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

Rodica Ivan & Zahra Mirrazi

University of Massachusetts at Amherst

{rivan, zmirrazirena}@umass.edu



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Rodica says 'Hi!'

PUZZLE

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PUZZLE

Context: Bad Parenting

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PUZZLE

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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PUZZLE

(1) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
I only person-RM be-1SG
'I am the only one...'

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PUZZLE

- (1) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
 I only person-RM be-1SG
 'I am the only one...'
- a. ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æm]
 - ... [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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PUZZLE

- (1) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
 I only person-RM be-1SG
 'I am the only one...'
- a. ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æm]
 ... [that from kid-1SG care IMPERF-do-1SG]

 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.'

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PUZZLE

- ✓ BVar reading when embedded T agreement and pronoun **match**
- (1) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
 I only person-RM be-1SG
 'I am the only one...'
- a. ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æm]
 ... [that from kid-1sG care IMPERF-do-1sG]

 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.'

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(2) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
I only person-RM be-1SG
'I am the only one...'

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PUZZLE

a.

- (2) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
 I only person-RM be-1SG
 'I am the only one...'
 - ... [ke æz bačč-<u>æš</u> negæhdari mi-kon-<u>æm</u>]
 ... [that from kid-3SG care IMPERF-do-1SG]

 1st Agr 3rd Pro * Bound Variable
 - "... who am taking care of her_{Rodica} child."

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PUZZLE

- (2)mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ... only person-RM be-1SG 'I am the only one...'
- ... [ke æz bačč-æš negæhdari mi-kon-æm] a. ... [that from kid-3sg care IMPERF-do-1sg] 1st Agr 3rd Pro * Bound Variable
 - "... who am taking care of her_{Rodica} child."
- b. ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æd] ... [that from kid-1sg care IMPERF-do-3sg] 3rd Agr 1st Pro * Bound Variable
 - "... who is taking care of my_{7ahra} child."

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PUZZLE

- * BVar reading when embedded T agreement and pronoun mismatch
- (2)mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ... only person-RM be-1SG 'I am the only one...'
- ... [ke æz bačč-æš negæhdari mi-kon-æm] a. ... [that from kid-3sg care IMPERF-do-1sg] 1st Agr 3rd Pro * Bound Variable "... who am taking care of her_{Rodica} child."
- b. ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æd] ... [that from kid-1sg care IMPERF-do-3sg] 3rd Agr 1st Pro * Bound Variable
 - "... who is taking care of my_{7ahra} child."

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PUZZLE

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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PUZZLE

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

SPIEL IN A NUTSHELL

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

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PUZZLE

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

- → Farsi provides an argument in favor of **syntactic** accounts
- → **Feature identification** between the matrix subject, predicate and relative pronoun takes place only with **predicative** matrix clauses

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PUZZLE

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

- → Farsi provides an argument in favor of **syntactic** accounts
- → **Feature identification** between the matrix subject, predicate and relative pronoun takes place only with **predicative** matrix clauses
- → Sharing **person** features through **feature identification under predication** is **optional** and can happen in **syntax** or **post-syntactically**.

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PUZZLE

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

- → Farsi provides an argument in favor of **syntactic** accounts
- → **Feature identification** between the matrix subject, predicate and relative pronoun takes place only with **predicative** matrix clauses
- → Sharing **person** features through **feature identification under predication** is **optional** and can happen in **syntax** or **post-syntactically**.
- → 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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PUZZLE

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

- → Farsi provides an argument in favor of **syntactic** accounts
- → **Feature identification** between the matrix subject, predicate and relative pronoun takes place only with **predicative** matrix clauses
- → Sharing **person** features through **feature identification under predication** is **optional** and can happen in **syntax** or **post-syntactically**.
- → non-predicative matrix clauses teach us that a **direct dependency** between the matrix subject and the indexical is possible in Farsi
- \rightarrow 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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RIGID DESIGNATORS

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

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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RIGID DESIGNATORS

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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)

$$\rightarrow [I]^{g,c}$$
 = the speaker in C

$$\rightarrow [you]^{g,c}$$
 = the addressee in C

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

adapted from Partee (1989)

REFERENTIAL: a.

No one else can take care of my children.

