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

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Rodica says 'Hi!'

## Farsi Fake PUZZLE Indexicals

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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```
(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.'
```

#### Farsi Fake Indexicals Rodica Ivan &

#### PUZZLE

- ✓ BVar reading when embedded T agreement and pronoun **match**
- mæn tænha kæs-i hæst-æm ... (1) 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."
- 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**

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

PUZZLE

a.

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(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<sub>Rodica</sub> child."

#### Farsi Fake Indevicals Rodica Ivan &

#### PUZZLE

a.

h.

```
(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] ... [that from kid-3sG care IMPERF-do-1sG] 1st Agr 3rd Pro \* Bound Variable "... who am taking care of her<sub>Rodica</sub> child."
  - ... [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 myzahra child."

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#### **PUZZLE**

- \* BVar reading when embedded T agreement and pronoun mismatch
- (2) 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<sub>Rodica</sub> 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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#### **PUZZLE**

The availability of **bound variable** readings is sensitive to whether the  $\phi$ -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  $\phi$ -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  $\phi$ -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  $\phi$ -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  $\phi$ -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  $\phi$ -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
- → this direct dependency is modulated by **Rule H (Fox, 1998)**

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## Setting the Stage

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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

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)

$$\rightarrow [I]^{g,c}$$
 = 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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#### 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.

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## RIGID DESIGNATORS & FAKE INDEXICALS

a.

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

adapted from Partee (1989)

REFERENTIAL: No one else can take care of **mv** 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 mv 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)

# Indexicals

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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  $\phi$ -features get deleted in **Focus Alternatives**.

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#### SYNTACTIC ACCOUNTS: CORE IDEA

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#### SYNTACTIC ACCOUNTS: CORE IDEA

▶ **Minimal pronouns**,  $\emptyset_i$ , are syntactically bound (somehow).

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#### SYNTACTIC ACCOUNTS: CORE IDEA

- ▶ Minimal pronouns,  $\emptyset_i$ , are syntactically bound (somehow).
- ► Language specific **spell-out restrictions**.

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#### SYNTACTIC ACCOUNTS: CORE IDEA

- ▶ 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)

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

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# The Farsi Data

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Matrix Clause Summary

### **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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### ✓ 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...'
- 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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### ✓ 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...'
- 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

- (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<sub>Rodica</sub> child."

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## PUZZLE

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```
(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<sub>Rodica</sub> child."
- h. ... [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 myzahra 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<sub>Rodica</sub> 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 my<sub>Zahra</sub> child."

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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  $\phi$ -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 (8a) & (8b).

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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

... [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 (8a) & (8b).
- ▶ Wurmbrand (2017) assumes T (and  $\nu$ ) agreement in the embedded clause is irrelevant. (8b) should have a bound variable reading.



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Zahra Mirraz

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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 (9a) and (9b).

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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 (9a) and (9b).
- (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.
- $\rightarrow$  there should be no difference between (9a) and (9b).
- (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

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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 (9a) and (9b) .
- (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

### **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 (9a) and (9b).
- (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

### TAKEAWAY

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



### AGREEMENT PATTERNS

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### AGREEMENT PATTERNS

### (9) PREDICATIVE MATRIX PATTERN

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

Proposal

# **Proposal**

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### WHAT WE'VE LEARNED:

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### WHAT WE'VE LEARNED:

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

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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* 

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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* 

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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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Summary

Non-predicativ Matrix Clauses **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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- ► T Agreement happens in syntax.
- ► The features of the minimal pronoun are determined post-syntactically.

Rodica Ivan Zahra Mirra:

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Summa

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

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Non-predicativ Matrix Clause

Summa

- ► 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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Interim Summary

Non-predicativ Matrix Clauses

Summa

- ► 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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Interim Summary

Non-predicativ 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

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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.

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Summa

- ► 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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\*....

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Summa

- ► 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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Non-predicativ Matrix Clauses **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*.

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

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Non-predicativ Matrix Clauses **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*.

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

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

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

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

► 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

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# Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

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# Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 3rd Pro

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

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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**.

