

Minimal pronouns & T-Agreement effects: the case of Farsi Fake Indexicals

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Stage

The Farsi Data

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Rodica says 'Hi!'

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PUZZLE

Context: Bad Parenting

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Imagine we all have children. Also imagine that the speaker (Zahra) is of the opinion that she is the world's greatest parent and that no one else is a good parent. According to the speaker, no one in the group takes care of their own children except for her.

PUZZLE

- (1) mæn tænhæ kæs-i hæst-æm ...
I only person-RM be-1SG
‘I am the only one...’

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... [that from kid-1SG care IMPERF-do-1SG]

1st Agr

1st Pro

✓ **Bound Variable**

'... who am taking care of my child.'

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1st Agr **1st Pro** ✓ **Bound Variable**

'... who am taking care of my child.'

b. ... [ke æz bačč-**æš** negæhdari mi-kon-**æd**]

... [that from kid-3SG care IMPERF-do-3SG]

3rd Agr **3rd Pro** ✓ **Bound Variable**

'... who is taking care of their child.'

PUZZLE

✓ *BVar reading when embedded T agreement and pronoun **match***

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'... who am taking care of my child.'

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'... who is taking care of their child.'

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- (2) mæn tænhæ kæs-i hæst-æm ...
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'... who am taking care of her_{Rodica} child.'

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The availability of **bound variable** readings is sensitive to whether the ϕ -features on the embedded **T** and the embedded **pronoun match**.

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→ Farsi provides an argument in favor of **syntactic** accounts

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- Sharing **person** features through **feature identification under predication** is **optional** and can happen in **syntax** or **post-syntactically**.

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- non-predicative matrix clauses teach us that a **direct dependency** between the matrix subject and the indexical is possible in Farsi

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- non-predicative matrix clauses teach us that a **direct dependency** between the matrix subject and the indexical is possible in Farsi
- this direct dependency is modulated by **Rule H (Fox, 1998)**

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RIGID DESIGNATORS

I, you = context-dependent, intensionally rigid designators. Kaplan (1989)

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THE FIXITY THESIS

The semantic value of an indexical is fixed solely by the context of the speech act, and cannot be affected by any logical operators. Schlenker (2005)

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$\rightarrow \llbracket I \rrbracket^{g,c} = \text{the speaker in } C$

$\rightarrow \llbracket you \rrbracket^{g,c} = \text{the addressee in } C$

RIGID DESIGNATORS & FAKE INDEXICALS

(3) *I am the only one who can take care of **my** children.*

adapted from Partee (1989)

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- a. REFERENTIAL:

*No one else can take care of **my** children.*

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*No one else can take care of **their** children.*

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1st and 2nd person pronouns **can** have bound variable readings.

(MAIN) ACCOUNTS

- **Semantic:** bound variable readings via **focus-alternatives**
Sauerland (2013), Bassi & Longenbaugh (2018), Bassi (2018)
- **Syntactic:** syntactically bound **minimal pronouns**
Kratzer (1998), von Stechow (2004), Heim (2008), Kratzer (2009), Wurmbrand (2017)

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SEMANTIC ACCOUNTS: CORE IDEA

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SEMANTIC ACCOUNTS: CORE IDEA

- ▶ 1st and 2nd person pronouns are **real indexicals** with semantically contentful ϕ -features.

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SEMANTIC ACCOUNTS: CORE IDEA

- ▶ 1st and 2nd person pronouns are **real indexicals** with semantically contentful ϕ -features.
- ▶ The ϕ -features get deleted in **Focus Alternatives**.

SYNTACTIC ACCOUNTS: CORE IDEA

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SYNTACTIC ACCOUNTS: CORE IDEA

- ▶ 1st and 2nd person pronouns in these cases are **fake indexicals**.

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- ▶ 1st and 2nd person pronouns in these cases are **fake indexicals**.
- ▶ **Minimal pronouns**, \emptyset_i , are syntactically bound (somehow).

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- ▶ 1st and 2nd person pronouns in these cases are **fake indexicals**.
- ▶ **Minimal pronouns**, \emptyset_i , are syntactically bound (somehow).
- ▶ Language specific **spell-out restrictions**.

