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Binding, Possessives, and the Structure of DP*

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0. Introduction

This paper addresses some issues raised by possessive pronouns and by complex anaphors in English and Persian. In principle, a pronominal possessor may appear as either D or [Spec, DP] and in the latter case may trigger agreement. We provide evidence that both options are necessary, and that the specific choice contributes to the determination of the governing category of the pronominal possessor in Persian possessed DPs and in complex anaphors in both Persian and English. Our analysis identifies a second difference in Persian and English complex anaphors, namely the syntactic category of the SELF morpheme. We show that whether the SELF morpheme is an N or a D determines the strategy by which it reflexivizes its DP and the nature of its referential dependence.

This analysis is based on the assumption that pronominal DPs contain only functional projections and that anaphoric DPs are distinguished by their lack of inherent reference. Following Bouchard (1984) and Reinhart and Reuland (1993), we further assume that well-formed DPs must contain both a referential index and a Φ -feature specification in order to be interpreted.¹ We shall analyse the Persian SELF morpheme, *xod*, as an N lacking inherent Φ -features and English *self* as a D lacking an inherent referential index.

The paper is organized as follows. First, we describe the Persian and English facts that will be discussed and ultimately accounted for. In section 2 we present an analysis of Persian possessive pronouns which accounts for their binding properties. In section 3 we modify the analysis to account for the binding properties of possessors in English. Finally, in section 4 we extend the analysis to complex reflexives first in Persian and then in English.

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¹More specifically we assume that only third person DPs need both an arbitrary referential index and a distinct Φ -feature specification. In section 4.3 we argue that the Φ -feature specification functions as a referential index for first and second person DPs.

1. Contrasting Persian and English

1.1 Pronominal Possessors

Persian pronominal possessors can appear as enclitics (1a) or as independent pronouns (1b).² As can be seen from the translation, English has only one type of pronominal possessor.

- (1) (a) **manzel-eshun** Enclitic
house+cl(3pl)
'their house'
- (b) **manzel-e unâ** Independent Pronoun
house pron(3pl)
'their house'

In (2) the Persian pronominal enclitic paradigm is given. The pronominal enclitics can appear as possessors, as objects of verbs and as objects of prepositions.

(2) Persian Pronominal Enclitics (Colloquial)

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
1	-am	-emun
2	-et	-etun
3	-esh	-eshun

In (3) the set of independent pronouns in Modern Persian is given. There is only one set of independent pronouns in Persian, i.e. pronouns have the same form regardless of their grammatical function or case properties. In contrast, English has three sets of pronouns (nominative, objective and genitive).

(3) Persian Independent Pronouns (Colloquial)

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
1	man	mâ, mâhâ
2	to	shomâ, shomâhâ
3	u/un	ishun, un(h)â

In Persian, the two types of pronominal possessors have different binding properties. This is illustrated in (4). In (4a) we see that a Persian clitic possessor may be bound in IP. In (4b) we see that an independent pronoun possessor must be free in IP. In (4c) we see that in English the pronominal possessor acts like the Persian enclitic possessor in that it may optionally be bound in IP.

- (4) (a) $jiân_i$ [[DP **ketâb-esh_{i/j}**] -o] xund Enclitic
Jiân book+cl(3sg) Case³ read
'Jiân_i read his_{i/j} book.'

²The vowel *-e* which appears on the head noun in (1b) is referred to as the *Ezafe* vowel. It links nouns to their modifiers and possessors. As argued in Ghomeshi (1996) this vowel is inserted post-syntactically and thus is irrelevant for the syntactic structure.

³-o, -ro, and -râ are all different realizations of the same case marker. This marker appears on presupposed objects, the first and only VP-internal argument. See Ghomeshi (1996) for discussion.

- (b) $jiân_i$ [[DP $ketâb-e$ $u_{i/j}$] -ro] xud Independent Pronoun
 $Jiân_i$ book pron(3sg) Case read
 'Jian_i read his_{i/j} book.'

- (c) Jian_i read his_{i/j} book.

