

Morpho-syntactic Approach to Pronominal Binding

1. Introduction and Proposal: In this talk, I present the following novel proposal on the distribution of a bound variable reading for pronouns.

- (1) a. The availability of a bound variable reading for pronouns is predictable from the morphological structure of the pronouns.
- b. Noun-containing pronouns cannot be a bound variable.

Wiltschko (2000) proposes that there are two different pronominal forms, namely AgrP (*Agr-pronoun*) and DP (*D-pronoun*), which are determined by morphosyntactic criteria. Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002) (D&W 2002) develop the idea and argue that languages can have three different pronoun types, that is pro-DP, pro- ϕ P, and pro-NP. They argue that the pronoun type, not its morphological structure, determines its binding property. The above proposal (1) clearly opposes to the D&W's (2002) argument in that the morphological structure of pronouns determines the binding property of the pronouns.

In this talk, I argue that D&W's (2002) argument cannot explain the distribution of a bound variable reading for Korean pronouns. Then I argue that the above proposal (1) can explain not only Korean data but also other cross-linguistic data without positing the novel category (pro- ϕ P) proposed by D&W (2002).

2. Korean Pronouns: According to Kang (1988), Korean 3rd person pronoun *ku* 'he' (and the corresponding feminine form *kunye* 'she') can have a bound variable reading as in (2). In contrast, another 3rd person emphatic pronoun *kui* 'he' cannot have a bound variable reading as in (3). The emphatic pronoun *kui* is different from R-expressions. For example, if the subject in (3) were a proper name, *kui* can be coreferent with the subject, but definite expressions such as *ku salam* 'the person' cannot. The same contrast can be seen with respect to honorific 3rd person pronouns, *tangsin* 'he (honorific)' and *kupwun* 'he (honorific)': *tangsin* can have a bound variable reading, but *kupwun* cannot have a bound variable reading as in (4) and (5).

According to Wiltschko (2000) and D&W (2002), the four pronouns (*ku*, *kunye*, *kui* and *kupwun*) must be analyzed as a DP, since they are headed by the same morpheme *ku* which is used as a determiner. They argue that DPs cannot have a bound variable reading regardless of its internal morphological structure. But *ku* and *kunye* can have a bound variable reading contrary to their prediction. This can be explained with the above proposal. *kui* and *kupwun* are morphologically complex and they contain a noun in it. But *ku* and *kunye* does not contain a noun. The table (6) shows that the morpheme *-i* and *-pwun* in *kui* and *kupwun* can be used as a (independent) noun, but *-nye* in *kunye* cannot: *-i* and *-pwun* can be modified productively by adjectives and other demonstrative determiners, but *-nye* cannot. Thus the noun containing pronouns (*kui* and *kupwun*) cannot have a bound variable reading, but *ku* and *kunye* can have a bound variable reading, though the pronominal type of the four pronouns is the same, namely DP.

3. Further Applications-Revisiting D&W (2002): The proposal can also explain the data discussed in D&W (2002). According to D&W (2002), Halkomelem pronouns cannot have a bound variable reading. The unavailability of a bound variable reading follows from the fact that the pronouns are morphologically complex and the element after the determiner in the pronouns is actually an NP. On the other hand, Shuswap pronouns can have a bound variable reading. D&W (2002) argue that the pronouns are ϕ Ps with no complement. As long as they do not contain an NP, the above proposal (1) predicts that they can have a bound variable reading. Regarding Japanese *kare* 'he', there are many arguments that *kare* is actually NP (Noguchi 1997, and others). So it cannot have a bound variable reading as expected. With respect to English 1st and 2nd person pronouns, they can have a bound variable reading (see Rullman (2004) and others) and this conforms to my theory.

DATA

- (2) Nukuna_i [ku_{i/j}-lul ccocha-o-nun salam-ul] silh-e ha-n-ta.
 everyone he-ACC chase-come-PNE person-ACC hate-IMPF-DEC
 'Everyone_i hates the person who chases him_{i/j}.' (Kang 1988)
- (3) *Nukuna_i [kui_i-lul ccocha-o-nun salam-ul] silheha-n-ta.
 everyone he-ACC chase-come-PNE person-ACC hate-IMPF-DEC
 'Everyone_i hates the person who chases HIM_i.'
- (4) Enu sensayng_i-nim-ina tangsin_{i/j}-ul conkyengha-nun haksayng-ul coaha-n-ta
 every teacher-H-also (H)he-ACC respect-PNE student-ACC like-IMPF-DECL
 'Every teacher_i likes a student who respects him_{i/j}.'
- (5) *Enu sensayng_i-nim-ina kupwun_i-ul conkyengha-nun haksayng-ul coaha-n-ta
 every teacher-H-also (H)he-ACC respect-PNE student-ACC like-IMPF-DECL
 'Every teacher_i likes a student who respects him_i.'

(6) Paradigm of -i/-pwun and -nye

	<i>ku</i> 'the'	<i>i</i> 'this'	<i>ce</i> 'that'	adjectives
<i>-nye</i>	<i>ku-nye</i> 'she'	* <i>i nye</i> 'this woman'	* <i>ce nye</i> 'that woman'	* <i>nappun nye</i> 'a bad woman' * <i>cohun nye</i> 'a good lady'
<i>-i</i>	<i>ku-i</i> 'he'	<i>i i</i> 'this person'	<i>ce i</i> 'that person'	<i>nappun i</i> 'a bad person' <i>cohun i</i> 'a good person'
<i>-pwun</i>	<i>ku-pwun</i> '(H) he'	<i>i pwun</i> 'this person(H)'	<i>ce pwun</i> 'that person(H)'	<i>nappun pwun</i> 'a bad person(H)' <i>cohun pwun</i> 'a good person(H)'

*(H) represents honorific meaning.

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