RIGID DESIGNATORS & FAKE INDEXICALS

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RIGID DESIGNATORS & FAKE INDEXICALS

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

adapted from Partee (1989)

a. REFERENTIAL:

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

b. BOUND VARIABLE:

No one else can take care of their children.

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RIGID DESIGNATORS & FAKE INDEXICALS

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

adapted from Partee (1989)

a. REFERENTIAL:

No one else can take care of my children.

b. BOUND VARIABLE:

No one else can take care of their children.

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

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(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.
- ightharpoonup The ϕ -features get deleted in **Focus Alternatives**.

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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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SYNTACTIC ACCOUNTS: CORE IDEA

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

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SYNTACTIC ACCOUNTS: CORE IDEA

- ▶ 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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- ✓ BVar reading when embedded T agreement and pronoun **match**
- (5) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
 I only person-RM be-1SG
 'I am the only one...'

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- \checkmark BVar reading when embedded T agreement and pronoun **match**
- (5) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm only person-RM be-1SG 'I am the only one...'
- ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æm] a. ... [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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✓ BVar reading when embedded T agreement and pronoun match
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- (5) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
 I only person-RM be-1SG
 'I am the only one...'
- a. ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æm]
 ... [that from kid-1SG care IMPERF-do-1SG]

 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.'

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PUZZLE

(6) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
I only person-RM be-1SG
'I am the only one...'

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PUZZLE

a.

- (6) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
 - I only person-RM be-1SG 'I am the only one...'
 - ... [ke æz bačč-<u>æš</u> negæhdari mi-kon-<u>æm</u>]
 - ... [that from kid-3sG care IMPERF-do-1sG]

1st Agr 3rd Pro * Bound Variable

"... who am taking care of her_{Rodica} child."

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PUZZLE

- (6) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ... only person-RM be-1SG 'I am the only one...'
- ... [ke æz bačč-æš negæhdari mi-kon-æm] a. ... [that from kid-3sg care IMPERF-do-1sg] 1st Agr 3rd Pro * Bound Variable
 - "... who am taking care of her_{Rodica} child."
- b. ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æd] ... [that from kid-1sg care IMPERF-do-3sg] 3rd Agr 1st Pro * Bound Variable
 - "... who is taking care of my_{7ahra} child."

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PUZZLE

- * BVar reading when embedded T agreement and pronoun mismatch
- (6) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
 I only person-RM be-1SG
 'I am the only one...'
- a. ... [ke æz bačč-<u>æš</u> negæhdari mi-kon-<u>æm</u>]
 ... [that from kid-3SG care IMPERF-do-1SG]

 1st Agr 3rd Pro * Bound Variable
 '... who am taking care of her_{Rodica} child.'
- b. ... [ke æz bačč-<u>æm</u> negæhdari mi-kon-<u>æd</u>]
 ... [that from kid-1sG care IMPERF-do-3sG]
 3rd Agr 1st Pro * Bound Variable
 '... who is taking care of myzahra child.'

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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.

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HOW FARSI IS PROBLEMATIC:

- (7) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
 I only person-RM be-1SG
 'I am the only one...'
- a. ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æm]
 ... [that from kid-1sg care IMPERF-do-1sg]
- 1st Agr 1st Pro ✓ Bound Variable
- b. ... [ke æz bačč-<u>æm</u> negæhdari mi-kon-<u>æd</u>]
 ... [that from kid-1SG care IMPERF-do-3SG]
 - 3rd Agr 1st Pro * Bound Variable

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HOW FARSI IS PROBLEMATIC:

- (7) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
 I only person-RM be-1SG
 'I am the only one...'
- a. ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æm]
 ... [that from kid-1SG care IMPERF-do-1SG]

 1st Agr 1st Pro ✓ Bound Variable
- b. ... [ke æz bačč-<u>æm</u> negæhdari mi-kon-<u>æd</u>]
 ... [that from kid-1SG care IMPERF-do-3SG]
 3rd Agr 1st Pro * Bound Variable
- ► Focus-alternative accounts cannot distinguish between (7a) & (7b).

