

*Locally Bound 3rd-Person Pronouns
in Afrikaans*

Student: Dorkas Arnold

Mailadres: d.arnold@students.uu.nl

Studentnummer: 3712346

Studie: Taalwetenschap

Begeleider: Prof. dr. Martin Everaert

2e beoordelaar: Prof. dr. Eric Reuland

Datum: 19-07-2014

Abstract

This thesis discusses the binding behavior of pronouns in object position in Afrikaans. In Afrikaans, 3rd-person pronouns in object position can, under certain circumstances, be bound by the subject. This violates condition B of the standard Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1981). The aim of this thesis is to find an explanation for why pronouns can be locally bound in Afrikaans (as opposed to many other languages). Reuland (2011) presents a theory that explains the binding behavior of pronouns and anaphors within the Minimalist Program (MP), as the result of the morphosyntactic features pronominal elements consist of and the way these interact with their environment. He shows that pronouns cannot be locally bound in many languages, because they get into a syntactic dependency with the antecedent that violates the Principle of Recoverability of Deletion (PRD). The idea put forward here is that the formation of a syntactic dependency between the pronoun and the antecedent in Afrikaans is blocked, because pronouns in direct object position have some additional structure. Consequently, no violation of the PRD results if a pronoun is locally bound.

Key words: reflexivity, locally bound pronouns, Afrikaans, syntax.

1. Introduction

Since the 80's, the binding theory presented by Chomsky (1981 (henceforth referred to as the Canonical Binding Theory (CBT))) has set the standard with the following rules:

- (1) (A) An anaphor is bound in its local domain
- (B) A pronominal is free in its local domain
- (C) An R-expression is free

The rules in (1) explain the binding behavior of anaphors, pronouns and R-expressions as intrinsic rules on elements with regard to their syntactic position with respect to the antecedent. With these rules in mind, consider the Afrikaans sentences in (2):

- | | |
|---|--|
| (2)a. i. Johan _i misgis hom _i
Johan mistake-make him
'Johan makes a mistake' | b. i. Johan _i haat homself _i
Johan hates himself
'Johan hates himself' |
| ii. Johan _i gedra hom _i
Johan behaves him
'Johan behaves' | ii. Johan _i vermoor homself _i
Johan kills himself
'Johan kills himself' |
| iii. Johan _i verspreek hom _i
Johan slip-of-the-tongue-make him
'Johan makes a slip of the tongue' | iii. Johan _i byt homself _i
Johan bites himself
'Johan bites himself' |

In the b-examples in (2), the anaphor is indeed bound in its local domain, but Afrikaans violates condition B of the CBT in the worst way in the a-examples in (2). A pronoun in object position can be bound by the subject. *Hom* in (2a) and *homself* in (2b) are in the same syntactic position, this shows that it is impossible to define different binding domains for pronouns and anaphors in Afrikaans. The only way to explain this in CBT would be to assume that elements that look like pronouns are in fact ambiguous between an anaphor and a pronoun, but the examples in (3) show that this cannot be the case.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (3)a. i. ??Johan _i misgis homself _i
Johan mistake-make himself
'Johan makes a mistake' | b. i. *Johan _i haat hom _i
Johan hates him
'Johan hates himself' |
| ii. ??Johan _i gedra homself _i
Johan behaves himself
'Johan behaves' | ii. *Johan _i vermoor hom _i
Johan kills him
'Johan kills himself' |
| iii. ??Johan _i verspreek homself _i
Johan slip-of-the-tongue-make himself
'Johan makes a slip of the tongue' | iii. *Johan _i byt hom _i
Johan bites him
'Johan bites himself' |

Swapping the anaphor and the pronoun in the sentences in (2) shows that a pronoun cannot substitute for an anaphor with verbs like *haat*, *vermoor* and *byt*, and an anaphor instead of a pronoun with verbs like *misgis*, *gedra* and *verspreek* is also quite dubious. This indicates that the distribution of anaphors and pronouns is related to lexical properties of predicates. This is unexpected from the perspective of the CBT.

Afrikaans (and also Dutch, Middle Dutch, Frisian and Old English) shows that there cannot be a ban on local binding of pronouns. Still, a good theory on binding should provide an explanation for why so many languages show condition B effects. Reuland (2011) presents a theory that explains why local binding of (3rd-person) pronouns is crosslinguistically rare, but is not ruled out entirely. This is the theory adopted in this thesis and my goal is to see whether the binding behavior of pronouns in Afrikaans can be explained within this theory.

This thesis is organized as follows:

In section 2 the theoretical background against which the problem of locally bound pronouns in Afrikaans is framed will be discussed. This section explains the binding behavior of pronouns and anaphors in general. The main focus will lie on explaining why locally bound pronouns are ruled out in many languages.

In section 3 the reflexive system of Afrikaans is presented to show in how far Afrikaans behaves as expected and what 'problem' it poses for the theory adopted.

Section 4 shows that pronouns in the direct object position can be marked with the morpheme *vir*. It will be shown that this marking is required with certain direct objects and depends on the syntactic position of the direct object.

In section 5, the properties of objective *vir* are discussed, leading to the conclusion that objective *vir*, although it is phonologically equivalent to the preposition *vir*, is probably not a preposition.

In section 6 it's argued that *vir* might signal the presence of an extra functional projection on top of the DP in direct object position, and that this is possibly the reason why pronouns can be locally bound in Afrikaans.

Section 7 concludes the thesis and summarizes the results.

2. Theoretical background

Languages differ in their anaphoric systems. For now, a comparison between English and Dutch will do. English uses a system that distinguishes between pronouns and SELF anaphors. SELF anaphors are complex elements that consist of a combination of a pronominal element and (a cognate of) *-self* (e.g. English *himself*). Dutch uses a three-member system consisting of pronouns, SELF anaphors and a SE anaphor. SE anaphors are simplex, pronominal elements that differ from pronouns in that they lack specification for certain features. Pronouns are usually specified for all ϕ -features, while SE anaphors are underspecified for some features. They often lack specification for gender and number, but sometimes also person. To make a bit more precise what makes pronouns, SELF anaphors and SE anaphors different, consider the following schema;

	SELF	SE	PRONOMINAL
Reflexivizing function	+	-	-
R(eferential independence)	-	-	+

(Reuland 2011, p.84)

Adding *-self* to a pronominal element can make a reflexive predicate from a predicate that would not allow a reflexive interpretation if a pronoun or SE anaphor were used instead; *John hates him* cannot mean that John hates John, but adding *-self* (*John hates himself*) makes the sentence (obligatory) reflexive. For that reason, one could say that SELF anaphors have a reflexivizing function. So, pronouns and SE anaphors differ from SELF anaphors in that they cannot make a predicate reflexive, while a SELF anaphor can. The property SE and SELF anaphors share is that they typically depend on other expressions for their valuation, while pronouns (and R-expressions) can refer directly and are therefore referentially independent (+R).

