Reflexive Connectivity, Reconstruction and the Interpretation of Chains in Tamil
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Main Claim: Reflexive connectivity in Tamil copular clauses is shown to arise as a result of syntactic reconstruction. The main implication of this analysis is that both copies of reflexive have to survive at LF. This is shown to challenge the theory that posits that reflexives are only licensed at LF (eg. Baltin 2003).

Background: Within a copy theory of movement, consider the analysis of sentences like the following.

1a)   Which picture of himself does John like ~~which picture of himself~~?   PF deletion
1b)   Which ~~picture of himself~~ does John like ~~which~~ picture of himself?   LF deletion

In Chomsky (1995), (1a) is argued to not only undergo complete PF deleton of the lower copy but also LF deletion of the operator restriction in the higher copy and operator deletion in the lower copy. This is argued to be how *himself* is licensed even though, on the surface, it does not occur in a position c-commanded by *John*. The proposal in this paper uses Tamil copular clause data to argue that both copies of a reflexive must be present at LF. This is shown to support Rizzi and Belletti (1998)'s view that Principle A is an anywhere principle and against the view that reflexives are only licensed at LF.

Tamil Data: The relevant copular clauses are shown in (1).

2a)   [Mala-ve   paatt-**avan**] Balan-(aa   iru-kum)
          Mala-acc   saw-he   Balan-AA   be-3rd.sg.neut
          'The one thing (human, masc, singular) that saw Mala is Balan.'

2b)   [Mala-ve   paatt-**adu**]   Balan-(aa   iru-kum)
          Mala-acc   saw-it   Balan-AA   be-3rd.sg.neut
          'The one thing that saw Mala is Balan.'

(2a) shows the agreeing construction (AC) and (2b) shows the invariant construction (IC). The subject phrases are in brackets and the complement phrases are *Balan*. In the IC, the verb morphology is an invariant neuter pronoun, whereas in the AC, the pronoun agrees with the complement. The overt copula is optional. When the copula is overt, *-aa* is obligatory. *-aa* is analyzed as a Pred head (Bowers 1993).

Reflexive Connectivity: Another difference between the IC and AC is in reflexive connectivity.

3a)   [Balan$_i$ adici-kit-**adu**] tan-ne$_i$ 3b)   *[Balan$_i$ adici-kit-**avan**] taan-(e)$_i$
          Balan   beat-koL-it   self-acc   Balan   beat-koL-he   self-acc
          'The one thing Balan beat was himself.'   'The one thing (h, m, s) Balan beat was himself.'

(3a) shows that the copular clause complement can be a reflexive whereas this is not possible in the AC in (3b). (3b) is ungrammatical regardless of whether the reflexive has accusative case. Notably, *taan* can occur as an AC complement if (3b) is embedded as shown below.

4)   [[Balan   adici-kit-**avan**] taan$_i$ ni] Somu$_i$ conn-aan
          Balan   beat-koL-he   self-acc   comp Somu said-3sm
          'Somu said that the one thing (h, m, s) Balan beat was self.'

(4) shows that the embedded AC with a reflexive as its complement is grammatical if a matrix subject is available as an antecedent. (4), thus, shows that the reason why (3b) is ungrammatical is because *Balan* cannot be an antecedent for *taan*. In comparison, the IC in (3a) allows *Balan* to be a possible antecedent.

Analysis: I propose the difference between (3a) and (3b) arises because the reflexive occurs within the subject phrase at an earlier point in the derivation in the IC and not the AC. This means that there is a lower copy of the reflexive within the subject phrase in the IC but not in the AC. Independent evidence for this claim is also available. <u>First</u>, case is preserved on the complement only in the IC.

5a)   [Balan paatt-**adu**] Mala-*(ve)   5b) [Balan paat-**aval**] Mala-(*ve)
          Balan saw-it   Mala-acc   Balan saw-she   Mala-acc

'The one thing that Balan saw was Mala.'   'The one thing (h, fem, s) that Balan saw was Mala. When the complement is a direct object as in (5), acc case is obligatory in the IC as seen in (5a) but has to be absent in the AC in (5b). This is explained if the complement receives case prior to movement from the nominal clause in the IC. Second, Tamil bare NPs can be an argument [(6a)] or predicate [(6b)] in general but bare NPs that occur as IC complements can only be an argument unlike in the AC.

