



Brussels, April 2, 2014

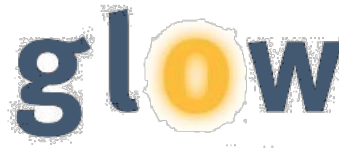
THE CLITIC BINDING RESTRICTION REVISITED EVIDENCE FOR ANTILOGOPHORICITY

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Generative Linguistics in the Old World, 37

Basic fact

- Some languages such as **French** and **Spanish** exhibit coreference restrictions in **clitic clusters** in certain cases:

(1) a. ***Anne** croit qu'on va **la lui** recommander, **au patron**, pour la promotion.
Anna thinks that s.o. will her:ACC him:DAT recommend to.the boss for the promotion

b. ***Ana** cree que **se la** recomendarán **al jefe** para el ascenso.
Anna thinks that him:DAT her:ACC recommend:FUT:3PL to.the boss for the promotion

***Anna** thinks that they will recommend **her** to **him** –**the boss**– for the promotion.*

(2) a. **Anne** croit qu'on va **la** recommander **au patron** pour la promotion.

b. **Ana** cree que **la** recomendarán **al jefe** para el ascenso.

***Anna** thinks that they will recommend **her to the boss** for the promotion.*

(3) a. (*Voici **Anne***) On va **la lui** recommander, **au patron**, pour la promotion.

b. (***Aquí está Anne***) **Se la** recomendarán **al jefe** para el ascenso.

*(Here is **Anne**) They will recommend **her** to **him** –**the boss**– for the promotion.*

Basic problem

- How to account for this coreference restriction on clitic clusters? ***Antecedent** ... **Clitic.DO** **Clitic.IO**
- Previous account (Bhatt and Šimík 2009):
Clitic Binding Restriction
- Our proposal, based on new, systematically controlled data: **Antilogophoricity Effect**
- Consequences for the **Person Case Constraint** (PCC) restriction: ***Clitic.DO.1/2P** **Clitic.IO** (**me lui*)
 - (1) a. *On va **me lui** recommander, au patron.
 - b. * **Se me/me le** recomendarán **al jefe**.
They will recommend me to him – the boss.

The plan

■ Background:

- Data
- Previous account

■ Our **new data**: experimental study

→ evidence for antilogophoricity effects

■ Our **proposal**: perspective conflict

→ new insight into PCC

■ Our **implementation**:

Logophoric operator and intervention effects

Background: a deeper look into the data

■ Condition for the constraint:

***antecedent ... Clitic.3DO Clitic.3IO**

(1) a. * **Pierre** dit qu'on **le** **lui** a présenté, **à la Reine**.
Peter says that s.o. him:ACC her:DAT has introduced to the Queen

b. * **Pedro** dice que **se** **lo** presentaron **a la Reina**.
Peter says that her:DAT him:ACC introduced:PAST:3PL to the Queen

***Peter** says that they introduced **him to her - the Queen**.*

Background: a deeper look into the data

■ Condition for the constraint: ***antecedent** ... **Clitic.3DO** **Clitic.3IO**

Whether IO is goal, benefactor or possessor

○ IO = **goal**

- (1) a. * **Pierre** dit qu'on **le lui** a présenté, **à la Reine**.
b. * **Pedro** dice que **se lo** presentaron **a la Reina**.
Peter says that they introduced **him to her - the Queen**.

○ IO = **benefactor**

- (2) a. * **Pierre** dit qu'on **le lui** a peint (**pour la Reine**).
b. * **Pedro** dice que **se lo** pintaron **para la Reina**.
Peter says that they painted **him for her (the Queen)**.

○ IO = **possessor**

- (3) a. * **Pierre** craint qu'on ne **le lui** mette dans les bras (**de la nounou**).
b. * **Pedro** teme que **se lo** pongan en los brazos **de la niñera**.
Peter is afraid that they put **him into her arms (the nanny's)**.

Background: a deeper look into the data

■ Obviating the constraint:

- ✓ antecedent ... Clitic.3DO Full DP.IO

(4) a. **Pierre** dit qu'on **l'** a présenté **à la Reine**.

Peter says that s.o. him:ACC has introduced to the Queen

b. **Pedro** dice que **lo** presentaron **a la Reina**.

Peter says that him:ACC introduced:PAST:3PL to the Queen

Peter says that they introduced him to the Queen.

Background: a deeper look into the data

■ Obviating the constraint:

- ✓ antecedent ... Clitic.3DO Strong pronoun.IO

(5) a. **Pierre** dit qu'on **l'** a présenté **à elle** (pas à lui).
Peter says that s.o. him:ACC has introduced to her not to him

b. (obligatory clitic doubling of dative pronoun in Spanish)

Peter** says that they introduced **him to HER.

Background: a deeper look into the data

■ Obviating the constraint:

- ✓ antecedent ... Clitic.3DO Clitic.Locative

(6) a. **Pierre** dit qu'on l' **y** a emmené, **au château**.
Peter says that s.o. him:ACC there has taken to.the castle

Peter says that they took him there -to the castle.

b. % **Pierre** dit qu'on l' **y** a présenté, **à la Reine**.
Peter says that s.o. him:ACC there has introduced to the Queen

Peter says that they introduced him to her – the Queen.

c. (no specific locative clitic in Spanish)

Background: a deeper look into the data

■ Obviating the constraint:

- ✓ antecedent ... Clitic.3DO Clitic.EthicalDative

(7) a. **Pierre** dit qu'on **me l'** a vendu aux ennemis.

