

On the Italian and French Anaphoric and Pronominal Systems

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This work considers the third person non-clitic anaphoric-pronominal system of Italian and compares it with the French one. It will be shown that, in spite of some superficial differences, the two systems are very similar and that such an hypothesis can contribute in explaining some apparent anomalies in the distribution of French anaphors and pronouns.

The leading idea is that the Italian anaphoric-pronominal system is tripartite. There are in fact three lexical items: a pronoun, *lui*, a subject oriented anaphor, *se*, and a clause bound anaphor, *se stesso*; such elements differ in their distribution according to a typical pattern. In French it is possible to distinguish only two lexical items: *lui* and *lui-même*, but it will be argued that the underlying abstract system is tripartite exactly as the Italian one on the basis of the fact that French *lui* exhibits both the crucial properties of a pronoun and the ones of a subject oriented anaphor. Additional empirical evidence in favor of this proposal will be discussed and some methodological consequences of our general approach will be drawn.

Introduction.

In this paper, the word 'anaphor' is used with the meaning current for it in generative grammar, i.e. it refers to reflexive expressions, such as the English *himself*, reciprocals, such as the English *each other*, and some possessives, such as Italian *proprio* (glossed *self*). In the generative usage, 'anaphor' is opposed to 'pronoun' and in the subsequent discussion the reasons for this distinction will be made clear.¹

In this work, we will consider the third person non-clitic anaphoric/pronominal system of Italian and we will compare it with the French one. In the first part we will investigate the Italian system whereas, in the second one, we will show that, in spite of some superficial differences, Italian and French are very similar. Under this perspective, we will be able to explain the behavior of French anaphors and pronouns which otherwise would remain rather mysterious.

¹ In Italian the reciprocal *l'un l'altro* cannot be defined *muti corref* an anaphor, since its behavior is more complex; see Belletti (1982). Note also that in English there is no element with the characteristics of *proprio*.

1. The theory that analyzed the distribution of anaphors and pronouns is called 'Binding Theory' (henceforth BT). BT formally expresses the rules that constrain the possibility for an anaphor or a pronoun of having an antecedent, i.e. their 'binding' choices.

The class of anaphors can be independently distinguished from the class of pronouns on the basis of semantic properties. The main characteristic which distinguishes the two groups is the possibility of having intrinsic reference, i.e. of directly identifying a reference in the world. Pronouns have this property, but anaphors do not.²

- (1) Io amo lui
I love him
(2) *Io amo se stesso
I love himself

(2) is grammatical because *se stesso* cannot be interpreted: for *io* (I) is morphologically incompatible with a third person anaphor violating therefore the general principle of natural language establishing that every element must have an interpretation; *io* (him), on the contrary, can be interpreted as referring to someone in the world. Anaphors, therefore, require a syntactic antecedent, in technical terms they need to be 'bound'. Such an antecedent must be local, which means "contained in a local domain", defined as the least Complete Functional Complex, whereas a pronoun in such a local domain must be 'free', or 'disjoint'.³ With respect to the locality condition, consider the following examples; where coindexing expresses 'coreference' or 'antedenthood':

- (3) a. Gianni ama se stesso
Gianni loves himself
b. *Gianni ama lui
Gianni loves him
(4) a. *_{so}Gianni pensa [_{si} che Maria ami se stesso]
Gianni thinks that Maria loves himself
b. [_{so}Gianni pensa [_{si} che Maria ami lui,]]
Gianni thinks that Maria loves him⁴

In example (3a) the binding requirements are met because *se stesso* is locally bound by *Gianni*, which is the subject of the same clause. In (3b) the index *i* does not satisfy the binding requirements, since *lui* is not locally free,

² Another property which distinguishes anaphors and pronouns concerns the possibility of having split antecedents, i.e. a collection of elements with different indices and different thematic functions. They are allowed for pronouns, but not for anaphors. Consider for instance:

- (i) a. Gianni comunicò a Maria, che l'azienda li, aveva licenziati
Gianni told Maria that the firm had fired them
b. *Con una lunga psicoanalitica, Gianni, restituì Maria, a se stessi,
With a long psychoanalytic therapy, Gianni restored Maria to themselves

We will not consider this property any further, since it constitutes a rather complex topic.

³ On the BT see, among the others, Chomsky (1986); on the Italian anaphoric system see Giorgi (1984a e 1984b). For technical definitions see fnn. 6 and 7.

⁴ Identity of indices stands for identity in reference. The star refers to the particular reading instantiated by that coindexation.

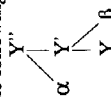
given that *Gianni* bears the same index. The sentence, however, could be grammatical, provided that *lui* is not interpreted as *Gianni*. Sentence (4a) shows that the relation between *se stesso* and its antecedent must be local; the grammaticality of (4b) follows if we consider that the requirement concerning the disjointness of pronouns is also local; this way, *Gianni*, lying outside S1, does not count as a local binder.