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

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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**.

```
Sharing Person Features Under Predication Under Relativization

I am the only one [ who take-\emptyset_i care of \emptyset_i child.]

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

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

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**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
      tanha
                             hastam [
                                          kei
                                                            bačče-Ø, negahdari mikon-Ø, 1
                                                   az
       only
                                          that
                                                   from
                                                              child-Ø care
                                                                                          do-Ø
Τ
                  person
                            am
1<sup>st</sup>
                 1st
                                          [1<sup>st</sup>]
```

(Farsi)

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### **Derivation for Predicative Matrix** 1st Agr 1st Pro

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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,. ]
                                                      a 2
                                             that
                                                       from
                                                                  child-Ø, care
        only
                   person am
                                                                                                 do-Ø
[1<sup>st</sup>]
                   [1st]
                                             [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,. ]
                                                         a 2
                                               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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Zanra lvinrra

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

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Zahra Mirraz

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

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

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

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

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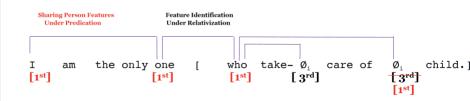
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# **Derivation for Predicative Matrix** 3rd Agr 1st Pro (English)

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



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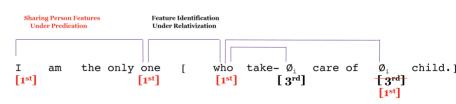
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# Derivation for Predicative Matrix 3rd Agr 1st Pro (English)

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



► 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
                                   Feature Identification
    Under Predication
                                   Under Relativization
                 the only one
                                                  who
                                                          take- Ø
                                                                           care of
                                                                                                    child.
        am
                                                                  [ 3<sup>rd</sup>]
[1st]
                                                   [1st]
                                                                                           [ 3rd]
                               [1st]
                                                                                            [1st]
```

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



Indexicals

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Zahra Mirraz

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Cummo

## PREDICATIVE MATRIX PATTERNS

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

	$3^{RD}$ $3^{RD}$	$3^{RD}$ $1^{ST}$	1 <sup>ST</sup> 1 <sup>ST</sup>	$1^{ST} 3^{RD}$
GERMAN(SG.)	<b>√</b>	*	*	*
ENGLISH, DUTCH	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	*	*
FARSI, GERMAN(PL.)	✓	*	<b>√</b>	*
ROMANIAN, FRENCH	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	*

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## PREDICATIVE MATRIX PATTERNS

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

	$3^{RD}$ $3^{RD}$	3 <sup>RD</sup> 1 <sup>ST</sup>	1 <sup>ST</sup> 1 <sup>ST</sup>	$1^{ST} 3^{RD}$
GERMAN(SG.)	<b>√</b>	*	*	*
ENGLISH, DUTCH	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	*	*
FARSI, GERMAN(PL.)	<b>√</b>	*	<b>√</b>	*
ROMANIAN, FRENCH	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>	*

► Typological gap?

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# CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES



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# CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

## **FARSI**

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

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#### Typology

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# CROSS-LINGUISTIC OUICK 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 OUICK 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

#### Farsi Fake Indexicals Rodica Ivan 8

Zahra Mirraz

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## CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES



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## **CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES**

## **ENGLISH & DUTCH**

► Sharing Person Features under predication is optional.

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## **CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES**

## **ENGLISH & DUTCH**

- **▶ Sharing Person Features under predication** is optional.
- ► If Sharing of Person Features under predication happens, it happens post-syntactically and only feeds the minimal pronoun.

3rd Agr 1st Pro

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## CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES



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## CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

## ROMANIAN & FRENCH

► Sharing Person Features under predication is optional.

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### Typology

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## CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

- **▶ Sharing Person Features under predication** is optional.
- ► Sharing of Person Features under predication can happen in syntax or post-syntactically.

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**.** .

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## CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES

- **▶ 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

- **▶ 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**

- **▶ 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

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# CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES



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## **CROSS-LINGUISTIC QUICK FIXES**

### TYPOLOGICAL GAP

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

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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**.

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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

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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.

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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.
- ► However, Itai Bassi (p.c.) has data from French which also allows **this pattern** (unlike our French informants)

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# **Interim Summary**

Interim 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

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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**.

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# Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

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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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### 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.
- (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.'

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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.

(11) NON-PREDICATIVE MATRIX

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mi-kon-<u>æd</u> ra did-æm
IMPERE-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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### **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**)

## TAKEAWAY

Matrix predication affects the agreement patterns in the relative clause.

## 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	*

# n &

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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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## 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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### **OUR ASSUMPTIONS:**

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

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### **OUR ASSUMPTIONS:**

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

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### **OUR ASSUMPTIONS:**

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

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Summary

### **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 yield the same interpretation, non-local binding is blocked.
  - \* This is inspired by Wurmbrand (2017) who uses a morphological version of Rule H. We argue the regular Rule H can capture the data.

# **Derivation for Non-Predicative Matrix**

Non-predicative Matrix Clauses

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

► 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.

