

Arbeiten zur Reflexivierung

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Inhalt

<i>Lutz Gunkel, Gereon Müller & Gisela Zifonun</i> Vorwort.....	VII
<i>Martin Everaert</i> Reflexivanaphern und Reflexivdomänen.....	1
<i>Sam Featherston & Wolfgang Sternefeld</i> The Interaction of Factors in Judgements of Reflexive Structures: Data from Object Coreference in German	25
<i>Silke Fischer</i> Optimale Reflexivierung.....	51
<i>Volker Gast & Daniel Hole</i> On Paradigmatic (In)Coherence in Romance and Germanic Reflexives	75
<i>Günther Grewendorf</i> Dynamic Binding and the Problem of Object-Related Anaphors	91
<i>Lutz Gunkel</i> Reflexivierung in AcI-Konstruktionen	115
<i>Ingrid Kaufmann</i> Reflexive Verben im Deutschen	135
<i>Tibor Kiss</i> Die Genese der Ausnahmeanapher	157
<i>Florian Schäfer</i> Relativierte Bindungsminimalität in OT: einfache vs. serielle Optimierung	189
<i>Peter Siemund</i> Zur Analyse lokal ungebundener <i>self</i> -Formen im Englischen	219
<i>Wolfgang Sternefeld & Sam Featherston</i> The German Reciprocal <i>einander</i> in Double Object Constructions.....	239
<i>Gisela Zifonun</i> Aspekte deutscher Reflexivkonstruktionen im europäischen Vergleich: Pronominale Paradigmen und NP-interne Reflexiva	267
Adressen der Autoren und Herausgeber	301

Volker Gast & Daniel Hole

On Paradigmatic (In)Coherence in Romance and Germanic Reflexives*

1. Introduction

Most Romance and continental Germanic languages exhibit an apparent mismatch between form and function in their pronominal systems: first and second person object pronouns or clitics pattern morphologically with third person reflexive forms, although they are often regarded as forming a paradigm with the third person non-reflexive forms. In this paper we argue that the assumption of such a form-function mismatch is a fallacy, and that the pronominal paradigms of these languages are coherent not only morphologically, but also in terms of distribution and function.¹ These paradigms, which include Romance and Germanic forms deriving from Proto-IE **me*, **te*, and **se*, are claimed to constitute natural classes insofar as their members are unspecified for locally disjoint reference or co-reference. The third person forms differ from their first and second person counterparts in that they stand in a systematic structural opposition to pronominals that are positively specified for disjoint reference. Thus, when used referentially, pronominal forms deriving from **se* are mostly (but not always) interpreted as indicating reflexivity, simply because the existence of a pronoun encoding locally disjoint reference prevents them from receiving a non-reflexive interpretation. This argument is in line with current theorizing within the framework of Optimality Theory, which takes grammars to have an evaluative component that selects from a set of different output candidates for a single input.

2. Romance Pronominal Clitics: The Purported Dilemma of Paradigmatic Incoherence

The starting point for our argument is taken from general considerations on paradigm design. Our claims will mainly be made with respect to the pronominal paradigms of German, Italian, and Spanish. The detailed arguments make frequent use of Spanish data, but all major points could just as well be made with data from other Romance or Germanic lan-

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¹ The major claims defended here were presented to audiences at the University of Constance and the University of Tunis by Hole (1999) and Gast/Hole (2001). Since then, analogous ideas have gained ground, as is witnessed by the related proposals by Fischer (this volume) and Zifonun (this volume).

guages. If we look at the collection of Spanish singular object clitics in (1), different possibilities of arranging the clitics into paradigms may be considered.² The most common analyses are displayed in Tables 1 through 3.

- (1) Juan me/te/se/lo/la vió.
 John me/you/himself/him/her saw
 'John saw me/you/himself/him/her.'

	disjoint	reflexive
1st	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>
2nd	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>
3rd	<i>lo, la, le</i>	<i>se</i>