So far, it seems that the distribution of anaphors and pronouns is complementary, i.e. in the contexts in which the first is grammatical, the second is not and viceversa. The first works on binding are dependent upon this assumption: see, for instance, Chomsky (1980, 1981) and reference cited therein. As we discuss later, such perfect complementarity is only apparent, in that the anaphoric/pronominal systems are usually far more complex.⁵

We will not consider the clitic *si* and we will focus almost exclusively on the third person system, since it is the most interesting one. In the third person, Italian distinguishes between two non-clitic anaphors: *sé* (glossed *self*) and *se stesso* (himself), whereas first and second person only have one lexical item, i.e. *me stesso* (myself), *te stesso* (yourself), etc. *Se stesso* is composed of two items: *se* is invariable for gender and number, whereas *stesso* has the morphological endings typical of an Adjective: -o (masc. sing.), -a (fem. sing.), -i (masc. plu.), -e (fem. plu.). Obviously, *sé* is invariable.⁶ Moreover, for the third person there is also a possessive anaphor, *proprio*, which is invariable with respect to the antecedent, i.e. it does not agree in gender and number with element it refers to, but, like *stesso*, it is morphologically an Adjective, agreeing in gender and number with the head Noun. First and second persons, on the con-

⁵ Another important constraint is the c-command requirement: the antecedent of an anaphor must c-command it, whereas a pronoun must be disjoint only from c-commanding items; see, among others, Reinhart (1976). C-command can be defined as follows (cf. Reinhart 1976; Chomsky 1986):

- (i) α c-commands β iff
the first branching node which dominates α dominates β
(ii) In the following configuration:



α c-commands β , but β does not c-command α , because Y' does not dominate it. Consider, in fact, the following cases:

- (iii) a. *_{so}[_{sup}La madre di Gianni,] ama se stesso,]
Gianni's mother loves himself
b. [_{sub}La madre di Gianni,] ama lui,]
Gianni's mother loves him

The binding requirements of *se stesso* cannot be met by *Gianni* for lack of c-command, since the first branching node which dominates *Gianni*, i.e. NP, does not dominate the anaphor. Conversely, *lui* is not disjoint from *Gianni*, since, again, it does not c-command the pronoun.

⁶ *Stesso* (self) can also occur with Nouns and pronouns:

- (i) Gianni stesso
Gianni in person
(ii) Lui stesso
He in person

Stesso can be taken to be an intensifier, also because in these constructions it exhibits the typical intonation pattern of emphatic elements.

trary, do not have a corresponding possessive anaphor, but only a pronominal possessive.

That *proprio* and *sé* are anaphors is shown, among other things, by their lack of intrinsic reference, cf. exx. (1) and (2):

- (5) a. *Ho parlato di sé
I talked about self
b. Ho parlato di lui
I talked about him
c. *Ho parlato della propria madre
I talked about self's mother
d. Ho parlato di sua madre
I talked about his mother

(5a) and (c) are ungrammatical because *sé* and *proprio* cannot have a reference by themselves and lack a proper antecedent in the sentence.

2. As we have briefly shown in examples (3) and (4), *se stesso* must be locally bound. Provided that the locality is met, the anaphor can be bound by any c-commanding antecedent, i.e. the latter can realize any syntactic function. In example (3), the antecedent is a subject, but even direct and indirect objects can satisfy the binding requirements. For example:⁷

- (6) a. Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica restituì Maria, a se stessa.
A long psychoanalytic therapy restored Maria to herself
b. Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica restituì se stessa, a Maria.
A long psychoanalytic therapy restored herself to Maria

Let us examine now the distribution of *sé*. It is important to observe first that it can occur only in certain contexts, in that it cannot be governed by a Verb:

- (7) *Gianni, ama sé
Gianni loves self

⁷ Technically speaking, the principles of Binding for anaphors and pronouns we will refer to here, are the ones discussed in Chomsky (1986, 171-172):

- (i) a. α : α is an anaphor and is bound in β under I
b. β : α is a pronoun and is free in β under I
satisfies the BT in the local domain β under the indexing I.
(ii) The licensing condition for a category α governed by a lexical category Y in the expression E with indexing i:
For some β such that α is an anaphor or pronominal and β is the least Complete Functional Complex (CFC) containing Y for which there is an indexing J BT-compatible with (α, β) , I is BT-compatible with (α, β) .
(iii) Complete Functional Complex (Chomsky 1986, p.169)
a CFC is the domain in which all the grammatical functions compatible with the head are realized

The meaning of (iii) is self-evident; (i) and (ii) state formally that pronouns and anaphors must be, respectively, locally free or bound.

Notice that in English the literal translation of sentence (6b) is ungrammatical. It becomes acceptable in the double object construction:

- (iv) A long psychoanalytic therapy restored Mary herself
On these data see Lasnik and Bars (1986) and Larson (1988).

in (7) binding requirements could be met, but the condition on the syntactic environment is not. *Sé* in fact, can only appear after a Preposition:

- (8) Gianni, parla di sé.
Gianni talks about self

The reasons for such a constraint are not yet clear and we will not theoretically investigate them further; we will only adopt it as a descriptive generalization.⁸ Note also that case-marking (dative) Preposition *a* (to) also excludes *sé*:⁹

- (9) *Gianni, ha regalato un'automobile a sé.
Gianni made a present of a car to self

In all these contexts, on the contrary, *se stesso* is grammatical. Note that *se stesso* is also compatible with prepositional contexts:

- (10) Gianni ha riconciliato Maria con se stessa.
Gianni reconciled Maria with herself

With respect to the distribution of *sé* (8) already shows that it can be locally bound by a subject; in order to ascertain if it is a contextual variant of *se stesso*, we have to check whether it is subject to locality and whether its antecedent can play a syntactic role of any sort in the structure. Consider the following examples:

- (11) a. *Ho informato Maria, su di sé.
I informed Maria on self
b. *Ho parlato a Maria, di sé.
I talked to Maria about self

Unlike subjects, objects either direct or indirect, are not possible antecedents; with respect to such a property, therefore, *sé* differs from *se stesso*. With respect to the locality condition, consider now (12):

- (12) [so] Quel direttore pensava [si] che i libri di storia avrebbero parlato a lungo di sé. (e delle sue gesta)]
The dictator thought that the books of history would tell for a long time about self (and self's deeds)

Quel direttore (that dictator) even if lying outside S1, is a possible antecedent, contrary to what we have seen for *se stesso*. *Sé*, therefore, is a subject-oriented, non-local anaphor; from the current literature we know that anaphors exhibiting this pattern are found in many languages belonging to different families: Dutch, Norwegian, Icelandic, Japanese, Chinese, Malayalam and so on.¹⁰ Even though it is anaphor, *sé* behaves very differently from

⁸ Manzini and Wexler (1987) discuss some cases of *sé* governed by a Verb. We will not consider here this variety of Italian.

⁹ Notice that locative *a* admits *sé*:

- (i) Gianni, trasse a sé, la coperta
Gianni pulled the blanket toward self

¹⁰ On Dutch see Everaert (1986); on Norwegian see Hellan (1988); on Icelandic see Anderson (1986) and Maling (1986); on Japanese see, among the others, Kuroda (1965); on Chinese see Huang and Tang

se stesso; on one hand it is not local, on the other, it has strong restrictions on the syntactic function of the antecedent.

As a consequence, we can say that the third person anaphoric and pronominal system of Italian is tripartite: besides pronouns, there is a clause bound anaphor, *se stesso*, and the subject oriented *sé*.¹¹

Notice that *se* is not in complementary distribution with the pronoun. For example in the following case the pronoun takes its reference from outside the minimal clause:

- (13) [S₀ Quel dittatore, pensava [S₁ che i libri di storia avrebbero parlato a lungo di lui, (e delle sue, gesta)]]
That dictator thought that the books of history would tell for a long time about him (and his deeds)

Lui, in fact, has to be free in S₁, but can be coindexed with an element in the superordinate clause S₀.

Neither is *se* in complementary distribution with *se stesso*. In fact, when the antecedent is the local subject and the anaphor is governed by a Preposition, both items are admitted (if there are no other conditions to be met). For example:

- (14) a. Gianni, dubita perfino di sé,
Gianni doubts even of self
b. Gianni, dubita perfino di se stesso,
Gianni doubts even of himself

In this case, *Gianni* is a possible antecedent for both anaphors, since the local context satisfies the condition for both of them.

Let us now analyze the distribution of *proprio*. *Proprio* is the only possessive anaphor in Italian, besides the possessive pronouns *suo* (sing) and *loro* (plur). We could wonder whether its characteristics are those of *se* or those of *se stesso*. Consider the following examples:

- (15) a. Gianni, ama la propria, moglie
Gianni loves self's wife
b. Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica restituì Maria, alla propria, famiglia
A long psychoanalytic therapy restored Maria to self's family
c. Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica restituì la propria, moglie a Gianni.
A long psychoanalytic therapy restored self's wife to Gianni

(1988); on Malayalam see Mohanan (1982). There are also other conditions which these anaphor must meet, mainly concerning the kind of mood of the clauses intervening between the anaphors and the antecedent. For instance, such clauses must be in the subjunctive in Icelandic (see Anderson 1979 and Maling 1982); in subjunctive, conditional or infinitive in Italian. Consider the following sentences:

- (i) a. *Quel dittatore sostiene che i libri di storia parlano già di sé
That dictator claims that the books of history already talk (IND) about self
b. Quel dittatore era convinto che i libri di storia parlavano già di sé
That dictator was convinced that the books of history already talked (SUBJ) about self
For a detailed analysis of this condition in Italian, see Giorgi (1984a).

The clitic item *si* can also have an anaphoric function, but its distribution as an anaphor is rather complex and subject to additional restrictions. On *si* see Bellerti (1982), Manzini (1983), Burzio (1986) and Cinque (1988). On the distribution of *se* and *se stesso* there are also additional constraints, but we will not discuss them because they could be confusing with respect to the point we are making here. For further details, see Giorgi (1987).

In (15), *proprio* is locally bound by a subject (a), a direct object (b), and by an indirect object, (c). With respect to such a property, therefore, *proprio* behaves like *se stesso*.