Peter says that s.o. me:DAT him:ACC has sold to.the enemies

b. **Pedro** dice que **me lo** vendieron a los enemigos.

Peter says that me:DAT him:ACC sold:PAST:3PL to the enemies

Peter says that they sold him to the enemies on me.

Background: a deeper look into the data

■ Obviating the constraint:

○ ✓ antecedent ... Clitic.3DO Clitic.3IO

(8) a. **Pierre** dit qu'on **la** **lui** a présenté, **la Reine**.

Peter says that s.o. her:ACC him:DAT has introduced the Queen

b. **Pedro** dice que **se** **la** presentaron - **la Reina**.

Peter says that him:DAT her:ACC introduced:PAST:3PL the Queen

Peter says that they introduced her to him - the Queen.

Background: a deeper look into the data

■ Obviating the constraint:

- ✓ antecedent ... Clitic.3DO Clitic.3IO

(9) a. **Pierre** dit qu'on **le** **lui** a présenté, **Luc**, à **la Reine**.

Peter says that s.o. him:ACC her:DAT has introduced Luc to the Queen

b. **Pedro** dice que **se** **lo** presentaron, **Lucas** a **la Reina**.

Peter says that her:DAT him:ACC introduced:PAST:3PL Luc to the Queen

Peter says that they introduced *him - Luc - to her - the Queen.*

A deeper look into the data - summary

■ Condition for the constraint:

***ANTECEDENT ... CLITIC.3DO CLITIC.3IO**

goal
benefactor
possessor

versus

✓ antecedent

Clitic.3DO

locative
ethical dative
full DP
strong pronoun

Background: previous account

- First observation of the constraint:
Roca (1992) *via* Kayne, Ormazabal and Romero (2007)
- Only attempt to account for the constraint (observed in French, Spanish, Catalan, Czech, Serbo-Croatian...):
Bhatt and Šimík's (2009)

Clitic Binding Restriction (CBR)

When a [3 person] indirect object (IO) clitic and a direct object (DO) clitic co-occur in a cluster, **the DO clitic cannot be bound.**

Background: Bhatt and Šimík 2009

- CBR derives from **PCC** (Cf. Ormazabal and Romero 2007)

Person Case Constraint (PCC): *Clitic.DO.1/2P Clitic.IO

- Strong version: *Clitic.DO.1/2P Clitic.IO
- Weak version (universal): *Clitic.DO.1/2P Clitic.3IO

In a combination of a weak direct object and a (3 person) indirect object [clitic, agreement marker, or weak pronoun], the direct object has to be a third person (Bonet 1991:182; cf. Perlmutter 1971)

- (1) a. *Pierre **me lui** a recommandé.
b. *Pedro **se me/me le** recomendó. *Peter recommended **me** to **him**.*
- (2) a. Pierre **me l'**a recommandé.
b. Pedro **me lo** recomendó. *Peter recommended **him** to **me**.*

Background: Bhatt and Šimík 2009

- Standard hypothesis to account for PCC
 - 3rd person pronouns come into 2 forms – **featurally specified** or featurally **underspecified**
 - PCC requires **DO** to be featurally **underspecified**

Feature-checking approaches: the presence of a structural intervener (IO) blocks certain agree relationships between the Probe and DO.

Cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Adger&Harbour 2007, Heck&Richards 2007

Hierarchy-based approaches: failure of alignment between 2 hierarchies: the thematic/argument structure hierarchy and the person hierarchy.

Cf. Rosen 1990; Haspelmath 2004

Background: Bhatt and Šimík 2009

■ Binding and PCC

- Variable binding involves **feature transmission**

(1) Only **I** did **my** homework on time. (Cf. Kratzer 2009)

- Clitics have to respect the **Person Hierarchy**

$H: \{1 > 3, 2 > 3, \text{Bound } 3 > 3\}$

and the **Argument Structure Hierarchy**: IO > DO

- The grammar favors binding over coreference

Rule S (Roelofsen 2010, cf. Reinhart 1983)

Any interpretation of a given clause X that could be obtained via a logical form of X that violates Condition B (or other syntactic constraints on binding) is illicit.

→ 3rd person pronouns acquire features as a result of variable binding, triggering PCC effects.

Background: Bhatt and Šimík 2009

■ Illustration: CBR derives from PCC because of binding

(1) a. * **Pierre** dit qu'on **le** **lui** a présenté, **à la Reine**.
Peter says that s.o. him:ACC her:DAT has introduced to the Queen

b. * **Pedro** dice que **se** **lo** presentaron **a la Reina**.
Peter says that her:DAT him:ACC introduced:PAST:3PL to the Queen

*Peter says that they introduced **him to her - the Queen**.*

|-----|

***BoundClitic.3DO Clitic.3IO**

Problem: **Bound 3 > 3** but **IO > DO**

Experimental Study

- **Possible confound in Bhatt and Šimík's hypothesis:**
The examples of bound DO clitics in the literature usually involve **psych verbs and verbs of saying** whose subjects typically have **perspective** over the sentential complement
= the antecedent is typically a **logophoric center**
- **Goal of our experiment:** test whether **binding** (as proposed by Bhatt and Šimík) or **logophoricity** is crucially relevant, by disentangling the two factors.
- **Preview of our results:** binding by itself is not the relevant factor for this clitic cluster restriction, but rather **antilogophoricity**:
the antecedent of the DO clitic cannot be logophoric.

Experimental Study - Logophoricity

- **Logophor**: this notion was coined (by Hagège 1974) to designate certain pronominal forms in **West-African languages** (e.g. Ewe) that appear in specific environments such as indirect discourse.