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HOW FARSI IS PROBLEMATIC:

- (7) mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ...
 I only person-RM be-1SG
 - 'I am the only one...'
- a. ... [ke æz bačč-æm negæhdari mi-kon-æm]

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

1st Agr 1st Pro ✓ Bound Variable

- b. ... [ke æz bačč-<u>æm</u> negæhdari mi-kon-<u>æd</u>]
 - ... [that from kid-1sg care IMPERF-do-3sg]

3rd Agr 1st Pro * Bound Variable

- ► Focus-alternative accounts cannot distinguish between (7a) & (7b).
- ▶ Wurmbrand (2017) assumes T (and ν) agreement in the embedded clause is irrelevant. (7b) should have a bound variable reading.



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TAKEAWAY

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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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HOW ENGLISH (!) IS PROBLEMATIC:

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HOW ENGLISH (!) IS PROBLEMATIC:

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

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HOW ENGLISH (!) IS PROBLEMATIC:

- ► Kratzer (2009) argues that bound variable readings are generated within the relative clause and assumes that matrix clause features are irrelevant.
- \rightarrow there should be no difference between (8a) and (8b).
- (8) a. I am the only one who takes care of my children.

✓ **BVar** PREDICATIVE

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HOW ENGLISH (!) IS PROBLEMATIC:

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

✓ **BVar** PREDICATIVE

b. I met the only one who takes care of my children.

*BVar NON- PREDICATIVE (Cable, 2005)

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HOW ENGLISH (!) IS PROBLEMATIC:

- ► Kratzer (2009) argues that bound variable readings are generated within the relative clause and assumes that matrix clause features are irrelevant.
- \rightarrow there should be no difference between (8a) and (8b).
- (8) a. I am the only one who takes care of my children.

✓ **BVar** Predicative

b. I met the only one who takes care of my children.

*BVar NON- PREDICATIVE (Cable, 2005)

TAKEAWAY

▶ the features in the matrix clause **are** relevant

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HOW ENGLISH (!) IS PROBLEMATIC:

- ▶ Kratzer (2009) argues that bound variable readings are generated within the relative clause and assumes that matrix clause features are irrelevant.
- \rightarrow there should be no difference between (8a) and (8b).
- (8) a. I <u>am</u> the only one who takes care of my children.

✓ **BVar** Predicative

b. I met the only one who takes care of my children.

*BVar NON- PREDICATIVE (Cable, 2005)

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

Zahra Mirra

Stage

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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:

Zahra Mirra

WHAT WE'VE LEARNED:

▶ 1st Agr in the relative clause when the matrix is predicative

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Zahra Mir

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WHAT WE'VE LEARNED

▶ 1st Agr in the relative clause when the matrix is predicative

CONCLUSIONS:

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

Rodica Ivan & Zahra Mirrazi

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

CONCLUSIONS:

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

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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

CONCLUSIONS:

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

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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

CONCLUSIONS:

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

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OUR ASSUMPTIONS:

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OUR ASSUMPTIONS:

► Feature Identification under Relativization (Cable, 2005): the relative operator and the modified NP share features.

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OUR ASSUMPTIONS:

- ► Feature Identification under Relativization (Cable, 2005): the relative operator and the modified NP share features.
- ► Feature Identification under Predication (Cable, 2005): the subject and the predicate DP share features.

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- ► Feature Identification under Relativization (Cable, 2005): the relative operator and the modified NP share features.
- ► Feature Identification under Predication (Cable, 2005): the subject and the predicate DP share features.
- **▶** Sharing Person Features under Predication is optional.

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OUR ASSUMPTIONS:

► T Agreement happens in syntax.

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TI. . T. T.

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_ .

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Matrix Clauses

Summary

- ► T Agreement happens in syntax.
- ► The features of the minimal pronoun are determined post-syntactically.

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TI. . T. T.

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_ .

Турого

Summary

Matrix Clauses

Summary

- ► T Agreement happens in syntax.
- ► The features of the minimal pronoun are determined post-syntactically.

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Stage

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Interim

Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

Summary

- ► T Agreement happens in syntax.
- ► The features of the minimal pronoun are determined post-syntactically.
- ► Sharing Person Features can happen in syntax.

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The Farsi Da

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Non-predicative

viatrix Ciaus

- ► 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**.

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Summary

Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

Summary

- ► 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

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Proposal

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

► Sharing Person Features can happen post-syntactically.