We shall account for the difference between the enclitic and independent pronominal possessors in Persian with respect to binding. In addition we propose to extend the analysis to account for the fact that English possessive pronouns have the same binding properties as Persian enclitic possessors.

1.2 Anaphors

We now turn to anaphors in Persian and English. Persian has an anaphor, *xod*, which can be translated as 'self'. It may appear in isolation, or in combination with either a clitic or independent pronoun. The paradigms for *xod* in combination with enclitics and full pronouns are given in (5) and (6), respectively.

- (5) Persian *xod* 'self' & enclitic [inflected *xod*]

	singular	plural
1	xod-am	xod-emun
2	xod-et	xod-etun
3	xod-esh	xod-eshun

- (6) Persian *xod* 'self' & pronoun

	singular	plural
1	xod-e man	xod-e mâ, mâhâ
2	xod-e to	xod-e shomâ, shomâhâ
3	xod-e w/un	xod-e ishun, un(h)â

Interestingly, the binding properties of *xod* differ depending on whether its DP also contains a pronominal element and whether the pronominal is an enclitic or a free form. Taking *xod* as a direct object, if it appears alone, it must be bound in IP. This is shown in (7a). In (7b) we see that inflected *xod* may be bound in IP but need not be. In (7c) we see that *xod* and an independent pronoun must be free in IP. The latter case corresponds to the so-called emphatic use of *xod*.

- (7) (a) $jiân_i$ $xod_{i/j}$ -râ did xod 'self' in isolation
 $Jiân$ self Case saw
 'Jian saw himself.'
- (b) $jiân_i$ $xod-esh_{i/j}$ -o did xod 'self' & clitic
 $Jiân$ self+cl(3sg) Case saw
 'Jian saw himself/HIM.'
- (c) $jiân_i$ $xod-e$ $u_{i/j}$ -o did xod 'self' & indep't pronoun
 $Jiân$ self pron(3sg) Case saw
 'Jian saw HIM.'

English also has an anaphoric element, *self*. This element must always appear in combination with a pronoun. The pronoun takes the genitive form in first and second person, but the objective form in third person. This is shown in (8).

(8)

English pronoun & self

	singular	plural
1	myself	ourselves
2	yourself	yourselves
3	himself, herself	themselves

In contrast to Persian *xod*, English *self* must always be bound in IP, as shown in (9a). (9b) shows that *self* cannot appear in isolation.

- (9) (a) John_i saw himself_{i/*j}.
 (b) *John saw self.

In this section we have seen several differences between the Persian anaphor *xod* and the English anaphor *self* that must be accounted for. We have seen that the former can appear in isolation while the latter cannot. Further we have seen that *xod* has an emphatic use that *self* lacks. Finally, an optimal analysis of English anaphors should also account for the fact that the first and second person forms involve possessive pronouns while the third person forms involve objective pronouns.

2. The structure of Persian DPs: Implications for binding of possessors

In Ghomeshi (1996) it is argued that possessors in Persian are base-generated in [Spec, DP] and receive case from the null definite determiner. The structure for a noun phrase involving a DP possessor is given in (10).⁴

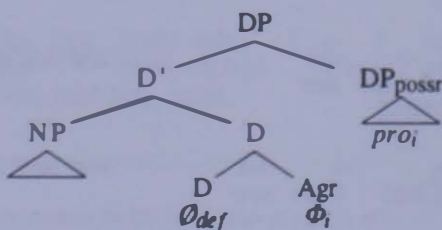
(10)



It is claimed that Persian can also have *pro* possessors. Assuming the Recoverability Principle, given in (11), a *pro* possessor must be licensed. The pronominal enclitics are analyzed as agreement on the D⁰ and their role is to license a *pro* possessor in [Spec, DP]. This yields the structure in (12) for a DP containing a *pro* possessor.

