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3rd Person Needs Licensing Too: Examining the *se/suu* Connection¹

Abstract

This paper introduces two instances of person effects with 3rd person items – the reflexive clitic *se* in French and the non-honorific clitic pronoun *suu* in Punjabi. Examining the properties of these items, we argue against the phi-feature based accounts of person licensing. Instead, we re-conceptualize it as a syntactico-semantic phenomenon, which requires a pronominal to be contextually-anchored via a feature labeled [F]. More globally, this paper attempts to work out the special status of person and articulate *why* person requires special licensing in grammar.

Keywords

licensing, person, reflexives, anchoring, agreement

1. Introduction

This paper examines two 3rd person clitics, the Punjabi pronoun *suu* and the French reflexive *se*. These 3rd person clitics are subject to person-based restrictions in the same way as 1st/2nd person pronouns. Examining the properties of

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suu and *se*, our goal in this paper is to argue against the phi-feature (1st/2nd vs 3rd person) based accounts of person licensing and propose that pronominal licensing should be re-conceptualized as a syntactico-semantic phenomenon (Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2017). More specifically, we claim that person restrictions for 1st/2nd person as well as for 3rd person items like *suu* and *se* stem from their common requirement to be anchored to the context. We show that *suu* is context-sensitive by virtue of denoting a non-honorific 3rd person in relation to the speaker of the utterance. *Se*, by virtue of being an anaphor, is also referentially dependent on the syntactic context containing its antecedent. We argue that the contextual dependence of said items should occasion a rethinking of the person-centered approach. The alternative analysis proposed here is that it is not the person feature on pronominals which requires licensing. Instead, a feature [F] models context sensitivity by locating the individual in the spatio-temporal context. Context-sensitive items, including but not restricted to 1st/2nd person pronouns, host an instance of [F] that requires valuation by agreement with a functional head that encodes a representation of the utterance context. The failure to value [F] results in person effects. More generally, our account aims at articulating *why* 1st/2nd person pronouns and context-sensitive 3rd person items require special licensing. Taking advantage of the well-noted insight in existing work that person is special among phi-features in that it interacts with the utterance context (Wechsler and Zlatic 2003; Sigurðsson 2004, 2014a, 2014b; Bianchi 2006; Baker 2008; Delfitto and Fiorin 2011, a.o.), we model the interaction of person with referential indexation to provide an alternative account of person licensing.

2. Person effects with 3rd person clitics

2.1. Person effects with the 3rd person clitic in Punjabi

Punjabi² has a 3rd person pronominal clitic *suu* that occurs post-verbally to replace a 3rd person singular argument (Akhtar 1997; Butt 2007; Kaur 2016, 2017). Consider the following example in (1), where *suu*, occupying the position of the auxiliary, replaces a 3rd person subject.³

- (1) karan-nuu vekhya suu/e
 karan-DOM see.PFV.M.SG 3.SG.CL/be.PRS.3.SG(default)
 '(S)he saw Karan.' *Ergative perfective subject*

² The variant discussed here is spoken in Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh (India).

³ Abbreviations: ABS: absolutive, ACC: accusative, ALLOC: allocutive, AUX: auxiliary, CL: clitic, DAT: dative, DOM: differential object marking, ERG: ergative, F: feminine, HAB: habitual, HON: honorific, M: masculine, N: neuter, NOM: nominative, NHON: non-honorific, OBL: oblique, PFV: perfective, PL: plural, PRS: present, PST: past, REFL: reflexive, SG: singular.

Importantly, *suu* can only co-index a 3rd person argument which does not control verbal agreement. Punjabi is an aspect-based split-ergative language (Bhatia 1993; Deo and Sharma 2006; Bhatt 2007; Kaur 2016; Chandra and Kaur 2017) with differential object marking/DOM.⁴ Consider Table 1 demonstrating the case-agreement alignment for 3rd person transitive arguments in the language.⁵

Table 1. Case-agreement alignment with 3rd person arguments

	ImperfSubj	ImperfObj		PerfSubj	PerfObj	
Case	NOM	ACC (Ø)	DOM(- <i>nuu</i>)	ERG	ACC (Ø)	DOM (- <i>nuu</i>)
Agreement-controlling	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No

Given this case alignment, *suu* can be used to refer only to non-agreeing 3rd person arguments, which correspond to the ergative 3rd person subject in the perfective and the 3rd person *-nuu*-marked object across aspects. To start with subjects, the example in (1) illustrates that *suu* replaces an ergative 3rd person subject in the perfective. By contrast, employing *suu* to replace a 3rd person nominative subject, which controls verbal agreement realized as *e*(3sg)/*ne*(3pl) auxiliary forms, results in ungrammaticality, as in (2).

- (2) karan-*nuu* roz vekhdaa e/**suu*
 karan-DOM everyday see.HAB.M.SG be.PRS.3.SG/*3.SG.CL
 'He sees Karan everyday.' *Nominative imperfective subject*

The same requirement holds in the object domain in that *suu* can only replace a non-agreeing 3rd person object. This can be seen in the perfective domain, where the object, and not the subject, controls agreement on the verbal complex. For illustration, consider the following examples. In (3), the unmarked object *kuRii* 'girl' controls agreement on the verb in number and gender. Contrastingly, the object bearing differential object marking *-nuu* in (4) does not control verbal agreement. In this case, the verb is realized with default agreement features, corresponding to 3rd person, masculine and singular.

