ITALIAN CLITICS: VARIABLES AND DISJOINT REFLEXIVITY

DIEGO PESCARINI
UNIVERSITY OF PADOVA

D R A F T !

1. Introduction

This article aims to explore a possible correlation between several aspects concerning Romance pronominal clitics: a restriction on their distribution in causative constructions, some morphological asymmetries that seem to distinguish two sub-classes of pronouns (Kayne 2000) and the syncretic morphology of reflexive clitics displayed by some Italian dialects. I will argue that these aspects can be accounted for on the basis of the same hypothesis that derives in part from a suggestion by Sigurðsson (2004)[1]:

> an argument or a θ-feature does not come with any fixed φ-values. Rather, it comes with active unvalued φ-'variables' that are valued under matching by clausal φ- and Λ-elements<[2]>. Also, 'arguments' are neither fixed 'positions' nor are they 'DPs' or phonological material of some sort. Rather, arguments are sets of interrelated event features, grammatical features and speech features.

The first phenomenon I will address is the *Fancy Constraint* (FC), a restriction constraining the distribution of object clitics in causative constructions. For instance, in Italian, like in many Romance languages, the caused object cannot be marked by an indexical[3] (1.a) or reflexive (1.b) clitic when a caused subject is present:

(1)   a.   * Micol mi   fa   pettinare a Marco
                 Micol me.CL make.3.SG comb   to Marco
                 'Micol makes Marco comb me'
         b.   * Micol si   fa   pettinare a Marco
                 Micol herself.CL make.3.SG comb   to Marco
                 'Micol makes Marco comb herself'

3rd person non reflexive clitics, on the contrary, are always allowed in object position:

(2)   Micol la   fa   pettinare a Marco
         Micol her.CL make.3.SG comb   to Marco
         'Micol makes Marco comb her'

Crucially I will notice that the FC does not target sentences where both the caused subject and object are marked by indexical clitics, a pattern that in other languages – French, for instance – cannot be observed since it is independently ruled out by the so-called Strong Person Case Constraint (PCC, Anagnostopoulou 2005, Bonet 1991, Nevins 2007). In section 2 I will argue that the grammaticality of this configuration can contribute to outline a principled analysis of the FC based on the hypothesis that indexical and reflexive clitics correspond to arguments projected with unvalued φ features, namely *variables* in Sigurðsson's (2004) terms.

In section 3 I will try to strengthen this claim by focusing on some morphological properties of reflexive and indexical clitics in order to show, in accordance with Kayne (2000), that these peculiarities can follow from the status of syntactic variables of these pronouns.

Section 4 deals with the morphology of reflexive pronouns and addresses some *prima facie* counter-examples that seem to challenge the hypothesis above. In particular I will focus on dialects where a syncretic reflexive clitic is used for different Persons, as in Veronese, where the item *se* marks both 3rd and 1st person reflexive objects:

(3)   a.   El/la/i se lava(Verona)
               He/she/they.CL him/her-self/themselves.CL wash
               'He/she/they wash(es)'
         b.   Se lavemo
               Ourselves.CL wash
               'We wash'

I will argue that these cases are consistent with the variable hypothesis, which finally provides a principled framework accounting for the different types of reflexive marking attested in the dialects of Italy.

2. Hypothesis

Sigurðsson (2004) claims that each argument (i.e. a set of θ-features) is a variable that is interpreted in relation to grammatical features (i.e. φ-features) whose value in turn depends on a set of logophoric features (i.e. Λ-features) computing the variable on the basis of the Speech Act Participants:

(4) $\{\Lambda \leftrightarrow \varphi \leftrightarrow \theta\}$ = Argument   (Sigurðsson 2004)[4]

According to this framework, the interpretation of arguments is indeed due to an Agree relation across syntactic layers:

(5) $[_{CP} \Lambda\text{-features} [_{IP} \varphi\text{-features} [_{VP} \theta\text{-features}]]]$ (Sigurðsson 2004)

In what follows I will focus on Person features that will be represented as {P} if valued and {0} if unvalued, where {P} stands for a bundle of Person features like [±participant], [±speaker].

Sigurðsson's (2004) hypothesis revises in depth the framework discussed in Chomsky (1999), who assumes that arguments enter the derivation with a full set of φ-features and agree with a head (that I will call AgrP) with the corresponding unvalued features:

(6) $[_{AgrP} \{0\} \dots [_{VP} \{P\}]]$

In this work I will suggest that Sigurðsson's (2004) and Chomsky's hypotheses are not totally incompatible and that Sigurðsson (2004) refers to a particular kind of arguments that I will call *variables*. Therefore, while P-valued arguments agree with an Agr-like probe bearing a correspondent unvalued feature, as shown in (6), variables, which are projected with unvalued Person features, must agree with a higher layer of Person features:

(7) $[_{\Lambda P} \{P\} \dots [_{AgrP} \{0\} \dots [_{VP} \{0\}]]]$

I will suggest that this higher probe searching for a variable can be either SAP (namely, Speech Act Participant, Bianchi 2006) or an agreement projection (AgrS); the former encodes the Speech Act Participant and therefore give an *indexical* interpretation to the variable, while the latter determines a reflexive interpretation:

(8)   a.   variable: indexical interpretation:
                    $[_{SAPP}$ {P} … $[_{AgrP}$ {0} … $[_{VP}$ {0}]]]
          b.   variable: reflexive interpretation:
                    $[_{AgrSP}$ {P} … $[_{AgrP}$ {0} … $[_{VP}$ {0}]]]

Summing up, both indexicals and reflexives can be variables bearing unvalued P(erson) features that must be valued via agree. The distinction between indexicals and reflexives depends on the type of probe they agree with: SAP vs AgrS.

The distinction between P-valued and P-unvalued arguments (namely, variables) is not *a priori* and the status of each argument must be discussed on the basis of empirical evidence. In the following sections I will argue that Italian indexical and reflexive clitics are variables, while 3rd person non reflexive clitics – as well as strong pronouns – are plain arguments. In order to support this assumption, in section 3 I will take into consideration a syntactic restriction (the Fancy Constraint) while in section 4 I will review some morphological asymmetries that have been already noticed by Kayne (2000).

3. Syntactic Evidence: the Fancy Constraint

In Italian – like in many other Romance languages – when a ditransitive verb is embedded under a causative verb (9.a), the caused subject can be marked by a dative clitic (9.b), the caused object by an accusative clitic (9.c), and both arguments can be clitic (9.d):

(9)   a.   Micol fa pettinare Giulia a Carlo
                    Micol make.3.SG comb Giulia to Carlo
                    'Micol makes Carlo comb Giulia'
          b.   Micol *gli*$_i$ fa pettinare Giulia (a Carlo$_i$)
                    Micol to-him.CL make.3.SG comb Giulia (to Carlo)
                    'Micol makes him.CL comb Giulia'
          c.   Micol *la*$_i$ fa pettinare (Giulia$_i$) a Carlo
                    Micol her.CL make.3.SG comb (Giulia) to Carlo
                    'Micol makes Carlo comb her'
          d.   Micol *gliela* fa pettinare
                    Micol her.to-him.CL make.3.SG comb
                    'Micol makes him comb her'

However, when a caused subject is present, indexical (10) and reflexive (11) objects cannot be clitic:

(10)   a. * Micol mi fa pettinare a Carlo
                  Micol me.CL make.3.SG comb to Carlo
                  'Micol makes Carlo comb me'
        b. * Micol ti fa pettinare a Carlo
                  Micol you.CL make.3.SG comb to Carlo
                  'Micol makes Carlo comb you'

(11)   a. * Io mi faccio pettinare a Carlo
                  I myself.CL make.1.SG comb to Carlo
                  'I make Carlo comb myself'
        b. * tu ti fai pettinare a Carlo
                  You yourself.CL make.2.SG comb to Carlo
                  'You make Carlo comb yourself'
        c. * Micol si fa pettinare a Carlo
                  Micol herself.CL make.3.SG comb to Carlo
                  'Micol makes Carlo comb herself'

The restriction arises when the caused subject is a DP (like in the examples above), a strong pronoun (12.a) or a 3rd person clitic (12.b):

(12)   a. * Io mi faccio pettinare a lui.
                  I myself.CL make.1.SG comb to him
                  'I make Carlo comb myself'
        b. * Io gli mi faccio pettinare
                  I myself.to-him.CL make.1.SG comb
                  'I make him comb myself'

It is worth noting that, in order to trigger the constraint, the caused subject DP must be in argument position, otherwise, when it is in adjunct position (namely, governed by the preposition *da*) no restriction arises[5], with both indexical and reflexive clitics:

(13)   a.   Micol mi/ti fa pettinare da Carlo
                  Micol me/you.CL make.3.SG comb from Carlo
                  'Micol makes Carlo comb me/you'
        b.   Micol si fa pettinare da Carlo
                  Micol herself.CL make.3.SG comb from Carlo
                  'Micol makes Carlo comb herself'

So to recapitulate, pronominal clitics are constrained by a restriction targeting causative constructions: in this environment 3rd person non-

reflexive clitics are never constrained, while the other clitic forms (1ˢᵗ, 2ⁿᵈ and 3ʳᵈ person reflexive) are blocked when the caused subject is in argument position:

(14)

Object		Caused Subject	
		Argument (*a*+DP)	Adjunct (*da*+DP)
	3	√	√
	1, 2, 3.refl	*	√

√ = object clitic allowed   -   * = object clitic disallowed

However, this formulation of the FC is not complete, since it does not take into consideration the following cases showing that indexical and reflexive clitics are allowed when the caused subject is an indexical clitic.