The rest is up to debate ...

(4) KRATZER (2009) VS. WURMBRAND (2017)

	Kratzer (2009)	Wurmbrand (2017)
AGREE type	bottom-up, phase-based AGREE	top-down, Reverse AGREE
π features	embedded v with π features	matrix subject
irrelevant	features in matrix clause	AGREE for embedded v / T

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Context: Bad Parenting

Imagine we all have children. Also imagine that the speaker (Zahra) is of the opinion that she is the world's greatest parent and that no one else is a good parent. According to the speaker, no one in the group takes care of their own children except for her.

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I only person-RM be-1SG
'*I am the only one...*'

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1st Agr **1st Pro** ✓ **Bound Variable**

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'... who am taking care of my child.'

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3rd Agr **3rd Pro** ✓ **Bound Variable**

'... who is taking care of their child.'

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- (6) mæn tænhæ kæs-i hæst-æm ...
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GENERALIZATION

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GENERALIZATION

- ▶ In Farsi, the **embedded verb** of the relative clause containing a fake indexical can show either **3rd or 1st** person agreement.

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GENERALIZATION

- ▶ In Farsi, the **embedded verb** of the relative clause containing a fake indexical can show either **3rd or 1st** person agreement.
- ▶ The **bound variable** reading is only available when the embedded T and the relative pronoun **match** in ϕ -features.

HOW FARSI IS PROBLEMATIC:

(7) mæn tænhæ kæs-i hæst-æm ...

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1st Agr

1st Pro

✓ **Bound Variable**

b. ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æd]

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3rd Agr

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► Focus-alternative accounts cannot distinguish between (7a) & (7b).

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► Focus-alternative accounts cannot distinguish between (7a) & (7b).

► Wurmbrand (2017) assumes T (and v) agreement in the embedded clause is irrelevant. (7b) should have a bound variable reading.

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TAKEAWAY

- ▶ **embedded T agreement** does play a role in the availability of bound variable readings (contra Wurmbrand, 2017).

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TAKEAWAY

- ▶ **embedded T agreement** does play a role in the availability of bound variable readings (contra Wurmbrand, 2017).
- ▶ A **purely semantic account** of fake indexicals is **not sufficient** for Farsi: syntactic agreement matters.

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- Kratzer (2009) argues that bound variable readings are generated within the relative clause and assumes that matrix clause features are irrelevant.
→ there should be no difference between (8a) and (8b) .

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(8) a. I am the only one who takes care of my children.

✓ **BVar** PREDICATIVE

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- Kratzer (2009) argues that bound variable readings are generated within the relative clause and assumes that matrix clause features are irrelevant.
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- ▶ the features in the matrix clause **are** relevant

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TAKEAWAY

- ▶ the features in the matrix clause **are** relevant
- ▶ the matrix subject should be involved in a **top-down** feature transmission of π features. (in favor of Wurmbrand, 2017)

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AGREEMENT PATTERNS

(9) PREDICATIVE MATRIX PATTERN

AGR.	PRO.	BOUND VARIABLE
3	3	✓
3	1	*
1	1	✓
1	3	*

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WHAT WE'VE LEARNED:

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CONCLUSIONS:

- ▶ Sharing person features is possible under the **predication** relation between *I* and *the only one*

WHAT WE'VE LEARNED:

- ▶ **1st Agr** in the relative clause when the matrix is **predicative**
- ▶ **predicative** matrix: only **1st Agr 1st Pro** and **3rd Agr 3rd Pro** patterns yield bound variable readings

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- ▶ Sharing person features between *I* and *the only one* under the **predication** relation is **optional**

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- ▶ **Feature Identification under Relativization** (Cable, 2005):
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- ▶ **Sharing Person Features under Predication** is optional.

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- ▶ **The features of the minimal pronoun** are determined **post-syntactically**.
- ▶ **Sharing Person Features** can happen in **syntax**.
 - ▶ feeding both **T Agreement** and the **minimal pronoun**.