Table 1: Span. clitic paradigm I

	disjoint	reflexive
1st	<i>me</i>	
2nd	<i>te</i>	
3rd	<i>lo, la, le</i>	<i>se</i>

Table 2: Span. clitic paradigm II

	disjoint	reflexive
1st		<i>me</i>
2nd		<i>te</i>
3rd	<i>lo, la, le</i>	<i>se</i>

Table 3: Span. clitic paradigm III

According to the proposal shown in Table 1, the pronominal clitics of Spanish form two distinct paradigms: one indicating locally disjoint reference, and the other one indicating reflexivity. This kind of analysis is often found in, or at least implied by, descriptive and didactic grammars (e.g., Beckmann 1994, pp. 282, 291, Bosque/Demonte 1999, pp. 1221, 1436, Gerboin/Leroy 1991, p. 58, Gómez Torrego 1997, p. 108). Table 2 analyzes *me*, *te* and *lo/la/le* as being specified for disjoint reference, while *se* is the only reflexive marker. *Me* and *te* are only used as suboptimal candidates for the encoding of reflexivity in contexts with first or second person subjects, i.e. they are used reflexively only because of the non-existence of a fully appropriate expression. An analysis along these lines has been proposed by Burzio (1999) within the framework of Optimality Theory. Table 3 reflects an analysis which has neither *me* nor *te* specified for reflexivity or for locally disjoint reference, while *lo/la/le* are markers of disjoint reference, and *se* is a reflexive marker. This account is compatible with an analogous proposal made by Grimshaw (2001) for Italian.

The most striking disadvantage of the proposals in Table 2 and Table 3 is that they stipulate paradigms that are formally incoherent. In terms of pure phonemic resemblance, *me*, *te* and *se* clearly form a paradigm, while *lo/la/le* stands by itself. Admittedly Table 1, in its right column, contains a coherent paradigm *me*, *te*, *se*. The major disadvantage of this proposal is that it stipulates homophony, since *me* and *te* show up in different paradigms. One could assume now that Spanish object clitics constitute a case of an imperfect match of form and function and that, in the end, one of those three paradigms reflects the way the Spanish pronominal clitics are really arranged in the grammar. However, apart from the mere similarity argument, there are also distributional and semantic reasons arguing in favor of a fourth kind of arrangement into paradigms. These arguments will be brought forward in the subsequent sections. The alternative proposal is displayed in Table 4 for Spanish, Table 5 does the same for Italian (cf. Grimshaw 1997), and Table 6 for German.

² We will only be concerned with the singular forms of these clitics.

	?	?
1st		<i>me</i>
2nd		<i>te</i>
3rd	<i>lo, la, le</i>	<i>se</i>

Table 4: Spanish

	?	?
1st		<i>mi</i>
2nd		<i>ti</i>
3rd	<i>lo, la, gli, le</i>	<i>si</i>

Table 5: Italian

	?	?
1st		<i>mich</i>
2nd		<i>dich</i>
3rd	<i>ihn, sie, es, ihm,</i>	<i>sich</i>
	<i>ihr</i>	

Table 6: German

In the following, we will refer to the paradigms in the right columns of Tables 4 through 6 as the 'SE-paradigm', irrespective of the actual person marking, and irrespective of the actual language at hand. Likewise, ME (TE/SE) will be used to refer to any first (second/third) person object pronoun which, on the whole, behaves like Spanish *me* (*te/se*). LO, on the other hand, will be used to refer to the third person pronominals not belonging to the SE-paradigm (Span. *lo/la/le*, Ital. *lo/la/gli*, Germ. *ihn/sie/es/ihm/ihr*). The columns in Tables 4 through 6 have not been given any category names, and a big portion of the discussion in the rest of this paper will be devoted to defending our proposal for precise category names to substitute for the question marks in the top boxes of the tables. It will be argued that the members of the SE-paradigms are unspecified for disjoint reference or local co-reference, whereas the LO-forms are positively specified for locally disjoint reference.

In this section we have proposed that, as a result of general considerations on coherent paradigm design, third person reflexive (clitic) pronouns in Spanish, Italian and German should be regarded as forming a paradigm with ME and TE, while the different forms of LO should be opposed to the SE-paradigm. Assuming functional coherence to hold within paradigms, we are obliged to show that ME and TE share more properties with SE than they do with LO. We will present different kinds of evidence to this effect in sections 3 through 6. First, it is argued that the historical stability of the paradigm under discussion precludes an explanation in terms of historical coincidence; second, it is shown that the SE-paradigm is not only coherent morphologically/phonologically, but also optimal with regard to taxonomic paradigm structure, which results from the neutralization of different grammatical dimensions; third, we argue that the SE-paradigm is, albeit indirectly, coherent in terms of distribution; and finally, it is demonstrated that the SE-paradigm can be regarded as (the complement of) a natural semantic class. Its members are characterized by non-specification in terms of disjoint reference and co-reference. Section 7 provides additional evidence substantiating our analysis (the so-called 'spurious *se*' in Spanish). Section 8 summarizes the results and provides an outlook on possible extensions of our proposal to other languages.

