Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 10

Selected papers from 'Going Romance' 28, Lisbon

edited by
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Introduction

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This volume presents a collection of contributions selected from the program of the 28th symposium on Romance linguistics *Going Romance* 2014. Following the tradition of this longstanding European conference series, Romance languages are focused from the perspective of current linguistic theorizing and concomitantly provide the testing ground for new theoretical views.

The 28th *Going Romance* was held in Lisbon from 4 to 6 December 2014 as a joint initiative of the Linguistics centers of Universidade de Lisboa and Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. The program covered a total of forty selected papers that were submitted for oral presentation at the two-days main session or at one of the three workshops hosted in the third day: *Constituent order variation*, *Crosslinguistic microvariation in language acquisition* and *Subordination in Old Romance.* All authors were invited to submit their papers for publication. These were submitted to peer-reviewing, following the usual procedure in the publication of the *Going Romance* volumes.

This volume presents eleven of the twenty-one papers submitted for publication as well as contributions by the plenary speakers invited to Lisbon, Alain Rouveret, Guido Mensching, Luigi Rizzi, and Roberta D'Alessandro (in a joint work with Mark van Oostendorp). The papers cover many different topics: agreement, case, locality, intervention, labeling, EPP-features, clause typing, parataxis, information structure, clitics, subject properties, reflexives, vocatives, collective and distributive interpretations, quantifier fronting, focus, resultatives, and causatives. They are framed in different theoretical perspectives, and different research paradigms, such as the cartographic generative framework, microvariation, diachronic change, and experimental syntax. The dominant grammatical field is syntax and its interfaces (prosody, semantics, discourse, processing). Among the Romance languages investigated we find Asturian, Catalan, (European and Brazilian) Portuguese, French, Galician, Italian, Romanian, Sardinian, and Spanish.

In this introduction, we also present a brief summary of each paper in this volume.

Alcaraz critically reviews some well-known data on obviation and agreement and develops a novel syntactic account for the Absence of Principle B Effects with 1st and 2nd person clitics in Romance languages. The proposed analysis is based on a feature decomposition approach and considers the existence of fake indexical clitics (Kratzer 2009) in Romance languages, while retaining some crucial aspects of Kayne's (2009) analysis.

Based on new data from Italian, **Casalicchio** proposes a new cartographic analysis of pseudo-relative clauses as small clauses with a ForceP projection that can be embedded in different syntactic environments. Thus, a mono-structure approach to pseudo-relatives can provide an explanation for their contradictory behavior in syntactic tests, with the differences being explained by the wider context where the pseudo-relative is inserted.

The paper by **Colaço and Matos** addresses (a subset of) explicative clauses in European Portuguese, discussing their status with respect to coordination, subordination, or autonomous discursive devices. A syntactic account of these explicative clauses is proposed, in the cases where they are the result of Parenthetical Merge, thus accounting for their contradictory behavior.

The contribution by **D'Alessandro and van Oostendorp** challenges the idea that vocatives are exceptions to the regularity of the language. Instead, based on central and southern Italian vocatives, the authors show that vocatives are not only perfectly regular, but they are also part of the grammar, the apparent idiosyncratic behavior of vocatives being the result of different mappings of deictic features onto prosodic contours.

Dobrovie-Sorin, Ellsiepen and Hemforth consider the experimental results of four studies on the availability of distributive readings in three types of French sentences that differ with respect to their subjects. The major difference found in the experiments is that the distributive reading is preferred with "*the majority of* DPs" while dispreferred with plural definite DPs and group DPs. The authors discuss the results in light of competition-based accounts and complexity-based accounts, and argue in favor of the latter, which attributes dispreferred readings to an increase in processing load.

The paper by **Folli and Harley** works on a syntactic approach to the *verb-framed/satellite-framed* typology, proposing that the variation is accounted for by means of a head-movement parameter, depending on the variety of uninterpretable feature that is bundled as *v* in change-of-state constructions (resulting in the mandatory head-movement to change-of-state *v*° in *verb-framed* languages).