(15)   Micol mi si fa pettinare
        Micol me.CL herself.CL make.3.SG comb
        'Micol makes me comb herself'

(16)   Micol mi ti fa pettinare
        Micol me.CL you.CL make.3.SG comb
        'Micol makes me comb you'
        'Micol makes you comb me'

It is worth noting that the latter example is ungrammatical in French and other Romance languages because of the so-called strong Person Case Constraint, which independently bans clitic clusters formed by 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person clitics. Italian, on the contrary, allows sequences like these (even if they are judged marginal by some speakers), whose grammaticality is not predicted by the definition of the FC given in (14). In particular, these examples show that the FC does not directly depend on Person features, because the same sentences become ungrammatical if the dative clitic marking the caused subject is replaced by a strong pronoun, leaving person features unchanged:

(17)   *Micol si fa pettinare a me
         Micol herself.CL make.3.SG comb to me
         'Micol makes me comb herself'

(18)   [?]*Micol ti fa pettinare a me
            Micol you.CL make.3.SG comb to me
            'Micol makes you comb me'

    In the light of these further cases, I will try to capture the FC following
an alternative analysis based on the hypothesis discussed in section 1: I
will suggest that the FC is a 'minimality restriction' targeting variables, as
shown by the following table, which, unlike (14), does not make reference
to Person distinctions:

(19)

		Caused Subject	
		argument	variable
Object	argument	√	√
	variable	*	√

    This analysis entails that indexical and reflexive clitics of Italian are
variables:

(20)   Italian clitics:
   variables: *mi, ti, ci, vi, si*
          arguments: *lo, la, li, le*

    According to this framework, a variable in object position is ruled out
if a P-valued argument intervenes:

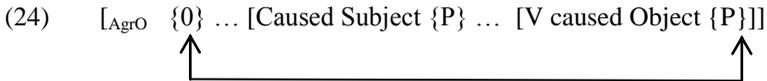(21)   … [Caused Subject {P} … [V caused Object {0}]]

    The hypothesis is that the configuration in (21) is ruled out because the
intervening argument blocks the Agree relation that allows the valuation of
the Person feature of the variable. This accounts for the ungrammaticality
of indexical and reflexive object clitics when the caused subject in
argument position is not a variable, i.e., when it is a 3rd person non
reflexive clitic, a strong pronoun or a full DP. In particular, an indexical
pronoun is ungrammatical because the variable in object position cannot
agree with the Speech Act Participant (SAP) feature in the CP layer:

(22)   [$_{SAPP}$ {0} … [Caused Subject {P} … [V caused Object {0}]]
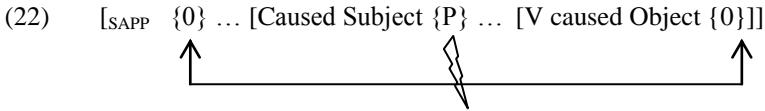
The same restriction targets the agree relation between a variable and AgrS, blocking the interpretation of reflexive clitics too:

(23)   [$_{AgrSP}$ {0} … [Caused Subject {P} … [V caused Object {0}]]
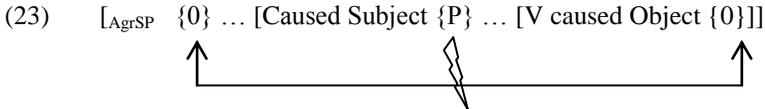
On the other hand, P-valued objects cannot be constrained by the intervening caused subject and can therefore freely agree with their probe in IP like DP arguments:

(24)   [$_{AgrO}$ {0} … [Caused Subject {P} … [V caused Object {P}]]

Crucially, when the caused subject is an indexical clitic the FC disappears and reflexive and indexical clitics are allowed in object position:

(25)   Micol mi si fa pettinare
          Micol me.CL herself.CL make.3.SG comb
          'Micol makes me comb herself'

(26)   Micol mi ti fa pettinare
          Micol me.CL you.CL make.3.SG comb
          'Micol makes me comb you'
          'Micol makes you comb me'

The grammaticality of this pattern is consistent with the variable hypothesis: since both arguments are variables, no minimality effect is indeed expected. When the caused subject is indexical and the object is reflexive, they are supposed to agree with SAP and AgrS respectively, as shown by the scheme below:

(27)   [SAP {P}   … [$_{AgrS}$ {P} … [Caus. Subj. {0}   … [V   Obj. {0}]]
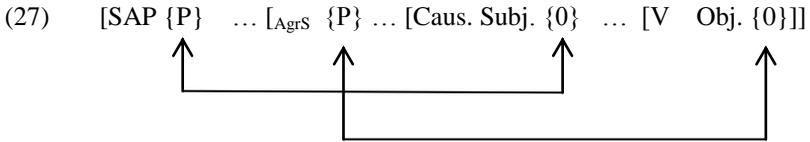
Finally, when both arguments are indexical, they both agree with different SAP heads:

(28)   [$_{SAP-1}$ {P} [$_{SAP-2}$ {P}   … [Caus. Subj. {0}   … [V   Obj. {0}]]
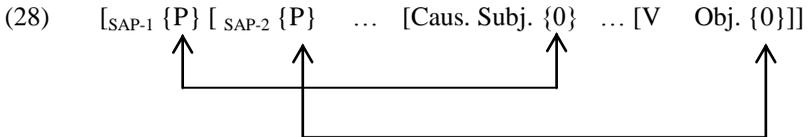
As noticed by Bianchi (2006) among others, combinations of indexical clitics in Italian are ambiguous: they can mean either *me to you* or *you to me*[6,7]. According to Bianchi, this ambiguity is due to the co-occurrence of two non-ordered SAP projections:

(29)   SAP-P   (Italian: Bianchi 2006)

          {1ST/2ND}   3P

                    3RD   …
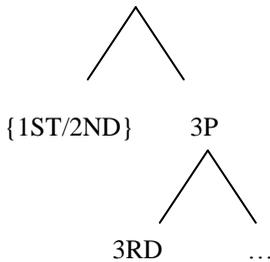
In conclusion, patterns of clitic clusters allowed by the FC are consistent with the hypothesis that both deictic and reflexive clitics are variables, which undergo the same syntactic restriction when a caused subject intervenes. An account based on Person features, on the contrary, cannot account for the constraint properly, because it does not explain why the FC targets only clitic pronouns and why it does not rule out structures in which the caused subject is an indexical clitic.

4. Morphological Evidence: Kayne's asymmetries

Kayne (2000) noticed that in Italian and French reflexive and indexical clitics share several morpho-syntactic properties like members of the same natural class; following the discussion above, I will therefore refer to this group of clitics as the class of *variables*. According to this hypothesis, they are expected to contrast with the sub-inventory of third person non reflexive clitics (*lo, la, li, le, gli, le*), which – following Kayne (2000) – I will call *Determiner Pronouns*, because they are homophonous to the series of determiner articles. I will just focus on a few basic aspects distinguishing these two classes, referring the interested reader directly to Kayne (2000) and Cardinaletti (2008, this volume) for further, in depth discussion.

Firstly, determiner pronouns display a bi-morphemic structure formed by a consonantal root (*l-* or the palatalized allomorph /λ/, written *gl-*) followed by a thematic vowel that indirectly marks gender and number distinctions via a system of redundancy rules described by Harris (1991, 1994). It is worth noting that the thematic vowels marking gender and number features of the 3rd person accusative clitics are the same endings of the Italian first and second nominal classes[8] (which are the productive nominal class), e.g. *amic-o* ('friend-m.sg.'), *amic-i* ('friend-m.pl.'), *amic-a* ('friend-f.sg.'), *amich-e* ('friend-f.pl.'):

      a.   I $\leftrightarrow$ sg. *-o* / pl. *-i*
      b.   II $\leftrightarrow$ sg. *-a* / pl. *–e*

(30)

	sg		pl	
	m	f	m	f
accusative	*lo*	*la*	*li*	*le*
dative	*gli*	-	*le*	.

The fact that determiner clitics display the same system of endings marking nouns can be interpreted as the morphological consequence of the same Agree configuration: they are indeed supposed to enter the derivation with a complete set of φ features (*à la* Chomsky 1999), which are finally mapped into morphological endings marking number, gender and case alternations.

Variables, on the contrary, display a system of bare roots followed by a default thematic vowel, which cannot mark any grammatical distinction because their features are unvalued till they agree with either SAP or AgrS.

Secondly, *l-* never combines with possessive morphemes, while indexical/reflexive roots are involved in the formation of possessives:

(31)   a. French

clitics	possessives	
me	*mon, ma, mes; mien, miens, miennes*	(= 'my/mine')
te	*ton, ta, tes; tien, tiens, tiennes*	(= 'your/s')
nous	*nôtre, nos*	(= 'our/s')
vous	*vôtre, vos*	(= 'your/s')
se	*sien, sienne*	(= 'their')
le, la, les	-	

b. Italian

clitics	possessives	
mi	*mio, mia, miei, mie*	(= 'my/mine')
ti	*tuo, tua, tuoi, tue*	(= 'your/s')
ci	*nostro, nostra, nostri, nostre*	(= 'our/s')
vi	*vostro, vostra, vostri, vostre*	(= 'your/s')
si	*suo, sua, suoi, sue*	(= 'their')
lo, la, li, le	-	

This gap is originally due to the grammar of Latin possessives: the form *suus, sua, suum* ('his, her, their' > Fr. *sien, sienne*, It. *suo, sua, suoi, sue*) is reflexive in Latin, and has to be replaced by the genitive of the 3rd person pronoun *eius* (lit. 'of him/her') when the possessor does not correspond to the subject. Italian, like many other Romance languages, has extended the use of the possessive *suo* to non-reflexive possessors.