3. Notes on Historical Developments

It is sometimes reasonable to assume that form-function mismatches and paradigmatic idiosyncrasies have emerged from historical accidents – for example, when phonological

processes that are totally independent of the morphological component of a grammar accidentally lead to peculiar syncretisms in paradigms. The fact that in some Spanish verbal paradigms, the first person patterns with the third person and is opposed to the second person forms should be considered a case in point (e.g., the *imperfecto* paradigm -Ø/-s/-Ø as in (yo) *amaba*-Ø, (tu) *amaba*-s, (el) *amaba*-Ø 'I/you/he loved'; the same pattern is found in the subjunctive forms). This fact does not entail that first and third person, as opposed to second person, form a (distributional, semantic ...) class in these paradigms. This syncretism simply arose because word-final -m and -t, which were the corresponding person endings of Latin, were dropped in the course of the historical development of Vulgar Latin, while word-final -s was preserved. This is a phonological process, and its repercussions on the morphology of Spanish should be considered coincidental, or at least epiphenomenal.

In the case of the SE-paradigm, paradigmatic coherence is certainly no coincidence. The SE-paradigm has proven extremely stable since early IE (cf. Table 7; Brugmann 1911, p. 383), and it is usually unaffected when pronominal paradigms in IE languages are rearranged. Furthermore, the systematicity underlying IE pronominal systems can be demonstrated by comparing the paradigms at issue with other pronominal paradigms. Table 8 shows the parallelism between reflexive and possessive pronouns in German, another highly general phenomenon among IE languages. As in the SE-paradigm, the pronominal forms combine an invariable part (-*ein*) and a consonant indicating person (*m*-, *d*-, *s*-). This parallelism points in the direction of an analysis that integrates the S-pronouns (*se* etc.) into the M/T-row. Note furthermore that third person possessive pronouns in German (*sein*), Spanish (*su*), Italian (*suo*) and in many other European languages are not restricted to a reflexive interpretation. In the light of the following discussion this may be taken as a further piece of evidence lending support to our claim that SE and S-pronominals in general are unspecified for reflexivity in continental IE languages.

*me (/ *eme-/*mo-)
*te (/ *tege/*tue)
*se (/ *sege/*sue)

Table 7: Proto-IE

m-ich	m-ein
d-ich	d-ein
s-ich	s-ein (masc./neut. possessor)

Table 8: German reflexive and possessive pronouns

LO, including its Germanic instantiations such as German *ihn*, *sie*, *es*, *ihm*, *ihr*, is less stable diachronically. As is well known, the LO-clitics of Romance have developed from dative and accusative forms of the Latin demonstrative *ille* 'that (one)'. This means that their diachronic depth is less than a third compared to the time depth of ME/TE/SE, if we assume Proto-Indo-European to have split up before 3000 B.C. Similarly, the forms from which German LO-pronominals derive did not form a paradigm in Proto-IE.

4. On Paradigm Architecture

In this section, it will be argued that the paradigms in Tables 4 through 6 are more economical than all alternative options if one takes into account the presence or absence of grammatical distinctions in parts of the paradigm (cf. Plank 1991 for discussions of paradigm economy). Paradigms are sets of forms that are classified according to at least one grammatical dimension (number, gender, case, etc.). The classification of forms within a paradigm is often regarded as a cross-classification. On this view, a paradigm exhibits a specific number of grammatical dimensions, and each of its elements is assigned exactly one value with regard to each dimension. This is illustrated in Table 9, which represents a cross-classification of the grammatical dimensions of gender and number.

	sg	pl
masc	A [sg, masc]	D [pl, masc]
fem	B [sg, fem]	E [pl, fem]
neut	C [sg, neut]	F [pl, neut]