Garzonio and Rossi discuss complex Italian PPs involving a lexical P followed by a functional P. They provide a syntactic account of the variation displayed by these functional Ps, which are analyzed as case-markers in a split-PP framework, thus explaining their distributional properties with respect to the lexical

P, the syntactic category of their complement, and the subcategorizing predicate, mainly as a by-product of the various alternations triggered for purely structural requirements.

Within a cartographic generative framework, **Mensching** provides an analysis of *yes/no* interrogatives in Sardinian that challenges the view that IntP is universally needed to license *yes/no* questions. The proposal put forth in this paper capitalizes on the activation of the left peripheral FocP by discussing the properties of three types of *yes/no* interrogatives in Sardinian (focus fronting vs. predicate fronting vs. question particle *ite* fronting, a type of interrogative that is here described for the first time).

Moreno and Petersen examine defective intervention arguing that Bruening's (2014) counterexamples are only apparent, providing explanations for them on the basis of adverb placement and the hierarchical architecture of clauses with experiencers. They further show that Romance languages involve different mechanisms in obviating defective intervention, which straightforwardly accounts for the variation they display.

Poole's paper focuses on the diachronic change in the information-structure interpretation of two phenomena in Spanish (a change from wide focus to verum focus in Quantifier Fronting in Old vs. Modern Spanish; declarative verb-clitic orders in Old Spanish vs. Conservative Asturian). His proposal argues that this change is the result of a mechanism of syntactization of discourse, whereby the syntactic mechanism for left peripheral displacement changes from a formal EPP feature to information structure specific syntactic features, as a consequence of changes to the locus of EPP and Tense features.

Rizzi's paper discusses the theoretical principles ECP and EPP and explores an alternative analysis to explain the link between special properties of subjects that each of these principles had to take into account. Following the cartographic framework and in particular the notion of criterial freezing, the paper gives an original account for the asymmetries between subjects and objects.

Rouveret's paper discusses whether two separate notions of locality should be maintained in the theory of grammar. By discussing in detail two different processes, namely *respectively* interpretation and clitic placement, in the French *faire*-infinitive construction, he argues against a unified account of locality. Additionally, the paper discusses the role that different types of locality conditions play considering the different components of the Faculty of Language.

Sánchez López investigates exceptional optative sentences in Ibero-Romance languages that are headed by the *who*-word. The account proposed in the paper builds on the assumption that optative sentences bear an EX(pressive) illocutionary Force operator, which bears a person feature. In a sufficiently local configuration, EX can bind the subject, which explains the exceptional optatives in

Romance. The account further provides empirical support to the hypothesis that clause typing operators can bear person features and contribute to the sentence both semantically and syntactically.

The paper by **Sheehan and Cyrino** is concerned with the availability of the *faire-par* (FP) causative construction in the Romance languages and the related microparametric variation across Romance varieties. Brazilian Portuguese is taken as a case study to trace a proposal on the diachronic development of this causative. The idea is that the obligatory suppression of the *by*-phrase combined with the possibility of ECM/inflected causative complements permitted reanalysis, leading to the loss of FP in some Portuguese and Spanish varieties.

Zimmermann reconsiders the debate on the morpho-syntactic status of subject pronouns in contemporary formal French, through the discussion on their status, their paradigms, and the issue of the null subject property. The author provides, thus, evidence that Modern Standard French has two paradigms of prosodically strong subjects, and phonologically clitic subject pronouns and does behave as a non null subject language.

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The obviation agreement effect*

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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 and Ritter 2002) and the existence in Romance languages of fake indexicals clitics (Kratzer 2009).

Keywords: Absence of Principle B Effects; clitics; reflexives; fake indexicals; features; agreement

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 and 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. Yo[i]   me[i] ví   en el   espejo.
         I.NOM 1SO saw.1SS in the mirror
         'I saw myself in the mirror.'