⁴ Punjabi differentially marks some of its direct objects with the marker *-nuu*. 1st/2nd person pronouns, proper names and anaphors obligatorily receive DOM. With 3rd person pronouns, the marking is optional – in its presence, the pronoun is interpreted as referring to an animate entity; in its absence, the pronoun receives an inanimate reading. For all non-pronominals, the presence/absence of DOM correlates with effects like definiteness and specificity (see Bhatia 1993; Kaur 2016).

⁵ Intransitive subjects (especially unaccusative subjects) pattern alike across perfective and imperfective aspects. Our examples in this paper come from the transitive domain, where the disparity in case and agreement system holds across aspectual specifications.

- (3) karan-ne kuRii vekhii (e)
 Karan-ERG girl.F.SG see.PFV.F.SG be.PRS.3.SG
 'Karan has seen a girl.'
- (4) karan-ne kuRii-nuu vekhyaa (e)
 Karan-ERG girl.F.SG-DOM see.PFV.M.SG be.PRS.3.SG
 'Karan has seen a certain girl.'

Importantly, when replacing an object, *suu* can only occur with the non-agreeing/default verbal form in the perfective aspect, as in (5). Its object occurrence with an agreeing verbal form is ungrammatical.

- (5) karan-ne vekhyaa /*vekhii suu
 Karan-ERG see.PFV.M.SG /*see.PFV.F.SG 3.SG.CL
 'Karan saw him/her.' *Perfective object*

Since the agreeing verbal form *vekhii* is completely licit in the presence of the nominal object in (3), its ungrammaticality in (5) must follow from the ban on the occurrence of *suu* with agreeing verbs, signaling an unmarked object which triggers co-varying agreement. We extend the requirement of *suu* to replace only non-agreeing objects to the imperfective domain as well. Since the imperfective verb shows agreement with the subject, the distinction between agreeing and non-agreeing objects, however, is indiscernible.⁶

⁶ Our claim that *suu* replaces only non-agreeing objects even in the imperfective is also supported by an overlap between the semantic properties of *suu* and the non-agreeing DOM objects. Like *suu*, which is inherently specified as an animate 3rd person and cannot obtain an inanimate reading, the full 3rd person pronominal bearing DOM (*o-nuu*) also cannot refer to an inanimate 3rd person; see (i) and (ii).

- (i) karan-ne vekhyaa suu
 karan-ERG see.PFV.M.SG 3.SG.CL
 'Karan saw him/her/#it.'
- (ii) karan-ne o-nuu vekhyaa
 karan-ERG 3.SG-DOM see.PFV.M.SG
 'Karan saw him/her/#it.'

In addition, *suu* obtains only for specific/definite animate non-pronominals. This is akin to the distribution of DOM, which also obtains for specific/definite objects.

- (iiia) karan skuul jaandeyaaN roz billii-*(nuu) vekhdaa e
 Karan.NOM school going everyday cat-DOM see.HAB.M.SG be.PRS.3.SG
 'Karan sees this cat everyday while going to school.'
- (iiib) karan roz vekhdaa suu
 Karan everyday see.HAB.M.SG 3.SG.CL
 'Karan see him/her everyday.'

Unfortunately, the connection is not as tight in the other direction in that certain non-specific/indefinite animate objects can bear DOM. However, they cannot be co-referenced by *suu*. Notwithstanding, the overlapping semantic properties do not look accidental, further supporting the claim that only non-agreeing DOM objects (which do not get pseudo-incorporated) can be replaced by *suu*. A closer investigation is left for future research.

- (6) karan roz vekhdaa suu
 karan.NOM everyday see.HAB.M.SG 3.SG.CL
 ‘Karan sees him/her everyday.’ *Imperfective object*

To recapitulate, *suu* in Punjabi is a 3rd person clitic form which can replace non-agreeing subjects and objects.

In its object occurrence, *suu* manifests person effects. Thus, *suu* can replace a non-agreeing 3rd person object but only when the subject is also 3rd person, as seen in (5) and (6) above. The presence of a 1st/2nd person subject with an object *suu* results in ungrammaticality (Kaur 2016, 2017), as shown in the following imperfective and perfective structures in (7) and (8) respectively.⁷

- (7) *maiN/tuu vekhdaa suu
 1.SG.NOM/2.SG.NOM see.HAB.M.SG 3.SG.CL
 ‘I/you see him/her.’
- (8) *maiN/tuu⁸ vekhyaa suu
 1.SG.OBL/2.SG.OBL see.PFV.M.SG 3.SG.CL
 ‘I/you saw him/her.’ **1st/2nd subj - object suu*

This pattern is unexpected for two reasons. First, Punjabi has two sets of 3rd person pronominals, strong full pronouns and clitics, as listed below. Full pronouns appear pre-verbally and can be inflected for case, in contrast to the clitic forms which occur post-verbally and cannot show case-inflection.

Table 2. 3rd person full pronouns and clitics in Punjabi

		Full pronoun	Clitic
Singular	NOM	<i>o</i>	<i>suu</i>
	DOM	<i>o-nuu</i>	
Plural	NOM	<i>o</i>	<i>ne(?)</i>
	DOM	<i>ona-nuu</i>	

⁷ We restrict the discussion of person effects with object *suu* to the perfective domain. In the imperfective, 1st and 2nd person nominative subjects obligatorily occur with a person-inflected auxiliary. Since *suu* is in complementary distribution with auxiliaries, this independently rules it out with 1st/2nd person nominative subjects. In the transitive perfective domain, 1st/2nd person subjects are non-nominative and do not control agreement. In principle, they could thereby occur with *suu* in the auxiliary position. However, this is not attested, resulting in a real puzzle.