Table 9: Cross-classification gender/number

sg	pl (I)	pl (II)
he	they	they
she	they	
it	they	

Table 10: English subject pronouns

Certain oppositions are easily neutralized within paradigms, and some forms are not specified with regard to one or more grammatical dimensions. For example, the English third person subject pronouns, which constitute a sub-paradigm within the class of English pronouns, neutralize the gender distinction in the plural, and all three forms are identical (*they*). There are two ways to deal with this kind of syncretism: on the one hand, we could assume that *they* is homophonous, and that each of the forms *they*₁, *they*₂, and *they*₃ occupies one of the boxes D through F in Table 9. Thus the idea of a complete cross-classification would be maintained (cf. pl (I) in Table 10). However, this kind of analysis is highly counter-iconic. More naturally, one would regard *they* as being unspecified for gender, and thus eliminate the horizontal lines between the three person categories in the plural (cf. pl (II) in Table 10). On this analysis the paradigm takes on the form of a sub-classification rather than a cross-classification. English third person subject pronouns on the whole may then be sub-classified as shown in Figure 1: a first split is made along the grammatical dimension of number, and the pronouns are divided into singular and plural forms. The singular forms can then be sub-classified along the gender dimension. This kind of classification is more iconic in the sense of form-to-meaning correspondence than a strict cross-classification, and it is more economical, since fewer lexical entries are assumed (four instead of six).

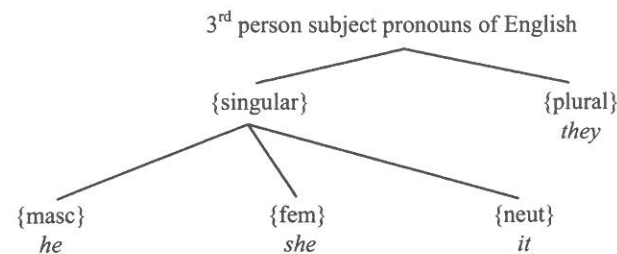


Figure 1: Sub-classification of English subject pronouns I (our analysis)

It is crucial to see that the two grammatical dimensions sub-classifying the pronouns in Figure 1 stand in a hierarchical relationship: the number distinction is ranked higher than, or dominates, the gender distinction. If we reversed the dominance relationships a tree as in Figure 2 would be the result. This sub-classification is just as counter-iconic as a strict cross-classification, since there are six terminal nodes for only four different forms. It is obvious that the taxonomy shown in Figure 1 reflects the architecture of the natural language paradigm at hand in a more iconic way than the ones shown in Table 9 and Figure 2.

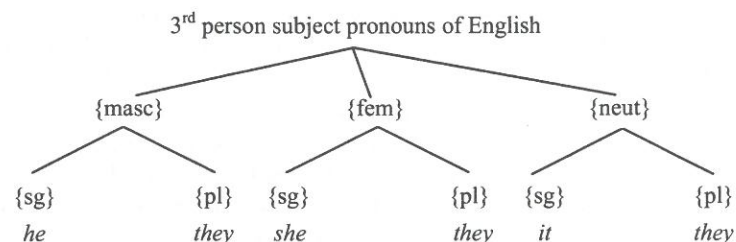


Figure 2: Sub-classification of English subject pronouns II

Let us now return to the Romance and continental Germanic paradigms. As is well-known, these paradigms exhibit a number of neutralizations. The central claim of this section is that, if we take into consideration these neutralizations and thus transform the two-dimensional paradigms in Table 1 through 4 into hierarchical structures, the proposal presently advocated turns out to be the most economical one. The idea of paradigmatic economy is based on two aspects of hierarchical organization: first, a hierarchy representing a paradigm is economical to the extent that it reduces the number of terminal nodes to a minimum; and second, it is economical to the extent that it makes the fewest possible splits, i.e. that it distinguishes between the fewest possible grammatical dimensions. As a result, a tree with fewer levels of embedding will be more economical than a classification with a higher number of sub-classifications. As we will show, the alternative options considered above in Tables 1 through 3 are suboptimal in comparison to the paradigm proposed here since they require additional stipulated grammatical dimensions, and consequently lead to a more complex hierarchical structure.

The claim that ME/TE/SE form a paradigm, while the different third person forms related to LO form a paradigm of their own amounts to assuming that in a sub-classification of these pronouns, the highest node represents a split between the SE-paradigm, on the one

hand, and the different forms of LO, on the other. The Spanish paradigm as proposed in Table 4 can be represented as in Figure 3.³

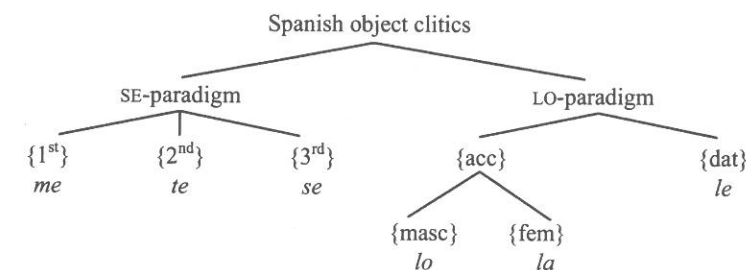


Figure 3: The classification of Spanish object clitics (our analysis; to be supplemented)