---

b. Juan^i 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]

In contrast, 3rd person clitics are always subject to Principle B. A dedicated reflex-
ive 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 and Van Wyngaerd (2011) as Absence of Principle B Effects (APBE).

(2) a. Juan^i lo$^{*i/j}$ vio.
         J.   3so   saw.3ss
         'Juan saw him.'

     b. Juan^i se$^{i/*j}$ vió.
         J.   3REFL saw.3ss
         'Juan saw himself.'

A new minimalist analysis has 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 suppletiv-
ism 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 and 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: [α]→[β] (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.

(3) Syntax ⇒   … {α, β} …

~~<α,β>~~   <α,β>   <α,β>   <α,β>
Dialect₁   Dialect₂   Dialect₃   *Dialect₄
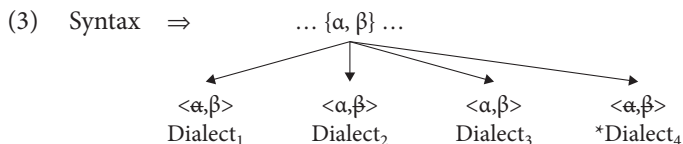
In Kayne's (2009) theory α and β are syntactic pieces not subject to variation (or at least to micro-variation). Dialects can differ in the way α and β are pronounced: whereas α and β are both pronounced in Dialect₃, only α is pronounced in Dialect₂ and only β in Dialect₁, as depicted in (3). Dialect₄ in (3) is predicted not to exist: if both α and β are not pronounced, their content cannot be recovered.[1]

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).

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1. 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.

(5) a. On   NOUS^i a   tous^i ri.
         One has.3ss all-PL laughed
         'We have all laughed.'

     b. $^?$On NOUS^i a essayé de faire semblant de nous^i laver.
         "We tried to pretend to wash ourselves."   [Kayne 2009, (42)]

     c. a.*On   NOUS^{i+} me^i 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. Yo^i me^i SE ví   en el   espejo.
         I.NOM 1so   saw.1ss in   the mirror
         'I saw myself in the mirror.'

     b. John^i loves him^i-*(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.1PLS 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) Mi[i] 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 varia-
tion 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 anal-
ysis 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 sim-
ple 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 that the silent clitic 1PL is pro-
nominal 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 Dialect$_4$, 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) ʾOn NOUS^i a essayé de faire semblant de nous^i 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 and 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 and Pereira 2013).

(14) a. A   gente^i viu-se^i no espelho.
          The people   saw.3SS-3REFL in   the mirror.

      b. A   gente^i vimo-nos^i 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 and Pereira 2013, Martins 2009), (15b) is unattested.

(15) a. % A   gente^i vimos-se^i no espelho.
              The people   saw.1PL-3REFL in   the mirror.

      b. *A   gente^i viu-nos^i 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   gente^i disse   que o   Pedro nos^i viu.
      The people   say.3SS that the Pedro 1PLO saw.
      'We people said that Peter saw us.'   [Costa and 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.   Ustedes^i os^i engañáis.
             Thou.PL   2OPL   cheat.2PLS

       b.   Ustedes^i se^i 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.   % Ustedes^i se^i engañáis.
                 Thou.PL   3REFL   cheat.2pSl

       b.   *Ustedes^i os^i engañan.
               Thou.PL   2OPL   cheat.3PLS
               'Y'all cheat yourselves.'

Co-reference between the pronoun *ustedes* triggering 3rd person plural agreement and the 2nd person plural ObjCL *os* becomes possible if and only if the ObjCL *os* is placed outside the local domain of *ustedes*, its binder (21).

(21)   Ustedes^i dicen   que   [él]   os^i engaña.[2]
         Thou.PL   say.3PLS   that   he   2OPL   cheat.3ss
         'You say that he cheats you.'

As we already saw for French and European Portuguese, Western Andalusian Spanish also exhibits Obviation Agreement Effects.

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2.   http://andaluciainformacion.es/ronda/318257/el-jamn-plantea-una-drstica-reduccin-de-derechos-salariales/

(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.