⁸ In addition to the aspect based split, Punjabi also exhibits a person based split ergative system (Bhatia 1993; Deo and Sharma 2006; Bhatt 2007; Chandra and Kaur 2017). 1st/2nd subjects in the perfective do not occur with an overt ergative marking *-ne*, which is found on the 3rd person perfective subjects. Despite the lack of ergative marking, 1st/2nd subjects do not show nominative properties, and pattern with oblique arguments in the language (Kaur 2016; Chandra and Kaur 2017).

Only the 3rd person clitic pronoun *suu* is subject to the person effects. When the object is a full 3rd person pronoun, the presence of a 1st/2nd person subject does not result in ungrammaticality.

- (9) maiN/tuu o-nuu vekhyaa
 1.SG.OBL/2.SG.OBL 3.SG-DOM see.PFV.M.SG
 ‘I/you saw him/her.’ *Full 3rd person object*

Furthermore, with a subject *suu*, which is available only for the 3rd person ergative perfective subject, as shown previously in (1), the person specification of the object is inconsequential.

- (10) maiN-nuu/tai-nuu/o-nuu vekhyaa suu
 1.SG-DOM/2.SG-DOM /3.SG-DOM see.PFV.M.SG 3.SG.CL
 ‘(S)he saw me/you/him/her.’ *Subject suu- 1st/2nd/3rd object*

The person restrictions with *suu* are summed up in Table 3.

Table 3. Person effects with *suu* in the perfective aspect

Subject	Object	
3 rd	<i>suu</i>	✓
1 st /2 nd	<i>suu</i>	*
<i>suu</i>	3 rd	✓
<i>suu</i>	1 st /2 nd	✓

In summary, the 3rd person clitic pronominal *suu* in Punjabi shows person effects when it co-indexes an object. The person restrictions observed with *suu* can be linked to a larger class of person effects, which apply typically to 1st/2nd person clitics in the object domain, namely the Person Case Constraint (PCC).

2.2. Person effects with the 3rd person reflexive clitic in French

French is a well-known illustration of the Person Case Constraint (PCC) (Bonet 1991; Béjar and Rezac 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Adger and Harbour 2007, a.o.). It shows the strong version of PCC: in a ditransitive, a 1st/2nd person direct object clitic is disallowed in the presence of an indirect object clitic, as illustrated in (11) with a 3rd person IO. Contrast this with the minimal pair in (12), where the direct object clitic is 3rd person and no person effect arises.

- (11) *Il me/te lui présente.
 3.SG.NOM 1/2.SG.ACC 3.SG.DAT introduce.PRS.3.SG
 ‘He introduces me/you to him/her.’

- (12) Il le lui présente.
 3.SG.NOM 3.SG.M.ACC 3.SG.DAT introduce.PRS.3.SG
 ‘He introduces him to him/her.’

French has a 3rd person reflexive clitic *se*, as shown in (13) where it corresponds to the direct object. We treat *se* as an anaphoric argument, which has case and (at least some) phi-features (Labelle 2008; Ahn 2015; Raynaud 2018a, 2018b).⁹

- (13) Elle_i se_i voit dans le miroir.
 3.SG.NOM 3.REFL.ACC see.3.SG in the mirror
 ‘She sees herself in the mirror.’

Se is restricted to 3rd person antecedents, as the ungrammaticality of (14) illustrates, which suggests that it is itself 3rd person, as reflexive anaphors typically match the phi-features of their antecedents.

- (14) Je_i me_i/*se_i vois dans le miroir.
 1.SG.NOM 1.SG.ACC/*3.REFL.ACC see.1.SG in the mirror
 Int: ‘I see myself in the mirror.’

However, like the 1st/2nd person clitics, *se* is subject to the PCC (Kayne 1975; Bonet 1991; Laenzlinger 1993; Anagnostopoulou 2005; Rezac 2011, a.o.): it is disallowed as a direct object in the presence of an indirect object clitic in ditransitives, as in (15).

- (15) *Il_i se_i lui présente.
 3.SG.NOM 3.REFL.ACC 3.SG.DAT introduce. PRS.3.SG
 ‘He introduces himself to him/her.’

This person restriction with *se* is unexpected: despite being a 3rd person item, it patterns with 1st and 2nd person pronominals and exhibits a person-like restriction in ditransitive domains.

To summarize, we have presented person effects with *suu* and *se* to illustrate that not only 1st/2nd person items but also 3rd person can be subject to person restrictions. The pattern with the French reflexive *se* is well-known in the PCC-literature, though it has not been central to developing a theory of PCC the way 1st and 2nd person pronominals have. However, our treatment of the relatively novel pattern with the Punjabi clitic *suu* in the same class as PCC needs some qualification. The majority of the literature on person licensing

⁹ The status of *se* in the literature is controversial, with debate as to whether *se* is a true object reflexive in a transitive construction or a lexical marker of detransitivization/a reflexive voice head (Kayne 1975; Sportiche 1998; Reinhart and Siloni 2004; Labelle 2008). Based on case and agreement facts with *se*, its participation in PCC, as well as its ability to act as an intervener for person licensing, we follow Raynaud (2018a, b) in treating *se* as a true object reflexive.

has focused on PCC effects in IO-DO combinations like in French. However, existing work by scholars including Haspelmath (2004), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2006), Béjar and Rezac (2009), Coon and Preminger (2012), and Kalin (2017) treats person effects involving subjects (as in person-based split ergativity), or subject-object combinations (as in direct-inverse alternations) or objects (as in differential object marking) as also ensuing from licensing requirements of 1st/2nd person pronouns (among other special arguments). We follow these studies in treating person effects with object *suu* on a par with standard IO-DO based PCC effects. To the extent that person effects with *suu* and *se* can be placed in the same class of PCC/person effects, they necessitate a rethinking of the existing approaches to PCC, which primarily target 1st and 2nd person pronouns to the exclusion of the 3rd person.