Consider now example (16):

- (16) [S₀ Quel dittatore, pensava [S₁ che i libri di storia avrebbero parlato a lungo delle proprie, gesta]]
The dictator thought that the books of history would talk for a long time about self's deeds

In (16), *proprio* can be long distance bound, therefore paralleling *se*. The most interesting evidence comes from the ungrammaticality of the following sentences:

- (17) a. [S₀ Ho convinto Maria, [S₁ che tutti avrebbero letto il proprio, libro]]
I convinced Maria that everybody would read self's book
b. [S₀ Ho comunicato a Maria, [S₁ che tutti avrebbero letto il proprio, libro]]
I communicated to Maria that everybody would read self's book

Proprio cannot refer to *Maria* and can only refer to *tutti*. Therefore, when it is long distance bound, it must be subject oriented. It shares such a peculiarity with *se*; this amounts to saying that it also corresponds to the latter anaphor.¹² From the point of view of the Italian anaphoric system, we can say that, besides the pronoun, there is one item with two distinct syntactic functions. Abstractly, therefore, one could still maintain that even the possessive system is tripartite.

Let us now consider a more complex case, which on one hand will provide us with additional evidence in favor of our conclusion, on the other, will give us a key to analyze the French system:

- (18) a. Gianni, ha aizzato Maria contro di sé,/?contro di lui,/*contro se stesso,
Gianni turned Maria against self/against him/against himself
b. Gianni ha aizzato Maria, *contro di sé,/*contro di lei,/?contro se stessa,
Gianni turned Maria against her/against herself
(19) a. Gianni, ha riconciliato Maria con sé,/?con lui,/?*con se stesso,
Gianni reconciled Maria with self/with him/with himself
b. Gianni ha riconciliato Maria, *con sé,/*con lei,/?con se stessa,
Gianni reconciled Maria with self/with her/with herself

These data are analogous to those discussed by Bouchard (1984) and Chomsky (1981) for English, apart, of course, from the distribution of *se*, which we will put aside for the moment.¹³

We can see that the pronoun and the clause bound anaphors are in complementary distribution. The judgements on the (a) sentences of the pairs are different from those we would expect on the basis of what was said above: the pronoun, in fact, is not disjoint from its subject and *se stesso* cannot be bound by it. Conversely, the object behaves as expected. A standard explanation

¹² When *proprio* refers to the subject of its minimal clause, it is impossible to distinguish which anaphor it corresponds to, since this subject is accessible to both *se* and *se stesso*.

¹³ In English, the system includes only one pronoun and one anaphor. In the contexts where *se* appears, in English one can have either *him* or *himself*, depending upon the structural configuration.

nation for these facts is that the sequence NP-PP constitutes the domain, called Small Clause, in which the Binding requirements must be met. Consequently, an anaphor must have an antecedent inside this domain and a pronoun must be free in it. The structure is therefore the following:

- (20) $I_{S0} NP [_{VP} [_{SC} NP PP]]$

The subject of S0 is not available as an antecedent for *se stesso*, since it lies too far away, whereas the pronoun, satisfying its binding requirements inside the Small Clause, is not disjoint from that subject. On the other hand, the subject oriented anaphor cannot refer to the intermediate NP, *Maria*. In other words, S0 and SC are in the same relation as S0 and S1.¹⁴

Let us consider now the distribution of *proprio* in these contexts:

- (21) a. Gianni_i ha aizzato Maria_j contro coloro che disprezzano il proprio_{*ij} figlio
 Gianni turned Maria against those who despise self's son
 b. Gianni_i ha riconciliato Maria_j con coloro che amano il proprio_{*ij} figlio
 Gianni reconciled Maria with those who love self's son

Here *proprio* is embedded in a relative clause. Therefore it can take *Gianni* or *Maria*, which lie outside, as antecedents only on the basis of the strategy for long distance anaphors. Again, *proprio* behaves like *sé*, since *Maria*, an object, cannot be coindexed with it, whereas *Gianni*, a subject, can. Consider now the following examples:

- (22) a. Gianni_i ha aizzato Maria_j contro il proprio_{ij} figlio
 Gianni turned Maria against self's son
 b. Ho riconciliato Maria_i con il proprio_i figlio
 I reconciled Maria with self's son

In this case, both *Gianni* and *Maria* are possible antecedents. The fact that *proprio* can refer to *Maria* simply follows from its property of being clause bound, i.e. of paralleling *se stesso*. It can also refer to *Gianni*, contrary to *se stesso*, because it is capable of being a subject-oriented, therefore long distance, anaphor, like *sé*, which can be bound also outside S1. Again, this is exactly the pattern we predict, by saying that *proprio* is the possessive item corresponding both to *sé* and *se stesso*.

3. Consider now some data from French:

- (23) a. Victor_i tire la couverture à lui_i/*lui-même_i
 Victor pulls the blanket towards him/himself
 b. Victor_i prend le livre avec lui_i/*lui-même_i
 Victor takes the book with him/himself
 (24) a. Marie a réconcilié Victor_i avec lui-même_i/*lui_i
 Marie reconciled Victor with himself/him
 b. Marie a éloigné Victor_i de lui-même_i/*lui_i
 Marie withdrew Victor from himself/him

¹⁴ On these data, see Giorgi (1987). See also section 4, ex. (32), for an interesting contrast in similar constructions.