OUR ASSUMPTIONS:

- ▶ **T Agreement** happens **in syntax**.
- ▶ **The features of the minimal pronoun** are determined **post-syntactically**.
- ▶ **Sharing Person Features** can happen in **syntax**.
 - ▶ feeding both **T Agreement** and the **minimal pronoun**.
 - ▶ **1st Agr** **1st Pro**

OUR ASSUMPTIONS:

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OUR ASSUMPTIONS:

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 - ▶ **3rd Agr** **1st Pro**

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Derivation for Predicative Matrix

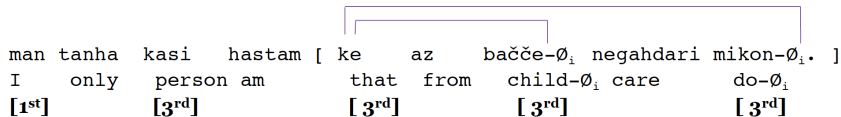
(*All Languages*)

3rd Agr**3rd Pro**

Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

(*All Languages*)

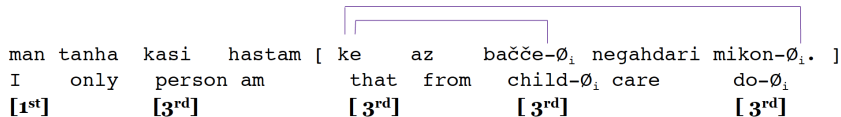
STEP 1: The **embedded T probe** and the **minimal pronoun** enter an AGREE relation with *who*.



Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

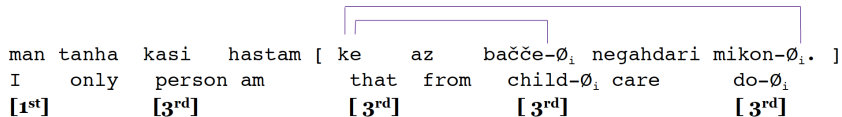
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Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

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► 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

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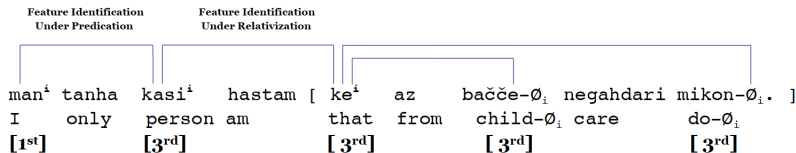
3rd Agr**3rd Pro**

Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

STEP 2: The matrix DP, the predicate DP and the relative head share **semantic** features through **Identification** under **Predication** .

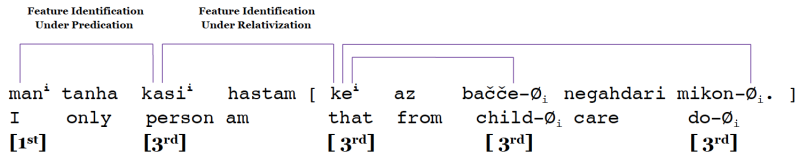
Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

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Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

STEP 2: The matrix DP, the predicate DP and the relative head share **semantic** features through **Identification** under **Predication** .



- No Sharing of Person Features under Predication.
- **3rd Agr** **3rd Pro**

Derivation for Predicative Matrix (*Farsi*)

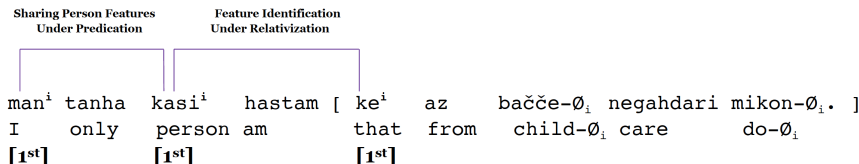
1st Agr**1st Pro**

Derivation for Predicative Matrix (*Farsi*)

1st Agr

1st Pro

STEP 1: The matrix DP, the predicate DP and the relative head share **person** features through **Identification** under **Predication**.