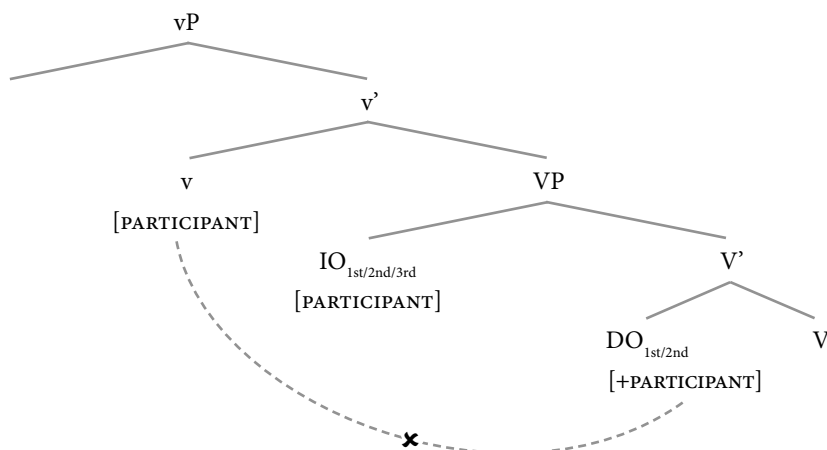
3. Evaluating existing accounts

PCC effects with 3rd person have not gone unnoticed in the literature (Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Adger and Harbour 2007; Ormazabal and Romero 2007; Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2017; Sundaresan to appear), and have caused researchers to remodel the featural specification of certain 3rd person items to treat them on a par with the typically PCC-exhibiting 1st/2nd person items. To elaborate, existing syntactic accounts of the PCC are built on the assumption that person needs licensing. This special requirement is formulated as the Person Licensing Condition (henceforth PLC) (see Béjar and Rezac 2003, 2009; Rezac 2008; Baker 2008; Preminger 2011, 2019 for varying versions).

- (16) **Person Licensing Condition (PLC):** An interpretable 1/2 feature must be licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category. (Béjar and Rezac 2003: 53)

This condition is formulated in terms of phi-features, and in particular [PERSON] or [PARTICIPANT] features. To be licensed, any pronoun bearing a [PARTICIPANT] feature would have to undergo agreement with a functional head. Let us see how the PLC yields PCC-effects with 1st/2nd direct objects. In a double object construction, the lower object (i.e. the direct object), being a 1st/2nd pronoun, has a [+PARTICIPANT] feature and needs licensing via agreement with the functional head *v*. In the presence of an intervening indirect object, the [PARTICIPANT] feature on the DO remains unlicensed, resulting in the PCC.

(17)



The above-mentioned account of the PCC has been extended to include 3rd person items like *se* by postulating a negatively specified [PARTICIPANT] feature on them (though see Sundaresan to appear). More specifically, in contrast with the assumption that 3rd person corresponds to the complete absence of a [PARTICIPANT] feature (Benveniste 1966; Silverstein 1976; Ritter 1995, a.o.), recent studies have proposed a two-way split between 3rd person pronouns. Certain 3rd person pronouns are indeed devoid of any person specification whatsoever, while others are negatively specified as [-PARTICIPANT]. Like the 1st/2nd person pronouns, the [-PARTICIPANT] feature hosted on select 3rd pronouns must also be licensed via agreement with a functional head, failing which PCC-effects arise. The remainder of this section argues against such accounts of person licensing and PCC (with 1st/2nd and 3rd pronouns). To start, the version of PLC in (16) is evidently problematic. In the standard downward Agree system (Chomsky 2000, 2001), agreement is triggered by the presence of uninterpretable and unvalued features on an item, namely the probe. Upon finding a suitable goal, this feature set on the probe is checked and valued. According to the PLC, the person feature on a pronoun requires agreement. For one, it is unclear why a standardly interpretable and valued person feature on the pronoun requires valuation. Even if one assumes that the person feature on the pronoun is unvalued, it is not straightforward that the functional head, being a phi-probe itself, has a [PARTICIPANT] value to give them (Kaur 2016; Stegovac 2019).

In addition to these problems, the PCC accounts of 3rd person pronouns face an extra challenge with regard to the motivation behind person features on certain 3rd person items and not others. For instance, an accusative 3rd person pronoun, not subject to the PCC, does not have a person feature. In

contrast, a dative 3rd person pronoun bears a person feature, making it visible for intervention. Similarly, being a reflexive also makes a 3rd person item a host of person features, as opposed to non-reflexives. The use of such heterogeneous factors to determine the presence of person features on a 3rd person item is questionable.¹⁰

While we agree with the existing accounts suggesting a split between 3rd person pronouns, we do not subscribe to the unmotivated use of [+/-PARTICIPANT] phi-features to demarcate 3rd person items. Instead, we examine the properties of *suu* and *se* in the following section to show that the factor which unifies certain 3rd person items with 1st/2nd person pronominals is their syntactically encoded dependence on the utterance context. By doing so, we develop the insight, already proposed by Bianchi (2006) and more recently suggested by Kalin (2018:153–4) and Stegovec (2019:15–16), that the need for person to be licensed is connected to the need to be anchored in the utterance context.

4. Context-sensitivity of 3rd person items

This section will show that *suu* and *se* are both context-sensitive items, albeit in different ways. *Suu* is utterance context-sensitive in that it must be non-honorific in relation to the utterance speaker. *Se*, on the other hand, is context-sensitive in the sense that it must be syntactically bound by an antecedent in its local domain.