In regard to verbs like *hate/haat*, (4a) and (5a), Dutch and English behave the same and use a SELF anaphor to express a reflexive relation (Dutch uses the SE anaphor as the pronominal element in the SELF anaphor in this case). In (4b) and (5b), both Dutch and English use a pronoun. But the sentences in (4c) and (5c,d) are different; the English sentence doesn't have an object, but in Dutch

a bound pronouns occurs in the object position if the antecedent is *jij*, and a SE anaphor if the antecedent is *Jan*.

- (4)a. John hates himself
- b. John said that he is rich
- c. John behaves

- (5)a. Jan haat zichzelf
 Jan hates SE-SELF
 'Jan hates himself'
- b. Jan zegt dat hij rijk is
 Jan says that he rich is
 'Jan says that he's rich'
- c. Jan gedraagt zich
 Jan behaves SE
 'Jan behaves'
- d. Jij gedraagt je
 You behave you
 'You behave'

Though the binding conditions of the CBT seem to predict the distribution of pronouns and anaphors in English quite well, the fact that Dutch does allow locally bound pronouns in some cases, but requires a SE or SELF anaphor in others, suggest that the generalizations of the CBT can't be right. Reuland (2011) takes a different approach and proposes that there are no rules specific to binding in syntax, but that the binding behavior of pronominal elements must be explained in a minimalist fashion by their morphosyntactic features and the way these interact with their environment. In this section I will explain the findings of this theory that are relevant for the discussion on the Afrikaans data.

Variable binding

Within this theory, the dependency between a bound element and its antecedent can be encoded in narrow syntax by chain-formation (to be discussed later), and in logical syntax by variable binding.

Pronouns and SE anaphors solely consist of φ -features. This makes that they are translated into a variable in logical syntax. If multiple occurrences of a variable in an expression are bound by the same λ -operator, they all depend on the closing expression for their interpretation. So, if in (6a) *him* is represented by the same variable as *John*, *him* depends on *John* for its valuation (6b). If *him* is translated into a different variable, *him* receives an independent interpretation (6c).

- (6) a John said that Mary hates him
- b $\text{John}(\lambda x(x \text{ said that Mary hates } x))$
- c $\text{John}(\lambda x(x \text{ said that Mary hates } y))$

The question is then, why the same reasoning doesn't apply in (7); *him* apparently cannot be translated into a variable bound by *John* in this case, because this sentence doesn't allow a reflexive interpretation.

- (7) $\text{John}_i \text{ hates him}_i$

The explanation for this lies in the way the computational system works; translating *him* into a bound variable poses a problem, because at the C-I interface, identical variables cannot be kept apart if they are not in different environments. Eventually, this leads to a violation of the θ -criterion. It seems to be a general property of computational systems that they cannot distinguish between different tokens of an expression if they do not qualify as different occurrences (Chomsky 1995: an occurrence of x is the expression containing x minus x). This is the Inability to Distinguish Indistinguishables (IDI) (Reuland (2011)). In regard to language it involves the inability of the computational system of language to handle identicals unless the linguistic environment allows them to be distinguished. To correctly map the semantic roles of the verb onto the arguments, the variables must be distinguished. Purely syntactic information is not visible at the C-I interface and is therefore not enough to keep different occurrences of variables apart. If the variables cannot be distinguished at the C-I interface, a problem arises in the assignment of θ -roles that leads to a violation of the θ -criterion. To see how this works, consider again (7a) with its logical representation in (7b).

- (7)a. $\text{John}_i \text{ hates him}_i$

b. John (λx [hate x x])

hate is a two-place predicate that has to assign different theta-roles to subject and object, so two different arguments are required to bear the theta-roles (θ -criterion). Translating the pronoun as a variable bound by *John* yields (7b). (7b) contains two tokens of the variable *x* that cannot be distinguished and cannot be kept apart for the assignment of θ -roles and a θ -violation ensues

To avoid the effects of the IDI, there are two ways to fix the problem;

1. Protection of the variable.
2. Bundling of θ -roles

The first option is to 'add' something to the variable that remains visible at the C-I interface and makes the variable distinguishable from other occurrences. No θ -violation will result and the predicate can be interpreted as reflexive. This is what the addition of *-self* in SELF anaphors effectuates.

The second option is to make the verb compatible with the effect of the IDI. This can be achieved by an operation on the θ -grid of the verb. Reinhart & Siloni (2005) propose that a bundling operation of the θ -roles reduces two θ -roles to one composite θ -role that can be assigned to a single argument with a reflexive meaning of the predicate as the result. This operation reduces relations to properties and makes the predicate inherently reflexive. This is than what happens in (4c) and (5c, d). In Dutch and English, the bundling of θ -roles is not allowed for all verbs. If bundling is not an option, the only way to obtain a reflexive interpretation is to use a SELF anaphor.

Clearly, there is a difference between Dutch and English; in English, the position of the object after bundling remains empty, while in Dutch a pronoun or SE anaphor appears. This difference can be explained as a different effect of the bundling operation in Dutch and English on the Case-feature of the verb. In English, with the bundling of θ -roles, the Case-feature disappears while in Dutch the Case-feature remains and triggers the insertion of an element that can check this Case-residue. This is why Dutch requires a pronoun or SE anaphor in (4c,d). Now the question remains why in many languages this Case-checking element cannot be a (3rd-person) pronoun, but is often a SE anaphor. This can be explained by the difference between the feature-specification of pronouns and SE

anaphors and the way the dependency between the antecedent and the Case-checking element is encoded in a language.

Chains

Consider the following paradigm of Dutch with the verb *gedragen* (behave):

- (8)a. Ik gedraag me
I behave me
- b. jij gedraagt je
you behave you
- c. Hij/Zij/Het gedraagt zich/*hem
He/She/It behaves SE/*him
- d. Wij gedragen ons
We behave us
- e. Jullie gedragen je
You behave you
- f. Zij gedragen zich/*hen
They behave SE/*them

The θ -roles of *gedragen* are bundled, so no SELF anaphor is required. The element in object position is only there to check the residual Case of the verb. For 1st- and 2nd-person, this is done by a pronoun, but for 3rd-person, a pronoun is ungrammatical and a SE anaphor is required. To see where this dissimilarity comes from, it must first be explained how the dependency between the antecedent and the pronoun/SE anaphor is encoded.

Dependencies between different (occurrences of) elements can be encoded in syntax by chain-formation. For example, a WH-element that has moved to Spec-CP and the copies/traces it leaves on its way up form a movement-chain.

In pre-minimalist approaches, identity between the WH-element and its traces was encoded by indices. Reinhart & Reuland (1993) proposed that the co-indexing of antecedents and pronouns/SE anaphors, whenever possible, also results in chain-formation. In the original formulation of this

idea, chains were defined as in (9), allowing chain-formation between any co-indexed elements, as long as links between the elements are local.

(9) *Generalized chain definition*

$C = (\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n)$ a chain iff C is the maximal sequence such that

- a. There is an index i such that for all j $1 \leq j \leq n$, α_j carries that index, and
- a. For all j , $1 \leq j < n$, α_j governs α_{j+1} .

