

Multiple functions of *se* as a consequence of multiple levels of insertion

In my talk I will argue that the variety of functions of the reflexive clitic *se* in Czech follows from different levels of insertion of *se* which are due to the fact that *se* is a defective pronoun lacking ϕ -features, reference and case (cf. Cardinaletti & Starke (1994)).

More concretely, I will make use of Emond's syntactic theory (2000) which claims that the Lexicon is to be divided into two parts, i.e. Lexicon and Syntacticon. Moreover, the syntactic derivation is considered to be cyclic, thus enabling lexical items to enter the derivation successively.

I will propose an account based on multiple levels of insertion which may simply deal with the variety of verbs and verbal constructions the reflexive clitic *se* is part of. The basic functions of the reflexive clitic *se* in Czech are given in the following examples.

The reflexive clitic *se* is part of inherently reflexive verbs (1) and anticausative verbs (2).

- (1) Pavel *se* směje.
Pavel-Nom.Sg SE laugh-3.Sg.Pres
„Pavel is laughing.“
- (2) Okno *se* zavřelo.
window-Nom.Sg SE close-3.Sg.Past
„The window closed.“

I will show that in both cases the reflexive clitic *se* enters the derivation very early. In (1) it is inserted directly from the Lexicon as a part of an idiosyncratic lexical item. In (2) it originates in the Syntacticon and before entering the derivation it passes through the Lexicon where it joins the originally transitive verb, changes the number of its θ -roles and turns it to an intransitive (unaccusative) one.

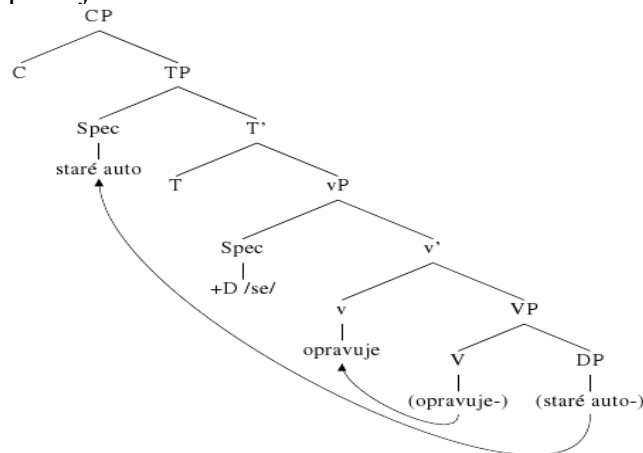
My talk will be focused on instances of the reflexive clitic *se* which enter the derivation later, concretely during the syntactic derivation. Namely, semantically reflexive verbs (3), the so-called reflexive verbal form (4) and the mediopassive (5).

- (3) Pavel *se* myje.
Pavel-Nom.Sg SE wash-3.Sg.Pres
„Pavel is washing himself.“
- (4) Staré auto *se* opravuje.
old car-Nom.Sg SE repair-3.Sg.Pres
„The old car is being repaired.“
- (5) Staré auto *se* opravuje špatně.
old car-Nom.Sg SE repair-3.Sg.Pres difficultly
„An old car is difficult to repair.“

What the examples (3) - (5) have in common is that the clitic *se* enters the syntactic derivation directly from the Syntacticon, that is during the syntactic derivation in narrow sense. More precisely, they enter the derivation after the structural Case has been valued, thus having no Case even though bearing a θ -role assigned at the moment of their Merge.

Let's exemplify the derivation of these structures by the reflexive verbal form (4) whose derivation is illustrated in the picture (6).

(6) Staré auto se opravuje.



In the first cycle of derivation the structure is built with the lexical items from the Lexicon, that is $N = \{\text{staré}_1, \text{auto}_1, \text{opravuje}_1\}$. The derivation proceeds as expected except that the subcategorized feature +D in Spec, vP and the corresponding external θ -role are left unsaturated at this stage of derivation. Thus, accusative Case cannot be valued in the complement position of the verb (cf. Burzio generalization). Furthermore, as vP contains an unsaturated θ -role, it cannot count as a phase and the derivation continues up to the next phase boundary, i.e. CP (cf. Chomsky (2001)). As soon as the head T is merged, the closest DP is attracted to the Spec, TP due to the EPP-feature of the head T. Thus, the verb's complement *staré auto* ends up in the subject position bearing nominative case. At this moment the second cycle of the derivation may start. This cycle is fed up with items from the Syntacticon, thus allowing the clitic *se* to enter the derivation. The clitic merges into Spec, vP, thus saturating the D-feature of the verb and its agent theta-role. However, as the structural Case has already been checked, the clitic *se* cannot be valued for accusative any more. Finally, at LF, the clitic *se* obtains a default +HUM interpretation as a consequence of its structural deficiency.

I will argue that the derivation of the mediopassive (5) is basically the same, except for some additional syntactic restrictions. Similarly, the derivation of semantically reflexive verbs (3) is akin to the one given in (6), except that the clitic *se* merges in a different syntactic position, i.e. in Compl, VP and has an antecedent in the structure.

To sum up, the variety of reflexive constructions in Czech can be easily accounted for using two simple assumptions, i. e. that the clitic *se* is a defective reflexive pronoun and that the syntactic derivation is cyclic, thus enabling lexical items from Lexicon and Syntacticon to be inserted successively at different levels of derivation.

References

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