Derivation for Predicative Matrix (*Farsi*)

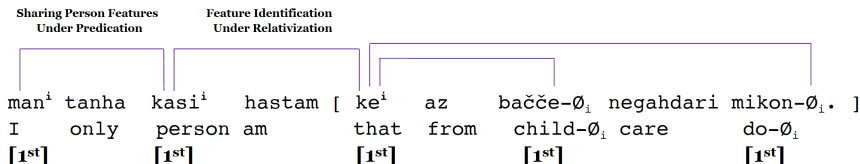
1st Agr**1st Pro**

Derivation for Predicative Matrix (*Farsi*)

1st Agr

1st Pro

STEP 2: The **embedded T probe** and the **minimal pronoun** enter an **AGREE** relation with *who*.

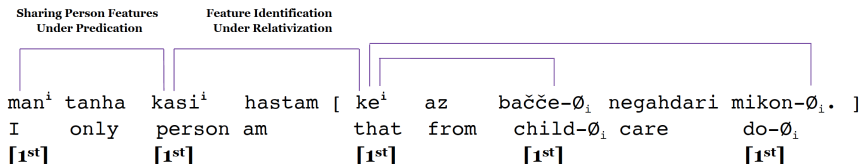


Derivation for Predicative Matrix (*Farsi*)

1st Agr

1st Pro

STEP 2: The **embedded T probe** and the **minimal pronoun** enter an **AGREE** relation with *who*.



► 1st Agr

1st Pro

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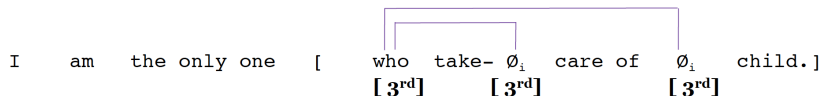
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Derivation for Predicative Matrix (*English*)

3rd Agr**1st Pro**

Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 1st Pro (*English*)

STEP 1: The **embedded T probe** and the **minimal pronoun** enter an AGREE relation with *who*.

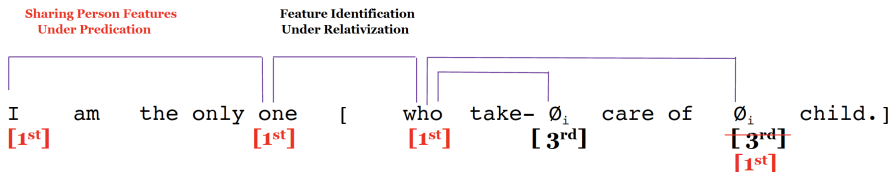


Derivation for Predicative Matrix (*English*)

3rd Agr**1st Pro**

Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 1st Pro (English)

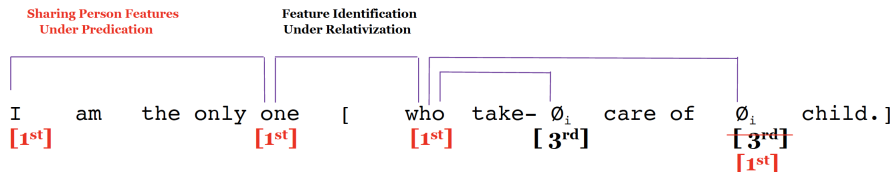
STEP 2: The matrix DP, the predicate DP and the relative head share **person** features through **Identification** under **Predication** **post-syntactically**.



Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 1st Pro

(English)

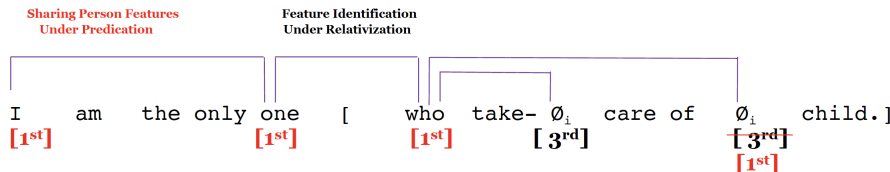
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► T Agreement happens **in syntax**. → 3rd Agr

Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 1st Pro (English)

STEP 2: The matrix DP, the predicate DP and the relative head share **person** features through **Identification** under **Predication** **post-syntactically**.