These examples have been taken from the literature (i.e. Zribi Hertz 1980; Pica 1984; Bouchard 1984). Consider incidentally that *lui* in French has restrictions analogous to those displayed by *sé* with respect to the class of environments in which it can appear, i.e. basically it cannot be governed by a Verb, so that it does not appear in cliticization contexts (for instance direct and indirect object position), exactly like *sé*. Such a constraint is also carried over to *lui-même*; in other words, cliticization in French is obligatory:

- (25) a. *Victor_i aime lui-même
 Victor loves himself
 b. *Je aime lui
 I love him
 (26) a. Victor_i s'aime
 Victor himself-loves
 b. Je l'aime
 I him-love

Abstracting away from the latter restriction, on the basis of (23) and (24) we can conclude that the French *lui* and *lui-même* have the same distribution as the Italian pronoun and clause bound anaphor, respectively.

However, it has already been noted in the literature that the distribution of *lui* and *lui-même* is somewhat anomalous. In fact, in spite of the apparent similarities between a pronoun and *lui*, on one hand, and a clause bound anaphor and *lui-même*, on the other, it was noted that in several contexts they do not appear to be in complementary distribution, even where complementarity normally arises in other languages, for instance English and Italian. Consider the following examples:

- (27) a. Victor_i croit en lui_i/lui-même
 Victor_i believes in *him/himself
 Victor_i crede in *lui_i/se stesso/sé_i
 b. Victor_i rit de lui_i/lui même
 Victor_i laughs on *him/himself
 Victor_i ride di *lui_i/se stesso/sé_i
 c. Victor_i doute de lui_i/lui-même
 Victor_i doubts of *him/himself
 Victor_i dubita di *lui_i/se stesso/sé_i

As may be seen from the glosses, both Italian and English exhibit complementary distribution of pronouns and clause bound anaphors, as expected on the basis of the paradigms in (3) and (4).

We cannot simply resort to a theory that claims that the French *lui* is unspecified as a clause bound or a pronominal and that *lui-même* is just an emphatic form for it, because this would never predict the ungrammaticality of the French *lui* in (24), where an anaphor is admitted. Conversely, we would not predict the ungrammaticality of *lui-même* in (23) either, because if the latter were just an emphatic form, one could not exclude it from any context in which *lui* is admitted.¹⁵

¹⁵ On this point see Burzio (1989). Notice, however, that *même*, like *stesso*, can be an emphaticizer; even if, in this case, it exhibits a different intonational pattern.

By considering together the Italian and the French anaphoric system, it is possible to find a solution to this problem.

Recall that, as far as Italian is concerned, in Small Clause contexts with a predicate PP (cf. exx. 18-19), besides the pronoun, another element cannot be coindexed with *Maria*, as opposed to *Gianni*: the subject oriented anaphor *sé*, which cannot take the subject of a Small Clause headed by a Preposition as an antecedent. Consider in fact the Italian translations of French (23a) and (24a):

(28) Vittorio ha tirato la coperta verso di sé/lui/*se stesso.

Vittorio pulled the blanket toward self/him/himself.

(29) Maria ha riconciliato Vittorio. con se stesso/*sé/*lui.

Maria reconciled Vittorio with himself/self/him

These sentences are analogous to (18) and (19) above. In (28) the subject oriented anaphor *sé* is the preferred option, but *lui* is not ungrammatical, i.e. speakers strongly prefer it to *se stesso*. In (29), on the contrary, the pronoun and the subject oriented anaphor are excluded, but the clause bound one is not. *Sé* is not in complementary distribution with pronouns, as in (28), and is not in complementary distribution with anaphors either, as we have seen in the Italian translations of examples (27) above.

Our hypothesis is the following: *lui-même* can actually be a clause bound anaphor, since the contexts in which it appears are those in which, in Italian and English, *se stesso* and *himself* appear. If we consider (23),(24) and (27) together, we can conclude that *lui* has the same distribution as *sé*, which in fact is grammatical in all these structures. Such a hypothesis is more adequate than the one claiming that French *lui* is a pronoun, since, this way, (27) would remain a mystery.

Note, however, that *lui* must *also* be taken to be a pronoun, as is clearly shown by the following example, in which it has intrinsic reference:¹⁶

(30) Je n'aime que lui
I love only him

However, we can still suppose that *lui* in French is ambiguously in the lexicon both as a pronoun and as a subject anaphor. From an abstract point of view, this means that the French anaphoric and pronominal system is tripartite exactly as in Italian, even if the actual lexical items are just two, one for the pronoun and the subject oriented anaphor, and the other for the clause bound anaphor. Recall that something similar happens with *proprio*, which collapses together the characteristics of *sé* and *se stesso*.

Consider also that, as we said above, in French, where possible, cliticization is obligatory and that the clitic *le* is always disjoint from the subject of its clause. Conversely, the anaphoric clitic *se* must always be bound:

¹⁶ If we are correct, the fact that a given element has intrinsic reference does not imply that it cannot be *also* an anaphor. On the other hand, it is obvious that if an item *never* has intrinsic reference, it is specified *only* as an anaphor.