All these cases cannot be accounted for under Kayne's (2009) proposal: if there
is a silent reflexive clitic to protect the ObjCL from violating Principle B, it is not
obvious why Western Andalusian Spanish (20b), French (11b) and EP (15b) are
ungrammatical. This leads us to look for an alternative analysis.

3.3   A feature geometry for the OAE (Harley and Ritter 2002)

It seems intuitively right that the formal restriction underlying the OAE is that
the φ-features of the subject cannot be less specified than the φ-features of the
ObjCL in order for the subject to bind the object. What is needed at this point is
a theory of φ-features able to formalize the intuition that 1st and 2nd person are
more specified than 3rd person.

    Harley and 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 and Ritter (2002) relegate 3rd
person pronouns as non-person pronouns (Benveniste 1966).

(23)   a. 1st person   b. 2nd person   c. 3rd person
            [R(eferential) E(xpresion)]   [RE]   [RE]
                        | |
            [PART(icipant)]   [PART]
                                                     |
                                                  [add(resse)]

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 per-
son 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.'

        b. $[T_{[person:\_\,]} \ldots [DAT_{[\pi]} \ldots [\ldots NOM_{[\pi[PART]]}]]]$

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 and 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 and 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
          [π] ⇔ 3rd   [π[PART]] ⇔ 1nd   [π[PART[add]]] ⇔ 2nd
      b. *addressee* as default
          [π] ⇔ 3rd   [π[PART]] ⇔ 2nd   [π[PART[sp]]] ⇔ 1st
      c. full specification
          [π] ⇔ 3rd   [π[PART[add]] ⇔ 2nd   [π[PART[sp]]] ⇔ 1st

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: [π[PART[add]]] and [π[PART[sp]]] both entail [π] and do not entail each other, as depicted in (26).

(26)   [π]

      [π[PART[add]]]   [π[PART[sp]]]
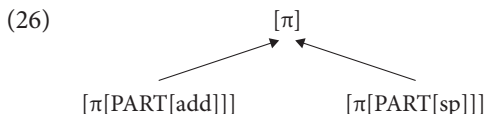
Assuming that the full specification option is the option instantiated in Spanish, French and European Portuguese,[3] we can rephrase the OAE in the following terms:

(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.

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3. 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 1st person subject to bind a 2nd person object, given that 1nd person is more specific than 2nd 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.

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)

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 I^i did my^i 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. $[\pi[PART[sp]]]$ (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 clitics does not bear any person feature. Several differences are found between both classes of clitics, as shown by Kayne (2003).

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

(35) a. Jean me/*ma   voit.
          J.   1so/1fso   sees
          'Jean sees me.'

      b. Jean le /la   voit.
          J.   3mso/3fso   sees
          'John sees him/her.'

Secondly, Determiner clitics realize regular plural morphology, but φ-clitics do not (Kayne 2003, 140).

(36) a. *Jean me-s   voit.
           J.   1o-PL   sees.
          'Jean sees us.'

      b. Jean le-s   voit.
          J.   3mo-PL   sees
          'Jean sees them.'

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).

(37) a. m-on livre 'my book'   a'. la m-ienne 'mine'
      b. *l-on livre 'the book'   b'. *la l-ienne 'hers'

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 and Romero 2007). This sort of Person Effects can be obtained if φ-clitics Agree (Chosmky 2000) with the φ-Probe contained in little *v*.[4]

(38) a. Juan[i] se[i]   (*le[j])   entregó   a la   policía[j].
          Juan 3REFL   3sGIO delivered.3ss to the police
          'Juan delivered himself to the police.'

                                             [Kaminszczik and 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.

---

4.   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*.

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] ⇔ /se/
    b.   2nd person: [π [PART [add]]] ⇔ /te/
    c.   1st person: [π [PART [sp]]] ⇔ /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 and Ramchand 2005). She argues that little *v* introduces external arguments and a binder that locally binds a pronoun within its sister VP. The argument introduced by *v* and the pronoun bound from *v* 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*.[5] 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.