(1) a. **Kofi** bey **yè**-dzo
Kofi say LOG-leave

*Kofi said that **he** left.*

b. **Kofi** bey **e**-dzo
Kofi say 3SG-leave

*Kofi said that **(s)he** left.*

The antecedent of logophors must be the **center of perspective**, i.e. *'the one whose speech, thoughts, feelings, or general state of consciousness are reported'* (Clements 1975).

- **Logophoricity** has been reported to be crucial for licensing **long distance anaphors** such as Mandarin Chinese *ziji* (a.o. Huang and Liu 2001) or Icelandic *sig* (a.o. Maling 1984).

Experimental Study – Logophoricity

■ Different types of logophoric centers (cf. Sells 1987)

- **Source**: the one who is the intentional agent of the communication
- **Self**: the one whose mental state or attitude the proposition describes
- **Pivot**: the one with respect to whose (space-time) location the content of the proposition is evaluated

■ The relevant notion of logophoric center for us: attitude holder (= Source + Self)

- attitude contexts are created by **intensional** expressions.
e.g. *x think, according to x, x's letter*
- attitude contexts can be identified independently.
e.g. change in truth conditions when substituting a DP by a coreferring term in attitude contexts (cf. Frege 1892)

Experimental Study – Conditions

■ 3 variables:

- **logophoric/non logophoric** center as antecedent
- **c-commanding/non c-commanding** antecedent
- **1-2 / 3** person IO clitic

■ Conditions

Condition	C-commanding antecedent	Logophoric antecedent	IO person
1	yes	yes	3
2	yes	yes	1/2
3	yes	no	3
4	yes	no	1/2
5	no	yes	3
6	no	yes	1/2
7	no	no	3
8	no	no	1/2

Experimental Study – Method

■ Online grammaticality judgments on a continuous scale

Basic instruction: the more you find the sentence natural (*resp.* bad), the more you should click towards the right (*resp.* left) edge of the bar.



■ 24 test items with clitic clusters

■ 6 control items with a full DP as the IO

■ Between-group design so that no participant could see both the test item and the corresponding control sentence

■ 3 training items involving clitics

■ 97 adult French native speakers

35 adult Spanish native speakers

Experimental Study – Results

■ Paired sample t-tests

- The effect is confirmed: significantly lower scores in conditions 1 and 5 as compared to the controls for both French ($p < 0.001$) and Spanish ($p < 0.001$)

Condition	C-commanding antecedent	Logophoric antecedent	IO person	Grammaticality
1	yes	yes	3	*
2	yes	yes	1/2	OK
3	yes	no	3	OK
4	yes	no	1/2	OK
5	no	yes	3	*
6	no	yes	1/2	OK
7	no	no	3	OK
8	no	no	1/2	OK

Experimental Study – Results

- **Binding** is not the crucial factor (*contra* Bhatt & Šimík 2009)
Logophoricity is.

Condition	C-commanding antecedent	Logophoric antecedent	IO person	Grammaticality
1	yes	yes	3	*
2	yes	yes	1/2	OK
3	yes	no	3	OK
4	yes	no	1/2	OK
5	no	yes	3	*
6	no	yes	1/2	OK
7	no	no	3	OK
8	no	no	1/2	OK

Experimental Study – Results

- **Binding** is not the crucial factor (*contra* Bhatt & Šimík 2009)
Logophoricity is.

- No effect when the **c-commanding** antecedent is **inanimate**.

Inanimates cannot be logophoric centers.

(1) a. **Le paquet** spécifie qu' il faut **le lui** remettre, **au concierge**.
the package indicates that it must it:ACC him:DAT give to.the doorman

b. **El paquete** especifica que **se lo** entreguen **al portero**.
the package indicates that him:DAT it:ACC give:SUBJ:3PL to.the doorman

*The package specifies that they should hand **it** over **to him –the doorman**.*

Experimental Study – Results

■ **Binding** is not the crucial factor (*contra* Bhatt & Šimík 2009)
Logophoricity is.

- No effect when the **c-commanding** antecedent is **not an attitude holder**.

(2) a. **Le criminel** s' est apparemment échappé avant que les gardes ne
the criminal refl AUX:3SG apparently escaped before that the guards EXPL
le lui livrent, **au directeur**.
him:ACC him:DAT hand:SUBJ:3PL to.the director

b. **El delincuente** aparentemente huyó antes de que **se lo**
the criminal apparently escape:PAST:3SG before of that him:DAT him:ACC
entregaran **al director**.
hand:SUBJ:3PL to.the director

The criminal apparently escaped before they handed **him** over **to him** – **the director**.

Experimental Study – Results

- **Binding** is not the crucial factor (*contra* Bhatt & Šimík 2009)
Logophoricity is.

Condition	C-commanding antecedent	Logophoric antecedent	IO person	Grammaticality
1	yes	yes	3	*
2	yes	yes	1/2	OK
3	yes	no	3	OK
4	yes	no	1/2	OK
5	no	yes	3	*
6	no	yes	1/2	OK
7	no	no	3	OK
8	no	no	1/2	OK

Experimental Study – Results

- **Binding** is not the crucial factor (*contra* Bhatt & Šimík 2009)
Logophoricity is.