- (31) a. Victor_i l'_i s'_{ij} aime
Victor loves him
b. Victor_i s'_{ij} aime
Victor loves himself

lui in (27) is not disjoint from the subject; our idea, i.e. to resort to lexical features of the various items, can explain this potential discrepancy between the two types of elements, simply by claiming that the French *lui* is (also) a subject oriented anaphor, but the clitic *le* is not. This hypothesis seems to be plausible, in that, even in Italian, there is no clitic counterpart for *sé*.

We have seen in (29) that *sé* cannot refer to *Vittorio*, as the pronoun. In fact, as discussed in Giorgi (1987), Small Clauses with a predicate headed by a Preposition do not define a suitable environment for a subject oriented anaphor, contrasting with SC whose predicate is headed by an Adjective. In the latter context, on the contrary, the subject oriented anaphor and the pronoun are not both excluded. Consider the following examples:¹⁷

(32) a. Gianni ha trovato il professore_i contento di sé_{ij}
Gianni found the professor happy with self

b. Gianni ha trovato il professore_i contento di lui_{ij}
Gianni found the professor happy with him

sé can be bound by *professore* in (32a), whereas *lui*, being a pronoun subject to principle B, must be disjoint from it. Our prediction is that *lui* in French should be acceptable with both antecedents, i.e. it should not be disjoint from *professore*, once again paralleling the distribution of *sé*:

(33) Jean_i a trouvé le professeur_i content de lui_{ij}
Jean found the professor happy with him

Our expectation is met, in that *lui* can refer to both elements. In fact, since *lui* is ambiguously specified in the lexicon as a subject oriented anaphor and as a pronoun, it is grammatical in all the contexts in which at least one of them is predicted to be.

Consistently, where neither one is (cf. ex. (24)) to be compared with Italian (29)), *lui* is excluded. If both are allowed (cf. (23) and Italian (28)), *lui* is obviously permitted. In (27) (cf. the Italian glosses), only the subject oriented anaphor is allowed in Italian and, as predicted, *lui* is possible in French.

Finally, an important piece of evidence comes from the distribution of the plural form for *lui* (*eux*) with split antecedents. In fn.2, we pointed out that only pronouns, as opposed to anaphors, can have a split antecedent; in those contexts where *eux* is forced to behave as an anaphor, since as a pronoun it would be locally bound, we also expect it not to take split antecedents. Consider the following examples:

(34) a. [Jean et Paul]_i sont contents d'eux_i
Jean and Paul are happy with themselves

b. [Jean et Paul]_i croient que [Marie est contente d'eux]_i
Jean and Paul believe that Marie is happy with them

¹⁷ Cf. examples (18), (19), (21) in the text.

- c. Jean, a dit à Paul, que [Marie est contente d'eux_{1,1}]
Jean said to Paul that Marie is happy with them
- d. Jean croit que [Paul est content d'eux_{1,1}]
Jean believes that Paul is happy with them

(34a) is analogous to (33) above, where *lui* can refer to *professeur*, since as a subject oriented anaphor it has this option. Notice that as a pronoun it would be excluded in this context by principle B. In (34b), *Jean et Paul* is a possible antecedent for *eux*; in fact, given that it is a non local subject, *eux* can refer to such a Noun Phrase either as a pronoun or as a subject oriented anaphor. In (34c) by virtue of its being specified (also) as a pronoun, it can take a split antecedent: (34d) shows that if one of the two parts of the antecedent occurs in the local domain, the split antecedent reading becomes impossible. The reasoning runs as follows: in order to refer to *Paul* in (34d), *eux* must crucially exploit its properties as a subject oriented anaphor, as such it is incompatible with split antecedents. Such a prediction actually follows from our hypothesis.

4. That the French anaphoric/pronominal system is to be considered tripartite can be independently argued on the basis of the distribution of *soi* and *soi-même*, originally discussed by Pica (1984; 1986; 1987).¹⁸ *Soi* and *soi-même* are anaphors, as shown by their lack of intrinsic reference, but occur only in the context in which the antecedent is a quantified or arbitrary NP:

- (35) a. Je n'aime que *soi/*soi-même
I love only oneself
- b. Chacun, n'aime que soi./soi-même,
Everybody loves only oneself
- c. *Jean, n'aime que *soi/*soi-même,
Jean loves only oneself

(35a) is ungrammatical because *soi* and *soi-même* cannot be interpreted; (35b) is acceptable because *chacun*, a quantified NP, is a possible antecedent for them; *Jean* is not, given that it is a definite NP. Pica (1984, ex.57) discusses the following example that shows that *soi* can be long distance bound:

- (36) [so On regrette toujours [s1 que les gens disent mal de soi.]]
One always regrets that people slander oneself

Consider now the following sentences:

- (37) a. Pour faire un long voyage, on/chacun prend des livres avec soi/?* soi-même
To make a long trip, one/everybody takes some books with him
- b. Une longue thérapie psychoanalytique peut réconcilier chacun avec *soi/soi-même
A long psychoanalytic therapy can reconcile everybody with himself

¹⁸ Notice that the restrictions on cliticization contexts hold here too:

- (i) a. *Chacun, aime soi,
b. *Chacun, aime soi-même,
c. Chacun, s'aime
Everybody loves himself

- c. (Quand) on {croit en / doute de /
soi/soi-même /
rie de /
} (When) one believes in/doubts of/ laughs at oneself

The distribution of *soi* therefore, exactly parallels that of *se* in Italian, and that of *lui* in French. Compare, in fact, (37a) with the French example in (23b). In the latter, *lui* is admitted and *lui-même* is starred. Since we independently know that *soi* cannot behave as a pronoun, due to its lack of intrinsic reference (cf. ex. 35a), we are allowed to conclude that *soi* has the properties of a subject oriented anaphor. Consider now (37b), compared with (24a) in French, and (29) in Italian. *Soi* is excluded in (37b), exactly as *se* in Italian and *lui* in French; again, since we know that *soi* is not a pronoun, its behavior is due to its being a subject oriented anaphor. In (37c) *soi*, as the French *lui*, is acceptable in a context in which, in Italian and English, the pronoun is excluded.