(11) Recoverability Principle: An empty category must be licensed. [Roberge 1990]

(12) Persian DP - enclitic & *pro* possessor

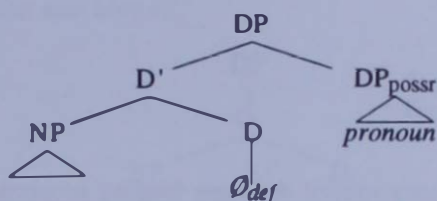


⁴Nothing in this analysis hinges on the assumption that possessors appear at the right periphery of the DP, but see Ghomeshi (1996) for arguments in support of this structure.

In (12) the enclitics are represented as Φ -features adjoined to D. These features are spelled out at PF. To account for the fact that enclitics never co-occur with an overt noun phrase possessor, we assume that the enclitics absorb Case, and following Roberge (1990), we assume that *pro* need not be case-marked.

Recall that Persian also allows independent pronoun possessors. Like the *pro* possessors just discussed, the independent pronouns are analysed as DPs in [Spec, DP], as depicted in (13).

(13) Persian DP-independent pronoun possessor



Note that the complementary distribution of the enclitics and the independent pronouns follows from the assumption that the enclitics absorb case. The obligatory occurrence of the enclitics with a *pro* possessor is accounted for by the Recoverability Principle. We now turn to the difference in their binding properties. We repeat the examples in (4a & b) as (14) below.

- (14) (a) $ji\hat{a}n_i$ [[DP ket\hat{a}b-esh_{i/j} *pro*_{i/j}] -o] xund Enclitic
Ji\hat{a}n book+cl(3sg) Case read
 'Jian_i read his_{i/j} book.'
- (b) $ji\hat{a}n_i$ [[DP ket\hat{a}b-e u_{i/j}] ro] xund Independent Pronoun
Ji\hat{a}n_i book pron(3sg) Case read
 'Jian_i read his_{i/j} book.'

We must account for the fact that the *pro* possessor may be optionally bound by the subject while the independent pronoun possessor cannot be bound by the subject. We suggest that this follows from the fact that *pro* has a different governing category from the independent pronoun possessor. We adopt the definition of governing category given in Chomsky (1981:211.70 (II)).

- (15) β is a governing category for α if and only if β is the minimal category containing α , a governor of α , and a SUBJECT accessible to α .

Chomsky (1981:209) includes in the definition of SUBJECT the presence of AGR in INFL. We formalize this in the following way:

- (16) Accessible SUBJECT
 α is a SUBJECT for β if α is the head of the smallest projection dominating β and α agrees with β in Φ -features.

Under these assumptions then, if a D-head bears agreement (Φ) features then the DP will be the governing category for the noun phrase in [Spec, DP]. This is precisely the case with *pro* possessors in Persian. Since the governing category of *pro* is DP, it may be bound in IP. In contrast, an independent pronoun does not co-occur with an enclitic (i.e. agreement). Therefore it has no accessible SUBJECT inside DP. Thus the governing

category of an independent pronoun is IP and it must be free in this domain.

3. The structure of English DPs: Implications for binding of possessors

We turn our attention now to English. We claim that English genitive pronouns, like Persian enclitics, are the spell-out of agreement with a *pro* possessor in [Spec, DP]. There are two ways in which this claim is supported. First, English genitive pronouns exhibit clitic-like behaviour. They cannot appear in isolation as illustrated in (17), nor can they be conjoined as illustrated in (18).

- (17) (a) This is mine/*my.
(b) This is me.

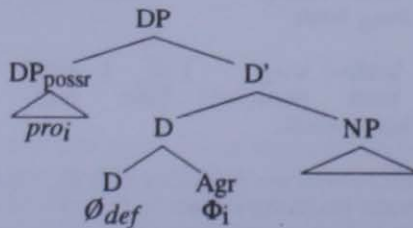
- (18) (a) ??John's and my book
(b) *my and John's book
(c) John and me

Second, English genitive pronouns exhibit the same binding properties as the Persian enclitic possessors. That is, they can be optionally bound by a c-commanding antecedent. We repeat the example given in (4c) as (19) below.

- (19) Jian_i read his_{i/j} book.

The structure of English DPs involving genitive pronouns as possessors is given in (20).