- Effect when the **non-c-commanding** antecedent is an **attitude holder**: *according to x*

- (1) a. *D'après **l' enfant**, les maîtresses vont **le lui** confier, **à l' assistante**.
according.to the child the teachers will him:ACC her:DAT entrust to the assistant
- b. *Según **el niño**, las maestras **se lo** encomendarán **a la asistente**
according.to the child the teachers her:DAT him:ACC entrust:FUT:3PL to the assistant

*According to **the child**, the teachers will entrust **him to her** – **the assistant**.*

Experimental Study – Results

- **Binding** is not the crucial factor (*contra* Bhatt & Šimík 2009)
Logophoricity is.

- Effect when the **non-c-commanding** antecedent is an **attitude holder**: *x's letter*

(2) a. *La lettre **du prisonnier** explique qu'on **le lui** a livré sans
the letter of.the prisoner explains that s.o. him:ACC him:DAT has handed without
preuve, **au juge**.
evidence to.the judge

b. *La carta **del prisionero** explica que **se lo** entregaron **al juez**
the letter of.the prisoner explains that him:DAT him:ACC hand:PAST:3PL to.the judge
sin pruebas.
without evidence

The prisoner's letter explains that they handed him over to him –the judge– without evidence.

Experimental Study – Summary

✓ antecedent(~~LOG~~) DO.clitic IO.clitic
|-----c-command-----|

* antecedent(LOG) DO.clitic IO.clitic
|-----c-command-----|

Experimental Study – Conclusion

Clitic Logophoric Restriction (CLR)

When a 3rd person IO clitic and a DO clitic co-occur in a cluster, the DO clitic **cannot be anteceded by a logophoric center.**

Proposal - Antilogophoricity effect

■ In a DO-IO clitic cluster, the DO is **antilogophoric**.

■ Other **antilogophors**:

○ Epithets (Dubinsky and Hamilton 1998: 688)

- (1) a. **John** ran over a man who was trying to give **the idiot** directions
b. ***John** told us of a man who was trying to give **the idiot** directions

○ French pronouns *en/y* (Ruwet 1990)

- (2) a. **Emile** mérite que Sophie **en** tombe amoureux.

Emile deserves that Sophie of.him falls in.love

Emile *deserves it - that Sophie falls in love with him.*

- b. ***Emile** espère que Sophie **en** tombera amoureux.

Emile hopes that Sophie of.him will.fall in.love

Emile *hopes that Sophie will fall in love with him.*

Proposal - Antilogophoricity effect

■ Diagnostic for **antilogophoricity**: unavailability of epithet

- (1) a. *D'après **l'enfant**, les maîtresses vont **le lui** confier, à **l'assistante**.
b. *Según **el niño**, las maestras **se lo** encomendarán **a la asistente**.

*According to **the child**, the teachers will entrust **him to her** – **the assistant**.*

- (2) a. *D'après **l'enfant**, les maîtresses vont confier **le coquin** à **l'assistante**.
b. *Según **el niño**, las maestras encomendarán **el mocoso** a **la asistente**.

According to **the child, the teachers will entrust **the brat** to **the assistant**.*

Proposal - Antilogophoricity effect

■ Diagnostic for **antilogophoricity**: unavailability of epithet

(1) a. **Le criminel** s'est apparemment échappé avant que les gardes ne **le lui** livrent, **au directeur**.

b. **El delincuente** aparentemente huyó antes de que **se lo** entregaran **al director**.

The criminal apparently escaped before they handed **him** over **to him** – **the director**.

(2) a. **Le criminel** s'est apparemment échappé avant que les gardes ne livrent **le crétin au directeur**.

b. **El delincuente** aparentemente huyó antes de que entregaran **el cabrón al director**.

The criminal apparently escaped before they handed **the bastard** over **to the director**.

Proposal - Antilogophoricity effect

■ Diagnostic for **antilogophoricity**: unavailability of epithet

- (1) a. ***Jean** a vu la fille qui **le lui** a présenté, **au Pape**.
b. ***Juan** vio a la chica que **se lo** presentó **al Papa**. cf. Bhatt & Šimík 2009:3
John saw the girl who introduced him to him –the Pope.
- (2) a. ***Jean** a vu la fille qui a présenté **l'idiot** **au Pape**.
b. ***Juan** vio a la chica que presentó **el idiota** **al Papa**.
**John saw the girl who introduced the idiot to the Pope.*
- (3) a. **Jean** a vu Marie, qui **le lui** a présenté, **au Pape**.
b. **Juan** vio a Maria, quien **se lo** presentó **al Papa**. cf. Bhatt & Šimík 2009: 3
John saw Maria, who introduced him to him –the Pope.
- (4) a. **Jean** a vu Marie, qui a présenté **l'idiot** **au Pape**.
b. **Juan** vio a Maria, quien presentó **el idiota** **al Papa**.
John saw Maria, who introduced the idiot to the Pope.

Proposal – Anti *de se* reading

- CLR arises **only if the DO clitic is read *de se***.

Cf. Chierchia 1989

(1) *An intern is participating in the assignment of all the interns for the summer. Instead of names, the list has numbers. When asked where to assign intern #123, the intern, who does not know it is her, suggests assigning that intern to Dr. Edmonds:*

- a. **L'interne** a suggéré qu'on **la lui** assigne, **au Dr. Edmonds**.

the intern has suggested that s.o. her:ACC him:DAT assign:SUBJ3SG to_the Dr. Edmonds

- b. **La interna** sugirió que **se la** asignaran **al Dr. Edmonds**.

the intern suggested that him:DAT her:ACC assign:SUBJ3PL to.the Dr. Edmonds

The intern suggested to assign her to him – Dr. Edmonds.

Cf. logophors are often characterized as *de se* elements
(Anand 2006; Huang and Liu 2001; Schlenker 2003)

e.g. Mandarin *ziji*

Proposal – Perspective conflict

- CLR derives from **conflicts of perspective**.