The b-clause of this definition states that chain-links must be local, i.e. no barrier may intervene. A potential barrier can be overcome however if the intervening element itself can become a link in the chain. If an intervening head is in a feature-sharing relation with an element that carries the index, the head can receive the same index and becomes a link in the chain. If a chain is in an argument-position, it's an A-chain. A-chains must satisfy a well-formedness requirement, stated as a general condition on A-chains:

(10) *General condition on A-chains*

A maximal A-chain $(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n)$ contains exactly one link $-\alpha_1-$ which is both +R and specified for structural Case.

The +R requirement stands for referential independence. A pronominal element is +R if it's specified for all ϕ -features.

Though this definition of chains cannot be maintained in MP, it makes very clear what needs to be derived; the encoding of the dependency between an antecedent and a pronoun/SE anaphor and an explanation for the requirements of the chain-condition.

In MP, the dependency between a pronoun/SE anaphor and an antecedent can no longer be encoded by indices, since indices are not part of syntax. The only ingredients that are left are Merge, Agree and Delete, so dependencies encoded in syntax should be established by these means. Instead of co-indexing, the links of a chain are established by feature-sharing, schematically represented in (11). The dependency between an antecedent and a pronoun/SE anaphor is mediated by the feature-sharing relations between subject and the finite verb (Agreement, Nominative Case)(R1), the elements of the verbal complex (Tense)(R2) and the structural Accusative Case-checking of the

object (R3). These dependencies can be composed to a dependency (DP, pronoun/SE anaphor) that carries over as an interpretative dependency at the C-I interface.



V attracts the features of the pronoun/SE anaphor, because it checks Structural Case. T attracts (the features of) V to check the Tense-feature. The feature-sharing relations forms a feature-chain and make the feature-bundle of the pronoun/SE anaphor visible on V and T. It's crucial that the object is assigned structural Case, because only structural Case is related to the T-system. This explains why structural Case is of importance for the well-formedness of chains. Structural Case is needed to make the feature-bundle of the object visible on T, thus “No structural Case” means “no chain”.

Identification between the antecedent and the pronoun/SE anaphor is eventually established when the feature-bundle of the pronoun/SE anaphor is overwritten by the features of the antecedent. This proceeds as follows; the antecedent ends up in Spec-TP and the ϕ -features of the verb and the pronoun/SE-anaphor are visible on T. The ϕ -features of V are uninterpretable. Uninterpretable features prohibit full-interpretation and must therefore be deleted in a checking-relation with a valued variant of the feature. This can be viewed as overwriting the uninterpretable feature with a copy of the valued feature and encodes the dependency between the two constituents.

Checking takes place as soon as two features are in a checking-configuration and is not restricted to uninterpretable features. The ϕ -features of a pronoun/SE anaphor can therefore also be overwritten by those of the antecedent. This links the feature-chain created by the feature-sharing relations of the pronoun/SE anaphor with the T-system together with the Antecedent. The result can be seen as a feature-chain <Antecedent, pronoun/SE-anaphor>

There is however a restriction; a feature can only be overwritten if the feature it is overwritten with is guaranteed to make the exact same contribution to interpretation. This is the effect of the Principle of Recoverability of Deletion (PRD). Thus only if no options for interpretation get lost, a feature may be overwritten. This provides the explanation for the requirement of the chain condition that only one link α_1 may be +R; not all ϕ -features are interpretative constants, and a fully specified element can therefore never tail a chain without violating the PRD.

Dutch provides a good starting point to figure out which features can be overwritten and which can't, because it has locally bound pronouns and a SE anaphor. Dutch pronouns are specified for person, and number (and 3rd-person singular also for gender), but the SE anaphor only seems to be specified for person, because it occurs with plural and singular antecedents and with all genders, but is restricted to 3rd-person antecedents. So, person must be an interpretative constant, but number isn't in case of 3rd-person.

Person

The specification for person can be seen as the result of the combination of the lexical features [\pm speaker] and [\pm addressee] that gives the instruction for picking out an entity from the context. A [+speaker] specification renders 1st-person, a [-speaker, +addressee] specification renders 2nd-person. Speaker and addressee are constants within one reportive context, so no problem should arise when a 1st- or 2nd-person feature is overwritten. For 3rd-person this is less straightforward; different 3rd-person pronouns can refer to different persons in one reportive context. To see why 3rd-person can still be regarded as an interpretative constant, it's important to consider what the instruction for picking out an entity would be. 3rd-person actually doesn't give an instruction for this, but rather restricts the possibilities by telling what entities cannot be picked out. A 3rd-person pronoun cannot refer to the speaker or the addressee and can therefore be represented as the negative combination [-speaker, -addressee]. These instructions are thus always the result of the specification for speaker and addressee, which are constants within one reportive context. Therefore, overwriting a person feature doesn't violate the PRD.

Number

For 1st- and 2nd-person, the specification for number follows from the specification for person. This is shown in (12). (The combination [-speaker, -addressee] is abbreviated to [other]).

- (12) [+speaker, -addressee] \rightarrow 1st person (I) singular
 [-speaker, +addressee] \rightarrow 2nd person (you) singular
 [+speaker, +addressee] \rightarrow 1st person (inclusive 'we'), plural
 [+speaker, [+other]] \rightarrow 1st person (exclusive 'we'), plural
 [+addressee, [+other]] \rightarrow 2nd person (you) plural

For third person, number cannot be derived from the specification for person based on [-speaker,

-addressee], but must be independently specified. Therefore, number with 3rd-person is a separate feature that can make different contributions to interpretation with each occurrence and overwriting it would violate the PRD.

Summarizing the essentials in this section: pronouns cannot be bound by an antecedent if the pronoun and the antecedent are both arguments of the same predicate and no bundling of θ -roles has taken place, because it leads to a violation of the θ -criterion. A SELF anaphor is required in that case. Local binding of pronouns is in principle possible with inherently reflexive verbs, as long as no violation of the PRD results. For the encoding of the dependency between a pronoun and an antecedent in narrow syntax, the relations with the heads that intervene are crucial. Especially, the pronoun/SE anaphor must be assigned structural Case.

3. Reflexivity in Afrikaans

In this section, the distribution of pronouns and anaphors in Afrikaans will be discussed. In addition to the information from the literature (Donaldson (1993), Ponelis (1979), Oosthuizen (2013)), I had the indispensable help of 15 informants. The informants were recruited via www.interpals.net, a sort of language-dating site, especially designed to bring people into contact with (native) speakers of their language of interest. All informants were native speakers of Afrikaans who spoke English as a second language, lived in South-Africa and were aged between 18 and 55¹.

Afrikaans, like English, in general uses a 2-member anaphoric system; it has SELF anaphors and pronouns², but the distribution is quite different from English. The pronominal paradigm is given in (13).

¹ I asked informants about the acceptability of sentences (e.g. how acceptable *Johan misgis hom* would be to express that Johan made a mistake) and about the meaning(s) of a sentence (e.g. whether *Johan haat hom* could mean that Johan hates himself, someone else, both, or neither).