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Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

Summar

- ► 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
- ► Sharing Person Features can happen post-syntactically.
 - ► feeding only the **minimal pronoun**.

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Matrix Clauses

Summary

- ► 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
- ► Sharing Person Features can happen post-syntactically.
 - ► feeding only the **minimal pronoun.**
 - ► 3rd Agr 1st Pro

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Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 3rd Pro (All Languages)

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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*.

```
tanha
                kasi
                         hastam [
                                               az
                                                       bačče-Ø, negahdari mikon-Ø,. ]
       only
                                        that
                                                from
                                                          child-Ø, care
                                                                                     do-Ø
                 person am
1st
                [3^{rd}]
                                       3^{\mathrm{rd}}
                                                           [ 3<sup>rd</sup>]
                                                                                     [ 3<sup>rd</sup>]
```

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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*.

```
tanha
                kasi
                         hastam [
                                               az
                                                       bačče-Ø, negahdari mikon-Ø,. ]
       only
                                        that
                                                from
                                                          child-Ø, care
                                                                                     do-Ø
                 person am
1st
                [3^{rd}]
                                       3^{\mathrm{rd}}
                                                           [ 3<sup>rd</sup>]
                                                                                     [ 3<sup>rd</sup>]
```

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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*.

```
tanha
               kasi
                        hastam [
                                            az
                                                    bačče-Ø, negahdari mikon-Ø,. ]
      only
                                     that
                                             from
                                                       child-Ø, care
                                                                                do-Ø
                person am
1st
                [3^{rd}]
                                     3^{\mathrm{rd}}
                                                        [ 3<sup>rd</sup>]
                                                                                [3^{rd}]
```

► 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

Rodica Ivan Zahra Mirra Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr

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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**.

Rodica Ivan & Zahra Mirrazi 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 .

```
Feature Identification
                         Feature Identification
   Under Predication
                         Under Relativization
      tanha
                 kasi
                                          ke
                                                           bačče-Ø, negahdari mikon-Ø. ]
                            hastam [
                                                  az
                                                   from
                                                             child-Ø care
                                                                                         do-Ø
       only
                 person
                                          that
1st
                                         [ 3<sup>rd</sup>]
                                                              [ 3<sup>rd</sup>]
                                                                                         3rd
                 [3rd]
```

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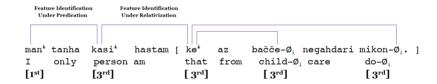
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Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

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

Rodica Ivan Zahra Mirra **Derivation for Predicative Matrix 1st Agr 1st Pro** (*Farsi*)

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Derivation for Predicative Matrix 1st Agr 1st Pro (*Farsi*)

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

```
Sharing Person Features
                        Feature Identification
   Under Predication
                       Under Relativization
                kasii
                                        kei
mani tanha
                           hastam [
                                                        bačče-Ø, negahdari mikon-Ø, 1
                                                az
       only
                          am
                                       that
                                                from
                                                          child-Ø care
                                                                                    do-Ø
Τ
                 person
1st
                1<sup>st</sup>
                                        [1st]
```

Zahra Mirra

Derivation for Predicative Matrix 1st Agr 1st Pro (Farsi)

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Rodica Ivan Zahra Mirra

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Derivation for Predicative Matrix 1st Agr 1st Pro (*Farsi*)

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

```
Sharing Person Features
                           Feature Identification
   Under Predication
                            Under Relativization
mani tanha
                   kasii
                                hastam [
                                               kei
                                                                  bačče-Ø, negahdari mikon-Ø,. ]
                                                        az
                                               that
                                                                    child-Ø, care
        only
                   person am
                                                         from
                                                                                                    do-Ø
[1<sup>st</sup>]
                   [1<sup>st</sup>]
                                               [1<sup>st</sup>]
                                                                      [1st]
                                                                                                    [1<sup>st</sup>]
```

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Derivation for Predicative Matrix 1st Agr 1st Pro (*Farsi*)