Cf. perspective conflicts with long distance Mandarin *ziji*
(Huang and Liu 2001)

- Blocking effect of 1/2 person pronouns

(1) * **Zhangsan** renwei [**ni** hen **ziji**]

Zhangsan think you hate self

Zhangsan thinks [that you hate him].

- Clausemate long distance *ziji* must corefer

(2) a. **Zhangsan** renwei **Lisi** zhidao [Wangwu ba **ziji** de shu song-gei-le **ziji** de pengyou]
Zhangsan think Lisi know Wangwu BA self 's books gave to self's friends

b. **Zhangsan** renwei **Lisi** zhidao [Wangwu ba **ziji** de shu song-gei-le **ziji** de pengyou]

c. ***Zhangsan** renwei **Lisi** zhidao [Wangwu ba **ziji** de shu song-gei-le **ziji** de pengyou]

d. ***Zhangsan** renwei **Lisi** zhidao [Wangwu ba **ziji** de shu song-gei-le **ziji** de pengyou]

Zhangsan thinks that Lisi knows that Wangwu gave self's books to self's friends.

Proposal – Perspective conflict

- CLR derives from **conflicts of perspective**.
- Hypothesis A: **IO clitic is inherently logophoric**.
- Hypothesis B: **IO and DO clitics** belong to the **same logophoric domain**.

LOG [...DO.Clitic IO.Clitic...]

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis A: IO clitic is inherently logophoric.

- IO clitics *lui/le* have to be **animate**.

- **Goals**

- (1) a. Jean **lui** /**y** a envoyé une lettre, **à Marie**/**à Barcelone**.

John her:DAT/there has sent a letter to Maria / to Barcelona

- b. Juan **le** envió una carta **a María** / ***a Barcelona**

John her:DAT sent a letter to Mary / to Barcelona

*John sent Mary a letter / *John sent Barcelona a letter.*

Cf. animacy constraint on double object constructions in English
(a.o. Stowell 1981, Baker 1996)

- (2) a. Sarah ***lui** /**y** préfère/compare cette maison, **à cette maison-là**.

Sarah it:DAT/there prefers/ compares this house to that house

- b. (Sarah ***le** prefiere/compara esa casa **a esa otra casa**.)

Sarah it:DAT. prefers/ compares this house to that other house

Sarah prefers/compares this house to it – that house.

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis A: IO clitic is inherently logophoric.

■ IO clitics *lui/le* have to be **animate**.

○ Inalienable possessors

(1) a. Je **lui** ai marché **sur le pied** / ***la branche**.

I him:DAT have stepped on the foot / the branch

b. **Le** pisé **el pie** / ***la rama**.

him:DAT step:PAST:1SG the foot / the branch

*I stepped on **his foot** / **its branch**.*

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis A: IO clitic is inherently logophoric.

■ IO clitics *lui/le* have to be **animate**.

○ Benefactors

(2) a. Il **lui** achète cette pierre tombale (**à son grand-père**).
he him:DAT bought that tombstone to his grandfather

b. **Le** compré esta lápida (**a su abuelo**).
him:DAT bought that tombstone to his grandfather

*He is buying that tombstone **for him (his grandfather)**.*

The grandfather has to be alive (from Kayne 1975: 137)

○ Cf. Ormazabal and Romero (2007)'s analysis of PCC in Spanish: IO clitics have an **Animacy/Gender** feature.

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis A: IO clitic is inherently logophoric.

■ IO clitics *lui/le* encode **point of view**.

○ **Experiencers**: centers of perspective in principle

(1) a. Jean **lui** semble avoir du talent.

John him:DAT seems have of.the talent

John seems to him/her to have talent.

b. A María **le** gusta él.

to Mary her:DAT likes he:NOM

Maria likes him.

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis A: IO clitic is inherently logophoric.

■ IO clitics *lui/le* encode **point of view**.

- Cf. dative clitics (vs. acc3P, like 1/2P) are argued to be specified for **Person**, e.g. in feature-checking analyses of PCC
 - Adger&Harbour 2007: **participant** and **empathy** features
 - Boeckx 2000: **person** feature that ‘encodes point of view’
 - Reinhart 2000: **mental state** feature
 - Anagnostopoulou 2003,2005: **person/participant** feature

Morphological evidence from Georgian: [+person] agreement markers are prefixes while markers that lack person are suffixes. IO agreement marker is always prefixal.

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis A: IO clitic is inherently logophoric.

■ IO clitics *lui/le* encode **point of view**.

○ Cf. Japanese giving verbs *yaru/kureru*

Kuno 1987, Oshima 2007

- *yaru*: the event is described from the point of view of the referent of the subject or the neutral point of view.
- *kureru*: the event is described from the point of view of the referent of the dative object.

→ the dative is the **empathy locus**, i.e. a center of perspective.

(1)a. ***Boku** ga **Hanako ni** okane o kure-ru.

I NOM Hanako DAT money ACC give-PRES

I give money to Hanako.

b. **Taroo** ga **boku ni** okane o kure-ru.

Taroo NOM me DAT money ACC give-PRES

Taroo gives me money.

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis A: IO clitic is inherently logophoric.

- IO clitics *lui/le* encode **point of view**.

Specifically, IO clitics *lui/le* need to refer to a specific type of logophoric center: **empathy locus**.

Empathy locus: the event participant with which the speaker empathizes/identifies.

Cf. Kuno 1987, Oshima 2007.