A last relevant aspect is the incompatibility of determiner pronouns with reflexive contexts: 3rd person clitics like It. *lo* in reflexive contexts have to switch to the form *si* corresponding to a variable that cannot be inflected for gender and number:

(32)   a.   lo guarda   [–REFL]
              him.CL look.3.SG
              'S/He looks at him'

b. si guarda   [+REFL]
    himself.CL look.3.SG
    'S/He looks at her/himself'

On the other hand, indexical clitics can occur also in reflexive contexts without showing overt reflexive morphology; for instance, in Italian the 1st singular clitic *mi* is grammatical in both the contexts:

(33)   a. mi guarda   [–REFL]
           me.CL look.3.SG
           'S/He looks at me'
       b. mi guardo   [+REFL]
           myself.CL look.1.SG
           'I look at myself'

According to the previous discussion, determiner clitics cannot appear in reflexive contexts because their set of φ features is fully valued. On the other hand, deictic forms can mark both reflexive and non-reflexive objects because in any case they are variables that have to agree with a probing element; in other words, reflexivity is not expected to trigger any morphological change when the object is a variable. I will return on this point in the last section where I will revise some counter examples displayed by several Northern Italian Dialects.

Kayne (2000) – building on a suggestion by Émile Benveniste – claims that the distinctions isolating the sub-class of determiner pronouns are due to Person: while *m-, t-, s-* are exponents marking Person features, determiner clitics are Person-less. This kind of explanation[9] seems to clash with the hypothesis suggested here, where *m-, t-, s-* are Person-less variables and determiner clitics bear a complete set of φ features. Nevertheless, it seems to me that Kayne's proposal has to be reconsidered in the light of the analysis suggested above, where Person features are spread on different layers of features and, therefore, the Person vs Person-less distinction depends on the layer of feature one is considering. In the previous sections I have suggested that 3rd person non reflexive clitics are projected with their own Person specifications and, therefore, they do not need to agree with higher probes in order to be interpreted. Indexical and reflexive clitics on the other hand are projected as Person-less variables and need to agree with a Person valued element like the Speech Act Participant node. But, with respect to the SAP field – that in my opinion is the level of representation to which Benveniste did really refer – the situation is overturned and, finally, is consistent with Kayne's account:

while 1st and 2nd Person depend on the activation of SAP features, 3rd Person is "Person-less" because it refers to a non-participant individual that negatively matches SAP features.

5. *se*-extension and disjoint reflexivity

As noticed in the previous section, the variable hypothesis accounts also for the morphology of reflexive and non reflexive forms as displayed by major Romance languages like Italian, French, Spanish, etc., where: a) determiner clitics cannot be reflexive; and b) indexical clitics corresponding to a variable can be reflexive.

In this section I will focus on the latter generalization, claiming that the attested morphological patterns are consistent with the variable hypothesis. I will firstly sketch a rough typology of reflexive marking based on two macro-types:

type 1: indexical clitics are syncretic with their reflexive counterparts.
type 2: reflexives are marked by the same, invariable marker.

Type 1 is attested in major Romance languages, while instances of type 2 can be found in many Italian dialects like Veronese, where the 1st person plural marker *ne* is replaced by the 3rd person marker *se* when reflexive.

(34)   a. I ne varda   [–REFL]   (Verona)
           They.CL us.CL look.3.PL
           'They look at us'
       b. Se vardemo   [+REFL]
           Ourselves.CL look.1.PL
           'We look at ourselves'

In other words, while Italian indexical clitics are always syncretic with their reflexive counterparts, Veronese displays a mismatch for the 1st person that is marked by the same exponent (*se*) of the 3rd person.

(35)

	Italian		Veronese	
	-REFL	+REFL	-REFL	+REFL
'me, myself'	*mi*		*me*	
'you-sg, yourself'	*ti*		*te*	
'him, her','him/herself'	*lo, la*	*si*	*lo, la*	*se*
'us, ourselves'	*ci*		*ne*	*se*
'you-pl, yourselves'	*vi*		*ve*	
'them', 'themselves'	*li, le*	*si*	*li, le*	*se*

I will call this kind of phenomenon 'se-extension' because, descriptively, the 3rd person reflexive clitics replaces other reflexive items neutralizing person distinctions in the reflexive series. Other dialects display different patterns of *se*-extension that – according to Benincà & Poletto (2004) – follow an implicational scale: if a dialect extends *se* to another person, this is the 1st person plural, followed by the 2nd plural, the 2nd singular and the 1st singular (the data of Bergamo are still under scrutiny and need to be confirmed by further fieldwork):

(36)

	Florence	Verona	Rodoretto (W. Piedmont)	Lugano	Bergamo
1.sg	*mi*	*me*	*me*	*ma*	*sa*
2.sg	*ti*	*te*	*t'*	*(ta) sa*	*sa*
3.sg	*si*	*se*	*s'*	*sa*	*sa*
1.pl	*ci*	*se*	*s'*	*sa*	*sa*
2.pl	*vi*	*ve*	*s'*	*(va) sa*	*sa*
3.pl	*si*	*se*	*s'*	*sa*	*sa*

According to the analysis suggested here – based on Sigurðsson (2004) and Bianchi (2006) – this hierarchy should follow from a field of ordered SAP projections like those suggested by Savescu Ciucivara (2004) for

Rumanian and Cattaneo (2008) for Bellinzonese. For reasons of space I will leave this hypothesis for further investigation while in this work I will try to focus on the compatibility of these patterns with the variable hypothesis.