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5.   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.

(41)   a.   Yo me ví.   'I saw myself.'

   b.
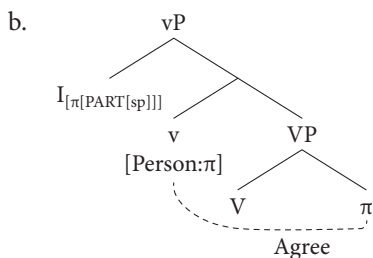
   c.   *Yo se   ví.
        I   3REFL   saw.1ss

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 $\alpha_1,\ldots,\alpha_n$ with associated
            feature set $A_1,\ldots, A_n$ and assigns to each $\alpha_1,\ldots\alpha_n$ the new set
       U $\{A_1,\ldots A_n\}$.

As a consequence of Predication (42), the φ-feature set $\{[\pi]\}$ contained in little *v* in (41b) unifies with the φ-feature set $\{[\pi[PART[sp]]]\}$ of the DP placed at [Spec, 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)
       $v = \{\pi, \quad \pi\}$
                    |
                 PART
                    |
                   sp

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.   [π[PART[sp]]]   ⇔ /me/
       b.   [π]   ⇔ /se/
       c.   v = {π,   π}
                              |
                          PART
                              |
                            sp

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 ReflCL 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 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.   [π]   ⇔ /sa/
       b.   [sp]   ⇔ /ma/
       c.   v = {π,   π}   => <ma, sa>
                              |
                          PART
                              ǂ
                            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

      b. El   me   véd   nò.
          SCL 1O   see.3ss not

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

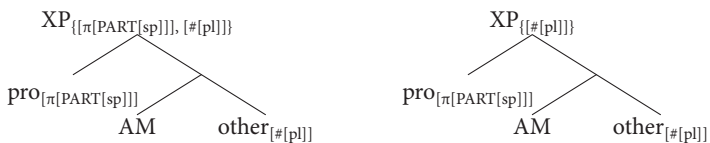Finally, the case of Paduan in (7a) remains to be explained.

(7a) Noialtri se   lavémo   le   man.
      We   3REFL   wash.1PL s the   hands
      'We washed our hands.'   [Kayne 2009, (69)]

It is widely assumed that 1st and 2nd plural pronouns are not a plurality of speakers or addresses, 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 *noialtri* 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   b. Projection of number feature only.
          features.

$$XP_{\{[\pi[PART[sp]]], [\#[pl]]\}}$$

$$pro_{[\pi[PART[sp]]]}$$ AM $$other_{[\#[pl]]}$$

$$XP_{\{[[\#[pl]]]\}}$$

$$pro_{[\pi[PART[sp]]]}$$ AM $$other_{[\#[pl]]}$$

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 quere- mos.
            Each one of us   only want- 1PLS

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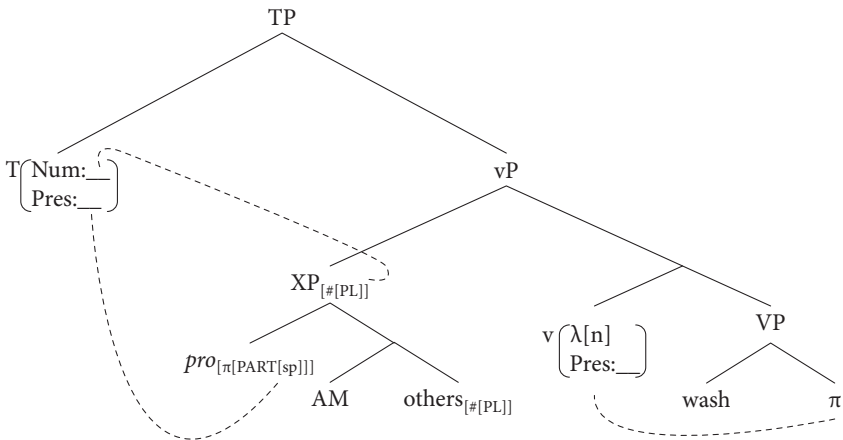
After Predication, little *v* must be spelled-out as a 3rd person reflexive clitic, because Unification fails to transmit the φ-features of the 1st person pronoun (the focal referent), only the φ-features of the associate group 'others' are, as represented in (51c).

