in the Paduan sentence in (7a). The 1st plural pronoun *noialtri* in Paduan corresponds with the structure in (48b), where only the plural feature of the associated ‘others’ percolates to the label of the pronoun XP. The higher ϕ -Probe in T can Agree in person with the 1st person pronoun in the Spec, XP – the focal referent- and in number with the label XP, as depicted in (50a).

- (50) a. Noialtri se lave- **mo**.
 We 3refl wash-**1pl S**



After Predication, little *v* must be spelled-out as a 3rd person reflexive clitic, because Unification fails to transmit the ϕ -features of the 1st person pronoun (the focal referent), only the ϕ -features of the associate group ‘others’ are, as represented in (51c).

- (51) a. $[\pi[\text{PART}[\text{sp}]]] + [\#[\text{PL}]]$ \Leftrightarrow /ne/
 b. $[\pi]$ \Leftrightarrow /se/
 c. $v = \{\pi, [\#[\text{PL}]]\}$ \Rightarrow /se/

The Vocabulary Item in (51a) contains features that are absent in the syntactic node *v* and then it is not an available candidate for Insertion. Only the VI in (51b) can be inserted.

The only additional assumptions we have adopted are (i) that 1st and 2nd person pronouns require a cover Associative Marker AM and (ii) that the person features of the ‘focal participant’ (Vassilieva 2005) sometimes do not percolate to the label of the maximal projection that dominates them. The former assumption is independently motivated by the special semantics of plural features present in 2nd and 1st plural pronouns and the latest one

receives empirical support from the variable form of the verb in Spanish when the distributed quantifier *each* takes a 1st person plural pronoun as its partitive coda, as previously shown in (49).

5. Conclusions.

I have shown that APBE with 1st and 2nd clitics depends on the agreement features –syntactically active- contained into its clause-mate subject, that is the ϕ -features end to be contained in Subject agreement. I have developed a novel syntactic analysis for reflexive clitics as fake indexical clitics (Kratzer 2009) that accounts in a unified way for their semantic, syntactic and morphological properties in Romance Languages. My analysis retains the more appealing aspects of Kayne's (2009) analysis: the syntax of reflexive clitics is kept invariant and (micro-)variation is regarded as different externalization strategies employed by different Romance Languages. Contrary to Kayne's (2009) analysis, my analysis accounts in a principled way for the OAE.

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