In particular, I will claim that when a variable is both indexical and reflexive at the same time, its valuation can be due to at least two different agree configurations.

Firstly, reflexivity can trigger a sort of multiple Agree configuration, where both the subject and the object independently agree with the same Speech Act Participant:

(37) $[_{SAP} \{P\}$ … $[_{AgrS} \{0\}$ … $[_{AgrS} \{0\}]]]$
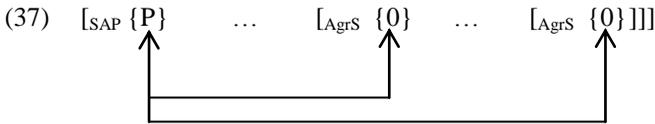
In this case, since it is directly valued by SAP, the object clitic is expected to show person distinctions as in Standard Italian (in the following examples I will take into consideration only the 1st person plural because, as shown by Benincà & Poletto (2004), it is the first contrast that is neutralized):

(38)   a.   *ci* guardiamo
               ourselves.CL look.1.PL
               'We look at ourselves'
         b.   si guardano
               themselves.CL look.3.PL
               'They look at themselves'

But, in principle, the same interpretation can be due to an alternative configuration where SAP agrees only with the subject that, in turn, values the Person feature of the variable in object position:

(39) $[_{SAP} \{P\}$ … $[_{AgrS} \{ 0 \}$ … $_{AgrS} \{0\}]]]$

In this case, the object is not directly valued by the SAP and therefore it can be marked by a reflexive default marker *s-* as suggested in several works such as Manzini (1986) and Burzio (1991). I suggest that this is the cause of the neutralization of Person distinctions, as shown by the

reflexive clitics of Veronese, where the 1st person plural and the 3rd person are marked by the same reflexive exponent *se*:

(40)   a. Se vardemo
           Ourselves.CL look.1.PL
           'We look at ourselves'
      b. I *se* varda
           They.CL themselves.CL look.3.PL
           'They look at themselves'

I will finally focus on another morphological type, shown by some Northern dialects, where the reflexive object of 1st, 2nd sg. and 2nd pl. person can be marked by a sequence of two clitics: an indexical and a reflexive one. For instance, in Bellinzonese (an Italian dialect spoken in Switzerland) the 2nd person plural *va* (41.a) has to combine with the clitic *sa* when a 2nd pl. object is reflexive (41.b):

(41)   a. Al <u>va</u> lava   (Bellinzona)
           He.CL you.CL wash.3.SG
           'He washes you'
      b. <u>va</u> <u>sa</u> lavìi
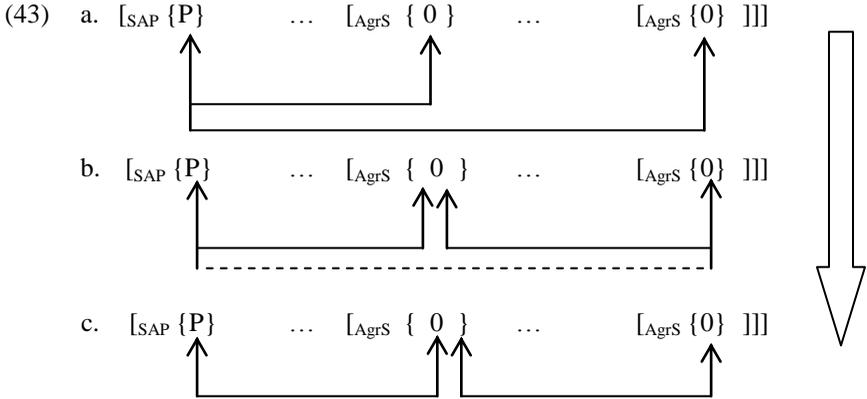   Yourselves.CL wash.2.PL
           'You wash yourselves'

According to my proposal, this 'disjoint' pattern can be derived by combining the previous agree configurations as shown by the scheme below:

(42)   [$_{SAP}$ {P}   …   [$_{AgrS}$ { 0 } …   [$_{AgrS}$ {0}]]]
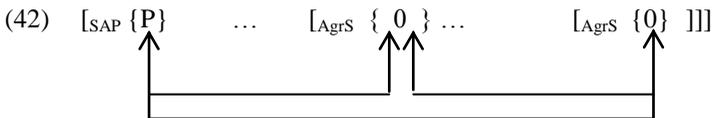
Disjoint marking is indeed expected when the object is a variable that agrees with SAP and AgrS at the same time: the former dependency is marked by the indexical clitic that marks Person distinctions (*va*) and the latter by the default reflexive form *sa*.