²In addition, Ponelis (1979) reports that some 'vocatives' can also be used as anaphors:

a. Oom moet Oom gedra

Uncle must Uncle behave

'Uncle, you must behave'

b. Meneer het Meneer doodgeskrik

Sir has Sir death-scared

'Sir, you were scared to death'

c. Pa het Pa verspreek

Dad has Dad misspoken

'Dad, you make a slip of the tongue'

(Ponelis (1979), p.39/229)

Den Besten (2009) points out that the use of the term 'vocative' is incorrect in this case, since vocatives cannot be used sentence-internal. He suggests calling these words Nominal pronouns and reflexives. These will not be discussed in this thesis.

(13)

	Subject form	object form	SELF-form
Singular 1 st	ek	my	myself
2 nd	jy	jou	jouself
3 rd feminine	sy	haar	haarself
3 rd masculine	hy	hom	homself
3 rd neuter	dit	dit	–
Plural 1 st	ons	ons	onself
2 nd	jul(le)	jul(le)	jul(le)self
3 rd	hul(le)	hul(le)	hul(le)self

Some grammars report that standardly, the object-form of the pronoun functions as the reflexive element, and *-self* can be added for emphasis (Ponelis (1979), Donaldson (1993)). Donaldson does note that adding *-self* is particularly common with verbs that can also be used non-reflexively. For modern Afrikaans at least, adding *-self* is required with non-inherently reflexive verbs. Verbs like *haat* (hate)(14) and *byt* (bite)(15) do not allow a reflexive interpretation in case the object is just a bare pronoun. In that case, the pronoun can only be interpreted as referring to someone other than the subject.

(14) Hy_i haat *hom_i/hom_j/homself_i

'He hates him/himself'

(15) Hy_i byt *hom_i/hom_j/homself_i

'He bites him/himself'

This indicates that either protection or bundling of θ -roles is required in Afrikaans too in order to avoid the effect of the IDI, just like in Dutch and English.

With inherently reflexive verbs, the pronoun is the reflexive element in standard Afrikaans (16a,b), though the use of a SELF anaphor is not always ruled out either for some speakers (17).

(16)a. Hy_i skaam hom_i

'He's ashamed'

b. Hy_i gedra hom_i

'He behaves himself'

- (17) Hy_i skaam homself_i
 'He's ashamed of himself'

Sometimes, the pronoun can be left out:

- (18)a Jan skeer elke oggend (Oosthuizen (2013), p.14)
 'Jan shaves every morning'
 b Hy ooreet (Donaldson (1993), p.291)
 'He overeats'

Some of my informants indicated that leaving out the pronoun has the effect that the event denoted by the verb is interpreted as a habit. '*Johan ooreet hom(self)*' (Johan overeats himself) would be used to say that Johan is overeating at the moment of speech, while '*Johan ooreet*' (Johan overeats) would be used to say that Johan has the habit of overeating.

The neuter pronoun *dit* cannot be locally bound, and doesn't combine with *-self* either:

- (19)a *Die objek beweeg dit(self)
 'the object moves itself'
 b *Die verhaal speel dit(self) in die toekoms af
 'the story plays in the future'

In cases like these, *hom* is usually used as the reflexive element. Oosthuizen (2013)³ reports that *sig(self)* is occasionally used in Afrikaans, when the antecedent is inanimate and the use of gender-marked *hom* is deliberately avoided. Not all speakers are familiar with *sig(self)*⁴. Out of the 15 native speakers I asked, only 3 found *sig(self)* in certain cases marginally acceptable. Most speakers indicated that they would never use it, or didn't even know what it was supposed to mean. The use of *sig(self)* is mainly associated with older varieties of Afrikaans, but some older speakers may still use it occasionally. The speakers I asked for their intuition were mainly younger speakers, so this might also have had an influence on the results. In section 6, I will come back to the use of *sig(self)*.

³In his dissertation, Oosthuizen (2013) presents a different analysis to reflexivity in Afrikaans, that he calls 'the nominal shell analysis (NSA) of obligatory reflexivity. In a nutshell, the NSA comes down to the idea that two expressions which enter into an (obligatory) coreferential relationship are initially merged into the same constituent which is headed by a light noun that encodes identity between the expressions.

⁴*Sig(self)* is still used in some fixed expressions like *dis 'n verhaal op sigself* for example (Donaldson, 1993).

The data in the previous section show that Afrikaans behaves as expected with regard to the IDI; non-inherently reflexive verbs with a pronominal object are interpreted as non-reflexive, because, if the pronoun would be translated into a bound variable, the different occurrences of the variable cannot be distinguished. This problem is solved in Afrikaans in the same way as in Dutch and English by adding *-self* to the pronoun/SE anaphor.

The 'problem' with Afrikaans is that it has locally bound 3rd-person pronouns with inherent reflexive verbs, as was shown in the examples in (2), repeated here as (20) for convenience.

- (20)a.i. Johan_i misgis hom_i
Johan mistake-make him
'Johan makes a mistake'
- ii. Johan_i gedra hom_i
Johan behaves him
'Johan behaves'
- iii. Johan_i verspreek hom_i
Johan slip-of-the-tongue-make him
'Johan makes a slip of the tongue'

Given the theory outlined above, this must be explained. Following the theory to the letter, there really are only two possible explanations for why a locally bound pronoun wouldn't be ruled out;

1. The pronoun is underspecified for relevant features. Overwriting the feature-bundle of the pronoun therefore doesn't lead to a violation of the PRD.
2. Chain formation is blocked. If no chain can be formed to begin with, the antecedent cannot overwrite the feature-bundle of the pronoun and no violation of the PRD results.

Both options can be found in languages that allow local binding of 3rd-person pronouns; the first option is argued to give an explanation for locally bound pronouns in Middle Dutch; in Middle Dutch, the 3rd-person masculine (and feminine) pronoun seem to be underspecified for certain ϕ -

features, and that makes that they can tail chains. The second option can explain why in Frisian pronouns can be locally bound; for Frisian it might be argued that (reflexive) pronouns bear inherent Case instead of structural Case and that this prevents them from entering in chain formation.

Option 1, Middle Dutch

Postma (2011) shows that *hem* (him) can be used to refer to singular and plural referents in Middle Dutch. This suggests that *hem* is underspecified for number. Since a specification for number isn't an interpretive constant, overwriting it violates the PRD. This is the reason why 3rd-person pronouns in modern Dutch cannot be locally bound. If, however, the number feature isn't specified, it can be overwritten without violating the PRD and a chain connecting *him* and its antecedent would be well-formed. Although Postma doesn't mention other pronouns, I assume that the same explanation carries over to the feminine pronoun *haar*, since *haar* was also used with both a singular and plural meaning (Howe, 1996, p.206)

Back to Afrikaans. The pronominal paradigm of Afrikaans was given in (13), repeated here as (20)

	Subject form	object form	SELF-form
Singular 1 st	ek	my	myself
2 nd	jy	jou	jouself
3 rd feminine	sy	haar	haarself
3 rd masculine	hy	hom	homself
3 rd neuter	dit	dit	–
Plural 1 st	ons	ons	Onself
2 nd	jul(le)	jul(le)	jul(le)self
3 rd	hul(le)	hul(le)	hul(le)self

The plural forms do seem to be underspecified in some way, because the subject and object form are identical. For the singular forms, this is not the case. There, except for the neuter pronoun, the subject form differs from the object form. So at least for the singular members of the paradigm, under-specification for Case cannot explain their ability to be locally bound.

