Binding in four agreement steps:
A syntactic derivation of anaphoric dependencies in Spanish and European Portuguese

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In this talk I will present a minimalist, agreement-based analysis that aims to account for the interpretation of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns in Peninsular Spanish (PSp) and European Portuguese (EP), languages with clitic doubling of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns as exemplified in (1) with EP direct object pronouns. The reflexive clitic in (1a) can be doubled by a non-reflexive pronoun, although this contradicts principle B of classical binding theory (cf. Chomsky 1981/1986). But the object clitic in (1b) can be only doubled by the non-reflexive pronoun and a coreferent interpretation between the clitic/double and the subject is excluded.

(1) a. EP O Rui$_i$ admira-se$_i$ a si$_i$ próprio / ele$_i$ próprio
the R. admires=SE.REFL OM REFL.PR SELF / him SELF
'Rui admires himself'

b. O Rui$_i$ admira-o$_{k/*i}$ a *si$_{i/k}$ próprio / ele$_{k/*i}$ próprio
the R. admires=him.CL OM REFL.PR SELF / him
'Rui admires him'

In the first part of the talk, the interpretation of the clitics and their double is determined by a set of structural (locality and c-command) and interpretative diagnostics (sentence-external antecedent, reading in VP-ellipsis and *only*-contexts). These diagnostics are used to decide whether a bound interpretation is due to a local syntactic operation (e.g. Agree as in Hicks 2009 or movement as in Hornstein 2001/2007, Boeckx et. al. 2010) or whether the interpretation is due to semantic or pragmatic principles cf. Reuland (2011). For EP and PSp, the diagnostics clearly show that the interpretation of the clitic and its double is determined syntactically: it is determined locally, dependent on c-command, and unambiguously bound for reflexives and free for non-reflexive clitics. The analysis in the second part of the talk aims to derive the syntax and interpretation of the clitic and its double by means of the following four agreement steps:

Step I: agreement between the clitic and its double. This is motivated by the fact that the clitic determines the interpretation of the reflexive and the non-reflexive double. **Step II:** clitization as agreement and incorporation (cf. Roberts 2009), which follows from a unified analysis of object clitics and reflexive clitics. I will take reflexive predicates in EP and PSp to be syntactically transitive (against Kayne 1988, Sportiche 1990/1998, Alboiu et.al. 2004, Reinhart and Siloni 2004, 2005 and in favor of Rizzi 1986 and Marelj & Reuland 2016) for the following reasons: Reflexive predicates do not pattern with unaccusative verbs wrt. (i) auxiliary selection, (ii) past participle agreement, (iii) availability of postverbal bare subjects and with unergative verbs wrt. clitic placement in *faire*-causatives. Furthermore, the double is not an adjunct, as assumed e.g. by Alboiu et.al. (2004), but an argument, due to (i) the availability of clitic doubling in ECM constructions and (ii) ellipsis tests. Finally the clitic is not a pure case absorber, because reflexive predicates are distinct from antipassive predicates. **Step III**: agreement between the subject/external argument and the clitic-verb complex in the line of Kratzer (2009), following from the fact that the binding domain of clitics is essentially the domain in which the clitic meets the subject/external argument. **Step IV:** agreement between the double and the intensifier, i.e. *próprio* (EP) and *mismo* (PSp), respectively.

The operation Agree is conceived as in the probe-goal framework following (Chomsky 2001ff) involving unvalued probing features and valued features of the goal. But with respect to the interpretability of nominal phi-features, I will follow Sauerland (2003) and Landau (2016), who argue that agreement mismatches as in (3a) reflect two types of nominal phi-features: index features (I) with semantic content, which are involved in DP-external agreement like the plural feature in (3a) and concord features (C) that are involved in DP-internal agreement like the singular feature on the determiner in (3a). I will assume that clitics are the expression of index-features involved in DP-external agreement as in (3b, c).