It seems to me that the disjoint pattern is likely to be an intermediate step preceding the complete extension of *se*. The supposed evolution is therefore represented by the following schemes, showing how a multiple agree configuration (a) is gradually replaced by a sequence of two agree

relations (c) allowing the Speech Act Participant Probe to indirectly value the Person features in object position[10].

(43)   a.   [$_{SAP}$ {P}   …   [$_{AgrS}$ { 0 }   …   [$_{AgrS}$ {0}]]]

       b.   [$_{SAP}$ {P}   …   [$_{AgrS}$ { 0 }   …   [$_{AgrS}$ {0}]]]

       c.   [$_{SAP}$ {P}   …   [$_{AgrS}$ { 0 }   …   [$_{AgrS}$ {0}]]]

It is worth noting that no dialect shows disjoint morphology for the 3rd person: while we can find sequences of indexical and reflexive clitics (like *ma sa*, *ta sa*, etc.), there are not traces of sequences formed by determiner and reflexive clitics like, *lo se*, *la se*. This gap confirms again the incompatibility of determiner forms in reflexive contexts and shows that disjoint reflexivity is not due to a simple split of features forming a bundle of Person features followed by a reflexive clitic: such an operation – namely, 'fission' in Halle & Marantz's (1993) terms – would incorrectly predict the insertion of a non reflexive clitic followed by a reflexive marker:

(44)   *[–participant; –speaker; +reflexive]

       [–participant; –speaker]   [+reflexive]
                  ↕   ↕
                 lo   *si*
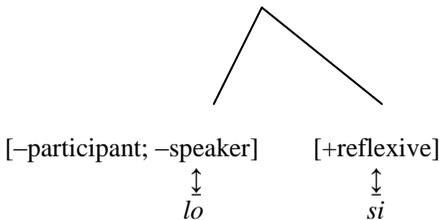
The data show that this solution is untenable like other alternative accounts making reference only to Person, without assuming any

orthogonal distinction like the one isolating a subclass of clitics corresponding to Sigurðsson's (2004) variables.

Summing up, determiner clitics can never mark reflexive objects and, in reflexive contexts, have always to switch to an un-inflected form s+V, being V a default thematic vowel. The behaviour of indexical forms, on the other hand, is subject to linguistic variation: in Italian they occur also in reflexive contexts, in Bellinzonese some of them are (or can be) followed by the item s+V, while other indexicals are completely replaced by s+V. This distribution can be accounted for by the variable hypothesis, which suggests that the morphology of reflexive objects can be due to three main strategies of valuation:

  a) when the variable is directly valued by SAP, the reflexive clitic is identical to the indexical form;
  b) when the variable is indirectly valued by SAP, the reflexive is marked by a default form *s*+V;
  c) when the variable is both directly and indirectly valued by SAP, the reflexive will show disjoint morphology, i.e. it will be marked by a sequence of two exponents formed by an indexical clitic followed by the default form *s*+V.

Therefore, patterns of *se*-extension and disjoint reflexivity do not falsify the variable hypothesis sketched in the previous sections. Rather, a system of variables can provide a principle explanation accounting for the existence and the evolution of different morphological patterns.

6. Conclusions

In this article I have discussed the correlation between a syntactic restriction (Postal's (1989) Fancy Constraint), a series of morphological properties observed by Kayne (2000) and the morphology of reflexive clitics analyzed by Benincà & Poletto (2004).

Building on Sigurðsson (2004), I have claimed that some arguments are variables projected with unvalued Person features that must be valued via agree with a probe that can be either AgrS or a Speech Act Participant head (Bianchi 2006). In the former case the variable will be interpreted as a reflexive object, otherwise as an indexical pronoun.

I have firstly noticed that Postal's (1989) Fancy Constraint can be a minimality effect targeting variables when a non-variable caused subject intervenes. This accounts for the ungrammaticality of both reflexive and indexical object clitics when the caused subject position is occupied by a

full DP, a strong pronoun or a 3rd person non reflexive clitic (namely, a determiner clitic in Kayne's (2000) terms). On the contrary, indexical and reflexive object clitics are allowed when the caused subject also is an indexical clitic.

Then I have provided some further pieces of evidence supporting this hypothesis by revising some morphological asymmetries pointed out by Kayne (2000), showing that indexical and reflexive clitics form a consistent morphological subclass which, in the light of the theory I am proposing, corresponds to a set of syntactic variables.

