

On Agreement of Full NPs and Pronouns

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Agreement, full NPs, personal pronouns, phase DPs, person features

Acc=Accusative Case, Comp=complimentiser, Cop=Copula, DP=Determiner

phase, Gen=Genitive marker, Nom=Nominative Case, NP=noun phrase,

SM=Small clause, Pl=plural, Prt=Particle, Top=Topic marker, Q=Question marker

1 Grammatical Form vs. Notional Form

Generally speaking, grammatical form is regularly associated with specific notional (semantic) form. For instance, the English 1st person singular pronoun *I* refers to the speaker. However, full noun phrases (NPs) and personal pronouns do not always show the same morphosyntactic variations even when they denote the same referents. In the following examples in (1) and (2), the full NPs in the subject position may refer to the speaker and addressee respectively.

3rd person subjects refer to the speakers:

- (1) a. *This reporter* {is/*am} signing off from Madrid, Spain.
- b. *The former Mrs. Hubert Puffington* is now a free woman.
(said by ex-wife of Mr. Puffington).
- c. *Daddy* is going to get you an ice cream cone.

3rd person subjects refer to the addressees:

- (2) a. How {is/*are} *my sweetheart* tonight?
- b. Is *Madam* not feeling well?
- c. Would *little Jimmy* like another ice cream cone?

(Collins and Postal 2012)

As indicated by the verbal agreement in (1a) and (2a), the subjects in both cases are grammatically 3rd person singular (i.e., is/*are/*am). However, the subjects in these examples actually refer to 1st or 2nd person singular. In other words, these grammatically 3rd person expressions represent either the speaker (1st person) or the addressee (2nd person). These particular kinds of expressions, which exhibit both 3rd person and non-3rd person properties simultaneously, are what Collins and Postal call *imposters*.

Japanese also has imposters and they are quite productive. A few examples are provided in (3) and (4).

(3) 1st person

sensei ‘teacher’, kinship terms (e.g. *okaasan* ‘mother’), proper names

(4) 2nd person

sensei ‘teacher’, *okyakusan* ‘customer’, *okusama* ‘madam’, social status (e.g. *bochou* ‘manager’), kinship terms, proper names

In (5), *sensei* ‘teacher’, which is a common noun phrase, refers only to 3rd and not 1st person (speaker) or 2nd person (addressee).

- (5) Kinou, sensei-wa watashi-o shikatta.
yesterday teacher-Top me-Acc scolded
‘The teacher scolded me yesterday.’

Nevertheless, the same NP *sensei* ‘teacher’ can certainly refer to the speaker himself/herself in (6) or the addressee in (7).

(6) 1st person

Sensei-wa (=I) ima ringo-ga tabe-tai desu.
teacher-Top now apple-Nom eat-want Cop
Literally (Lit.). ‘Teacher (=I) wants to eat an apple now.’

(7) 2nd person

Sensei-wa (=you) nani-ga shi-tai desu ka.
teacher-Top what-Nom do-want Cop Q
Lit. ‘What would teacher (=you) like to do?’

Japanese imposters can refer to the speaker or the addressee. In this respect, they are exactly like English imposters.

In this article, I will offer extensive evidence based on the comparison of imposters from English and Japanese and show implications for the theory of syntax and its interface with the interpretive systems.

2 Comparison of Imposters and Binding

As is widely known, there is no (visible) verbal agreement in Japanese. In order to examine the grammatical agreement, I employ agreement between imposters and bound pronouns/reflexives. In the following, I provide systematic comparison between English and Japanese with respect to bound pronouns, (long-distance) reflexives, Control PRO, plurality, and coordination. For simplicity, I will only use 1st person imposters in the discussion, but the same analysis applies to 2nd person imposters as well.

2.1 Bound pronouns

English imposters tend to co-index with pronouns and (local) reflexives of the 3rd person form. Consequently, agreement between the imposters and the bound pronouns is, like the verbal agreement, 3rd person in (8) and (9). However, Japanese does not show the same person agreement in (10) and (11).

English

(8) *This reporter_i* (=I) lost {*his_i*/**my_i*} cool.

(9) *Yours truly_i* (=I) decided that {*he_i*/**I*} would not go abroad.

(Collins and Postal 2012)

Japanese

(10) *Sensei_i-wa* (=I) {**kare_i*/**watashi_i*/*jibun_i*}-no nintai-o
teacher-Top he I self-Gen patience-Acc
ushinaisoodesu.
going.to.lose

Lit. ‘Teacher_i (=I) is going to lose {**his_i*/**my_i*/*self_i*} patience.’

- (11) *Anata-no buka_i-wa (=I) { *kare_i/*watashi_i/jibun_i }-wa*
 your subordinate-Top he I self-Top
sekinin-o torou to omotteimasu.
 responsibility-Acc will.take Comp thinking
 Lit. ‘This subordinate (=I) thinks that { *his_i/*my_i/self_i } will take the responsibility.’