6a) payyen   vanth-aan   6b) Somu   payyen
     boy   came-3sm   Somu   boy
     'The boy came.'   'Somu is a boy.'
7a) [palat-te saapt-**adu**] payyen   7b) [palat-te saapt-**avan**] payyen
     fruit-acc ate-it   boy   fruit-acc ate-he   boy
     'The one thing that ate fruit is the/ *a boy.'   'The one thing (m,h,s) that ate fruit is the/ a boy.'

In (7a), the IC complement *payyen* can only be an argument with the meaning that there is a boy such that this boy ate fruit. However in (7b), the AC complement can be interpreted as an argument or predicate. On the predicate meaning, (7b) means that there is an individual who ate fruit and this individual is a boy. This predicate meaning is not available in (7a). If *payyen* in (7a) originates within the subject phrase as the clause subject and then extracted, it is generated in an argument position and this explains why the bare NP in (7a) cannot be interpreted as a predicate.

I propose the following derivations for the AC and IC in (2).

8a)

8b)
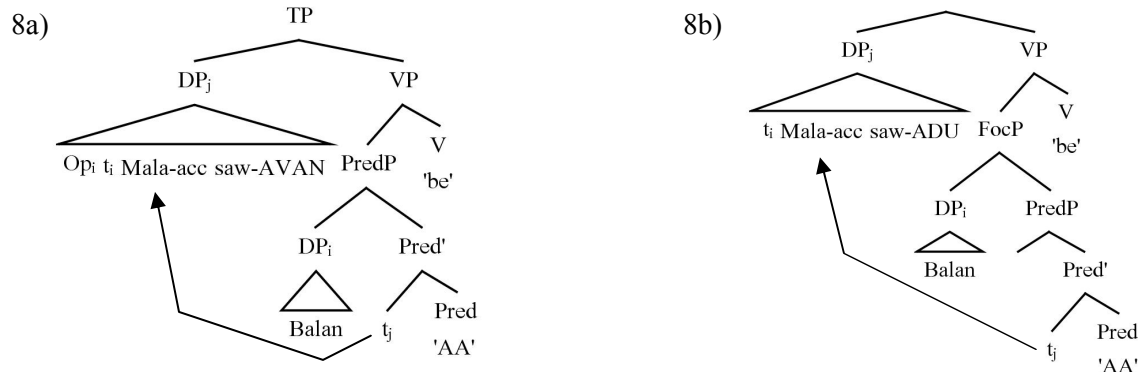
I assume a predicate inversion analysis for the AC and IC (Moro 1997 a.o). In the AC in (8a), the AVAN phrase is a predicate generated as the complement of the Pred head. This phrase contains a moved operator. *Balan* is base generated in Spec, PredP. The AVAN phrase then moves to Spec, TP. I will also be addressing the potential minimality violation in the talk. In the IC in (8b), I assume a FocP periphery following Jayaseelan (1999). Here, *Balan* is base generated within the ADU phrase and is moved to Spec, FocP. The remnant ADU phrase then moves to Spec, TP.

Discussion and Implications: The derivations outlined in (8) explain reflexive connectivity shown in (3). In the AC, reflexive connectivity fails because the reflexive complement is never in the right c-command configuration with its potential antecedent *Balan*. However, in the IC, the reflexive is in such a configuration. Within a copy theory of movement, the reason why the reflexive is possible in the IC is because the lower copy of the reflexive is interpreted. However, contra Chomsky (1995) (a.o), this cannot mean that the higher copy is deleted at LF. This is because if the higher copy of the reflexive is deleted, then the copular clause cannot be composed in a way that retains its meaning as a copular clause assuming that the copula '*be'* requires two phrases to saturate it (Heycock & Kroch 1999). Reflexive connectivity in the IC thus provides strong evidence for the claim that both copies of the reflexive have to survive at LF. This has the following implication: If reflexives are only licensed at LF, this means that there remains an unlicensed copy of the reflexive at LF, i.e the higher copy. This should lead to ungrammaticality but does not. This must mean that reflexives are licensed as long as any member of the

movement chain headed by a reflexive are in a proper licensing configuration with its antecedent. This is just Rizzi & Belletti (1998)'s anywhere condition on Principle A updated to the copy theory of movement.