Let us now consider the alternative proposals. The paradigm in Table 1 is excessively redundant and will not be discussed any further. The sub-classifications corresponding to the proposals displayed in Tables 2 and 3 are shown in Figures 4 and 5. Both paradigms are less economical than the one shown in Figure 3. In Figure 4, we have to assume an additional classification into speech-act participants (SAP) versus non-speech-act participants (non-SAP) at the second level of embedding. The tree in Figure 5 is likewise less economical than the one in Figure 3. There is an additional level of classification at the root node of the tree, since the pronouns at issue are divided into *specified* and *unspecified* ones (i.e., for reflexivity) in addition to the distinction between *disjoint* and *reflexive* pronouns that is made further down. Both alternative paradigms are, from the perspective of paradigm architecture, suboptimal in comparison to our proposal.

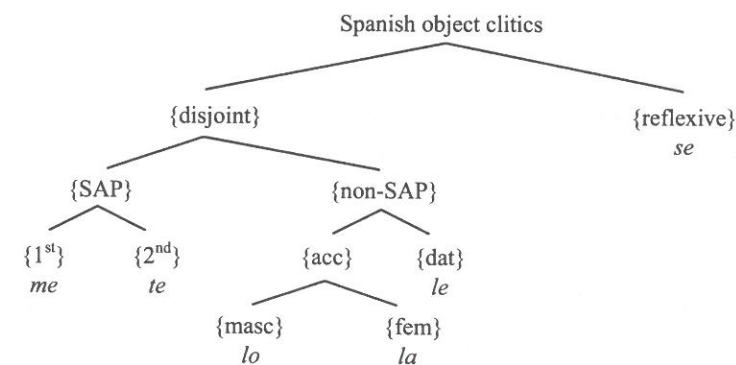


Figure 4: Classification of Spanish object clitics II (cf. Table 2)

³ The German paradigm differs from the Spanish one in that it has a case distinction in the first and second person of the SE-paradigm: *mir*, *dir* (dative) as opposed to *mich*, *dich* (accusative). Still, a structure analogous to that of Figure 3 would be optimal.

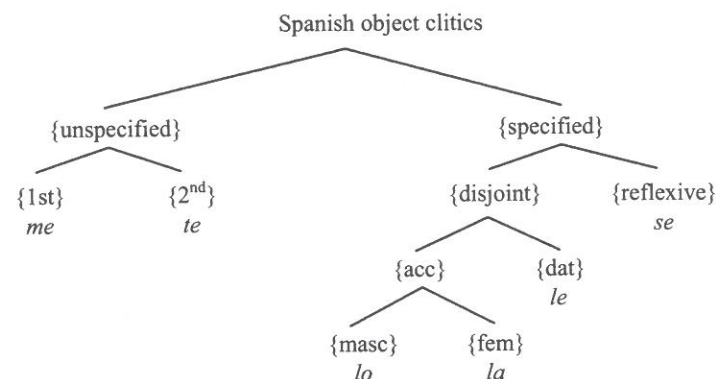


Figure 5: Classification of Spanish object clitics III (cf. Table 3)

5. The SE-Paradigm vs. the LO-Paradigm: Distribution

The general point to be made in this sub-section will be that the distributions of the members of the SE-paradigm are all very similar, while the distribution of the different LO-forms is clearly different and more restricted. This asymmetry is due to the large class of verbs that lexically require an object clitic of the same person specification as that of the subject argument ('inherently reflexive verbs'): they never take a LO-clitic, but only ME/TE/SE. (2) illustrates this for Spanish *arrepentir-se* 'repent'. Note that there are no verbs showing a similar behavior with respect to a (supposed) paradigm ME/TE/LO, i.e. there are no 'inherently non-reflexive verbs'.

(2)	me	{ arrepient- }	-o	'I repent.'
	te		-es	'You repent.'
	se		-e	'He repents.'
	*lo	arrepient-	-e	

Another area where SE patterns with ME/TE to the exclusion of LO are sequences of object clitics in Spanish. In ditransitive case frames, *lo*, *le*, and *la* occur in the slot immediately preceding the verb. The members of the SE-paradigm precede the LO-forms. Example (3) demonstrates this for ditransitive predications with a third person object.

(3)	<u>ind. obj.</u>	<u>dir. obj.</u>	<u>verb</u>	
	me	lo	da	'(S)he gives it to me.'
	te			'(S)he gives it to you.'
	se			'She gives it to her(self)/him.'/ 'He gives it to him(self)/her.'