Focusing on the number-feature, which seemed to be the crucial feature in the disappearance of locally bound 3rd-person pronouns in Middle Dutch; underspecification for number doesn't give a

suitable explanation for locally bound pronouns in Afrikaans. The singular forms *hom*, *haar* and *dit* contrast with the plural form *hul(le)*⁵. That *hom* may not be used with a plural antecedent, but is fine if the antecedent is singular, is shown in (21). In case the antecedent is plural, *hul(le)* must be used (22).

- (21)a Johan_i skeer hom_i
 'Johan shaves (himself)'
 b *Alle mans_i skeer hom_i elke oggend
 'All men shave himself every morning'
- (22) Alle mans_i skeer hul(le)_i elke oggend
 'All men shave themselves every morning'

Option 2, Frisian

The second option, where no chain is formed to begin with, is assumed to provide an explanation for Frisian. Like Afrikaans and Middle Dutch, Frisian has locally bound 3rd-person pronouns:

- (23) Willem_i wasket him_i
 William washes him
 'William washes' (Reuland (2011), p.269)

Frisian is like Afrikaans in that *him* (him) is clearly specified for number; *him* cannot be used for plurals, so a chain <Jan, him> should be ruled out, because the number feature on the pronoun cannot be overwritten. Something must be blocking chain formation. The explanation lies in the Case-system of Frisian.

Frisian has two objective forms for the 3rd-person feminine pronoun and for the 3rd-person plural pronoun, *har/se* and *harren/se* respectively. Hoeksta (1991) shows that the choice between these

⁵*Hul(le)* might be underspecified for number in some way though; *hul(le)* is not only used with plural antecedents, but also with non-referring expressions like *niemand* (nobody)(i, ii). In these cases, *hom* may also be used instead of *hul(le)* (iii), but using *hulle* is preferred by most speakers. I don't know whether this use of *hul(le)* is restricted to non-referring expressions or that *hul(le)* can occur with other (formally) singular antecedents as well. I will leave this issue aside for now.

- i Niemand steur hulle daaraan nie (Peretti, *die laksman se geheim*, p.15)
 'Nobody should pay attention to that'
 ii Niemand het hulle goed gedra nie
 'Nobody behaved well'
 iii Niemand het hom goed gedra nie
 'Nobody behaved well'

forms is not entirely free; *se* is not allowed to be the object of prepositions, in the object position of transitive adjectives and in free dative constructions. These are all positions that are associated with inherent Case. Hoekstra therefore concludes that *se* must bear structural Case. *Se* also can't be used as a locally bound pronoun, suggesting that (reflexive) pronouns need not bear structural Case in Frisian, but can be licensed with inherent Case. Since inherent Case is not linked to the T-system, the pronoun and the antecedent don't form a chain and nothing rules out local binding of pronouns.

4. Objective-*vir*

Since the first option was ruled out for Afrikaans, the second option should be explored. Indeed, there seems to be something special about pronouns in direct object position in Afrikaans; in Afrikaans, a direct object can be preceded by *vir* under certain circumstances:

- (24) Ek het (vir) hom gesien
I have (for) him seen
'I've seen him'

The use of this objective-*vir* is not restricted to personal pronouns. Proper names and certain full NP's can be preceded by *vir* as well:

- (25) Johan het (vir) Anna gesien
Johan have (for) Anna seen
'Johan has seen Anna'
- (26) Johan het (vir) die meisie gesoen
Johan have (for) the girl kissed
'Johan has kissed the girl'

The use of *vir* is (usually) restricted to direct objects which are animate and definite. If the direct object is an inanimate full NP (27), or indefinite (28), *vir* doesn't occur:

- (27) *Ek sien vir die universiteit
I see for the university
'I see the university'

- (28) *Ek het gister vir mooi meisies gesien
 I have yesterday for beautiful girls seen
 'I've seen beautiful girls yesterday' (Molnárfi (1997), p.93/95)

The restriction to animates seems to hold for the formal features of the object. *Hom* and *hulle* are often used in Afrikaans to refer to inanimate objects. When they do, they can still be preceded by *vir*:

- (29)a Jy sal vir hom (= 'n ketting) breek
 You will for him break
 'You will break it (= a chain)'
 b Spoel vir hulle (= aarappels) deeglik af
 Wash for them thoroughly of
 'Wash those (= potatoes) thoroughly' (Ponelis (1979), p.203)

Pronouns that are used as reflexives can also be preceded by *vir*:

- (30)a Elke boer_i moet vir hom_i afvra of...
 Every farmer should for him ask whether...
 'Every farmer should ask himself whether...'
 (Donaldson (1993), p. 344)
 b Sarie_i vererg vir haar_i
 Sarie annoys for her
 'Sarie became annoyed' (Ponelis (1993), p.275)

Most grammars report that the use of objective-*vir* is optional and has the effect of adding emphasis to the direct object. Evidence that *vir* (at least) with pronouns isn't optional comes from scrambling.

Scrambling

Afrikaans, like Dutch, allows some variation in word order. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as scrambling⁶. Direct objects can, under certain circumstances, move to the left of sentence adverbs, as demonstrated in (31):

- (31)a Ek het verlede week daardie boek gelees
I have last week that book read
b Ek het daardie boek verlede week gelees
I have that book last week read
'I read that book last week' (Donaldson (1993), p. 391)

Sentence adverbs are often assumed to mark the border between the VP domain and the functional IP domain above it. I will assume that this is indeed the case and that scrambling involves movement of the direct object (as opposed to free-adverbial attachment), because direct objects not only cross adverbs, but also negation and floating quantifiers.

Furthermore, I will assume that scrambling isn't Case-driven, because direct objects can remain inside VP and indefinite direct objects cannot move. Therefore, DP's probably receive their Case inside VP and move to the functional domain for other reasons.

Molnarfi (2002, 2003) shows that the occurrence of objective *vir* is related to the position of the direct object; if the direct object is in its VP internal (base) position, definite, animate full NP's are often preceded by *vir* (32). Pronouns are obligatory marked with *vir* inside VP (33).

- (32) Ek het gister (vir) die meisie gesoen.
I have yesterday (for) the girl kissed
'I kissed the girl yesterday'
(33) Ek het gister *(vir) haar gesoen.
I have yesterday (for) her kissed
'I kissed her yesterday' (Molnarfi (2002), p. 1128)

⁶In the literature on word order variation in Afrikaans, the variation in the placement of the object is sometimes called 'object shift'. This is actually incorrect, because the term object shift is used for variation in the placement of the object in languages where the object can only change its position if the verb is in second position. This is not the case in Afrikaans, and the term 'scrambling' should be used instead to avoid confusion.