In English, only the singular 3rd person pronoun (i.e., *his* and *he*) is grammatical in (8) and (9), whereas in Japanese not only is the 1st person pronoun but the 3rd person pronoun is ungrammatical in (10) and (11). Instead, *jibun* ‘self’, which has no person, number, or gender (Tenny 2006), is chosen as its bound pronoun. This observation is interesting since the subjects refer to the speaker, whereas the agreement of the subject with the bound noun does not show a specific agreement for Japanese. The same mismatch between syntax and semantics is observed in the following subsections.

2.2 Local and long-distance reflexives

The same contrast is also observed in local and long-distance reflexives. In the case of English in (12) and (13), only *himself*, but not *myself*, can be bound by an imposter.

English

- (12) *Yours truly (=I)* will only vote for {himself/*myself}.
- (13) *Daddy (=I)* doesn’t consider Captain Marvel to be much different than {himself /?myself}.

(Collins and Postal 2012)

On the other hand, the Japanese examples in (14) and (15) evidently show that neither 1st nor regular 3rd person reflexives are possible. Thus, only *jibun-jishin* ‘oneself’ (which does not possess a specific person feature) is permitted.

Japanese

- (14) *Tanaka (=I)-wa { *kare-jishin/*watashi-jishin/jibun-jishin }-o*
 T-Top *himself/*myself/oneself-Acc
shinjimasu.
 believe
 Lit. ‘Tanaka (=I) believes { *himself/*myself/oneself }.’
- (15) *Otoosan-wa (=I) suupaaman-ga { *kare-jishin/*watashi-jishin/*
 daddy-Top superman-Nom *himself/*myself/
jibun-jishin }yori tsuyoi to omowanai.
 oneself} more strong Comp not.think
 Lit. ‘Daddy (=I) does not think that Superman is stronger than { *himself/*myself/oneself }.’

These examples constantly show the same results: English singular imposters exhibit 3rd person agreement whereas Japanese counterparts show no agreement.

2.3 Control PRO

A more interesting situation is shown in (16) and (17) below. When the word order of the reflexives and the binding imposters is reversed in the purpose-clause example, imposter-bound 1st person reflexives, in addition to the usual 3rd person reflexives, are actually attested in English. However, Japanese still invariably exhibits no agreement between the imposter and the reflexive and chooses *jibun-jishin* ‘oneself’, as in (17).

English

- (16) PRO_i to keep (myself/himself) from getting sunburned, *Daddy_i* will put on lotion. (Collins and Postal 2012)

Japanese

- (17) PRO_i { *kare-jishin/*watashi-jishin/jibun-jishin }-o kitaeru tameni,
*himself/*myself/oneself-Acc train for
otoosan-wa (=I) jogingu-o suru.
daddy-Top jog-Acc do
Lit. 'To train { *himself/*myself/oneself }, Daddy (=I) will jog.'

The observation of imposters in relation to Control PRO is consistent with the previous observations in terms of the agreement system: English imposters show 3rd person while Japanese imposters do not demonstrate any agreement with bound pronouns. Although the linearity of imposters may exhibit 1st person as well as 3rd person in English, it won't affect this option in Japanese.

2.4 Plural imposters & coordination

Similar to the case of Control PRO, plural imposters and coordinated constituents with imposters are also allowed to bind the 1st and 3rd person (plural) reflexives in English, which is shown in (18) and (20) respectively. On the other hand, Japanese still chooses no agreement in person; in this case, the plural pronoun *jibun-tachi* 'selves' and reflexive *jibunjishin* 'oneself/one-selves' are used respectively, as exemplified in (19) and (21).

Plural Imposters

- (18) In this reply, *the present authors* (=we) attempt to defend {ourselves/themselves} against the scurrilous charges which have been made. (Collins and Postal 2012)

- (19) *Sensei-tachi_i*-wa (=we) { *karera/*watashitachi/jibun (-tachi_i) }-no
teacher-Pl-Top they we self-Pl-Gen
heya-ni kaerimasu.
room-to return
'Teachers (=we) will return to { *their/*our/selves } rooms.'

Coordination

- (20) [*this reviewer and others*] (=we) allowed {ourselves} to anticipate another transcendent overview... (Collins and Postal 2012)
- (21) [*anata-no buka to sono tantoosha*]-wa (=we) { *karera-jishin/
your subordinate and that person in charge-Top themselves
*watashijishin/jibunjishi }-o toitadashitemimasu.
ourselves selves}-Acc examine
Lit. 'This subordinate and the one in charge (=we) will examine { *themselves/*ourselves/selves }.'

The data above clearly suggest that Japanese uniformly exhibits no agreement in person between imposters and bound pronouns/reflexives. In contrast, English allows the 3rd person for singular imposters and both 1st and 3rd person for plurals.

In the following section, I will offer my analysis of imposters and I will defend Frampton and Gutmann's (2006) view of Agree as a feature-sharing operation and a phase DP hypothesis (Chomsky 2001). I also demonstrate a novel view of the interface between syntax and semantics in terms of person agreement.