Note: IO clitics *lui/le* can also be attitude holders, which means that empathic elements are compatible with attitudinal interpretations.

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis A: IO clitic is inherently logophoric.

- IO clitics *lui/le* encode point of view, **vs. full DPs.**

- **Contrasts in animacy**

(1) a. *Jean **lui** a envoyé une lettre (**à Barcelone**).

b. *Juan **le** envió una carta (**a Barcelona**).

c. Jean a envoyé une lettre **à Barcelone**.

d. Juan envió una carta **a Barcelona**.

John sent a letter to Barcelona.

(2) a. *Sarah **lui** préfère/compare cette maison, (**à cette maison-là**).

b. *Sarah **le** prefiere/compara esa casa **a esa otra casa**.

c. Sarah préfère/compare cette maison **à cette maison-là**.

d. Sarah prefiere/compara esa casa **a esa otra casa**.

Sarah prefers/compares this house to that house.

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis A: IO clitic is inherently logophoric.

■ IO clitics *lui/le* encode point of view, **vs. full DPs**.

○ Anagnostopoulou (2003)'s proposal: in Romance, **only clitic constructions** qualify as double object constructions, in the sense of including an **applicative head** (vAppl, cf. Marantz 1993)

- French: ditransitive constructions with *à*-DP (vs. clitics)
 - . can occur in nominalizations
 - . do not block A-movement in passives and raising argument from stranded quantifiers (Kayne 1975)

(1) a. Elle **leur** offrira **tous** des bonbons.

b. *Elle offrira **tous** des bonbons.

c. Elle offrira des bonbons **à tous**.

She will give some candies to all of them

- cf. Demonte 1995's arguments for Spanish

Proposal – Perspective conflict

- CLR derives from **conflicts of perspective**.
- Hypothesis A: **IO clitic is inherently logophoric**.
- Hypothesis B: **IO and DO clitics** belong to the **same logophoric domain**.

LOG [...DO.Clitic IO.Clitic...]

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis B: IO and DO clitics belong to the same logophoric domain

- Assumption: only one logophoric center *per* domain.
Cf. Koopman and Sportiche 1989, Huang and Liu 2001, Sundaresan 2012
- perspective conflict between:
 - logophoric DO.clitic (attitude holder)
 - logophoric IO.clitic (empathy locus)

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis B: IO and DO clitics belong to the same logophoric domain

- Assumption: only one logophoric center *per* domain.
Cf. Koopman and Sportiche 1989, Huang and Liu 2001, Sundaresan 2012
- What is the relevant domain?
 - The **subject** is **excluded**

- (1) a. **Pierre** dit qu'**il** **lui** a présenté son fils, **à la Reine**.
Peter says that he:NOM her:DAT has introduced his son to the Queen
- b. **Pedro** dice que **le** presentó su hijo **a la Reina**.
Peter says that her:DAT introduced:PAST:3SG his son to the Queen
Peter says that he introduced his son to her - the Queen.

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Hypothesis B: IO and DO clitics belong to the same logophoric domain

■ What is the relevant domain?

- French

[NOM	[3.ACC	3.DAT]]
<i>il/elle/je...</i>	<i>le/la/les</i>	<i>lui/leur</i>	

- Spanish

[NOM	[3.DAT	3.ACC]]
<i>él/ella/yo...</i>	<i>se/le/les</i>	<i>lo/la/los/las</i>	

Proposal – Perspective conflict Consequence for PCC

- Hypothesis: **PCC** also derives from perspective conflicts
- Intuition: CLR is related to PCC

Cf. transposition into direct discourse (Kuno 1987)

(1) a. ***Anne** pense qu'on va **la lui** recommander, **au patron**, pour la promotion
Anna thinks that s.o. will her:ACC him:DAT recommend to.the boss for the promotion

b. ***Ana** piensa que **se la** recomendarán **al jefe** para el ascenso.
Anna thinks that him:DAT her:ACC recommend:FUT:3PL to.the boss for the promotion

***Anna** thinks that they will recommend **her** to **him –the boss–** for the promotion.*

(2) a. ***Anne** pense: “On va **me lui** recommander, **au patron**, pour la promotion”
Anna thinks s.o. will me:ACC him:DAT recommend to.the boss for the promotion

b. ***Ana** piensa: “**Se me/me le** recomendarán **al jefe** para el ascenso.”
Anna thinks him:DAT me:ACC me:ACC him:DAT recommend:FUT:3PL to.the boss for the promotion

***Anna** thinks: “They will recommend **me** to **him –the boss–** for the promotion.”*

Proposal – Perspective conflict Consequence for PCC

- Hypothesis: **PCC** also derives from perspective conflicts
 - perspective conflict between:
 - logophoric 1/2.clitic (discourse participant)
 - logophoric IO.clitic (empathy locus)

Proposal – Perspective conflict Consequence for PCC

- Hypothesis: **PCC** also derives from perspective conflicts
- Further argument: PCC can be somehow overridden when **the first person is not read *de se***
e.g. in dream reports.

(1) a. ? **J**'ai rêvé que j'étais **M. Monroe**, que j'étais chez **Kennedy** et que **je me lui** présentais.

b. ? **Yo** soñé que era **M. Monroe**, que estaba en casa de **Kennedy** y que **se me** presentaba.