Irrespective of their syntactic functions, *me*, *te* and *se* are always ordered in the same way. Third person *se* precedes second person *te*, which in turn precedes first person *me*. The order of clitics is represented in (4). This neatly matches the sub-classification in Figure 3.

(4)	se – te – me	{ lo la le }	– VERB
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We take the distributional facts presented in this section as further evidence favoring an account which assimilates SE to ME/TE as much as possible. Such an account is to be preferred over alternatives which oppose SE to LO, ME and TE.

6. Generalizing Over the Meaning of LO and the SE-Paradigm

The claim that ME, TE and SE form a paradigm in the very strong sense of the word has repercussions on the semantic side: ideal paradigms consist of expressions whose meaning or function is identical, except for a single dimension of meaning or function. This general property of paradigms obliges us to say what the commonalities of ME, TE and SE are, and where the minimally distinguishing features are to be found. The dimension along which information in the SE-paradigm varies concerns person and number features. But what is the common core of the function of ME/TE/SE? None of the labels that are used in the literature to describe single aspects or specific readings of members of the paradigm can cover all other aspects or readings. The functional range of predications with ME, TE, and SE comprises at least the following semantic domains: reflexivity (cf. (5)), the middle domain (cf. (6)), and in a few cases, *aktionsart* (cf. (7)). The two major differences between Spanish *se*, on the one hand, and *me/te*, on the other, are as follows: (i) *me* and *te* regularly occur in non-reflexive contexts, while *se* does so only exceptionally (more on this below), and (ii) *se* is used as a marker of reflexive passivization and of impersonal subject sentences (cf. (8a) and (8b), respectively). *Me* and *te* do not occur in these functions.

- (5) a. Me critiqué a mi misma/o.
'I criticized myself.'
b. Te descuidaste.
'You've neglected yourself.'

⁴ Considering what we have said so far, the non-reflexive interpretations of this sentence are unexpected. This peculiarity of Spanish *se*-uses will be exploited for our argumentation in section 7. Plural readings are disregarded.

- c. (Ella) se odiaba.
'She hated herself.'
- (6) a. Me peiné.
'I combed my hair.'
b. Te rasuraste.
'You shaved.'
c. Se le olvidó.
'He forgot it.'
- (7) a. Me voy.
'I am leaving.'
b. Me duermo.
'I fall asleep.'
- (8) a. Aquí se venden periódicos.
here se sell.3PL newspapers
'Newspapers are sold here.'
b. Aquí se vende periódicos.
here se sell.3SG newspapers
'Newspapers are sold here.'

Both of the constructions illustrated in (8) are not possible with first and second person subjects. As said above, sentences such as (9) permit only an active/reflexive reading.

- (9) Me estoy ofreciendo.
Me I.am offering
'I am offering myself.' (not: 'I am offered.')

As the examples provided in (5)-(9) show, it is not only a problem to define the functional range of the SE-paradigm as a whole, it is also extremely difficult to find appropriate semantic characterizations for its single members. For example, we would have to assume at least three different functions of both *me* and *te*, and even five different functions of *se*, if we wanted to specify the meaning of these clitics positively.

If we are able to say what all uses of LO have in common this might help us, by way of contrast, to find out more about ME/TE/SE. LO lends itself to a characterization in terms of meaning or function more easily. LO's major features are summarized in (10).

- (10) a. 3rd person anaphoric object pronominal
b. referentially disjoint from the local subject⁵

Each of the conditions in (10) is a necessary condition of the use of a LO-form, and the conjunction of these conditions represents the sufficient condition of using LO. Whenever a

⁵ Clitics or pronouns functioning as indirect objects (Germ. *ihm/ihr*, Span. *le* etc.) have to be disjoint in reference from both the local subject and the direct object. More generally, we could say that LO-forms have to be disjoint in reference from all c-commanding co-arguments.

clausal context requires a third person anaphoric object pronominal which is THIRD PERSON and which is REFERENTIALLY DISJOINT from the local subject, LO must be used. Now the road has been cleared for the SE-paradigm. These pronouns or clitics are used only when LO may not be used. This is the case on the following conditions: a pronoun is required that is either not third person, or is third person, and is not disjoint in reference from a local antecedent. Using a process metaphor we might say that the members of the SE-paradigm fill all those pronominal clitic slots for objects that, for reasons of feature incompatibilities, could not be filled by LO. Table 11 assembles the feature specifications that we assume for the pronominal clitics from the LO-class and from the SE-paradigm.⁶

	syntactic relation	person	locally disjoint reference
LO	[+object]	[+3rd person]	[+disjoint]
ME/TE/SE	[+object]	[+1st/2nd/3rd person]	