Like any pronoun, *suu* determines its referent from the discourse. This referent, however, must be non-honorific in relation to the speaker. To elaborate, the use of *suu* is permitted only when the referent is younger than the speaker or in an informal relation with them (e.g. friend-like relation). We illustrate this requirement by means of different contexts.

Context A (Contextually salient non-honorific referent): Mira and Karan are colleagues, who know each other's children, and are talking about them. Mira asks about Karan's son, using (18):

¹⁰ The fact that reflexive and non-reflexive 3rd persons should have different features is further more problematic for theories of binding as phi-agreement (e.g. Rooryck and van den Wyngaerd 2011), which assume that a reflexive anaphor obtains its phi-values by agreement with a valued antecedent (a pronoun or an R-expression). These accounts would thus predict that for the reflexive to be [-PARTICIPANT], its antecedent should also be [-PARTICIPANT]. This has the consequence of removing the distinction between 'special' 3rd person elements like reflexives, which are subject to the PCC, and other 3rd person items.

- (18) o te paRhaayii-vicc cangaa sii
 3.SG.NOM topic study-in good be.PST.3.SG
 kii hoyaa suu¹¹
 what happen.PFV.M.SG 3.SG.CL
 ‘He was good at studies. What has happened to him?’

Context B (Contextually salient honorific referent): Instead of asking about Karan’s son, Mira now asks Karan about his father, uttering (19). This usage of *suu* to refer to Karan’s father by Mira is infelicitous since Karan’s father is older and must be referred to honorifically.¹²

- (19) kii hoyaa #suu
 what happen.PFV.M.SG #3.SG.CL
 ‘What has happened to him?’

(Non)-honorificity is a relational property between two individuals. For *suu*, one of these individuals is the utterance speaker, and the other individual is a non-honorific salient 3rd person referent. *Suu* therefore is anchored to the utterance context through the speaker. We take this property to be a form of context-sensitivity. This definition of context-sensitivity in terms of the utterance context does not hold for the reflexive clitic *se*. However, *se*, being a reflexive anaphor, needs to be bound by an antecedent which is immediately local. This relation between *se* and its antecedent is crucial to determining its reference, and can be modeled by feature transmission from the antecedent via Agree (following Hicks 2009; Kratzer 2009; Reuland 2011; Rooryck and van den Wyngaerd 2011, a.o.).

In summary, both *suu* and *se* must stand in a relation with another element in the relevant context, which is defined as the utterance context for *suu* and as the local *c*-commanding domain for *se*. We treat these seemingly different contexts on a par in that not only the *c*-commanding binding domain, but also the utterance context consisting of the utterance participants (speaker and addressee) is represented in syntax proper. To elaborate, mainstream syntactic literature typically assumes that the utterance context consisting of the speaker and the hearer (and utterance location and time) are outside clausal structure. However, more recent work by Speas and Tenny (2003), Sigurðsson (2004, 2014a, b), Bianchi (2006), Miyagawa (2012, 2017) and Gruber (2013), among others, has provided evidence for a syntax-internal representation of the speech act and its

¹¹ Here, *suu* coreferences a dative *-nuu* marked subject, which patterns with the ergative subject in not controlling agreement.

¹² In such structures, only the 3pl marker *ne* is felicitous, (i). The syntax of *ne* is different from that of *suu* in that it is getting reanalyzed as an agreement marker (Butt 2007; Kaur 2016), and is not subject to PCC-effects.

- (i) kii hoyaa ne
 what happen.PFV.M.SG 3.HON/PL.
 ‘What has happened to him (honorific)?’

participants. In line with such accounts, we take the utterance context to be encoded in syntax. This allows us to explain the context-sensitivity of *se*, *suu* and 1st/2nd person pronouns uniformly as instances of syntactic dependencies.

5. Analysis

The previous section showed that *suu* and *se* are context-sensitive 3rd person items. This puts them in the same class as 1st/2nd person pronouns which are also dependent on the context for their reference. In light of this, we claim that person licensing, to which *suu* and *se* are also subject, corresponds to establishing a syntactic relation with an item in the context. How should this syntactic dependency be modeled? Given the observation that not only 1st/2nd person, but also a class of 3rd person items require to be licensed, and given the problems with the existing analyses outlined in section 3, person licensing should be divorced from phi-agreement. To elaborate, person licensing should not be understood as the requirement of a [+/-PARTICIPANT] phi-feature on a pronoun to undergo agreement (cf. also Pancheva and Zubizarreta 2017). Instead, we employ insights from the literature on anaphoric binding to propose the presence of a syntactico-semantic referential feature [F], which needs to be valued in syntax on certain pronominal items. Valuation of this feature [F], inherently unvalued on context-sensitive items (1st, 2nd and 3rd person alike), amounts to Person Licensing. Failure to value [F] results in PCC effects.