*I dreamed that I was **M. Monroe**, that I was at **Kennedy's** house and that **I** introduced **me** to **him**.*

Proposal – Perspective conflict Consequence for PCC

- Hypothesis: **PCC** also derives from perspective conflicts
- Logophoric domains

- French, cf. Sportiche's French clitic template (1996: 5)

[NOM	[1/2	3.ACC	3.DAT]]
<i>il/elle/je...</i>	<i>me/te/nous/vous</i>	<i>le/la/les</i>	<i>lui/leur</i>

- Spanish

[NOM	[1/2	3.DAT	3.ACC]]
<i>él/ella/yo...</i>	<i>me/te/nos/os</i>	<i>se/le/les</i>	<i>lo/la/los/las</i>

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Further issue: 1/2 datives

- **Dative 1/2 clitics** do not trigger CLR effects.
cf. experiment:

Condition	C-commanding antecedent	Logophoric antecedent	IO person	Grammaticality
1	yes	yes	3	*
2	yes	yes	1/2	OK
3	yes	no	3	OK
4	yes	no	1/2	OK
5	no	yes	3	*
6	no	yes	1/2	OK
7	no	no	3	OK
8	no	no	1/2	OK

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Further issue: 1/2 datives

- **Dative 1/2 clitics** do not trigger CLR effects.
(vs. blocking effects with Mandarin *ziji*)

(1) a. **La petite fille** espère qu'on va **te la** confier.
the little girl hopes that s.o. will you:DAT her:ACC entrust

b. **La niña en adopción** espera que **te la** entreguen a ti.
the girl for adoption hopes that you:DAT her:ACC entrust:SUBJ:3PL to you

The girl (for adoption) hopes that they will entrust her to you.

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Further issue: 1/2 datives

■ French and Spanish have the strong version of PCC.

○ Strong version: *Clitic.DO.1/2P Clitic.IO

○ Weak version: *Clitic.DO.1/2P Clitic.3IO

Cf. *me te/te me*

(1) a. **La petite fille** pense qu'on va **te la** confier.

b. **La niña en adopción** piensa que **te la** entregarán a ti.

The girl (for adoption) thinks that they will entrust her to you.

(2) a. * **La petite fille** pense: “on va **te me** confier.”

b. * **La niña en adopción** piensa: “**te me** entregarán a ti.”

The girl (for adoption) thinks: “they will entrust me to you.

Cf. Bhatt and Šimík 2009: the correlation between PCC and CBR is imperfect

Proposal – Perspective conflict

Further issue: 1/2 datives

■ Logophoric domains

- French

[NOM	[1/2	3.ACC	3.DAT]
<i>il/elle/je...</i>	<u><i>me/te/nous/vous</i></u>	<u><i>le/la/les</i></u>	<i>lui/leur</i>	

- Spanish

[NOM	[1/2	3.DAT	3.ACC]
<i>él/ella/yo...</i>	<u><i>me/te/nos/os</i></u>	<i>se/le/les</i>	<u><i>lo/la/los/las</i></u>	

Proposal

Different types of logophoric centers

- 3 types of perspective centers (cf. Charnavel 2014)

- **Discourse participant** (speaker, hearer)

Actual discourse (indexicals)

- **Empathy locus**

Identification of speaker with event participant:

Direct integration of perspective (no distancing)

- **Attitude holder**

Reported discourse (mediation)

Indirect integration of perspective (distancing)

Note: role shift in sign language is used in both empathy and attitude cases. Cf. Schlenker p.c.

Proposal

Hierarchy between logophoric centers

- **Hierarchy** among logophoric centers
w.r.t. integration of the perspective in the discourse

Speaker > empathy locus > attitude holder

Proposal

Hierarchy between logophoric centers

- **Hypothesis:** two adjacent or identical types of logophoric centers on the hierarchy cannot co-occur in the same logophoric domain. (Cf. Obligatory Contour Principle)

speaker > empathy locus > attitude holder

* speaker empathy.locus	*me lui	*se me
* empathy.locus attitude.holder	*le lui	*se lo
* speaker speaker	*te me	*te me
* empathy.locus empathy.locus	*me lui	*se me
* attitude.holder attitude.holder	*le lui	*se lo
✓ speaker attitude.holder	✓ me le	✓ me lo

Further issue: Reflexives

■ *se IO.clitic

- (1) a. *L'interne **se lui** assigne.
b. *La interna **se le** asignara. *The intern assigns **herself to him**.*

■ Accusative reflexive clitics (vs. datives) trigger CLR effects.

- (2) a. ***Le Dr. Edmonds** a suggéré que **l'interne se lui** assigne.
the Dr. Edmonds has suggested that the intern REFL:ACC him:DAT assign:SUBJ3SG
b. ***El Dr. Edmonds** sugirió que **la interna se le** asignara.
The Dr. Edmonds suggested that the intern REFL:ACC him:DAT assign:SUBJ3SG
***Dr. Edmonds** suggested that **the intern** assigns **herself to him**.*
- (3) a. **L'interne** a suggéré que **le Dr. Edmonds se l'** assigne.
the intern has suggested that the Dr. Edmonds. REFL:DAT her:ACC assign:SUBJ3SG
b. **La interna** sugirió que **el Dr. Edmonds se la** asignara.
the intern suggested that the Dr. Edmonds REFL:DAT her:ACC assign:SUBJ3SG
***The intern** suggested that **Dr. Edmonds** assigns **her to himself**.*

Further issue: Reflexives

■ Reflexives pattern with discourse participants (1/2)

Cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003 for PCC

*1/2 IO.clitic	* <i>me lui</i> / * <i>se me</i>	* se lui
✓ 1/2 DO.clitic _{de se}	<i>me le</i> / <i>me lo</i>	se le

■ Reflexives have a first person component

Cf. must be speaker-inclusive when there is no antecedent (cf. *ziji*).