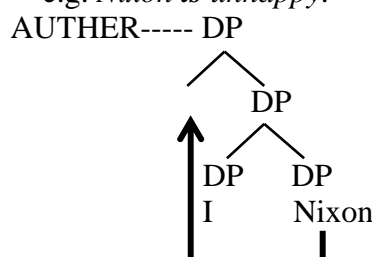
3 English Imposters and Appositive Analysis

Collins and Postal 2012: Chapter 5) argue that the fact that imposters involve semantic and syntactic mismatch in person is explained once two elements are assumed to be placed side-by-side, with one of the two elements serving to define or specify the other. They propose that imposters and appositives bear a close resemblance, though they are not exactly identical.

(22) *Nixon (=I) is unhappy.* (Imposter, *Nixon* refers to the speaker)

(23) English Imposter

e.g. *Nixon is unhappy.* (Imposter, *Nixon* refers to the speaker)



(Collins and Postal 2012)

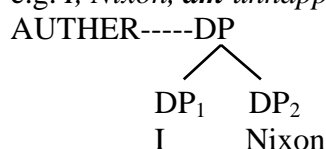
For imposters like *Nixon* in *Nixon is unhappy* in (23), the personal pronoun is phonologically null and in appositive relation with the proper noun. The proper noun overtly moves to the highest DP and determines the phi-feature values of the entire DP. According to Collins and Postal, this top DP has a (phonologically covert) antecedent AUTHER within the sentence. Thus, this full NP is grammatically 3rd person and yet refers to the speaker at the same time.

The appositive in (24) has the pronoun *I* as its head and its structure is in (25). In (25) the person, being 1st person singular, results in the verbal agreement of 1st person singular (i.e. *am*).

(24) *I, Nixon, am unhappy.* (Appositives, *Nixon* also refers the speaker)

(25) English Appositives

e.g. *I, Nixon, am unhappy.* (Appositive, *Nixon* also refers the speaker)



According to Collins and Postal, imposters and appositives share the same structural relation where two DPs are in appositive relation while differing with respect to the source of person agreement.

However, the appositive analysis raises problems. As Collins and Postal 2012 point out, “this reporter” with the proximal demonstrative cannot be used as an appositive.

(26) *I, *this reporter, will not reveal my sources.*

Under Collins and Postal’s appositive analysis, it is not clear why the example in (26) is ungrammatical, unlike in the case of the example without the overt pronoun *I* in (1a). One might assume that a demonstrative should appear only in the highest DP (i.e., [DP demonstrative [DP1 pronoun [DP2 NP]]]). However, this assumption is ad hoc because it cannot account for the ungrammaticality of expressions such as *[DP that [DP1 I [DP2 reporter]]] for **that I reporter* and *[DP that [DP1 I [DP2 Nixon]]] for **that I Nixon*. Furthermore, it is theoretically unclear because, under Collins and Postal’s analysis, both the motivation for the movement of a proper noun to a higher DP and the function(s) of the presence of the null pronoun in (23) are also unclear.

Moreover, Collins and Postal's insight of imposters in relation to the appositive construction is not applicable to Japanese. Japanese appositives are different from their English counterparts in that they are prenominal and exhibit additional restrictions: they should be (i) attached by the genitive marker (Fukui 1986); and (ii) bare common NPs as in (27). These restrictions are not observed with imposters in (28).

Appositive construction

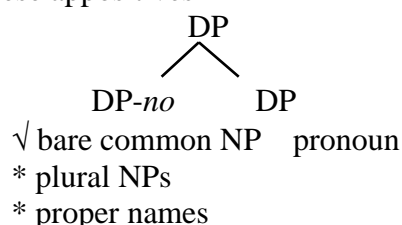
- (27) a. Okaasan-no watashi-wa isogashii desu.
 mother-Gen I-Top busy Cop
 'I, a mother, am busy.'
 b. Sensei (-*tachi)-no watashitachi-wa isogashii desu.
 teacher-Pl-Gen we-Top busy Cop
 'We, teachers, are busy.'
 c. *Nikuson-no watashi-wa isogashii desu.
 N-Gen I-Top busy Cop
 'I, Nixon, am busy.'

Imposters

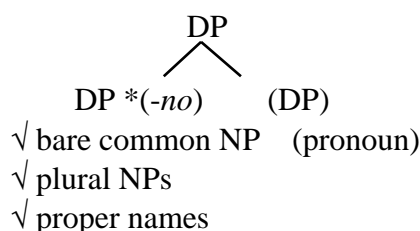
- (28) a. Okaasan-wa (=I) isogashii desu.
 mother-Top busy Cop
 'Mother (=I) is busy.'
 b. Sensei-tachi-wa (=we) isogashii desu.
 teacher-Pl-Top busy Cop
 'Teachers (=we) are busy.'
 c. Nikuson-wa (=I) isogashii desu.
 N-Top busy Cop
 'Nixon (=) is busy.'

One can assume the following two structures for Japanese appositives and imposters in (29) and (30):

(29) Japanese appositives



(30) Japanese imposters under Collins and Postal 2012's appositive analysis



As (29) and (30) show, Japanese appositive construction prohibits the occurrence of prenominal DPs while imposters do not show the same grammaticality. It indicates that the relation of Japanese imposters to the Japanese appositive construction is not on the right track.