- (20) English DP - clitic & pro possessor



English genitive pronouns are the spell-out of agreement licensing a *pro* possessor in [Spec, DP]. Thus the genitive pronouns serve as accessible SUBJECTS for *pro* possessors in English. This means that the governing category for such possessors is the DP and they may be bound in IP. This is shown in (21).

- (21) John_i read [DP *pro*_{i/j} D-his_{i/j} book]

Summarizing the analysis to this point, it has been argued that DP is the governing category for pronominal possessors just in case the head (D) bears agreement.

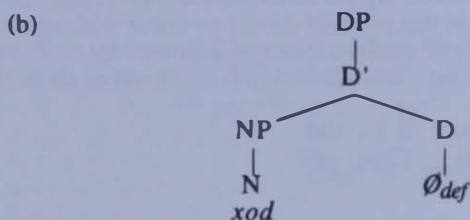
4. Anaphors in Persian and English

Both English and Persian have complex reflexives containing a SELF morpheme and a pronominal element. We now extend our analysis to account for the properties of these complex reflexives.

4.1 Persian *xod*

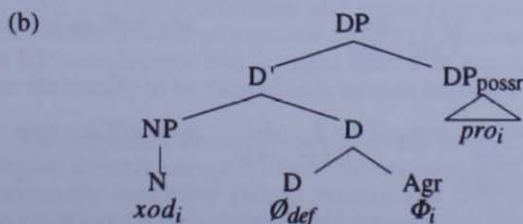
Recall that Persian *xod* 'self' can occur either in isolation, or inflected with a pronominal enclitic, or in combination with an independent pronominal possessor. We analyze *xod* as an N inherently lacking Φ -features. *Xod* must acquire its Φ -features from a local c-commanding antecedent. It follows that in direct object position bare *xod* will be obligatorily bound by the subject. An example is given in (22a) followed by the structure we posit for bare *xod*.

- (22) (a) jiân_i [[DP xod_{i/∅j}] -râ] did
 Jiân self Case saw
 'Jian saw himself.'



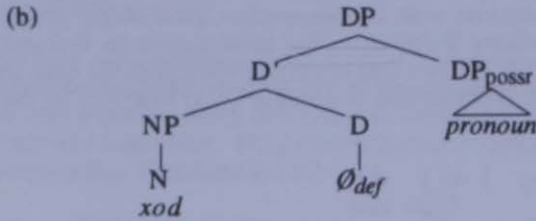
The second environment in which *xod* can appear is with a pronominal enclitic, what we have been calling inflected *xod*. Extending the analysis of pronominal enclitics proposed in section 3, we hypothesize that inflected *xod* occurs with a *pro* possessor in [Spec,DP]. As in possessed DPs, *pro* is licensed by the enclitic adjoined to D. In this case, *xod* is bound by *pro*, a local c-commanding antecedent. As we saw in section 3, *pro* may be optionally bound in IP, thus inflected *xod* may be optionally bound in IP, i.e. it is optionally anaphoric. An example is given in (23a), followed by the structure we posit for inflected *xod*.

- (23) (a) jiân_i [[DP xod_{i/j}-esh_{i/j} pro_{i/j}] -o] did
 Jiân self+cl(3sg) Case saw
 'Jian saw himself/HIM.'



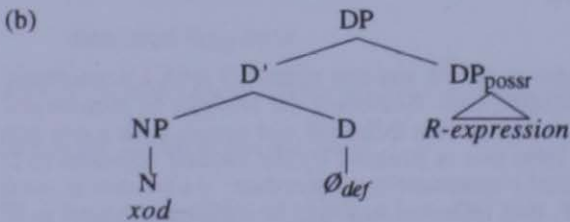
We now turn to the cases where *xod* is followed by an independent pronoun. As with *pro*, we claim that *xod* is bound by the pronoun in [Spec, DP]. However, since there is no agreement within DP, the governing category for the independent pronoun is IP and the pronoun must be free in this domain. Consequently, *xod* can only receive an emphatic and not an anaphoric reading in the context of an independent pronoun. An example is given in (24a), followed by the structure we posit for *xod* followed by an independent pronoun.