(1) **Se** remettre en question est souvent une bonne idée.

To question oneself is often a good idea.

Cf. *soi* first person generic pronoun (cf. Moltmann 2006 about *one*)
must be speaker-inclusive

(2) a. **On** pense souvent que les étrangers ont peur de **soi**.

People often think that foreigners are afraid of them.

b. *Là-bas, **on** pense que les étrangers ont peur de **soi**.

Over there, they think that foreigners are afraid of them.

Implementation

- **Logophoric operators** instantiate logophoric centers.
Cf. Koopman and Sportiche 1989, Anand 2006, Sundaresan 2012

Logophoric operators are similar to silent pronouns that are coreferent with the antecedent (or in a relation of non-obligatory control) and **bind** logophoric elements.



They can thereby trigger *de se* readings.
(Anand 2006: the operator is the immediate complement of a referential item that denotes the *de se* center)

Implementation

- **At most one** logophoric operator in the relevant domain

Cf. Koopman and Sportiche 1989, Sundaresan 2012

Implementation

■ Position of logophoric operators

- French

OPLOG [NOM	OPLOG [1/2	3.ACC	3.DAT]]
<i>il/elle/je...</i>	<i>me/te/nous/vous</i>	<i>le/la</i>	<i>lui/leur</i>

- Spanish

OPLOG [NOM	OPLOG [1/2	3.DAT	3.ACC]]
<i>él/ella/yo...</i>	<i>me/te/nos/os</i>	<i>se/le/les</i>	<i>lo/la/los/las</i>

Implementation

- **Feature checking** between interpretable features (logophoric elements) and uninterpretable features (logophoric operators).
 - Two adjacent or identical logophoric centers on the hierarchy share features.
 - they trigger an **intervention effect** if they occur in the same domain.
- Cf. **Closest attract/Agree**

Implementation

- Two adjacent or identical logophoric centers on the hierarchy share features: **intervention effect**
speaker > empathy locus > attitude holder

- **DISCOURSE PARTICIPANT:** [A, B] cf. 1/2
- **EMPATHY LOCUS:** [B, C] cf. 3.DAT
- **ATTITUDE HOLDER:** [C] cf. 3.ACC read *de se*

cf. discourse participants and empathy loci both involve the speaker (directly or by identification)

empathy loci and attitude holders both involve a perspective center different from the speaker (implicitly or explicitly)

Implementation

■ **Intervention effect** when two elements share features

○ CLR

* **OP_C** [la_[C] lui_[B,C]]

○ PCC

* **OP_B** [me_[A,B] lui_[B,C]]

* **OP_{A,B}** [me_[A,B] te_[A,B]]

Conclusion

- *Fact*: coreference restriction on clitic clusters
***Antecedent** ... **Clitic.DO**(*de se*) **Clitic.IO**
- *Generalization*: **antilogophoricity effect**
- *Explanation*: **perspective conflicts**
- Extension to the **Person Case Constraint** (PCC)
restriction: ***Clitic.DO.1/2P** **Clitic.IO** (**me lui*)
- *Implementation*: intervention effect when two logophors of the relevant type (adjacent on the hierarchy) co-occur in the same domain, cf. closest attract

Acknowledgements

Thanks to the participants of our
experiment.

A special thanks to Dominique Sportiche
for help with this project.

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APPENDIX

Binding of the IO clitic and CLR obviation

■ Bhatt and Šimík (2009: 7):

Binding of the IO clitic rescues a bound DO clitic.

- (1) Marie_i stále ještě věří, že Karel_j doufá, že mu_j ji_i doporučíš.
Marie still believes that Karel hopes that him:DAT her:ACC recommend:2SG
'Mary_i still believes that Charles_j hopes that you will recommend her_i to him_j.'

■ Our experiment: no rescue effect

- (2) a. ***L'acteur** a promis **à chaque figurant** que les producteurs **le lui** présenteraient.
b. ***El actor** prometió **a cada extra** que los productores **se lo** presentarían.
The actor promised each extra that the producers would introduce him to him.

■ Confound in (1): the IO binder is also an attitude holder.

→ in the relevant domain, only Charles is a logophoric center, but not Marie.

Clitic order in French

■ In some French dialects, the IO clitic can precede the DO clitic.

(1) **On** va **lui la** recommander, **au patron**, pour la promotion.

s.o. will him:DAT her:ACC recommend to.the boss for the promotion

They will recommend her to him –the boss– for the promotion.

■ The same CLR obtains.

(2) ***Anne** croit qu'on va **lui la** recommander, **au patron**, pour la promotion.

Anna thinks that s.o. will him:DAT her:ACC recommend to.the boss for the promotion

Anna thinks that they will recommend her to him –the boss– for the promotion.

Inanimate *le* in Spanish

- Spanish dative clitics can be inanimate in certain constructions.

(1) a. **Le** puse el mantel **a la mesa**

it:DAT put.1.SG the tablecloth to the table

*I put the tablecloth on **it - the table**.*

b. ***Le** puse los platos **a la mesa**

it:DAT put.1.SG the dishes to the table

*I put the dishes on **it - the table** (from Demonte 1995:12).*

- Correlation: corresponding construction with the verb *tener* 'have' (cf. Cuervo 2003).

(2) a. La mesa tiene (un) mantel

The table has a tablecloth.ACC

The table has a tablecloth.

b. *La mesa tiene (unos) platos

The table has some dishes.ACC

The table has (some) dishes.

cf. Hay platos en la mesa. *There are dishes on the table.*