- ▶ T Agreement happens **in syntax**. → 3rd Agr
- ▶ 3rd is the absence of person features.
- ▶ The features of \emptyset_i are determined **post-syntactically**. → 1st Pro

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PREDICATIVE MATRIX PATTERNS

(10) *The data so far...* (embedded T & \emptyset_i Agreement)

	3 RD 3 RD	3 RD 1 ST	1 ST 1 ST	1 ST 3 RD
GERMAN(SG.)	✓	*	*	*
ENGLISH, DUTCH	✓	✓	*	*
FARSI, GERMAN(PL.)	✓	*	✓	*
ROMANIAN, FRENCH	✓	✓	✓	*

PREDICATIVE MATRIX PATTERNS

(10) *The data so far...* (embedded T & \emptyset_i Agreement)

	3 RD 3 RD	3 RD 1 ST	1 ST 1 ST	1 ST 3 RD
GERMAN(SG.)	✓	*	*	*
ENGLISH, DUTCH	✓	✓	*	*
FARSI, GERMAN(PL.)	✓	*	✓	*
ROMANIAN, FRENCH	✓	✓	✓	*

► Typological gap?

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

FARSI

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

FARSI

- **Sharing Person Features under predication** is optional.

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

FARSI

- ▶ **Sharing Person Features under predication** is optional.
- ▶ If **Sharing of Person Features under predication** happens, it happens in **syntax** and feeds both **T-Agreement** and the **minimal pronoun**.
1st Agr **1st Pro**

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

FARSI

- ▶ **Sharing Person Features under predication** is optional.
- ▶ If **Sharing of Person Features under predication** happens, it happens in **syntax** and feeds both **T-Agreement** and the **minimal pronoun**.
1st Agr **1st Pro**
- ▶ Icelandic (Wurmbrand, 2017) & Greek (Itai Bassi, p.c.) also pattern with Farsi

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

ENGLISH & DUTCH

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

ENGLISH & DUTCH

- **Sharing Person Features under predication** is optional.

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

ENGLISH & DUTCH

- ▶ **Sharing Person Features under predication** is optional.
- ▶ If **Sharing of Person Features under predication** happens, it happens **post-syntactically** and only feeds the **minimal pronoun**.
3rd Agr **1st Pro**

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

ROMANIAN & FRENCH

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ROMANIAN & FRENCH

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

ROMANIAN & FRENCH

- ▶ **Sharing Person Features under predication** is optional.
- ▶ **Sharing of Person Features under predication** can happen in **syntax** or **post-syntactically**.
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- ▶ **Sharing Person Features under predication** is optional.
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- ▶ When **Sharing of Person Features under predication** happens **post-syntactically**, we get **3rd Agr** **1st Pro**
- ▶ Hebrew (Itai Bassi, p.c.) patterns with Romanian

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

TYPOLOGICAL GAP

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

TYPOLOGICAL GAP

- ▶ a language in which **1st Agr** **3rd Pro** is allowed.

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

TYPOLOGICAL GAP

- ▶ a language in which **1st Agr** **3rd Pro** is allowed.
- ▶ **1st Agr** can only be attested when sharing of person features under predication has happened in the **syntax**.

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

TYPOLOGICAL GAP

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

TYPOLOGICAL GAP

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- ▶ Our account predicts that this language should not exist.

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

TYPOLOGICAL GAP

- ▶ a language in which **1st Agr** **3rd Pro** is allowed.
- ▶ **1st Agr** can only be attested when sharing of person features under predication has happened in the **syntax**.
- ▶ **3rd Pro** can only be attested when there is no sharing of person features under predication
- ▶ Our account predicts that this language should not exist.
- ▶ However, Itai Bassi (p.c.) has data from French which also allows **this pattern** (unlike our French informants)

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SUMMARY:

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SUMMARY:

- ▶ A purely semantic account of fake indexicals is not sufficient for Farsi: syntactic agreement and bound variable readings are correlated

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- ▶ A purely semantic account of fake indexicals is not sufficient for Farsi: syntactic agreement and bound variable readings are correlated
- ▶ **embedded T agreement** does play a role in the availability of bound variable readings (contra Wurmbrand, 2017)

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SUMMARY:

- ▶ A purely semantic account of fake indexicals is not sufficient for Farsi: syntactic agreement and bound variable readings are correlated
- ▶ **embedded T agreement** does play a role in the availability of bound variable readings (contra Wurmbrand, 2017)
- ▶ **Sharing of Person Features under predication** is *optional*.
- ▶ Languages differ in **Timing** of **Sharing of Person Features under predication**.