- (24) (a) jiān_i [[DP xod_j-e u*_{i/j}] -ro] did
 Jiān self pron(3sg) Case saw
 'Jian saw HIM.'



Note that *xod* can also be bound by an R-expression in [Spec, DP]. Like independent pronouns, R-expressions in this position do not co-occur with agreement and thus must be free within IP. Our analysis predicts that *xod* followed by an R-expression will also only receive an emphatic reading. This prediction is borne out as shown in (25).

- (25) (a) jiān_i [[DP xod_j-e mitra_j] -o] did
 Jiān self Mitra Case saw
 'Jian saw Mitra herself.'



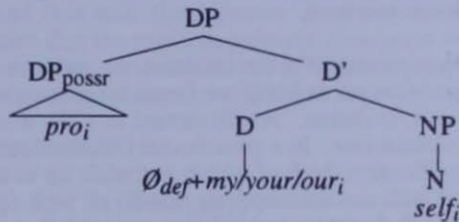
To summarize, we have proposed that if there is a possessor in [Spec, DP] it binds *xod*. Consequently, the binding properties of a DP containing a possessor and *xod* are determined by the possessor. If *xod* appears alone it must be bound in IP. If *xod* appear with a *pro* possessor it may be bound in IP. If *xod* appears with an independent pronoun or with an R-expression it must be free in IP.

- (26) (a) jiān_i [[DP xod_i*_j] -rā] did *xod* 'self' in isolation
 Jiān self Case saw
 'Jian saw himself.'
- (b) jiān_i [[DP xod_{i/j}-esh_{i/j} pro_{i/j}] -o] did *xod* 'self' & clitic
 Jiān self+cl(3sg) Case saw
 'Jian saw himself/HIM.'
- (c) jiān_i [[DP xod_j-e u*_{i/j}] -o] did *xod* 'self' & indep't pronoun
 Jiān self pron(3sg) Case saw
 'Jian saw HIM.'
- (d) jiān_i [[DP xod_j-e mitra_j] -o] did *xod* 'self' & proper name
 Jiān self Mitra Case saw
 'Jian saw Mitra herself.'

4.2 English *self*

In possessed DPs, English genitive pronouns, like Persian clitics, are optionally bound in IP. In section 4, we argued that English DPs containing a genitive pronoun have essentially the same structure as Persian DPs containing a genitive clitic. In this section we explore the structure of English DPs consisting of reflexive pronouns. We begin by considering the hypothesis that English complex reflexives have same structure as their Persian counterpart, i.e. the structure of Persian reflexives containing a clitic and a *pro* in [Spec, DP]. This structure is depicted in (27).

(27) Preliminary Structure of English Reflexives



This structure is inadequate for English for a number of reasons. First, Persian reflexives which have this structure are only optionally anaphoric, but English reflexives are obligatorily so. Given this structure, there is no obvious reason why English reflexives do not have same binding properties as their Persian counterpart, i.e. why isn't *self* bound by the DP possessor? Second, why must English reflexive DPs contain a pronominal element? (Persian *xod* may appear in isolation.) Finally, why do third person English reflexives contain an objective instead of a genitive pronoun? Assuming that English genitive pronouns and Persian enclitics have the same structural properties, we suggest that the differences between Persian and English reflexives reside in the analysis of the SELF morpheme.

An alternative hypothesis is that English *self* is a determiner (while Persian *xod* is a noun). Suppose that the anaphoricity of *self* DPs is due to the fact that *self* is an inherently non-referential determiner, i.e. it lacks an inherent referential index. In this respect it differs from definite determiners and personal pronouns, which bear a referential index. Suppose further that the pronominal element is necessary because *self* also lack Φ -features and an NP complement which might otherwise supply them.⁵ On this view, English *self* DPs are essentially to be viewed as pronouns lacking a referential index.