Does the structure for the English appositive construction apply to Japanese? The answer appears to be negative. The Japanese imposter construction does not permit the structure in (25) for unknown reasons. Given the structure in (23), the imposter NP overtly moves to the DP, and the pronoun

should be phonologically null. Importantly, this appositive analysis cannot account for the agreement behavior of Japanese imposters because movement of imposter NPs to the highest DP cannot determine the phi-feature agreement in Japanese, unlike in the case of English imposters. One might argue that Japanese projects NPs (not DP) (Fukui 1986) and thus does not show agreement. However, this line of argument cannot account for the fact that the non-imposter use of Japanese nominals shows agreement, as observed shortly in (44). Thus, Collins and Postal's appositive analysis cannot account for Japanese. Without pursuing their analysis further, I will consider alternatives.

Based on Collins and Postal's intuition for the presence of two nominals in imposters, however, I develop pronoun-noun constructions for imposters in the following section.

4. The Occurrence of Notional Pronouns

Postal (1969) observes that English pronouns followed by noun phrases can function like the definite article *the* in (31), and proposes that "so-called pronouns" are determiners (see also Pesetsky 1978).

- (31) a. [Us linguists] want to understand the riddle of language.
 b. [You troops] will embark but the other troops will remain.
 c. [Them linguists] are subversive. (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002: 422)

Postal's argument is updated by Abney (1986) under the DP hypothesis in (32).

- (32) [_{DP} we/the [_{NP} linguists]]

Japanese personal pronouns also combine with common noun phrases in

(33) (Noguchi 1997, Furuya 2004).

- (33) a. [Watashitachi sensei-tachi]-wa totemo isogashii desu.
 we teacher-Pl-Top very busy Cop
 'We teachers are very busy.'
 b. [Anatatachi gengogakusha-tachi]-wa omoshiroi desu ne.
 you (Pl) linguist-Pl-Top funny COP Prt
 'You linguists are funny, aren't you?!'
 c. [Karera otoosan-tachi]-wa genki desu ka.
 they daddy-Pl-Top energetic COP Q
 'Are them daddies energetic?'

One could apply Postal's updated analysis to Japanese pronoun-noun construction in (34).

- (34) [_{DP} we/the [_{NP} linguists]]

However, Japanese pronoun-noun construction allows for the presence of a demonstrative in the left periphery in (35), which is impossible in English.

- (35) [(Kono) watashitachi sensei-tachi]-wa totemo isogashii desu.
 these we teacher-Pl-Top very busy Cop
 Lit. 'These we teachers are very busy.'

If a Japanese pronoun is[were] located in Spec of DP, where would a demonstrative be located above a DP?

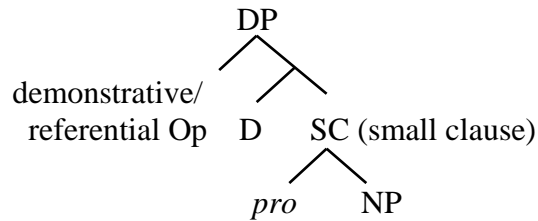
- (36) [_{??P} demonstrative [_{DP} pronoun [_{NP} NP]]

Alternatively, I adopt Campbell's (1996:165, 167) analysis of English definite expressions for imposters. Campbell proposes a small clause analysis for English definite noun phrases, based on the assumption that common noun phrases are always predicative in syntax (see also Holmberg 1983, den Dikken 1998).

- (37) a. *the boy*
 a'. [DP null Operator [D' the [SC *pro* boy]]]
 b. *those boys*
 b'. [DP those [D' (null head D) [SC *pro* boys]]

Based on the observation that some languages like Greek allow the co-occurrence of a demonstrative and a definite article, Campbell proposes that a demonstrative or a null element, an *operator*, sits in the Spec of DP in (37a'). These schemas are illustrated in (38).

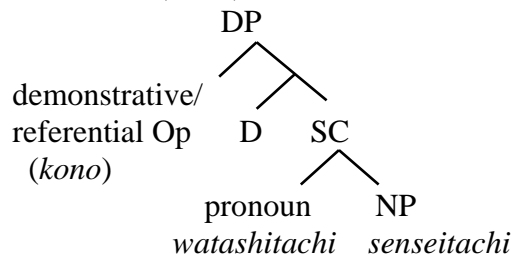
- (38) Campbell's proposal for definite expressions



Once *pro* is replaced with a personal pronoun, the structure becomes applicable to Japanese pronoun-noun constructions as in (33). Following Campbell, I assume the following structure for Japanese pronoun-noun constructions.

- (39) Japanese pronoun-noun construction under Campbell's proposal

e.g. (*kono*) *watashitachi sensei-tachi*
 these we teacher-Pl
 Lit. '(these) we teachers'

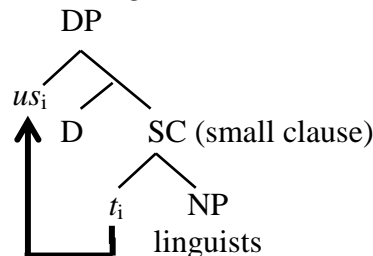


This captures the two observations successfully: (i) a demonstrative (which may be optional, due to the presence of a referential OP) is located in the DP, and (ii) a pronoun is located at a lower position within a DP.