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PUZZLE

PUZZLE

Context: Bad Parenting Continues...

PUZZLE

Context: Bad Parenting Continues...

Imagine we all have children. Also imagine that we all have babysitters to take care of our children. We are all supposed to have monthly meetings with our babysitters. No one in the group met their babysitter this month except for the speaker (Zahra).

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PUZZLE

(11) NON-PREDICATIVE MATRIX

(tænha) man kæs-i ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari

(only) I person-RM that from kid-1SG care

mi-kon-æd ra did-æm

IMPERF-do-3SG RA saw-1SG

‘(Only) I met the/a person who takes care of my children.’

PUZZLE

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‘(Only) I met the/a person who takes care of my children.’

3rd Agr

1st Pro

✓ **Bound Variable**

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HOW FARSI IS EVEN MORE PROBLEMATIC:

- Current accounts cannot predict the split between predicative and non-predicative matrix clauses for fake indexicals within relative clauses.

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GENERALIZATION

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GENERALIZATION

When the main clause is not predicative:

GENERALIZATION

When the main clause is not predicative:

- ▶ 1st T agreement in the relative clause is no longer possible.

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GENERALIZATION

When the main clause is not predicative:

- ▶ 1st T agreement in the relative clause is no longer possible.
- ▶ bound variable readings **are** available with **mismatching** agreement on T and on the fake indexical. (only **3rd Agr** **1st Pro**)

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When the main clause is not predicative:

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TAKEAWAY

Matrix predication affects the agreement patterns in the relative clause.

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AGREEMENT PATTERNS

AGREEMENT PATTERNS

(12) NON-PREDICATIVE MATRIX PATTERN

AGR.	PRO.	BOUND VARIABLE
3	3	*
3	1	✓
1	1	*
1	3	*

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WHAT WE'VE LEARNED:

- ▶ non-predicative matrix: only the **3rd Agr** **1st Pro** pattern yields bound variable readings

WHAT WE'VE LEARNED:

- ▶ non-predicative matrix: only the **3rd Agr 1st Pro** pattern yields bound variable readings

CONCLUSIONS:

- ▶ the matrix subject can **bind the pronoun directly** for non-predicative matrix clauses
- ▶ if this direct dependency were always available, then **3rd Agr 1st Pro** wouldn't be starred for predicative matrix clauses

OUR ASSUMPTIONS:

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OUR ASSUMPTIONS:

- ▶ A **direct dependency** between the matrix subject and the indexical is possible, but modulated by locality constraints (Wurmbrand, 2017).

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OUR ASSUMPTIONS:

- ▶ A **direct dependency** between the matrix subject and the indexical is possible, but modulated by locality constraints (Wurmbrand, 2017).
- ▶ **Rule H*** (Fox, 1998): when local binding and non-local binding yield the same interpretation, non-local binding is blocked.

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- ▶ **Rule H*** (Fox, 1998): when local binding and non-local binding yield the same interpretation, non-local binding is blocked.

* This is inspired by Wurmbrand (2017) who uses a morphological version of Rule H. We argue the regular Rule H can capture the data.

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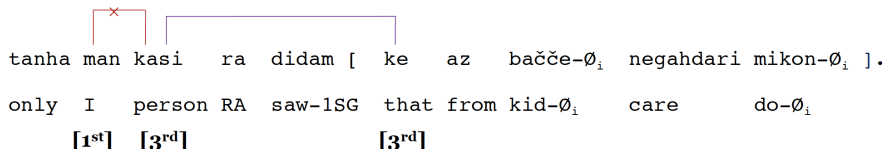
Derivation for Non-Predicative Matrix

STEP 1: There is no predication, so feature identification between the subject and the relative pronoun does not take place.