When the direct object moves out of VP, *vir* is usually omitted :

(34)a Ek het die meisie gister gesoen

I have the girl yesterday kissed

'I kissed the girl yesterday'

b Ek het haar gister gesoen

I have her yesterday kissed

'I kissed her yesterday'

(Molnarfi (2002), p. 1139)

What this shows is that the optionality of *vir* is only apparent and pronouns in direct object position might in fact be more complex in structure. If direct objects in their base position are obligatory preceded by something, this something might be what blocks chain-formation between the antecedent and the pronoun in reflexive constructions. The difference in the position between DP's that are preceded by *vir* and those that are not might also provide an explanation for the observation that DP's preceded by *vir* are usually more emphatic; in Dutch too, definite DP's that remain inside VP are usually more emphatic than DP's that are scrambled to the functional domain. The additional emphasis associated with *vir* might therefore not be (solely) the result of adding *vir*; but might be just a consequence of the position the object is in.

5. Properties of *vir*

There has been some attention for *vir* in the literature, but what exactly *vir* is, isn't really clear. The analysis varies from *vir* as a preposition (Ponelis (1993)), a Case-marker (Den Besten(2000)), somewhere in between (Hantson (2001)) or a discourse related particle that marks topicality (Molnarfi (1999)).

Vir is historically related to the Dutch preposition *voor* and still surfaces as *voor* in R-constructions:

(35) Waarvoor is jy bang?

What-for are you scared

'What are you scared of?'

(Donaldson (1993), p. 346)

Vir is much more common in Afrikaans than *voor* is in Dutch though. Like Dutch *voor*, *vir* is used with certain prepositional objects (36) and to introduce beneficiaries (37), but it also occurs with indirect objects (38) and takes over where previously other prepositions were used (39).

- (36) Ek is bang vir jou
I am scared for you
'I'm scared of you' (Donaldson (1993), p. 346)
- (37) Hy het 'n boek *vir* ons gekoop
He have a book for us bought
'He has bought a book for us' (Den Besten (2000), p. 952)
- (38) Ons het 'n boek vir Jan gegee
We have a book for Jan given
'We gave a book to Jan' (Hantson (2001), p. 17)
- (39) Ek luister na/vir hom
I listen to/for him
'I listen to him' (Molnarfi (1997), p. 89)

Phonologically, *vir* with direct objects doesn't differ from *vir* in other functions. So, since definite, animate direct objects must always be preceded by *vir* after negation or sentence adverbs, definite, animate direct object seem to be embedded in a PP in their base position. This would also give a plausible answer to the question why pronouns can be locally bound; if the pronoun doesn't receive structural Case, but inherent Case from the preposition, it wouldn't be visible to the T-system and not form a chain with the antecedent. Unfortunately, matters are a bit more complicated. If *vir* marks a direct object, it has quite different characteristics than it has in its other uses. The following differences between objective-*vir* and (other) prepositions are mentioned in the literature in discussions on the status of *vir*:

First, in passives, a direct object marked with *vir* becomes the subject of the sentence and receives nominative Case:

- (40)a Ek sien/slaan vir hom
'I see/hit him'

- b Hy word gesien/geslaan
 'He is being seen/beaten'
 c *Vir hom word gesien/geslaan
 'Him is being seen/beaten'

(Molnarfi (1997), p.93/95)

In sentences where the verb selects a PP complement, an impersonal passive can be formed; the PP remains in its original position and the expletive *daar* (there) takes the subject position (41). It's not possible to form an impersonal passive with a direct object marked with *vir* (42).

- (41)a Daar sal oor hier die boek gepraat word
 'There will be talked about this book'

- (42)a *Daar sal vir die kind geslaan word
 'There will be beaten for the child'

(Den Besten (1981), p.158)

Objective-*vir* cannot be used in nominalized constructions:

- (43)a Ek skop teen hom
 I kick against him
 b die skop teen hom
 The kick against him

- (44)a Ek skop vir hom
 I kick (for) him
 b *die skop vir hom
 The kick (for) him

(Molnarfi (1999), p.81)

Given these characteristics, it seems unlikely that *vir* assigns Case to the object. If it did, it's not clear why the object moves to the subject position in passives and gets nominative Case, because if the direct object would receive its Case from *vir* independently, there would be no need to move to receive Case. Likewise, if *vir* were capable of assigning Case, the nominalized construction in (44b) would be expected to be grammatical. When *skop* is a verb, it can assign Case to its object. If *skop*

is a noun, like in (43b) and (44b), it cannot assign Case. In that case, a preposition is required to provide the complement with Case. In (43b), *teen* can assign Case to *hom*, and the result is grammatical. In (44b), *vir* apparently fails to do the same, leaving *hom* Caseless and the result is therefore ungrammatical.

Secondly, objective-*vir* doesn't seem to pose any restrictions on what thematic-role the object it occurs with bears. This makes it unlikely that objective-*vir* assigns a θ -role to the object.

Thirdly, objective *vir* doesn't allow stranding in any way, while (other) prepositions and *vir* in other functions can be stranded under certain circumstances. Like Dutch, Afrikaans allows R-pronouns to precede the preposition and often, the R-pronoun can move and leave the preposition behind:

- (45)a Vir wat werk ons nou eintlik?
For what work we now actually?
b Waarvoor werk ons nou eintlik?
What-for work we now actually?
c Waar werk ons nou eintlik voor?
What work we now actually for?
'What do we actually work for?' (du Plessis (1977), p.724)

This is not possible with objective-*vir*. According to Ponelis (1993), this is not because *vir* isn't a preposition, but the difference must be explained by the fact that objective *vir* is restricted to animate objects and therefore doesn't combine with R-pronouns (which are inanimate). Against this argument of Ponelis, it might be argued that R-pronouns do occur with reference to animates quite frequently. What seems to count for objective *vir* is not whether the entity the object refers to is human, but rather the formal features of the object. As mentioned before, the personal pronouns *hom* (him) and *hulle* (them) can be used to refer to inanimate entities, but still can be preceded by *vir* in direct object position. The formal features seem to be decisive in whether an object can be marked with *vir* and Ponelis' argument with regard to R-pronouns is legitimate.

With regard to the stranding possibilities of *vir*, it can be shown that objective-*vir* is different from (other) prepositions. Preposition-stranding in Afrikaans is less restricted than in Dutch and in

colloquial speech, *wat*, and for some speakers even *wie*, can leave the PP (46)(47). But even for speakers who do allow *wie* to leave a PP, this is not the case if *wie* is preceded by objective-*vir* (48).

Preposition stranding with a prepositional object:

- (46)a An *wie* het jy gedink?
b *Wie* het jy aan gedink?
'Who did you talk about?' (Conradie, 1998)

with an indirect object:

- (47)a *Vir* *wie* het jy die boek gegee?
b *Wie* het jy 'n boek gegee voor?
'Who did you give a book?' (Molnarfi (2002), p.30,31)

with objective *vir*:

- (48)a *Vir* *wie* het jy gesien?
b **Wie* het jy voor gesien?
'who did you see?' (Molnarfi (2002), p.30,31)

6. What's *vir*?

All in All, it seems unsustainable to maintain that objective-*vir* is a preposition. Apart from its phonological shape, it is very different from prepositions and it doesn't display the typical characteristics of prepositions. This of course raises the question of what the status of *vir* might be and its syntactic position. To start with the latter question, what is the most clear about the position of *vir* is that it always appears to the left of the object:

- (49)a Ek het gister *vir* haar gesoen
I have yesterday for her kissed
'I kissed her yesterday'

- b. Ek het gister vir die meisie gesoen
 I have yesterday for the girl kissed
 'I kissed the girl yesterday' (Molnarfi (2002), p. 1128/1129)

This indicates that *vir* is in a position higher than the D-head of the DP *haar* or *die meisie*. If *vir* marks a possessive-*se* construction, it also precedes the possessor (50).