This hypothesis overcomes two of the problems left unresolved by the assumption that English reflexive anaphors have the structure in (27). It explains why English *self* DPs are necessarily anaphoric (while Persian *xod* DPs are only optionally so) and why *self* always co-occurs with a pronominal element, as illustrated in (28). Essentially we are suggesting that *self* operates on a pronominal DP suppressing its referential index. It does so by forming a compound with the pronoun and thereby creating a bi-morphemic functional element. This compounding accomplishes the objective because *self* is now the head of the word and *self* lacks an inherent referential index. The Φ -features are still contributed by the non-head element

- (28) (a) John_i saw himself_i /*j.
 (b) *John saw self.

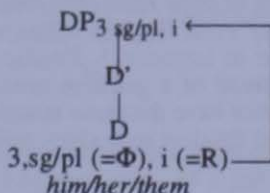
In the next section we explore the implications of this hypothesis further in order to address the third question raised earlier, i.e. why is there a split in the English reflexive paradigm?

4.3 Φ -features as a Referential Index: 1st/2nd vs 3rd

An interesting problem in English morpho-syntax is the fact that first and second person markers within reflexives are genitive in form while the corresponding third person marker is objective (*myself/yourself* vs. *himself*).⁶ We will show that an analysis which treats this contrast as a principled one rather than a lexical idiosyncrasy provides additional support for the analysis developed here.

In order to develop arguments for the structure we assign to third person reflexives which contain an objective pronoun and *self* we begin by presenting the structure of third person objective pronouns in isolation. As illustrated in (29), third person pronouns are DPs that contain only the determiner. In a pronominal DP, the determiner has a referential index and a Φ -feature specification, both of which percolate up to the maximal projection. This structure is consistent with our assumptions that (i) all well-formed DPs must have a referential index and a set of Φ -features; and (ii) pronominal DPs consist only of functional projections.⁷

- (29) Structure of English 3rd person (non-possessive) pronouns

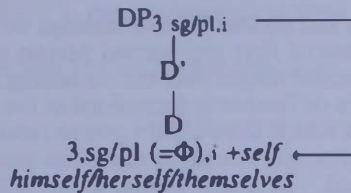


In the last section we suggested that the pronoun +*self* compound is a determiner which lacks an inherent referential index. We assume that the pronominal element provides a feature specification (which must match that of its antecedent) and that the antecedent also provides the anaphor with a referential index. Combining this hypothesis with our assumptions about non-possessive pronouns, we propose the structure in (30) for English third person reflexive anaphors.

⁶See Trudgill and Chambers (1991) for a discussion of alternative pronominal systems in a variety of non-standard English dialects. Among their observations is the fact that some non-standard dialects use *hissself*, *herself* and *theirselves* instead of *himself*, *herself* and *themselves*. Moreover, the third person plural object pronoun is in some cases used as a demonstrative (e.g. *them* books). These and other facts they describe suggest that such dialects assign a different analysis to pronominal elements, either by assigning a different feature analysis to the pronouns or by assigning a different structure to pronominal DPs.

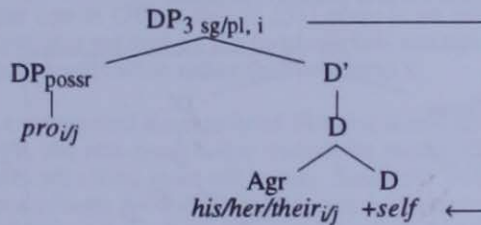
⁷Ritter (1995) has argued that third person pronouns in Modern Hebrew contain both DP and a second functional projection, Number Phrase (NumP). One might reasonably assume that since *self* may be inflected for number it is a Num rather than a D. Since nothing in our analysis hinges on this issue, we set it aside for the purposes of this analysis.

(30) Structure of English 3rd person reflexives



We suggest that the reason that third person reflexives cannot contain a genitive form of the pronoun in Standard English is that genitive pronouns always co-occur with *pro* in [Spec, DP], and this null third person pronoun cannot be licensed inside an anaphoric DP. The claim that the genitive pronoun always co-occurs with *pro* amounts to analysing the genitive pronoun as an AGR, rather than as an independent pronoun, so that a reflexive containing a genitive pronoun would have the structure in (31).