5.1. Defining [F]

Before we proceed to our analysis of PCC effects with 3rd person items *suu* and *se*, we define the nature of the referential feature, labeled [F]. [F] locates the individual in the spatio-temporal context. The function that we attribute to [F] is similar to the anchoring function of the D-layer in accounts of indexical pronouns such as Gruber (2013), Ritter and Wiltschko (2014), Martin and Hinzen (2014). However, in contrast with the multifaceted analyses of D which have equated it with distinct aspects such as indexicality, definiteness and case, [F] in our system isolates the unique function of contextual-anchoring, encoding it as a feature. This feature is syntactico-semantic in nature, meaning that [F] has valued and unvalued counterparts in syntax which need to Agree, and that the relations established by [F] in syntax have consequences for meaning and reference at LF. Focusing on the syntax of [F] agreement, we propose the following properties:

i) Context-dependent pronouns (1st, 2nd, *suu*), and anaphors (e.g. *se*) bear an unvalued instance of [F]. Valued instances of [F] can have different loci: they can be found on functional heads like *v*, C or T and on all independently

referential DPs. In the spirit of Bianchi (2006) and Sigurðsson (2014a, b), we postulate that a representation of the utterance context (e.g. Speech act phrase), can be found not only in the left-periphery but also at a lower level in the verbal domain. A possible account to link the lower representations of context to the left-periphery, and its subsequent mapping to the discourse-pragmatic component is offered in Sigurðsson (2014a, b).

ii) With regard to its possible values, [F] takes referential indices (*i, j, k*, etc.), which include indices standing for addressee, speaker, and the relations between them. This effectively represents a syntactic encoding of the utterance context. Crucially, we bring context to the syntax through features without postulating a dedicated functional projection (also see Biberauer 2018).

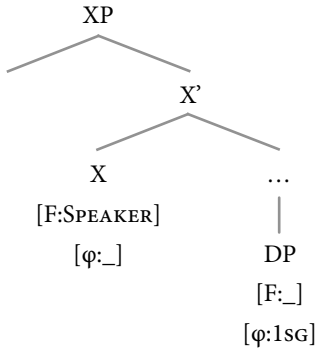
Our conceptualization of [F], a feature which encodes referentiality in syntax, is not unprecedented. In his account of anaphoricity, Hicks (2009) has proposed the use of [VAR]-features, which take referential indices as values. In this system, binding relations are the product of an agreement operation between an unvalued referential feature [VAR:_] on an anaphor and a valued [VAR:*i*] on a local antecedent. Similar types of referential features have also been proposed and motivated by Adger and Ramchand (2005), Sundaresan (2012), Grosz (2015), and Arregi and Hanink (2018).

5.2. Licensing [F]

All context-sensitive items (including 1st/2nd person pronouns, 3rd person items like *suu* and reflexives like *se*) enter the derivation with an unvalued [F: _]. Valuation of this feature via agreement with a functional head or an antecedent DP amounts to licensing these context-sensitive items. What this means is that the existing analyses of person licensing formulated in terms of phi-features values corresponding to [+/-PARTICIPANT] are incomplete. We claim that 1st/2nd person pronouns are born with a complete set of valued phi-features. Their person licensing requirement thereby is not a requirement to value the [+/-PARTICIPANT] feature. Instead, it corresponds to a syntax-semantics interface requirement of the pronoun to become referential, via context-linking. This context-linking takes place by valuation of the F feature on the pronoun in syntax.

Given our assumptions, consider the following derivations for context-sensitive pronouns and reflexives. To begin, 1st/2nd person pronouns enter the derivation with valued phi-features and unvalued F. Consider (20) where the DP is a 1st person pronoun with an unvalued F. In order to be licensed, it must agree with the nearest functional head bearing a valued F, labeled as X. We assume accounts of *Upward Agree* (Zeijlstra 2012) according to which agreement relations require the goal to c-command the probe. The trigger for the probe to look for the closest c-command goal is the presence of an unvalued feature (following Wurmbrand 2012).

(20)

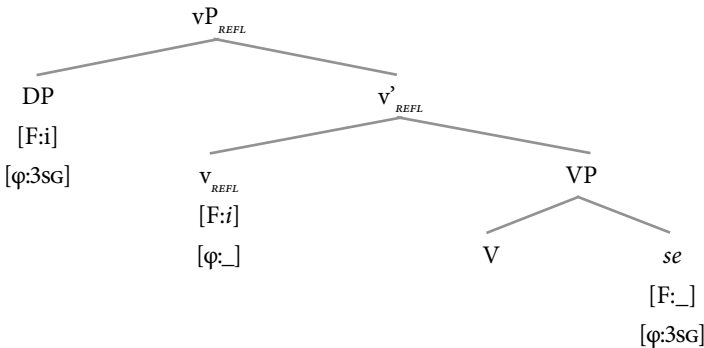


Similarly, the above described conceptualization of [F] also explains the derivation of reflexive *se*. It is a reflexive anaphor, whose antecedent is syntactically local, as the ungrammaticality of an extra-clausal antecedent for *se* illustrates (21).¹³

- (21) *Il_i pense que je se_i déteste.
 3.M.SG.NOM think.3.SG that 1.SG.NOM 3.REFL hate.3.SG
 ‘He_i thinks that I hate him.’

Following Ahn (2015), Labelle (2008), and Raynaud (in prep.), we assume that the reflexive structure hosts a reflexive *v* head, with direct object *se* in the complement of VP. By virtue of being a reflexive, *se* has an unvalued [F: _] and needs to take the referential index from its antecedent, the subject DP merged in spec,vP, mediated via the functional head *v* which bears an F feature.

(22)



¹³ *Se* is also obligatorily subject-oriented. For instance, it cannot be coreferent with the indirect object in (ii):

- ii. *Pierre se_i montre à Marie_i.
 Pierre 3.REFL shows to Marie.
 Int: ‘Pierre shows Marie to herself.’

The subject orientation of *se* is independently derived by requirements of the reflexive Voice/*v* head and standard rules of semantic composition (cf. Ahn 2015).

The treatment of *suu*, however, requires additional machinery, discussed in the following section.