- (50) Ons het gister vir Mkabi se seun raakgeloop
 We have yesterday for Mkabi 's son met
 'We met Mkabi's son yesterday' (den Besten (1981), p. 156)

According to the analysis of the possessive-*se* construction from Oosthuizen & Waher (1994), the possessor is base-generated in Spec-DP of the possessee and moves to the Spec-position of a superordinate DP. The same conclusion about the position of the possessor is reached by Weerman & De Wit (1999) for the *z'n*-construction in Dutch, which is comparable to the possessive-*se* construction in Afrikaans. *Vir* therefore must precede the Spec-position of the object it marks, and could possibly indicate the presence of a projection above DP.

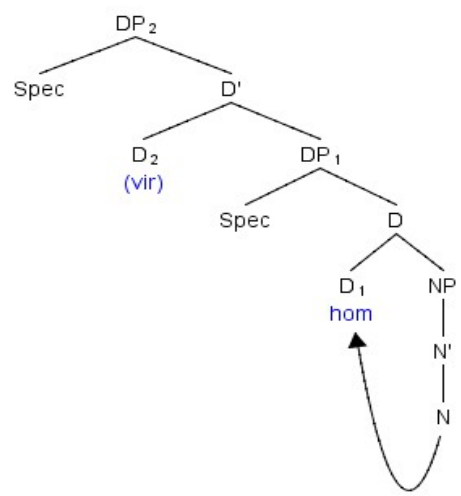
Molnarfi (1999), inspired by ideas presented in Oosthuizen & Waher (1994), proposes that direct objects that can be preceded by *vir* are embedded in an extra functional projection. He proposes that the discourse-functional status of arguments is to be realized in structural terms in Afrikaans. If an argument is thematic, it contains 'known' or 'presupposed' information in the discourse. If an argument is rhematic, it gives new information. According to this analysis, thematicity is syntactically encoded on definite direct objects in Afrikaans as a +TH feature on the D-head of a superordinate DP that contains the pronoun or full NP. *Vir* is the morphological realization of the +TH feature. Furthermore, there is a designated TH-projection in the functional domain of the clause. Definite direct objects are inherently thematic and move out of VP to check the TH-feature. If the direct object stays inside VP, the presence of the TH-feature triggers the insertion of *vir* to encode thematicity. In other scrambling languages, there's no extra DP-layer to encode thematicity. Instead, the stress-pattern of the sentence signals the discourse function of the direct object. What's very attractive about this analysis is that it gives a proper explanation for the restriction of *vir* to definite DP's; Definites are inherently thematic while indefinites are rhematic. It also accounts

for why *vir* disappears when the direct object moves to the functional domain. On the downside, it doesn't explain why only animate direct objects can be marked with *vir*. It's hard to see what makes *die meisie* different from a NP like *die stoel* (the chair) with regard to thematicity. Though this analysis doesn't provide an explanation to all the peculiarities of objective *vir*, I think that Molnarfi might be right in that *vir* signals the presence of an additional projection on top of animate, definite direct objects.

If it is indeed correct that there is extra structure in addition to just a single DP in direct objects, this might explain why locally bound pronouns in direct object position aren't excluded in Afrikaans; as long as this extra structure can prevent the features from the pronoun from being visible to the T-system, no chain between the antecedent and the pronoun can be formed and no violation of the PRD results if the bound pronoun is specified for number.

Let's assume for the moment that *vir* indeed signals an additional DP projection. A direct object may look like (51)(with Reuland (2011) I will assume that third-person pronouns raise from N into D).

(51)



To get linked up to the T-system, DP₁ must be assigned structural Case, but in (51), DP₁ is embedded in DP₂ and it's DP₂ that will be assigned structural accusative Case. No chain <Antecedent, DP₁> can be formed.⁷

⁷ Some Ubangian languages use a similar strategy, where the reflexive pronoun is embedded in a (locative) PP (Thanks to Martin Everaert for bringing this to my attention). Schladt (2000) lists 5 languages that use this strategy;

Circumstantial evidence

Though the above explanation could give an explanation for why 3rd-person pronouns can be locally bound, it doesn't really prove that it is the *right* explanation. There are however some indirect reasons to believe this explanation is indeed on the right track.

A first supporting fact is that although *hom*, *haar* and *hulle* can be locally bound, the neuter pronoun *dit* cannot. Under the present theory this isn't surprising at all though, since only direct objects that are formally [+animate] can be marked with *vir*. If *dit* is just a bare DP that is assigned T-system relate Case, it can't escape from chain formation. The chain is ill-formed, because *dit* is marked for number and therefore not all its features can legitimately be overwritten by those of the antecedent. That *dit* indeed can't be marked by *vir* was confirmed by my informants;⁸

- (52)a Ek het gister dit gesien
b Ek het dit gister gesien
c *Ek het gister vir dit gesien
'I've seen it yesterday'

Zande, Nzakara, Barambo, Ngbaka MaŌBo and Ndogo. Examples of the first three languages are given in (I):

- (I) Zande *Mî-îmî tî-rê* 'I kill myself', lit. I-kill on-me
Nzakara *Mî-hîmî t-ê*
Barambu *Nyă-wō-mêkε-nyɔ*

(Tucker and Bryan 1966:150 in Schladt 2000)

A difference between these Ubangian languages and Afrikaans may be that embedding the object pronoun in a PP seems to be enough to license reflexivity in the Ubangian languages, while in Afrikaans, only embedding the object pronoun in a PP or complex DP doesn't suffice, but in addition, bundling or *-self* is needed to license reflexivity. In Afrikaans, a pronoun in the object position of a verb like *vermoor* (kill), with or without *vir*, isn't sufficient to license a reflexive interpretation. Unfortunately, the data on these Ubangian languages are very scarce.

⁸ I must note though, that the absence of locally bound neuter pronouns isn't a peculiarity of Afrikaans only; in Frisian, the 3rd-person neuter pronoun *it* is also ruled out as a locally bound pronoun. In those cases, the 3rd-person masculine pronoun *him* is used instead (Siegbert de Jong, p.c.). For Middle Dutch, I searched the corpus Gyseling for reflexive use of *het*, but didn't find any occurrence. Of course, lacking native speakers, I don't know whether this is impossible, or that it just doesn't show up in the corpus. For Middle Dutch the absence of locally bound 3rd-person neuter pronouns would also follow from the explanation Postma (2011) gives; in contrast to *hem* and *haar*, *het* couldn't be used for plurals (Howe (1996)), so it is probably specified for number. The explanation for locally bound pronouns in Frisian doesn't give a straightforward reason for the lack of locally bound neuter pronouns. I haven't been able to figure out if Old-English used *it* as a locally bound pronoun. This would be interesting, since modern English of course has *itself*, while Dutch, Afrikaans and Frisian don't have a SELF-variant of the neuter pronoun (*hetzelf, *ditself, *itsels).