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

```
Sharing Person Features
                           Feature Identification
    Under Predication
                            Under Relativization
mani tanha
                   kasii
                                hastam [
                                               kei
                                                                  bačče-Ø, negahdari mikon-Ø,. ]
                                                        az
                                              that
                                                         from
                                                                    child-Ø, care
        only
                   person am
                                                                                                    do-Ø
[1<sup>st</sup>]
                   [1<sup>st</sup>]
                                               [1<sup>st</sup>]
                                                                      [1st]
                                                                                                    [1<sup>st</sup>]
```



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Derivation for Predicative Matrix (English)

3rd Agr 1st Pro

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Rodica Ivan & Zahra Mirrazi

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

The Farsi Da

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Matrix Clauses

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

```
I am the only one [ who take- \emptyset_i care of \emptyset_i child.] [3<sup>rd</sup>] [3<sup>rd</sup>]
```

Zahra Mirra

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

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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**.

```
Sharing Person Features
                               Feature Identification
   Under Predication
                               Under Relativization
               the only one
                                             who
                                                     take- Ø.
                                                                    care of
                                                                                           child.
       am
1st
                                              [1st]
                                                            3rd
                                                                                   [ 3rd]
                            [1st]
                                                                                   1st
```

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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**.

```
Sharing Person Features
                               Feature Identification
   Under Predication
                               Under Relativization
               the only one
                                             who
                                                     take- Ø.
                                                                    care of
                                                                                           child.
       am
1st
                                              [1st]
                                                            3rd
                                                                                   [ 3rd]
                            [1st]
                                                                                    1st
```

► T Agreement happens in syntax. \rightarrow 3rd Agr

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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**.

```
Sharing Person Features
Under Predication
Under Relativization

I am the only one [ who take- Ø; care of Ø; child.]
```

[1st]

[3rd]

► T Agreement happens in syntax. \rightarrow 3rd Agr

[1st]

▶ 3rd is the absence of person features.

[1st]

▶ The features of \emptyset_i are determined **post-syntactically**. \rightarrow 1st Pro



[3rd]

1st

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PREDICATIVE MATRIX PATTERNS

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

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PREDICATIVE MATRIX PATTERNS

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(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

Phy Forei Date

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

FARSI

▶ Sharing Person Features under predication is optional.

ne Farsi Data FAR

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Summary

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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

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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



Typology

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The raisi Da

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

ENGLISH & DUTCH

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

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ENGLISH & DUTCH

► Sharing Person Features under predication is optional.

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

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Typology Sharing Pers

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

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

ROMANIAN & FRENCH

The Farsi Da

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

ROMANIAN & FRENCH

▶ Sharing Person Features under predication is optional.

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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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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.
- ► When Sharing of Person Features under predication happens in the syntax, we get 1st Agr 1st Pro

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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.
- ► When Sharing of Person Features under predication happens in the syntax, we get 1st Agr 1st Pro
- When Sharing of Person Features under predication happens post-syntactically, we get 3rd Agr 1st Pro

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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.
- ► When Sharing of Person Features under predication happens in the syntax, we get 1st Agr 1st Pro
- ► When Sharing of Person Features under predication happens post-syntactically, we get 3rd Agr 1st Pro
- ► Hebrew (Itai Bassi, p.c.) patterns with Romanian

Rodica Ivan Zahra Mirra

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Tomoloo

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES



Rodica Ivan Zahra Mirra:

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

Typological Gap

► a language in which 1st Agr 3rd Pro is allowed.

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The Farsi Dat

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Non-predicativ Matrix Clause

Summar

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

- ► 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.

Rodica Ivan & Zahra Mirrazi

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Matrix Clauses

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

- ► 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

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CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

- ► 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.

Rodica Ivan & Zahra Mirrazi

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Typology

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Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

ummar

CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

- ▶ 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)

Interim Summary

Interim Summary

Interim Summary

Interim Summary **SUMMARY:**

Zahra Mirra

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Summary

SUMMARY:

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

Rodica Ivan Zahra Mirra

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The Farsi Da

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Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

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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)

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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**.

Rodica Ivan Zahra Mirra

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Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

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PUZZLE

Farsi Fake Indexicals

Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

Rodica Iva Zahra Miri

Stage

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Typolog

Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

Summary

PUZZLE

Context: Bad Parenting Continues...

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The Farsi Da

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Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

Summary

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).

Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

PUZZLE



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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.'

Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

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PUZZLE

(11) Non-Predicative Matrix

(tænha) man kæs-i ke æz bačč-<u>æm</u> negæhdari (only) I person-RM that from kid-1SG care mi-kon-<u>æd</u> ra did-æm IMPERF-do-3SG RA saw-1SG

'(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:

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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

When the main clause is not predicative:

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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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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**)

Interim Summary

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TAKEAWAY

Matrix predication affects the agreement patterns in the relative clause.

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AGREEMENT PATTERNS

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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:

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WHAT WE'VE LEARNED:

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

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Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

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

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OUR ASSUMPTIONS:

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

Non-predicative

Matrix Clauses

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Matrix Clauses

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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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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 vield 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

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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.

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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.

```
No Predication
```

```
tanha man kasi ra didam [ ke az bačče-\emptyset_i negahdari mikon-\emptyset_i].

only I person RA saw-1SG that from kid-\emptyset_i care do-\emptyset_i

[1st] [3rd] [3rd]
```

► who only has 3rd person features

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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*.

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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-Ø.
                                                           negahdari mikon
only
            person RA
                          saw-1SG that from kid-Ø,
                                                                        do
                                                                                 3SG
                                                           care
      \mathbf{1^{st}}
             [3^{rd}]
                                    [3^{rd}]
                                                                                 [3^{rd}]
```

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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-Ø.
                                                      negahdari mikon
                                                                         -ad 1.
only
           person RA saw-1SG that from kid-Ø,
                                                                 do
                                                                         3SG
                                                      care
     1st
           [3rd]
                                 [3^{rd}]
                                                                          [3^{rd}]
```

▶ only 3rd person embedded T agreement is possible

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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.

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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.

```
✓ Rule H
tanha man kasi
                             didam [
                                                        bačč -am
                                                                      negahdari
                                                                                      mikon
                                          ke
                                                 az
                                                                                                -ad 1.
                        ra
only
              person RA
                             saw-1SG that from kid
                                                                1SG
                                                                                                3SG
                                                                       care
                                                                                      do
              [3^{\mathrm{rd}}]
       \mathbf{1}^{\mathbf{st}}
                                          [3rd]
                                                                [1<sup>st</sup>]
                                                                                                [3rd]
```

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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.

```
✓ Rule H
tanha man kasi
                                                     bačč -am
                                                                  negahdari
                                                                                 mikon
                            didam [
                                        ke
                                               az
                                                                                           -ad 1.
                      ra
                            saw-1SG that from kid
                                                                                           3SG
only
             person RA
                                                                   care
                                                                                  do
      \mathbf{1}^{\mathbf{st}}
              [3rd]
                                        [3rd]
                                                             [1<sup>st</sup>]
                                                                                           [3rd]
```

▶ the indexical can be directly bound by the subject

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Summary

Summary

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

▶ **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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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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Acknowledgements

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> Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

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OG Accounts

OG Accounts

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OG Accounts

Kratzer (2009): Assumptions

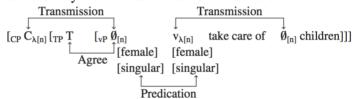
- \rightarrow minimal pronouns are born **featureless** \varnothing_i
- \rightarrow they acquire their features via **binding** (from functional heads with λ-operators)
- \rightarrow **Important:** v and C can be merged with valued ϕ -features (to preserve local phase-based spellout)
- $\rightarrow v$ 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)
- \rightarrow 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 <u>verbal</u> functional head that hosts its binder.
- (14) Specifier-Head Agreement under Binding When a DP occupies the <u>specifier</u> position of a head that carries a λ-operator, their φ-feature sets **unify**.
- 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).

a. <u>I am</u> the only one [who has done my/her best]. ✓ **BVar**b. The only one [who has done *my/her best] is me. ***BVar**

Conclusion:

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

WURMBRAND (2017): Assumptions

- \rightarrow 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**.
- \rightarrow 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.

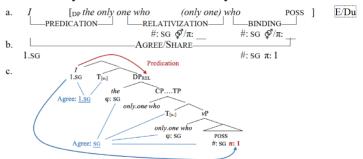
 \approx typical locality restriction

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OG Accounts

WURMBRAND (2017): **Derivation**

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



Top-Down!