5.3. Representing honorificity as a value of [F]

Recall that what makes *suu* context-sensitive is its non-honorific status vis-à-vis the speaker. (Non)-honorificity can be encoded as a possible value of [F]. However, (non)-honorificity is a relation between two individuals, which cannot be represented by a single variable. We thereby propose that not only individual indices but also ordering relations between them can value the feature [F]. With Portner et al. (2019), and Kim-Renaud and Pak (2006) we label this type of value *status*. An illustration of *status* can be provided by addressee agreement in Basque, where the verb shows distinct verbal morphology based on the (non)-honorific status of the addressee A in relation to the speaker S. When the addressee is ranked higher than the speaker, the form *zū* is realized. When the addressee is ranked lower, the verb shows inflection based on the gender of the addressee. In our proposed system, this would be represented as follows.

- (23) a. [F: status(S > A)]: *k/n* *Non-honorific*
 b. [F: status(S < A)]: *zū* *Honorific*

- (24) Pettek lan egin di-**k/n**.
 Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PFV AUX-NHON.ALLOC.M/F
 ‘Peter worked.’ (to a non-honorific male/female)

- (25) Pettek lan egin di-**zū**.
 Peter.ERG work.ABS do.PFV AUX-HON.ALLOC
 ‘Peter worked.’ (to an honorific hearer) (Miyagawa 2012: 82)

Returning to *suu*, *status* encodes the relation between the speaker and another contextually salient 3rd person referent, which we label O (for Other). Similar to the possibilities of ranking seen for Basque, the 3rd person participant (O) can be ranked higher or lower in relation to the speaker, see (26).

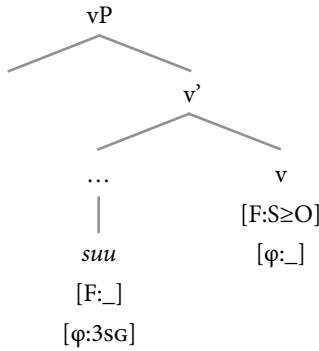
- (26) a. [F: status(S ≥ O)] *Non-honorific*
 b. [F: status(S < O)] *Honorific*

We claim that *suu* realizes the F-feature value in (26a). To be specific, *suu* enters the derivation with the following feature bundle:

- (27) [phi: 3sg]
 [+animate]
 [F: _]

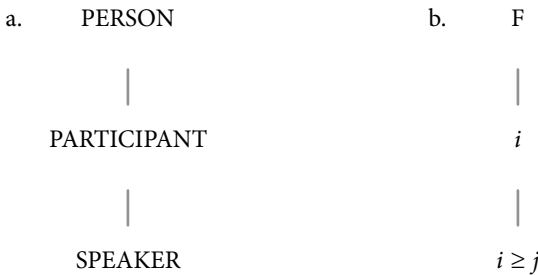
In order to get licensed, *suu* must get its [F] feature valued as status(S ≥ O) via agreement with the nearest functional head bearing a valued [F]. Consider the following derivation of *suu*.

(28)



A question that needs to be addressed before proceeding further is the relation between a relational feature value like *status*, and individual indices. We propose that these two values stand in an entailment relation, akin to the entailment relation between person feature values (Harley and Ritter 2002; Béjar and Rezac 2009). In the person hierarchy in (29a), being specified for *speaker* entails being specified for *participant* since the speaker is a subset of the set of participants. Similarly, in our hierarchy in (29b), being specified as *status*($S \geq O$) entails being specified as O (ther). This follows intuitively from the fact that the index of an individual i needs to be known in order to encode the relation between that individual i and another individual j .

(29)



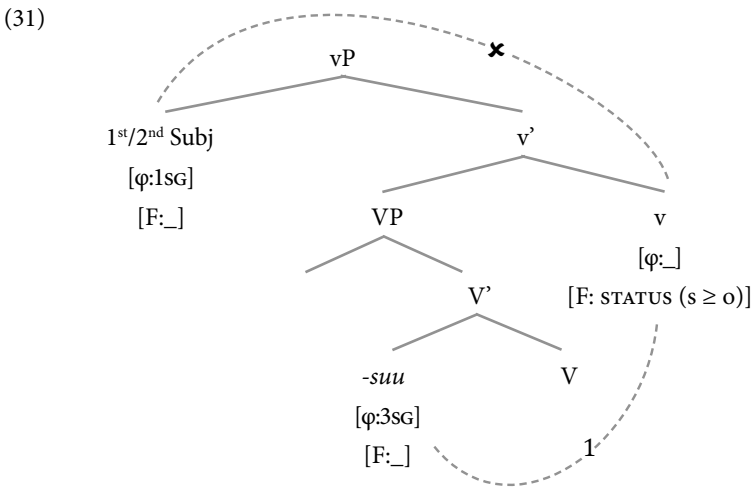
With this background in place, we are ready to derive PCC effects with 3rd person items *suu* and *se*.

5.4. PCC with *suu*

Recall that the object *suu* is banned from co-occurring with a 1st/2nd person subject.

- (30) *maiN/tuu vekhya suu
 1.SG.OBL/2.SG.OBL see.PFV.M.SG 3.SG.CL
 ‘I/you saw him/her.’ Perfective: *subj 1/2 – *suu*

We have shown that both the object *suu* and the 1st/2nd person subjects need F-valuation via agreement with a functional head since they are both context-sensitive. Like standard PCC effects, person effects with *suu* also arise in a configuration with one functional head and two arguments (Béjar and Rezac 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005; Adger and Harbour 2007; Nevins 2007). Kaur (2016) shows that in the perfective domain in Punjabi, both the subject and the object are licensed by *v*. Since *v* is the locus of licensing for both the 1st/2nd subject and the object *suu* in the example above, competition between the two arguments arises and only one can be F-licensed.