Table 11: Feature specification of LO and ME/TE/SE

With regard to our proposal concerning object clitics in Spanish and Italian and pronouns in German, we can now further specify our classification displayed in Figure 3 above. There, we distinguished between the 'SE-paradigm' and the 'LO-paradigm' at the highest level of classification, without actually indicating the functional difference between both paradigms. This difference consists in the specification for locally disjoint reference: while the LO-forms are positively specified for disjoint reference, the SE-paradigm is unspecified with regard to coreference or disjoint reference. This is shown in Figure 6.

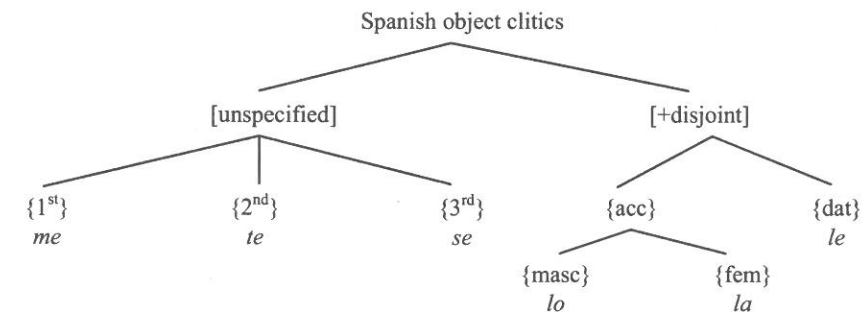


Figure 6: The classification of Spanish object clitics (final version)

⁶ Whether or not *se* is specified for case and person is an interesting issue. In view of the construction exemplified in (9), one may argue that *se* is unspecified for case, since it can be analyzed as a subject in such sentences. For the sake of simplicity, we will assume that *se* is positively specified both for case and person, but this topic clearly requires further discussion (cf. section 8). If it is possible to analyse SE as being unspecified for case and person, this provides additional support for our claim that its distribution should be regarded as an *elsewhere*-phenomenon.

7. Demonstrating Falsifiability

Our proposal concerning the lexical endowment of the LO-paradigm and the SE-paradigm is sure to meet with criticism. An objection that might be raised against it runs as follows: claiming that SE is, just like ME and TE, unspecified for local co-reference is counter-intuitive. Even if it is admitted that SE is not restricted to anaphoric uses with referential interpretations, the referential uses, at least, always involve local co-reference. We might therefore be accused of making a claim that is not falsifiable because there appear to be no contexts in which LO must not be used, SE is used, and locally disjoint reference is intended. However, such contexts do exist, and they lend support to our analysis of a heavily unspecific lexical content of SE. The so-called 'spurious *se*' in Spanish constitutes the case in point. Let us turn to this phenomenon for a moment before concluding our paper. The Spanish indirect object clitic for third persons in the singular is *le*. We know already that *lo* is a direct object clitic. So *le lo* should be the resulting clitic sequence analogous to cases as in (11a). But (11b) is ungrammatical. Instead of a second *l*-clitic, *se* must be used (cf. (11c)).⁷

- (11) a. Juan me lo da.
 Juan to.me it gives
 'Juan gives it to me.'
 b. *Juan le lo da.
 Juan to.him it gives
 intended: 'Juan gives it to him.'
 c. Juan se lo da.
 Juan SE it gives
 'Juan gives it to him/her/them.'

There is no consensus as to what the precise reason for the incompatibility of *le* and *lo* is, and we do not wish to take sides with any specific position in this discussion (cf. Bonet 1995 for a survey of the different theoretical positions in this matter). We likewise want to remain neutral as regards the diachronic emergence of the spurious-*se* system of Spanish. What matters here is the remedy as it presents itself at the synchronical level: *se* replaces *le*. Analyses which take local binding to be a general requirement of the use of *se* are at a loss here, and they have to resort to solutions that are in one way or another unsatisfactory: they all have to assume that in the spurious-*se* cases, *se* somehow does not have its usual meaning or is a different *se* altogether. We are in a more comfortable position. *Se* is neither specified for local binding, nor for locally disjoint reference. In a situation in which, for whatever reason, the use of *le* is blocked, *se* is the optimal clitic: it is specified for (direct or indirect) objecthood, and it has no incompatible person feature, or no lexically specified person feature at all (cf. the discussion in section 8). None of these specifications is in conflict with the requirements for the clitic to fill the position between *Juan* and *lo* in (11c). *Se*