Finally, I have discussed the morphology of reflexive clitics, since this hypothesis entails several possible patterns of syncretism between indexical and reflexive pronouns. On the basis of the data gathered from several Italian dialects that have been already analyzed by Benincà & Poletto (2004), I have shown that all these possibilities are consistent with the variable hypothesis; and finally, I have claimed that different morphological patterns depend on the kind of syntactic configuration licensing the variable, i.e. on whether the variable is directly or indirectly valued by SAP.

References

Anagnostopoulou, E. 2005. "Strong and Weak Person Restrictions: A feature checking analysis", in L. Heggie & F. Ordóñez (eds.) *Clitic and Affix Combinations*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Benincà, P. & C. Poletto 2004. "The third dimension of person features", in L. Cornips and K. Corriga (eds.) *Syntax and Variation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 265-301.

Bianchi, V. 2006. On the Syntax of Pronominal Arguments, *Lingua* 116: 2023–2067.

Bonet, E. 1991. *Morphology after syntax: Pronominal clitics in Romance*. MIT: doctoral dissertation.

Burzio, L. 1991. The Morphological Basis of Anaphora, *Journal of Linguistics* 27, 81-105.

—. to appear. "The Anaphoric and Pronominal System", in G. Longobardi (ed.). *The Syntax of Italian*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cardinaletti, A. 2008. "On different types of clitic clusters", in C. De Cat and K. Demuth (eds.) *The Bantu–Romance Connection*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 41–82.

Cattaneo, A. 2008. It is all about clitics: the case of a Northern Italian Dialect like Bellinzonese. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. New York University.

Chomsky, N. 1999. "Derivation by Phase", *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 18. Republished in M. Kenstowicz and K. Hale (eds.), *A Life in Language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Harris, J. 1991a. The Exponence of Gender in Spanish. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 27-62.

—. 1991b. The Form Classes of Spanish Substantives. *Yearbook of Morphology* 1: 65-88.

—. 1994. "The syntax-phonology mapping in Catalan and Spanish clitics". *MITWPL*: 21.

Kayne, R. 1975. French syntax: the transformational cycle. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

—. 2000. *Parameters and Universals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Manzini, M.R. 1986. 'On Italian *si'*, In H. Borer (ed.) *Syntax and Semantics 19: The Syntax of Pronominal Clitics*. New York: Academic Press. 241-262.

Nevins, A. 2007. 'The representation of third person and its consequences for person-case effects' *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 25: 273-113.

Postal, P. 1989. *Masked Inversion in French*. Chicago, Il: The University of Chicago Press.

Savescu Ciucivara, O. 2004. "Challenging the Person Case Constraint: evidence from Romanian", *Proceedings of LSRL 36*.

Sigurðsson, H.A. 2004. "The syntax of Person, Tense, and speech features", *Journal of Linguistics / Rivista di Linguistica* 16: 219-261.

Notes

[1] For comments on previous drafts of this paper I am very grateful to Paola Benincà, Anna Cardinaletti, and Andrea Cattaneo.

[2] Where Λ stands for 'logophoric', see section 2.

[3] In what follows I will adopt the term *indexical* to identify 1st and 2nd person non reflexive pronouns. I have not noticed any meaningful difference between the behaviour of singular and plural forms, therefore, for reasons of space, examples will mainly contain singular pronouns.

[4] "'A ↔ B' reads as 'A matches B' or, more accurately, 'A is computed/interpreted in relation to B'" (Sigurðsson 2004: 219).

[5] This asymmetry has been noticed since Kayne's seminal dissertation (Kayne 1975) who pointed out that the caused subject can bind the object when governed by *a*, while it cannot when governed by *da*:

(i)   a.   Giulia fa pettinare i propri$_i$ capelli a Diego$_i$
               Giulia CAUS comb of-him hair to Diego
               'Giulia makes Diego comb his hair'

        b.   * Giulia fa pettinare i propri$_j$ capelli da Diego$_j$
               Giulia CAUS comb of-him hair by Diego
               'Giulia makes Diego comb his hair'

[6] An anonymous reviewer pointed out to me that the same ambiguity is found in Catalan and, probably, Spanish.

[7] It is worth noting that this ambiguity is not a peculiarity of causative constructions.

[8] The status of the vowel of the dative forms *gli, le* is a bit more controversial, see Cardinaletti (2008, this volume).

[9] Nevins (2007) has recently challenged Kayne's position: in particular he notices that the ban displayed by Spanish on sequences formed by two l- clitics is a dissimilation rule that requires reference to a set of features that identify the third person. However, while he argues that determiner pronouns must make reference to Person features, the asymmetries noticed by Kayne between indexical/reflexive clitics on the one hand and determiner clitics on the other remain unaccounted (as well as the FC).

[10] As a matter of fact, the same language can display an intermediate, mixed system giving rise to patterns of optional 'disjoint' marking. For instance, in the dialect of Lugano analyzed by Benincà & Poletto (2004) the clitic *va* can optionally be followed by *sa*.