Derivation for Non-Predicative Matrix

STEP 1: There is no predication, so feature identification between the subject and the relative pronoun does not take place.

No Predication



► *who* **only** has **3rd** person features

Derivation for Non-Predicative Matrix

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Derivation for Non-Predicative Matrix

STEP 2: The **embedded T probe** enters an AGREE relation with *who*.

Derivation for Non-Predicative Matrix

STEP 2: The **embedded T probe** enters an AGREE relation with *who*.
When the features get valued, only [3rd] is available.

tanha	man	kasi	ra	didam	[	ke	az	bačč- \emptyset_i	negahdari	mikon	-ad].
only	I	person	RA	saw-1SG	that	from	kid- \emptyset_i	care	do		3SG	
	[1 st]	[3 rd]			[3 rd]						[3 rd]	

Derivation for Non-Predicative Matrix

STEP 2: The **embedded T probe** enters an AGREE relation with *who*.
When the features get valued, only [3rd] is available.

tanha	man	kasi	ra	didam	[	ke	az	bačč- \emptyset_i	negahdari	mikon	-ad].
only	I	person	RA	saw-1SG	that	from	kid- \emptyset_i	care	do		3SG	
	[1 st]	[3 rd]			[3 rd]						[3 rd]	

► **only 3rd** person embedded T agreement is possible

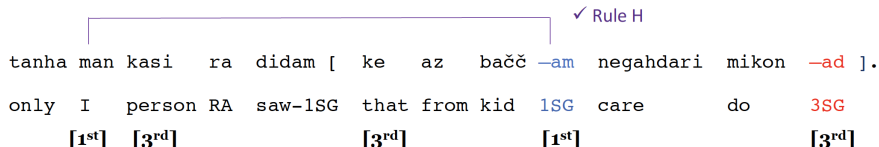
Derivation for Non-Predicative Matrix

Derivation for Non-Predicative Matrix

STEP 3: The direct dependency between the matrix subject and the indexical is no longer ruled out by Rule H.

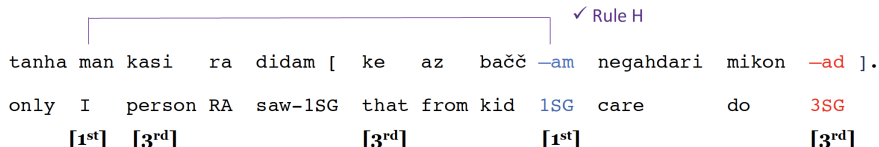
Derivation for Non-Predicative Matrix

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STEP 3: The direct dependency between the matrix subject and the indexical is no longer ruled out by Rule H.



► the indexical can be directly bound by the subject

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IndexicalsRodica Ivan &
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- ▶ A purely semantic account of fake indexicals is not sufficient for Farsi: syntactic agreement and bound variable readings are correlated
- ▶ **embedded T agreement** does play a role in the availability of bound variable readings (contra Wurmbrand, 2017)
- ▶ **Sharing of Person Features under predication** is *optional*.
- ▶ Languages differ in **Timing of Sharing of Person Features under predication**.

SUMMARY:

- ▶ A purely semantic account of fake indexicals is not sufficient for Farsi: syntactic agreement and bound variable readings are correlated
- ▶ **embedded T agreement** does play a role in the availability of bound variable readings (contra Wurmbrand, 2017)
- ▶ **Sharing of Person Features under predication** is *optional*.
- ▶ Languages differ in **Timing of Sharing of Person Features under predication**.
- ▶ a **direct dependency** between the matrix subject and the minimal pronoun is regulated by **Rule H (Fox, 1989)** (like Wurmbrand, 2017; but no need for H_{PF})

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OG Accounts

KRATZER (2009): **Assumptions**

- minimal pronouns are born **featureless** \emptyset_i
- they acquire their features via **binding**
(from functional heads with λ -operators)
- **Important:** ν and C can be merged with valued ϕ -features
(to preserve local phase-based spellout)
- ν and C alter the spell-out form of \emptyset_i
via FEATURE TRANSMISSION UNDER BINDING
- binding relations determined in **relative clause**
(phase-based agreement, bottom-up)
- via unification rules, **the relative pronoun, T, ν and the indexical**
end up **specified for all features** involved in the various feature dependencies.

