We discuss novel Farsi data concerning fake indexicals which cannot be accounted for by previous proposals (Kratzer, 2009; Wurmbrand, 2017). Based on the agreement patterns in the embedded clause, we argue that feature unification takes place only when predication occurs in the matrix clause. A direct dependency between the matrix subject and the embedded pronoun is possible only in non-predicative sentences, when Rule H (Fox, 1998) is not violated.

**Farsi Fake Indexicals**

**PREDICATION IN MATRIX CLAUSE**

1. In Farsi, the embedded verb can show either 3rd or 1st person agreement, as in (a) – (d).
2. The bound variable reading is unavailable when there is a feature mismatch between the verbal agreement and the pronoun in the relative clause.

(a) 

| a. az bahdām negahdāri mikonam  
|----|----|----|----|
| b. az bahdām negahdāri mikonam  
|----|----|----|----|
| c. az bahdām negahdāri mikonam  
|----|----|----|----|
| d. az bahdām negahdāri mikonam  
|----|----|----|----|

(b) 

| a. am 1SG care  
|----|----|----|----|
| b. am 1SG care  
|----|----|----|----|
| c. am 1SG care  
|----|----|----|----|
| d. am 1SG care  
|----|----|----|----|

(c) 

| a. 'I am the only person that...'  
|----|----|----|----|
| b. 'I am the only person that...'  
|----|----|----|----|
| c. 'I am the only person that...'  
|----|----|----|----|
| d. 'I am the only person that...'  
|----|----|----|----|

(d) 

| a. am 1SG care  
|----|----|----|----|
| b. am 1SG care  
|----|----|----|----|
| c. am 1SG care  
|----|----|----|----|
| d. am 1SG care  
|----|----|----|----|

**NON-PREDICATIVE MATRIX**

1. When there is no predication, 1st person agreement is no longer possible.
2. Bound variable readings are only available with feature mismatch (Farsi = English).

(a) 

| a. tanha man kas  
|----|----|----|----|
| b. tanha man kas  
|----|----|----|----|
| c. tanha man kas  
|----|----|----|----|
| d. tanha man kas  
|----|----|----|----|

(b) 

| a. tanha, only 1 person  
|----|----|----|----|
| b. tanha, only 1 person  
|----|----|----|----|
| c. tanha, only 1 person  
|----|----|----|----|
| d. tanha, only 1 person  
|----|----|----|----|

## Accounting for Farsi

### Our Assumptions

1. **Feature Identification under Predication:** the predication of the subject by the DP induces an ‘identification’ of the subject with the DP (Cable, 2005).
2. **Feature Identification under Relativeization:** modification of an NP by a relative clause induces an ‘identification’ between the relative clause operator and the NP that the clause modifies (Cable, 2005).
3. **A direct dependency between the matrix subject and the indexical is possible (see (g)).**

**Rule H (Fox, 1998):** when local binding and non-local binding yield the same interpretation, non-local binding is blocked. (in order to disallow (ab))

**Language-specific spell-out restrictions.**

### Proposal

1. **Feature identification between the matrix DP, the DP predicate and the relative head**


   (6) a. I am the only one^3 [who takes care of my children.]

   (6) b. I am the only one^3 [who takes care of my children.]

   (6) c. I am the only one^3 [who takes care of my children.]

2. **Farsi Spell-out Restriction: Be Consistent!**

   If the T head and embedded pronoun of a given I^3 agrees with the same DP, pronounce the same 1^3 features on both agreement heads.

   (6) d. I am the only one^3 [who takes care of my children.]

### Moving Forward: Typology

**Summary**

- Farsi presents novel data → embedded T agreement in BV readings can surface as 1^3 rd person
- Claim: The matching T agreement is an artefact of feature identification between the matrix subject, the relative clause head and the relative pronoun. (contra Wurmbrand (2017))
- The direct dependency between the fake indexical and the matrix subject is possible, but the availability of the agreement is modulated via classical Rule H (not H^3 in like in Wurmbrand (2017))

### TyPology  (embedded T & Agreement)

- **English, Dutch, French**
- **German**
- **Italian, Russian**

**Further Questions**

- **BV reading not possible with DEM**
- **Is it possible anywhere?**
- **Narrow cross-linguistic spell-out restrictions**
- **Do non-predicative matrix clauses ever give rise to I^3 agreement in embedded clauses?**

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**References**