In conclusion, our proposal reduces the apparently 'exceptional' behavior of *soi* to a more general phenomenon of French, i.e. to the existence in this anaphoric system of a 'slot' occupied by a subject oriented anaphor of the type of *se*.

5. Let us examine now a further piece of evidence in favour of the double specification of a given item as a pronoun and as a subject oriented anaphor. It has already been observed (Giorgi 1984a, Burzio 1989) that in Italian only anaphoric elements can refer to arbitrary PRO or to impersonal *si*. This is expected under principle B of the BT in the local context, but is less obvious in non-local ones, in which, usually, subject oriented anaphors are not in complementary distribution with pronouns. Consider the following examples:

- (38) a. PRO_{arb} amare se stessi_{arb} /*loro è naturale
To love oneself/them is natural
- b. PRO_{arb} parlate troppo di sé /*loro è maleducazione
To talk too much about self is impolite
- (39) a. Spesso, si_{imp} pensa solo a se stessi_{imp} /*loro_{imp}
Often, one only thinks to oneself
- b. Spesso, si_{imp} parla troppo di sé /*loro_{imp}
Often, one talks too much about oneself/them
- (40) a. [so È difficile PRO_{arb} credere [s1 che i libri di storia parleranno a lungo di sé_{arb} / *di loro/*di se stessi]]
It is difficult PRO_{arb} (plu) to believe that the books of history will talk for a long time about selves/them/themselves
- b. [so Di solito, non si_{imp} pensa [s1 che i libri di storia parleranno a lungo di sé_{imp} /*di loro/*di se stessi]]
Usually, one (plu) does not think that the books of history will talk for a long time about selves/them/themselves

In (38) and (39), we can see that both *se* and *se stessi* (recall that in Italian the arbitrary interpretation is always masculine plural) can refer to impersonal or arbitrary antecedents and that the pronoun is excluded. However, the

pronoun must be impossible anyway, because of the locality condition imposed by principle B that in (38) and (39) is violated.

In (40a) and (b) the clause bound anaphor *se stessi* cannot refer to the arbitrary PRO or to impersonal *si*, since they lie outside the minimal domain of binding, in this case S1. The pronoun, which does not have to be disjoint from anything outside the domain established by the BT, limited to S1, still cannot refer to them; consequently, in this case, the only element available is the subject oriented anaphor *se*.

Now, the obvious question is: what happens if the crucial environment does not admit *se*? If, for instance, the governor is not a Preposition as in the context considered above, which item will be selected? Consider the following example:

- (41) *È difficile PRO_{ab} credere che i libri di storia menzioneranno a lungo *se stessi /
 *loro / *sé^{sp}
 It is difficult to believe that the books of history will mention for a long time
 themselves/them/selves

Sé is excluded by the environment, i.e. by government by the Verb, *se stessi* by the locality condition, but *loro* is also excluded, due to the constraint on arbitrary elements; the result is complete ungrammaticality, under any option. This fact shows that a certain abstract structure *can* be lexically un-realizable, if in the grammar no element satisfies the requirements imposed by a given configuration.¹⁹

From the latter observation there follows an important theoretical consequence. It is not the case that every abstract binding structure is always able to select, on functional grounds, at least one possible lexical realization; rather, the principles of grammar (e.g. the BT, the condition on arbitrary interpretation), together with the lexical properties of the available items, may end up allowing no realization at all for certain *a priori* conceivable binding relationships.

Let us consider now French:

- (42) a. J'aime sa mère
 I love his mother
 b. Il faut toujours PRO_{ab} réserver sa_{ab} chambre
 It is always necessary to reserve one's room

¹⁹ In Italian, ungrammaticality can be obtained for lack of suitable possessive elements. Consider, in fact, that the anaphor *proprio* can refer to arbitrary elements. Rizzi (1986) has shown that in Italian there exists an empty arbitrary object, called *pro_{ab}*. *Proprio*, as expected, can refer to it, when it is clause bound:

(i) Un bravo psicoanalista restituisce *pro_{ab}* sempre ai propri_{ab} genitori
 A good psychoanalyst always restores to self's family
 However, since the element in question is an object, we predict it to be not a possible antecedent in case *proprio* is long distance bound:

(ii) Un bravo psicoanalista restituisce *pro_{ab}* sempre a coloro che hanno a cuore la *propria_{ab} /
 *loro_{ab} salute psichica
 A good psychoanalyst always restores to those who care for self's psychological health.
 In this case, the arbitrary reading for *proprio* is not available, given that the intended antecedent is in object position. As we have already discussed in the text, the possessive pronoun, *loro*, is also not available; therefore, reference to the arbitrary *pro* in such a sentence is simply impossible.