KRATZER (2009): **Ingredients**

(13) FEATURE TRANSMISSION UNDER BINDING

The ϕ -feature set of a bound DP **unifies** with the ϕ -feature set of the verbal functional head that hosts its binder.

(14) SPECIFIER-HEAD AGREEMENT UNDER BINDING

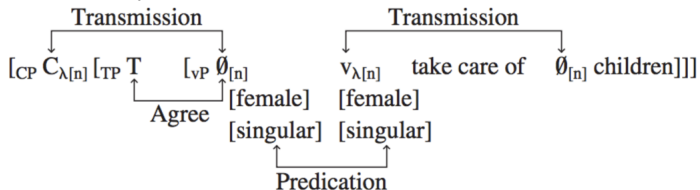
When a DP occupies the specifier position of a head that carries a λ -operator, their ϕ -feature sets **unify**.

(15) FEATURE COMPATIBILITY

Bound variable readings are only obtained when the possessive pronoun and the closest verb have **compatible ϕ -features** (before-spell out).

KRATZER (2009): **Derivation**

(16) I am the only one who takes care of her children.

**Bottom-up!****STEP 0:** v & C enter derivation with relevant features**STEP 1:** v & the possessive enter FEATURE TRANSMISSION**STEP 2:** *predication* (spec-head agr.) between subject DP and v **STEP 3:** subject DP AGREES with T **STEP 4:** subject DP and C enter FEATURE TRANSMISSION

WURMBRAND (2017): **Observation**

Kratzer (2009) proposes that the embedded little *v* comes with 1st person features. This wrongly predicts that there should be no difference between (10a) and (10b).

- (17) a. I am the only one [who has done my/her best]. ✓ **BVar**
 b. The only one [who has done *my/her best] is me. ***BVar**

Conclusion:

- *v* does not come equipped with 1st person features
- the derivation is not bottom-up.

WURMBRAND (2017): **Assumptions**

- the AGREE relations with T and v are **irrelevant**.
- A **direct dependency** between the antecedent and the overt indexical pronoun is needed.
- A locality condition reminiscent of Rule H (Heim 1993, Fox 1998) favoring feature sharing with the closest relevant antecedent.
- Certain (markedness inspired) morphological feature co-occurrence restrictions.

WURMBRAND (2017): **Ingredients**

- The semantic dependencies in the targeted sentences are **predication, relativization, and binding**.
- Any feature sharing relation triggered by these dependencies has to obey Rule H_{PF} , which requires sharing with the closest antecedent.

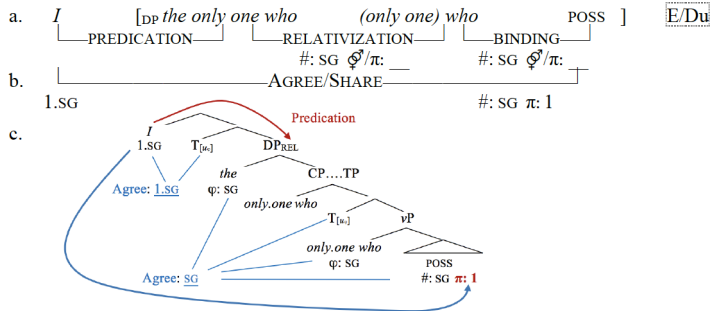
(18) RULE H_{PF} :

A variable x cannot Agree with an antecedent α , in cases where a **more local antecedent** β could Agree with x and share morphosyntactic features with x .

\approx typical locality restriction

WURMBRAND (2017): **Derivation**

(19) I am the only one who takes care of my children.

**Top-Down!**