Notice that the structure in (39) is not applicable to English pronoun-noun construction since English does not allow for a demonstrative in the left periphery. This indicates that the personal pronoun in a pronoun-noun construction is moved to the DP in (40).

- (40) Campbell's proposal for English pronoun-noun construction

e.g. (**these*) *us linguists*



In the following section, I employ the structures in (39) and (40) for English and Japanese imposter constructions and account for the morphosyntactic alternations between these languages.

5. Imposters as Complex DPs

In the previous section, I offered a syntactic analysis of the complex internal structure of a NP. In this section, I examine syntactic agreement cross-linguistically by applying the analysis for the internal structure for noun phrases to agreement of three constructions: (i) pronoun-noun constructions, (ii) English imposters, and (iii) Japanese imposters.

5.1 Agreement in English and Japanese pronoun-noun construction

Before I analyze imposters, I examine agreement of pronoun-noun constructions. I adopt Frampton and Gutmann's (2006) analysis of Agree as a feature-sharing operation: an originally unvalued feature will share feature values with a valued set of features via Agree.

(41) [We teachers] will return to {*their/our/*selves'} room.

(42) Agree relations within English pronoun-noun construction

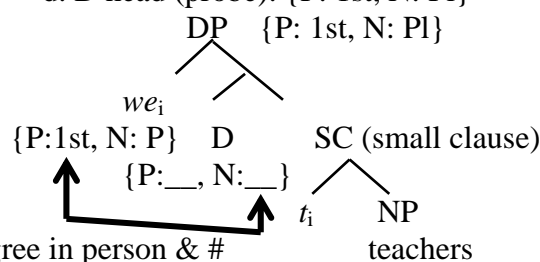
e.g. *we linguists*

a. pronoun (goal) : {P(erson): 1st, N(umber): Pl(ural)}

b. D head (probe): {P: __, N: __}

c. Agree operation

d. D head (probe): {P: 1st, N: Pl}



In (42a), the pronoun overtly moves to Spec of DP. The pronoun lexically possesses phi-features whereas the D head in (42b) has unvalued features. Once an Agree operation is held, in (42c) the D head (probe) shares the same phi-features as the pronoun (goal) in Spec of DP in (42d). Once the DP possesses the shared feature values, it enters a binding relation with the bound pronoun in (41), whose schema with a detail feature distribution is in (43):

(43) Binding for (39) under Pollard & Sag's (1992) binding analysis.

[_{DP} {1st, Pl}]_i... .[{ { *3rd, Pl } / { 1st, Pl } / { *φ, Pl } }]_i
we teachers *their our *selves'

The bound pronoun should have the same phi-features as the pronoun in the subject position and thus only *our* is grammatical.

The Japanese counterpart exhibits the same binding relation in that the pronoun with the same phi-features is chosen as its bound pronoun in (44).

(44) [Watashitachi sensei-tachi]-wa { *karera/watashitachi/
 we teacher-Pl-Top they we
 jibun (-tachi) }-no heya-ni kaerimasu.
 self-Pl-Gen room-to return
 'We teachers will return to { *their/our/self's/(selves') rooms }'

The DP in the subject position (*watashitachi*, *sensei-tachi* 'we teachers') possesses 1st person and plural features and binds the pronoun with the same features (*watashitachi-no* 'our'), such as in the case of English in (41). However, the Agree operation for Japanese nominals is not the same as that for English in two ways: Japanese personal pronouns in the nominal predication relation do not

move to Spec of DP; An Agree operation is optional for Japanese. Let us look at one example in (45).

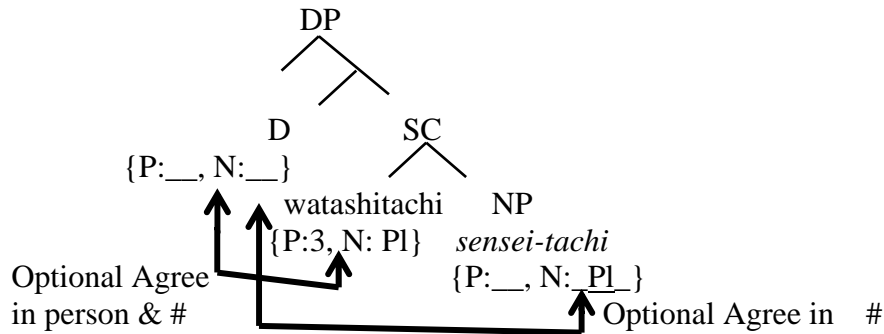
(45) Agree relations within Japanese pronoun-noun construction

e.g. *watashitachi sensei-tachi* ‘we teachers’

a. pronoun (goal) : {P: 1st, N: Pl}

b. D head (probe): {P: __, N: __} unvalued features

c. Agree operation



The pronominal subject lexically possesses the person and number features in (45a) while the D head has no valued features in (45b). They can build an Agree relation to share the features. However, this operation is optional for Japanese. Alternatively, the D may share the number feature with the NP. Thus, Japanese allows three feature-sharing operations with the head D: (i) complete sharing with the pronoun; (ii) partial sharing with the NP; (iii) no sharing. This leads to three possible sorts of feature distribution for the D head in (46).