(31) *English 3rd person reflexives



Suppose that *self* is a determiner which simply cannot bear its own referential index. One consequence of this is that the pronominal element in a *self* anaphor will be required to bear the index for the containing DP. In (31), the pronominal element in the head of DP is AGR, so it must have the features specification of *pro* in [Spec, DP]. A single pronominal element cannot satisfy both these requirements. Essentially the derivation will always crash because *pro* has an inherent referential index and the containing DP does not. Consider first the possibility that *pro* has a referential index distinct from that which the containing DP acquires via coreference. If AGR bears the referential index of the antecedent rather than *pro*, i.e. if *pro* and AGR disagree then the derivation will crash. Alternatively, if AGR bears the referential index of *pro* rather than the antecedent then the head will have a different referential index from its maximal projection, and the derivation will crash. Next consider the possibility that *pro* has the same referential index as the containing DP. If AGR bears the referential index of the antecedent then *pro* will be bound in DP, i.e. in its minimal governing category, which constitutes a Condition B violation.⁸

Given this analysis of third person reflexives, one might expect all English reflexive anaphors consisting of a genitive pronoun and *self* to be ill-formed. In the remainder of

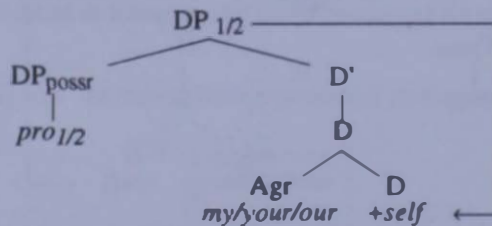
⁸An obvious question is why the same problem does not arise with inflected *xod* in Persian where presumably the containing DP and *pro* have the same referential index. In section 4.1, we stated that *pro* binds *xod*, giving it its Φ -features. We now suggest that binding in this case also involves copying of *pro*'s referential index onto *xod*. This index percolates up from the N to NP and ultimately to the containing DP, especially without also percolating through the D head. It is the presence of a referential index on D which potentially creates a problem in English.

this section we develop an analysis which explains why the same problems do not arise with complex reflexives containing first and second person genitive pronominal elements.

It is well-known that first and second persons contrast with third person in that, for any given utterance, the reference of first and second person pronouns is fixed but the reference of the third person pronouns ranges over the remaining individuals in the domain of discourse. We suggest that this difference is formalized in the grammar by assigning an arbitrary referential index to DPs which have a third person referent but not to DPs which have a first or second person referent. For these discourse participants, the Φ -features suffice to identify the individual. In other words, a DP which is specified as {1st, singular}, needs no further specification to associate it with the speaker, while a DP which is specified as {3rd, plural} needs an additional index to assign it to a referent.⁹

This minimalist approach to indexation permits a principled account of the split in the English reflexive paradigm. Maintaining our assumption that *self* is a determiner which cannot bear its own referential index and that a reflexive DP containing a genitive pronoun also contains *pro*, we posit the structure in (32) for first and second person reflexive anaphors in Standard English.

(32) Structure of English 1st/2nd person reflexives



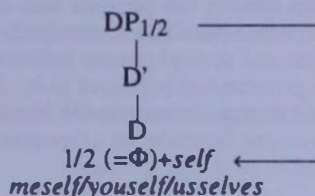
The reason why a genitive pronominal is possible in first and second person reflexive anaphors is that there are no arbitrary referential indices. Unlike an arbitrary referential index assigned to a third person DP, first and second person Φ -features can simultaneously function as a referential index for the anaphor and as AGR which identifies the null pronominal in [Spec, DP] precisely because they constitute deictic reference. *Pro* will be licensed because it is identified with the pronominal features in the head of DP, but because these features are not a referential index *pro* will not be bound in DP. The matrix DP will be well-formed because first and second person pronominal features can satisfy the referential index requirement of the head.

This analysis necessitates a modification to our original assumptions regarding the well-formedness of anaphoric and pronominal DPs. It now appears that the head of a well-formed pronoun or anaphor must manifest referential identification. Referential identification will take the form of an arbitrary referential index in the case of third person DPs, but it may alternatively be satisfied by the Φ -feature specification for DPs which refer to speech act participants.