```
negahdari mikon
tanha man kasi
                      ra
                           didam [
                                      ke
                                            az
                                                   bačč-Ø.
                                                                                     -ad 1.
only I
             person RA
                           saw-1SG that from kid-Ø.
                                                              care
                                                                            do
                                                                                     35G
      \mathbf{1}^{\mathbf{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.

```
negahdari mikon
tanha man kasi
                           didam [
                                     ke
                                            az
                                                   bačč-Ø.
                                                                                    -ad 1.
                      ra
only I
             person RA saw-1SG that from kid-Ø.
                                                              care
                                                                           dО
                                                                                     35G
      \mathbf{1}^{\mathbf{st}}
             [3^{rd}]
                                      [3^{rd}]
                                                                                     [3^{rd}]
```

▶ only 3rd person embedded T agreement is possible

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## **Derivation for Non-Predicative Matrix**

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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
                                                                                -ad 1.
                    ra
                                   ke
                                         az
onlv
           person RA
                        saw-1SG
                                   that from kid
                                                     1SG
                                                           care
                                                                        do
                                                                                3SG
      1st
            [3^{rd}]
                                   [3^{rd}]
                                                     1st
                                                                                [3^{rd}]
```

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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
                                                                                        -ad 1.
                                       ke
                                             az
onlv
             person RA
                           saw-1SG
                                      that from kid
                                                          1SG
                                                                               do
                                                                                        3SG
                                                                 care
      1st
             [3^{rd}]
                                       [3<sup>rd</sup>]
                                                          1st
                                                                                        [3<sup>rd</sup>]
```

▶ the indexical can be directly bound by the subject

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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

### **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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We are more than grateful to Rajesh Bhatt, Seth Cable, Vincent Homer, Kyle Johnson, Angelika Kratzer, Barbara Partee, four anonymous reviewers, Itai Bassi, as well as the audiences of the UMass Amherst Semantics Workshop and Syntax Workshop, Kyle Johnson's Spring 2018 Topics in Syntax seminar (Ling 752), Rajesh Bhatt & Ellen Woolford's Spring 2019 Topics in Syntax seminar (Ling 752) at UMass Amherst, TripleA 5 in Konstanz (June 2018) and LSA 93 in New York (January 2019) for all their helpful feedback, comments, data and encouragement.

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OG Accounts

# **OG** Accounts

## Kratzer (2009): **Assumptions**

- $\rightarrow$  minimal pronouns are born **featureless**  $\varnothing_i$
- $\rightarrow$  they acquire their features via **binding**

(from functional heads with  $\lambda$ -operators)

- $\rightarrow$  **Important:** v and C can be merged with valued  $\phi$ -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)
- → via unification rules, the relative pronoun, T, v and the indexical end up specified for all features involved in the various feature dependencies.

## Kratzer (2009): Ingredients

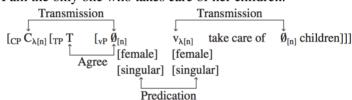
- (13) FEATURE TRANSMISSION UNDER BINDING
  The φ-feature set of a bound DP unifies with the φ-feature set of the verbal functional head that hosts its binder.
- (14) Specifier-Head Agreement under Binding When a DP occupies the specifier position of a head that carries a λ-operator, their φ-feature sets **unify**.
- FEATURE COMPATIBILITY
  Bound variable readings are only obtained when the possessive pronoun and the closest verb have **compatible** φ**-features** (before-spell out).

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**OG** Accounts

## 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

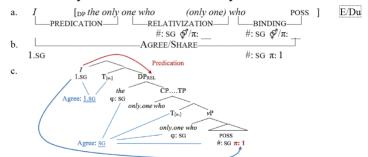
- → The semantic dependencies in the targeted sentences are **predication**, **relativization**, and **binding**.
- $\rightarrow$  Any feature sharing relation triggered by these dependencies has to obey Rule H<sub>PF</sub>, which requires sharing with the closest antecedent.
- (18) RULE  $H_{PF}$ :

A variable x cannot Agree with an antecedent  $\alpha$ , in cases where **a** more local antecedent  $\beta$  could Agree with x and share morphosyntactic features with x.

 $\approx$  typical locality restriction

## WURMBRAND (2017): Derivation

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



Top-Down!