In (31), both the 1st/2nd subject and *suu* object target *v* for [F]-valuation. Assuming a bottom-up derivation, [F] on *suu* is valued first as [F:status(S ≥ O)]. Since the *status* value that licenses *suu* is more specified than the indices, its valuation exhausts [F] on *v* completely, preventing [F]-licensing on the subject. In this scenario, only the object *suu* is licensed, to the exclusion of 1st/2nd person subjects.

By contrast, when the less specified feature value [F:S] is targeted for agreement first, the value [F:status (S ≥ O)] still remains available. This predicts that a subject *suu* in the presence of 1st/2nd person object is grammatical, which is attested.

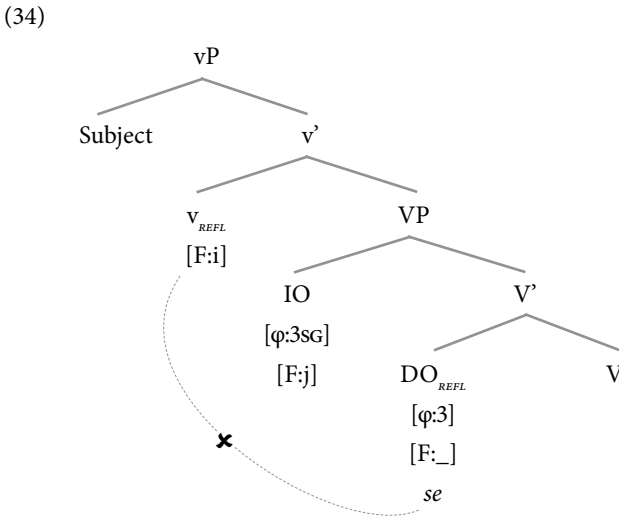
- (32) maiN-nuu vekhyaa suu
 1.SG-DOM see.PFV.M.SG 3.SG.CL
 ‘He/she saw me.’

5.5. PCC with *se*

Recall that the 3rd person reflexive direct object *se* is also subject to the PCC.

- (33) *Il se lui présente.
 3.SG.NOM 3.REFL.ACC 3.SG.DAT introduce.3SG
 Int.: ‘He introduces himself to him/her.’ *3 IO>REFL DO

Again, these effects obtain due to the failure of agreement in the presence of an intervener. We propose that the locus of licensing in the object domain *v* hosts a valued F feature. *Se* being a reflexive has an unvalued F. Furthermore, the dative indirect object, being a non-context-sensitive DP also bears a valued F, which makes it an intervener for agreement between the direct object and *v*, following Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990).¹⁴



¹⁴ An anonymous reviewer points out that the presence of an [F] feature on the dative argument in our account is as stipulative as the [PARTICIPANT] feature posited in existing accounts of PCC, which we criticize in section 3. However, we argue that this is not the case. There are two ways in which an [F] feature can be motivated in our account. The first possibility is that all nominals and pronominals which are not context-deficient in the sense described in this study enter the derivation with a valued instance of [F] (cf. Hicks 2009). To the extent that this possibility holds, the presence of an [F] feature on a dative argument/clitic is expected. An alternative possibility is that the dative clitic is structurally richer as compared to the accusative clitic, as argued by Martin and Hinzen (2014) for Romance languages. Further support for this comes from the inability of datives, including clitics, to trigger agreement, suggesting the presence of an additional structural layer (cf. Rezac 2004). The presence of an [F] feature could then

Given these assumptions, the derivation of PCC effects with *se* follows. In the structure in (34), the reflexive ν head bears a valued [F], either inherently or due to agreement with the F-bearing subject (Raynaud 2018b). Due to the presence of an intervening IO also bearing a valued [F], the reflexive DO cannot access the ν head. This results in lack of F-licensing on *se*, causing a PCC effect. One could object that the [F] feature on *se* could potentially be valued by the indirect object. However, this derivation will crash at LF due to the obligatory subject orientation of *se* reflexives, which can independently be derived by the semantic properties of ν_{REFL} (Ahn 2015) or by its syntactic requirements (Raynaud in prep.).

6. Conclusion

This paper has described two instances of person effects with 3rd person items. Both these items have been shown to be context-sensitive: *suu* in terms of its (non)-honorificity in relation to the utterance speaker and *se* in terms of its anaphoric status. This situates them in the same natural class as 1st/2nd person pronouns, which are also context-sensitive items. Capitalizing on this shared property, we re-conceptualize pronominal licensing in terms of [F], and not phi-features. Dissociating phi-features from [F]-features provides a principled motivation for special requirements of certain pronominals to be licensed, i.e. their need to be anchored to the grammatical context. Furthermore, showing that pronouns are composed not only of phi-features, but also of F-features, yields a revised typology of pronominal items, allowing a possible reclassification into PCC-sensitive and non-sensitive types without resorting to phi-specification, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Revised typology of 3rd person pronouns in French and Punjabi

F	[F: _]	[F:val]
Phi	1 st /2 nd /3 rd	3 rd
Punjabi	<i>suu/maiN/tuu</i>	<i>o</i>
French	<i>se/me/te</i>	<i>le/la/lui</i>

The introduction of F-features on pronominals contributes to the ongoing discussion on the interaction between syntax proper and context, by enriching the existing inventory of syntactic anchors such as case, definiteness, and perspective. This provides us with a new research agenda: to compare F with these other syntactic anchors, and to examine its interaction with them.

be argued to correlate with the extra structure present in datives, providing a motivation for its presence on dative clitics specifically.

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