We have developed an analysis which explains why English first and second person reflexive anaphors may contain a genitive pronoun, but it remains to be explained why they must do so. In other words, why are first and second person reflexive anaphors ill-formed when the pronominal element is objective? Suppose that such anaphors have the

structure posited for the third person reflexives, *modulo* the referential identification mechanism. As illustrated in (33), the only significant structural difference between *meself* and *myself* is the lack of *pro* in the ungrammatical form.

(33) *Structure of English 1st/2nd person reflexives



Intuitively, it seems as if the problem with (33) is that it cannot be an anaphor when the head contains a deictic pronoun (rather than deictic agreement)¹⁰. We suggest, therefore, that this structure is illicit because the first/second person Φ -feature specification on D functions as an inherent referential index and is incompatible with *self* which is lexically specified as a D lacking inherent reference. A fundamental difference between the structure shown in (33) and the one in (30) is that in (33) there is no information on the maximal projection which is not also present on the head. In this example, the reflexive appears to be checking referential identification rather than acquiring it.

Normally in a compound the non-head element is non-referential. For example, in a noun like *housewife*, the non-head *house* cannot be modified. An old housewife is an old wife and not a wife who lives in an old house. Similarly, in third person reflexives, the non-head pronoun contributes its Φ -features but not a referential index. However, in the case of first or second person reflexives, the pronominal non-head is necessarily referential because its Φ -features constitute its reference.

Summarizing the results of this section, we have argued that *xod* and *self* both reflexivize the DPs that contain them because they lack inherent content. However, they do so in different ways. *Xod* is a featureless noun while *self* suppresses the index on a pronominal determiner. The NP containing *xod* acquires Φ -features and a referential index via co-indexation with a pronoun or R-expression in [Spec, DP] if this position is filled. Otherwise, its features and referential index are acquired from a c-commanding nominal outside the containing DP. When *xod* is coindexed with a possessor in [Spec, DP], the binding properties of the containing DP are determined by the binding properties of the possessor. In contrast, a *self* DP acquire an index from a c-commanding nominal outside the DP because *self* is a defective determiner which lacks an inherent index. In essence, *self* serves to turn a pronominal DP into an anaphoric one.

In order to account for the split in the paradigm of English reflexive anaphors (i.e. *myself/yourself/ourselves* vs *himself/herself/themselves*), it was suggested that only third person DPs have an arbitrary referential index since the Φ -feature specification suffices to uniquely identify the referent of first and second person DPs. Assuming that binding theory essentially constrains the interpretation of these arbitrary third person indices, we argued that [Spec, DP] could not be filled in English third person reflexive anaphors without violating principles of UG since the pronominal element in D would be required to

¹⁰Given this approach, there seems to be no difference in content between first and second person agreement and first and second person pronouns, although there is clearly a structural difference. However, an exploration of this issue is beyond the scope of this paper.

bear the referential index of the containing DP and simultaneously function as agreement for the possessor.¹¹ This problem does not arise in the case of first and second person anaphors since there is no arbitrary index involved. In other words, [Spec, DP] can be filled in *myself/yourself/ourselves* because first and second person pronominal elements never bear an arbitrary referential index.

This difference in content among the persons was also shown to have structural consequences. English third person reflexives were analysed as simplex Ds filled by compound lexical items while first and second person reflexives were analysed as complex Ds with *self* as the head and the pronominal adjoined to it. In both cases, the structure of the DP is determined by the pronominal element in the head. Objective pronouns consist only of the head D, genitive pronouns function as agreement and co-occur with a *pro* in [Spec, DP].

This paper has implications for further research in two areas. First, we have claimed that the presence or absence of agreement within DP determines whether this constituent is a governing category. This sheds light on the analysis of pronominal possessors, which have previously received little attention in the literature. Second, we have proposed that there is a fundamental difference in the content of first and second versus third person pronouns which should provide insight into the intriguing differences in their behavior cross-linguistically.

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¹¹ As mentioned in footnote 8, we suggest that the same problem does not arise in Persian reflexives