(3)a. Engl. [This$_{sg}$ [cat$_{sg}$ and dog$_{sg}$]]$_{pl}$ are$_{pl}$ good friends   Landau (2016: 997)

b. PSp ... y estuve ayudándo[las$_{pl.fem}$] [a ella$_{sg.fem}$ y a la tía Pepita$_{sg.fem}$]$_{pl.fem}$ CREA
I was helping-them, her and aunty Pepita

c. EP Via-os$_{pl.masc}$ já [[a ela]$_{sg.fem}$ e [ao filho]$_{sg.masc}$]$_{pl.masc}$, a entretecerem sonhos irrealizáveis,   CRCP
I already saw-them, her and the son, getting caught in unrealizable dreams, [...]
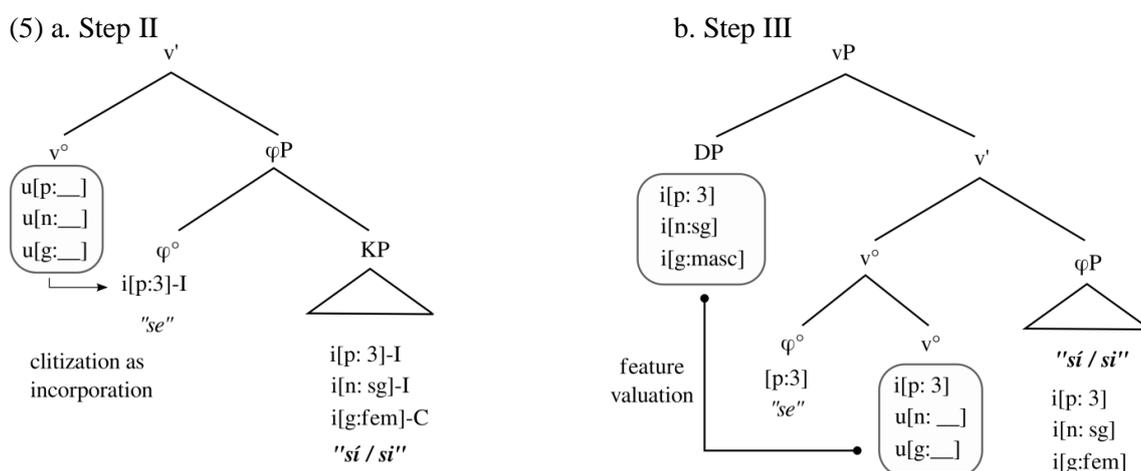
The reflexive clitic consists just of an index-person feature, which makes the clitic a referentially dependent element, differently from the non-reflexive pronouns, which have a full set of referential / index features and

are able to refer independently (cf. Reuland 2011 for a feature-based account of referential dependencies). The assumed feature content of the reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns is given in (4).

(4)

	ele/él	si/sí	o/lo	lhe/le	se
	[person]-I/C	[person]-I/C	[person]-I	[person]-I	[person]-I
	[number]-I/C	[number]-I/C	[number]-I	[number]-I	
	[gender]-I/C	[GENDER]-C	[gender]-I		

The ungrammatical pattern in (1b), is due to a feature mismatch caused during step I, valuation of the unvalued features of the clitic: the direct object clitic has an index-gender feature, but the reflexive pronoun has only a concord-gender feature. The latter is needed in step IV, DP-internal agreement with the intensifier *próprio*. As for steps II and III, the derivation proceeds as shown in (5a) and (5b). Following Sauerland (2003), the phi-features involved in DP-external agreement realize the highest projection of the DP. Adopting Robert´s (2009) extension of Uriagereka´s (1995) bigDP analysis for clitic doubling structures, the clitic is taken to be inside a φP above a KP. If clitization may proceed as conceived in Roberts (2010), the unvalued features on v° probe the clitic as shown in (5a). Case is realized by the case marker *a* heading the KP, which prevents further probing. The clitic incorporates into v°, but the probe has still unvalued features.

(5) a. Step II

b. Step III

It is essentially these unvalued features that trigger step III, the valuation of the missing features by the subject DP, as shown in (5b). Step III is akin to Upward Agree (cf. Bjorkman & Zeijlstra in press) and corresponds, at the syntax-semantic interface, to the configuration for *predication* (cf. Kratzer 2009). Little v° carries a (lambda) binder due to clitization (cf. Baauw & Delfito 2005), and, after valuation, the internal and the external argument are identical and bound by the same operator. As for the non-reflexive pronoun in (1b), the probe on v° is completely valued in step II, and step III simply does not take place. A bound interpretation of the pronoun is excluded by core syntax and it is left free to co-refer with a salient antecedent.

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