(51)   a. $[\pi[\text{PART}[\text{sp}]]] + [\#[\text{PL}]]$ ⇔   /ne/
       b. $[\pi]$ ⇔   /se/
       c. $v = \{\pi, [\#[\text{PL}]]\}$ => /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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Pseudo-relatives and their left-periphery

A unified account*

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In this article I propose a new analysis of Pseudo-Relative clauses ('PRs') within the Cartographic model (Rizzi 1997 a.o.). Heretofore, the apparently contradictory behavior of PRs in the syntactic tests used to determine their structure has been very problematic. Based on new data from Italian, I show that PRs are Small Clauses with a ForceP projection. Moreover, I explain the inconsistent results of the syntactic tests by claiming that PRs can be embedded in different syntactic environments. More specifically, they can be inserted as 'bare' Small Clauses into the matrix clause or be part of a bigger structure: i.e., a Complex-DP, a locative adjunction or a 'Larsonian' structure.

Keywords: Pseudo-relative clauses; perception verbs; predicative constructions; Italian; Romance; Small Clauses; Generative Grammar; Syntax; Cartographic model; Split-CP

1. Introduction

Pseudo-relative clauses (PRs) are a predicative construction found in all Romance languages except Romanian, as well as in some other language groups like Slavic and Greek. They correspond roughly to the English Acc-*ing* construction, witness (1)–(3):

(1)   Vedo Maria *che corre*   (Italian)

(2)   Je vois Marie *qui court*   (French)

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(3)   Veo   a   María *que corre*   (Spanish)
      I.see (to) Mary that runs
      'I see Mary running'

Since the behavior of PRs in the syntactic tests used to determine their structure appears to be contradictory, different analyses have been proposed for them, focusing on some of their properties but leaving others unexplained (Kayne 1975, Radford 1975, Burzio 1986, Guasti 1988, Rizzi 1992, a.o.). Some scholars relate the differences in the syntactic tests to the existence of more than one PR structure (Cinque 1992, Rafel 2000 a.o.). However, these analyses either do not take the whole range of PR occurrences into account, or appear more costly than previous analyses, since they postulate two or three different structures. A further problem is the fact that PRs have been significantly understudied in the last twenty years, and most accounts therefore lag behind recent theoretical developments.

This is the context in which I am proposing a new approach, which considers the existence of a Split-CP (Rizzi 1997, Benincà and Poletto 2004 a.o.), where there are several projections, each dedicated to a single scope-discourse property. Within this framework, I suggest that PRs are Small Clauses that correspond to a ForceP projection. Their conflicting properties are explained by the claim that PRs share a common structure, but that this basic structure can be inserted into different projection types.

The article is structured as follows: Section 2 discusses the properties of PRs in Italian. An overview of the literature to date is given in Section 3, while Section 4 deals with semantic differences among PRs. In the following sections I discuss my analysis of the PR-structure (§5.) and the contexts in which it can be embedded (§6.). Section 7 contains the conclusions.

2.   Pseudo-relative clauses: Description

2.1   Properties of Pseudo-relative clauses

Radford (1975) offers a list of properties that distinguish true relative clauses from PRs, the most important of which are:[1]

1.   The antecedent[2] of the PR can be a **proper noun**, and it can also be **cliticized** (impossible in restrictive relative clauses, 'RR'):

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1.   There are in fact some exceptions to the properties listed in 3–4 (see Casalicchio 2013).

2.   In this article I use the term 'antecedent' to refer to the nominal element that is coindexed with the subject of the PR. This should just be considered a descriptive label and does not imply that I consider PRs to be a subgroup of relative clauses.