(46) Three types of feature distribution of D

a. D head (probe) {P: 1st, N: Pl}—Complete sharing

b. D head (probe): {P: __, N: Pl}—Partial sharing

c. D head (probe): {P: __, N: __} — No sharing

Given the possible feature disruption of the D, three possible binding relations are grammatical for Japanese in (47).

(47) a. [_{DP} {1st, Pl}]_I ... [_{DP} {{*3rd, Pl}, {1st, Pl}}]_i

b. [_{DP} {ϕ, Pl}]_i ... [_{DP} {{*3rd, Pl}, {ϕ, Pl}}]_i

c. [_{DP} {ϕ, ϕ}]_I ... [_{DP} {{*3rd, Pl}, {ϕ, ϕ}}]_i

I demonstrated that both languages basically show the same binding phenomena, since pronouns lexically possess valued features both in English and Japanese, regardless of the presence or absence of pronominal movement to the Spec of DP in these languages. I also argued that the morphosyntactic variation in the binding relation between the Japanese and English pronoun-noun constructions is that Japanese allows for optional Agree operations, which causes the morphological variations in binding between English in (41) and Japanese in (44). Importantly, if the current analysis is correct, it demonstrates that failure of syntactic Agree doesn't *automatically* and *inevitably* lead to semantic phi-feature assignment for some languages, such as Japanese.

Based on the analysis for agreement in pronoun-noun construction, I will explore English and Japanese imposters, for which I assume the same complicated NP structure with *pro* in place of personal pronouns. My analysis of imposters in the following will offer further support for the optionality of agreement.

5.2 English imposter construction

As observed in 2.4, English plural imposters allow for 1st and 3rd reflexive pronouns. In this subsection, I examine Agree relations within an imposter NP.¹

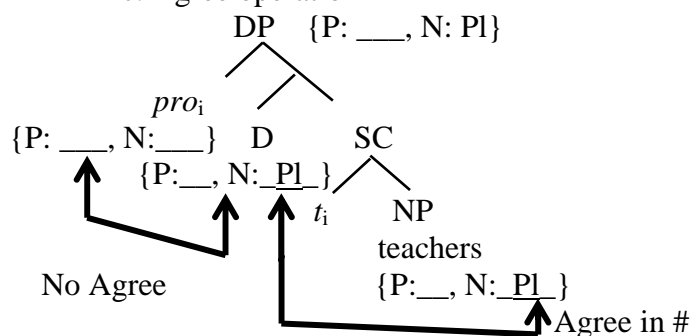
(48) English Plural imposter

e.g. *the present authors* (=we)

a. *pro* (goal): {P: ____, N: ____}

b. D head (probe): {P: ____, N: ____}

c. Agree operation

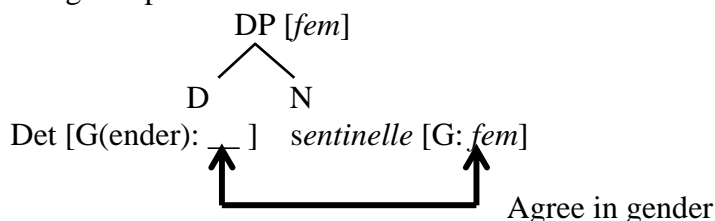


A *pro*, which is base-generated in the subject position of a nominal predication construction, overtly moves to the Spec of the DP by assumption. This *pro* in the DP can be *we* or *they*, as in the case of *we teachers* and *them teachers* (Postal 1969) in (18). The *pro* in (48a) does not have lexically valued features to share with a D head, which does not possess lexically valued features in (48b), either. I assume that the *pro* in Spec of the DP relies on *semantics*, following Wechsler (2011), who argues that semantic agreement in the DP results from the controller (goal) lacking the features to trigger feature agreement. Wechsler proposes two types of agreement: syntactic agreement and semantic agreement.

(49) Wechsler's analysis for *syntactic* agreement in gender

a. *la sentinelle* 'the sentry' (Wechsler 2011:1010)

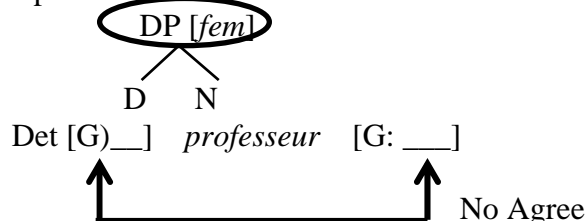
b. Agree operation



(50) Wechsler's analysis for *semantic* agreement in gender

a. *la professeur* 'the female professor' (Wechsler 2011:1010)

b. Agree operation



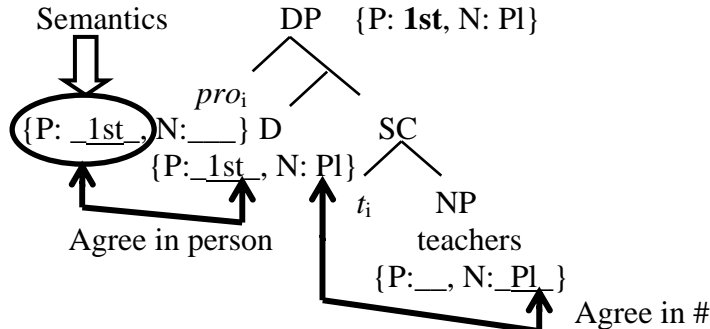
¹ English imposters permit 3rd person agreement and do not allow for 1st person agreement as observed in Section 2. An analysis for this restriction is beyond the scope of this paper and left open for future research.