⁷ Note that *se* is not restricted to singular referents, so that (11c) is ambiguous with regard to the number specification of the indirect object.

certainly is an extremely general expression to be used in this slot, but all other competing expressions are excluded.⁸

The viewpoint that SE is unspecified with regard to local co-reference thus presupposes that the grammars of the languages under discussion have an evaluative component that selects among different possible forms. This assumption is one of the basic intuitions that have given rise to Optimality Theory (Prince/Smolensky 1993), and although we do not provide a formal account within an Optimality-Theoretical framework, we take it that our analysis is compatible with and could easily be implemented into such a model.

8. Conclusions and Outlook

We have argued that the phonological similarity of ME/TE/SE-paradigms as opposed to LO-paradigms across the western and central part of continental Europe, and the considerable historical depth of the former paradigms, constitute sufficient reason to aim at an analysis which reflects those structures of similarity in the lexical semantics of these pronominals, and in the conditions of their use. SE-pronominals, on our analysis, are just like ME and TE not specified for local co-reference; they are only barred from pronominal positions with elements to be interpreted as locally free arguments because LO-pronominals are positively specified for this feature and must be used in those positions. This reduces the distribution of SE to an *elsewhere*-phenomenon. General considerations on paradigm architecture likewise lend support to our analysis. At the same time, the case of Spanish spurious *se* establishes the point that our analysis makes strong and falsifiable predictions concerning the use of SE-pronominals in contexts in which a LO-pronominal would be expected, but is actually barred for independent reasons.

It is tempting to extend the claim of maximally unspecific SE-semantics, combined with more heavily specified LO-semantics, to Slavonic and to Northern Germanic. Support for this extension may, for instance, be derived from the well-studied cases of logophoric "long-distance reflexivization" in Northern Germanic, and from the use of SE-pronouns with first and second person subjects in some Slavonic languages. Long-distance reflexivization is relevant because, on our account, SE will lend itself to long-distance binding more easily than in other approaches because no lexical feature requiring local binding has to be overridden (or parametrized). The Slavonic use of SE in reflexive contexts involving first and second person (in Polish, e.g.) can probably be accounted for if we push our non-specification account one step further: if, in the relevant Slavonic languages, SE is not specified for person, no feature clash arises if SE is used with first or second person sub-

⁸ Unfortunately, we cannot offer such conclusive evidence for the other languages discussed here. Still, there are strong indications that analogous phenomena can be found elsewhere, for instance in the encoding of reciprocal actions. In a way, reciprocity constitutes a borderline case between co-reference and disjoint reference. In a sentence such as *Sie schlagen sich* 'They are beating each other, they are fighting', the plural referent of *sie* is both agent and patient of the action, which is characteristic of reflexivity, but no one actually beats himself. Still a SE-pronominal is used in such contexts in Romance and continental Germanic languages.

jects. (Simultaneously, the mechanisms governing the distribution of ME and TE have to be taken care of such that a first or second person SE-use is not blocked by ME or TE in the relevant languages.) On the non-specification analysis for SE, one more distributional fact falls out for free: as said before, we do find SE in sentences with first and second person subjects, but we never find reflexive ME or TE in sentences with third person subjects. This can be modeled as a direct consequence of the specificational asymmetry between ME/TE, which are specified for person, and SE, which is not.

All in all, our proposal amounts to the claim that the mapping of pronominal classes (here: the SE-paradigm vs. the LO-paradigm) to classes of participants in different situation types is subject to typological variation. Languages may either reserve the special or marked (pronominal) strategy to encode locally free pronominals (the case of most continental Germanic and Romance languages), or they may reserve the special or marked category for the encoding of reflexive situation types (the case of English and many other languages).

Although limitations of space prevent us from presenting the detailed arguments here, standard diagnostics of markedness (cf. Croft 1990) deliver the results predicted by us: (ME/TE)/SE invariably turns out to be unmarked vis-à-vis LO (*pace* the universal claims made by Farmer/Harnish 1987 or Comrie 1999), while the results for English, e.g., are exactly the reverse: *self*-forms are marked vis-à-vis plain pronouns. This opens the door to a new typology of reflexivization that, we think, should be explored further.

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