Sentence (42b) shows that the possessive *sa* is a pronoun, since it can have intrinsic reference; sentence (42a), however, shows that *sa* can refer to an impersonal antecedent with the consequence that the generalization concerning Italian seems not to be met in French.²⁰

However, given our analysis of the French *lui*, we may suggest an immediate explanation for this fact: recall that in French the anaphoric system is structured as in Italian, with the only difference that, lexically, the French *lui* plays a twofold role; the natural hypothesis is that the same happens with respect to the possessive *sa*.

An additional piece of evidence following from our hypothesis concerns the impossibility of arbitrary split antecedents for *sa/son* and the plural *leur*. In fact, we claim that an arbitrary element is a possible antecedent only for an anaphor and not for a pronoun. Therefore, the possessive, according to our reasoning, can refer to such an element by virtue of its specification as an anaphor, and not as a pronoun. If this is the case, given that anaphors are incompatible with a split antecedent, arbitrary split antecedents should yield ungrammaticality. Consider in fact the following examples:

- (43) a. Jean_i a fait nettoyer sa_{ij} chambre à Marie_j
 Jean made Marie clean his/her room
 b. Jean_i a fait nettoyer leur_{ij} chambres à Marie_j
 Jean made Marie clean their rooms
 c. Il est difficile de *arb* faire *arb* nettoyer sa_{ij} chambre
 It is difficult to make (someone) to clean one's room
 d. Dans cette maison, il est difficile de *arb* faire *arb* nettoyer ses_{i,ij} /leur_{i,ij} chambres
 In this house, it is a difficult to make (someone) to clean his/their rooms

If the antecedent is not arbitrary (cf. 43a and b), both *Jean* and *Marie* are available, either singularly or as a set. If the intended antecedents are arbitrary, the split antecedent choice is no longer available, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the indexation in (43d).

Note also that the following sentence is ungrammatical, allowing us to reproduce for French the same argument drawn for Italian from (41) above:

- (44) *Il faut toujours PRO_{ab} apprécier { ceux qui aiment *soi /lui_{ab} /
 ceux qui *s_{ab} aiment/*l' *airment* }
- It is always necessary to appreciate those who love ...

In (44) *soi* cannot appear because its position is governed by a Verb, although the antecedent would be a suitable one. *Lui* cannot occur because of both the context and the arbitrary characteristics of the antecedent. *Clitic se* is not available because it can only be clause bound and *le*, again, as a pronominal, cannot refer to an arbitrary element. Therefore one cannot simply

²⁰ In English, the impersonal element is *one* (see Chomsky, 1986) and the possessive form which can refer to it is *one's*:

(i) One has to reserve one's room in advance
 The same happens with respect to arbitrary PRO:
 (ii) PRO_{ab} to reserve one's room in advance is important
 In both cases the possessive *his* is excluded.

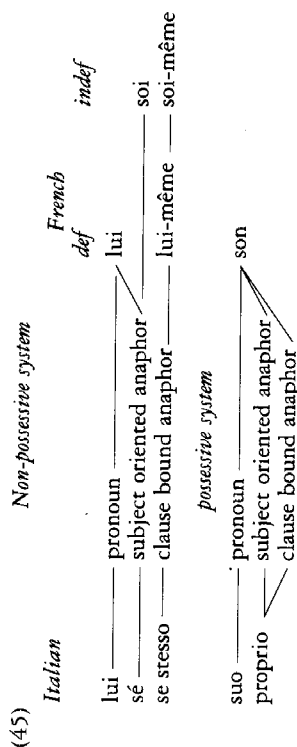
conclude that the pronoun *son/sa* can be used just on functional grounds, i.e. because in the system there is no anaphor available, since ungrammaticality does arise in similar contexts. On the contrary, we can claim that *son/sa* is an anaphor, i.e. it is ambiguously specified in the lexicon, exactly as *lui*.

Note also that *sa/son*, as an anaphor, could correspond either to a clause bound or to a subject oriented one. Presumably it corresponds to both, given that in the non-possessive system both are present whereas only *one* possessive element is available.

Concluding remarks.

The French and the Italian anaphoric/pronominal systems are thus quite alike in their abstract form, though they differ as to the realization in lexical substance, since French neutralizes the distinction between the non-possessive pronoun and subject oriented anaphor and that between anaphoric and pronominal possessives; Italian instead neutralizes the French opposition between definite and indefinite (quantified/arbitrary) anaphors.

The situation can be schematized as follows:



In this paper we have shown that the analysis of some rather abstract properties of the anaphoric/pronominal system accounts for the puzzling distribution of anaphors and pronouns in French. The key to the solution has been suggested to us by a comparative approach along with a formal theory of the distribution of anaphors. The main result of this work is that the same conceptual apparatus can be adopted to account both for Italian and for French, provided that lexical idiosyncrasies are analyzed, i.e. the ambiguous specification in French of items like *lui* and *son* is finally recognized.

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