According to Wechsler, the NP *professeur* ‘professor’ lacks a gender feature unlike in the case of *sentinelle* ‘sentry’, which lexically possesses a female gender and thus the D is assigned a *semantic* feature, *female* (Wechsler 2011:1010).

In the same vein of Wechsler’s analysis of semantic agreement in gender, I propose that a *pro* in the DP may be semantically assigned a person feature if the D fails to undergo a syntactic Agree operation in (51).

(51) *semantic* agreement for the English plural imposter

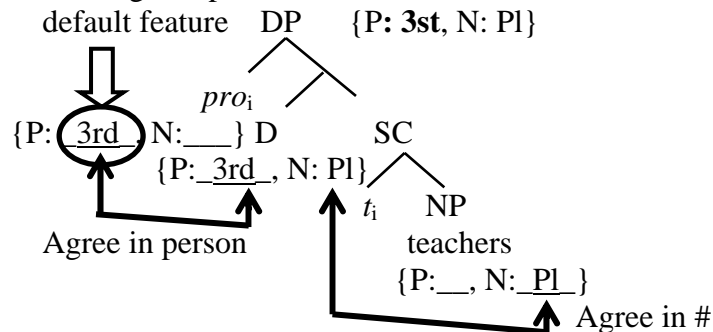
- a. *pro* (goal): {P:____, N: ____}
- b. Semantic role: *pro* (goal): {P: **1st**, N:
- c. D head (probe): {P:____, N:____}
- d. Agree operation



The *pro* in the DP, which possesses lexically unvalued features in (51a), receives the relevant person feature *from semantics* in (51b) and enters an Agree operation with the D in (51c). That is, the *pro* semantically receives the 1st person feature, and assigns the value to the D head, which also receives a plural number feature from the NP. However, I claim that the semantic involvement for agreement in person *is not obligatory* in English.

Consider the example with the alternative option of 3rd person agreement of the imposter in (18). I assume that 3rd person agreement is a default phi-feature assignment to *pro* in the DP (Baker 2011).

- (52) a. *pro* (goal): {P:____, N: ____}
- b. *pro* (goal): {P: 3rd, N:____}
- c. D head (probe): {P:____, N:____}
- d. Agree operation



In this case, instead of receiving help from semantics, the *pro* in the DP receives a default person feature and enters an Agree operation in (52). If this is correct, the failure of syntactic Agree does not automatically and inevitably lead to semantic phi-feature assignment for English as well. Because full NPs in English semantically allow a *pro* in the DP to get assigned a 1st or 3rd person feature, whose feature is assigned to the values of the D, both reflexives are possible in (18).

In this subsection, I examined English plural imposters and argued that full NPs involve a *pro*, which moves to the Spec DP. This *pro* in the DP may receive a

semantic feature. Alternatively, it may receive a default 3rd person feature. Notice that English pronoun-noun constructions as in (31) (as well as pronouns in argument positions in general) do not permit these two alternatives since pronouns possess lexically valued person features and do not need help from semantics, unlike a *pro*.

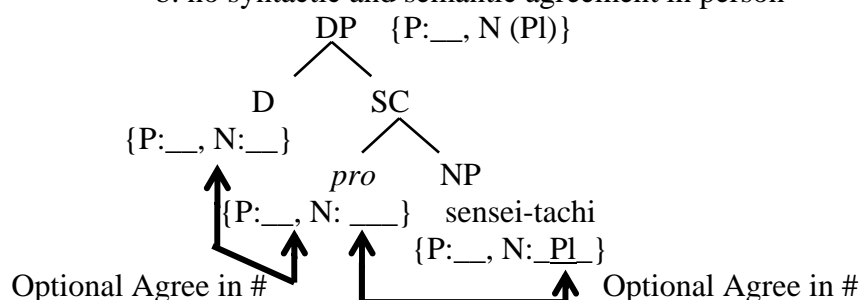
In the following subsection, I will account for the different morphosyntactic properties of the Japanese plural imposter we observed in (19).

5.3 Japanese imposter construction

Japanese plural imposters are different from their English counterparts in that they do not permit both 1st and 3rd person bound pronouns/reflexives in (19).

Instead, *jibun* ‘self’, which has no person, number, or gender (Tenny 2006), is chosen as its bound pronoun (along with optional attachment of the plural marker). I propose the structure of imposter in (53):

- (53) Japanese plural imposters
 e.g. *Sensei-tachi*_i (=we) ‘teacher-s’
 a. optional Agree in number
 b. no syntactic and semantic agreement in person



Although a *pro* does not possess lexically valued features, it may receive a plural number feature from the NP and share it with the D head. Yet this Agree relation is optional. The DP may or may not possess a valued number feature. As for a number feature, unlike the case of English plural imposters, a *pro* within Japanese imposters is not moved to the DP (by assumption), as in the case of Japanese pronoun-noun construction in (39). I assume that the *pro* in (53), which remains within a DP, is not accessible to semantic features in order to enter a further Agree relation, under Chomsky’s (2001, 2007) phase-based approach: a DP is a phase and thus is subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC, cf. Chomsky (2001)) in (54):

- (54) PHASE IMPENETRABILITY CONDITION (PIC):
 Material within a phase XP is not accessible to operations at ZP (the next phase) unless it is within the edge domain of XP.