Another indication that the cause lies in some property of the object and not in some other aspect of the language comes from the use of *sig*. In section 3, I already mentioned that some speakers, under certain circumstances, may use *sig(self)* with inanimate antecedents. Oosthuizen (2013, p.11) reports the following examples:

- (53)a Die gedig leen sig(self) tot verskeie interpretasies.
the poem lends itself to several interpretations
“The poem lends itself to several interpretations”
- b Die Vroueligai distansieer sig(self) van enige vorm van diskriminasie.
the women-league distances itself from any form of discrimination
“The Women League dissociates itself from any form of discrimination”

Although *sig* would probably not be used in modern Afrikaans, it shows that the conditions on chains are the same in Afrikaans as in Dutch and English; a pronoun that is specified for number cannot tail a chain headed by an antecedent and an underspecified element is required instead.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis, the binding behavior of anaphors and pronouns in Afrikaans was discussed against the theoretical background presented in Reuland (2011). It was shown that non-inherently reflexive verbs do require a SELF anaphor as expected. Inherently reflexive verbs required some more attention, because they allow local binding of pronouns. Most languages don't allow (3rd-person) pronouns to be locally bound, because it leads to ill-formed chains. An attempt to explain why locally bound pronouns in Afrikaans do not form (ill-formed) chains was made. First it was shown that underspecification of pronouns cannot be the correct explanation for Afrikaans, since pronouns (or at least the singular pronouns *dit*, *haar* and *hom*) are specified for number and can therefore not form a well-formed chain with the antecedent. If a chain cannot be well-formed, the only other option is to argue that there is no chain formation between an antecedent and a pronoun to begin with. The ϕ -features of the pronoun must somehow stay invisible to the T-system to avoid them from getting into a checking configuration with the antecedent. I argued that this might indeed be the case in Afrikaans, because pronouns in direct object position are not just bare pronouns, but have additional structure. Evidence in favor of this claim came from the observation that pronouns are preceded by *vir* in their base position. The characteristics of this objective-*vir* were discussed,

showing that it, despite its phonological form, doesn't behave as a preposition, but may signal the presence of an additional DP projection on top of DP's that can be marked by *vir*. This additional projection should be responsible for blocking chain formation between the anaphor and antecedent in reflexive constructions. Finally, some supportive evidence for a link between *vir*-marking and local binding of pronouns was presented, showing that the neuter pronoun *dit* cannot be marked with *vir* and is consequently also excluded from local binding. Although the SE anaphor *sig* has disappeared from Afrikaans almost entirely, it does seem to support the idea that chains between pronouns and their antecedents can be formed in Afrikaans just like in Dutch as long as *vir* doesn't interfere and the pronoun is underspecified for number.

References

- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Mass. MIT Press
- den Besten, H. (1981). Marking WH-movement in Afrikaans. In *Generative Studies in Creole Languages* [studies in generative grammar 6], Pieter Muysken (ed.), 141-179. Dordrecht: Foris
- den Besten, H. (1996). Afrikaans relatief 'wat' en de West-Germaanse relativisatiesystemen. In *Roots of Afrikaans: Selected Writings of Hans Den Besten*. Wouden, T. (Ed.). John Benjamins Publishing (2012)(Vol. 44).
- den Besten, H. (1998). What a little word can do for you: 'wat' in Afrikaans possessive relatives. *Small words in the big picture. Squibs for Hans Bennis* [HIL Occasional Papers 2], 13-21.
- den Besten, H. (2000). The slaves' languages in the Dutch Cape Colony and Afrikaans *vir*. *Linguistics*, 38(5), 949-971.
- den Besten, H. (2009). Desiderata voor de historische taalkunde van Afrikaans. *Afrikaans. Een drieluik*, eds. Hans den Besten, Frans Hinskens & Jerzy Koch, 234-252. Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandiditiek VU, Münster: Nodus Publikationen.
- Donaldson, B. C. (1993). *A grammar of Afrikaans* (Vol. 8). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Hantson, A. (2001). Casusaanduiding in het Afrikaans en andere (Indo-) Germaanse talen: een vergelijkende schets. *Tydskrif vir geesteswetenskappe*, 41(1), 1-20.
- Hoekstra, J. (1994). Pronouns and case: on the distribution of Frisian *harren* and *se them*'. *Leuvense bijdragen*, 83(1), 47-65.

- Howe, S. (1996). *The personal pronouns in the Germanic languages: A study of personal pronoun morphology and change in the Germanic languages from the first records to the present day*. (Vol. 43). Walter de Gruyter.
- de Jong, J. J. (2013). Case-theory: a solution of the bound pronoun problem in Romance languages. *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca* "Julio de Urquijo", 129-137.
- Molnárfi, L. (1997). Preposisie of kasusmarkeerder? Oor die status van vir in Afrikaans. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, 37(2), 89-106.
- Molnárfi, L. (1999). Zur Diskurskomponente in der Sprechsprache: vir als Rhemamarkierer im Afrikaans. *Folia linguistica*, 33(1-2), 75-102.
- Molnárfi, L. (2002). Focus and antifocus in modern Afrikaans and West Germanic. *Linguistics*, 40(6), 1107-1160.
- Molnárfi, L. (2003). On optional movement and feature checking in West Germanic. *Folia linguistica*, 37(1-2), 129-162.
- Oosthuizen, J., & Waher, H. (1994). On the syntax of the se-construction in Afrikaans. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics*, 28, 21-43.
- Oosthuizen, J. (2013). *Obligatory reflexivity in Afrikaans: a minimalist approach* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University).
- Peretti, P. (2002). *Die laksman se geheim*. Kaapstad: Struik Christelike Boeke Bpk.
- Du Plessis, H. (1977). Wh-movement in Afrikaans. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 723-726.
- Ponelis, F. A. (1979). *Afrikaanse sintaksis*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Ponelis, F. A. (1993). *The development of Afrikaans*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang
- Postma, G. (2011). Language contact and linguistic complexity—the rise of the reflexive pronoun zich in a fifteenth-century Netherlands border dialect. *Grammatical Change: Origins, Nature, Outcomes*, 139-159.
- Reinhart, T. & Reuland, E. (1993). Reflexivity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24, 657-720
- Reinhart, T., & Siloni, T. (2005). The lexicon-syntax parameter: Reflexivization and other arity operations. *Linguistic inquiry*, 36(3), 389-436.
- Reuland, E. J. (2011). *Anaphora and language design*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rezac, M. (2008). Phi-Agree and theta-related Case. *Phi Theory: Phi-features across interfaces and modules*, 83-129.
- Schladt, M. (2000). The typology and grammaticalization of reflexives. *Reflexives: Form and Function [Typological Studies in Language 40]*, Z. Frajzyngier, 81, 103-124.

Weerman, F. & de Wit, P. (1999). The Decline of the Genitive in Dutch. *Linguistics* 37-6, p. 1155-1192.