- (55) Edge domain:
 The edge domain of a phase XP comprises the left area up to and including the leftmost overt element within XP.

The general consequence of the PIC is that any goal feature that is supposed to value a probe-feature in a higher phase must be in the edge domain of the current phase in order to be accessible for Agree. In (51), since the *pro* remains within a (phase) DP, it is not accessible to semantic features as well, in contrast to a *pro* in English imposters, which moves to the DP. Due to the lack of a person feature syntactically and semantically, the DP fails to possess a valued person feature in

(53). Thus, its bound pronouns cannot be 1st or 3rd person, since the antecedent DP does not possess the same person feature in (19).

To summarize, Japanese full NPs possess a *pro* like those of English. However, the *pro* does not move to Spec of the DP unlike the English counterparts. This *pro* does not possess syntactic features. Moreover, the *pro* is too deep to receive semantic help. Thus, the full NPs cannot show agreement. In contrast, as observed in (45), the pronoun counterparts possess the syntactic features and thus a D (optionally) receives the features from them.

In the following sections, I extend the current analysis to Principle C violation to show that English imposters behave like R-expressions due to the presence of a *pro* in the DP while Japanese does not, due to the deep location of a *pro* within the DP.

6 Imposters and Binding Principles

Collins and Postal (2012) observe that a singular imposter cannot be bound by a c-commanding 3rd person singular pronoun in (56).

(56) *He_i said that Daddy_i (=I) deserves a vacation.

(Collins and Postal 2012)

However, the example in (8), repeated below, indicates that a singular imposter possesses a default 3rd person feature and binds the 3rd person pronoun *his*.

(8) This reporter_i (=I) lost {his_i/*my_i} cool. (Collins and Postal 2012)

As opposed to the ungrammaticality of (56), the 3rd person pronoun singular pronoun can bind another 3rd pronoun in (57).

(57) He_i said he_i deserves a vacation.

I claim that the difference between imposters and pronouns is attributed to the presence/absence of a *pro* and the property of a default 3rd person feature. In the case of the presence of a pronoun, a *pro* does not exist. Only syntactic agreement is held in (57), which respects Principle B for pronouns. On the other hand, imposters possess a *pro* in Spec of the DP and may receive a default person feature or a semantic feature in English. I assume that these features are syntactically different from the 3rd person feature of pronouns. The mismatch in person feature between the pronominal subject in the main clause and the imposter DP in the subject positions of the embedded clause observes an effect of a violating Principle C in (56).

On the other hand, Japanese imposters allow for their two occurrences in a binding relation and do not show a violation of Principle C in (58).

(58) Okaasan_i (=I)-wa [okaasan_i (=I)-ga dame da to] omotta.
 mother-Top mother-Nom no.good Cop Com thought
 Lit. 'Mother_i (=I) thought Mother_i (=I) is not good.'

Japanese imposters involve a *pro* within a DP, which cannot receive semantic features or a default person feature for an Agree operation with the D head. This makes the features of the D to remain unvalued. Since the imposter DPs in the subject position of both main and embedded clauses involve no valued phi-features, they do not violate Principles B and C.

7 Conclusion

I have shown that the syntactic analysis of the detailed feature distribution within the internal structure of an NP accounts for binding relations in terms of English

and Japanese full NPs and pronouns. Pronominal agreement is basically the same between the two languages, although Japanese additionally permits no agreement relation between a pronoun and its bound pronoun in (44). In the case of agreement of full NPs, the two languages show the different morphosyntactic variations because full NPs involve a *pro* (whose features are lexically unvalued) within them, and because this *pro* causes (in)visibility of syntactic person and number features of the D cross-linguistically. In the case of English, a *pro* overtly moves to the DP and optionally receives semantically assigned values for binding. In the case of Japanese, on the other hand, a *pro* is not accessible to semantic features since it remains within a (phase) DP. Thus, Japanese imposter DPs cannot bind pronominal bound pronouns. With personal pronouns in place of a *pro*, the unvalued features in the D may receive feature values from the pronouns via a feature-sharing operation. I extended the analysis to the effects of Principle C. I argued that the default 3rd person feature of a *pro* in the DP is different from that of 3rd person pronouns, which leads to a violation of Principle C for English. On the other hand, a *pro* in Japanese imposters carries no person feature and does not show a violation of binding relations.

If the current argument is on the right track, as opposed to personal pronouns, full NPs do not obligatorily carry phi-features in the lexicon and may receive semantic help during a derivation. Furthermore, the semantic help is not always available. Yet, unvalued features may not necessarily lead to a crash of a derivation at PF and LF.

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